

**A CO-CONSTRUCTED PRACTICE MODEL FOR SUPPORTING PARENTS OF
CHILDREN IN CONFLICT WITH THE LAW**

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DECLARATION:

In accordance with Rule G4.6.3, I hereby declare that the above-mentioned treatise is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment to another University or for another qualification.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Zurina Abdulla". The signature is written in a cursive style with some loops and flourishes.

SIGNATURE

DATE: 15 March 2019

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Abstract

The unique historical stressors linked to South Africa's apartheid legacy, continues to manifest in the form of economic exclusion, social exclusion, inequality and poverty, with parents being subjugated to service users and extenders rather than included as service advocates, particularly in the child justice system. Furthermore, policies and practices do not include, engage and support parents on an intra and interpersonal level. Parents of children in conflict with the law, experience their children's charge or arrest as well as their subsequent journey through the child justice system as a crisis resulting in their need for emotional, informational, practical and professional support during the child justice process.

The similarities and differences between the contexts of child protection and child justice in supporting parents illuminates the existing gaps in child justice legislation, policy and practice resulting in a lack of support for parents during the child justice process. In the Children's Act 38 of 2005, it is recognised that parents have a legal responsibility towards their children and that in fulfilling this responsibility parents can access support services to assist them when they face challenges in fulfilling this responsibility. In contrast, despite 80 percent of children in conflict with the law being released into parental care and parents expressing the need for support in fulfilling their parental responsibility, in this regard the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 fails to make provision for parents to access support services.

The child justice system's narrow focus on parents as service extenders contributes to parents' being excluded from targeted support services resulting in parents' support needs not being addressed. The lack of programmes and services aimed at supporting parents highlight the need for coordinated services that address the multiple stressors parents are exposed to. To this end, this study was aimed at co-constructing a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law. The theoretical lenses employed in the current study namely; the Ecological systems model and the Buffering effect model describes the various systems parents need support from and the type of support they need from their family, community and professionals.

Guided by a qualitative approach, the present study integrated applied research, in particular intervention design and development with participatory action research as it allowed systematic collaboration during the research process to ensure rigour. This study involved participants from two research sites namely, the Nerina One-Stop Child Justice Centre in Port Elizabeth and the Reception, Assessment and Referral office at the Uitenhage magistrates' court. Employing a non-probability purposive sampling method, this study facilitated the participation of parents of children in conflict with the law and child justice officials who met the inclusion criteria, in the co-design and development of a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law. Participants assumed an expert and collaborative role, which enabled the co-construction of knowledge, meaning and innovation of the practice model. Qualitative data collection methods namely, twelve focus groups and thirty two participant observations, were used to explore, co-construct, describe and design a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process. Thematic analyses was employed to condense the data, search for codes, categories, themes, relationships and patterns in the data. Due to the research approach and design, data analysis was ongoing and informed design and development of the practice model. Based on the thematic analysis and synthesis both descriptive and analytic themes emerged. To ensure trustworthiness, this study employed various strategies to strengthen commitment, rigour, transparency and coherence. In addition, the participative research process, the inclusion of multiple forms of qualitative inquiry and the significance of the study contributed to the validity and quality of the study. Ethical considerations applicable to the study included participants' voluntary participation, their informed consent and ensuring participants' privacy or maintaining confidentiality. Various strategies were employed to prevent or minimise risk to participants.

The findings showed that formal sources of support, in particular, offer opportunities for parents to access individual and family counselling, parenting advice, and peer support. The study also highlighted the importance of recognising parents as a subsystem in the child justice system offers potential opportunities for inclusion of parents as co-facilitators of parenting programmes or support groups, as peer supporters during the child justice process. Parents' inclusion as a partner in the child justice system is highlighted as an opportunity for parents to be able to

participate in child justice fora, oversight committees and accreditation committees to influence policy, services and budget allocations for services to support parents of children in conflict with the law.

This study's contribution to the existing body of knowledge is an integrated, multi-disciplinary, multi-phase co-constructed practice model that would enable inclusion of, and support for, parents of children in conflict with the law prior to, during and after the child justice. The co-constructed practice model (a) involves a continuum of parent-centred support for and inclusion of parents prior to, during and after the child justice process; (b) advances an inclusive and collaborative child justice system that views parents as important stakeholders in determining the type of services they need and being involved in developing practice; and (c) promotes parents as equal partners in decision making and policy making to influence legislation, policy and practice in the child justice system.

Key words: child justice; parental support; practice model

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACVV	Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging
APO	Assistant probation officer
CBOs	Community based organisations
CCI	Children's court inquiry
CCL	Children in conflict with the law
CJ	Child Justice
CJA	Child Justice Act 75 of 2008
CJF	Child Justice Forum
CJO	Child justice official
CJOs	Child justice officials
CJP	Child justice process
CJS	Child justice system
CMR	Christelike Maatskaplike Raad
CR	Cross Reference
DoJ	Department of Justice
DSD	Department of Social Development
EAP	Employee assistance programme
EU	European Union
FAD	Families against Drugs
FAMSA	Families South Africa
FBOs	Faith based organisations
FGC	Family group conference
IDD	Intervention design and development
JJ101	Juvenile Justice 101
KD	Knowledge development
KU	Knowledge utilisation
LASA	Legal Aid South Africa
LDAC	Local Drug Action committee
MST	Multi Systemic therapy
NDMP	National Drug Master Plan
NDP	National Development Plan
NGOs	Non-governmental organisations

NICRO	National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders
NMU	Nelson Mandela University
NPA	National Prosecuting Authority
NYDP	National Youth Development Plan
OSCJC	One Stop Child Justice centre
P/O	Probation officer
PAR	Participatory action research
PI	Preliminary Inquiry
PLL	Parenting with Love and Limits
RAR	Reception, Assessment and Referral
RJ	Restorative Justice
RJC	Restorative Justice Conference
SANCA	South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence
SAPS	South African Police Service
SGB	School governing body
SNAP	Stop Now and Plan programme
SW	Social worker
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the rights of the child
US	United States
VOM	Victim offender mediation

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Parents play a pivotal role in supporting children, particularly supporting children at risk of developing offending behaviour and children in conflict with the law (CCL). Supporting parents' overall well-being is vital in ensuring that they are able to competently fulfil their parenting role and cope with the various stressors they face at an intrapersonal and interpersonal level. Supporting parents to cope with intrapersonal issues such as stress, anxiety or depression is critical in facilitating parents' mental health. Supporting parents must also include provision of services to parents to help them manage their interpersonal relationships, to strengthen their support networks and to increase their access to informal support. Macro-level stressors that affect parents' well-being and their access to informational, emotional, practical and professional support must be addressed. Both universal and targeted support to parents must be prioritised at policy and practice level. There is a need to facilitate targeted support for parents of children at risk of offending and CCL, especially helping parents to cope during the child justice process (CJP) and managing their children's challenging or substance abusing behaviour. The limited support available to parents of children at risk and CCL, both formal and informal support, affects parents' overall well-being, their ability to manage their children's behaviour during the CJP resulting in some children's recidivism. The lack of support services to parents at primary, secondary and tertiary prevention levels is characterised by a lack of inclusion of parents as service users and the lack of collaboration with parents so that they can inform, influence and co-develop support services to parents. The exclusion of parents and the lack of parent-focused support services are prevalent at an international, national, regional and local level. Legislation and policies do not consistently facilitate support for parents across their life span and particularly neglect provision of targeted support for parents as well as collaboration with parents in determining the type of support parents need.

The focus on parents in policy and practice has gained traction since the nineteen nineties with the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989) placing the spotlight on children's rights. Parents, as a target for services, are primarily linked to improved outcomes for children and their families. Underpinned by family- and child-centred policies, parents and parenting are increasingly viewed as a means to a better end for children and families (Daly, et al., 2015; Byrne & Margaria, 2014; Mokomane in Robila, 2014; Makiwane & Berry, 2013). This places parents in the unenviable position of being reduced to their parenting role to the exclusion of other roles they do or could fulfil in their families, community and society as a whole. Most countries' policies focus mainly on parenting support with few countries recognising the need for a comprehensive response in supporting parents' well-being. Provision of universal support at a primary prevention level, particularly in the interest of child protection, focused on providing parents with access to social grants, healthcare, parenting education and in some instances peer support (United Nations, 2001). Focusing on parenting support gave rise to the development of a plethora of parenting programmes for the respective child development stages. Most universal parenting programmes at primary prevention level were psycho-educational in nature (Boddy et al., 2009). Few targeted parenting programmes at secondary and tertiary prevention level engage both parents and children in joint therapeutic sessions or family counselling. The latter parenting support programmes have focused on parents whose children present with a variety of mental health and behavioural problems.

1.1.1 Legislative and Policy context

Parenting support and support for parents of children who present with at-risk or offending behaviour are reflected in the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (1985, part 1 [1.2 & 1.3]) and the United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (1990, IV, Paragraph 16). This is further supported by Article 20 (2 a & b) of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the African Child (1990). Gould and Ward (2015:2) argue that supporting parents is in the best interest of the country and that the Department of Social Development must play a leading role in coordinating support services to parents. Guided by the preceding policies internationally, parenting support

programmes for parents of children at risk and children in conflict with the law have mainly focused on parents as *service extenders*, to ensure that their children comply with any court orders or desist from the at-risk behaviour (Burke, Mulvey, Schubert, & Garbin, 2014). Very few programmes comprehensively target support for parents of children at risk and CCL as *service recipients* to address parent determined needs (Burke et al., 2014). Even fewer include parents as *service advocates* influencing policy and practice related to supporting parents (Burke et al., 2014). The White Paper on Families in South Africa (South Africa, Department of Social Development, 2012:39-42) identifies three strategic priorities namely: promotion of healthy family life, family strengthening and family preservation. Priority 1.8 recognising the provision of parental support programmes as a priority in enhancing *parents' ability and capability to protect children* (The White Paper on Families in South Africa, Department of Social Development, 2012:40). The Children's Act 38 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006) makes provision for the Children's Court to order a parent or guardian to participate in *early intervention or family preservation services*. Chapter 9, Section 150 (3) of the latter Act, extends the provision to children not found to be in need of care as described in Chapter 9 Section 150 (1) and (2) to ensure children and their parents receive therapeutic and non-therapeutic interventions as a measure of early intervention. Interventions for parents and children prescribed in Chapter 9, section 150 (Children's Act 38 of 2005) include counselling, mediation, prevention and early intervention, family reconstruction and rehabilitation, behaviour modification and problem solving.

The White Paper on Families in South Africa (2012:38) describes a continuum of services in support of families, and particularly parents, which include prevention, early intervention, statutory intervention, reunification and aftercare services. The Draft Integrated Parenting Framework (South Africa, Department of Social Development, 2011-12) attempts to unpack the support services that can be provided to parents throughout the child's lifespan giving some useful examples of parenting strategies. However, unlike the White Paper on Families in South Africa (South Africa, Department of Social Development, 2012) the Draft Integrated Parenting Framework (South Africa, Department of Social Development, 2011-12) fails to describe how the various parental support services can be implemented in an integrated manner within the various systems. Similarly, the Reviewed Minimum

Norms and Standards of Diversion (South Africa, Department of Social Development, 2015), which came into effect in April 2016, include Family Preservation as a standard to encourage participation of parents in family group conferences but falls short in describing concrete measures of facilitating the involvement of parents. This oversight is alarming given the importance of family and communities as support systems underpinned by the African principle of *Ubuntu* (Engelbrecht & Kasiram, 2012:441-442; Nussbaum, 2003:21; Kamwangamalu, 1999:24-26; Cattell, 1997:37). It is thus evident that, whilst various pieces of South African legislation and policies speak to the importance of providing support for parents and propose strategies or programmes for supporting parents, the application and integration of these proposed support strategies or programmes, especially in the Child Justice System, are not clear (Hargovan, 2013; Steyn, 2012; Reyneke & Reyneke, 2011). Furthermore, parents are excluded during the development of policies that affect them and limited opportunity exists for parents to co-develop the supportive strategies purported to support parents.

The Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) provides the legislative framework for dealing with **children in conflict with the law** (CCL). The Child Justice Act (South Africa, 2009) describes in detail what should happen when a child is in conflict with the law and emphasises the importance of holding children, particularly children aged 14 to 18 years, accountable for their actions. In instances where children have committed a crime while under the age of 18 years but is only charged with the crime between the ages of 18 and under 21 years, they are dealt with in terms of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009). The child justice process include the charge or arrest of the child, assessment of the child by a probation officer, the child's appearance at the preliminary inquiry, their inclusion in diversion programmes if they qualify or proceeding to trial followed by sentencing. Figure 1.1 depicts a child's journey through the child justice system.

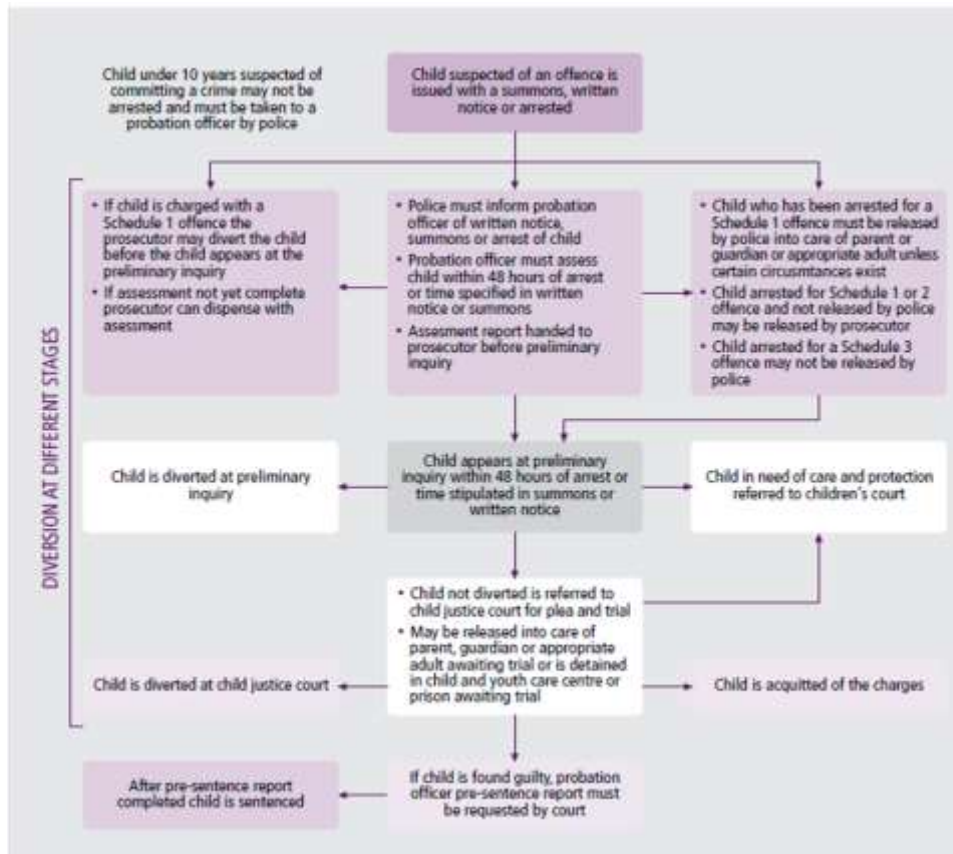


Figure 1.1: Map illustrating child's journey through the child justice system (Gallinetti, 2009:65).

Recognising the need to provide CCL opportunities to be diverted away from formal court proceedings the Act (Child Justice Act 75 of 2008) also emphasises placing children into parental care during the child justice process rather than detaining them in custody. Before the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) came into effect, the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006) as the primary legislation governing services to children specifically Chapter 9, Sections 150 (1) (b) (d) and (f) referred to children involved in criminal behaviour as falling within the ambit of *children in need of care*. This was particularly in cases of substance abuse, where children are involved in criminal activity in an attempt to meet their basic needs, or the parent/guardian cannot control their behaviour. The Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) therefore contains Section 41(4) which makes provision for cases of children in conflict with the law who are found to be in need of care to be converted to a children's court inquiry. Maintaining the child justice system separate from the child protection system ensures that children in conflict with the law are treated differently from children in need of care, however, both

systems strive to act in children's best interest as described in Section 7 (1) (a) through to (n) in the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006). This is in line with section 28(2) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 (South Africa, 1996) which states that the child's best interests are of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child.

During the child protection process the focus is on ensuring children's needs are met and that they are cared for within a safe home environment or placed in alternative care. Throughout the child justice process, the focus is on ensuring that the child is held accountable and that the interest of the child is balanced with the interest of the community. Once a decision is made within the child justice system or the child protection system on the fate of the child, both the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) and the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006) make provision for children to be placed into the care of their parents/guardians (Wakefield, 2015:18).

The placement of a child in conflict with the law into parental care is described in Chapter 4, Sections 21 and 22 of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009). It makes reference to a police officer having the discretion to release a child arrested for a schedule 1¹ offence, into the care of the parents prior to a probation officer's assessment. The Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) makes provision for children to be released into parental care subsequent to arrest, during the pre-trial phase or after sentencing. However, unlike in other countries, the SA legislation does not specify what measures must be taken to establish whether the parent, into whose care a child is released, has the capacity to provide appropriate care including supervision or monitoring and whether the parent can benefit from any support services (Varma, 2007; Woodcock, 2003).

Annually over eleven thousand CCL are diverted and are released into parental care with the view that the parents become responsible for ensuring that their children comply with court orders and desist from crime (Wakefield, 2015:15; Gallinetti & Kassan, 2007:28). In terms of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009)

¹ Schedule 1 offences refer to minor offences, which include theft below the value of R2500, common assault or malicious injury to property below the value of R1500.

non-compliance by the child as stated in Chapter 4, Section 24 (7) may result in the parent or guardian being fined or imprisoned for a period not exceeding three months. The emphasis on the role and responsibility of parents may stem from the view that “a child is...the product of parental influence and any manifested deficiencies, as evident in offending behaviour, are presumed to justify parental liability” (Riley, 2007:229). The United States and Europe hold parents liable for their minor children’s transgressions of the law and mandate their participation in parenting programmes or counselling (Brank, Lane, Turner, Fain & Sehgal, 2008:214; Le Sage & De Ruyter, 2008:789). Assigning parents these responsibilities and setting criminal liability for their child’s non-compliance to a court order is therefore not new in the field of child justice. Although the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) appears to follow the example set by the United States and Europe in assigning parents legal responsibility for ensuring their child’s compliance with court orders, it fails to mandate parents to participate in parenting programmes or to provide resources or programmes to support parents during the child justice process.

Children in conflict with the law are more likely to be exposed to negative parental and family attitudes or behaviours. This may include harsh punishment, parental substance abuse, domestic violence, lack of parental monitoring, lack of supervision, lack of encouragement and lack of support as well as parents’ inability to deal with the offending behaviour (Alboukordi, Nazari, Nouri & Sandeh, 2012:774; Poduthase, 2012:61, 63). It is recognised by the Children’s Act 38 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006) that parents have a legal responsibility towards their children and that in fulfilling this responsibility parents also have a right to access support services which can assist them when they struggle in fulfilling this responsibility. Parents of CCL have additional responsibilities during the CJP as they are expected to support and monitor their child and ensure their compliance to court ordered interventions.

A child’s entry into the child justice system could be viewed as a crisis for the parent or guardian and the family as a whole. They are often in a state of shock when notified by the police that the child has committed a crime (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015:210; Baumeister, De Wall, Vohs, & Alquist, 2010:6). During this time of shock and possibly disappointment and anger towards the child, parents are expected to

support the child during the child justice process and support their child's efforts to desist from crime. This implies that they have to focus on their child's needs and set aside their own need for support. Contrary to the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (Chapter 9, section 150) (South Africa, 2006) Chapter 4, Section 24 of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) does not make any provision for the parent to request or access support services. No programmes or services are offered to help parents in fulfilling their parental responsibility in providing appropriate care for their child, to manage their child's behaviour during and after the CJP or to support the parent during the CJP (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015; Abdulla, 2014; Steyn, 2012; Reyneke & Reyneke, 2011).

In establishing parents' needs in respect of their children in general, Gould and Ward (2015:3) found that more than 50 percent of parents wanted home-based support and parenting programmes to strengthen their parenting. Similarly, the majority of parents of adolescents in conflict with the law expressed the need for "counselling, support, information and guidance" throughout the child justice process (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015:215). Poduthase (2012:61,68) states that parents of children in conflict with the law find it difficult to deal with their child's offending behaviour and recommends that a "systemic family assessment must be conducted to assess the overall environment" and functioning of the family inclusive of the parent dyad. Several studies emphasise the multi-systemic approach in assessing and supporting parents of CCL rather than only focusing on the parent and family (Cluver et al., 2016; Meinck, Cluver, Boyes, & Mhlongo, 2015; McAlister & Carr, 2014; Farrington & Welsh, 2007; Riele, 2006; Gillies, 2005; Wotherspoon & Schissel, 2001). A comprehensive study commissioned by the South African Department of Social Development on departmental programmes for young people in conflict with the law (South Africa, Department of Social Development, 2008:104) emphasised that empowering parents through parenting skills programmes is critical in ensuring that parents are able to support their children who have been in conflict with the law. Parents expressed the need for skills to be able to cope with their child's clash with the law and their rehabilitation: the majority of parents failed to participate in available programmes offered by non-governmental organisations (South Africa, Department of Social Development, 2008:48, 80). Parents' failure to participate in parenting programmes, even in cases where they were mandated by

court, have been linked to the absence of intensive family therapy with a focus on parent-child relationships (Brank et al., 2008:213, 214; Rimkus, 2008:77).

Considering that the majority of children in conflict with the law seek guidance, advice and support from their parents (South Africa, Department of Social Development, 2008:84) it was critical for the current research study to take lessons from the findings made by Brank et al. (2008:213) about the mandatory involvement of parents of children in conflict with the law in intensive interventions. Furthermore, the recommendations made by child justice officials (Department of Social Development, 2008:85,104) that legislative measures similar to Section 4 (46) (g) (i), (ii) and (iii) of the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006) should be advocated to order parents to participate in parenting programmes may not necessarily encourage parents to participate in support programmes. Hence, the emphasis of the current research was to facilitate the participation of parents of CCL in the co-construction of a practice model to support them during the child justice process. The involvement of parents as a reference or working group (see chapter 4 section 4.4) throughout the research process strengthened ownership and ensured that the co-constructed practice model responds to the support needs expressed by parents whose children have been involved in the child justice system.

1.2 PROBLEM FORMULATION AND MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

As an integral part of the child's life, parents occupy a prime position to support and influence children who have clashed with the law. Despite reports of parents not accessing available parenting programmes it is important to investigate the reasons for their lack of participation in available parenting programmes and develop programmes that are responsive to parents' support needs in settings that they find accessible (South Africa, Department of Social Development, 2008:48, 80). Legislation, policies and regulations dealing with children in conflict with the law allude to the important role parents of CCL play in the child justice process; however, none of these documents specify how the parent, as an important role-player, can be supported during the child's journey through the child justice system.

The protection and care of all children are guided by the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006) which forms the basis for all statutory responses to children.

The latter Act also facilitates legal protection for children found to be in need of care whilst simultaneously ensuring that parents/guardians are supported in maintaining or resuming their parental responsibilities in respect of their children. The Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009), which is guided by the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006), deals with children in conflict with the law. The Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) and the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006) both aim to act in "the best interest of the child" and ensure that children as far as possible remain in parental care that responds to the children's needs. Section 1 of the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006) describes in detail the criteria that should be used when determining whether "care" is appropriate in relation to the needs of a child. In Section 1 of the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006) under the heading "care", a ten-point set of screening criteria provides sufficient guidance to officials working with children in establishing whether children are placed in care that is appropriate to their development. Although the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006) forms the basis for the Child Justice Act, the Child Justice Act's (75 of 2008, South Africa, 2009) omission of these criteria may inadvertently cause children in conflict with the law to be placed in parental care which does not comply with the aforementioned screening criteria. By implication, failing to identify potential shortcomings in the parents' ability or capacity to provide appropriate care deprives parents of the opportunity to access support services to strengthen their ability to provide appropriate childcare. Parents of children in need of care have access to a variety of parental support programmes and services within the child protection system to ensure that they are able to execute their parental responsibilities and cope with the demands of providing responsible childcare (CR chapter 7). However, the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) fails to make comparable provision for parents to receive support services to strengthen their ability to meet their children's needs and help their children who have been released into their custody desist from crime.

The motivation for the current study was therefore, to co-construct a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process. This research sought to facilitate the participation of parents of CCL and child justice officials in the design and development of a practice model for supporting parents of children who have been in conflict with the law thereby

strengthening the child justice system, in partnership with parents, as a safety net to prevent children's involvement in crime. This research aimed to address gaps in the application of policy and legislation in practice, and to involve parents and practitioners (as key stakeholders) in a participative process to address practice gaps within the Child Justice system.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION

The study sought to answer the following primary research question:

What practice model can be co-constructed to respond appropriately to the support needs of parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process?

The following secondary research questions were formulated:

1. What types of support do parents of children in conflict with the law need during the child justice process?
2. What are the existing practice models and potential sources of support for parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process?
3. What functional elements from existing practice models within the child protection system and potential sources of support can be integrated into a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process?
4. How can a co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law be tested and operationalised within the Child Justice system?

The following research goal and objectives were formulated to guide the research study.

1.4 RESEARCH GOAL AND OBJECTIVES

The overarching goal of this study was to strengthen the Child Justice system by co-constructing a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process. The research study achieved this goal by reaching the following objectives:

1. To explore and describe the types of support needed by parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process.
2. To identify and describe existing practice models within the child protection system and potential sources of support for parents of children in conflict with the law.
3. To identify functional elements from existing practice models and potential sources of support and match the functional elements with the identified support needs of parents of children in conflict with the law.
4. To co-design, develop and test a co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process.

In achieving the research goal and objectives, the study was framed in a theoretical context to clarify and support the selected research topic.

1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study was guided by two theoretical frameworks, the ecological systems model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986:723) and the buffering effect model (Cameron & Vanderwoerd, 1997:35) which will be briefly described in the ensuing section.

The ecological systems model posits that each individual functions as part of a wider system with the individual forming the nucleus of the system. Their family, peers and parents' social network form the microsystem and the relationships between various individuals in the microsystem form the mesosystem. The exo-system includes various organisations, groups or departments that do not directly have contact with parents but have an impact on parents and the macro system forming the wider society (Paat, 2013:955; Bronfenbrenner, 1986:723). The ecological systems model also describes the chronosystem, which comprises life transitions throughout an individual's life course. Neal and Neal (2013:725) state that, based on this theory, the systems are interdependent and have a direct or indirect influence on each other, thus, risk factors or unfulfilled needs in one system will have an effect on the other systems as well as require a response from these systems. Children's transgression of the law and their subsequent arrest can have far-reaching consequences for themselves and their relationships with parents

thereby affecting the parent-child subsystem and the community thereby affecting the macro-system (Bartlett, Holditch-Davies & Belyea, 2007:13).

In assessing a child in conflict with the law, the probation officer gathers information to expose needs, risks, and protective factors within each system to establish where interventions should be targeted. The assessment focuses not only on the child in conflict with the law but their family as well as their community. During assessment of the family, the needs of parents are not necessarily explored although they are expected to be the primary source of guidance and support for their child throughout the child justice process. Based on the support perspective, helping children, parents and families as a whole requires provision of various types of help and support to address the multitude of challenges and crises families' experience (Cameron & Vanderwoerd, 1997:3). This perspective promotes the understanding of parents' needs through assessment to establish the type of support that is needed and also to identify possible formal as well as informal sources of support that can be integrated to provide the necessary support. Based on the support perspective the buffering effect model explains how providing support to parents during a time of crisis helps them cope better with a crisis and increases their access to formal and informal sources of support, which in turn can strengthen their ability to support their child (Cameron & Vanderwoerd, 1997:3). The buffering effect model was employed in this study to understand how parents can be supported to help them cope during their child's journey through the child justice process and to increase parents access to formal and informal sources of support. The ecological systems basis of assessment and intervention with CCL is most visible in Chapter 8 Section 53 of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) which makes provision for the child's risk factors and needs identified within the micro- and meso-level to be addressed. Diversion options ranging from compulsory school attendance, family time order, peer association order, good behaviour order and community service order aim to address risk factors within the various systems. The Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) therefore recognises that responding to children in conflict with the law calls for an integrated systems approach which requires change to occur within each system of support to reduce the child's risk of reoffending and to increase the supportive factors. Although the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) makes provision for assessment to reveal the system level at which

interventions should be targeted, the focus of interventions is primarily on the child, and their participation or compliance with the chosen interventions. Interventions aimed at addressing the risk factors and increasing the protective factors at the micro- and meso-level are limited to parents or families' voluntary participation in parenting programmes or family counselling. Furthermore, interventions aimed at the community level involve a generic approach to community development inclusive of crime prevention rather than addressing the community risks associated with children's involvement in crime. It appears that interventions aimed at addressing the support needs of children, parents and their families at the meso-level are not strongly linked to individual risk factors and protective factors on a micro-level. The linkage between interventions aimed at addressing the risk factors identified at both the micro- and meso-level is even less clear at a macro-level pointing to the absence of an integrated multisystemic approach to dealing with children in conflict with the law and supporting them as well as their parents. The study focussed on exploring the type of support needed by parents of children in conflict with the law at the micro- and meso-level and co-constructing a practice model that would respond to the specific support needs of these parents throughout the child justice process.

1.6 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Child – A child refers to an individual between the ages of 0-18 as referred to in Chapter 2 (4) (1) (b) of the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006), particularly children as described in Chapter 2 (4) of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009), namely any person under the age of 18 years.

Child Justice Process – The child justice process refers to the statutory process through which children in conflict with the law are dealt with in terms of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009). The child justice process as depicted by Gallinetti (2009:65) includes the pre-trial, trial, pre-sentencing and sentencing stages of the child justice process.

Child Justice System – The child justice system refers to the various governmental departments and non-governmental organisations providing services to children in conflict with the law as prescribed by the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa,

2009). The child justice system in a multidisciplinary context involving various stakeholders including police, judiciary, prosecution, social development, education, corrections, health and legal aid (Gallinetti, 2009:13).

Co-construction – co-construction refers to knowledge sharing, collaborative knowledge development, reciprocal understanding or sense making, and joint learning or construction (Reusser & Pauli, 2015:913 cited in Wright, 2015).

Parent, guardian or caregiver – A parent or guardian or caregiver refers to an individual as defined in Section 1 of the Children’s Act 38 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006), and denotes “a parent or other person who has guardianship of a child” and a person who “has parental rights and responsibilities in respect of the child”. A parent is a person regarded by children as a parental figure that provides for their physical needs, protects them from harm and imparts skills and cultural values until they reach legal adulthood (Draft Integrated Parenting Framework, 2011:35). It is acknowledged that in South Africa many children are not raised or cared for by a biological parent therefore in the context of this study, the term ‘parent’ is used to denote an adult who is legally responsible for a child.

Practice model – The term practice refers to “know how’ or knowledge of how to do things and how to act” based on theory (Zuber-Skerritt, 2011:63). A model is “*the representation of a concept or system in a two- or three dimensional diagram... whether in language and/or graphics*” (Zuber-Skerritt, 2011:40-41). A practice model can therefore be understood as a model that describes how to practically implement an activity and is grounded in theory.

1.7 RESEARCH APPROACH, DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Qualitative research, rooted in the non-positivist paradigm (Zuber-Skerritt, 2011:80,100), is aimed at exploring, describing or evaluating a phenomenon using methods such as observation, interviews and focus groups (Engel & Schutt, 2005:16). Creswell (2003:5 cited in Delpont & Fouché in De Vos, Strydom, Fouché & Delpont, 2005:268) defines “design in the qualitative context as the entire process of research from conceptualising a problem, to writing the narrative”. According to Delpont and Fouché (in De Vos et al., 2005:269), the qualitative research design

differs from the quantitative research design in that it does not always follow a sequence of planned steps. Yardley (2000:217) adds that qualitative methods involve the co-construction of meaning about “truth”, “knowledge” and “reality” in context.

The study focused on the integration of level four participatory action research (Zuber-Skerritt, 2011:37; Turnbull, Friesen & Ramirez, 1998:181) and applied research particularly intervention research (Thomas & Rothman in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:3). Applied research seeks to answer questions that determine which interventions work, under which conditions interventions work best, and what changes are necessary to facilitate interventions that address practice problems. Level four participatory action research involves participants in an advisory capacity throughout the research process (Turnbull et al., 1998:181). This complements the applied research process as it facilitates participative planning, action (intervention) and reflection during the research process (Reason & Bradbury, 2001:1 cited in Zuber-Skerritt, 2011:37) to facilitate the collaboration of all stakeholders in the “design and conduct of all phases of the research process” (Turnbull et al., 1998:178).

This research study employed qualitative methods to explore, co-construct, describe and design solutions to problems experienced by practitioners and participants in the practice environment (Yardley, 2000:224) of the child justice system such as lack of parental involvement during the child justice process and lack of parental support programmes (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015). The decision to integrate intervention design and development with participatory action research for the study was motivated by its alignment to the working definition of action research (Altrichter et al., 1991:8 cited by Zuber-Skerritt, 2011:35, 63; Dick, 2003:1) where:

- a) people reflect on and improve (develop) their own work and their own situation;
- b) by tightly linking their reflection and action;
- c) participation in decision making;
- d) participation among members as part of a ‘critical community’ and
- e) learning progressively by doing and by making mistakes in a ‘self-reflective spiral’ of planning, acting, observing, reflecting re-planning, etc.

The research study also followed the systematic process of intervention design and development to ensure rigour in the research process (Zuber-Skerritt, 2011:38; Turnbull et al., 1998:178). Intervention research comprises knowledge development, knowledge utilisation, and design and development (Thomas & Rothman in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:3). Knowledge development seeks to generate insight into a phenomenon and add to existing knowledge or develop new knowledge (Thomas & Rothman in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:3). Knowledge utilisation focuses on generating knowledge that can be practically applied to understanding or solving problems in practice (Thomas & Rothman in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:3). Intervention design and development (IDD) employs various approaches that “construct a systematic methodology for evolving human service interventions” (Thomas & Rothman in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:3). As part of the research towards my Master’s degree (Abdulla, 2014), I engaged in knowledge development by exploring the experiences of parents in monitoring their adolescents’ compliance with diversion orders and making recommendations for practice as well as policy (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015). The current study builds on the preceding study (Abdulla, 2014) as it facilitates the active participation of parents of children in conflict with the law and child justice officials in co-constructing the design and development of a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process. The population for the current study included parents whose children had been involved in the CJS between June 2016 and November 2017 as well as child justice officials who had contact with parents during the CJP. Purposive non-probability sampling was employed to select participants based on the inclusion criteria (CR chapter 4 Table 4.1).

As depicted in Figure 1.2 below, the study integrated Zuber-Skerritt’s (2011:34) participatory action research cycles with Rothman and Thomas’ (Fawcett, et al., 1994 in Rothman and Thomas, 1994:26-49) phases of intervention design and development. Participatory action research (comprising of planning, acting, observing and reflecting) was integrated with the first four phases of Intervention design and development as described in Table 1.1 under the heading ‘project implementation process’ in this chapter. Phase five and six of the Intervention design and development process will form part of my post-doctoral research programme, as dissemination is an equally important part of the participatory

research process (Turnbull et al., 1998:179). The project implementation process for the research study describes each phase and the operations of the research that were engaged in to achieve the research goal and objectives.

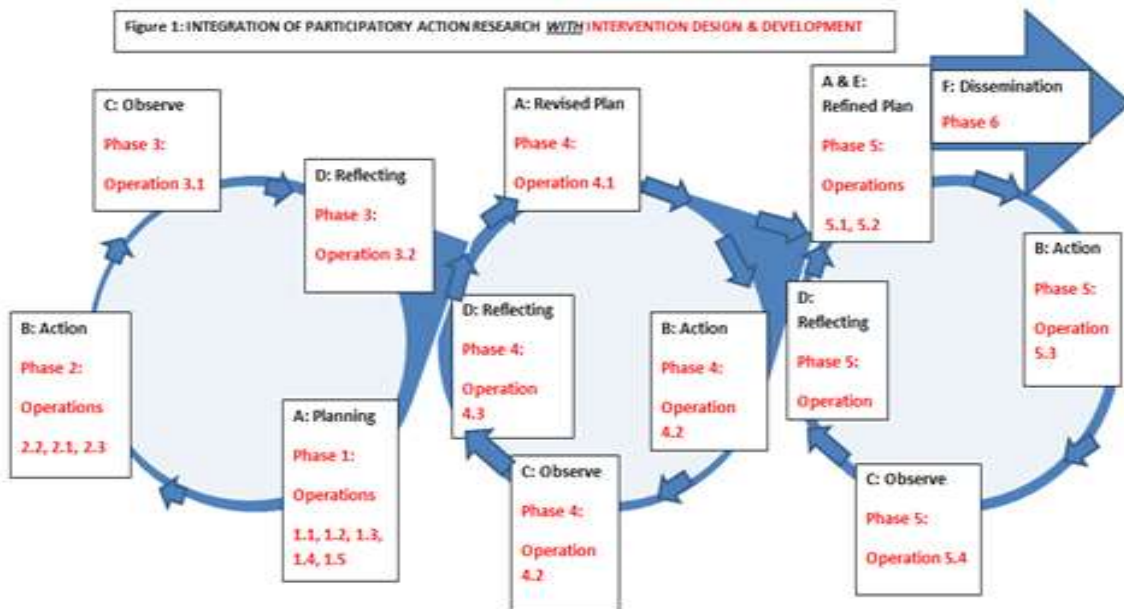


Figure 1.2: Integrative model of participatory action research and intervention research (Abdulla, 2018).

Participants were involved during the data collection process by participating in twelve focus groups during the following phases:

- Phase 1: Operation 1.3 Identifying concerns of participants involved one focus group with child justice officials from both research sites and one focus group held separately with parents of CCL.
- Phase 2: Operation 2.2 Studying natural examples involved one focus group with parents and child justice officials who participated in the focus groups during phase 1 to explore and identify existing practice models and sources of support for parents of CCL.
- Phase 3: Operation 3.1 designing an observational system involved one focus group with parents and child justice officials who participated in the focus groups during phase 2 to co-design an observational tool. Phase 3: Operation 3.2 Specifying procedural elements of the intervention involved one focus group with parents and child justice officials who participated in phase 2 & 3 to explore and identify procedural elements that must be

included in the design of the practice model. One reflection session with an expert panel (child justice forum) was consulted to review and give input on the identified procedural elements.

- Phase 4: Operation 4.2 involved conducting a pilot test, a focus group was conducted with parents and child justice officials who participated in the preceding phases as well as newly recruited parents who had experienced the preliminary practice model to gather data on their experiences of the preliminary practice model and to guide the refinement of the practice model.

In addition to the focus groups, observation sessions were implemented as follows: During phase 3: Operation 3.1 Designing and implementing the observational system three observation sessions were held at each research site; one during the pre-trial phase (arrest to preliminary inquiry), one observation session during the bail and trial proceedings and one observation session during the sentencing phase (incarceration and custody in a secure care centre). During phase 4: operation 4.2 when conducting a pilot test, three observation sessions were implemented at each research site during the pre-trial phase (arrest, detention awaiting preliminary inquiry, and diversion).

Each of the phases and operations are outlined in Table 1.1 together with the research methodology.

Table 1.1: Project Implementation process

INTERVENTION DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS FOR CO-CONSTRUCTING A PRACTICE MODEL FOR SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CHILDREN IN CONFLICT WITH THE LAW DURING THE CHILD JUSTICE PROCESS		
PHASES OF INTERVENTION DESIGN & DEVELOPMENT	OPERATIONS WITHIN EACH PHASE	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
Research objective 1: To explore and describe the types of support needed by parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process.		
<p>PHASE 1: Problem analysis and Project planning (Rothman & Thomas, 1994).</p> <p>This phase involves identifying the research problem through consultation with service participants, practitioners and field experts to gain a multi-perspective analysis of the problem and to guide the formulation of the research goals and objectives as well as develop or refine a project plan.</p>	<p>1.1 Identifying and involving participants</p> <p>This operation involves identifying the population from which the sample for the research was drawn. It involves setting sampling criteria to guide the selection of participants that made up the sample for the research.</p>	<p>Population and sampling procedure</p> <p>The population for the current study were parents of CCL who had been involved in the CJS during June 2016 and November 2017 and CJOs who had contact with parents. I employed a purposive non-probability sampling method to identify potential research participants from two populations namely parents of children in conflict with the law and child justice officials (CR chapter 4 section 4.5.2) (Olivier, 2006 in Jupp, 2006:244). The sampling criteria for inclusion in the current study were:</p> <p>Sampling criteria for parents: Participants had to be parents or guardians of children who were in conflict with the law and had been dealt with in terms of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009). Their children would have appeared at the Nerina One Stop Child Justice Centre in Port Elizabeth or the Reception, Assessment and Referral Centre in Uitenhage between June 2016 and November 2017 (CR Table 4.1).</p> <p>Sampling criteria for practitioners: Child justice officials who had dealt with or had contact with parents or guardians of children who were in conflict with the law and had been dealt with in terms of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008. The child justice officials were stationed at the Nerina One-Stop Child Justice Centre in Port Elizabeth and the Reception, Assessment and Referral Centre in Uitenhage between June 2016 and November 2017. At least one participant from each professional group/department involved in the child justice process was included in each focus group/reflection session (CR Table 4.1).</p>

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PHASES OF INTERVENTION DESIGN & DEVELOPMENT	OPERATIONS WITHIN EACH PHASE	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
	<p>1.2 Gaining entry and co-operation from settings</p> <p>This operation involves forming collaborative relationships with gatekeepers that will facilitate entry to the research site. This operation is important as it allows the researcher to involve practitioners (Zuber-Skerritt, 2011:52) and fostering ownership of the intervention design and development process (Fawcett et al. in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:29)</p>	<p>Entry to the research site: I sought academic and ethics approval for the research from the Departmental Research Committee and Faculty Postgraduate Studies Committee (FPGSC) of the Faculty of Health Sciences at the Nelson Mandela University. Upon approval of the proposal by the aforementioned committees I sought written approval from the Nelson Mandela Metro District Offices of the various departments or institutions involved during the child justice process to conduct the research at the two research sites and to involve their officials/employees as well as their clients who fit the sampling criteria in the research study (CR chapter 4 section 4.5.1).</p>
	<p>1.3 Identifying concerns of the population</p> <p>This operation involved engaging with participants in data generation within the research setting to explore and understand the problem from their perspective (Zuber-Skerritt, 2011:38). This process enabled me to gain insight into participants' experience of the problem, their ideas on what factors contributed to the problem and where the problem existed (Fawcett et al. in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:30).</p>	<p>Problem formulation</p> <p>Participants were identified by the respective departments based on the inclusion criteria as described in phase 1. I made telephonic contact, had individual meetings with the identified participants to briefly explain the purpose of the study, and established their willingness to be included in the study (Strydom, 2005 in De Vos et al., 2005:57, 59).</p> <p>Once participants' consent were secured the focus group discussions guided by an interview guide (Zuber-Skerritt, 2011:43-44) were held separately, one with the parents and one with the child justice officials. The focus group discussions were facilitated by me in the presence</p>

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PHASES OF INTERVENTION DESIGN & DEVELOPMENT	OPERATIONS WITHIN EACH PHASE	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
		of an interpreter where needed who also served as a moderator to observe, take notes and operate the audio-recorder (CR chapter 4 section 4.6.1).
	<p>1.4 Analysing identified concerns</p> <p>Analysis of the concerns or problems identified by the participants involves seeking explanations for the existence of the problem, exposing relationships between factors contributing to the problem and possible opportunities to address the identified concerns. The process of data analysis in qualitative research starts during the data collection process and is an ongoing process as it involves exploring emerging themes during data collection.</p>	<p>Data Analysis</p> <p>The data collected through the focus group discussions were analysed and interpreted following the phases or steps of qualitative data analysis as described by Engel and Schutt (2005:386) and Dey (2003:8). Ongoing Documentation of the data occurred during the process of data collection. The audio-recorded interviews were transcribed per participant and group. Data was managed by reading and annotating the data. The transcripts were read repeatedly and I made notes in the margin of the transcripts of my impressions of the participants' responses.</p> <p>The data was then organised into categories to create meaning and understanding of participants' responses. The participants were given an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of my findings and could make verbal or written submissions to add to or contest my findings. The data analysis was done under the supervision of the research supervisors, an independent coder was used to authenticate the data analysis, and the interpretation made from the data (CR chapter 4 section 4.8).</p>
	<p>1.5 Setting goals and objectives</p> <p>This involves refining the research goals to reflect the desired change identified during problem analysis and identification of elements to include in</p>	<p>Goal setting</p> <p>During the second focus group with participants, I shared the proposed goal and objectives of the study as well as the research project plan. Participants agreed that the research goal, objectives and project plan accurately reflected what needed to be achieved and how the goal could be achieved.</p>

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PHASES OF INTERVENTION DESIGN & DEVELOPMENT	OPERATIONS WITHIN EACH PHASE	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
	the intervention (Fawcett et al., 1994 in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:31).	
<p align="center">Research objective 2: To identify and describe existing practice models within the child protection system and potential sources of support for parents of children in conflict with the law.</p>		
<p align="center">Research objective 3: To identify functional elements from existing practice models and potential sources of support and match the functional elements with the identified support needs of parents of children in conflict with the law.</p>		
<p>PHASE 2: Information gathering and Synthesis (Rothman & Thomas, 1994).</p> <p>This phase involves conducting a focused literature review to “understand what others have done to understand and address the problem” (Fawcett et al., 1994 in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:32). The aim of the literature review in this phase of the study is to critically synthesise the available literature</p>	<p>2.2 Studying natural examples</p> <p>This operation involves engaging with participants experiencing the problem in identifying “interventions that might or might not succeed and the variables that may affect success” (Fawcett et al., 1994 in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:32)</p> <p>2.1 Using existing information sources</p> <p>This operation involves narrowing down the search for existing knowledge on the research topic by identifying key words or concepts that can be used when searching for “empirical research, reported practice, and identified innovations” related to the research</p>	<p>Identifying existing practice examples</p> <p>A combined focus group was conducted with participants aimed at identifying and exploring existing practice models and potential sources of support for parents of children in conflict with the law (CR chapter 7)</p> <p>Literature review</p> <p>In identifying the available literature and research studies, the key words that emerged during the focus group analysis during operation 2.2 and their synonyms were used to guide the search. To ensure rigour an experienced and authenticated subject librarian guided the focused literature search (CR chapter 2).</p>

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PHASES OF INTERVENTION DESIGN & DEVELOPMENT	OPERATIONS WITHIN EACH PHASE	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
<p>(Henning, van Rensburg & Smit, 2004:27) and involves the identification of functional elements from existing interventions that can be integrated into the design of the parental support intervention.</p>	<p>topic (Fawcett et al. in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:32).</p>	
	<p>2.3 Identifying functional elements of successful models</p> <p>This operation involves analysing the information gathered during the literature review and focus group with the view to identify “critical features of the programs and practices that have previously addressed the problem of interest” (Fawcett et al., 1994 in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:32).</p>	<p>Identification of functional elements</p> <p>Based on the data collected during the literature review and the consultation with the participants during the preceding operation, we developed a list of functional elements and potential sources of support that have been found to address the support needs of parents in general and in particular, parents of children in conflict with the law. The functional elements were matched with the participants’ needs identified during phase one operation 1.5. (CR chapter 8, Table 8.1).</p>
<p align="center">Research objective 4: To co-design, develop and test a co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process.</p>		

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PHASES OF INTERVENTION DESIGN & DEVELOPMENT	OPERATIONS WITHIN EACH PHASE	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
<p>Phase 3: Design</p> <p>This phase involves describing the “relationship between the intervention and the behaviours or outcomes that define the problem of interest” and the intervention needed to affect the specified behaviours or outcomes (Fawcett et al., 1994 in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:34).</p>	<p>3.1 Designing an observational system</p> <p>This operation involves the design of an observation method that will facilitate the identification of the extent of the problem within its context, specifying the behaviours, conditions or procedures that need to be addressed through the intervention and describing the outcomes (indicators) that should be observed following the intervention (Fawcett et al., 1994 in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:34). The observation tool describe how many people and which people must be observed, the site/s of observation, the stage of observation and the intervals within and between observation sessions (Fawcett et al. in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:34).</p>	<p>The observational method</p> <p>We utilised the data collected during the preceding phases to co-design an observation tool with participants that reflected statements describing the antecedent conditions to the behaviour that need to be changed, the response to these antecedent conditions (behaviours) and what behaviours occurred following intervention (consequences or outcomes) (Fawcett et al., 1994 in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:34). In line with the selected theoretical framework for the study, namely the Ecological systems model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986:723), the observational tool (CR addendum 4.5) was divided into sections that reflect parents contact at each stage of the child justice system as this enabled observers to measure “behaviour-environment relationships and the conditions under which they are applicable” at each stage of the child justice process (Fawcett et al., 1994 in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:35).</p>
	<p>3.2 Specifying procedural elements of the intervention</p> <p>This operation involves gathering information through naturalistic observation and consultation with participants on the procedural elements</p>	<p>Specifying procedural elements</p> <p>Based on the reports from the observations and the reflection session with “procedural elements that (could) be used in the intervention” were identified and described (Fawcett et al., 1994 in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:35). These included detailed descriptions of specific “information, skills, and training for their acquisition, environmental change strategies, policy change or enforcement strategies” as part of the intervention (Fawcett et al., 1994 in Rothman</p>

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PHASES OF INTERVENTION DESIGN & DEVELOPMENT	OPERATIONS WITHIN EACH PHASE	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
	that can be incorporated in the preliminary intervention concept.	& Thomas, 1994:35). We involved an expert panel in the form of the Child Justice Forum to review and give input on the procedural specifications.
<p>Phase 4: Early development and pilot testing (Rothman & Thomas, 1994)</p> <p>This phase involves the development of a preliminary intervention that can be tested under field conditions to enable the application of the design criteria (Fawcett et al., 1994 in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:36).</p>	<p>4.1 Developing a preliminary intervention</p> <p>This operation involves the detailed description and selection of an intervention that can be implemented during a pilot test. The implementation and testing of the intervention were clearly specified to facilitate testing and feedback from participants as well as observers to enable continuous refinement of the intervention.</p> <p>4.2 Conducting a pilot test</p> <p>This operation involves implementing the preliminary intervention to pilot test its responsiveness to addressing the problem of interest and achieving the desired outcome. The pilot test is done in a setting similar to the field setting and involves observing the effect of the preliminary intervention on the problem of interest and the effect on the</p>	<p>Developing an intervention for testing</p> <p>We developed a preliminary practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process. The functional elements identified during the phase two operation 2.3 and the procedural elements specified during phase three operation 3.2 were incorporated into the development of the intervention.</p> <p>Pilot testing</p> <p>The practice model was tested at both research sites during pre-trial stage of the child justice process and seventeen observation sessions were done during the pilot testing phase (CR chapter 4, section 4.7). A focus group at each research site was co-facilitated by me and two parents to gather information on participants' experience of the implementation of the preliminary practice model and to gain feedback on how it could be refined or improved. To make provision for attrition rates, a core group of participants from both sample groups participated and new participants were included provided they fitted the sampling criteria. Data gathered from the observations and from participants during the focus groups were analysed and functional as well as procedural elements necessary for improving or refining the practice model were incorporated.</p>

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PHASES OF INTERVENTION DESIGN & DEVELOPMENT	OPERATIONS WITHIN EACH PHASE	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
	<p>specified behaviour-environment relationship after its implementation.</p>	
	<p>4.3 Applying design criteria to the preliminary intervention concept</p> <p>This operation involves specifying the design criteria to apply in determining if the preliminary intervention is able to achieve the aim of the research and address the problem of interest.</p>	<p>Design criteria</p> <p>We applied a set of design criteria based on the functional elements identified during phase two operation 2.3 and the procedural elements that guided the refinement of the preliminary practice model. These design criteria guided the refinement of the model to ensure effectiveness, replicability, efficiency, practicality, adaptability and responsiveness to the population's needs.</p>

1.8 ENSURING RIGOUR IN RESEARCH PROCESS

This study was guided by Yardley's (2000:221-224) criteria for ensuring commitment, rigour, transparency and coherence in the research process. According to Yardley (2000:221), commitment involves "prolonged engagement with the topic, the development of competence and skill in methods used and immersion in data" that were collected as described in phases two and three in the project implementation process contained in this chapter (CR chapter 4 section 4.9.1). Rigour refers to the collection of data to the point of saturation and the thorough analysis as well as interpretation of data (Yardley, 2000:221-222) as described in detail in operation 1.4 in the project implementation process contained in this chapter.

Rigour was further strengthened as the findings were generated from interviews conducted by me, observations recorded by independent trained observers and verified by an independent coder as well as the research supervisors. Transparency involves a clear and plausible account of the research process while coherence refers to the "fit" between the "research question, the methods of investigation and the analysis followed" (Yardley, 2000:222). Transparency and coherence was strengthened by maintaining accurate typed records of the data collection and analysis process used as well as making audio-recordings of the focus group interviews and reflection sessions with participants and observer records. To judge the validity and quality of the participatory action research process and outcomes, Reason's (2006 cited in Coghlan & Brannick, 2010:145) choice points, were considered and applied particularly the study being explicitly participative, in research with, for and by people rather than on people. To ensure "reflexivity", I maintained field notes throughout the research process as further evidence of authenticity of the research process, particularly the data collection process (Yardley, 2000:222).

1.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics in research refers to the moral principles and prescripts, that should be adhered to by researchers during the research process and their interaction with the research participants. Ethical guidelines therefore serve as standards and a

basis against which each researcher ought to evaluate his own conduct (Strydom, 2005 in De Vos et al., 2005:57). The ethical issues of voluntary participation, informed consent, confidentiality and privacy (CR chapter 4 section 4.11) were relevant in the study:

Voluntary participation in the research process implies that participants fully understand the research purpose, process, the benefits and risks involved before they agree to participate in a research study (Vanclay, Baines & Taylor, 2013:247). Participants must participate in the research of their own volition and must understand that they can withdraw their participation during any stage of the research process. All participants in the current study received written and verbal information on the scope of the study, the research process, the benefits and risks involved in the study as well as their right to withdraw from the research at any point. Participants voluntarily participated for the duration of the study with some participants also volunteering to co-facilitate parent focus groups during the pilot testing phase (CR chapter 4 section 4.11.1). Williams et al. (1995 cited by Strydom in De Vos et al., 2005:59) state that informed consent implies that all possible or adequate information on the goal of the research study and the procedures, which were followed during the research, has been communicated to potential participants prior to their consent. Participants must also be aware of the possible advantages, disadvantages and dangers to which participants may be exposed, as well as the credibility of the researcher, were given to potential participants or their legal representatives (Williams et al., 1995 cited by Strydom in De Vos et al., 2005:59). All participants in the study who were deemed to be competent adults with the capacity to sign a written consent form were provided with all relevant information pertaining to the study to ensure that their consent was based on accurate information. Parents that had been involved in a crime with their child and or had been a victim of the crime committed by their child were excluded from the research study to limit prejudice or secondary trauma. I endeavoured to ensure that participants' right to confidentiality and privacy was respected using the informed consent form, which was explained to participants before they consented to participate in the research study. I anonymised data collected after transcription to further protect the privacy of participants. The observers, independent coder, moderator and the transcriber were all required to sign a confidentiality agreement

to destroy all records related to the research study once they had completed their tasks and to maintain confidentiality on any identifying or personal information of participants. Participants' names, addresses, contact details, audio-recordings and transcriptions of the interviews will be retained for five years as prescribed by the Nelson Mandela University's Research Ethics Committee.

1.10 STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

Chapter one provides a background to the study topic, as well as the legislative, policy and practice context focusing on supporting parents, particularly parents of children in conflict with the law. The chapter highlights the international and national legislative foundation for ensuring policies and practice focusing on parents as an important role player in responding to child protection and child justice issues. The ecological systems model and the buffering effect model are briefly discussed as the theoretical lens for exploring the types of support parents need during the child justice process. The research aim and objectives of the study were presented in relation to the research problem followed by a concise discussion of the research methodology. The strategies employed to ensure trustworthiness and the ethical issues considered during this study are described. The systematic research approach and process followed through the integration of participatory action research and intervention design and development are graphically presented and discussed.

Chapter two provides a comprehensive overview of the existing literature in discussing the emerging concepts related to the topic in an effort to expose the literature gap where the current study envisages making a contribution in closing this knowledge gap. The narrow focus on parents as caregivers is elaborated on as contributing to parents being excluded from universal and targeted services resulting in parents' support needs not being addressed at primary, secondary and tertiary prevention levels. The need for programmes or services at the secondary prevention level for parents of children at risk of offending is unpacked. The child justice system as a context for supporting parents is discussed and the paucity of research on the topic is evident with a few international studies cited and three South African studies cited. Child justice officials' capacity and skills to support

parents during the child justice process is discussed with reference to their professional training.

Chapter three presents and discusses the theoretical lens that framed this study namely, (a) the ecological systems model as a conceptual framework for understanding parents within the context of their family, their communities, the various social groups they are linked to, the various organisations/departments and the structural factors that affect or influence parents and the provision of support to parents and (b) the buffering effect model which explains parents' need for informal and formal support during times of crisis.

Chapter four presents the research methodology employed in this study, the research approach, namely the qualitative approach and the integrated research design, namely, participatory action research and intervention design and development. The two designs are unpacked separately and the process of integration and its application in the study is elaborated upon. The population and sampling for the study is discussed with tables presented of the participant demographics. The data generation and data analysis process employed in the study is discussed referring to the phased approach used to code, categorise and develop themes based on the transcribed focus group interviews and observation field notes. The pilot testing of the practice model and refinement based on the outcome of the pilot test is discussed noting conditions and specific aspects of the model that was tested then refined. The ethical issues considered and the implementation of various strategies to maintain ethical standards throughout the research process are discussed. The effectiveness of these strategies are reflected upon and limitations identified during the study are described with explanations for these limitations.

Chapter five presents the findings of the study and discusses the themes that emerged in relation to research objective one, namely, to explore and describe the types of support needed by parents of CCL during the CJP. The chapter presents an in-depth discussion of themes three and four along with their sub-themes, categories and supporting excerpts from parent reflections. Theme three, namely, the support needs of parents of CCL describes parents' informational, emotional and practical support needs during the child justice process. Theme four, namely,

support seeking efforts by parents of CCL exposes support seeking activities engaged in by parents prior to and during the child justice process. Similarities and differences between themes that emerged from parents and child justice officials are presented and briefly discussed with reference to the overwhelming similarities in the findings from the two participant groups.

Chapter six presents a discussion on the synthesis of the findings and literature control. The four analytic themes that were distilled from the descriptive themes are presented: Theme 1, parent-focused prevention services, is discussed with reference to the need for universal primary prevention services to address the adverse socio-economic conditions faced by parents. Support or lack of support, for parents to cope with their adolescents' substance abuse and their resultant entry into the child justice system is discussed in the context of existing legislation. Theme two, namely, accessible social work services for parents elaborates on the need for more social workers to be available and accessible for parents within community settings. Theme three focuses on family centred assessment and intervention discussing the importance of probation officers' assessment and interventions being based on the systems approach and the strengths' based approach to understand children's offending behaviour within their family context. Theme four discusses the need for an inclusive and collaborative CJS that views parents as an important stakeholder that must be involved and consulted during the CJP and beyond.

Chapter seven's discussion relates to research objectives two and three, namely, the findings in respect of potential sources of support for parents of CCL and the functional elements from existing practice models that can be matched with the identified support needs of parents of CCL. The first half of the chapter presents the informal sources of support identified by parents in the study and discusses the potential formal sources of support for parents within the local child protection sector as well as their functional elements that match parents' support needs. The second half of the chapter presents and discusses the various programmes or services for parents of CCL, locally and internationally, that participants identified as reflecting the functional elements that could match the support needs of parents. The chapter presents an overview of the various services and programmes, highlights their service focus as it pertains to parents, their theoretical approach where available

and synthesises how the service or programme, including its functional elements, matches the support needs of parents at the three prevention levels.

Chapter eight describes the empirically based design criteria employed during model development. The systematic integration of the findings is presented to show how each research objective was achieved and points to the integration of theory, empirical research, and literature during the development process. The functional elements included in the development and design, namely, integrative, multi-stakeholder, collaborative, multi-level and multi-model approaches are discussed. Elements of the preliminary practice model that was pilot tested are described together with the refinement process. The necessity to support parents as service users and service advocates within the various systems where parents need support is elaborated on in terms of how parents can assume meaningful roles within these systems. The practice model co-constructed by the group is presented graphically with each element of the model discussed in depth and in relation to parents' support needs as well as opportunities for parents' inclusion in and beyond the child justice system. The role of child justice officials and their respective departments in supporting parents is presented within each phase and the child justice forum's role in facilitating inclusion of parents is highlighted.

Chapter nine summarises each chapter of the thesis and presents conclusions based on the findings. An evaluation of the achievement of the research aim and objectives is presented. Reflection on the research methodology's applicability and its limitations are discussed. The recommendations section is divided into subsections focusing on legislative/policy, practice and research recommendations noting important areas for consideration by government, practitioners, academics and researchers. Recommendations are also made for future research and a plan for dissemination of the present study's results is offered.

1.11 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter introduced the topic of this research study providing a contextual background on the relevance of the study by situating it within the legislative, policy, practice and literature context. The main thesis of this study is that parents of CCL need informal and formal support. However, the lack of literature and research on

the support parents of CCL need, and how they can be supported during the CJP process, was evident. This identified gap underpinned the motivation for this study, and the legislative mandate for governments to support parents further strengthened the motivation for this study. The research questions and research aim were presented to guide the co-construction of a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law. The theoretical models framing the study are summarised and their applicability to the study motivated. Key terms contained in the study's topic were defined followed by an overview of the research process and methodology employed in the study. The integrated research design was presented and explained in a systematic manner to describe the research process including sampling, data collection, data analysis and pilot testing. Strategies employed to ensure trustworthiness and ethical conduct were described followed by a description of the layout of the report.

The following chapter will present the findings of the literature review to contextualise the current study and motivate how this study will contribute to the existing knowledge gap.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter provided an overview of the focus of the present study highlighting some of the literature related to the study topic. This chapter presents a discussion on the existing literature related to supporting parents in general and more particularly parents of children in conflict with the law. The discussion will help elucidate the key concepts and discussions related to the research topic, contextualise the current study and situate the study within the current available literature. The purpose of a literature review is to familiarise a researcher with what has been written about the topic under study, what research has been conducted and the findings, and to determine what the main themes, theories and concepts are related to the topic, and then to discuss the findings of this study in respect of the literature review (Machi & McEvoy, 2012:4). The literature review also helps to determine the areas related to the topic that have been under-researched or where there are existing research gaps as this helps the researcher refine the focus of the study to address some of these gaps thereby adding to the existing knowledge (Booth, Papaioannou & Sutton, 2012:7). To ensure a comprehensive literature search, a subject specialist librarian was contracted for the present study's literature search and together with me searched key terms and their synonyms, limiting the search to publications from the year 2000. The literature search went beyond the year 2000 when the search produced limited literature and when searching for the origin of key discussions related to the topic. The key terms used during the search included "supporting parents", "parenting support", "supporting parents of children at risk", "supporting parents of delinquents/CCL/juveniles", "prevention services with parents" and "parenting services/programmes/practice models". In line with the iterative nature of qualitative research the search for parenting support services/programmes and practice models, was guided by participants' suggestions of types of services or programmes they wanted to explore for consideration during the design phase of the present study. The results of that search are comprehensively presented in chapter seven of this research report. Various search

engines were used including, but not limited to, Google Scholar and the sources accessed included Digital Commons, Findplus, Multidatabase platform on the Nelson Mandela University Library website, EBSCO, E-books, E-journals, Government policies, legislation and Harzings Publish or Perish. The search resulted in books, journal articles, policies, legislation, conference papers, newspaper articles, websites, unpublished articles/papers and theses being included in the literature review. Mendeley was used as a reference manager to store and organise the literature while Harzings was used to review the number of articles written by a particular author and identify the number of citations for each article. In total, eight hundred and four (804) articles, theses and documents were found with about half focusing on supporting parents of children aged 0 to 12 years, supporting parents of children with physical or mental health related issues, parents as partners in children's education and supporting parents with intrapersonal issues such as anxiety, intellectual disabilities and stress. Four hundred and seventy-five (475) of these articles/documents related to parents of adolescents, child/juvenile justice involved children and parents, policies, legislation or programmes/services related to parents. The literature reviewed for the present study also included literature focusing on supporting parents and is presented in the ensuing sections under the main headings of supporting parents, supporting parents of children at risk, followed by supporting parents of children in conflict with the law.

2.2 DEFINING “SUPPORTING PARENTS”

The notion of supporting parents is not new, however, instead of using the phrase “supporting parents” the common phrase used in the literature is “parenting support” (Daly, Bray, Brukauf, Byrne, Margaria, Pećnik & Samms-Vaughan, 2015; Molinuevo, 2013; Daly, 2011; Boddy, Statham, Smith, Ghate, Wigfall, Hauari, Canali, Danielsen, Flett, Garbers & Milova, 2009). Parenting support, according to these authors, refers to providing parents' with resources, services and support to ensure that they are competent in fulfilling their parenting role. The definition implies that any support offered to parents is focused on improving their parenting practices and is ultimately aimed at improving children's developmental outcomes. Therefore, the direction of support is primarily aimed at parenting practice rather than the parent as a person in their totality. Roman (2014:5) explains that supporting parents' overall well-being is linked to better

outcomes for children. The phrase “supporting parents”, although focused on the parent, takes into account the parent as a person, a spouse/partner, a parent as caregiver, and any other role they need to fulfil within and beyond their family context. This is due to them performing multiple roles and being connected to various relationships and systems in which they may need resources, services or support. Only providing parenting support may be considered one dimensional in focus given parents’ multidimensional roles and contexts. Emphasis on parenting support also places parents at the centre of ensuring better childhood outcomes and when they are perceived not to fulfil the role they may be judged negatively. Gillies (2005) cautions against only providing parents with parenting skills and then expecting them to be self-reliant or resourceful in addressing all their children’s needs despite multiple risk factors. The author points out that supporting parents involves government policy and practice creating an enabling environment where macro-level stressors such as unemployment, poverty, inequality and social exclusion are addressed to provide a favourable environment where parents can thrive (Gillies, 2005). Supporting parents requires that one understands the structural or macro-level factors that influence them, their children, their families and their communities. The effect of parents having to deal with multiple stressors requires government to support parents beyond their parenting needs. For the purpose of this study, the phrase “supporting parents” is used instead of parenting support, as parents in the present study required different types of support at an intrapersonal level, interpersonal level and particularly during their engagement with various systems. The macro-level stressors such as poverty, unemployment and social exclusion also influenced parents’ support needs affecting their experience prior to, during, and after the CJP (Montgomery, Chaviano, Rayburn & McWey, 2017:1152, Abdulla & Goliath, 2015; Abdulla, 2014).

2.2.1 Policies for supporting parents

The idea of supporting parents is embedded in various arenas ranging from legislation, policy, research and practice, with each arena presenting a rationale why parents must be supported and how they should be supported. The main reason cited for supporting parents relates to improving parenting practice as it links to children’s overall well-being. Therefore, parenting interventions are the primary method of improving parenting and supporting parents. Various studies cite the legislative and policy focus for supporting parents and government’s responsibility

to ensure that parents have access to a variety of resources, services and programmes to fulfil their parental role thereby ensuring better outcomes for their children (Daly et al., 2015; Byrne & Margaria, 2014; Mokomane in Robila, 2014; Makiwane & Berry, 2013). In line with Article 181 of the UN CRC (United Nations, 1989) supporting parents is obligatory and governments have a stake in ensuring their legislation, policies and practice facilitates support to parents, particularly parents exposed to poverty having access to social grants (Daly et al., 2015; Byrne & Margaria, 2014; Mokomane in Robila, 2014; Makiwane & Berry, 2013). Governments have responded to this obligation in different ways with some adopting a welfare approach and others adopting a social development approach. The welfare approach involves government agencies assisting and providing services to citizens when they are unable to help themselves rather than facilitating collaboration with citizens (Midgley, 2014:56; Mbedzi in Schenck, Mbedzi, Qalinge, Schultz, Sekudu & Sesoko, 2015:52). The South African post-apartheid government promotes a social development approach, which emphasises human rights, equality, collaboration, social justice and social as well as economic inclusion (Midgley, 2014:17, Mbedzi in Schenck, et al., 2015:53). Research has been conducted in several countries to explore their policies and practice in supporting parents (Daly et al., 2015; Molinuevo, 2013; Daly, 2011). Depicted in Table 2.1 below, it was found that most countries have three areas of foci in terms of the outcomes they want to achieve through their parenting support efforts (Daly et al., 2015).

Table 2.1: Different outcomes for supporting parents (adapted from Daly et al., 2015:8-9)

SUPPORTING PARENTS TO ACHIEVE BETTER OUTCOMES FOR CHILDREN	SUPPORTING PARENTS TO ACHIEVE BETTER PARENTING OUTCOMES	SUPPORTING PARENTS TO ACHIEVE BETTER OUTCOMES FOR FAMILIES
Promoting children's rights	Improving parental competence.	Improving family functioning.
Preventing children's risks	Improving parental engagement with the children's development.	Improving child rearing.
Enabling positive early childhood development.		Preventing child-family separation.
Addressing aggressive anti-social behaviour in adolescents.		Supporting family as an institution and a way of life.

The glaring gap in these policies is the lack of a holistic focus on parents and practices that takes into consideration the various stressors parents experience over their life course and that of their children and family. The focus on parenting support also seems to ignore the variety of stressors parents experience within the various systems, particularly the macro level stressors that impact parents. Focusing on parents in the context of family policy emerged during the late 1940s in European countries (Pedersen, 1993). The United Nation's "Year of the Family" in 1994 saw many countries developing or solidifying their family policies or interventions (Division for Social Policy and Development, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, 2001). South Africa, in particular in the latter research report to the United Nations, cited that the country did not have a family policy, however, viewed the late 1990s transformation of the child and youth care system led by an inter-ministerial committee as part of its progress towards a family policy. South Africa's Draft National Family Policy (Hochfeld, 2007) and the White Paper on Families (South Africa, 2012) currently guide support and services to families including parents. Despite "parenting support" being a core focus of Unicef's social protection agenda, developing policies on supporting parents has only emerged since 1997, as in most countries parenting support is contained in child and family policies (Daly et al., 2015). The danger of this oversight is that parents are overlooked or marginalised in terms of available policies and practices resulting in parents often being excluded or services to parents being fragmented. Daly et al. (2015:9) add that parents' voice and influence on policy and practice is limited in most countries and warrants the need for increased efforts for parents' inclusion and meaningful consultation in issues affecting them. Countries found to have clear parent support policies include England, Jamaica, the Philippines, Sweden, and France (Daly et al., 2015; Daly, 2011; Boddy et al., 2009). England seems to have the most developed infrastructure and services, while Jamaica includes strong elements of governance, monitoring and consultation (Daly et al., 2015). In her review of parenting policies and practice across the EU, Daly (2011) found that most countries recognised the importance of having a parent support policy to guide practice and cited France's example of parenting support committees as an implementation and coordination body for their family centres. Some countries are developing parent support policies and have some form of parenting support practice already established, more at local and regional level than at national level

(Molinuevo, 2013). South Africa seems to fall in the latter category as supporting parents as a policy focus was embedded in their Draft National Family Policy (Hochfeld, 2007) and features in its White Paper on Families (Department of Social Development, 2012). However, parents do not explicitly feature as a distinct focus in the current South African policy. The Draft Integrated Parenting Framework tries to move the country closer to recognising the need for supporting parents as a social development focus (Department of Social Development, 2011) however, fail to do so progressively.

South Africa, has adopted a social development approach aiming to support parents within the context of their families and communities through various interventions (Shanks & Danzinger, 2011 in Jenson & Fraser, 2011). The impact of government's failure to address issues related to socio-economic development has been highlighted by various studies as contributing to parents' need for support (Ward, Makusha & Bray, 2015; Delany, Graham & Ramkissoon, 2008). Gillies (2005) also found that South Africa's policies are perpetuating the notion that parents must address stressors such as unemployment and poverty fuelled by macro-level factors on their own and manage their parenting responsibilities in spite of these factors. The approach of supporting parents in the context of a social development approach, although present in policy, does not seem to translate fully into practice particularly in South Africa. Roman (2014:14) also found that limited research exists in South Africa on parents and parenting support.

2.2.2 Interventions to support parents

A review of interventions aimed at supporting parents revealed several programmes with varying focus areas (CR chapter 7). In research conducted on eight countries' family policies and practice, including South Africa, it was found that a variety of interventions were offered to support families (Division for Social Policy and Development, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, 2001). These support services are depicted in the table below:

Table 2.2: Support services for families (Approaches to Family Policies: A Profile of Eight Countries (United Nations, 2001)

POVERTY ERADICATION PROGRAMMES	HEALTH PROMOTION	CHILD CARE
Income support schemes	Nutritional and rehabilitative assistance	Early childhood development programmes
Social welfare grants	Information & education on family planning	Indigenous Programmes
Provision of food		Promoting social equality
Maintenance grants	Information & education on health issues	Increasing access to economic opportunities
Tax credits		
Education	Counselling	Role of fathers
Public education through workshops, lectures and media on: Communication within families; Family roles & responsibilities; Support and resources for families; Parenting skills; supporting parents to improve child outcomes	Individual, family and couple counselling for: Domestic violence, marital breakdown, youth at risk of entering the juvenile justice system and their parents.	Workshops and education on the active child rearing role of fathers & gender equality

From the above table it is evident that most countries included in the UN study recognised that families, and by default parents, need a variety of services to address the multiple challenges experienced particularly in developing countries. The movement towards family policy and practice, although important, failed to recognise that parents themselves require focused interventions suited to supporting the parents not only in fulfilling their parental roles but also in their overall functioning. Some countries have made strides in understanding and developing both policies and practice specifically geared towards supporting parents. These policies accommodate the different types of parents, including single parents, same sex-parents, biological or adoptive parents. They also take into account the contexts parents find themselves in and their unique support needs, however, supporting parents seems to be the responsibility mainly of the education, health and welfare sectors (Daly, 2011:19). The focus on parenting support also differs at national, regional and local levels pointing to the need for clear integrated, multi-sectoral and multi-level approaches to supporting parents guided by inclusive, holistic policy (Molinuevo, 2013:2; Daly, 2011:19).

The earliest indication that governments took note of the need for parents to be supported can be found in the child protection field where children found to be in need of care, due to parent absence or parental neglect, posed a challenge for practitioners and governments alike. This resulted in a proliferation of alternative care facilities such as children's homes, juvenile detention centres and places of safety, which substituted the caregiver role. The mutual co-parenting role of parents and the state as upper guardian particularly came to the fore in incidences of child abuse and child neglect forcing governments to take note not only of the role parents fulfil but the support parents need in fulfilling this role. Various studies have been done on the support parents need with some international studies exploring parents' support needs when their children struggle with health issues (Abdeyazdan, Shahkolahi, Mehrabi & Hajiheidari, 2014; Arabiat & Altammi, 2013), mental health or intellectual difficulties (Byrnes, 2012; Douma, Dekker & Koot, 2006) and physical disabilities (Arksey, Beresford, Glendinning, Greco & Sloper, 2007). These studies all found that parents benefitted from both formal and informal support, needed informational support, educational support, emotional support and concrete or practical support especially when they experienced periods of crisis or stress. Most of the studies on supporting parents relate to parents with babies, toddlers and pre-teens with emphases on supporting parents to cope with their child's health and education (Daly et al., 2015:9). These studies employed both qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches mainly using interviews, surveys, policy and literature reviews. Studies in the field of social work and psychology focused mainly on mental health issues, disability and child protection issues viewing the parent as a critical part of prevention, treatment and aftercare (Beckman, Knitzer, Cooper & Dicker, 2010; Akister, 2009).

Various modalities of supporting parents have been developed and implemented over the years particularly in the field of social work and some have been found to be used universally with all parents, while others have been employed with specific parent groups. Universal support was found to be most effective and less stigmatising (Molinuevo, 2013:1). Universal services usually offer low levels of support to parents who actively seek support while targeted services often involve parents being coerced into accepting support (Daly, 2011:20). Boddy et al., (2009:3) indicated four levels of parenting support namely:

- (a) support embedded within universal services, delivered by workers in the universal setting;
- (b) support activated as part of the universal service (e.g. health or childcare), delivered by workers linked to the universal service, for example through multidisciplinary or cross-agency teams;
- (c) universally accessible support - delivered through open-access services, whereby the service is open to all, but with a 'come-structure' that requires the parent or family to access the service; and
- (d) targeted specialist support- whereby parents and families must be identified as meeting certain criteria and referred in order to access the service.

Modalities of support services for parents were found to include group based educational programmes, one-on-one counselling, peer mentoring or peer support (Daly et al., 2015:19; Molinuevo, 2013:2). Structured group based parenting skills such as the Triple P parenting programme is widely used particularly in developed countries with programmes focusing on child development, parenting beliefs, parenting practices, positive discipline and parent-child relationships (Daly et al., 2015:19; Boddy et al., 2009:3). Lower income countries seemed to favour community based peer support programmes particularly for parents with young children (Daly et al., 2015:19). Both these modalities, structured group based programmes and peer support programmes, have been found to improve parents parenting practices with the latter also improving parents' access to informal support (Burke & Loeber, 2016; January, Duppong-Hurley, Stevens, Kutash, Duchnowski & Pereda, 2016; Walker, Pullman & Trupin, 2012; Ralph & Sanders, 2004). Several studies highlighted the trend for these programmes primarily being offered to female parents/caregivers, running the risk of parenting support entrenching gendered roles and excluding fathers as a critical part of co-parenting (Daly et al., 2015: 20; Molinuevo, 2013:2; Hochfeld, 2007:86-87). Most parenting programmes seem to be underpinned by social learning theory, attachment theory, ecological systems theory, the strength-based approach and in some parenting programmes the cognitive behavioural approach (Daly et al., 2015:21; Boddy et al., 2009:2). In a review of low to middle income countries' theoretical basis for their parent support programmes, it was

found that most programmes were not explicit in terms of theoretical framing and rather focused on practice in responding to problems (Daly et al., 2015:21). It was found that not only social workers were involved in providing support services or programmes to parents, but also professionals such as teachers, lawyers, family mediators and health professionals were supporting parents (Molinuevo, 2013:2). Countries such as England and Austria have parent support practitioners who are trained on parenting issues with Austria's practitioners required to attend a minimum of 500 hours of training and the United Kingdom having developed key performance areas for their practitioners (Molinuevo, 2013:2; Boddy et al., 2009:3). Daly (2011:7-8) recommends that programmes supporting parents should be offered as early as possible, should empower parents, provide long-term support, should advance both parents' and children's rights and need to be evaluated through research. Molinuevo (2013:2) added that parenting support should be offered by practitioners who have good relational skills as "how" support is offered to parents is equally if not more important than "what" support is offered to parents.

Although various studies have contributed to the body of knowledge on supporting parents, as an emerging field of research and policy development, several research gaps have been identified. Some of the gaps in research related to supporting parents include research in supporting parents of older children and adolescents, particularly parents of at-risk adolescents including children in conflict with the law (Daly et al., 2015:9). Little is known about the provisions for supporting these parents, resources available for supporting them, the impact of interventions to support parents and the impact of formal as well as informal support (Daly et al., 2015:8-9). The present study aims to add to the limited number of studies available in the field of supporting parents particularly focusing on parents of children entering the child justice system and how they can be supported. The present study will also contribute to practice and recommendations on policy development in terms of supporting parents of children in conflict with the law.

2.3 SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CHILDREN AT RISK OF OFFENDING

The preceding section highlighted that most interventions supporting parents are geared towards the achievement of positive childhood outcomes. However, it

emerged that supporting parents involves the availability of actual and perceived support across the life-span of parents and across all systems that parents are connected to or are impacted by. Parents of adolescents therefore, require various types and levels of support compared to parents of toddlers. Understanding that parents often parent a number of children of varying ages in their families and manage a variety of internal as well as external stressors is important in determining what support they would find meaningful or impactful. Generally, dealing with adult responsibilities is stressful and parenting tends to compound these stressors (Miller, 2010:90). When parents have to manage these stressors in the context of structural stressors such as inequality, social exclusion and poverty their overall functioning and well-being is impacted negatively and influences how they parent (Marias & Frank, 2008 in Pennington, 2008:50; Wotherspoon & Schissel, 2001:331). When parents face crises such as their children's substance abuse or misbehaviour, their level of stress substantially increases. A comprehensive study in England involving thirty thousand primary and secondary school pupils explored the presence of various risk factors and found the primary risk factors during pre-adolescence and adolescence precipitating offending behaviour are substance abuse, anti-social behaviour and exclusion from school/truancy (Armstrong, Hine, Hacking, Armaos, Jones, Klessinger & France, 2005:viii). During adolescence children's level of risk, tends to increase due to their parents' decreased level of supervision and increased expectation of autonomy (Kerr, Stattin & Özdemir, 2012). Unfortunately, adolescence is also characterised by increased risk-taking behaviours such as alcohol use, illicit drug use, truancy, smoking and unprotected sex (Case, 2006:173). The combination of risk-taking attitudes during adolescence, decreased parental supervision and the opportunity to take risks increases the chances of parents of adolescents facing situations where their children are at risk of offending (McWhirter, McWhirter, McWhirter & McWhirter, 2013; Kerr, Stattin & Burk, 2010).

Parents of children at risk of offending do not necessarily recognise the early indicators predisposing their children's at-risk behaviour especially during adolescence which is characterised by increased autonomy. In some instances, they detect the at-risk behaviours when it has already taken root or resulted in negative consequences. Parents of children at risk of substance abuse and anti-social behaviour reported that they often struggled to monitor their adolescents' whereabouts and

activities (Groenewald & Bhana, 2017; Abdulla & Goliath, 2015). Adolescents confirmed that they concealed certain information from parents, especially information that would increase their parents' monitoring efforts and restrict their autonomy. Although parents at times are able to identify their children's at-risk behaviour, they do not consistently feel competent to deal with the at-risk behaviour and require support from their spouse/partner, family, school and social services. This support must be availed within a policy and practice context framework that foregrounds consultation with parents as equal partners in identifying their needs and services required prior to their children becoming at risk of offending (Walker, 2012:75).

Identifying and supporting parents of children at risk presents the dilemma of government and service providers having to decide whether they will employ a universal or targeted approach (Boddy et al., 2009:3). A universal approach to supporting parents and providing interventions or services implies that all parents of children have equal access to services and support focusing on a variety of issues known to put children at risk of offending. These services would be offered to all parents at various accessible service points and through various modes. The advantage of a universal approach is that it does not label communities or parents as "at-risk" and problematises parents' need for support and services (Boddy et al., 2009). This approach also limits the chances for those parents who do seek help to be stigmatised and feel blamed when they approach service providers for help as it normalises support and help seeking for parents. The disadvantage of this approach is that parents whose children are at risk of offending may not necessarily seek support and assistance until after the fact or may consciously decide not to seek support for fear of the system's involvement in their family issues. Walker (2012:75) explains that the authority held by professionals can sometimes prevent parents from seeking help. Parents' previous experience with government agencies or professionals may prevent them from seeking help as they may experience oppression, abuse or blame within the system (Walker, 2012:75). The universal approach also requires system wide resources and active collaboration between various stakeholders. The targeted approach to supporting parents involves identification of parents of children at risk of offending, either through identification of communities deemed to be high risk, parents' self-referrals or referrals from existing institutions amongst others schools, churches, and clinics. The targeted

approach allows identified parents to receive individualised assessment, intervention and support. However, parents not identified through the system may be excluded from receiving these services. The targeted approach may result in the labelling and stigmatisation of parents from communities and families deemed as high risk. These communities and families are often located in impoverished and marginalised communities already experiencing stigma (Wotherspoon & Schissel, 2001:331). Employing a combination of the two approaches may help governments, service providers and practitioners strike a balance in ensuring support and services for all parents, including parents of children at risk of offending. Enabling an environment where strength-based universal and targeted parent-centred interventions guided by principles of inclusion, collaboration, non-judgement, respect, equality and cultural sensitivity would encourage parents to seek and engage with available services even for parents who previously would not have been inclined to seek help.

2.3.1 Understanding children “at risk” of offending and their parents

Educators, health workers and helping professionals use the term “at risk” to indicate children’s behaviours and circumstances that predispose them to deleterious future outcomes. The term “at risk” was primarily used in the education sector, and later embraced in the health as well as the social welfare sectors (Haddock & Falkner, 2014 in Capuzzi & Gross, 2014:6). Several studies have used the term “at risk” to explore children, especially adolescents’ risk related to sexual abuse (Meinck, Cluver, Boyes & Mhlongo, 2015); suicide (Baber & Bean, 2009); poor school performance (Kamphaus, DiStefano, Dowdy, Eklund & Dunn, 2010); HIV infection (Marshall, Crepaz, O’Leary, 2010 in McCree, Jones & O’Leary, 2010); substance abuse (Goliath & Pretorius, 2016) and delinquency (Webster, Macdonald & Simpson, 2006). These studies point to various risk and protective factors situated within each ecological system connected to an individual that interplay to either buffer the individual against various risks or move them further along an at-risk continuum. McWhirter et al. (2013, 2007) proposed an “at-risk” continuum, to assess and identify children’s level of risk ranging from “minimal risk” to the “at risk category” as a basis for planning appropriate intervention. The term “at-risk” in relation to people first emerged during 1983 (Placier, 1993 cited in Capuzzi & Gross, 2014:6). The term “at risk” is defined “as a set of causal/effect dynamics that have

the potential to place the individual in danger of a negative future event” (Gross & Capuzzi, 2014 in Capuzzi & Gross, 2014:6). Although multiple definitions of the term exist and highlight different aspects, the common denominator is that certain factors are indicated as placing individuals at increased risk of negative outcomes. A composite of the eight most prominent risk factors linked to delinquency include: history of antisocial behaviour, antisocial personality and cognitions, antisocial peers, family dysfunction, school difficulties, limited recreational activities and substance abuse (Andrews & Bonta, 2010:309).

Various studies have found a link between parenting and children’s misbehaviour, particularly delinquency (Hoeve, Dubas, Eichelsheim, Van der Laan, Smeenk & Gerris, 2009:762; Farrington & Welsh, 2007:64). However, isolating the parent-child relationship as a singular causal factor in children developing at-risk behaviour is dangerous as research shows macro-level risk factors as strong contributors to delinquency (Farrington & Welsh, 2007; Riele, 2006). Poverty is a contributing factor to delinquency however, risk factors aligned to poverty are also aligned to delinquency (Wotherspoon & Schissel, 2001). Despite the impact of these factors on parenting and children’s development of at-risk behaviour, parents are expected to regulate children’s behaviour to ensure they comply with societal norms. Many parenting programmes are underpinned by this notion aiming to change parenting behaviour by empowering parents to regulate the parent-child relationship and improve parenting (Cluver, Lachman, Ward, Gardner, Peterson, Hutchings, Mikton, Meinck, Tsoanyane, Doubt, Boyes & Redfern, 2016). When parents fail to manage or regulate their children’s behaviour, children are deemed at risk of developing negative behavioural outcomes. Research shows that even though the family domain, including parents, features as a contributing risk factor to children’s offending behaviour, it is generally lower than risk factors in the individual, peer, school and community domain (Armstrong et al., 2005:xiii). To the contrary, when children engage in substance abuse the family domain features prominently as a risk factor when coupled with family dysfunction (Goliath, 2015:74-75). Communities characterised by disorganisation are indicated to substantially increase children’s risk of offending pointing to the need for prevention services to be inclusive of interventions addressing community risk factors (Armstrong et al., 2005:31). Parents and families can also serve as protective factors especially

when professionals engage with parents as partners and respectful alliances are formed with families to address children's at-risk behaviour (Walker, 2012:75).

The term "at risk" has been viewed to carry a negative connotation resulting in those assigned the label being stigmatised and at times marginalised (Riele, 2006). Attempts have been made to identify and directly link certain risks to specific outcomes, however, the systemic interconnected nature of individuals' relationships with each other and their environment indicate that risks are present in multiple combinations across domains (Gross & Capuzzi, date in Capuzzi& Gross, 2014:7; Armstrong et al., 2005:31). The presence of protective factors has also been identified as important in delaying or preventing the development of risk factors. Protective factors can be defined "as prosocial mediating influences which operate to counteract the effects of risks" (Armstrong et al., 2005:31). There is consensus that risk and protective factors can be identified in five domains or systems in a person's life, namely individual, family, peer, school and community. Identifying domains with the highest incidence of risk can guide targeted interventions to reduce factors placing individual's at risk (Carpuzzi & Gross, 2014; McWhirter et al., 2013, 2007). A review of several studies involving risk factors related to antisocial behaviour, substance abuse and delinquency among adolescents revealed various factors that increased their level of risk (Cluver et al., 2016; Meinck et al., 2015; McAlister & Carr, 2014; Farrington & Welsh, 2007; Amoateng, Barber & Erickson, 2006; Armstrong et al., 2005; Wotherspoon & Schissel, 2001). These studies were both qualitative and quantitative in nature emphasising mostly the individual, family, school and community risk factors as well as the causal links between risk factors in different domains. Table 2.3 below reflects the primary domain specific risk factors found to increase adolescents' risk for anti-social behaviour, substance abuse and delinquency. The individual, family, peer, school and community domains were identified in the various studies to the exclusion of the parent and the structural domain. Therefore, the latter two domains have been added in Table 2.3 to indicate the equal importance of these domains as influencing related domains within the ecological system.

Table 2.3: Risk factors linked with increased risk of adolescent anti-social behaviour and delinquency (Domain specific risks related to adolescent anti-social behaviour and delinquency (Cluver et al., 2016; Meinck et al., 2015; McAlister & Carr, 2014; Holborn & Eddy, 2011; Farrington & Welsh, 2007; Amoateng, et al., 2006; Armstrong, et al., 2005; Wotherspoon & Schissel, 2001)

INDIVIDUAL DOMAIN	FAMILY DOMAIN	PARENT DOMAIN	PEER DOMAIN	SCHOOL DOMAIN	COMMUNITY DOMAIN	STRUCTURAL DOMAIN
Lack of empathy	Low income	Parent mental health & intellectual problems	Friend's involvement in antisocial behaviour	Bullying	Poverty	Adverse socio-economic conditions
Low intelligence	Family violence	Harsh/neglectful parenting	Absence of pro-social peers	Presence of delinquents at school	Unemployment	High unemployment
Substance use/abuse	Food insecurity	Poor parent-child relationship		Poor school environment	Locality – rural community	Unfair and unequal social structures
Anti-social behaviour	Family dysfunction	Parent substance abuse		Poor quality education	Violence (including sexual violence)	Social exclusion
Exclusion from school	Family history of anti-social behaviour	Harsh/inconsistent discipline			Informal housing	Irrelevant and unworkable institutions
Truancy	Family conflict	Lack of parental supervision and monitoring			Community disorganisation	History of apartheid
Lack of commitment to school	Siblings with problem behaviours	Negative parental attitude			Lack of community safety	Migrant labour system
Low academic achievement	Family attitudes condoning anti-social behaviour	Negative parental behaviour			Availability of drugs in the community	
Smoking	Family stress	Poor parental control and limit setting			Attitudes condoning anti-social behaviour	
Victimisation or exposure to trauma	Marital conflict	Single parenting				
		Absent fathers				

Parents are generally expected to prevent or address the risk factors in the individual, family, parenting and peer domains as well as in the school domain to some extent. Reflecting on the various risk factors in these domains the systemic nature of the domains and their interconnectedness with each other cannot be ignored. For example, parents or family's support of children's academic progress coupled with quality of education and the schooling system as a whole impact on children's experiences of school and their academic outcomes. Parents' ability to provide an income and meet their children's basic needs are directly linked to the socio-economic context of the community, employment opportunities and the governments' economic policy. Studies isolating specific risk factors to adolescent anti-social behaviour acknowledge the structural context within which the domain-specific risk factors operate but fail to indicate the structural domain as a separate domain with specific contributing risk factors (Barry, 2007; Wotherspoon & Schissel, 2001). This points to the risk factor approach leaning towards assigning individuals, parents, families, schools and communities the responsibility for 'developing the risk' and addressing the risks thereby absolving governments from addressing the risks present in the structural domain (Wotherspoon & Schissel, 2001:328). This "decontextualisation" of risk factors also fails to recognise the relational, structural and cultural aspects of humans and their lived experiences (Wotherspoon & Schissel, 2001:329). The overemphasis on domain-specific risks, although important in guiding intervention, fails to guide prevention and the system wide collaboration required to support parents across the various domains. Sargant (2008 in Pennington, 2008:146) explains that a collaborative multisystemic approach to prevention is paramount in breaking the cycle of crime.

Embedding parenting within the family domain aligns to the general trend of viewing parents only in the context of their parenting. It fails to recognise and understand parents as an equally important domain being impacted by and influencing other domains. Indicating the parent domain as separate from the family domain helps expose risk factors that need to be addressed and protective factors within this domain that can be harnessed for better parent, child and family outcomes. Parenting, as a risk factor can therefore not be viewed in isolation to parents' complex roles as this may result in parents being overlooked when working with children and families rather than being a legitimate focus for prevention and

intervention services. Supporting parents of children at risk requires not only identification of the risk factors affecting them directly but also indirectly at a policy, legislative and structural level (Barry, 2007:iv). The risk factor domains indicating the various risk factors that contribute to anti-social behaviour among adolescents are complex and interrelated. This requires role-players within each domain to recognise their contributing role in the development of the risk factors and their responsibility to collaborate to reduce the risk factors and strengthen the protective factors. Parents must be engaged as partners to identify, inform and influence government and non-government agencies on the prevention and support services they need as parents to ensure responsive universal and targeted services.

2.3.2 Prevention and intervention with parents of children at risk of offending

Prevention and intervention with parents of children at risk of offending refer to early identification of risk factors that may lead to children's clashes with the law (Davis, 2003 in Bezuidenhout & Joubert, 2003:146). Poverty, family stress, inter-parental conflict and parenting influence children's development of at-risk behaviour and therefore must be included when providing secondary prevention and intervention services (Hoeve et al., 2009; Amoateng et al., 2006; Bradford, Barber, Olsen, Maughan, Erickson, Ward & Stolz, 2003). Supporting parents of at-risk children requires increased focus on prevention services that strengthen parents' overall mental health and parenting practices as protective factors whilst also addressing the risk factors in the other domains (McWhirter et al., 2007:235). Social workers are at the forefront of engaging parents in prevention and support services to access a variety of interventions to address identified risk factors. Barry (2007:iii) explains that although risk assessments are useful in identifying risks, social workers must ensure that a trusting relationship is developed with parents and parents are meaningfully involved during the assessment process. This will allow the opportunity for active exploration of the multitude of contextual, cultural, familial and individual protective and risk factors that affect parents and their parenting (Ward, Day, Howell & Bridgen, 2004:646). Case (2006:174-175) adds that parents must be the primary source of qualitative data on what they experience as actual risk factors rather than what professionals, based on quantitative data, identify as risk factors. This will help parents receive targeted support and intervention tailored to their individualised contexts and needs.

When children experience crises and need support, simultaneously their parents will experience the effects of their children's crisis and may also need support. Sometimes, the parent-child relationship itself may be the source of stress or children's behaviour may very well be the cause of stress experienced by themselves and their parents. Various risk factors within the seven domains may also be the cause of stress (Cluver et al., 2016:5). The various systems involved and interconnected to parents and children provide the contexts, which can either help or hinder in addressing children's anti-social behaviour and parents' struggles in managing their parenting role. These systems can also provide opportunities where parents can access both informal and formal support. Supporting parents of children at risk requires that parents be empowered with knowledge of the risk factors that precipitate children's progress to the "at-risk" category and developing parents' competencies to address or manage these precipitating risk factors (Haddock & Falkner, 2014 in Capuzzi & Gross, 2014:189). Parents' participating in parent support groups, parent and family training sessions increases access to informal and formal support, improves their parenting, reduces their sense of isolation and helps them to cope better with stressful life events (Haddock & Falkner, 2014 in Capuzzi & Gross, 2014:189). Parents also need to know how and where to access informal and formal support and assistance when they struggle to manage their children's behaviour when they are already in the "at-risk category". A meta-analysis of over 160 studies from North America, Europe and Australia between 1950 and 2007 on parenting and delinquency found that hostile, neglectful parenting characterised by poor parental supervision and lack of parental knowledge was positively linked to adolescents' at-risk behaviours (Hoeve et al., 2009:762-763). Risk assessments that exclusively focus on targeting intervention to reduce risk have short-term positive outcomes while risk assessments and interventions that have relational and contextual foci have long-term positive outcomes for children and families (Wotherspoon & Schissel, 2001:331). Focusing on individual risk factors in the context of the risk factors in the other domains, including parents is important in providing comprehensive interventions at secondary prevention level.

Various programmes focusing on supporting parents primarily aim to address parenting practice as a contributing risk factor to children's development of at-risk

behaviour (CR programmes and services in chapter seven of this report). These programmes have indicated positive change in parenting practice and a reduction in adolescents' problem behaviour. A South African study using a pre-and post-test design found that parent-adolescent dyads attending a ten-day relational and parent focused programme improved parents' access to social support and reduced harsh parental discipline (Cluver et al., 2016). Thirty-three percent (33%) of adolescents whose parents engaged in parenting programmes desisted from crime (Hoeve et al., 2009: 765). The use of trained community members to facilitate sessions based on collaborative learning techniques significantly increased parents' attendance (63%) and reduced reliance on professionals, like social workers, who are in short supply (Cluver et al., 2016). Parents as a protective factor in supporting children's desistance from at-risk behaviour and increased resilience has been emphasised especially when both parents participate in interventions (Hoeve et al., 2009: 765; Kritzas & Grobler, 2005:10). Ensuring both parents, where possible, are involved in interventions is important as it also allows any inter-parental stressors, such as conflict or conflicting parenting styles, to be identified and addressed. In a multi-national study of nine countries including South Africa, inter-parental conflict has been found to significantly contribute to children developing at-risk behaviour (Bradford et al., 2003:132-133). Although single parenting has been noted as a risk factor associated with children's at-risk behaviour as long as children's needs are satisfied it does not matter whether they have one or both parents (Davids, Ryan, Yassin, Hendrickse & Roman, 2016:354). Engaging with parents in ways that reinforces their inherent competencies, allows self-expression, and facilitates collaboration, helps set the scene for meaningful prevention, support and intervention services (Walker, 2012:75). Haddock and Falkner (2014 in Capuzzi & Gross, 2014:189) explain that apart from focusing on the identified risk factors, prevention and support services to parents of children at risk of offending must be responsive and culturally relevant.

Wotherspoon and Schissel (2001:332) propose a social justice orientation rather than solely focusing on risk factors. This involves understanding parents, their families and the systems surrounding them to facilitate integrated prevention and support services that recognise the interconnectedness of these systems (Jensen & Stroick, 1999:4 cited in Wotherspoon & Schissel, 2001:332) including the cultural

and structural influences. Based on various studies the table below depicts the focus of prevention within the three domains deemed necessary when supporting parents of children “at risk”.

Table 2.4 Holistic preventions support for parents (Roman, Makwakwa and Lacante, 2016:12; Haddock and Falkner 2014 in Capuzzi and Gross, 2014:189; Walker, 2012:75; Platt, 2012:141-143; Ward et al., 2004:659; Wotherspoon and Schissel, 2001:332

FAMILY DOMAIN	PARENT DOMAIN
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledge and reinforce family culture, religion and traditions • Link and integrate family traditions and ideals • Incorporate social, religious and cultural resources, life histories and informal sources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mutually agreed intervention goals and activities • Collaboration/alliance based on trust • Train parents to recognise and cope with signs of risk • Train parents in behaviour management and communication skills • Reinforce parents’ prosocial interactions and expressions • Sensitivity to gendered parenting • Actively involve fathers in all interventions • Confront parents’ appropriately • Link and integrate parents’ cultural and religious beliefs, values and practice • Incorporate social, religious and cultural resources, life histories and informal sources
STRUCTURAL DOMAIN	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Locate and transform sources of inequality • Sensitivity to environments and practices that foster ideals of “normal” and facilitate social exclusion • Recognise parents multiple competencies in and outside formal systems • Provision of policy, legislation that facilitate provision of responsive and concrete support for parents 	

The table above emphasises the engagement of families and parents in prevention and intervention that allows for mutual strength-based and culturally sensitive exploration of parents’ and their families’ competencies, support and needs. It also points to prevention and intervention focusing on parents and their families and advocacy or lobbying for structural change to address the root causes of crime including inequality and social exclusion (Pennington, 2008:40). Social workers, as professionals interested in social justice and social development, are key role players in facilitating prevention and intervention that is cognisant of the need to support parents of children at risk of offending across all seven risk domains.

2.3.2.1 Social workers supporting parents of children at risk of offending

Recognising that dealing with children at risk also requires support and intervention with families as well as parents resulted in the development of various interventions with many being provided by social workers (Kemshall, 2009 in Wood & Hine, 2009:157 & 160). Social workers have a responsibility to identify children's at-risk behaviours and provide family interventions at a secondary prevention level (Barry, 2007). They also have a responsibility to recognise and work with the structural, cultural and relational factors that impact on children, parents and families. Social workers are trained to identify children at risk; however, their focus of assessment is often on child protection issues to the exclusion of risk factors predisposing children to offending behaviour. The assessments do not focus on parents who are often viewed in a negative light by professionals when their children enter the social service system. Creating a positive, collaborative relationship with parents is important in supporting parents and enabling parents' participation in prevention and or intervention, which will result in positive parent outcomes (Lee & Ayon, 2007 in Platt, 2012:140; Ward et al., 2004:646). Platt (2012:141-143) questioned the deciding factors of parents' engagement with prevention, intervention and support services proposing various internal and external determinants affecting their level of participation and engagement. Platt (2012) concluded that the availability of services to support parents is dependent on the presence of various determinants including the social workers' approach, their skills in facilitating parents' participation in services and the service environment. Figure 2.1 below depicts Platt's (2012) integrated model of parental engagement.

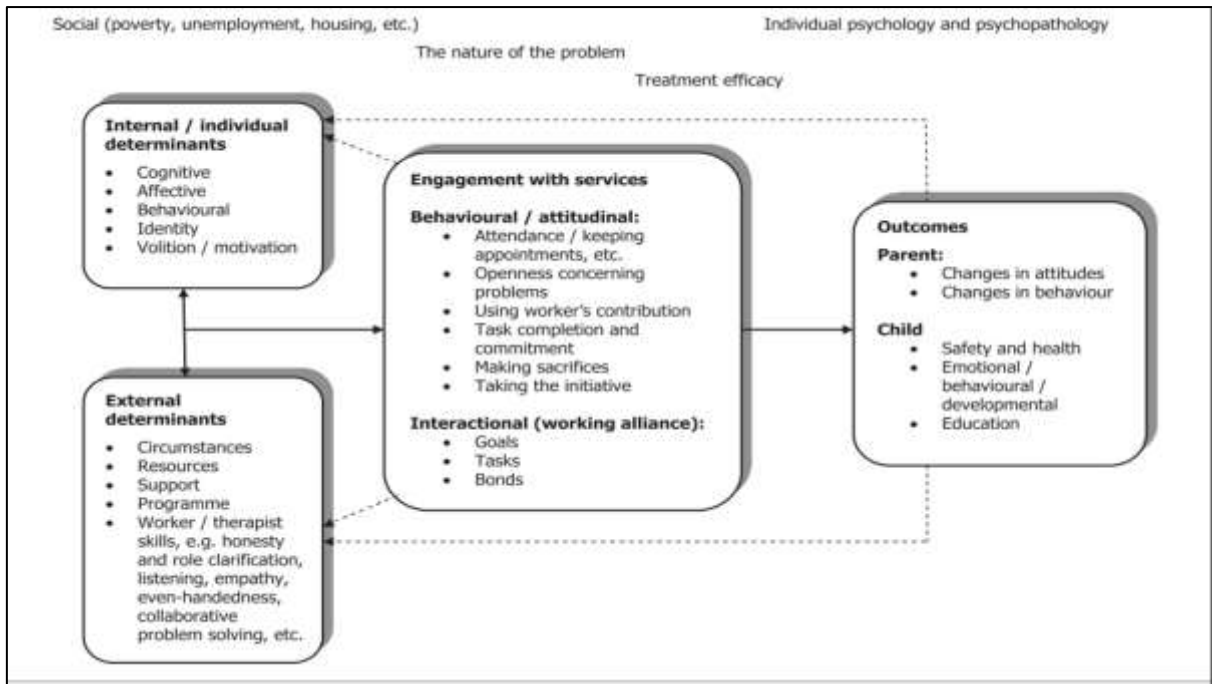


Figure 2.1: Integrated model of parental engagement with child welfare services. Solid arrows: primary direction of effects. Broken arrows: feedback loops (Platt, 2012:141)

Key internal determinants of parents freely seeking and engaging with social work services include their thoughts, beliefs and attitudes about their problem, their needs, the professionals available to assist them, and their knowledge about the social welfare system. Parents' feelings about their ability to change the available services, the involvement of professionals, their experience with professionals or the system and fear of judgement also determines their level of engagement. Parents' sense of agency and their ability to communicate their needs with professionals further influences their level of participation. This model also emphasises that factors such as available resources, provision of quality services, trained professional staff, time allocation to adequately engage parents and the supervision of social workers all determine parents' engagement or participation in services (Platt, 2012). Ward et al. (2004:649) add that seeking and accepting support requires readiness on the part of the parent, which can be influenced by various determinants and readiness on the part of the service provider/system to provide responsive support. Munro (2011:12) recommends that prevention services to parents require social workers be trained to engage with parents, the provision of responsive services, the allocation of resources and the coordination of services to

ensure that parents and their families are supported to prevent their children's entry into the child justice system.

Literature on the support for parents at a prevention level is sparse with very few authors commenting on the various types of support parents need besides parenting support. Three studies emphasised the structural risk factors parents have to contend with and some made recommendations for issues of social exclusion, poverty, unemployment and inequality to be addressed. The present study will contribute to the existing literature on prevention, particularly secondary prevention, to support parents prior to their child's entry into their child justice system. The following section discusses the literature related to supporting parents of children who have clashed with the law and entered the child justice system.

2.4 SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CHILDREN IN CONFLICT WITH THE LAW

Earlier scholars have unfortunately indicated parents of CCL as a primary contributor to children's delinquency leading to parents being legally held responsible for their children's delinquency (Vincent, 1977; Ludwig, 1952). The focus on parenting as a contributing factor led to many countries formulating legislation that promoted issuing of parenting orders to hold parents accountable for their children's transgressions with hefty fines for parents who failed to comply (Holt, 2008:204; Vincent, 1977:541). The focus on parenting and its link to delinquency have formed the basis of many studies in European countries, Canada and America, with some emphasising parenting as a risk factor and others exploring interventions to improve parenting behaviour (Harder, Knorth, Kalverboer, Tausendfreund & Knot-Dickscheit, 2007; Piquero, Jennings, Diamond, Farrington, Tremblay, Welsh, & Gonazeles, 2016; Van der Laan, 2009). Both quantitative methods (Van der Laan, 2009; Gavazzi, Lim, Yarchecj, Bostic & Scheer, 2008) and qualitative methods (Simons, Mulder, Breuk, Mos, Rigter, van Domburgh & Vermeuren, 2017) have been employed in focusing on parenting and delinquency with surveys, meta-analytic reviews (Kaminski, Valle, Filene & Boyle, 2008), semi-structured interviews and focus groups employed to gather data. Longitudinal studies have also been done exploring the link between parenting and adolescent delinquency (Keijsers, Loeber, Branje & Meeus, 2011; Schroeder, Giordano &

Cernkovich, 2010). Several international studies also focused on parents' experience during the juvenile justice process and the types of support they needed during the process (Peterson-Badali & Broeking, 2010 & 2009; Varma, 2007). These studies focused on a particular stage during the child justice process rather than the support parents needed throughout the various stages of the child justice process including aftercare. The present study therefore explored the type of support parents needed during each stage of the child justice process including prior to and after exiting the CJS.

African studies on supporting parents of children in conflict with the law are limited with most studies conducted in South Africa mentioning parents primarily in their recommendations for future studies. South African studies in the context of child justice can be categorised into two eras, namely prior to and post the promulgation of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009). This is due to the absence of South African legislation prior to 2010 on how to deal with children in conflict with the law. After becoming a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989), the country accelerated its efforts to develop and implement the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009). Two studies involved a critical review of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) evaluating the extent to which the Act employed a children's rights approach and protected the best interest of the child (Brink, 2010; McGregor, 2010). Other studies also involved analysis of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 focusing mainly on the innovations contained and implemented through the Act such as restorative justice (Apollos, 2014; Van Der Merwe, 2013), and preliminary enquiries and diversion (Jokani, 2011; Sloth-Nielsen & Galinetti, 2011). These studies pointed to the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) succeeding in providing a legislative framework for dealing with children in conflict with the law and lauding the restorative justice approach of the Act. While studies reviewing the Act mainly focused on analysis of the legislation, studies focusing on the implementation of the Act were mainly qualitative in nature. The qualitative studies involved focus groups and interviews with practitioners such as police officers, magistrates, social workers, probation officers and prosecutors. These studies indicated various challenges experienced in translating the principles contained in the Act into practice. The implementation of restorative justice as envisioned by the Act was seen as

excluding victims in many instances during the CJP (Apollos, 2014; Van Der Merwe, 2013). Other studies found that stakeholders struggled to work in the multi-stakeholder context in ensuring meaningful implementation of the innovations contained in the Act (Schoeman & Thobane, 2015; Bezuidenhout & Karels, 2014, Doncabe, 2013; Wakefield, 2011). Reyneke and Reyneke (2011) through their interviews with stakeholders and observations at the Mangaung One Stop Child Justice Centre (OSCJC) highlighted not only the practice challenges but also the infrastructure, resources and training limitations that exist in the CJS hindering effective implementation of the CJA. Although studies within the child justice context have been done, only one study since the promulgation of the Act, focused on parents' experience of the child justice process (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015). Studies have noted the absence of parents during the CJP but, however, failed to explore why parents were not involved during the CJP and what support they needed during the CJP (Hargovan, 2013; Steyn, 2012; Reyneke & Reyneke, 2011). Only one study involving parents of CCL prior to 2010 was conducted focusing on parents' experience of their child's behaviour change after completing a diversion programme (Mankayi, 2007). The study highlighted the challenges some parents experienced in managing their children's behaviour and recommended prevention services for parents of CCL. The present study therefore contributes to the dearth of literature in the field of parent support particularly parents of children in conflict with the law, and proposes a practice model that can address the support needs of parents of CCL.

The need to support parents of children in conflict with the law is closely linked to the idea that poor parenting practices contribute to the development of adolescent delinquency. Parenting as a potential risk factor has been identified as a precursor to children's involvement in crime. Studies showed that poor parent-child relationships significantly contributed to the development of children's internalising and externalising problems (Keijser et al., 2011; van der Laan, 2009). These studies cited specific parenting behaviours that contributed to the development of adolescent delinquency and were identified as parenting risk factors (Keijser et al., 2011:878; Van der Laan, 2009:420 & 431). Harder et al. (2017) added that parenting (both protective factors and risk factors) must be viewed as only one dimension of parents and emphasised that when assessing parents, their strengths and problems

must also be identified and addressed. The parent and parenting factors found by these studies to impact on adolescent delinquency are listed in Table 2.5 below:

Table 2.5: Parenting and parent risk factors linked to delinquency (Harder et al., 2017; Keijser et al., 2011; Gavazzi et al., 2008)

PARENTING RISK FACTORS LINKED TO DELINQUENCY	PARENT RISK FACTORS LINKED TO DELINQUENCY
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inadequate parental supervision • Parent absence • Lack of parental knowledge and solicitation of child's activities • Limited emotional support • Poor quality parent-child relationship • Inconsistent parenting and discipline • Poor parent-child communication 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Depression – especially in mothers • Anxiety – especially in mothers • Substance dependence – especially in fathers • Anti-social behaviour – especially in fathers • Psychosis – in either parent • Inter-parental conflict (family conflict)

Supporting parents of children in conflict with the law requires a holistic view of parents as individuals rather than just as parents fulfilling their parenting role. Understanding parent risk factors and their interplay and interconnectedness with how they parent is critical in working with parents involved in the CJS. Working with children in conflict with the law is aimed at ensuring their desistance from crime and engaging parents as an end in itself and a means of addressing their child's delinquency is critical (McNeill, Thomas & Thornden-Edwards, 2017:3). A qualitative study mapping adolescents' desistance from crime found that they reduced their involvement in crime by accessing support, setting clear long-term goals, structuring their time, and having access to safe spaces (Amemiya, Kieta & Monahan, 2017:765). Parents who experienced internalising and externalising problems would be less able to support their adolescent, assist their adolescent in working towards the achievement of long-term goals, structure or manage their time and create safe home environments. Harder et al. (2017) found that more parenting risk factors and less parenting protective factors did not result in poor parenting. Instead, parent internalising and externalising problems resulted in poor parenting (Harder et al., 2017). It therefore stands to reason that when working with parents of children in conflict with the law, practitioners must assess and intervene to address parents' internalising and externalising problems as well as their parenting practice. Supporting parents of CCL and their children in the family context is also critical due to the link established between the family domain and adolescent delinquency. It is vital to assess family stressors such as family conflict, family

processes, poor family attachments and lack of family time that may be affecting parents, parenting and their children's delinquency (Schroeder, Osgood & Oghia, 2010; Gavazzi et al., 2008). Working with children, parents and the family to focus on the family environment has been found to significantly improve both parents, parenting and adolescent behaviour even in communities characterised by poverty (Nadeau, Lecompte, Johnson-Lafleur, Pontbriand & Rousseau, 2018:92; Church, Wharton & Taylor, 2009:12). Lane (2009:283) adds that addressing community problems is also important especially given the systemic influence of the various domains on parents and families. Van der Laan et al. (2017) agree emphasising schools as an important domain in facilitating children's attachment to schools within communities and as a vital source of support for children, parents and families. Working with children in conflict with the law therefore requires that probation officers base their practice within the Ecological Systems Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986) and recognise the interconnectedness of the systems to explore how the respective systems hinder or help children, parents and families. The following section discusses literature on interventions to support parents of children in conflict with the law.

2.4.1 Assessment and intervention with parents of children in conflict with the law

Recognising parents and parenting as a key area for intervention when working with children in conflict with the law, various interventions were developed or existing interventions were adapted. To ensure parents' support needs are explored and identified for possible intervention, assessments need to be multi-systemic when focusing on parents (Akister, 2009:11). According to Crosswhite and Kerpelman (2009:627) in addition to assessing parents' internalising and externalising problems, the eight parenting variables linked to adolescent delinquency must be assessed when working with parents of CCL include:

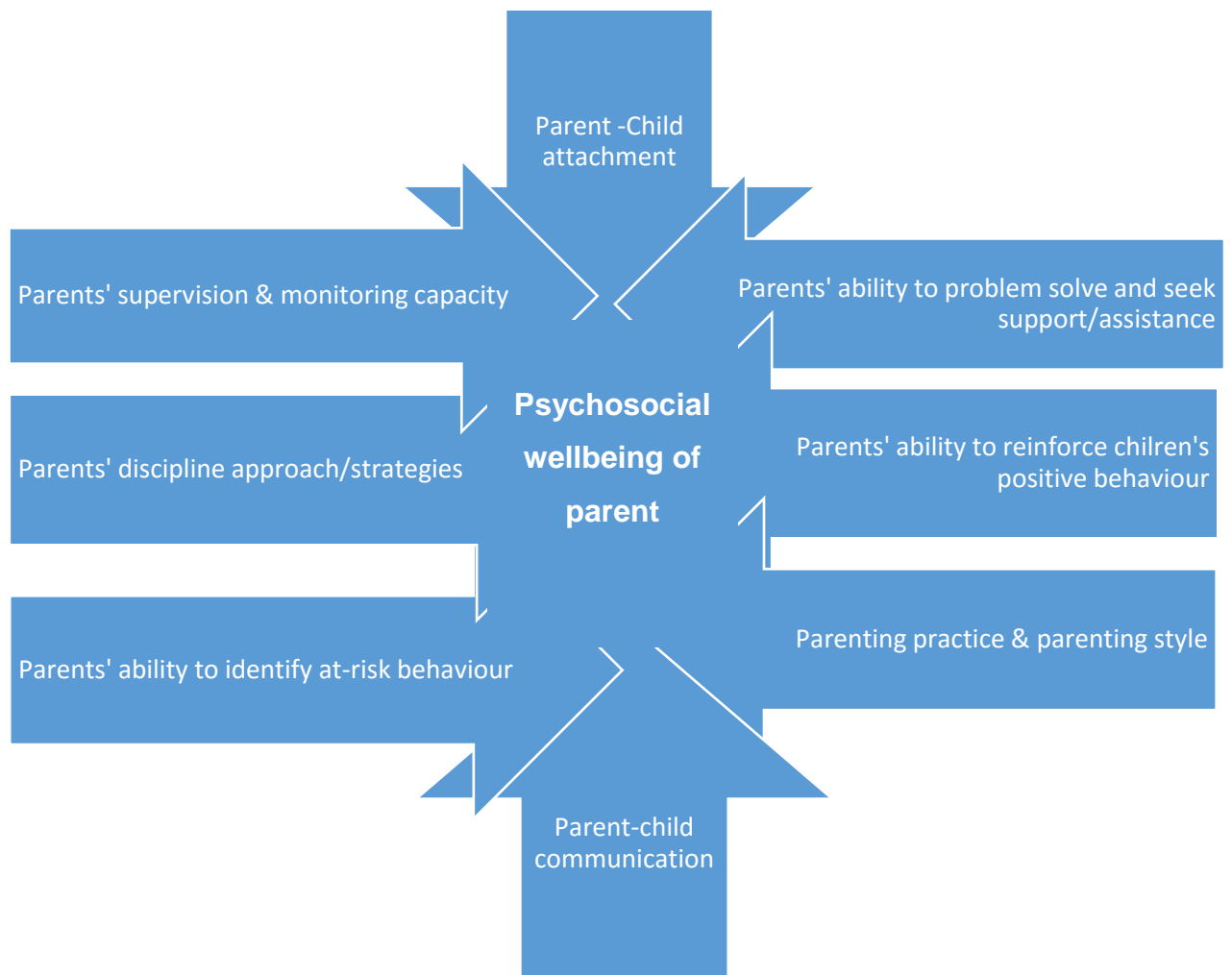


Figure 2.2 Focus areas for assessing parents of children in conflict with the law (Crosswhite and Kerpelman, 2009:627)

Barry (2007:ii) explained that assessment and intervention within the CJS must aim to not only address risk factors to contain delinquency but must facilitate active engagement with clients to explore the underlying factors that contribute to the offending behaviour. Emphasis must be placed on probation officers conducting clinical assessments and providing interventions that are multi-systemic in nature thereby covering all domains or systems linked to children, their parents and families (Barry, 2007:iv). Interventions focused on the parent domain must provide parents with emotional support to address parents internalising and externalising problems and may include family counselling or peer support (Harder et al., 2017; Robbins, Mayorga, Mitrani, Szapocznik, Turner & Alexander, 2008). Interventions focused on providing parents with educational and practical support include group based

parenting programmes with practical support particularly being offered during the court proceedings (Tarleton, 2013; Coatsworth, Duncan, Greenber & Nix, 2009; Walker, Pullman & Trupin, 2012:58-59). Some of these interventions selected for the integration into the present study’s practice model are comprehensively discussed in chapter seven and are included in the list below.

Table 2.6: Interventions for parents of children in conflict with the law (UNODC, 2010 cited in Molinuevo, 2013; Henggeler and Sheidow, 2012)

INTERVENTIONS PRIMARILY AIMED AT PROVIDING EMOTIONAL SUPPORT FOR PARENTS OF CCL IN FAMILY CONTEXT	INTERVENTIONS PRIMARILY AIMED AT PROVIDING EDUCATIONAL PARENTING SUPPORT FOR PARENTS OF CCL	INTERVENTIONS PRIMARILY AIMED AT PROVIDING PRACTICAL SUPPORT FOR PARENTS
Multi-systemic therapy	Missouri Model	Juvenile Justice 101
Functional family therapy	Wraparound	
Brief strategic family therapy	Parenting with love and limits	
Strengthening families programme	Stop Now and Plan	
	Triple P Positive parenting programme	
	Parent-child interaction programme	

The available interventions focusing on parents of CCLs are mostly within the context of family therapy or in the context of parenting programmes. Few programmes exclusively focus on parents within the child justice system with most of the programmes focusing on parenting as a risk factor. A recurring theme in the literature is parents’ lack of participation or engagement in available interventions with some studies indicating very low levels of parent participation in parenting programmes and family therapy (Simons et al., 2017; Robbins et al., 2008; Woodcock, 2003). Parents’ lack of participation in counselling interventions seems to be linked to their fear of being blamed for their child’s behaviour and practitioner’s inability to build trusting relationships with parents to form therapeutic alliances. Robbins et al., (2008) in their study with thirty-one adolescents and their parents’ involved in brief strategic family therapy found that practitioners who managed to form strong balanced alliances with parents and families were more likely to

complete therapy. A study aimed at assisting practitioners improve parent participation in family interventions with adolescent offenders showed that facilitating parent participation required a structured approach that gradually built a parent-practitioner relationship and incrementally increased parents' participation in interventions (Simons et al., 2017:1). Some of the strategies used in the study (as reflected in Figure 2.3 below) included providing parents with information, engaging parents in parent meetings, parents' participating in their children's' treatment and involving parents in family therapy (Simons et al., 2017:4).

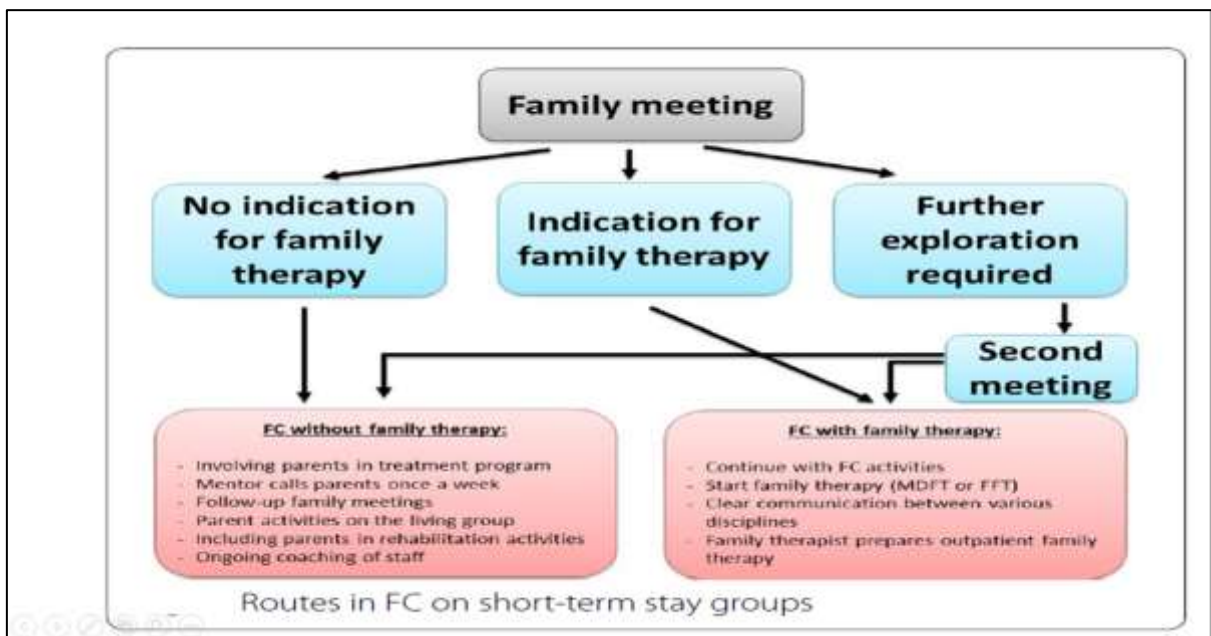


Figure 2.3: Engagement activities with parents in FC short-term stay groups (Simons, et al., 2017:5)

The lack of parent participation also extends into the child justice system with most parents not actively engaged during court proceedings (Reyneke & Reyneke, 2011; Varma, 2007). Studies have indicated the need for increased efforts to facilitate opportunities for parent participation within the CJS and interventions offered within the CJS (Peterson-Badali & Broeking, 2010, 2009). An example of how court officials could facilitate parent participation was presented in a study conducted in England, focusing on the role of specialist advocates in supporting parents during child protection proceedings (Tarleton, 2013). The study showed the supportive role court officials could play and indicated several tasks they could fulfil in facilitating parents' participation during court proceedings. Tarleton (2013:679-685) described the role advocates played in their study as follows:

- Supporting parents to understand the system
- Addressing parents' concerns about their children's welfare
- Reading through reports submitted to court concerning parents and their children with parents
- Helping parents prepare their responses to issues discussed in court
- Attending court and conferences with parents'
- Enabling parents' to speak for themselves or speak on behalf of parents if asked to do so.
- Helping parents engage in the structured court setting
- Explaining the various roles of court officials
- Championing access for parents to practical and emotional support.

Tarleton (2013) found that given the highly structured environment of the court that court officials assigned to support parents, helped facilitate parents' participation and their access to emotional, educational and practical support. Walker et al. (2012:58-59) also found that parents' having access to peer support prior to, during and after court proceedings improved parents' participation during the CJP and increased their competency in accessing support from community resources. Improving interventions for parents of CCL requires that they are involved not only in the intervention but in the design or development of interventions. Hence, the current study actively sought to involve parents during the design and development of solutions in addressing their support needs during the child justice process. When parents are involved in identifying their own needs and guiding development of interventions, they are more likely to access and participate in these interventions (McNeill et al., 2017:2). Considering that parents' involvement in interventions can save the United Kingdom's criminal justice system 145 000 pounds per person over their life course, ensuring parents have access to interventions that support them is in everyone's best interest (Duncan, MacGillivray & Renfrew, 2017:797).

2.4.2 Training CJO to support parents of children in conflict with the law

By recognising that parents of children in conflict with the law need emotional, educational and practical support various studies have indicated the need for CJOs to be trained on how to engage with parents, provide support and facilitate their active participation during the CJP. The studies cited in the preceding section,

highlighted the respective CJOs involved in the CJS and how their engagement during the process was found to exclude parents during the CJP. CJOs appear to blame parents when their children are non-compliant. They also fail to provide adequate support to parents when parents' seek support in managing their children's behaviour.

The context in which CJOs operate and where parents require support has been described as adversarial in nature with conflicting interests causing tension between parents and CJOs (Tarleton, 2013:681). Internationally, CJS comprise of multiple stakeholders engaging in the CJS, particularly courts, to address crimes committed by children. Parents are expected to have adequate knowledge of the systems so that they can engage with these systems and act in the best interest of their children. In turn, CJOs have to support parents in understanding the CJS, participate during the CJP and fulfil their role in supporting their children during the CJP. Various studies indicate that parents do not have adequate knowledge of the CJP, particularly their role during the arrest and trial phase and that they do need various types of support during the CJP (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015, Abdulla, 2014, Peterson-Badali & Broeking, 2009, Varma, 2007). In contrast, several studies have shown that CJO lack training and feel ill equipped to support parents during the CJP. A study of parents' involvement during the arrest stage showed that they did not know how to act in their children's best interest as they lacked basic knowledge of the law pertaining to the arrest process (Varma, 2007). Parents need information from police on their rights, their children's rights, the arrest process and where to access mental health services (Compton, Bakeman, Brouard, Hankerson-Dyson, Husbands, Krishan, Steward-Hutto, D'Orio, Oliva, Thompson & Watson, 2014). It was also highlighted that police needed training as they did not know how to engage with parents' during the arrest stage especially when parents were the complainants, they lack sensitivity when dealing with parents whose children abused drugs and they did not have adequate knowledge of mental health resources parents could be referred to. Police officer's engagement and support of parents, or lack thereof, have been found to influence parents' attitudes towards police and the attitudes of their children (Barkworth & Murphy, 2016). When parents and their children experience fair treatment during the arrest phase they are more

likely to actively engage during the CJP and are more likely to express their need for support (Slocum & Wiley, 2018:402; Barkworth & Murphy, 2016:116).

Few studies have highlighted the emotional, educational and practical support parents need during the CJP. Section 2.2 of this chapter extensively discussed the literature in terms of parents needs prior to their children's entry into the CJS pointing to parents externalising, internalising and parenting problems that need social work intervention. Parents entering the CJS have the opportunity to engage with social workers who are appointed as their children's probation officers for the duration of the CJP including aftercare. This implies that compared to parents of children at risk of offending who do not consistently have easy access to social work services, parents of CCL have access to probation officers who are trained to provide specialised social work services. As prescribed by the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) whenever children are arrested, they have to be assessed by probation officers and parents have to be involved during the assessment. Their specialisation focus is on assessing CCL and all aspects related to children's delinquency. They are also responsible for facilitating interventions that will engage the various systems linked to CCL and addressing the identified risk factors within the various domains (Gavazzi et al., 2008; Wyatt, Kaminski, Valle, Filene & Boyle, 2008). Probation officers are also responsible for linking CCL and their families, including parents, to family support, community support and additional resources (Lane, 2018), especially since family support has been found to be vital in parents coping with internalising problems and fostering family resilience (Taylor, 2010). Although probation officers are the primary CJO expected to assess parents' of CCL and provide interventions for their internalising, externalising and parenting problems it has been found that probation officers struggled to form alliances with parents to enable their participation in interventions (Woodcock, 2003:100). Probation officers are not trained on how to engage with parents from a strengths-based approach; they do not assess parents and as social workers, they do not support parents through culturally appropriate interventions (Toombs, Drawson, Bobinski, Dixon & Mushquas, 2018:1). Studies have shown that probation officers' singular focus on risk factors dehumanises their services to parents and the system in which they function hinders the development of therapeutic alliances and collaborative working relationships with parents (Steens, Hermans & Van

Regenmortel, 2018:230; McNeil et al., 2017:11). Several studies emphasise the desired behaviours that must be cultivated in probation officers to enhance their engagement, assessment and intervention with parents during the helping process (McNeil et al., 2017; Simons et al., 2017; Robbins et al., 2008). These behaviours include the following:

- Dialogue with parents must form the bases for the helping process.
- Collaboration with and involvement of parents throughout the helping process.
- Probation officers viewing parents as supportive, competent partners in the helping process rather than fostering parents' dependence with the probation officer as rescuer.
- Viewing and working with parents holistically and systemically.
- Acknowledging, trusting and valuing parents' experiences, background and culture.
- Facilitating engagement with parents that is humanising and does not reduce parents to a risk factor.
- Working with parents from a strength-based approach not from a deficit approach.
- Forming balanced therapeutic alliances with parents.

McNeil et al. (2017:11) explain that these behaviours have to be cultivated by supervisors who must recognise probation officers' humanity, respect their expertise, allow multiple professional perspectives and allow space for probation officers to truly connect with clients to facilitate collaboration with client systems. Lane (2018: 283) agrees that resources must be allocated to train, continuously develop and support probation officers so that they are able to competently work with and support parents. Hengeller and Sheidow (2012:30) point out that supervisors and organisations/departments must also ensure adequate quality assurance processes that oversee service delivery and case management procedures to measure parent, family and child outcomes.

The courtroom setting and court officials' engagement with parents have been the focus of several studies. Two studies by Peterson-Badali and Broeking (2010, 2009)

added to the earlier study by Varma (2007) showed that court officials tended to exclude parents during the court proceedings. Parents felt overwhelmed during court proceedings: their level of knowledge about court processes and ability to influence decisions made in court about their child were limited. The power imbalance and adversarial nature of the court proceedings further facilitate parents' exclusion and difficulties in participating during court proceedings (Mandin, 2017:329; Tarleton, 2013: 681). The difficulties with parents engaging with and even accessing support within court settings was highlighted in the child protection system and the child justice system (Mandin, 2017; Peterson-Badali & Broeking, 2010, 2009). A South African study found that even in a CJS purported to embrace a restorative justice approach, CJOs fail to physically make space in court to engage parents and limited to no opportunity is provided for parents' to engage in dialogue with officials (Reyneke & Reyneke, 2011). Mandin (2012:329) explained that CJOs must be trained to create an enabling environment for collaboration between parents and CJOs. Presiding officers have to emphasise collaboration and create space where parents and children's concerns are addressed (Mandin, 2017:329). Attorneys on the other hand can help parents understand their role, their rights, the court procedures and support parents' engagement during the court process (Tarleton, 2013:684-5).

2.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presented the literature review related to the current research topic. The review highlighted that policies differ across countries regarding parents with most countries integrating support to parents in their family and child policies. The review revealed that several studies have focused on parenting support rather than supporting parents. Studies indicated that focusing on parenting practices and child outcomes are closely linked with the notion of parenting as a risk factor contributing to child maltreatment, poor academic progress and delinquency. The concept of supporting parents rather than parenting support was unpacked and although identified as an area of research, only a minority of studies focused on supporting parents holistically. The isolation of parenting as a risk factor decontextualises parents and parenting practices resulting in the impact of various ecological systems and risk domains on parents not being adequately acknowledged in

literature. The debate between risk-factor specific interventions to addressing parenting and strength-based, humanising and inclusive/participatory approaches to supporting parents was evident in the literature. Reducing prevention and intervention to risk assessment and intervention was highlighted as problematising parents rather than working with parents to include and support them within the various systems. The need for universal prevention services to support parents was highlighted as a means to normalise support-seeking behaviour in parents. The promotion of targeted interventions to support parents to prevent their children's entry into the CJS was evident in literature, particularly highlighting how social work services can strengthen support to parents. There is a dearth of literature on supporting parents of children, particularly adolescents, in conflict with the law. Available studies mostly focused on delinquency, legislation and parents' involvement during certain phases of the CJP such as the arrest and court phase. The literature reviewed revealed a lack of research on interventions, programmes and practice models exclusively focused on supporting parents of CCL and how to support them prior to, during and after the CJP. The present study aims to contribute to existing literature and practice by proposing a practice model for supporting parents of CCL. The next chapter discusses the theoretical framework that is used as a basis for the present study and explains the key concepts related to the study.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on describing the theoretical framework for the study. A theory “provides a framework for analysis, facilitates the efficient development of the field, and is needed for the applicability to practical real world problems” (Wacker, 1998:361). The selection of the theoretical framework has influenced my perspective, and is shaped by my Social work education and the qualitative research paradigm (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:184). Influenced by Bronfenbrenner’s (1986) Ecological Systems Model on a professional level and, my religious as well as cultural beliefs of “*Ubuntu*”, I assume that all individuals are connected to each other and their experiences, interactions, perceptions or worldview are formed within a social, cultural, religious, political, or gendered context. A theoretical framework forms the foundation for understanding the theory guiding the study (Gumbo, Mathipa & Ngulube, 2015 in Mathipa & Gumbo, 2015:34). The theoretical framework for this study is an integration of the Buffering Effect Model (Cameron & Vanderwoerd, 1997:35) and the Ecological Systems Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986:723). The two models complement each other in that the Ecological Systems Model allows for the identification of each system or subsystem, their level of interaction with the parent and with each other. The Buffering Effect Model helps in understanding how these various systems can support parents during a time of crisis, including the type of support they can offer, and how parents can influence the systems to be responsive to parents’ support needs. Integration of these two models therefore allows for a holistic view of understanding and responding to the support needs of parents of children in conflict with the law at various systemic levels. The selection of these two models is based on parents’ need for support across systems, especially targeted support when their children present with at-risk behaviour or are in conflict with the law. The systems parents may approach for support include their family, friends, colleagues, community members and government or non-government agencies. Parents are also expected to provide emotional and practical support to their child as well as be a “service extender”

(Burke, Mulvey, Schubert & Garbin, 2014:41) by ensuring their children's compliance with any interventions ordered by the court (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015:205). Supporting parents, particularly parents of children in conflict with the law, can be viewed from various theoretical perspectives and programmes for parents often draw from systems theory due to the inter-connectedness of parents to various systems (Mowder, 2005:45). However, through the literature review and findings of the present study it became apparent that parents' need for support is closely linked to and must be understood in the context of their interaction with not only their families or their children but also the various formal and informal systems they influence and are influenced by (Engelbrecht & Kasiram, 2007:4). The central idea in this chapter is that parents are nested within a larger system made up of multiple subsystems both proximal and distal where parents can access either formal or informal support. The nature of parents' relationship or interaction with these subsystems and parents' experience of support from the various systems provide opportunities for support for parents of children in conflict with the law. Various concepts related to the selected theoretical models and the understanding of parental support within these two models is covered in the ensuing subsections: firstly focussing on parents and the subsystems that support them at a micro, meso and macro level as service recipients. Secondly, parents as a subsystem within the "system of concern" (CJS) influencing the CJS and the supra-system it is linked to.

The Social Support perspective of helping, also referred to as "an expanded concept of helping" explains helping children, parents and families as the provision of various types of assistance and support to address the multitude of problems and crises faced by families (Cameron & Vanderwoerd, 1997:3). The term perspective refers to assuming a specific viewpoint influenced by beliefs, theory and or worldview. The social support perspective promotes understanding of an individual's needs, determining the type of support they need and identifying possible formal as well as informal sources of support that can be integrated to provide the necessary support. The support perspective emphasises that superior outcomes are achieved in supporting parents, when "we find ways to construct packages of a broader range of formal and informal support" thereby exposing a variety of opportunities to support them (Cameron & Vanderwoerd, 1997:13). Roberts, Coakley, Washington and Kelley (2014:8) add that supporting parents requires a comprehensive

response rooted in a social-ecological approach. The social-ecological nature of both theoretical models employed in this study namely, the Ecological Systems Model and the Buffering Effect Model, lends itself to the principle of *Ubuntu*, which underpins the African view of self, family and community as being interconnected. *Ubuntu* expounds the very nature of individuals being part of a nested system that is characterised by interdependence, mutual care, shared responsibility, shared social support, communalism, and inclusion (Engelbrecht & Kasiram, 2012:441-442; Nussbaum, 2003:21; Kamwangamalu, 1999:24-26; Cattell, 1997:37). *Ubuntu* therefore implies that individuals, families and communities must provide each other with support. The social support perspective is useful in understanding the type of support individuals need and the Ecological Systems Model helps in locating where the support is needed or which subsystems can provide support. Both models view individual's as service recipients and as having a bidirectional influence on the subsystems they receive support from. Vasishth (2010:7) adds to the Ecological Systems Model by proposing that using an ecological approach also exposes individuals' positions to influence various subsystems, systems and supra-systems through their engagement with these systems as partners, co-constructors and decision makers. Based on this perspective an individual (e.g. a parent) can be a recipient of support or services and parents can collectively influence the type of services and availability of services to parents (e.g. serving as an equal partner on decision-making structures to influence policies and budget allocations for services to all parents). The following section explains the two selected models by giving an overview and defining key concepts within each model as it pertains to the current study.

3.1.1 The Ecological Systems Model

The Ecological Systems Model developed by Bronfenbrenner (1979) draws from Lewin's (1943) field theory and Von Bertalanffy's (1969) general systems approach (cited in Bolger, Caspi, Downey & Moorhouse, in Bolger, Caspi, Downey & Moorhouse, 1988:1). The Ecological Systems Model focuses on where within the micro-, meso- and macro-systems surrounding parents support is needed, and identifies the resources available to either support the person during a crisis or support their psychosocial well-being. When experiencing stressful events people tend to increase their support seeking efforts and may access formal or informal

support from their family, their friends and the various subsystems they are linked to (Uchino, 2009:242). Access to support is influenced by whether support systems are proximal (micro, meso, exo systems) or distal (macro system) (Bolger et al., 1988:2). Access to support can also be hindered by structural, relational and personal barriers. Based on research (Makiwane, Nduna & Khelema, 2016; Gallagher & Truglio-Londrigan, 2004) barriers found to hinder access to formal support include the following:

- Oppressive service environments
- Lack of responsiveness to individual's needs
- Lack of knowledge about available resources or services
- Unclear access or undefined access points for support services
- Complex systems or service criteria excluding individuals from accessing services
- Mismatch between available support services and individual's actual support needs.
- Language, race, status or gender differences between the support provider and support seeker
- Inflexible service hours or lack of after-hour services
- Distance to support service or lack of transport to access support service

The quality and responsiveness of support offered is an important aspect for individuals and families seeking and accessing support. A South African study found that community members often lacked knowledge about available mental health resources and tended to stigmatise individuals who sought support or assistance (Hugo, Boshoff, Traut, Zungu-Dirwayi & Stein, 2003:719). Prior positive experience in accessing and receiving formal or informal support and the presence of existing caring connections with support providers facilitate individual's access or use of support (Gallagher & Truglio-Londrigan, 2004:3). Perceived and received social support have been found to buffer individuals against various stressors. Perceived support refers to the person's subjective view of potential support being available to them should they need it while received support refers to actual support received in assisting the person to cope with a particular stressful incident (Cohen, Underwood, & Gottlieb cited in Allemand, Schaffhuser & Martin, 2015:421; Uchino, 2009:239).

Perceived and received support from informal sources has been closely linked to helping individuals feel a sense of competence in facing the stressor, however, it was also found that informal support was not universally available, and could be associated with shame or an obligation to reciprocate (Attree, 2005:334). Prolonged support received from formal sources of support has been linked to a sense of dependence on professionals or lack of competence to cope with the stressors (Byrne, Salmela-Aro, Read & Jose Rodrigo, 2013; Taylor, 2011; Kaul & Lakey, 2003; Lin, Ye & Ensel, 1999). This points to the need to strike a balance between informal support from micro systems and formal support from exosystems as determined by the support needs of individuals.

Several studies focusing on parenting support, social support and family support have employed the Ecological Systems Model as their framework for understanding parents, families and the support they need or access (Nadeau, Lacompte, Johnson-Lafleur, Pontbriand & Rousseau, 2018; Daly et al., 2015; Evans, Smowkowski & Cotter, 2014). In addressing the needs of parents, support programs generally aim to achieve at least one of three goals firstly, to effect change in the functioning of the person (nucleus) or environment (micro-, exo- and macro-systems) of the focal person. Secondly, to establish and strengthen the support available to the focal person during times of crisis or thirdly, integrating the focal person into existing social networks (micro- and meso-systems) to sustain ongoing social support (Cameron & Vanderwoerd, 1997:84-85). Developing a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law must be underpinned by a theoretical framework that explains the support needs of parents during the time of crisis when their child journeys through the child justice process. It must also explain the type of support needed by parents, the systems or sources of support the parents have access to, how to access the support and address potential barriers to access (Cameron & Vanderwoerd, 1997:13-25).

Dating back to 1912, social workers have been strong proponents of understanding children in conflict with the law in the context of their family (Abrams, 2013:728). This is due to the recognition that childrens' offending does not occur in a vacuum but is linked to the context in which they find themselves. Similarly, understanding the contextual factors that may influence a parent's need for support and the ability

to seek or access support is important in matching the appropriate type of support to the particular stressor experienced by the parent (Uchino, 2009:243). Cohen and Wills (1985:310) agree that social support nested in social ties has a stronger buffering effect during crisis. The Ecological Systems Model posits that each individual is at the centre of nested systems, which have bi-directional influence on the individual and the systems they are connected to. Therefore, stress experienced in one system has an effect on the other systems immediately surrounding that system. Conversely, support experienced in one system has an effect on the other systems surrounding that system. These systems are described as nested layers known as the micro system, the meso system, exo system, and the macro system.

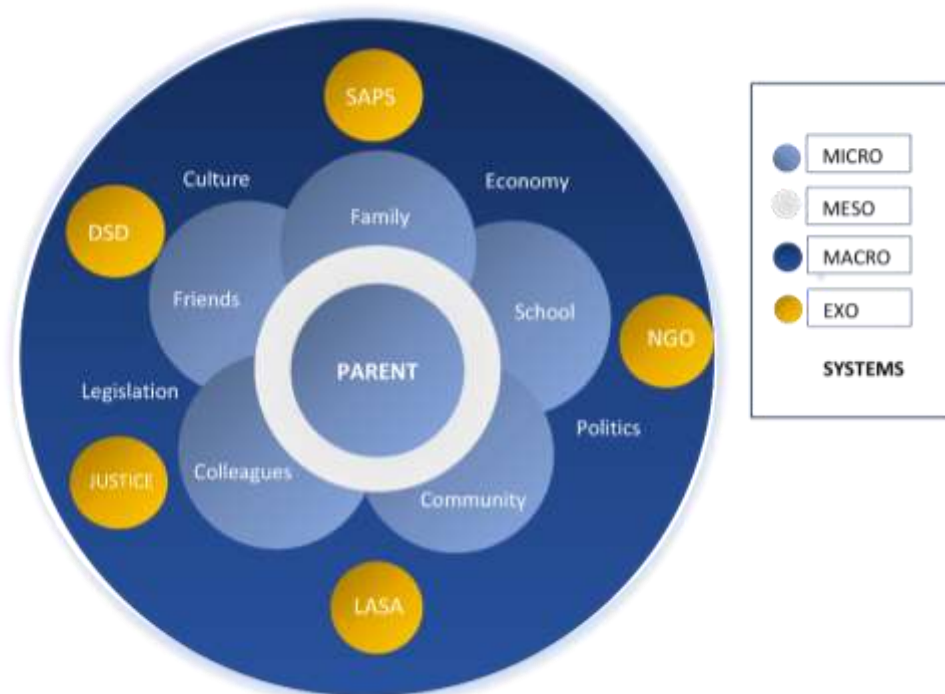


Figure 3.1: Ecological Systems Model (Adapted from Berns, 2007:21)

The individual forms the nucleus or centre of the system with all the other systems surrounding them. The lifespan of the nucleus is referred to as the chronosystem. Figure 3.1 adapted from Berns (2007:21) depicts the various systems surrounding each individual, in this case the parent, as follows:

Micro-systems include individuals or groups that have immediate contact with the focal person (the parent) namely their family, their children's school, their own friends, their community and their place of employment.

Meso-system refers to the interconnection between different microsystems i.e. various combinations of the bidirectional relationships between the micro-systems.

Exo-system refers to the interconnection between one or more settings that do not directly involve the individual but can have an impact on them such as government policies and services (Department of Social Development (DSD); Department of Justice (DoJ), Community policing forums (CPF), school governing body (SGB)).

Macro-system refers to the social blueprint; cultural values; belief systems; societal structures; gender role socialization; race relations; national and international resources.

The Ecological Systems Model is applicable to the present study as it provides "conceptual rigour" in showing the linkages between parents and the different systems and subsystems that parents access or can access support from (Bolger et al., 1988:2). It also shows possible systems in which parents can be included to influence the support and services to them. The model also allows for multimodal prevention and intervention strategies to be targeted at multiple systems (Abrams, 2013:744). When individuals become involved with systems at the exo-level they can either engage with these systems as mere recipients of services or they can recognise that these systems have direct influence on how they experience the delivery of services or lack thereof (Vasishth, 2010:2). It is also important to focus on the macro-level system and the exo-level systems' functioning as their policies, practice and decisions impact their ability to support parents, provide services to parents and engage with parents (Vasishth, 2010:2). Based on the ecological approach, when parents become involved in the system of concern, namely the Child Justice System, they are not there only as recipients of services but can be acknowledged and included as equal partners. Along with the other subsystems such as police, DSD and Justice, parents can engage with and influence the system of concern and the "supra system" i.e., the Social Development sector and the Child Justice Sector. Figure 3.2 shows parents from the position of influence as a

subsystem within the Child Justice System “system of concern” which in turn is nested within the supra system (Vasishth, 2010:7).

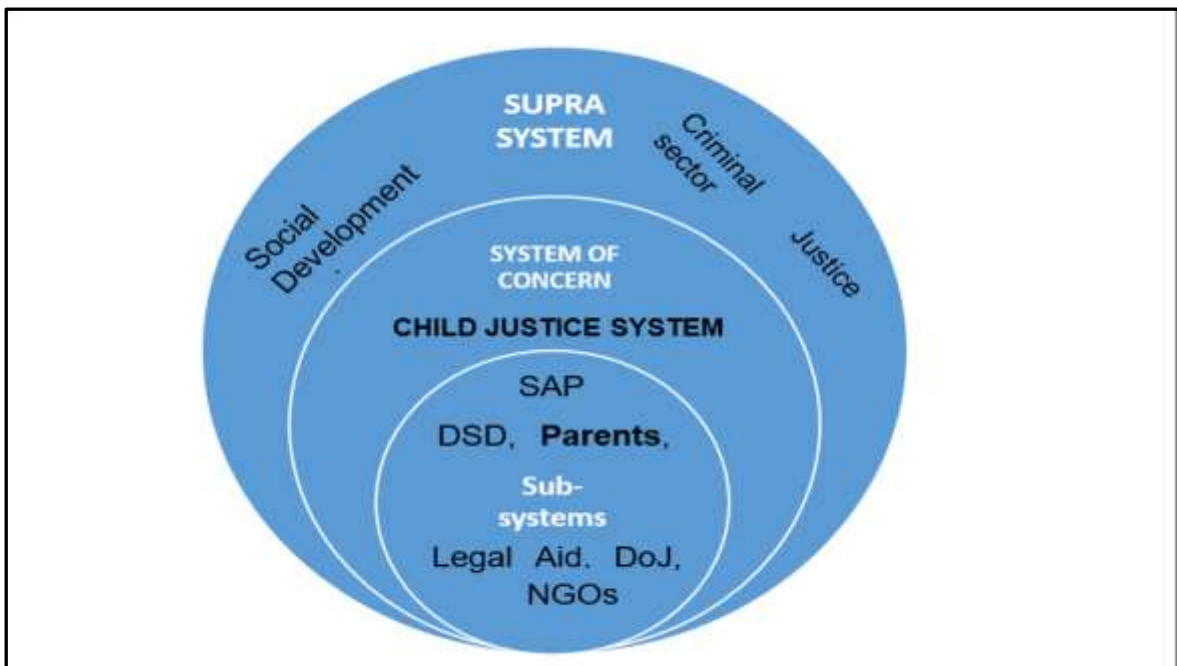


Figure 3.2: Ecological approach with parents as subsystem in Child Justice System (Adapted from Vasishth, 2010:7)

In Figure 3.2 parents assume a position of equal partner in the complex nested system of concern, changing their vantage point and including them at various system levels within decision-making and oversight structures at local, provincial and national levels. The ecological approach as an extension to the Ecological Systems Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986:723) is applicable as it acknowledges the various roles parents assume or can assume within the Child Justice System. This allows parents to be viewed not from a singular, linear perspective (i.e. passive service recipient or within their parenting role) but from a complex and dynamic perspective (i.e. as a holistic person assuming a variety of roles including service advocate, peer supporter, service extender and service user). It also allows parents to not only be impacted by factors at the macro level and within the supra-system but to influence these factors through engagement at provincial and national level in partnership with policy makers.

3.1.2 Social Support – The Buffering Effect Model

The concept of social support emerged in 1976 when Cobb explained that social support refers to a person's perceived sense of support from their social network communicating that they are "cared for", loved and held in "esteem" (1979:300). In Cobb's (1976:310-311) exploration of social support across life transitions including stressful events, the latter author found that social support buffers stress and improves overall health. A review of existing literature revealed two primary models of supporting parents, children and families, namely the Buffering Effect Model and the main (or direct) effect model which are both underpinned by the Ecological Systems Model (Cameron & Vanderwoerd, 1997:35; Bronfenbrenner, 1986:723). Buffering effect can be defined as "social support that acts as a protective factor against the adverse effect of negative life events on psychological well-being" (Garland & Hospel, 2013:572). Main effect refers to "a higher level of social support [that] has a positive effect on psychological functioning of individuals" irrespective of the level of stress they are experiencing (Garland & Hospel, 2013:572). Therefore, the Buffering Effect Model proposes targeted support to parents during the time of crises to help them cope and increase access to resources while the main effect model focuses on the provision of universal psychosocial support to enhance parents' overall well-being and self-worth across their life span (Cameron & Vanderwoerd, 1997:35). The buffering effect model hypothesises that when individuals have access to strong social support systems at the various levels described in Figure 3.1 during times of increased stress; they are better able to cope with the stress and are better insulated against the effects thereof (Feeney & Collins, 2014:114; Thoits, 1985 cited in Cameron & Vanderwoerd, 1997:35).

Buffering effect refers to various factors operating within the person's context at the various system levels to reduce the impact of the stressors they are exposed to (Wills, Sandy, Yaeger & Shinar, 2001 cited by Wills & Yeager, 2003:224). Social support, in general, buffers individuals against a variety of stressors, however, matching the type of support appropriately with the stressful event increases its buffering effect (Vaux, 1988:137-141 in Cameron & Vanderwoerd, 1997:36). This infers that responsive support to a person can only be experienced as supportive when the support provided is aligned to the person's actual support needs as well as perceived by the person as supportive (Feeney & Collins, 2014:132). The full

impact of social support is mostly experienced by individuals during times of stress when they are more open to request and access available support (Lambert, Burroughs & Nguyen, 1999:646). Information and concrete support is more useful in controllable stressful circumstances while strong bonds as well as emotional support are more effective sources of support under uncontrollable stressful circumstances (Uchino, 2009:242). The application of the buffering effect model in the present study allows for exploration of the stressors experienced by parents of CCL in order to describe the various types of support they need and systems of support they can access during the CJP. Increasing parents' social support networks therefore allows them to access a variety of support during times of stress such as informational, material/practical and emotional support which have different buffering effects (Fydrich, Sommer & Brahler, 2007 cited in Allemant et.al. 2015:421; Feeney & Collins, 2014:123). As reflected in Table 3.1 below, each type of support serves a specific function and can be provided by various individuals or agencies connected to the parent and have a matching buffering effect.

Table 3.1: Types of support (Adapted from Vaux, 1988:137-141 in Cameron & Vanderwoerd, 1997:36-41)

TYPE OF SUPPORT	FUNCTIONAL COMPONENT	SOURCE OF SUPPORT	BUFFERING EFFECT
Inoculation	<i>Emotional</i>	<i>Children, spouse/partner, extended family, friends, and community members</i>	The person experiencing supportive interactions during a crisis gains increased confidence in their ability to face the crisis.
Primary appraisal guidance	<i>Educational</i>	<i>Spouse/partner, extended family, friends, social workers</i>	Meaning and supportive guidance may help the person gain an alternative perspective on how to assess and perceive a crisis.
Supportive direct guidance	<i>Concrete</i>	<i>Spouse/partner, extended family, friends, social workers</i>	Direct assistance with resolving stressors within the person's environment where they may have struggled to resolve a problem on their own.
Secondary direct guidance	<i>Educational</i>	<i>Community organisations, religious organisations, social workers</i>	Guidance may help the person explore and identify existing coping resources, which they might not have been aware of without guidance or advice.
Reappraisal guidance	<i>Educational</i>	<i>Spouse/partner, extended family,</i>	Through advice or guidance the person may gain a more realistic view of the

TYPE OF SUPPORT	FUNCTIONAL COMPONENT	SOURCE OF SUPPORT	BUFFERING EFFECT
		<i>friends Community organisations, religious organisations, social workers</i>	stressor and feel less threatened in facing the stressor.
Palliative emotional support	<i>Emotional</i>	<i>Spouse/partner, extended family, friends community workers, religious care workers, social workers</i>	Listening to the person's concerns in an empathic and caring manner may help the person better manage their emotional responses to the stressor.
<i>Redirection</i>	<i>Social integration</i>	<i>Spouse/partner, extended family, friends community workers, religious care workers, social workers</i>	Involving the person in various activities to redirect their focus away from the stressful event.

The various systems that buffer parents during times of stress, for example when they find out their child has clashed with the law and during the child justice process, present various dynamics in their ability to offer support. Informal sources of support are often proximal to parents during the time of stress and are often better positioned to provide emotional support, help them gain perspective on the situation and encourage parents to access support. The subsystems at a micro level can also provide concrete support during times of stress by relieving the person of some of their parental tasks e.g. when parents have to accompany their child to court appearances or attend interventions with their child during the child justice process (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015:215). Formal support systems are able to provide actual support during times of crisis only when parents voluntarily access or are referred by others to access the support offered by these systems. Informational, educational, emotional and practical support can be offered by a variety of formal systems such as religious institutions, children's schools, community based organisations, non-governmental organisations and government departments such as those involved in the child justice system. Thoits (2011:152) explains that supportive strategies employed by both formal and informal sources can vary depending on whether they are supporting the person to solve a problem, to deal with their emotions or cope with a crisis (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Supportive strategies (Thoits, 2011:152)

PROBLEM-FOCUSED SUPPORTIVE STRATEGIES	EMOTION-FOCUSED SUPPORTIVE STRATEGIES	COPING-FOCUSED SUPPORTIVE STRATEGIES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Helping to reframe the problem - Suggesting ways to solve the problem - Intervening directly in the problem situation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Listening to the person - Encouraging the person to vent their feelings - Expressing concern and care for the person - Calming the person - Providing distractions from the problem - Showing understanding of the stressor and its impact 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lesson the situational demands on the person - Help the person cope with their reactions to the demands - Reducing the psychological and physical consequences of the stressor - Spending time with the person - Accompanying them during the stressor

Understanding parenting and parents' needs is important in providing support to them during the time of crisis, particularly parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process. Parents and the support systems surrounding them are briefly discussed in the ensuing sections focusing on the integration of the Ecological Systems Model and the Buffering Effect Model to understand supporting parents of CCL.

3.2 INTEGRATION OF THE ECOLOGICAL SYSTEMS MODEL AND BUFFERING EFFECT MODEL TO UNDERSTAND SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CHILDREN IN CONFLICT WITH THE LAW

The decision to integrate the Ecological Systems Model and the Buffering Effect Model is motivated by the complex context in which parents of CCL find themselves. The nested nature of the systems parents are linked to or are affected by directly or indirectly requires a theoretical model that will situate parents as the focus of support and depict the supportive systems they have or potentially could have access to. Although the African culture views family as the centre (nucleus) rather than parents forming the centre or a separate subsystem, due to the focus of the present study, parents are discussed as, an individual linked to various systems and subsystems (Nhlapo, 1995:211). In understanding parents' functioning the support they have access to and the subsystems that provide the support must be understood (Uchino, 2009:242). Therefore, viewing parents as a separate subsystem helps in exploring and exposing their potential sources of support. Forkan (2010:67) agreed and

showed the benefit of viewing the separate subsystems in families to determine who needed what support when children were involved in the child justice system. He proposed that in working with adolescents one must also concurrently work with their parents and facilitate access to support for both adolescents and their parents (Forkan, 2010:67). Figure 3.3 depicts Forkan's (2010:67) integrated model underpinned by the Ecological Systems Model and Buffering Effect Model for targeting evidence-based services for parents and adolescents.

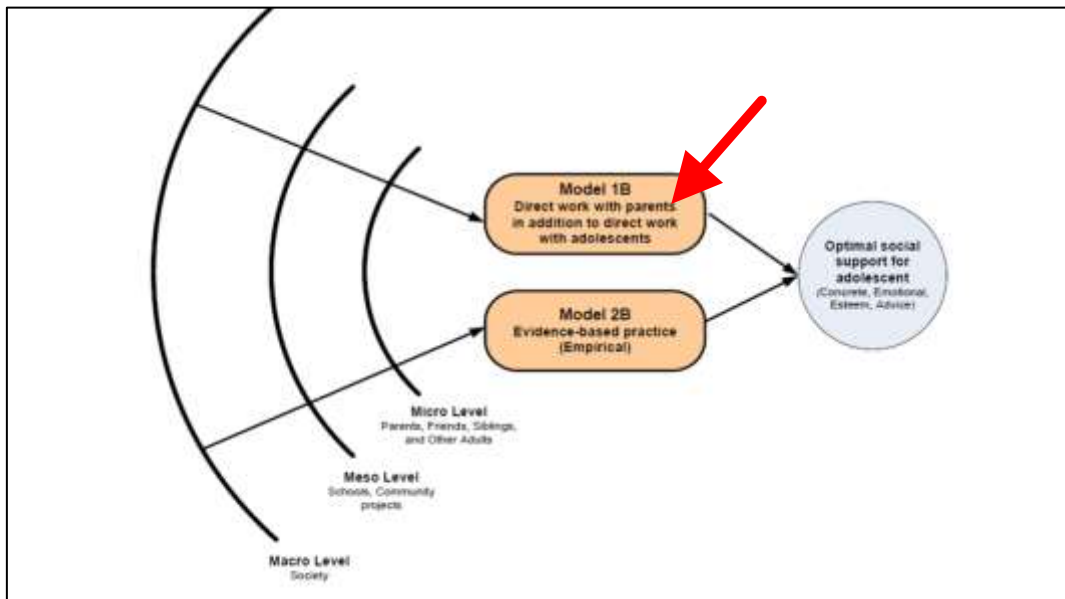


Figure 3.3: Model of an evidence-based approach rooted in the Ecological Systems Model and Buffering Effect Model in the design of direct work with adolescents and parents (Forkan, 2010:67)

This integrated model is suitable in the present study because (indicated by the red arrow in Figure 3.3), the focus will be on the support parents need during the CJP. This involves exploration of potential sources of support within the various systems as proposed in the Ecological Systems Model to buffer parents against stressors experienced as a result of their involvement in the CJS.

In discussing the concepts linked to the two models it became apparent that they are closely linked to the principle of *Ubuntu*. The Ecological Systems Model is reflected in the African view of family members being connected and interdependent with the relationships being based on shared values, culture, support and care. The divergent views of parents as the centre of a family based on the Western perspective and family as the centre from the African perspective highlighted the wealth of support that could be accessed by parents in the latter families. Murray's

(1980:141) description of the African family (see Figure 3.4) as nested within the various ecological systems as the nucleus rather than individuals forming the nucleus is critical in understanding the informal support parents potentially have access to.

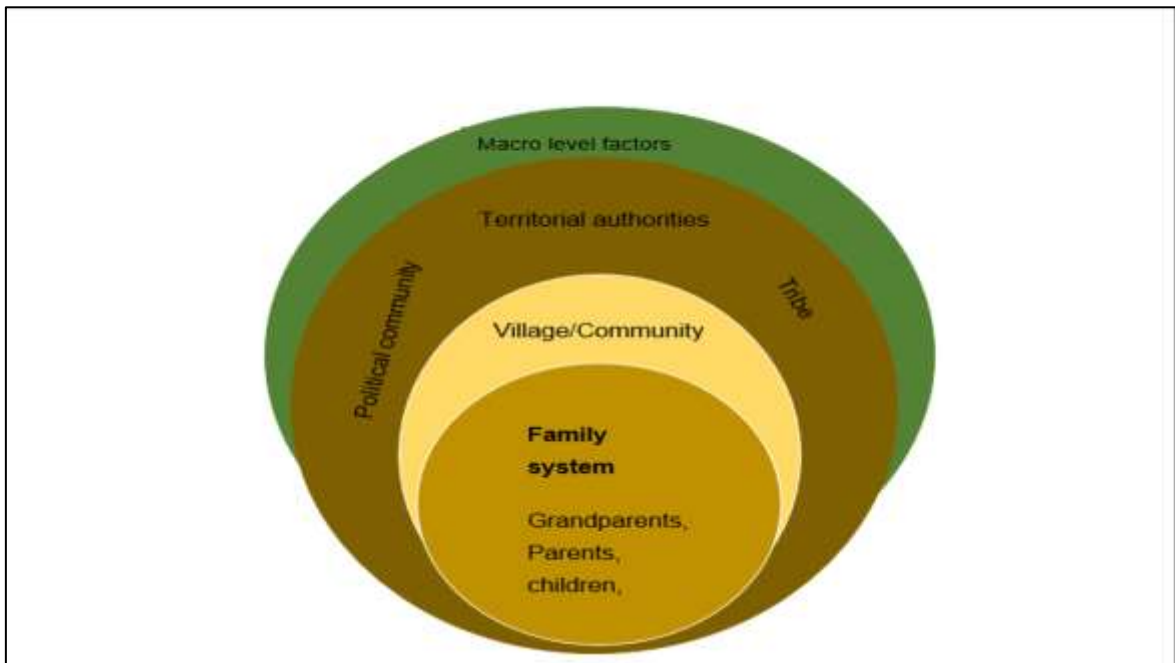


Figure 3.4: Ecological systems view of African family (Murray, 1980:141)

Viewing parents as an integral part of their families rather than the nucleus or subsystem as well as belonging to a wider community indicate the importance of informal support systems within the South African context. However, with parents' migration to urban areas, to places of employment and increased erosion of *Ubuntu* within families and communities, parents need for support and access to support cannot be overlooked. This absence of support is most keenly felt during times of crisis and when parents of CCL fail to mobilise informal support the need for access to formal support increases. Englebrecht and Kasiram (2007:4, 8) highlight that there is a lack of literature and research on how to integrate multisystemic interventions within a complementary policy framework in working with indigenous families and communities. Ideally, the presence of family and community in parents' lives would buffer them against stressors. However, due to many families suffering from the impact of macro level factors such as poverty, inequality, economic exclusion and social injustice, formal systems of support must partner with parents to implement policies and interventions to strengthen support to parents and their

families, particularly parents of CCL. The ensuing sections discuss the various subsystems and sources of support linked to parents to further demonstrate the link between the two selected theoretical models employed in the present study.

3.2.1 Parents

A person becomes a parent when they assume parental responsibilities in respect of a child who they may be related to biologically or through different types of relationships such as adoption, fostering, guardianship, entering into a cohabiting or marital relationship with someone who already has children or being part of a blended family. In South Africa, parents are not necessarily the only adults responsible for fulfilling the parental role. Many African households are characterised by both kin and non-kin adults and children living together (Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998:407). Many parents have to work away from home leaving other relatives to care for their children (Makiwane et al., 2016: xvii). Children from various parents who are kin often reside in the same home and are collectively parented by all the adults and older children in the household (Cattell, 1997:37). Parents are primarily responsible for meeting the basic needs of children and socialising them to function competently within society. However, in the South African context, these responsibilities are shared within the family (Draft Integrated Parenting Framework, 2011(a):34; Cattell, 1997:37). As alluded to in chapter one, parent refers to “a person regarded by children as a parental figure that provides for their physical needs, protect them from harm and impart skills and cultural values until they reach legal adulthood” (Draft Integrated Parenting Framework, 2011(a)). For the purpose of the present study, the term parent refers to any person regarded by the law and/or the child to assume the parental role by fulfilling key parental responsibilities e.g. providing for their basic needs, shelter and protection. In addition, parent will refer to the adult that consistently accompanies the child during the CJP.

Multiple factors influence how parents parent including but not limited to, their own upbringing, their understanding of their parental role in rearing their own children and their children’s responsiveness to their parenting (Roberts, et al., 2014:2, 8). Parents often have to manage multiple roles and relationships with varying demands on their time and energy. These relationships change over time as parents progress through adult life and result in varying experiences that are anticipated and

not anticipated as they navigate their way through these roles and relationships (Allemand et al., 2015:421). Depending on how parents manage their various roles, children can be exposed to parents who feel competent and supported or parents who themselves struggle to manage their own role demands and require support (Roberts et al., 2014:1). Parents who struggle to cope with fulfilling their parenting responsibilities due to intrapersonal or interpersonal stressors, often compounded by extra personal stressors such as poverty, inequality or violence can be termed as “at-risk” parents (Montgomery et al., 2017:1152). The stress and trauma experienced by these parents’ place them “at-risk” of developing both internalising and externalising problems that may negatively affect their parenting resulting in negative outcomes for their children (Abrahams & Matthews, 2011:48). Parents who are “at risk parents” often have a history of poor role models in terms of good parenting, come from low socio-economic backgrounds, struggle to manage their own lives, are unresponsive to their children and are harsh in their discipline (Johnson, Stone, Lou, Ling, Claassen & Austin, 2010 cited in Byrne et al., 2013:46-47). In contrast, parents who are supportive and warm towards their children have often themselves experienced consistent, warm parenting and are able to draw on positive parenting role models to guide their own parenting. Harsh, inconsistent parental discipline coupled with lack of parental nurturance have been strongly linked to adolescent delinquency and negative peer association, while positive parental attachments and consistent discipline serve as a protective factor for children (Mrug & Windle, 2009:521). Parents being available to their children and providing age-appropriate supervision protect children from delinquency (Abrahams & Matthews, 2011:49). However, it must be emphasised that although negative parenting factors contribute to children’s delinquency, children’s negative response to parenting may result in harsh inconsistent parenting (Kerr, Stattin & Burk, 2010).

Parenting styles are combinations of parenting behaviours that occur over a wide range of situations, creating an enduring child-rearing climate (Baumrind, 1989: 349-355). Parents assume different parenting styles with varying outcomes for children and their parents’ experience of parenting (Baumrind, 1989:349-355). Parental behaviour and parent-child interactions can be viewed along three dimensions (McWhirter, McWhirter, McWhirter & McWhirter, 2007:79). McWhirter et al., (2007:79 depicts the three dimensions (see Figure 3.5) as the

permissive/restrictive dimension, hostility/warmth dimension and the calm-detachment/anxious-emotional involvement dimension.

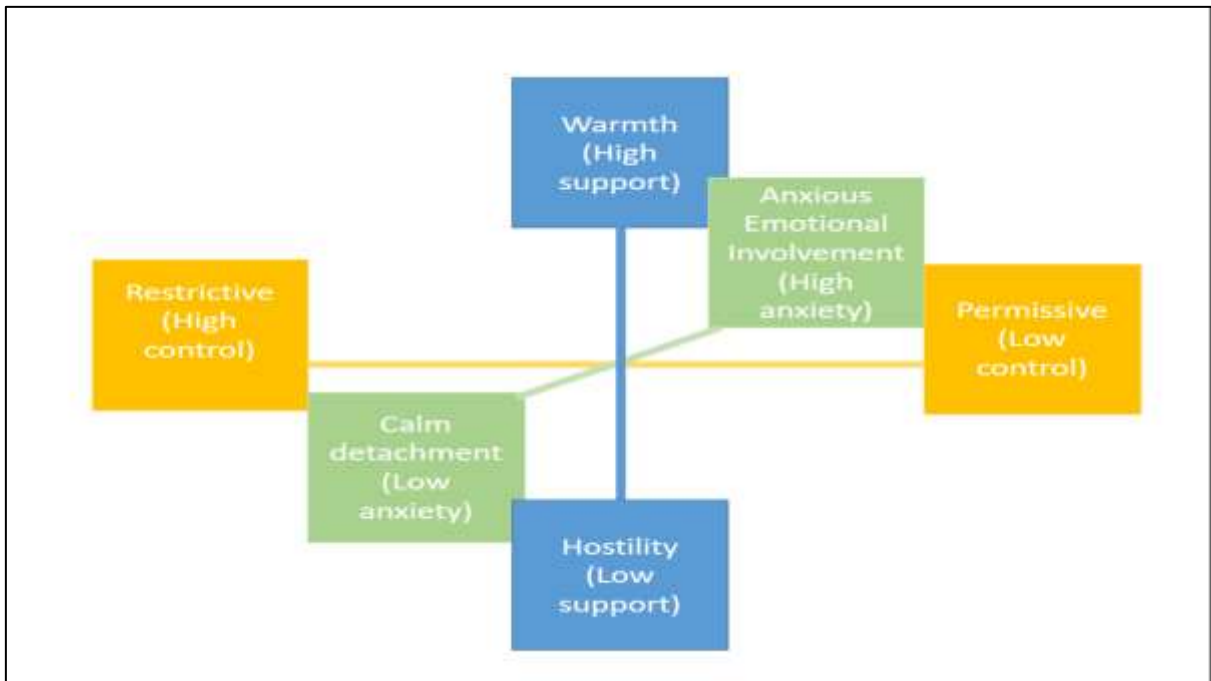


Figure 3.5: Dimensions of child-rearing practices (McWhirter et al., 2007:80)

The dimensions (Figure 3.5) are independent of each other; however; viewing them together facilitates holistic understanding of parenting behaviours. Most parents fall in the middle of the dimensions whilst some parents may engage in behaviours depicted at the extremes of the dimensions placing their children at risk (McWhirter et al., 2007:79).

Parenting behaviours can also be understood within the context of parenting styles, which include permissive, democratic, autocratic or authoritative. The parenting styles refer to parents employing parenting behaviours that range on a continuum of high to low demands in terms of placing demands on their child and high to low emotional warmth towards their child. The different parenting styles involve various parent behaviours with resultant child behaviours.

Parents who employ a permissive parenting style tend to have few or no rules for and expectations of their children. Permissive parenting is low on emotional responsiveness and low on demands. Permissive parents believe that children should navigate their way through life on their own terms and learn from each

experience, whether good or bad. Permissive parents treat their children like little adults capable of making their own decisions and requiring their minimal guidance. Children raised by permissive parents may display independence, disobedience, be demanding, and they risk developing anti-social behaviour expecting parents to protect them from the consequences of their behaviour (McWhirter et al., 2007:84).

The democratic parenting style involves parents allowing children equal participation in all family decisions even when children do not have the capacity to understand the consequences of their choices. Democratic parents have expectations of and set rules for their children but believe they must reach agreement with their children on the rules. Democratic parents' relationship with their children are often characterised as being high in emotional warmth as parents often perceive the child as their equal (Knafo & Schwartz, 2003:579). Children raised by parents employing this style may be more extrovert, socially conscious and goal directed (McWhirter et al., 2007:83).

Parents who use an autocratic parenting style believe that children should be seen and not heard; meaning that the parents make the rules and the children have to obey. These parents are very restrictive in their rules and respond with harsh punishment when children transgress. Autocratic parenting is described as being high on demands and low on emotional warmth as parents are detached emotionally from and non-responsive to their children's emotional needs. Children of parents employing this rigid style of parenting develop fearfulness and may reject authority or engage in manipulative behaviour to evade negative consequences for their behaviour. These children are at high risk of developing anti-social behaviours (McWhirter et al., 2007:83).

The authoritative parenting style involves parents setting rules for children that are age appropriate, they consider their children's views and they explain to their children the reasons for the rules as well as the consequences of transgressing the rules (Knafo & Schwartz, 2003:579). This parenting style is characterised by the parents having clear communication with their children in a supportive manner and allowing children to understand that parents are there to guide them. The authoritative parent is both demanding and responsive in terms of emotional warmth (Darling, Cumsille & Martinez, 2008:1103, 1118). Children, particularly adolescents,

present with positive developmental outcomes and are more satisfied with their relationship with their parents when parents employ the authoritative parenting style. This is because it is more responsive to their emotional needs and allows them to assume age appropriate responsibilities, which help develop their sense of mastery as well as autonomy (Chao, 2001:1832-1843). Supportive and emotionally responsive parenting have been positively linked to better social and academic competence in children as well as fewer problem behaviours (Bean, Barber & Crane, 2006:1337). Madhavan and Crowell (2014:725) found that most children in their study regarded their parent as a role model because of the nurturing and mentoring role they fulfilled in their upbringing. Children raised by authoritative parents tend to be well-rounded, high achieving conformers and display minimal internalising or externalising problems (McWhirter et al., 2007:83).

Parents' parenting styles are not static but dynamic as they are influenced by how their children respond to their parenting style and children's developmental stage. Parenting styles are also impacted by changes in legislation that have advanced children's rights and abolished corporal punishment of children (Abrahams & Matthews, 2011:28). Child centred legislation and the absence of practical guidance on positive discipline strategies for children are perceived as limiting parents' ability to enforce discipline (Segalo & Rambuda, 2018:5). This legislative context may cause parents to alter their parenting styles for fear of transgressing the law which parents, especially those accustomed to enforcing rigid harsh discipline, often perceive as debilitating or as state interference in parent's role. Durrant and Ensom (2017:23), in their review of twenty five years of physical punishment research, explain that within the culture of children's rights practitioners must educate, provide resources and support parents to develop and implement positive parenting skills especially positive discipline strategies. The parenting style of a parent can influence their openness to request and access of support in dealing with the stressors related to their parental role. Parents who are autocratic may not trust others enough to seek support and may not recognise that they need support. These parents may feel isolated and the shame attached to admitting that your child has clashed with the law or that you need support as a parent may further deter these parents from seeking and accepting support (Attree, 2005:320). Parents who are permissive and democratic may seek support, however, this may only occur

once they admit that they need to intervene in their child's life and require support during their child's journey through the child justice system. Authoritative parents may be more open to access and accept support during times of stress, as they feel responsible for providing their child with support and guidance. Various factors may prevent parents from seeking support irrespective of their parenting style including their gender (women are more likely to seek support than men), their socio-economic status (parents from poor communities are less likely to seek support), previous experience of receiving negative support (parents experiencing highest levels of problems are stigmatised and unable to reciprocate support) (Patel, Knijn, Gorman-Smith, Hochfeld, Isserow, Garthe, Chiba, Moodley & Kgaphola, 2017; Attree, 2005). Parents' access to perceived or actual formal and informal support can also be influenced by how they are treated by those offering support. When parents' are labelled as "bad parents" and practitioners lack knowledge on how to provide responsive, empathic and supportive services to parents, parents are less likely to seek or access support (Attree, 2005:334-335). The complexity of factors that influence parents' access to and support seeking efforts may point to the potential benefit of social media platforms as avenues for parents to remain anonymous while seeking support and establish supportive connections with experts, peers and resources. Kasiram and Thaver (2013:158) explain that social workers must explore and employ various strategies to support parents including indirect means such as social media platforms. However, online community connections must compliment/supplement rather than replace "real world" supportive connections with families, communities and practitioners (Kasiram & Thaver, 2013:158).

3.2.2 The support systems surrounding the parent

This section focuses on the various support systems where parents can access support during the stressful time when their child is going through the child justice process. The significant micro systems surrounding the parent include their nuclear and extended family, their place of employment, their own friends, their children's school and the community which can represent a variety of people and community groups (See Figure 3.1 in this chapter). Given the diversity of family structures and culture in South Africa, these micro systems may provide varying levels of support based on proximity and cultural beliefs. Recognising,

incorporating and celebrating indigenous cultural beliefs and practices that advance social support can potentially expose opportunities for increased informal support for parents from these microsystems (Engelbrecht & Kasiram, 2007:8). Each of these systems can offer a layer of support that can buffer the parent against various stressors particularly the “interpersonal processes” at meso level (Feeney & Collins, 2014:114 &116). These systems can further help the person feel better equipped to cope with similar stressors in the future (Wang & Lau, 2015:916; Feeney & Collins, 2014:116). These systems are discussed briefly in relation to the support they can provide to the parent.

3.2.2.1 Family support

Family can be defined as a “group that is related by blood (kinship), adoption, foster care or the ties of marriage (civil, customary or religious), civil union or cohabitation, and go beyond a particular physical residence” (Department of Social Development, 2012:3). Family structures differ and may comprise of various individuals to form a social system that incorporates beliefs, values, culture and economic function (Morison, Lynch & Macleod, 2016:3; Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998:410). Although nuclear families have been promoted as the ideal family structure, most African families live in multigenerational extended families (Morison, Lynch & Macleod, 2016:3; Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998:410; Russel, 1994:61). A South African study involving over 3000 urban and rural families found that 75% of families consisted of multiple relatives (Patel et al., 2013:3). Morison et al. (2016:2) similarly found that less than a third of South African families reflect the nuclear family structure. Table 3.3 below shows the difference between the Western family structure and the African family structure.

Table 3.3: Family structures (Patel et al., 2017:3; Rabe, 2017:1192; Morison et al., 2016:3)

WESTERN FAMILY STRUCTURE	AFRICAN FAMILY STRUCTURE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Married/cohabiting couple - Nuclear family - Biological/adopted children - Based on individualism and independence - Family members outside nuclear family referred to as extended family. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wider circle of family - Family size range between 6 to 15 members - Head of household varies - Include kin and non-kin members - Multigenerational - Based on collectivism and interdependence

African family structure as the dominant family structure in South Africa, has been negatively affected by apartheid, inequality and resultant economic poverty forcing family members, especially parents, to leave their families in search of work (Makiwane, Khalema, Gumede & Nduna in Makiwane et al., 2016:4). The African family structure has also influenced the family system's functioning including parenting roles and styles. Makiwane et al. (2016: xviii) explains that African family functioning is "underpinned by Ubuntu". It has been found that functioning within the African family structure is characterised by complex family relationships with clearly defined roles, tasks and responsibilities shared by kin and non-kin members (Patel et al., 2017:3). Female relatives assume the caregiver role; male relatives assume the protector/provider role and all the adults in the family share the responsibility of providing for everyone's needs (Patel et al., 2017:3; Morison et al., 2016:2). Several studies suggest that although males or fathers have historically assumed the provider role that labour migration and father absence have shifted the traditionally male responsibilities onto females (Montgomery et al., 2017:1158; Theron, 2016:661). This shift warrants increased efforts in engaging males, including fathers, in assuming parenting responsibilities, strengthening their family involvement and supporting them in navigating their role within the African family structure (Eklund & Lundquist, 2017:6; Rabe, 2017:1195; Theron, 2016:662; Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla & Ratele, 2009:1019). It also indicates increased support for female caregivers who carries additional responsibilities in the absence of males/fathers. The African family pools their economic resources and social capital to provide and care for their members. This pooling of resources can increase family members' burden of providing for large families but it can also offer social security when members experience unemployment (Morison et al., 2016:3). Whether parents are part of an African or Western family structure therefore affects their access to support from a few people versus an expanded number of people within their family. Being a parent within an African family implies that parents have access to support from multiple family members; however, it may also mean that they have additional parenting duties toward their own and other children within their family (Patel et al., 2017:3). Viewing parents within the family system alone may on the one hand result in their individual support needs being overlooked but on the other hand, the parent may have access to more informal support. However, it cannot be presumed that parents who are part of an African family structure have

access to consistent informal support. Families must therefore be strengthened to provide responsive and consistent support (Patel et al., 2017:4; Morison et al., 2016:1)

Families, irrespective of their structure, fulfil the role of socialising, nurturing, caring, facilitating positive involvement and providing a sense of security. Parents' ability to fulfil their parental role competently is often influenced by the quality of the relationships they maintain with their family members, be it the co-parenting relationship, the parent-child relationship or the marital/cohabiting relationship (Bandura, 1997 cited by Merrifield & Gamble, 2012:511). It must be noted that the role of parents may be assumed by various family members or caregivers such as grandparents, siblings, and extended family. Close and caring relationships within the meso system have been strongly linked to the overall well-being of parents particularly when they are socially integrated and their close relationships are responsive to their support needs (Feeney & Collins, 2014:113 & 116). A parent who maintains a stable and loving relationship with their spouse or their children's father or mother in the case of single or unmarried parents is often a better parent (Merrifield & Gamble, 2012:511). They are more likely to co-parent in a manner that facilitates sharing of parental responsibilities and support each other in fulfilling their parental roles. Mother-father relationships that are characterised by conflict, emotional turmoil and unequal distribution of parental duties are often linked to poorer developmental outcomes for children and parents who feel unsupported in fulfilling their parental role (Roberts et al., 2014:2). Parents working out of town, working long hours or parental absence may also result in some parental duties being shared with their children or extended family.

The marital relationship can have a positive and negative spill over effect on the co-parenting relationship and vice versa (Merrifield & Gamble, 2012:513). The marital/cohabiting relationship can often have a buffering effect for the parent in managing the stressors they face in their parenting role in terms of offering immediate support and feedback on their parenting practices (Merrifield & Gamble, 2012:513). Parents who work away from home are in a better position to provide support to the stay-at-home parent and their children, as they are not exposed to the same daily stressors at home (Bean et al., 2006:1350). This is contrary to when

parents employed as migrant workers, work for extended periods away from their families (Cattell, 1997:37). These parents often miss valuable time with their children and may, at times, struggle to parent from a distance or resume their parental role upon their return. Migrant workers may also experience marital strain due to their prolonged absence. The marital relationship can have a spillover effect on parenting in terms of parents being emotionally affected by their marital discord resulting in harsh parental practices and in some cases parental responsibility being transferred to grandparents (Duflo, 2000:393). The spillover effect can also occur, particularly where undermining co-parenting results in discord between parents as a couple and parents feeling inadequate in their parenting practices. Parents can also experience feeling overwhelmed or strained by the caregiver demands placed on them in the face of poverty, inequality, exclusion or unemployment without “responsive support systems” (Montgomery et al., 2017:1152, Makiwane et al., 2016:xiii). The spillover effect from the co-parenting role to the marital role was particularly evident in the case where children were in conflict with the law and their parents experienced marital tensions due to their differing views on their parental role in respect of their child (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015:215).

An event such as a child clashing with the law is often experienced by families and parents in particular as stressful, having repercussions not only for the child but also for the entire family. Parents can often experience shame or blame from their families and communities especially when they are seen as blameworthy resulting in them feeling “less deserving” of receiving support (Thoits, 2011:151). Family conflict often arises due to the additional demands made on the family to increase their efforts to monitor and support the child who has been in conflict with the law (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015:215). Parents’ inability to cope with the additional responsibilities may increase given the limitations placed on parents by children’s rights legislation on parents’ disciplining practice and parents’ lack of knowledge/skills on how to employ positive discipline strategies with their children (Durrant & Ensom, 2017:23). Supporting parents and families to strengthen their ability to cope with various demands placed on them, especially stressors experienced during times of crisis, is critical in strengthening family relationships and increasing family support (Patel et al., 2017:4; Thoits, 2011:152). Families who are characterised by strong social bonds experience an increase in social support

that contributes to its members' overall psychological well-being while socially isolated families on the other hand have been linked to poor psychosocial outcomes for family members (Uchino, 2009:240-241). Fathers in particular found their relationships with their own fathers, male relatives and non-relatives as important sources of support and guidance in fulfilling their parental role (Roberts et al., 2014:8). Families with resident grandparents and close ties to their extended family, as is the case in many African families, have shown better educational outcomes for children and positive developmental outcomes as the extended family members often provide support and guidance for parents as well as children (Madhavan & Crowell, 2014:718-719). In South African cultures, relying on grandparents is traditionally observed as grandparents are viewed as being wise, having the entire family's interest at heart and often assume a primary parenting role or a co-parenting role when mothers or fathers work away from their families (Patel et al., 2017:2). Differences and similarities between grandparents and parents' parenting styles can serve either as a protective factor or as a risk factor in children's care. When grandparents are close to their grandchildren who live with them, they have been found to reduce parents' likelihood of being authoritative and employing harsh discipline as well as protecting children from negative family conditions (Akhtar, Malik & Begeer, 2017:603). Parenting styles have been found to be transferred across generations and parenting remains stable across generations (De Carli, Tagini, Sarracino, Bonaldi, Cesari & Parolin, 2018:49 & 59). Therefore, the risk exists of negative parenting styles persisting within an expanded family structure warranting practitioners to focus on identifying and engaging parents, grandparents and caregivers within a family structure to improve parenting behaviour. Similarly, positive parenting styles and behaviour can also be transmitted across generations serving as a protective factor for children. Parents' siblings may also offer examples of positive parenting behaviour, providing support and guidance during the time of stress and can share the parental tasks to lighten their load (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015:215). Parents' access to family support can be immediate and can have a positive effect on their ability to cope with their child journey through the child justice process. However, the quality of the bonds and the family's ability to provide the necessary support is an important determining factor in how the parent experiences the support provided by their family. Parents often access external support from their places of employment that can further insulate them against the stress

experienced at home because of their child's clash with the law. The support offered by the parent's place of employment will be discussed in the next section.

3.2.2.2 Place of employment as support

As primary provider for the basic needs of children, many families have at least one parent/caregiver leaving the family residence to earn an income. Although many parents work in the informal employment sector, some parents are employed in the formal work sector where they are able to access support either through colleagues or through the available employee assistance programmes. Employee assistance programmes can be defined as any programme offered by an organisation or company aimed at supporting employees in dealing with personal and professional challenges (Public Service Commission, 2006:8). Employers' provision of employee assistance has increased considerably over the years becoming more comprehensive in responding to employees' needs. Employee assistance programmes may include access to counselling services, psychological services, psycho-educational programmes, childcare and even primary health care services. Parents employed at companies with such programmes are therefore able to access formal support services as needed in helping them cope with work-life balance, life crises or stressful events (Cooklin, Westrupp, Strazdins, Giallo, Martin & Nicholson, 2014:3 & 16). In addition, supportive relationships with colleagues can also have a buffering effect in terms of colleagues being in a position to listen to the person's concerns in an empathic and caring manner that may help the parent better manage their emotional responses to stressors.

Unfortunately, parents who are not employed in the formal sector would not have access to these services and similar to unemployed parents they would have to seek support from the Department of Social Development (DSD), other non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or other informal sources of support such as family, friends or the community. Parents employed in the informal sector or on part-time/casual basis in the formal sector may have an increased need to access support services as they often experience higher job and financial strain due to their job insecurity and unpredictable income (Otto, Hoffmann-Biencourt & Mohr, 2010:623). When parents of CCL have to take time off from work to accompany their children to court this can cause both financial and work related tension as

parents may not receive payment for time taken off or may even be dismissed. This strain can be further compounded when high unemployment rates exist at a macro level as is the current reality in Eastern Cape and more generally, in South Africa.

The system of migrant labour has since pre-apartheid years affected parents' ability to remain with their families while earning a living (Cattell, 1997:37). The inherited inequality, inequity, poverty and unemployment have forced many parents to make the difficult choice of seeking employment and working away from their children for extended periods. Parents working away from home could result in them struggling to resume parental authority and maintain a close parent-child relationship. Parents' work demands can therefore have a spillover effect on their parenting behaviour and influence their interaction with their children in terms of the amount of time and energy they are able to invest in their relationship with their children. Parents experiencing work-family conflict often display hostile, inconsistent and harsh parenting due to their lack of time and energy, which is a requirement of warm responsive parenting (Cooklin et al., 2014:5, 7). While employment may provide a parent with the opportunity to ensure their family's access to financial resources, it also places workload and time demands on parents that may have a negative spillover effect in terms of influencing their ability to adequately fulfil their parental role (Cooklin et al., 2014:4). Given the high unemployment rate, especially in the unskilled labour market, that constitutes the larger part of the South African work force, many parents are faced with this reality on a daily basis (Bhorat, 2005). The high levels of poverty and the high cost of living in South Africa further compound this situation where employers are in the privileged position to exert increased demands on parents' time and energy as employers have access to a large pool of unemployed workers.

When parents, especially single parents, experience the work demands coupled with their other role demands as exceeding their available time, capacities and energies often resulting in distress and guilt, it is referred to as "role overload" (Pearlin, 1989:245 cited in Koltai & Scheiman, 2015:181). In exploring the buffering effect of job pressure and socio-economic status many employees experience role overload when having to cope with job demands and resource limitations in completing their job related tasks (Koltai & Scheiman, 2015). Employees with higher

educational and income levels appear to experience better health and well-being than employees with lower educational levels and income experience, poorer access to work and personal resources (Koltai & Scheiman, 2015:181-183). Employees with higher status positions were also found to experience high job pressure and blurring of their work-family roles. For example, parents employed as migrant labourers, domestic workers and shift employees which require long work hours, out of town travel or having to live in a location other than where their family resides, can also place strain on the parent-child relations, the couple relationship and the parents' ability to consistently fulfil their parental tasks due to their intermittent or long-term absence (Cooklin, 2014:17). The provision of resources, both work related and personal, can have a strong buffering effect for workers with high and low socio-economic status but more so for workers with low-socio-economic status as they often have limited resource options available (Koltai & Scheiman, 2015:184). They further explain that these workers often experience multiple benefits from accessing work and personal resources resulting in improvement in their overall well-being (Koltai & Scheiman, 2015:192). Abdulla and Goliath (2015:214) found that parents of children in conflict with the law experienced increased strain on their work-life balance, as they had to take time off from work to transport their child to diversion programmes and attend court during work hours. Parents, especially parents in low status jobs, also reported having to be untruthful to their employers about their whereabouts when they had to attend court, as they did not want to be reprimanded for taking time off during work hours (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015:214). In dealing with the increased stress experienced by parents during their child's journey through the child justice process, friends can provide a variety of support to parents to buffer the effect of the stress. The supportive role parents' friends play during stressful times is discussed in the following section.

3.2.2.3 Friends as support

Relationships with friends during adulthood are driven by the need to maintain interpersonal relationships with peers that is characterised by trust, satisfaction and opportunity for self-disclosure (Welch & Houser, 2010:354). Individuals trust friends intrinsically more than strangers due to the reciprocal value and social bonds they offer (Fareri, Chang & Delgado, 2015:8176). Friends are more attuned to one's need for support and are able to provide emotional as well as instrumental support

during times of distress (Gillespie, Lever, Frederick & Royce, 2015:710). The reciprocal nature of friendships increases an individual's need for friendships that are satisfying and contribute to their overall well-being (Gillespie et al., 2015:713; Hartup & Stevens, 1999:76). Adults, particularly parents, tend to decrease their number of friends, as they get older and the demands on their time and energy increase due to their parental role (Gillespie et al., 2015:729). Adults spend only ten percent of their time with friends and often fuse their parent, work and friendship roles (Hartup & Steven, 1999:76-77). Friendships are particularly significant when adults do not have romantic attachments as they serve as a source of support in the absence of a romantic partner (Gillespie et al., 2015:730; Welch & Houser, 2010:355). Parent's connections with friends offer them a sense of belonging and access to support such as advice, empathy, finances and at times temporary childcare (Ochieng, 2011:430-431). Parents who reside in urban areas may have easier access to support from friends, however; the lack of safety may hinder their support seeking efforts. Parents' in rural areas may struggle to access friends due to vast distances, lack of transport and lack of internet access, which is expensive. The increased use of social media to connect with friends may increase parents' access to friends and it can isolate parents as it limits their face-to-face contact with friends (Kasiram & Thaver, 2013:158).

Parents who are socially connected with a close circle of friends are often able to access support from friends during times of role overload or times of crisis. Based on the African view of community, friends including neighbours, are considered an extension of the family and are expected to provide social support. Despite *Ubuntu* being emphasised as central to African communities, the influence of western values has resulted in its erosion with communities increasingly characterised by distrust, individualism and self-reliance (Engelbrecht & Kasiram, 2012:443). The incidences of crime and substance abuse in many communities have further created distrust in communities. Community members who are perceived to be part of the problem are often stigmatised and "othered" as outside of or not part of the community (Johnson & Duffet, 2002 cited in Hess, Molina & Kozlezki, 2006:152). Substance abuse and involvement in crime are often perceived as self-inflicted problems reducing the likelihood of communities offering support to parents of CCL, including children involved in substance abuse (Thoits, 2011: 151; Hugo et. al.,

2003:719). Considering that sense of belonging and maintaining positive relations with friends and communities serve as a conduit for accessing informal support, addressing issues of stigma and facilitating restorative measures to strengthen friendship/community ties is vital in supporting parents and CCL (Thoits, 2011:149). Reviving *Ubuntu* within communities may enable friends to offer a range of support such as emotional and concrete support as well as model to parents how to manage their parental roles (Engelbrecht & Kasiram, 2012:441).

Conversely, parents' friendships can also serve as a source of stress if friendships are characterised by conflict or competitiveness (Hartup & Stevens, 1999:78). Depending on the quality of parents' friendships and the closeness of the friendship network, parents' friendships could have either a negative or a positive effect on their parental role. Adults' social relationships, particularly their friendships, have been found to enhance their sense of self-worth and competence as well as serve as a vital source of ongoing support especially during times of stress (Cherry, Jackson Walker, Silva Brown, Volaufova, LaMotte, Welsh, Joseph Su, Michal Jazwinski, Ellis, Wood & Frisard, 2013: 52-53). Adults often have limited time to invest in their relationships with their friends due to their obligations towards their career and family (Cherry et al., 2013:65). Support from friends during times of stress or crises, particularly where the person has limited spousal or family support, has a significant stress buffering effect on adults and improves their ability to cope better during the stressful event. As a potential source of informal support for parents, cultivating and maintaining supportive friendships is important for parents' overall well-being, and more especially during times of stress. Parents' limited time to engage with and access support from friends have seen many parents use social media platforms for peer support provided that they are not shamed on these platforms. The internet and social media have become a virtual space with blogs on parenting and chat groups (Pedersen & Smithson, 2010:88-89 cited in Taiwo, 2010). Baker, Sanders and Morawska (2017:923) found that parents, especially aged 20-30 years of age, access support and information on parenting via social media and internet websites. Parents who struggle to access support from informal sources often have to resort to more formalised systems of support such as their child's school or members of their community. These formal sources of support have

an opportunity to step in when informal support is unavailable, inadequate or unresponsive to parents' needs (Attree, 2005:320).

3.2.2.4 School support

Post-apartheid, one of the main priorities of the government was to desegregate the education system and facilitate access to formerly white schools for non-white learners. Desegregation unfortunately has only benefitted learners whose parents are able to or barely able afford to send their children to formerly white schools whose school fees can cost as much as R20 000 per year (Hunter, 2017:5). Spaul (2013:436) found that South Africa currently has a “dualistic education system”, one for the have’s and one for the have nots. The schooling system continues to perpetuate class and race inequalities privileging the wealthy to the disadvantage of the majority of South Africans living in poverty (Hunter, 2017:3; Spaul, 2013:436). Parents and learners living in poverty are faced with having to contend with poor living conditions, lack of access to basic services, experience overcrowding and have limited access to financial resources (Patel et al., 2017:3). The dualistic school system has seen many parents striving to send their children to formerly white schools in the hope that their children will have better academic opportunities resulting in improved employment prospects (Hunter, 2017:11). The higher quality of education in formerly white schools and their resources such as trained teachers, infrastructure, teaching materials and financial support is viewed by parents as contributing to better outcomes for learners in terms of academic success (Lumby, 2015:401 & 403). This migration increases the financial burden on parents for transport fees and school fees (Soudien, 2004:106 in Chisholm, 2004). The major differences between schools in black/coloured communities and white communities continue to exist with many parents of colour resorting to sending their children to schools in the latter communities (Yamauchi, 2005:230, Soudien, 2004:89 in Chisholm, 2004). Schools in the townships are characterised by poor academic performance, high grade repetition, high learner dropout, high teacher absenteeism and major resource limitations (Taylor, Muller & Vinjevd, 2003 cited in Spaul, 2013:437). Parents of learners in township schools experience multiple challenges and make immeasurable sacrifices to ensure their children attend school with the hope that their children will gain good quality education and better employment prospects. Similarly, many parents also sacrifice to send their children to formerly

white schools, where although their children experience better quality education, parents and their children feel alienated from the schools due to the geographic distance or Euro-centric approach of these schools (Hunter, 2017:7). However, these parents' struggles are not necessarily recognised by teachers and schools who often blame parents or alienate parents rather than support or collaborate with parents (Attree, 2005:320).

Together with parenting, schools are one of the main socialising agents for children creating opportunity for children, including adolescents, to form attachments to peers and teachers (Mrug & Windle, 2009:519). Parental involvement in children's lives and their schooling has been positively associated with children's academic achievement and their sense of connectedness to their school (Mrug & Windle, 2009:535). This is particularly important as poor school attachments have been found to contribute to adolescents' involvement in anti-social behaviour and negative peer association (Mrug & Windle, 2009:535). Parents' relationship with the child's school is also an important factor in a child's connectedness to the school, their academic progress and their attitude towards their schoolwork. Parents' interest in a child's schoolwork and progress often sets the scene for the parents' ability to engage with the teachers and access support from the school when needed. Parents' relationship with schools/teachers is, however, dependent on whether opportunities are created within the school setting for positive and collaborative parent-teacher engagement. Parents' are often blamed by teachers as contributing to learner's poor progress, misbehaviour and shifting parental duties to teachers (Nunan & Ntombela, 2018:10; Segalo & Rambuda, 2018:5). Segalo and Rambuda (2018:5) identified various factors that may influence parent-teacher relationships, these include:

- Parents' status in terms of their employment status, social standing and financial status as teachers seemed more amenable to maintaining positive relationships with parents who are from the middle class, are professionals and enjoy social status.
- Parents' ability and availability to participate in school meetings and support school activities.

- Parents' cultural, racial and language matching the teacher or the dominant culture/race/language in the school.

These factors may prejudice non-white parents of learners in formerly white schools as they may struggle to form meaningful relationships with their children's teachers based on status, cultural, racial or language differences and may struggle to attend school meetings/activities due to transport issues. Some schools also offer programmes for parents to learn how to support their children's development and learning through programmes offered by the Department of Social Development and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Practitioners and educators must, however, be trained on how to work with parents from diverse cultures, races and socio-economic backgrounds with the view to facilitating collaboration and mutual support (Attree, 2005:334-335). The relationship between the parent, teacher and school can serve as a medium through which parents can be supported in fulfilling their parental role in facilitating their child's positive educational progress. Schools can also provide a platform for parents to meet other parents where they could form supportive networks with each other which could extend beyond the school.

Parents' experience various stressors and strains that impede their ability to engage with schools and foster meaningful relationships with teachers, which in turn deprives parents of an opportunity to access support from teachers. Against this backdrop, it is not surprising that teachers report a lack of parenting and parental involvement as problematic in dealing with learner's needs and, at times perceive that they are expected to fulfil parental tasks because of parents failing to fulfil children's parenting needs (Lumby, 2015:409). Through the establishment of School Governing Bodies (SGB) in terms of section 16 (1) of the Schools Act, 84 of 1996 (Department of Basic Education, 1996) Schools in South Africa are required to encourage the involvement of parents in schools' management and their children's education. The SGB creates a mechanism through which parents take responsibility for the effective operation of schools and ensure parent representation at the school. Many schools host parent-teacher meetings at least once a term to create opportunities for parents to engage with the teacher on their child's progress and discuss ways to support the child and the parents in ensuring adequate academic progress. A study by Mncube (2009:83) exploring parents' participation

in SGBs found that parents of colour are reluctant to participate in these structures for the following reasons:

- Parents' low educational levels
- Power struggles in the SGB
- Lack of information on parental involvement in school activities
- Fear of academic victimisation of their child
- Language barriers
- Difficulty in attending meetings

The study recommends that schools must be more inclusive, collaborative and adaptable to suite parents' needs as well as ensure parent involvement in decision making (Mncube, 2009:84, 96). Inclusion must focus on collaborating with parents to enable their ability to influence school decisions and advocate for their children's needs (Hunter, 2006:151). Teachers are a potential source of support for parents however, this is dependent of them forging positive relationships and open, consistent communication with parents. Teachers through their daily contact with children are in a prime position to identify and alert parents to children's potential at-risk behaviour. As professionals, they are also trained in child development and have some knowledge of available formal organisations and departments parents can be referred to for psychosocial support. Parents' are an important stakeholder in schools, however, in impoverished communities schools must mobilise not only parents, but community members and relevant stakeholders to facilitate mutual support for better parent and child outcomes (Damon, 2012:32).

3.2.2.5 Community support

Parents and their families form part of a broader community, which offers relationship networks beyond the extended family. Neighbours and community groups provide the social context where children and their families are able to form non-familial social bonds that can offer support, guidance and resources that buffer the family against various stressors. The values of the community in terms of whether they promote interdependence or self-reliance of its members can determine whether parents and families in general seek support from the larger community. Wang and Lau (2015:917-918) explain that individuals that reside in

communities characterised by members having a need to maintain communal harmony will often not seek support from neighbours as they do not want to burden them and may experience a sense of guilt when seeking support. However, if they feel that they can reciprocate the support received they are more likely to seek support from their community. In contrast, where individuals are encouraged to pursue their individual needs before community needs, they are often more open to seeking and receiving support during times of stress.

The type of community where parents reside often determines the nature of support and the quality of community relationships as well as resources they have access to. Communities characterised by high unemployment, poor socio-economic conditions, high crime rate and poor access to basic services have been strongly linked to poor outcomes for children and their families (Bowen, 2014:113). Children who are able to temporarily escape these communities when they attend schools in more affluent communities may experience better academic outcomes at the expense of strong community bonds as they often feel alienated from their communities (Hunter, 2017:11). While parents may have closer social bonds with the community, the community has shared difficulties in meeting their basic needs which often reduces their ability to share resources. Rural communities in particular pose difficulties for parents in terms of access to resources and support; however, they often have access to extended families to help with parental duties (Bowen, 2014:118). The majority of South African communities, particularly women and children, are exposed to multiple societal and community stressors due to the government's lack of progress in facilitating access to employment and basic services (Bowen, 2014:118). Stressors such as poverty, unemployment, inequality, crime, domestic and sexual violence have a significant impact on communities and their ability to thrive as well as support each other (Bowen, 2014:112-114). Sixty-seven percent of South African families live in poverty and half of these families have no person employed in the household (Hall, Woolard, Lake & Smith, 2012 cited by Bowen, 2014:113). Most South African's lives have not improved despite government efforts to address poverty through the provision of social grants. By 2017, over seventeen million South Africans were recipients of some form of social grant and many school feeding schemes have been introduced to help support communities and families in meeting their basic needs (A statistical summary of

social grants in South Africa). Communities can provide a variety of resources and support networks to parents; however, the socio-economic condition of the community will often determine the availability, access and quality of these resources and support networks. The lack of community cohesion, prevalence of substance abuse and crime have been identified as barriers to families accessing community support (Engelbrecht & Kasiram, 2007:5-6). Communities with high levels of disorganisation characterised by poverty, substance abuse, police disinterest in community problems, lack of positive role models and resources translates into fewer opportunities for social support (Byrnes & Miller, 2012:1658). Communities with strong social ties, common goals and shared norms increase parents' access to social support (Byrnes & Miller, 2012:1674). Breetzke (2010:447) highlighted the impact of apartheid on community disorganisation resulting in many black communities being fragmented, overcrowded, marginalised and "entrapped" in poverty. National government have to put strategies in place to address social disorganisation and the resultant fear or mistrust in communities (Breetzke, 2010:448). Government agencies located in communities are responsible for providing support services and resources to parents, however, given the demand for these services and limited resources these agencies struggle to give full effect to the various policies or legislation that make provision for the implementation of these services to parents and the community as a whole. Partnership between communities and various stakeholders is necessary in strengthening communities to support parents and increase community cohesion (Engelbrecht & Kasiram, 2007:7)

3.2.3 Societal and legislative support

The provision of support for parents at a macro-level by the supra system, the CJS and its subsystems is guided by various pieces of legislation and policies that affect parents and describe how different government departments must support parents, particularly those of children in conflict with the law. Cattell (1997:39) calls on government to embrace its role to support parents in the spirit of *Ubuntu* and to work in partnership with parents. The Children's Act 38 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006), which is the primary legislation governing services to children, and parents' responsibility towards their children along with the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (2009) provide the legislative framework for dealing with children in conflict with the

law. The White Paper on Families in South Africa (2012:38) describes a continuum of services in support of families while the Draft Integrated Parenting Framework (2011(a):12) describes the support services that can be provided to parents throughout the child's lifespan. The latter framework, however, fails to translate the proposed parenting strategies into practice and involve parents in guiding parenting support. The duty to provide support for parents is contained in the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (1985, part 1 (1.2 & 1.3)) and the United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (1990, IV. Paragraph 16). This is further supported by Article 20 (2 a & b) of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the African Child (1990). This support is especially important in the context of children's rights legislation that alienates parents and that fails to recognise parents' struggles in fulfilling their responsibilities (Durrant & Ensom, 2017:20).

The leading government agency responsible for giving effect to the above-mentioned legislation and facilitating the provision of support services as well as resources to parents is the Department of Social Development (DSD). As reflected in the White Paper for Social Welfare 1997 DSD should "provide rehabilitative, preventative, developmental and protective services and facilities, as well as social security" to all citizens to ensure their overall well-being. Other government agencies and non-governmental agencies such as Community Policing Forums, the Department of Justice and the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO) are also involved in supporting these services. Collaboration between various stakeholders is encouraged to facilitate holistic services when working with parents, children and families. The Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (2009) legislated the intersectoral collaboration between child justice stakeholders in addressing issues related to child justice while the Integrated social crime prevention strategy (2011(b):20) further stipulates the provision of services to children in conflict with the law and their parents to strengthen families.

3.3 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presented the theoretical framework for this study, namely an integration of the Ecological Systems Model and the Buffering Effect Model in an

effort to contextualize and understand parents of children in conflict with the law and their support needs. The selection of this integrated model is based on the view that the “Buffering effect model of social support is essentially an ecological approach that posits that access to social support helps to achieve a better balance between a person’s personal and social resources and the problems that have to be managed” (Unger & Wandersman, 1985 cited in Cameron & Vanderwoerd, 1997:37). Both models were briefly explained and each support system surrounding parents was discussed to demonstrate the link between the parent and the potential supportive role each system can play in buffering the effect of the stress parents experience as their child journeys through the child justice process. The following chapter explains the research process followed in the present study.

CHAPTER 4:

APPLICATION OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter one provided a contextual background and rationale for the study and provided an overview of the research methodology that enabled a systematic participatory approach to addressing the research problem. Chapter two discussed the findings of the literature review, situated the present study within the context of existing literature and the contribution of the present study to the development of existing knowledge. Chapter three described the integrated theoretical lenses utilised to understand the findings of the present study and highlighted the systemic nature of the various systems. This chapter presents the application of the research methodology employed in the study. The qualitative research approach and the research design namely, Participatory Action Research (PAR) augmented by the applied research Intervention Design and Development (IDD) are discussed in relation to their application in the present study. Discussion of the implementation of each phase of the research process will critically reflect on the decisions taken during each step of the research process and the efficacy of the research methodology in achieving the research aim and objectives. In line with the PAR approach of authentically reporting the research story, integration of literature in this chapter is limited to defining certain research concepts and justifying actions or decisions taken during the research process (Coghlan & Brannick, 2010:147). The ensuing sections describe the research problem and application of the qualitative approach, the integrated research design, sampling, data generation, data analyses, strategies employed to ensure trustworthiness as well as the ethical considerations in this study.

4.2 CHOICE OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This section focuses on the research problem as a context for the current study's research aim and objectives. The choice of a research problem can be influenced by various factors such as gaps in existing literature, practice observations, real-life problems, personal interests or gaps in theory (Locke, Spirduso & Silverman,

2014:45; Denscombe, 2010:13). Identification of the research problem for this study stemmed from a gap in existing literature, the paucity of research on the research topic, practice observations during my career as a social worker and manager involved in the NGO sector working within the CJS and lastly my professional interest in child justice related matters. The main gaps identified in literature (CR section 2.2.1, Chapter 2) linked to parents in their parenting role to achieve better child- or family- focused outcomes rather than their individualised support needs. In practice, parents of CCL are primarily engaged during children's assessment to ensure that children comply with any court orders. Practice observations indicate that parents of children at risk and CCL are not being included and supported through conventional support services. The paucity of research relates to most studies focusing on anti-social behaviour and delinquency during adolescence with few studies engaging the issue of supporting parents of these adolescents. Existing studies focusing on the child justice system recommend support for parents, with some reporting on support for parents during the trial processes but none focusing on support for parents during each phase of the CJP. Existing studies included both qualitative and quantitative approaches including samples of CCL, CJOs and to limited extent parents of CCL. I could not find any studies that integrated PAR and IDD involving parents or CJOs in addressing particular real-life challenges experienced within the CJS or during the CJP. Wallerstein and Duran (2010) highlighted the benefits of employing community based participatory research to address challenges of inclusion, collaboration and power imbalance in intervention research but, however, failed to present an integration of the two research designs. The current study successfully integrated PAR and IDD as complementary research designs. The lack of literature and research on supporting parents of children in conflict with the law mirrored practice observations and the findings of the current study in that there is limited inclusion of parents and a lack of support for parents prior to, during, and after the CJP.

My professional interest in the research problem developed over a period of twenty years as I engaged with CCL detained in correctional centres as diversion clients and later with parents during facilitation of parenting programmes. My practice observations confirmed the lack of support for parents as I engaged with child justice officials during professional development workshops and stakeholder meetings

where the absence of involvement of parents was highlighted as a challenge. In my role as provincial manager, a review of probation officers' and social workers' assessments during quality assurance processes also revealed a lack of focus on and inclusion of parents during the assessment process and the absence of support services for parents throughout the CJP. The various challenges parents and their children experienced sensitised me to the need for research in how parents experience the CJP and later how they are supported during the CJP. This resulted in the focus of my Master's research study, which aimed to understand the experiences of parents in monitoring their adolescents' compliance with diversion orders (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015; Abdulla, 2014). The findings of the Master's study informed the aim and objectives of the present study. The aim of this study was to co-construct a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process. The following objectives guided the research study:

- To explore and describe the types of support needed by parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process.
- To identify and describe existing practice models within the child protection system and potential sources of support for parents of children in conflict with the law.
- To identify functional elements from existing practice models and potential sources of support and match the functional elements with the identified support needs of parents of children in conflict with the law.
- To co-design, develop and test a co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process.

The choice of the research problem for the present study was therefore influenced by multiple factors and guided the selection of a research approach that would allow exploration of the type of support parents need and to facilitate their involvement in developing a solution (practice model) that would address their support needs holistically and systematically during the CJP. The following section will discuss my decision to employ a qualitative approach in this study and clarify my ontological and epistemological paradigm as a researcher.

4.3 DECISION ON THE QUALITATIVE APPROACH

This section discusses the decision to employ a qualitative approach and the constructivist paradigm underpinning this study. As a researcher, I am interested in exploring, understanding and describing real life problems experienced by people and the systems in which they find themselves (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011:4). I am aware that this interest was influenced by my social work background underpinned by the social development approach (Midgley, 2014:17), and the ecological systems approach (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). I wanted to work with and alongside people within their own contexts to generate knowledge and develop workable solutions to improve their situations or conditions. Social work as an academic and professional discipline uses research in an interpretive manner focusing on it to understand and describe meaningful social action within context (Kreuger & Neuman, 2006:93). This is unlike quantitative research that embraces a pure positivist approach relying on quantitative methods of inquiry to objectively prove absolute truths rather than multiple and subjective perspectives (Guest, Namey & Mitchell, 2013:6).

4.3.1 Constructivist paradigm

A researcher's ontology, epistemology and methodology form their research paradigm (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:143, Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011:7). Guided by a constructivist paradigm, I believe that cumulative knowledge, actions and reactions are socially constructed and that our experiences hold deeper meaning for ourselves and collectively in understanding social life (Walsham, 1993 cited in Guest et al., 2013:5). The constructivist paradigm involves a collaborative process between the researcher and participants assuming an expert position in which they are able to meaningfully articulate their own realities and engage in actions or reactions to those realities (Coghlan & Brannick, 2010:99; Whitehead & McNiff, 2006:24). The co-construction of knowledge, the collective reflection on data generated during the current study and the eventual co-design or co-construction of a practice model by participants and I attest to the constructivist paradigm framing this study.

Ontology refers to how we understand our own existence within the world and how we interrogate the meaning of our existence within the context of our lived

experiences (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:141). My ontological values are that participants, in the case of the present study, i.e., parents and CJOs, are able to determine their own needs, generate insights into how their needs can be addressed and develop solutions that are responsive as well as contextually relevant to them. My engagement with parents and child justice officials over the last twenty years has influenced this view. I believe that people often know what they need but may struggle with how to address that need and thus working collaboratively with others often helps them unlock creative ideas or strategies on how they can address a need. Epistemology refers to the acknowledgement that as researchers we have multiple identities that influence how we engage in developing and interpreting knowledge (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:141). Epistemology, in particular internal epistemology, can “be understood in the sense of autonomous reflection” by the researcher on their own discipline (Guèye, 2011 in Ouédraogo & Cardoso, 2011:41). “A researcher’s epistemological and ontological perspectives legitimate their own way of doing research and determine what they consider a valid, legitimate contribution to knowledge and theory” (Coghlan & Brannick, 2010:41). It also influences how researchers embark on data generation and analyse data (Guest et al., 2013:5). This is underpinned by the ontology that people generate knowledge and that knowledge does not exist “independently of human beings” (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:143). Furthermore, epistemologically people must reflect on their lived experiences and their social contexts to engage with and understand the knowledge they generate (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:143). Epistemologically, I believe that knowledge is constructed, people’s knowledge and insights can be unlocked, shared and drawn on to generate insights about ourselves, our lived experiences and can endeavour to use the shared knowledge to bring about change or progress (Mbah, 2011 in Ouédraogo & Cardoso, 2011:102). The constructivist paradigm aligns to this study’s objective of understanding parents support needs and the existing sources of support available to them. Only through this understanding could a co-constructed picture emerge of parents’ support needs during the CJP and their sources of support. Constructivism underpinned this study’s overall aim in that the research sought to co-construct a practice model for supporting parents of CCL through collaboration and joint interpretation of the findings to design a practice model that is contextually relevant.

As a social science researcher, I believe that I am part of the world I research and therefore cannot objectively study a topic or people without influencing and being influenced through my engagement in the research process (Guèye, 2011 in Ouédraogo & Cardoso, 2011:67 & 69). Saldaña and Omasta, (2018:142) explain that qualitative researchers acknowledge their bias and recognise that they cannot view the world objectively. Reflecting on my place within this world, I acknowledge that I am a parent of two adolescent boys and have certain biases about parenting and my responsibility towards my children. Some of these biases include my belief that parents are solely responsible for ensuring that their children are cared for as they decided to bring them into this world. This bias was influenced by my experience of my own parents having to solely provide and support their own children with no family or community support. This bias was challenged as I realised throughout my career, as a social worker and now as a researcher, that parents do not have control over all the factors present in the world in which they raise children who may be in some cases have been the result of unplanned births. Various factors, especially at macro-level, limit parents' ability to support and develop themselves and their children resulting in multiple challenges for parents. As a professional raising children in a middle class South African context, within a predominantly Muslim-Indian community, I am aware that I enjoy certain economic privilege and community stability as well as relative safety that the majority of the parents involved in the study do not enjoy. This awareness existed prior to the study, however, it was deepened as I embarked on recruiting parents for participation in the study. My first face-to-face contact with parents to brief them on the scope of the study exposed me to their reality. Observations of the communities in which parents reside and their stories of struggling to survive and cope on a daily basis contrasted with my own experience as a parent. However, reflecting on my own childhood I could identify with some of the struggles as I raised my four younger siblings in relatively similar circumstances while my father as a single parent worked twelve-hour shifts at a local factory earning a minimum wage. PAR's philosophy of viewing people as experts of their own circumstances motivated me to foreground their voices during the research process and in research outputs emerging from this study (Higgins, Nairn & Sligo, 2007:105 cited in Kindon, Pain & Kesby, 2007). This also alerted me to ensuring that their story is not overshadowed by my own personal and professional experience outlined above. To ensure deeper exploration and

understanding of parents' experiences as well as ensuring prominence of their stories a qualitative approach was employed in the present study.

4.3.2 Qualitative approach

Qualitative research is an interpretive process as the research involves balancing emotion or value-laden impressions with empirical evidence to ensure rigor (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:142). Qualitative research employs various methods of inquiry to explore, describe, understand, explain and “document human experiences about others and/or one’s self in social action and reflexive states” (Saldaña, 2010b cited in Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:4). Through reflexivity the qualitative researcher engages in continuous introspection and reflects on their relationship with participants, the data and their interpretation of the data (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:50). The latter authors explain that through reflection the researcher looks outward by engaging with the data and the study in its entirety to develop a coherent story of the research process (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:50). The decision to employ a qualitative approach in the current study was motivated by the focus of the research question and research aim, which could best be established by exploring and describing parents' experiences of the support needed during the CJP. The qualitative methods of inquiry employed in this study also warranted the selection of a qualitative approach. The complex nature of the research problem required that I work collaboratively with multiple participants in understanding their lived experience of the phenomenon under study over a prolonged period to gain multiple insider perspectives of the challenges and potential solutions. Ouédraogo and Bouda (2011 in Ouédraogo & Cardoso, 2011:25-26) emphasises the importance of research partnerships being guided by participants' views and their available time rather than by external institutions' thematic focus areas and timelines. To ensure that participants agreed with the research focus and timelines a clear project plan (CR Chapter one) was presented to reach agreement on the research aim and the projected timeline. All the participants agreed to the research aim and the planned process for achieving the research aim.

In preparation for the research process, I attended various training sessions offered by experienced qualitative and participatory action researchers on PAR, on

conducting a literature review, developing a theoretical or conceptual framework, data analyses and writing for academic purposes. Attending these workshops made me aware of my own competencies and limitations as well as allowed me the opportunity to acquire valuable/useful knowledge and skills prior to embarking on my research journey for the present study. As an emergent and developing researcher, I utilised the regular supervision sessions with my research supervisors to further develop insights, reflect and gain guidance during the research process.

4.4 INTEGRATION OF PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH AND INTERVENTION DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT

This section focuses on participatory action research, intervention research and its integration in the current study. Framed by a constructivist paradigm and guided by the qualitative research approach I reflected on the research aim and objectives to explore and select a suitable research design that would help answer the research question. “A research design provides the overall framework and provisional plan for initiating and conducting the study” (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:156). It was clear that the research aim required a deeper understanding of the problem and that the deeper knowledge would have to be developed in collaboration with participants as experts on the topic under study.

4.4.1 Participatory Action Research

The complex nature of the research aim and objectives as well as the multiple expert participants needed to conduct the study within a multi-disciplinary and multi-phased child justice context required a participative and systematic qualitative method of inquiry. This motivated the selection of PAR, which would allow for a collaborative process in understanding parents’ support needs during the CJP and their involvement as experts in the co-construction of the practice model (Scott & Garner, 2013:154). The envisaged magnitude of the focus of the practice model also required that the design involve an interactive and reflective process that would allow data generation in a creative but purposeful manner within the specified timeframe and context. Furthermore, the need to ensure purposeful data generation was linked to resource limitations and the realisation that participants would be required to voluntarily participate in the study for a prolonged period of 18 months.

The aim of the study also guided the integration of applied research, in particular intervention design and development, as it sought to “improve our understanding of the problem with the intent of contributing to the solution of that problem” (Brickman & Rog, 2009 cited in Guest et al., 2013:2).

Rooted in a constructivist paradigm participatory action research (PAR) involves practical ways of generating knowledge with people and developing knowledge that is useful for people (Reason & Bradbury, 2008:1). PAR is based on the epistemological assumption that as researchers we not only have to go beyond understanding the world, but also have to work with participants to change it for the better and for the benefit of participants (Reason & Torbert, 2001 cited in Coghlan & Brannick, 2010:6; Stake, 2010:159, Jordan, 2009:20 cited in Kapoor & Jordan, 2009). The emphasis on the common good of research results is echoed in Merton’s scientific norm of communalism and aligns to the notion of “ubuntu” of collective good (Ouédraogo & Bouda, 2011 in Ouédraogo & Cardoso, 2011:32). In addition to being focused on communal good, PAR considers four factors when planning the research process, namely the context within which the research will be conducted, the quality of the relationship between the researcher and participant, the quality of the research process, and the outcomes of the PAR process (Shani & Pasmore, 1985 in Warrick, 1985:444). In considering the context, PAR requires a level of agreement on the group goals and readiness on the part of the organisation as well as participants to participate in the PAR process. In the current study this meant that I had to give due consideration to the readiness of the two research sites, its stakeholders and clients to identify a common goal, buy-in to the need for the research project, and consent to their involvement in the PAR process for the duration of the project. In line with the IDD process, a preliminary problem and goal formulation occurred prior to engagement with participants. However, participants were afforded an opportunity during the first combined focus² group to review and reformulate the research aim based on the findings that emerged during the separate parent and CJO focus groups³ which explored the support needs of parents of CCL during the CJP. The context was a critical factor in this study as it

² Combined focus group refers to a focus group with both parents and CJOs as participants

³ CJO focus group refers to a focus group with only child justice officials as participants

could either hinder or facilitate the research process especially access to participants and availability of their resources during the data generation process. To prepare the context I engaged with the child justice system at national, provincial and district management levels and provided written information on the scope of the study, the research sites and the sampling criteria. Ongoing engagement with the respective departments and clarification of their questions helped in ensuring that all the departments involved in the CJS were well informed and all their officials were notified of their approval prior to their inclusion in the study (CR section 4.5).

The quality of the relationship between the participants and me is the second factor that must be considered during the PAR process as the relationship forms the basis of the collaborative approach (Voinov & Bousquet, 2010:1270). Understanding that the quality and success of the researcher-participant relationship would be the primary vehicle through which the research process could unfold, I spent ample time meeting with participants first individually and later in focus groups. The first contact with CJOs was made via telephone and emails to secure appointments with them either as a group or individually to brief them on the study and secure their consent for voluntary participation in the study. DSD and NICRO acted as gatekeepers, identifying parents from their existing clients and requesting permission from them for their contact details to be shared with me. They then provided me with a list of parents' whom I contacted by phone to introduce myself, explain the purpose of the contact and to schedule an individual briefing session at their home. During these briefing sessions, I was accompanied by the interpreter to ensure that parents could converse in their own language and to explain the scope of the study to them. These individual briefing sessions set the tone for the research-participant relationship as it allowed the interpreter and me to establish rapport with participants and to discuss the potential of a researcher-participant relationship. Most parents responded positively during these sessions voicing their concerns and struggles in managing their children's challenging behaviour, their need for support from CJOs and stated that they supported the focus of the study, as it would address their challenges. The focus of the study and the proposed collaboration seemed to resonate with most parents as they expressed that I was doing "a good thing" by focusing on parents. The view that the research was for the benefit of parents assisted in parents consenting to participate in the research. The research design employed in this

study and shared with participants during the briefing sessions clearly described the step-by-step process participants would be involved in, including the collaborative actions they would engage in to achieve the research aim. These factors motivated me and the participants to remain committed during the PAR process as they could see why they were involved in the study, how they would be involved and what they would achieve together through their participation in the study.

The PAR process not only allowed us to have a clear collective goal and plan of how to achieve that goal, it also provided a collaborative problem-solving approach to addressing participants' real-life challenges during the CJP. Coghlan and Brannick (2010:5) explain that PAR employs “a scientific approach to study the resolution of an important social/organisational issue together with those who experience it directly”. As depicted in Figure 4.1 this scientific approach involves a cyclical process of planning, taking action, evaluating action and constructing repeatedly until a refined and appropriate solution or resolution is achieved (Coghlan & Brannick, 2010:8; Holloway & Galvin, 2017:246; Barbour, 2008:173).

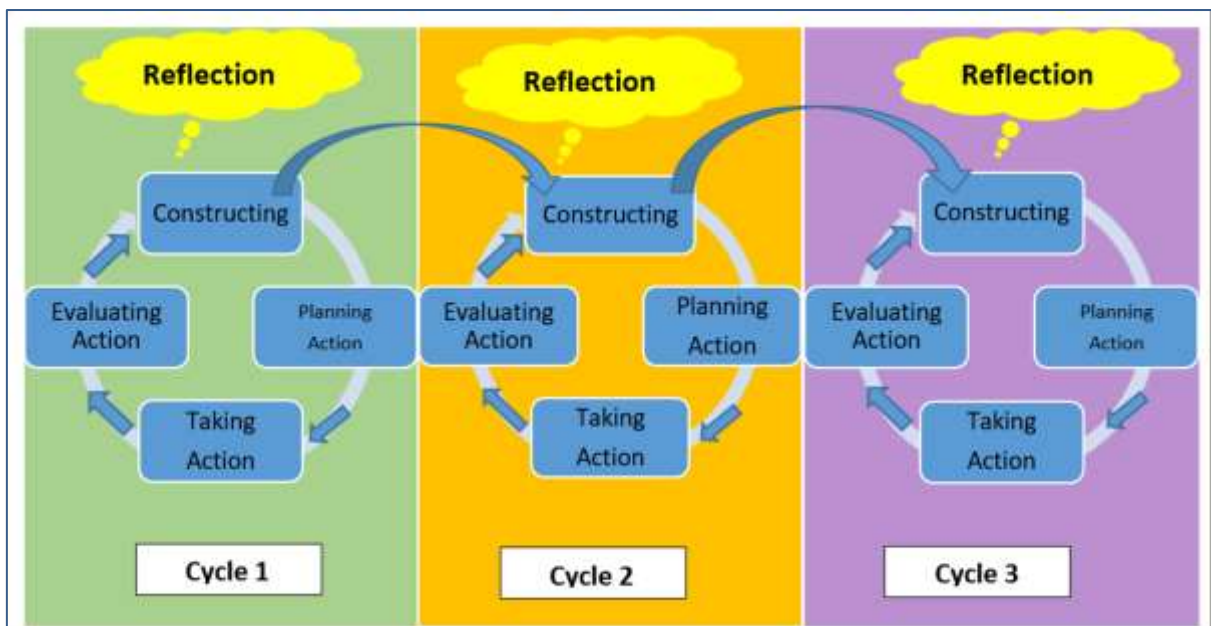


Figure 4.1: Spiral of PAR cycles (adapted from Coghlan & Brannick, 2010:10)

Coghlan and Brannick (2010:11) explain that PAR distinguishes between two approaches in using the PAR cycles, namely the “Apollonian” approach where the cycles follow a linear systematic process to create focus or momentum and the “Dyonysian” approach which incorporates reflection and action to encourage

spontaneity and creativity. To facilitate a focused process characterised by reflection to encourage participant creativity and maintain momentum throughout the study, a combination of these two approaches to the PAR cycles were employed as reflected in Figure 4.1. An ongoing process of reflection by both the participants and I as well as reflexivity by myself overarches the PAR cycles; however, it does not detract from the systematic process facilitated by the intervention research design followed to ensure achievement of the research aim within the set timeframe. The continuous reflections generated during and between each cycle allowed us to become aware of the issues, our strategies or process and to question our assumptions or choices (Coghlan & Brannick, 2010:12; Onyango & Worthen, 2010:2). These reflections guided us along each cycle to ensure that we not only maintained momentum but also critically thought through each step of the PAR process in relation to the research aim. It also helped us systematically refine our plan, strategies and actions to facilitate achievement of the desired outcome (Coghlan & Brannick, 2010:13). Despite the PAR cycles (see Figure 4.1) depicting a linear process, in reality the process is often unpredictable and fluid as it places prominence on collaboration and reflection, which can require a constant back and forth process within a cycle or between cycles (Barbour, 2008:177). Reason (2006:187) explains PAR is “characteristically full of choice” which can either hinder or help in ensuring the quality of the research process.

4.4.2 Intervention Design and Development

The possibility of the PAR process being too unstructured and open for multiple points of choice motivated me to select the IDD as a complementary research design. The IDD design provided structure as it prescribes certain operations thus allowing me to pre-plan some of the critical choices along the PAR journey (as described in the project implementation plan in Chapter 1). Additionally, the research aim and outcome in the form of a practice model pointed me to the direction of applied research particularly intervention research, as the practice model would address a real-life problem as experienced by participants involved in the study. My social work background also motivated this decision to go beyond knowledge development and innovate solutions to the identified problem and contribute to theory as well as practice (Kreuger & Neuman, 2006:17). Fraser,

Richman, Galinsky and Day (2009:3) explain that, “the hallmark of modern social work practice is this process of identifying, adapting and implementing what we understand to be the best available strategy for change”. My desire to effect meaningful change through my research set the stage for my decision to integrate intervention design and development as a complementary augmentation to PAR.

As mentioned to earlier in this section, applied research is concerned with understanding a problem and doing something about it to address the problem. Intervention research, as an applied research approach, has the singular focus of systematically understanding the problem then developing, designing and testing solutions in real life contexts as far as possible. Whilst intervention research draws from various approaches such as social innovation, model development, and developmental research, it is grounded in both qualitative and quantitative research (Thomas & Rothman, 1994 cited in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:6; Fraser et al., 2009:47). Intervention research was born out of the need for practitioners, particularly social workers, to engage in practice contexts with practitioners, administrators, service users and policy makers, to understand various social problems, to collaboratively innovate and evaluate programmes or interventions that could address social problems at micro-, meso-, and macro-level (Fraser et al., 2009:11 & 25). Intervention researchers understand the importance of viewing people as part of an ecological system and aims to develop interventions that can be targeted at individual, family, group, community, organisational or structural level to effect proximal or distal change (Fraser et al., 2009:9-10). Intervention research involves three approaches, namely knowledge development (KD), intervention design and development (IDD) and knowledge utilisation (KU) (Thomas & Rothman, 1994 cited in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:3-4). Knowledge development involves in depth exploration of a problem using a variety of sources to inform the design and development of an intervention to address the identified problem. Although the focus is on identifying and understanding a problem from multiple perspectives, intervention research is not a problem-focused approach (Fraser et al., 2009:47). It aims to understand the problem from various perspectives with the view to develop a theory on what is causing a problem and seek interventions, strategies or programmes to increase protective factors and draw on the strengths and assets within the various systems to achieve a desired outcome. Based on an in-depth

understanding of a problem, intervention research digresses from conventional social research in that it does not stop at knowledge development but aims to use the knowledge in the design and development of new innovations or refining existing programmes.

Intervention design and development (IDD) involves KD as a preceding phase or includes KD in the first phase of development then generatively builds on that knowledge to inform the design and development phase. IDD is guided by programme theory “specifying and matching interventions to a range of proximal and distal (intervention) outcomes” (Fraser et al., 2009:47). IDD is an emerging field that requires researchers to have a specific knowledge and skills set to engage in the systematic process of design and development (Fraser et al., 2009:159). Intervention researchers must have contextual and practice knowledge as well as have a broad understanding of the problem they aim to address through the intervention. My extensive experience in working within the CJS and successfully managing various projects within the criminal justice system was strengthened by credibility as a researcher and authenticated my interest in the research topic. Researchers must be comfortable in working collaboratively with a wide variety of participants such as practitioners, service users, administrators, practice experts and policy makers (Fraser et al., 2009:159). A strong ability to work with various methods of inquiry and managing the various phases and operations involved in IDD is critical in ensuring success of the IDD process. My ten years’ management experience was useful as I could draw on skills such as project management, project coordination, planning, resource management, financial management and networking during the research project. Drawing on their knowledge and skills, intervention researchers must follow six systematic phases of the IDD model (Thomas & Rothman, 1994 cited in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:9). These phases are listed below (CR Chapter 1 for description of the operations involved in each phase):

- Phase 1: Problem analysis and project planning (Reported in Chapter 1)
- Phase 2: Information gathering and synthesis (Reported in Chapters 2,3,4,5, 6 & 7)
- Phase 3: Design (Reported in Chapter 8)

- Phase 4: Early development and pilot testing (Reported in Chapters 8 & 9)
- Phase 5: Evaluation and advanced development (planned post-doctoral study focus)
- Phase 6: Dissemination (planned post-doctoral publications and presentations at relevant seminars, national and international conferences or colloquia)

The present study focused on phases one to four with the view to proceed with phases five and six, which involves the knowledge utilisation (KU) approach as part of my post-doctoral research. The present study focused on the design and development of a “place-based intervention” as it was concerned with the child justice system and the provision of support for parents while they journey through the system (Fraser et al., 2009:10-11). Place-based interventions focus on the following (Wagner, Swenson & Henggeler, 2000 cited in Fraser et al., 2009:11):

- collective processes that bind people together
- behavioural influence of one person/system on another
- collective and collaborative problem solving
- improving individual outcomes by strengthening social, organisational and other infrastructure

These factors align to the PAR approach in that it emphasises the bonds or relationships that are central to collaboratively designing and developing interventions. Both PAR and IDD places the participants at the centre of problem solving and innovating with the researcher viewed as a collaborator rather than an outside expert (Fraser et al., 2009:158). Rorty (1999 cited by Reason, 2006:188) explains, “the purpose of inquiry is to achieve agreement among human beings about what to do, to bring consensus on the end to be achieved and the means to be used to achieve those ends”. Furthermore, to ensure a participatory research process, inquiry must be collaboratively planned and coordinated. The integration of PAR with IDD in the present study allowed for a research design that systematically facilitated inquiry, meaningful inclusion of participants, collaboration, reflection and innovation that incorporated multiple sources of knowledge and an evolving process of design and development. An advantage of integrating these two approaches was that the PAR allowed a flexible back and forth process of data

generation and reflection while the IDD allowed for a forward movement towards the end goal of developing a practice model. I was continuously challenged to balance these two approaches to ensure that continuous reflection and development occurred in the midst of a collaborative process with parents of CCL and CJOs. To facilitate discussion and reflection throughout the research process a project flow chart was used at the beginning of each focus group. This helped share the responsibility of plotting our focus and process during each phase with participants. The project flow chart helped us in reflecting on previous phases or operations, reflect on present actions or decisions, and plan the next phase or operations. The use of a moveable arrow also helped indicate and map our progress as we moved through the phases. Reflecting on the integration of the two approaches, I became aware that the integration of reflection as a planned activity during the research process allowed reflection on the research process and on our own practice, assumptions or beliefs generating valuable insights for the group. The structure of the IDD phases helped us appreciate that we were working purposefully to achieve a collective goal and that we would be able to show a tangible product based on the collaborative process we engaged in. Participants reflected on this benefit of the phased and goal directed research approach:

Participant (Social worker): "I think for me the motivation is I'm looking forward to the end process. The basic thing that we want to reach here and the interventions maybe some of the interventions I can also use in my view."

Participant (Mother): "Vir my is dit baie interessant gewees die afgelope paar maande. Ek het baie ondervinding geleer hieruit en ek kan dit darem deel met ander moeders." [For me it has been very interesting for the past few months. I gained a lot of experience out of this and I can at least share it with other mothers.]

Participant (Probation officer): "For me, I want to finish something that I started with so that was important for me and then furthermore I want to also be part of this difference. We want to make out there, in our communities because in our work we, we know that our parents need to be empowered and I want to be part of that process and helping me also in my mindset and yeah, to also, um the way that I work to change the manner in which that I work with the parents and so forth."

The collaborative, problem-solving and inclusionary nature of both approaches sensitised participants to the possibility that they could work in partnership rather

than as independent and opposing parties in the CJS. We also reflected on and shared our learnings about each other, the CJS and ourselves. The learnings often resulted in positive attitudinal or behavioural change during the research process impacting on how we interacted with each other, how CJOs engaged with parents during the CJP and how parents communicated with their children, especially about the CJS. We could also celebrate the fruits of our partnership as I constantly emphasised that the model was a result of our teamwork and creativity rather than a result of my work. This linked closely to the issue of exclusion of parents during the CJP and their potential as service advocates in CJ forums as the integrative approach showed that parents are knowledgeable, have agency and if included want to as well as can engage meaningfully in the CJS. The following section will discuss the recruitment and sampling process for the present study.

4.5 ENTRY TO RESEARCH SITES AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

Gaining entry to the research site through negotiating with gatekeepers is an essential step in the research process (Holloway & Galvin, 2017:45-46). As referred to in the preceding section the research approach employed required that I recruit participants who would not only be able to speak from a position of authority and experience of the problem under study but also be able to meaningfully contribute to developing a solution. I reflected on the research question and the selected research approach, which guided me in determining the research population from which I could recruit participants and how the participants should be sampled (Monette, Sullivan & De Jong, 2011:153). Access to potential participants for the current study required gaining entry to the two research sites. The ensuing subsection describes the process followed to gain entry to the research sites and potential participants.

4.5.1 Gaining entry to the research sites

The present study included two research sites in the Nelson Mandela District; one was the Nerina One-Stop Child Justice Centre (OSCJC), which houses all the respective departments involved during the CJP and the Uitenhage Magistrates court including the Reception, Assessment and Referral (RAR) Centre's office at the court. These two sites were included to explore if parents of CCL experienced

support within the two types of Child Justice Courts/settings namely, a one-stop Centre and the magistrates court operating with a normal court setting. The participant sample included parents of CCL and CJOs from various occupations allowing for diverse contributions and insights during data generation and design and development. All participants considered for inclusion had to voluntarily participate and give informed consent to participate for the duration of the study. Exclusion criteria were specified in terms of parents who were co-accused with their children to limit prejudice and parents who were victims of crime perpetrated by their children to prevent secondary victimisation. Once the sampling criteria were set I approached the respective departments within the CJS to request written permission for the study, gain entry to the research site and recruit potential participants for inclusion in the study. Through emails and telephone conversations with the respective departments, I was able to secure approval for the research to proceed and present the study to CJOs at the two research sites. During the presentations, I briefed the potential participants on the proposed study, responded to their questions about the study and secured consent for them and/or their employees to be recruited for inclusion in the study. A separate meeting was held with the Department of Social Development's management and later their probation officers, as there was an administrative delay in issuing the provincial approval for the study to proceed at the two research sites. Through the briefing sessions, I was also able to articulate the motivation for the study, the research aim, the research design and the resources as well as time required from the respective departments and their employees. All the departments agreed that I could proceed with the research study and allowed me time to present the proposed study and the sampling criteria to their staff at the two research sites.

4.5.2 Sampling procedure

A research population refers to a group of people who have experienced the phenomenon under study while a research sample refers to a subset of the research population who meet a specified sampling or inclusion criteria (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:95; Holloway & Galvin, 2017:143; Guest et al., 2013:41-42). The population for the present study included parents whose children had been dealt with in terms of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (Child Justice Act 75 of 2008, South Africa, 2009) between June 2016 and November 2017 and CJOs who had contact with parents

during the child justice process. The sampling technique employed for this study was non-probability purposive sampling (Guest et al., 2013:49). Non-probability sampling was used as not every parent who had journeyed through the child justice system had an equal chance or probability of being included in the study as inclusion criteria only made some parents and child justice officials eligible for inclusion. Consistent with purposive sampling, the inclusion criteria were also linked to the purposive sampling technique employed, as the sample had to be selected based on the focus of the study and their expertise based on either their personal or professional experience (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:96). The sampling criteria for the two participant groups were as follows:

Table 4.1: Sampling criteria

SAMPLING CRITERIA FOR PARENTS PARTICIPANTS	SAMPLING CRITERIA FOR CJO PARTICIPANTS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents/guardians of CCL dealt with in terms of the CJA 75/2008 between June 2016 and November 2017. • Parents whose CCL are at any stage of the CJP (from pre-trial to aftercare). • Their children appeared at one of the two research sites between June 2016 and November 2017. • Are able to speak English, Afrikaans or Xhosa. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CJOs who had contact with parents/guardians of CCL who had been dealt with in terms of the CJA 75 of 2008. • CJOs stationed at the two research sites between June 2016 and November 2017. • Are able to speak English, Afrikaans or Xhosa.

Saldaña and Omasta, (2018:96) explain “studies can be made more robust by employing multi-case sampling” which can include samples from multiple groups, sites or different groups (e.g. parents & CJOs). I commenced with the CJO participant recruitment by arranging group briefing sessions with the management and staff of the respective departments. Potential participants were provided with copies of the informed consent form including the audio-recording consent form and the participant letter explaining the scope and the duration of the study. Participants were advised that an invitation to the first focus group would be sent to them and their signed consent forms could be returned at the focus group session or emailed to me prior to the first focus groups. The probation officers from DSD attended a separate briefing session as there was an administrative delay in receiving the DSD approval letter. This resulted in the probation officers missing the first focus group

with CJOs. However, they joined from the second focus group where they were briefed on the findings of the preceding focus groups and had the opportunity to add to the data generated during the CJO focus group. In total twenty-six CJOs were briefed about the study and ten CJOs who fit the inclusion criteria volunteered to participate in the study for its duration.

Table 4.2: CJOs sample demographics

OCCUPATION	GENDER	
	Male	Female
Police officers	2	2
Prosecutor		1
Probation officers		2
Social worker	1	
Magistrate	1	
Attorney	1	
	5	5

The CJO sample represented the various occupational groups, however, although CJOs from the Uitenhage research site initially participated in the first focus group and the subsequent stakeholder information workshops they did not form part of the core working group⁴. This was primarily due to the distance between the Uitenhage court and the venue (Nerina OSCJC) where most of the focus groups were held. However, they were briefed at the stakeholder workshops and the expert panel⁵ review of the research findings and practice model design where they were afforded the opportunity to give input. The CJO sample therefore comprised mainly of CJOs who worked together on a daily basis (one CJO fell ill and could not continue with participation after the combined focus group) and this at times resulted in their stories being similar or their groupthink being stronger as they shared similar experiences in their work contexts (Stewart & Shamdasani, 2015:6). To address the potential for groupthink among CJOs and encourage creativity, various techniques

⁴ Core working group refers to the parents and CJOs who participated in all the phases of the study from the commencement of the study to its conclusion.

⁵ Expert panel refers to the Child Justice Forum that consist of the management of the respective departments involved in the CJS.

and strategies such as pairing parents with CJOs, discussion boards, and reflection sessions were used to group CJOs into smaller groups with parents during focus groups. A benefit of CJOs' experience and sensitivity to the practice context was that it allowed for the emergence of contextually relevant practice guidelines.

The sampling procedure for the parent participants involved engaging with the Department of Social Development and NICRO at the two research sites to request a list of clients who fit the sampling criteria. After permission was secured from their management, DSD and NICRO provided me with a list of 20 potential parent participants' names but only some had contact details. The limited number of parents' whose names were provided was mainly linked to the limited recruitment period which was from end July 2016, after DSD had provided written consent for the study to proceed. Guest et al. (2103:181) explain that having a "pre-qualified list" of potential participants minimises recruitment challenges however; the researcher must give due consideration to issues of homogeneity versus heterogeneity of the sample and the availability as well as commitment of the participants to the study. I contacted fifteen parents to explain the purpose of the study and only ten parents agreed to meet me. Parents who could not meet with me were either working or did not want to participate in the study due to its duration. During the individual briefing sessions I explained the purpose of the study again, highlighted the relevance of the study, answered parents' questions and clarified expectations from parents should they agree to be included in the study. Parents highlighted the provision of taxi fare as a concern and I informed them that they would be reimbursed for their travel expenses at R40 per trip from Port Elizabeth and R60 per trip from Uitenhage. Even though taxi fare was availed to parents from Uitenhage, only one parent attended the first focus group held in Uitenhage and six attended the focus group held in Uitenhage during the pilot phase (CR Table 4.3) as I paid NICRO to transport Uitenhage parents to the venue at the DSD Uitenhage office. During the briefing sessions, the participant letter and consent forms were explained and parents were invited to the first parent focus group⁶. Reflecting on the recruitment of parents, I struggled to find parents' residences when they resided in the informal settlements, which in some cases were inaccessible by car. Having

⁶ Parent focus group refers to focus groups with only parents as participants

the translator accompany me during the Uitenhage recruitment helped set my anxiety at ease as she was more familiar with the area and could help with the translation. I spent about fifteen to twenty-five minutes with each parent during the recruitment briefing session. Parents who experienced more immediate issues with the CJS seemed more motivated to participate in the study than parents whose children had already completed the CJP. The issue of immediacy in terms of me listening to parents' stories during the briefing sessions and them identifying the need for support during the CJP resonated strongly with parents who eventually participated for the duration of the study. An unintentional benefit of PAR is that a parent added snowball sampling (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:97) as a sampling strategy as she invited two other parents whose children were co-accused with her child as she felt that they too would benefit from participation in the study. These three parents formed part of the core working group for the duration of the study. To minimise attrition for both sample groups, the collaboration and ongoing communication with participants between focus groups helped in maintaining their commitment (Guest et al., 2013:26). The sampling of parents during the pilot testing phase helped add to the parent input, which mostly echoed what the pre-pilot phase parents had shared during focus groups. The sample for the pilot phase parents' participant focus groups were selected from the client list that DSD and NICRO provided containing the details of potential participants who had contact with the CJS during August and September 2017. Sampling of parents during the pilot phase followed the same sampling procedure and technique with equal numbers of parents participating from the two respective research sites. This helped in balancing the parents' stories and inputs from both sites. Table 4.3 reflects the demographics of the two parent participant samples, namely the core working group parents during the pre-pilot phase and the pilot phase parents. Participant numbers are assigned to follow these parents' contributions in Chapter five and to maintain privacy of their identity. Participant seven withdrew from the study as she found permanent employment and participant eight could not continue with participation in the study due to ill health.

Table 4.3: Parent sample demographics

PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS				
Participant number	Relationship with child	Gender	Employment status	Marital status
PRE-PILOT PHASE PARENTS				
Participant 1	Mother	Female	Self-employed	Cohabiting
Participant 2	Mother	Female	Employed	Married
Participant 3	Maternal Aunt (Guardian)	Female	Unemployed	Single
Participant 4	Mother	Female	Unemployed	Married
Participant 5	Father	Male	Employed	Widowed
Participant 6	Mother	Female	Unemployed	Married
Participant 7	Sister (Guardian)	Female	Part-time employed	Divorced
Participant 8	Father	Male	Unemployed	Widowed
PILOT PHASE PARENTS				
Participant 9	Mother	Female	Unemployed	Married
Participant 10	Mother	Female	Self employed	Married
Participant 11	Mother	Female	Unemployed (disability)	Married to participant 12
Participant 12	Father	Male	Employed	Married to participant 11
Participant 13	Mother	Female	Unemployed	Married
Participant 14	Mother	Female	Unemployed	Single
Participant 15	Mother	Female	Unemployed	Married
Participant 16	Mother	Female	Employed	Divorced
Participant 17	Mother	Female	Unemployed	Single
Participant 18	Grandmother	Female	Unemployed	Single
Participant 19	Grandmother	Female	Unemployed	Single

The non-probability purposive sampling technique was helpful in ensuring that I recruited a sample that had adequate experience of the phenomenon under study and that would be able to participate for the duration of the study. The small pre-pilot phase sample of parents did pose a challenge as the CJOs outnumbered them. The limited number of fathers included in the client lists provided by DSD and NICRO meant that the number of mothers compared to the number of fathers included in the sample posed a challenge, as there was a relative silence in paternal voice. Father’s absence during the CJS was also noted in the findings as a challenge due to the high incidence of single mothers. Where fathers were available they would elect for the mother to accompany the child during the CJP as they would be at work during court hours. This placed pressure on me to consistently ensure that both maternal and paternal voices were heard and well represented during the

focus groups. Strategies employed to ensure balanced power relations during the focus groups will be discussed in the next section.

4.6 DATA GENERATION

The data generation methods employed in the study were primarily dictated by the research design, which sought to facilitate a collaborative approach informed by multiple methods of inquiry to facilitate an in-depth understanding of the research problem and develop solutions to address the problem. As alluded to in the preceding sections, the PAR and IDD approaches both required the involvement of participants in a group format to resemble a working group for the duration of the study to plan, take action, evaluate, reflect and construct throughout the IDD phases and PAR cycles. This predetermined and goal directed process informed the sampling of participants and the selection of focus groups as the primary data collection method. The inclusion of participant observations during the problem analyses phase and during the pilot testing phase was primarily guided by IDD to help understand the context or place in which the eventual practice model would have to operate in. In addition, employing both focus groups and participant observations enhances the data body and can help in reconciling contradictions in participant versions of experiences or contexts or can indicate areas that require further exploration (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:30). Table 4.4 provides a snapshot of who was involved in the data generation and development of the practice model.

Table 4.4: Who was involved in developing the practice model?

WHO WAS INVOLVED IN DEVELOPING THE PRACTICE MODEL?		
Parents	Child Justice Officials	Observations
Total: 19 3 Fathers 2 Grandmothers 12 Mothers 2 Guardians	Total: 14 2 Prosecutors (1 dropped out) 3 Attorneys (2 dropped out) 3 Social workers (probation officers) 1 Magistrate 5 Police officers (1 dropped out)	Total: 32 26 CJ officers engagements 27 parents 32 Observation sessions (15 pre and 17 during pilot)
12 groups (from July 2016 to November 2017) Two research sites: One Stop Youth Centre and Magistrate's Court (Nelson Mandela Metro: Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth)		

Focus group and participant observations as data generation methods employed in the current study are discussed in the following subsection.

4.6.1 Focus groups

Twelve focus groups were facilitated with child justice officials and parents over the eighteen-month period to develop and design the practice model. A focus group is “a carefully planned discussion with a small group of people on a focused topic” and is useful for generating data on shared experiences, collaborative problem solving and is flexible (Guest et al., 2013:172-174). In preparation for facilitation of the focus groups, I attended a workshop on how to facilitate focus groups. Unfortunately, I did not attend any training on conducting participant observations having to rely on theoretical preparation instead so that I could train the participant-observers (Wilkinson & Birmingham, 2013; Clarke, 2009). During the focus group training workshop, I was able to role-play a focus group using my interview guide and received constructive feedback from the trainer and fellow postgraduate students. I also attended research supervision to prepare myself and drew from my twenty years’ experience in facilitating groups with clients and professionals.

According to Saldaña and Omasta (2018:93) focus groups as a method of data collection have many benefits, including the opportunity to bring like-minded participants together in a group setting, generating similar and divergent views or perspectives on a shared problem and draw on diverse ideas on how a problem can be addressed. The beneficial features of focus groups initially emerged when CJOs met on their own during the first focus group to discuss their views of what they experienced as parents support needs during the CJP. They were able to articulate the many struggles they had with parents and could identify the perceived support needs of parents during the CJP. They agreed on many of the issues raised and their views mostly complemented each other. Although three CJOs were absent, from the first CJO focus group they were able to join from the second focus group. During the second focus group, their views on parents’ support needs were explored and they concurred with the findings generated during the CJO focus group. Their agreement or confirmation of the findings links to them sharing similar experiences with parents as their colleagues because they all work in the same setting and often with the same parents. Focus groups also offer the opportunity to observe participant behaviour and interactions, which can be analysed (Guest et al., 2013:28). In this study some participants such as police officers and prosecutors were more vocal during the first focus group compared to subsequent focus groups.

This was due to them being more involved in dealing with securing parents' attendance at court and involving parents during the CJP whereas the social workers mainly deal with parents after they had been located by police and at the preliminary inquiry when most parents are on board. The parent focus group also demonstrated this advantage as parents listened to each other's stories they could hear the similarities in their experiences, they empathised with each other and could identify with some of the elements of each other's stories. Having the initial focus groups with CJOs and parents separately was primarily to set the scene for the problem analysis from the two perspectives, namely a general perspective (CJOs) and a person-specific perspective (parents). Scott and Garner (2013:161) caution against only focusing on the person-specific perspective during PAR as it can imply that the person is the problem and recommends that PAR must aim to include participants not because they are experiencing a problem but because they are able to generate their own solutions. Facilitating the two participant groups separately, allowed me to establish rapport and forge a relationship with the respective participant groups in a smaller, more intimate setting as compared to a larger group setting. It also allowed parents to bond with each other to form a group prior to their combined focus group with CJOs. Parents bonding as a group also served as a potential power "buffer" in preparation for their combined focus group with CJOs. Both focus group discussions were guided by my use of interview guides (Addendum 1) containing open ended questions to ensure that the data collection remained focused but responsive to what was emerging through participant contributions (Guest et al., 2013:196). The subsequent focus groups were combined and CJOs as well as parents had to forge a relationship with each other. I was acutely aware of the power relations between parents and CJOs as the only time they had contact prior to their engagement in the research study was during the pre-trial or trial stage in an adversarial setting. They were now requested to assume a different relationship characterised by democracy and collaboration. To sensitise the two participant groups to each other's perspective on the research problem, with their permission, the preliminary findings from the initial data generation on their respective views of the support parents need during the CJP was shared during the first combined focus group. Written quotations with no identifiable personal information were placed on A2 paper and displayed in the focus group venue for participants to read and reflect on. During the initial phase of

the first combined focus group, I guided participants' introductions to each other and asked them to share with each other what they thought of the support needs generated by the two respective groups. The CJOs shared that they were aware of parents' struggles but that they often blamed parents for children's transgressions and that by reading parents views on their needs they could empathise with parents who seemed to face many struggles. CJOs even shared some of their own struggles as parents and could identify as well as relate to some of the parents' struggles. Parents also tried to understand CJOs' views regarding absent parents and how they could become more involved. They pointed out that the parents present in the focus group were involved and did need support. Using my facilitation skills including active listening, reflection, paraphrasing, summarising and probing I was able to manage the group dynamics and highlight similarities or differences and points of consensus. The research aim and objectives were also shared with the combined group to reflect on and refined to ensure that they shared a common vision of the aim of the research and their collective role during the research process. Once they agreed that the research aim captured what they thought should be achieved and they understood the importance of their collaboration in the research process the scene was set for the participants to work as a working group during the research process. Subsequent to the first combined focus group, the parents and CJOs continued to participate in the study by attending at least one focus group or reflection session either monthly or bi-monthly. These included the following focus groups:

- A combined focus group with parents and child justice officials on 30 September 2016 to explore potential sources of support for parents of children in conflict with the law and to identify existing practice models for supporting parents.
- A combined focus group with parents and child justice officials on 3 November 2016 focusing on identifying the extent of the problems raised by participants during the first focus group within its context. This focused on specifying the behaviours, conditions or procedures that needed to be addressed through the practice model the research was aiming to develop and describing the outcomes that should be observed following the pilot testing.

- A reflection session with participants on 23 February 2017 aimed at reflecting on the data collected during the preceding focus groups and the progress of the research process as well as planning the implementation of the observation sessions.
- Two reflection and design sessions were held on 11 and 25 May 2017 respectively to reflect on the outcome of the observations sessions, the identified functional and procedural elements with the view to integration during the design of a preliminary practice model.
- We finalised the early development of a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process on 28 July 2017.
- I facilitated an information workshop with 40 participants consisting of Child Justice Officials to share the preliminary intervention, gain their input on the design and contract the date, duration, roles, responsibilities, activities as well as reporting procedures for the pilot study, which commenced by 17 August 2017 and ended 30 November 2017.
- Parent focus groups at each research site were co-facilitated by me and two parents from the working group during September and October 2017 to gather information on parents' experience of the implementation of the preliminary practice model and to gain feedback on how the model could be refined or improved.

It is important to note that the findings which emerged from focus groups one to four underpinned the problem analysis phase while the data from focus groups five to twelve were used to design and develop the practice model. Various information handouts generated from these focus groups were used to reflect, plan, design, evaluate and refine the practice model. Between focus groups I maintained contact with participants via email and home visits to share the findings (in writing and verbally) of each focus group and to allow opportunity for member checking of the findings. CJOs were contacted via email, as they had daily access to email facilities and could provide feedback on the findings at their own convenience. Parents were contacted via sms, telephone calls and home visits as they had no internet access and this ensured that they had the opportunity to engage with me about the findings and provide feedback in the comfort of their homes. At the beginning of each focus

group we would reflect collectively on findings generated during the preceding focus group to check, reflect and add to the findings and plan the way forward. Some sessions were primarily focused on reflection while others were focused on design and development. During the focus groups, I employed various activities such as brainstorming sessions, pictures and smaller group discussions to encourage participation and to vary the manner in which participants worked together, to change the pace as well as partner parents and professionals in pairs/dyads. Dyads and triads are useful in facilitating participant comfort and increasing the level of intimacy to allow participants to openly discuss sensitive issues they may not share in the larger group (Guest et al., 2013:177). Forming pairs or dyads during the focus group sessions helped me to manage the power relations in the group, facilitate inclusion of parents in the discussions, to efficiently manage the available time and the group dynamics (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:94). The benefit of this strategy was that it created the opportunity for CJOs and parents to work alongside each other, to actively engage in discussion and collaboratively problem solve. The disadvantage was that unfortunately parents were outnumbered by CJOs thus ensuring a balance of power between them was not always successful. Capturing the smaller group discussions was also difficult, however, the use of a scribe helped in capturing the main ideas generated in the smaller groups. The size of the focus groups were at times smaller (six participants) than expected and other times larger (15 participants) than expected. The group size fluctuated, however; as on average at least eight participants were present as participants could sometimes not attend due to work commitments, ill health, service delivery protests and family responsibilities. Guest et al. (2013:176) suggest that the size of the focus group should range between six and twelve participants, as groups smaller than six may struggle to generate sufficient data while larger groups may be difficult to manage. The latter was certainly the case when the focus group was large, I had to ensure equal attention to and contribution by the various participants often leaving me feeling mentally exhausted after the focus group. When participants missed a session, the reflection and the written findings of the previous session helped in updating them during the focus group to record their input before proceeding to the next operation. Additionally, when data collection during focus groups reached the point of data saturation it usually indicated readiness to move to the next operation or stage (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:47). The focus groups were mainly held in the

afternoon from 1:30 to 3:30 to accommodate the CJOs and when CJOs were not included in focus groups, they were held at 11:00-13:00 to accommodate parents during their children's school times. The focus groups were mainly held at the Nerina OSCJC but also at the DSD office in Uitenhage to accommodate parents from that area. Initially parents received taxi fare after each focus group they attended, as it emerged that many of the parents struggled financially and could not fund their travel to focus groups. Stewart and Shamdasani (2015:62) explain that due to participants' investment of time, effort and knowledge contributions it is acceptable and sometimes expected that participants will be compensated or reimbursed. Although my access to financial resources to compensate participants implied a level of power, participants had "subcultural capital" in the form of their insights into parents' support needs, which balanced the researcher-participant power relations (Higgins et al., 2007:108 in Kindon et al., 2007). I decided to pay parents in advance for attending and most times parents did attend. When they could not attend, I did not ask for the taxi fare to be returned, as there were very few such incidences.

4.6.2 Participant observations

Participant observations as a secondary method of data collection were employed during the problem analysis phase and during the pilot testing phase. Participant observations are a useful qualitative data collection method in observing participants within their natural contexts (Monette et al., 2011:225). The focus of participant observations can range from observing specific contexts/environments, specific participant behaviours or interactions. Observations allow researchers to use a particular lens, filter and angle to observe moments or interactions to infer and interpret broader social meanings (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:13). Observations focus on and analyse social exchanges in the context of the five Rs as depicted by Saldaña and Omasta, (2018:22) in Figure 4.2.

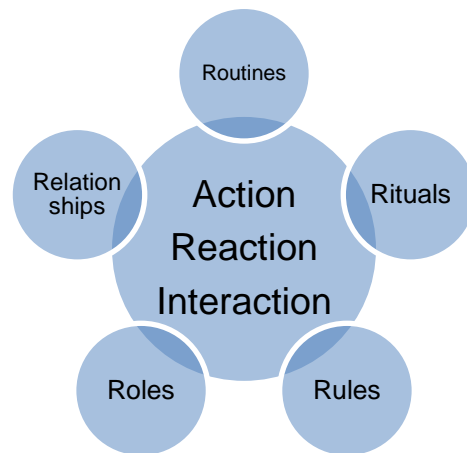


Figure 4.2: The individual in social interaction with action-reaction-interaction in nucleus with interrelated five Rs (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:22)

The three observers recruited for this study were all social work graduates, experienced in conducting research and I trained them on how to conduct participant observations. During the training workshop, the observers were sensitised to the scope of the study, the theoretical basis for participant observations, their role and responsibilities as participant observers, the ethical issues and how to ensure trustworthiness of the data generated during the participant observations. Once the observers were trained, they proceeded to conduct participant observations at both sites specifically the courts, the DSD probation offices, the NICRO diversion programme sessions and the secure care centre. The observers for the present study assumed a “peripheral role” focusing on the interactions between parents and CJOs during the various stages of the CJP (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:36). The observation tool developed by us focused on all five Rs in that the actions, reactions and interactions were viewed through the lenses of parent support, the filters were the specific Rs reflected in the observation tools and the various angles, namely the respective CJ stages. The participant observation tools were qualitative, containing structured and semi-structured statements or questions to guide the observation focus and minimise the influence of observers’ subjective lenses (Guest et al., 2013:79). Although the gatekeepers had granted permission for the study to proceed including the participant observations, during the focus groups a participant from the legal profession alerted us to possible legal implications should the observers see any illegal conduct during their observations. To ensure that the respective departments were aware of this

risk and to protect the observers from possible involvement in legal processes that might stem from such an incident, each department was approached again to alert them to the purpose of the observation sessions, the boundaries and the risks of the observations (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:33). All relevant departments approved the observation sessions on the specified dates and sites, however, the SAPS took in excess of eight months to grant approval. As a result, observation sessions at the police stations only took place during the pilot testing phase and not during the problem analysis phase. Participant observations employed in this study were primarily informed by what participants involved in the focus groups thought should be observed to identify the interactions between CJOs and parents. A set of behaviours, conditions and attitudes were identified by participants for inclusion in an observation tool that would be used by trained observers to record how CJOs interacted with and/or supported parents during the CJP. Observation tools (see Addendum 5) were developed for each phase of the CJP and reflected qualitative statements that the observers would confirm or disconfirm during their observations. They also maintained field notes to record their impressions of the interactions and the context. I facilitated a group reflection session with the observers after each observation block (see Addendum 2).

The participants were only involved in the recruitment and selection of the observers but they were not involved in the reflection sessions with the observers. This was primarily to prevent participants' identities from being exposed, as observers would have to be aware of the identity of the participants if they participated in the reflection sessions. My own inexperience with PAR and participant observations as a method of inquiry caused me to be overcautious in involving participants as observers and exposing them to unplanned risks such as stigma from other parents or CJOs within the CJS. However, in retrospect participants' involvement as observers would have aligned to the PAR design and added a different perspective to the data generated during the observations. Instead, the data from the observation tool and the field notes were analysed by me and the findings were shared with participants during the focus group for their review, reflection and integration during the design and development phase. The observation tools were useful in "triangulating" the findings generated during the problem analysis phases and in exposing possible opportunities where changes could be effected within the CJS for parents' inclusion

and engagement by CJOs (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:99). Triangulation “involves considering the data from at least three different sources to help ensure more dimension to the data”, for example three separate individual interviews with different people, one interview with the same person on three separate points in time or comparing interviews with field notes or documents (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:99). Using the participant observations as a method of triangulation helped contextualise and confirm some of the findings generated during the focus groups.

The same sites were observed using the same observation tools and the same observers during the problem analyses phase and during the pilot testing phase. This was done so that comparisons could be drawn between the two observation blocks. The observers’ social work background, their gender, race and prior experience or assumptions of the CJS were discussed during our reflection sessions. All three observers were keenly interested in how the probation officers’ assessments were conducted and highlighted the lack of parent involvement and parent focus during the assessment stage. They also noted the exclusion of or lack of acknowledgement of parents during the preliminary inquiry as well as parents not being attended to in the waiting area. Although the number of observation sessions was pre-determined, the data collected also reached the point of saturation as the same observations were noted within the different stages and by different observers during both observation blocks. Participant observations as a method of data collection, although useful in providing real time data and contextual data, were very time consuming and expensive. Due to the unpredictable nature of when children and their parents would engage with or have contact with CJOs some planned observation sessions yielded no observable interactions between parents and CJOs, however, observers would remain at their sites as planned and had to be paid accordingly. The number of engagements between parents and CJOs for both observation blocks included fifteen during the problem analysis phase and seventeen during the pilot phase. Most of the engagements were observed in the court setting followed by the assessment setting resulting in most of the findings revealing attitudes, behaviours and problems in these two settings. Limitations of the participant observations included the subjectivity of the observers, the likelihood that those being observed would alter their normal behaviour and that some of the CJOs observed were also participants in the working group and were therefore

aware of what behaviours would be under observation. Participants' changing their behaviour based on their involvement in the research process is also indicative of the transformative power of PAR and the benefit of "learning in action" (Coghlan & Brannick, 2010:18) and "co-learning" (Voinov & Bousquet, 2010:1272). To minimise the impact of these limitations three observers were placed at various sites, on various days and at various times. Together with the findings from the focus groups during the problem analysis phase the findings of the participant observations informed the design and development of the practice model and later also facilitated its refinement during the pilot testing phase.

Indirect or tertiary data collection methods also involved presentation of the findings in respect of the problem analysis and the initial co-constructed practice model to an expert panel and to CJ stakeholders from the two sites. The early development of the practice model was finalised and presented to the Child Justice expert panel consisting of the various district heads of departments on 21 June 2017 to review and give input on the procedural specifications of the practice model. Their feedback mainly revolved around ensuring that DSD must be a partner to facilitate the implementation of the practice model. We refined the practice model and then facilitated an information workshop on 23 November 2017 with 40 participants consisting of CJOs and parents to share the refined practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process, and for participants to question as well as give input to the findings. All the participants confirmed the accuracy of the findings and the practice model as a reflection of what they had co-constructed.

4.7 PILOT STUDY

This section describes pilot testing of the co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of CCL during the early development phase. The preliminary model developed jointly (CR Figure 8.7, Chapter 8) was piloted from 17 August 2017 to 30 November 2017 with certain elements of the practice model piloted during the pretrial phase of the CJP. Pilot testing involves implementing and testing an intervention on a smaller scale to evaluate whether the intended outcomes are achieved through the design, to identify shortcomings and inform refinement or

changes to the preliminary intervention (Van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001:1). Pilot testing also enables a cost-effective way of testing what works and what needs to improve to ensure a workable intervention within the context in which it is intended to function. Pilot testing can be done within the context where the intervention will be used or it can be conducted in a simulated context. The pilot testing for this study was done at the two research sites with the following elements tested.

- CJOs at both sites sensitised to parents' support needs, their role in supporting parents during the CJP and the resources available where they can refer parents to support services.
- Information posters on the CJP and parent support resources placed at police stations, DSD probation service offices, courts, NICRO offices and the Secure Care Centre.
- Court preparation officers placed in the waiting areas at the two sites
- NGO parent support services availed to parents referred by CJOs or self-referred.

During the pilot testing phase, I co-facilitated parent focus groups at each research site during September and October 2017 to gather information on parents' experience of the implementation of the preliminary intervention and to gain feedback on how the intervention could be refined or improved. Two parents from the core working group co-facilitated one parent group but, however, were not available to assist with the other focus group. The findings from these focus groups indicated that the elements that worked included the placement of court preparation officers and the involvement of parents during the court processes by CJOs trained prior to the pilot testing. The elements that did not work effectively were the placement of posters at the sites as parents indicated that they wanted this information to be discussed with them by CJOs and for them to be referred or linked to the available support services. The observation sessions conducted during the pilot testing phase corroborated these findings and highlighted that when CJOs were trained to support parents they were more likely to involve parents during the CJP. However, they did not consistently know how to provide concrete support to parents when their children presented with substance abuse related problems, schooling problems and misbehaviour. This indicated the need to ensure the model integrated the training of CJOs in this respect but also the mobilisation

of resources to engage parents in a variety of support services during the CJP. It also indicated the central role probation officers had to take within the practice model to assess parents and provide social work services prior to, during and after the CJP.

4.8 DATA ANALYSIS AND VERIFICATION

This section describes the data analysis and verification process followed in the current study. Thematic analysis was applied to the data generated during the focus groups and the observation sessions. Qualitative analysis aims to condense data, search for patterns, identify relationships and synthesise data to find meaning in texts or visual material (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:3, 5). Guest et al., (2013:9) explain that thematic analysis is the most common qualitative analysis involving inductive analysis through identification and coding of emergent themes. The analysis involved lower and higher order coding of the transcripts to reveal the codes, categories and themes. Due to the systematic and generative nature of the research process, data analysis was ongoing as the findings informed each subsequent step of the research process (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:23). After each focus group, I engaged in the thematic analysis and the independent coder also analysed the transcripts. Once the transcripts were coded separately by the independent coder, and myself we engaged in discussion to identify similarities, differences and anomalies in our themes. This independent but collaborative coding process allows for inter-coder agreement and consistency in interpretation (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:6). We both arrived at the same themes except that my themes were organised along the CJP in terms of parents' experiences and support needs during each stage of the CJP whereas hers were lumped together. I decided to present the descriptive themes within the various stages of the CJP to show the varying experiences and support needs at each stage, as this is how parents told their stories. Saldaña and Omasta, (2018:12) add that qualitative researchers are interested in process and may indicate "phases, stages or cycles of observed data". This enabled me to draw "lower-order inferences" of what was happening at a micro level based on parents' stories (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:246). The literature review was also ongoing and the findings were presented to participants within the context of existing literature particularly during the design and development phase. During the research process, I would write up these findings in an abridged report (see Addendum 3) and share them both verbally and in writing prior to or during focus groups to gain

participants' feedback and have them check the accuracy of the findings (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018:6). The participants confirmed the findings and their accuracy. No major revisions were noted and participants used these findings to guide their thinking and planning of the next step in the design and development process. The data from the observation tools and observers' field notes were recorded on an excel spreadsheet for each stage of the CJP observed and the various CJOs that were observed. As indicated in the example in Table 4.5 various CJOs observed were then colour coded to indicate their profession and recorded against a specified behaviour to tally the occurrence (Y), partial occurrence (P) or non-occurrence (N) of the behaviours. The data for the pre-pilot observations were compared with the observations recorded during the pilot testing to search for similarities or differences and were then compared to the data generated during the problem analyses and pilot testing phase focus groups to look for further similarities or differences between the focus group data and the observation data.

Table 4.5: Sample of observation data recording of preliminary inquiry/court observations

BEHAVIOUR BEING OBSERVED	WAS THE BEHAVIOUR OBSERVED (CIRCLE ANSWER)		OBSERVER COMMENTS (Descriptive and detailed)	RESEARCHER COMMENTS/REFLECTIONS/INSIGHTS
The PI/court waiting area displays visible information about the child justice process that is parent friendly.			NNNNNNNN Small A4 legal aid poster in passage and in court only. Waiting area was dark	SAME ASSESSMENT REFLECTIONS
The CJ official's conversation with the parent during the PI/ court proceedings also focused on how the parent was coping with their child since the child's arrest/charge against the child	Y		NNNNNNNN Asked how granny/guardian was coping	
The CJ official's conversation with the parent during the PI/ court proceedings also focused on the parent's concerns and ability to manage their child's behaviour.	Y		NNNNNNNN In-depth focus on how the family was coping. The parent expressed without being asked that, she did not know what to do with the child and that she did not want the child anymore	
The CJ official's conversation with the parent during the PI/court proceedings also focused on the parent's support system and the parent's need for support to cope during the child justice process	Y		NNNNNNNN Accessed the family's ability to cope with the CJ process	

BEHAVIOUR BEING OBSERVED	WAS THE BEHAVIOUR OBSERVED (CIRCLE ANSWER)			OBSERVER COMMENTS (Descriptive and detailed)	RESEARCHER COMMENTS/REFLECTIONS/INSIGHTS
The CJ official explained the legal consequences for the parent if the child failed to comply with the diversion order	YYYY		NONN	O-not eligible for diversion. Noted parent liability for fine or 3 months imprisonment for failure to comply	Is this hindering the parents willingness to admit they need help or support with their child or even reporting problems with managing their child's behaviour? Is this productive or counterproductive in CJO becoming a source of support for parents due to the adversarial role and power implied in this parental liability issue.
List the parents' needs and concerns expressed about monitoring their child's compliance with the diversion order	Parents' needs: Parent not acknowledged at first. Parent needs not elicited or expressed. Need support, looking after grandchild and own child, had to leave work		Parent concerns not elicited or expressed. Responsibility for the accused when guardian has own child and taking care of grandmother	Parents' needs and concerns not given room to be heard during court. Legal Aid attorney seems to have a passive role in court.	
The CJ official endorsed the recommendations, advised the parent to access, and participate in the recommended services/programmes to address their concerns and needs		PP	NNNNNNNN	Advised the probation officer to meet with the family again. Advised parent in terms of avoiding fine or imprisonment	Any recommendation for parental or family support or assistance must be concretised and doable within the current system and capacity available.

Key: **Red** – Prosecutor; **Black** – Presiding officer/magistrate; **Blue** – Legal Aid Attorney

Through analysis of the observation data, a significant number of the assertions made by parents and CJOs during the focus groups were confirmed. The participant observations along with the observer's reflections helped in revealing the contextual and procedural issues such as exclusion of parents, the procedural focus during the court processes and the power relations between parents and CJOs during the various stages of the CJP. Saldaña and Omasta, (2018:19) confirm that observers are in a prime position to "investigate (how) those with and without power affect roles and relationships" thereby revealing power relations operating within a particular context. This was particularly evident in the present study as it revealed professional status, socio-economic status, race, and gender power imbalances at play not only during the CJP but also at a micro- and macro-level. The descriptive themes that emerged during the entire data generation and analysis process were written up, however, only the themes related to research objective one, namely the type of support parents need during the CJP are presented in Chapter 5.

Upon completion of the practice model, I commenced the writing up of the findings for academic purposes engaging in further analyses with the view to synthesise the findings with the literature control. The analytic findings presented in Chapter 6 allowed me to step away from the data and reflect on the global themes that emerged based on the study's findings with the literature control. Saldaña and Omasta (2018:246) explain this process as drawing "higher-order inferences which extend beyond" the descriptive themes "to speculate what they mean" at a meso- and macro-level to present a "synoptic generalization". The analytic themes were cross-referenced with the descriptive themes to cross check the accuracy as well as to ensure an audit trail of how I arrived at the analytic themes (Guest et al., 2013:298). Table 4.6 below shows a sample of the process I followed from the codes to the categories, then the descriptive themes and analytic themes (CR Tables 5.2 for descriptive themes & 6.1 for analytic themes). Although I used process coding, attribute coding, evaluative/judgement and emotion coding, I mostly used in vivo coding to stay close to the data and ensure participants voices were authentically reflected in the codes, categories and themes.

Table 4.6: Sample of thematic analysis process from codes and categories to themes

CODING AND CATEGORIES		DESCRIPTIVE THEME		ANALYTIC THEMES
Category: Parent not knowing the status of the case or about the CJP	3 The support needs of parents of CCL	3.1 Information support	3.1.1 Information about their child's charge or arrest	Subtheme 1.3 Parent education on CJS
Emotion code: Parent has fear because of not knowing what will happen.			3.1.2 Information about the Child Justice procedures	
In vivo code: Parent "I've been waiting for their calls or someone they can come to tell me when is the date again and that thing it's fear on me because of I hear stuff I don't know anything about justice or anything"			3.1.3 Information about the progress or outcome of their child's case	
In vivo code: Parent "I don't know what's going on what is gonna happen to [names the child] and this case you see, like this thing is like traumatising me".				
Category: Parents experiencing trauma and spousal conflict		3.2 Emotional support	3.2.1 Spousal support	Theme 1: Parent focused prevention services Theme 2: Accessible Social work services for parents Theme 3: Family-centred assessment and intervention Subtheme 1.1 Addressing parents' adverse socio-economic conditions
In vivo coding: Parent " Soos ek dit nou kan stel ons het baie gestry oor [noem kind]...Hy's nou hatig teenoor my kind, teen oor [noem kind]. Nou hy het al vir hoeveel maande nou geskel "my kind is n moordenaar" hoe kan hy sê my kind is 'n moordenaar?' [As I can state it, we argued a lot over (names child). He is now hateful towards my child, towards (names child)... Now he has been arguing for how many months 'my child is a murderer'. How can he say my child is a murderer?"			3.2.2 Professional support	
In vivo code: you also need because of your traumatisation and everything you ... need ... the social workers so that you can explain the problem and ... your situation, your experience and everything,				
Category: Parents needing practical or financial support	3.3 Practical support	3.3.1 Transport		

CODING AND CATEGORIES	DESCRIPTIVE THEME		ANALYTIC THEMES
<p>In vivo code: And I am this person who doesn't even have financial income, I don't even get groceries, I applied for food parcels but I don't get it, even having applied for it many times. I don't get grant; I was turned away at SASSA because my age is 58 years you see. So I have to wait 2 years, till I am 60 years to get the grant.</p>		<p>3.3.2 Food</p>	
<p>In vivo code: Participant: Mm, I could say, perhaps you will suggest how I can handle the situation because it is beyond me. I was hoping that you would advise that I do this that and whatnot.</p>			

The use of thematic analysis was useful in ensuring a continuous, systematic and cyclical process. As the findings emerged, they were shared with, checked by participants for accuracy, and integrated during the reflection, design and development process throughout the study. The findings were shared with participants at a final focus group meeting in October 2017 to confirm the final problem analysis and practice model and again at the November stakeholder workshop for parents who missed the October meeting. They confirmed that the findings were a true reflection of what they discussed and designed as well as endorsed the sharing of the findings. The findings were presented at the district stakeholder meeting attended by participants from the working group and other CJOs as well as relevant stakeholders. Parents gave written consent that by attending the workshop their identities would become known to the stakeholders. The CJOs involved in the study did not give consent, as their absence from the workshop would have revealed their possible involvement in the study. During this stakeholder meeting all the participants and stakeholders commended the development of the practice model and also concurred the findings in respect of the problem analyses citing various examples from practice where parents need support prior to, during and after the CJP. I made a similar presentation at the Provincial CJ forum where provincial managers concurred with the findings and added that the challenges experienced in supporting parents at a primary prevention level and within the child protection system seemed to spill over into the child justice system. This links with the themes that emerged during the present study as discussed in Chapter 5 and 6. The consistent sharing of the findings and integration of the feedback from participants and stakeholders helped in limiting the subjective interpretation of the findings by me and the literature control further ensured that the findings were situated within the existing scholarly knowledge base. The following section will discuss the strategies employed to ensure trustworthiness of the study.

4.9 ENSURING TRUSTWORTHINESS

The strategies employed to ensure trustworthiness in the current study are unpacked. Yardley's (2000:221-224) criteria for ensuring commitment, rigour, transparency and coherence in the research process guided the strategies

employed to ensure trustworthiness of the study. In addition, to judge the validity and quality of the participatory action research process and outcomes the following choice points as proposed by Reason (2006 cited in Coghlan & Brannick, 2010:145), were considered and applied:

- the study being explicitly participative, in research with, for and by people rather than on people;
- the study drawing on a wide range of ways of knowing including intuitive, experiential, presentational as well as conceptual and linking these appropriately to form theory;
- being worthy of the term “significant”, and
- emerging towards a new and enduring infrastructure.

To discuss the trustworthiness of the present study the application of Yardley’s (2000:221-224) criteria and Reason’s (2006 cited in Coghlan & Brannick, 2010:145) choice points to the present study will be discussed in the ensuing subsections.

4.9.1 Commitment

Commitment refers to my prolonged engagement with the topic under study and their competence in conducting research including their sustained immersion in problem analyses and data analyses (Yardley, 2000:221). Prior to commencing the data generation process, I successfully completed a training workshop on conducting PAR and facilitating focus groups. This training helped me to prepare meticulously for each focus group including the logistical preparation and the developing the interview guides. Based on the democratic nature of PAR and IDD, participants collaborated in developing the focus and questions for the focus groups as well as the observation tools. The commitment of the participants and the various departments to the focus and research process was evident in their voluntary participation for the period of the study and their investment of time, energy, input and resources during the study. Participants’ immersion in the problem analyses and engagement with the findings to develop the practice model was evident throughout the research process and evidenced by the development of the co-constructed practice model. Participants’ adherence to the planned timelines and involvement in the various activities required during the research process and the

eventual achievement of all the research objectives is further evidence of their commitment.

4.9.2 Rigour

Rigour refers to the “completeness of the data collection and analysis” including the strategies employed to ensure accurate capturing and reporting of the data collected and its analysis (Yardley, 2000:221). All focus groups were audio-recorded and transcribed by the moderator/translator (same person) who was present at all focus groups (Guest et al., 2013:284). The presence of the moderator also enabled an independent person to observe and verify the focus group discussions. The moderator, fulfilling the role of translator and transcriber, further ensured that the data capturing authentically reflected what transpired during the focus groups and the stakeholder workshops. I checked all the focus group transcriptions to ensure quality and accuracy against the audio-recordings of the focus groups (Guest et al., 2013:293). The written recordings of the observation field notes and completion of the observation tools were maintained by the trained observers. Capturing and analysis of the observation findings as reflected in Table 4.6 serves as evidence of the rigour in analysis of the observation data. The results of the observations were captured in an Excel© spreadsheet with the observers’ reflections and my reflections. The report back of the observation findings was also shared and discussed with the group and their reflections audio-recorded as well as transcribed. All the documents developed by the group and the findings generated by the group were shared with and verified by the participants during each focus group session. This allowed me to develop a participant-audited paper trail that reflected the research journey and its various evidentiary outcomes. The findings from the literature review (CR Chapter two) and its integration in the design (CR Chapters 6,7,8) as well as development of the practice model helped strengthen the credibility of the study in that it has been contextualised within and builds on the pre-existing body of knowledge.

4.9.3 Transparency

To ensure transparency I developed a project plan to help us in plotting and managing the various phases and operations involved in the research process. The research methodology, the design and methods of inquiry articulated in Chapter

one, were shared with and endorsed by the respective departments in the CJS, and the participants involved in the study. The research aim aligned to the selected research approach, design and methods resulted in the design and development of a practice model through a participative and collaborative process. The various documents related to the research study were electronically filed and hard copies were maintained in a locked office for auditing processes. A selection of these documents such as a transcripts (Addendum 4), the observation tool (Addendum 5), and the consent forms (Addendum 6) are included in this report. Transferability of the findings were strengthened by ensuring a clear description of the research process followed in this study, the decisions taken during the selection of the research methodology and the methodological limitations of the study are described in detail. In line with the qualitative approach, the findings of the study are not wholly transferrable to other settings, however, certain elements of the study's findings are transferable to similar contexts such as the CJS. This study's findings were also verified against existing. Guèye (2011 cited in Ouédraogo & Cardoso, 2011:70) explains that recourse from the implications of the subjective nature of qualitative research comes from the inclusion of authenticifiable practices such as field work, cross checking of data, collaborative interpretation of findings and thick descriptions of the research process.

4.9.4 Coherence

Coherence refers to how closely the findings reflect the story as told and generated by the participants (Yardley, 2000:222). It also links to whether the findings fit within the existing knowledge and literature as a coherent addition or extension that is recognisable by those in the particular practice and research field. To ensure coherence I employed in vivo coding as far as possible to remain close to the data, I also ensured that participants received verbal and written reports of the findings as they emerged so that they could check for accuracy and amend the findings if they did not reflect what they had said or meant. Throughout the research process, I worked with and alongside participants and a moderator also observed, recorded and transcribed the focus groups thereby ensuring that the data generated and the findings coherently reflected each phase of the knowledge generation. Presenting the findings to practitioners and at two local and one international conference also provided the opportunity to receive critical feedback on the findings and consider

input from academics and practitioners. Presentation of the findings to the study's expert panel (that is, participating parents and CJOs) for review also tested the coherence of the findings. Throughout the research process recording, reflecting and reporting on the generated data and the research process helped to strengthen the logical flow of the story and the systematic research process. The link between the research aim, the research methodology and selected design also facilitated the coherent planning, implementation and recording of the research process.

4.9.5 Validity and Quality

Reflecting on Reason's (2006 cited in Coghlan & Brannick, 2010:145) choice points for the validity and quality of PAR, the present study was underpinned by an explicitly collaborative process where participants engaged in a systematic process of knowledge generation and construction of a practice model. Using focus groups as a primary method of inquiry ensured participants worked as a team to understand the phenomenon under study and actively engaged in various activities to design and develop the observation tool and the practice model. Participants further assumed the role of co-facilitators as they assisted with data generation during focus groups and as research assistants when they assisted with recruitment of observers. Participants' willingness to voluntarily reveal their involvement in the study also showed that they regarded themselves as part of the process rather than an external person being studied by me as a researcher. In accordance with Reason's (2006 cited in Coghlan & Brannick, 2010:145) second choice point of multiple forms of inquiry, a variety of methods of inquiry and knowledge generation was employed in the study. Focus groups, participant observations, reflection sessions, expert panel reviews, stakeholder presentations and literature review were employed at various stages during the research process. Managing and consolidating the data from these various methods was a mammoth task but it enabled the generative process of problem analyses and design as well as development. The significance of the study is that it is contributing to knowledge development in the field of child justice and parent support. It also contributed to the development of a practice model that can be operationalised within the practice context to effect change in how the CJS and its officials not only provide services to parents but also engage parents at national and provincial level. The study also makes a methodological contribution to how we can facilitate inclusion and

collaboration within PAR and IDD research where participants are not merely accessed for data but involved as co-constructors and developers of knowledge alongside researchers and practitioners. Lastly, it is envisioned that through this study, the foundation is being laid for future focus, investment and policy changes to ensure parents are included in the CJS as both service recipients and service advocates. Through the planned knowledge utilisation phase as part of my post-doctoral research the advanced development and dissemination of the co-constructed practice model will change how we engage with and include parents in a supportive and transformed CJS. Reason (2006) explains that researchers are faced with multiple choices that they have to make during the PAR process and that this includes ensuring both internal and external quality as well as validity of the research. He further explains that PAR embraces the notion that there are no absolute truths and that facilitates democratic, inclusive processes to allow construction of knowledge from practice rather than from theory (Reason, 2006:188). The validity and quality of PAR cannot only be measured by the same standards as proposed by Yardley (2002) but should also be assessed based on the four choice points, namely, participative research process, multiple forms of inquiry, significance and emergence towards new or enduring infrastructure (Reason, 2006).

4.9.5.1 Participative research process

According to Reason (2006:189-198) a participative process in PAR enables the following:

- Involvement of intentional actors and meaning makers who are involved with practice (practitioners) or involved in practice (service users).
- Transparency and openness about the research process, its purpose and its envisioned outcomes.
- Allows intimate conversations and an opportunity to think through as well as reflect
- Redress the imbalance in knowledge generation through inclusive knowledge generation
- Allows participants to generate their own self-determined strategies

- Democratic decision making and inclusion in decision making regarding matters that affect people.

To facilitate a participative process during the present study I ensured that the various departments, their employees and parents involved in the CJS were first informed of the proposed study meeting with them face-to-face and providing written information on the scope of the study. This enabled potential participants to consider their voluntary participation and provide informed consent. The choice to engage in a participative process was guided by not only the PAR but also my epistemological and ontological position that knowledge is generated and constructed by people for the benefit of people to improve the human condition at a micro-, meso- and macro-level (Reason, 2006:192). To enable a participative process, I purposefully selected a sample of practitioners and parents as internal actors to generate knowledge, make meaning of the knowledge generated, and determine how the knowledge would be translated into meaningful actions. Employing focus groups as a method of inquiry was useful in creating communal space where participants could form bonds and have difficult conversations without fear. During the first PAR cycle, the groups' participation was less free flowing mainly because of the power imbalance between parents and practitioners, however; as the group moved to the subsequent two PAR cycles, which also integrated the design of an observational tool and the early development stage of IDD, the communication became more free flowing. The flow of communication was also strengthened through the deliberate use of brainstorming activities, small group discussions and the use of a discussion board, which shifted the focus from a personal level to a micro-, meso- and macro-level where participants could generate knowledge then apply the knowledge to generate solutions. Opportunities for participants to direct and inform the research process included participants proposing questions that could be included in interview guides, deciding on who to include in stakeholder workshops, being involved in the observer recruitment interviews and co-facilitating parent focus groups during the pilot testing phase. Throughout the research process the knowledge generated, decisions and actions taken were transparent to all as written and verbal reports as well as presentations were made during each focus group and stakeholder workshop. The transparency also helped in ensuring participants were involved in checking the accuracy of the findings, making meaning of the findings and reflecting on the

findings as well as the research process. Limitations in strengthening a participative process in this study include parents not being empowered to co-facilitate the stakeholder workshops, the inclusion of more parents during the pre-pilot phase, especially parents from Uitenhage, and participants not being involved in the proposal development and the subsequent dissemination of this study's findings. Holloway and Galvin (2017:247) agree that participants involved in PAR must be involved in all PAR processes including the proposal development.

4.9.5.2 Multiple forms of inquiry

Knowledge can be generated through various forms of inquiry over a prolonged period of time (Reason, 2006:195). PAR is "knowledge in action" as it involves using knowledge to address issues of power, deepen understanding and develop a community of inquiry with the view to individual and communal action (Reason, 2006:193-194). Human beings do not operate in isolation and therefore do not generate knowledge in isolation but rather are continuously involved in socially constructing realities and knowledge generation. Furthermore, the dynamic nature of humans and the complex nature of knowledge generation warrants the use of multiple methods of inquiry to explore and reveal knowledge situated within the various ecological systems from multiple perspectives. Using various methods of inquiry also helped in triangulating findings and ensuring room for multiple realities to emerge from multiple perspectives. During the present study, the participation of both CJOs and parents in focus groups, the inclusion of observers to conduct participant observations, the engagement of an expert panel and integration of literature enabled a range of "ways of knowing" and deepening of understanding through the "iterative cycles of inquiry" (Reason, 2006:195 & 197). Presentation of the findings at multiple points during the research process to various individuals and groups, for example participants, stakeholders, independent coder, supervisors, academics and practitioners, provided multiple opportunities for further knowledge generation and refinement of the findings attesting to PAR creating "open forums of dialogue" (Reason, 2006:194). A challenge in employing these various methods of inquiry in a cyclical manner is the amount of time needed to conduct the inquiry then to prepare as well as report the findings between the cycles and between focus groups.

4.9.5.3 Significance of the study

Research that meaningfully contributes to knowledge development and addresses a worthwhile practical or real-life problem is considered significant (Tracy, 2010:841). The PAR process allows the creation of “micro versions of the society we wish to see” (Reason, 2006:198). Through the PAR process and the integration of IDD, several significant contributions are made by the present study. On a methodological level, the integration of PAR and IDD demonstrated how participants could be involved as co-creators of knowledge, design and development through a collaborative and systematic process. The integration of IDD with PAR also showed how the PAR cycles could be anchored through the IDD phases and operations to set a goal directed course and maintain momentum during the prolonged research process. Conversely, the PAR showed how collaborative co-construction and reflection could strengthen inclusionary practice in the IDD process and address issues of power and democratic decision making during the IDD phases. The ecological underpinnings of PAR, viewing people as part of various systems balanced with the IDD which can be focused in a specific practice setting, showed how these two approaches allowed the group to assume multiple vantage points at a micro-, meso- and macro-level including the CJS at a supra- or systemic-level (CR Chapter 3 & 8). Participants, particularly parents’, inclusion as co-constructors, co-facilitators and interviewers during the observer recruitment allowed parents to assume various vantage points and roles. Parents’ involvement in these various roles also influenced how they dressed as they would put on make-up and dress in a smart casual manner rather than casually as they did during the first three focus groups. One parent even brought a note book and pen with her to focus groups and the expert panel to take notes of the discussions. The integration of IDD with PAR demonstrates a process through which researchers can move systematically from knowledge generation or knowledge development to design and development to collaboratively designed interventions. Personally, application of research design forced me to draw on the support of my family to finance some of my research expenses and assist with prior preparation of refreshments and functional aids such as posters. Professionally, the application of the design meant that I was often stretched in balancing my academic work and the intensive project coordination, management and implementation involved in this study. However, I

benefitted both personally and professionally as the collaborative nature of this integrated design drew in the support of family, colleagues and research assistants in addition to the support of the participants as well as the respective departments. I also acquired and strengthened a variety of skills and competencies during this study including the application of PAR and IDD, facilitating focus groups and participant observations, and coordination of collaborative research processes across systems. The significance of using the integrated approach is that it demonstrated how practitioners and stakeholders could actively facilitate participative inclusion of service users in problem analyses, how they could motivate prolonged involvement of both practitioners and services users in a collective, goal directed process to develop self-generated solutions and how to engage with each other in a research-practice environment.

The significance of this study to both knowledge development and practice lies in its focus and outcome. As alluded to in chapter two the existing literature primarily focuses on children in conflict with the law, parenting support in general and support for parents during the court process. The current study contributes to the existing literature and research on the topic of supporting parents during the child justice process as the findings developed a deeper understanding of the support needs of parents of CCL and parents of children at risk of offending. It also presents a co-constructed practice model for supporting parents during, prior to and after the CJP. The model is the first of its kind within the South African child justice system and lays the foundation for further advanced development (knowledge utilisation) for a practice model. Internationally and regionally, the literature search indicated no existence of a practice model co-constructed by parents and CJOs, which focused on supporting parents of CCL at a primary, secondary and tertiary prevention level. The significant contribution made by this study to existing practice is that it presents practice knowledge of the support parents need during the CJP and how parents' support needs can be understood in the context of the micro-, meso- and macro-level. It also provides insights on how practitioners, policy makers and departments can involve parents as service users and service advocates within the CJS and the roles the respective CJOs can fulfil in supporting parents of CCL.

4.9.5.4 Emergence towards new and ensuring infrastructure

The present study presented the support of parents of CCL as a new focus for research, practice and policy. This study confirmed the limited research and non-existence of a clear policy as well as practice guidelines for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law. The study presents a practice model for supporting parents of CCL as part of the KD and IDD phases with the envisaged plan of continuing with the KU phase to facilitate the advanced development of the practice model. The KU phase will enable the implementation, evaluation, refinement and dissemination of the practice model to ensure a national roll out of and implementation of the practice model. The engagement with the National Technical Inter-sectoral Committee for Child Justice on 13 November 2018 laid the foundation for ensuring the buy-in, support and resources of the respective departments involved in the CJS to facilitate the advanced development of the model presented in this study.

4.10 REFLEXIVITY

Reflexivity means thinking about one's thinking and reflecting on one's reflections (Lyons, 2010:9 cited in Lyons, 2010). During the research process, researchers engage in various activities, makes numerous decisions and engages in many cognitive or emotional processes that are not made explicit. The entire research process itself can generate and elicit emotions during and about the research process, which can be emotionally demanding for researchers (Ranko-Ramaila, Mathipa & Gumbo, 2015 cited in Mathipa & Gumbo, 2015:7). Reflexivity involved me consciously interrogating and challenging myself to expose my internal world and its impact on how I went about the research process, how I interacted with participants, how my personal internal journey impacted my experience of the research journey and vice versa. Reflection and reflexivity are an integral part of my researcher role (Tracy, 2010:842). This is even more important when conducting qualitative research, especially PAR, which emphasises reflection during and about the research process. My own reflections took place on three levels, reflecting before taking action, while in action and after taking action. Some of these reflections were written in my reflection notes, some took place in thinking by myself and when I met with my research supervisors. Reflection before taking action

revolved around my anxieties of making sure that all the preparations such as the venue, the invitations and the interview guide were prepared in advance prior to the focus groups. The following excerpt from my reflective notes speaks of the anxiety I felt:

Excerpts from my reflective notes:

Prior to the first focus group with CJ stakeholders

22 July 2016

I am feeling very anxious and concerned the participants may not all come to the session. I know I sent out reminders but they are all busy people. I am worried about everything going well so I will arrive early. All the things are packed and I have prepared well for the session. I must just be calm and breathe

22 July 2016

After the first, focus group with CJ officials

Before the start of the focus group, participants were able to relax and have lunch as they had just come from court. Two participants arrived late due to court but joined in. I was very nervous in the beginning but tried to engage with participants as they arrived, thanking them for coming and inviting them to have something to drink. The discussion board really helped break the ice as the participants giggled and discussed the pictures they chose. It also gave me time to observe them and calm my nerves, as the focus was not on me. The discussion board really helped in focusing the discussion and helped me to direct the conversation to parents as the focus rather than children. I felt at ease as the focus group progressed and reminded me of the need to focus on my facilitator role to move the conversation along using the interview guide. Asking participants to recommend questions that must be included in the next focus groups was also useful in getting their input. I feel very relieved that the first focus group has gone well.

26 August 2016

Briefing sessions with parents to recruit participants

The individual briefing sessions with the parents was very time consuming but worth it as I got to know the parents and their stories of how they experienced the CJP. The parents

asked questions about the research and showed interest in the research. Most agreed to participate but one had health issues and could not participate.

30 September 2016

Combined focus group

As participants arrived, they tend to sit with their colleagues or fellow parents. Maybe this is because they feel more comfortable with their own groups, however, I was concerned about the power relations being affected and the group dynamics that would emerge if I did not pay attention to the seating arrangements to ensure that parents and CJOs sat next to each other. The parents gradually shared their stories and surprisingly the CJOs started sharing their own experiences as parents. Two CJOs said they could relate to some of the challenges the parents were sharing as they too struggle as parents. This was wonderful as I could see the parents feeling more at ease to share and the CJOs toning down their critical view of parents. They even shifted focus to their own department's lack of support for the parents. The conversation seemed to move away from the parents themselves to parents in general and to the CJS. I felt like this helped to shift the group to the more global concern rather than this just being a problem of a few parents.

Self-reflection in supervision

17 July 2017

"I am always scared of losing momentum...I feel responsible for ensuring successful completion of the model... I must have time and energy as there are many processes, people and tasks involved in this approach" I have to be patient, I rather wait than rush through things"

The highly structured nature of this research process made me feel in control as I struggle to cope when things are "in the air" or too unstructured. I realised that this need for structure also influenced my decision to integrate IDD with PAR, the latter being far more flexible on its own. Being immersed in the action of PAR and being anchored by IDD to systematically write down each action then produce a report or document to plan the next phase really helped me to zoom in and out of the research process to reflect not only about the present action but also about the past and future action step. From the first focus group, right to the end I made lists of what tasks needed to be done and would ensure that all these tasks were done well in

advance. I also thought of how my need for structure would affect the participants and made a conscious effort to ensure enough time to socialise before and after each focus group as well as integrate creative activities with discussion boards, pictures and brainstorming to encourage more relaxed engagement (Guest et al., 2013:238) (See Figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3: Discussion board used and generated during a focus group

I also realised that at times my structured work ethic helped us move forward as I would sense when a point of saturation on a specific issue was reached and could guide the group to the next step with ease. My challenge was that I would take ownership of ensuring everything went smoothly throughout the research process, however, as time went by the group shared this ownership. I must be honest that this was necessary, as there were times when I felt very overwhelmed with all the responsibilities of arranging things for the focus groups. As the relationship and focus for the research developed, the participants felt more relaxed and so did I. As I prepared for the finalisation of the model, I really felt saddened at the prospect of not meeting with and working with the group. The participants shared the same feelings and I had to emphasise that it meant we had achieved our goal. Upon reflection, I realised that I had formed a relationship with the participants where they

had supported my journey through the research and that I genuinely felt connected to them not only as participants but also as human beings. I also realised that we had spent much time working but also spent time getting to know each other and supporting each other. I wonder had I chosen a different research approach that was less collaborative and team focused would I have felt this bond with the participants. Going into the research process, I assumed that although the research focus was important to me it might not be equally important to participants. At first, I felt as though I was imposing on their time however, as the process unfolded participants would volunteer to assist without being asked. This was important as the group shifted from being a working group of individuals with a common goal to a team focused on collaborating to develop a solution. The various documents (see enclosed computer disc) such as the observation tools, the functional elements matching form and the practice model generated by us motivated me and I think the participants themselves could see that every time we met something was produced or progress was made. I am a thinker first then move to action, so every step I took during the research was thought through and when I was unsure of something I would discuss it with my supervisors, the moderator and the participants. I would also read a lot when I did not understand something to help me make sense of things. Looking back at the entire research process and the people involved during the research process I realise that while I assumed the project leader role, this was a democratic leadership role as a facilitator of the planned and structured process. However, none of the planned processes and phases could happen without the motivation, focus, commitment and camaraderie of the group. As reflected earlier, I believe that people are capable, competent and want to be involved in changing their situations. Every contact I had with the participants confirmed that belief as in spite of parents' many struggles and CJOs many work demands they continued to share their knowledge, their experiences, their insights and would persevere to achieve what we set out to achieve. I feel deeply humbled that they took me into their trust as what we achieved is something much more than completing a research project, it was people demonstrating that no matter who or what you are you can make a difference. Even more so when you work alongside and with each other in a supportive environment.

4.11 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical standards guided my conduct as a researcher throughout the research process. Ethics refer to an explicit and implicit set of rules on what is acceptable conduct or behaviour when embarking on the research process and engaging with research participants (Scott & Garner, 2013:51). To ensure that this study complied with the research ethics of voluntary participation, informed consent, preventing risk to participants, ensuring their privacy and upholding confidentiality, various strategies were employed prior to and during the study. These strategies are described along with the measures taken when ethical dilemmas transpired.

4.11.1 Voluntary participation

Voluntary participation in research refers to the participants' willingness to participate in the research study without being coerced and being aware that they may withdraw from the study at any point without reason (Le Roux, 2015 in Mathipa & Gumbo, 2015:92; Flick, 2014:51). To ensure that all participants agreed to participate in the study of their own volition, I provided each participant with a "participant letter" (Addendum 7) explaining the scope of the study and requested their participation. I made presentations to the CJOs where I explained the scope of the study in writing and verbally, answered their questions truthfully and read through the "participant letter" and the consent forms with potential participants. I emphasised to the management and the staff that participation was voluntary and that the respective departments had to allow their staff to decline or participate without undue influence from managers. During the first focus group, the CJOs were again reminded that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw from the study at any time. They all read through then signed the consent forms and the moderator checked that participants accurately completed the forms prior to commencement of the focus group. Throughout the research process at the beginning of each focus group, participants signed an attendance register and I explained that by signing the register they were agreeing to participate voluntarily in the focus group. The voluntary participation of the CJOs was also evident as they would sacrifice their lunchtime, their afternoons off and one participant even came to the focus group while on annual leave.

Parents' voluntary participation was secured by visiting them at home, where I, accompanied by the translator (who is also the moderator), explained the scope of the study. I also emphasised that their participation in the study would not influence the outcome of their child's case and that their non-participation would not be viewed negatively by CJOs, as their participation was voluntary. I emphasised that this study was not part of the CJS and that I was not part of or employed by the CJS but sought to work with parents to understand how they could be supported in the CJS. I read the "participant letter" with each parent, answering his or her questions. I encouraged them to keep the letter and forms to think about their decision to participate before agreeing. The translator assisted where necessary. Once parents arrived at the first parent focus group, I explained the voluntary nature of their participation and the consent forms were again explained to them as a collective. Only thereafter did the parents sign the consent forms then I proceeded with the focus group. The parents along with the CJOs all signed attendance registers every time they attended a focus group and I reminded them of their agreement to participate by signing. Parents were also informed that they could withdraw from the study during any stage. One parent withdrew due to finding employment and another withdrew due to ill health. Participants received no payment or incentive for participating, however, refreshments were served at focus groups, which commenced or ended during lunch (Guest et al., 2013:179). Taxi fare was also provided to parents to cover their travel expenses to come to the focus groups. Participants all received a small "thank you" gift (a mug filled with chocolates or a pen at the end of the research project). All the signed consent forms and attendance registers are kept in a locked office in an unmarked file.

4.11.2 Informed consent

Informed consent involved me stating clearly to the participants what the purpose of the study was, and what personal information they would be required to share (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011:85). It also involved informing participants of the time they were expected to invest in the study, the expenses they might incur during the study, whether the expenses would be reimbursed, and whether they might experience any risks such as physical or psychological discomfort (Le Roux, 2015 in Mathipa & Gumbo, 2015:92). As alluded to in the previous paragraph, all participants involved in the study completed consent forms and signed the focus

group attendance registers before participating in each focus group as a way of reiterating their continued voluntary participation and consent to participate. Informed consent in this study related to participants being fully aware of the scope, duration and purpose of the study, the risks involved in the study, time required from them as well as the expectation that they would work collaboratively to develop a practice model. To ensure that participants were consistently informed of the research process, its progress and findings, I provided all participants with abridged reports of the findings, copies of documents containing the decisions or information generated during focus groups and the final practice model. Participants received a 25-page information booklet containing all the key findings and were given an opportunity during the last focus group and the stakeholder information workshop to give input and ask questions about the findings. Scott and Garner (2013:53) point out that participants are generally not privy to the researcher's interpretation of the data shared during focus groups or interviews, however, to be consistent with the underlying philosophy of PAR and IDD processes, the participants received both verbal and written reports of my interpretations and that of the independent coder. They could also check the accuracy of these interpretations in the context of what they shared or generated during the data generation process. The use of documentation, emails, telephone calls, presentations, and home visits to parents between focus groups helped in ensuring that all participants were regularly kept up to date on the findings, the progress of the research and had the opportunity to give input or ask questions. Guided by the research approach employed in the study, participants were afforded an opportunity to fulfil the dual role of participant and co-facilitator, which required that they revealed their identity as a participant. Parents and CJOs were approached to co-facilitate the stakeholder information workshops, attend the expert panel presentation, to co-facilitate the parent focus groups during the pilot phase and to co-author publications for the study. They were advised that this would mean their anonymity would be compromised and that this role was additional to that described during the initial consenting process. As such, they signed an additional consent form for this purpose. Three parents consented to participate as co-facilitators with two parents who were involved in the interviewing of the observers, two involved in co-facilitating the parent focus group and one accompanying but not presenting at the expert panel review. Prior to their involvement in these activities, I met with willing co-facilitators individually to prepare

them for their roles and the parents sat close to me during these sessions for support and executed their tasks well. All signed consent forms, including where participants were co-facilitators, are on file. Parents who attended the stakeholder information sessions also signed a special consent form stating that by attending the workshop they understood that their identity as participants was made public. It seemed that, because we worked collaboratively on a project that came to be viewed in a positive light by participants and stakeholders, it was easier for participants to openly share their involvement in the project. In contrast to the stigmatisation parents experienced due to their children's involvement in the CJS, there seemed to be no stigma or shame attached to their involvement with the research project. In fact, all the participants expressed pride at being involved in the co-construction of the practice model as they felt that they had made a meaningful contribution to the CJS and parents.

4.11.3 Risk to participants

Risk to participants refers to any anticipated and unanticipated physical, psychological or emotional risks participants experience or be exposed to during or as a result of participation in the research study (Flick, 2014:51). Initially the risk to parents as participants was that they could potentially experience stigma or judgement from other participants. There was also the possibility of experiencing emotional discomfort when they shared their stories. At first, the CJOs tended to voice judgmental comments regarding the parents, blaming parents for their children's clash with the law. However, as the various participants started working alongside each other and CJOs developed understanding of parents' struggles, this judgement transformed into empathy for parents. Facilitating the focus groups at the OSCJC, which is situated in a community characterised by a high incidence of crime, resulted in the unforeseen or unanticipated risk for parents in the broader community context. Parents reported the risk of community violence as they travelled to court and providing taxi fare for them to arrange transport helped to minimise this risk to some degree but not entirely. One parent who had a vehicle would offer a lift to some of the parents to the taxi rank to help parents reach the taxi safely. During service delivery protests, this threat was more prevalent and parents would walk in pairs to attend the focus group. I did emphasise to parents to not attend focus groups if they felt unsafe and sometimes parents did stay away

from focus groups to safeguard themselves from community violence. Parents' who agreed to co-facilitate and attend stakeholder workshops ran the risk of being stigmatised, however, it became evident that as they continued to participate in the study their confidence to share their concerns and experiences increased and they engaged with CJOs or stakeholders from a collective rather than an individual stance to advocate for their needs. Their confidence could also have been boosted by CJOs validating and supporting the findings and the practice model. Some parents experienced psychological discomfort during the focus groups when they shared their struggles in coping with their children's substance abuse, challenging behaviour and their repeated failed attempts to access social work services. One parent's struggle with her children's school threatening to expel her children due to their clash with the law also sought legal assistance during the focus group. Two parents reported their struggle with intimidation from their children's alleged victims or friends of the alleged victims throwing stones at their windows and even chasing one child with a knife. To assist parents in managing the psychological, legal and safety challenges I enlisted the services of the following institutions free of charge to provide parents with counselling and legal advice.

- The Nelson Mandela University Psychology Clinic provided counselling to two parents, who during the research project, continued to experience challenges with their children's challenging behaviour. All the parents involved in the study were informed of the services of the clinic and the other NGOs who are available to provide counselling and parenting guidance.
- The Nelson Mandela University Law Clinic assisted the one parent with legal advice to prevent the school from expelling her children. All the parents, especially parents struggling to re-enrol their children in school subsequent to their involvement in the CJS, were provided with information on the services offered by the Law Clinic.
- The SAPS Community Safety and Social Crime Prevention Unit were linked to the parent whose children were being intimidated by the alleged victims. I attended a meeting with the parent and the Unit Commander to discuss the safety concerns and were informed that the only recourse would be for the parent to open a case of intimidation and damage to property. The police acknowledged that they were aware of the stone throwing incidents in the

community, however, they were not able to intervene unless parents opened a case.

The risk for the CJOs in participating in the study was that their own practice and procedures were being exposed. Scott and Garner (2013:164) explain that professionals participating in PAR may experience concern about their practice being judged resulting in their commitment to the process deteriorating. The participant observations especially made CJOs feel vulnerable and I had to emphasise that their actions in their professional roles would be observed rather than their personalities or them as individuals. To address this risk, time was spent listening to misgivings expressed by CJOs in the process of obtaining their written consent to be observed. Furthermore, their identity was not written on the observation tool but rather their professional rank or role description. The risk was that some professions within the CJS could be potentially compared to others in the CJS could be pointed out as a concern and so throughout the analysis process I tried to emphasise an action such as assessment, engagement, communication and so forth rather than the individual and referred to CJOs as a collective group. The risk also existed of CJOs and parents blaming each other and assuming adversarial roles during the research process. However, through effective facilitation of group dynamics we were able to develop a common vision and partnership.

4.11.4 Privacy and confidentiality

Ensuring participants are aware of the information they will share during the research process, how that information will be managed and their privacy or anonymity maintained is an important ethical standard that must be complied with (Le Roux, 2015 in Mathipa & Gumbo, 2015:94). All participants involved in the current study were informed that the focus group discussions would be audio-recorded, transcribed then anonymised to conceal their identity. Participants all signed consent forms, which affirmed this process, and separate consent forms were signed by participants consenting to the audio-recording of focus group discussions. In sharing the findings of the study, participants could see that the abridged reports containing participant reflections or quotations were written without any identifiable information. To ensure participants' identity was concealed all transcriptions and documents related to the study were anonymised and

participants were allocated participant numbers to distinguish between them. As mentioned earlier some parents fulfilled a co-facilitator role or attended stakeholder workshops with CJOs thereby revealing their identity. All these parents were taken through a re-consenting process and signed additional consent forms agreeing that they consent to revealing their identity. These parents seemed to be comfortable with making their involvement in the study public to CJOs and parents involved in the pilot phase focus groups. Le Roux (2015 in Mathipa & Gumbo, 2015:94) explains that participants sometimes want it to be known that they were involved in a particular study and that it would be unethical to refuse them an opportunity to do so provided that they did not reveal the identity of other participants involved in the same study.

The moderator/translator, the independent coder and the observers are all registered social workers and complied with the ethical standards as stipulated by the South African Council for Social Service Professions, which emphasises their ethical responsibility to maintain professionalism, and confidentiality at all times. The moderator/translator, the independent coder and the observers all signed confidentiality agreements prior to commencing their duties in the study and handed all documents related to the study to me upon termination of their duties. The agreement stated that they had to maintain confidentiality and guard participants' privacy/identity. The following points are excerpts from the observer contracts.

- i. Ensure compliance with research ethics and Social Work professional ethics by always maintaining a high standard of professional conduct (including professional dress code) and guard participants' right to privacy and confidentiality.*
- ii. Ensure that all written records related to the observation sessions and the research project are maintained in a manner that ensures confidentiality of the information and participants' identities at all times.*
- iii. Ensure that all written records related to this research, in the field observer's possession, are handed in to the researcher upon completion of the field observer's tasks and prior to termination of this agreement.*

The management of documents and data generated during this research project were systematically recorded, duplicated (backed up electronically) and filed to ensure that it was retrievable (Schwandt, 1997:61 cited in Guest et al., 2013:275). All the signed consent forms and the confidentiality agreements along with the anonymised transcripts are kept on file in a lockable office and on a laptop computer

with a pass word controlled access. All these records will be kept for 5 years as per NMU research policy.

4.12 DISSEMINATION OF FINDINGS

Dissemination of the results forms part of the knowledge utilisation phase of the research process. However, as part of preparation for the evaluation and advanced development phase, the findings of the study have been presented at the National Technical Inter-sectoral Committee for Child Justice to disseminate the findings to the respective departments involved in the CJS. Through collaborative engagement with the findings and planning for advanced development the findings of the present study have laid the foundation for advocacy, lobbying and implementation of a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the KU phase. Dissemination will be guided by formalised working agreements with the National and Provincial Child Justice Fora to facilitate presentations of the findings at provincial and district levels. Table 4.7 depicts the planned submission of the following manuscripts emanating from this study to peer reviewed journals for publication between 2019 and 2020.

Table 4.7: Planned manuscript submission to peer reviewed journals for publication

NAME OF JOURNAL	DATE OF COMPLETION	PROPOSED TITLE OF MANUSCRIPT
Child and Family Social Work	January 2019 to May 2019	A Practice Model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process
International Journal of Social Research Methodology: Theory and Practice	July 2019 to November 2019	An Integrative model of Participatory Action Research and Intervention Research.
Social Work Journal	January 2020 to May 2020	Parent participation and voice during the child justice process.
Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency	July 2020 to November 2020.	The South African Child Justice System as a context for crime prevention.

The findings of the study have, to date, also been presented at the following conferences during 2018:

- Organised by The North West University, hosted in Cape Town, Durbanville hosted the symposium on 15 March 2018. It is an annual event and this year's theme was "Strengthening families in the face of adversity"

- The Nelson Mandela University Faculty of Health Sciences research Conference on 12 September 2018.
- The 2nd International Conference on Growing Trends in Practical and Academic Research on November 16-17, 2018 in Dubai hosted by Vertex research society.

Delegates at these conferences provided positive feedback and emphasised the need for more research in the field of parent support. One delegate at the NMU conference highlighted the few male parent participants as a concern and it was noted that this was possibly linked to fathers either working or mothers being single parents. An abstract for the second International Conference on Growing Trends in Practical and Academic Research reads as follows:

Facilitating inclusionary research practice: An Integrative Model of Participatory Action Research and Intervention Design and Development

Abstract. The systematic process inherent in Participatory Action Research and Intervention Design and Development Model guided a South African study with parents and Child Justice Officials over a three-year period, to design and develop a practice model. Based on the Qualitative approach, rooted in the non-positivist paradigm, PAR (Zuber-Skerritt, 2011:37; Turnbull, Friesen & Ramirez, 1998:181) forefronts participants' voice and involves the co-construction of meaning in context. Parents are excluded during the child justice process and integration of PAR and Intervention Research, particularly Intervention Design and Development (IDD) (Thomas & Rothman in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:3) facilitated the inclusion of participants throughout the research process allowing them to innovate, design and develop solutions to challenges experienced within the Child Justice System. Level four PAR facilitated the involvement of participants in an expert advisory capacity throughout the research process. PAR complemented the IDD process as it facilitated participative planning, action (intervention), flexibility and reflection during the research process. The Intervention Design and Development (IDD) phases allowed participants to systematically collaborate, plan and remain goal directed during the research journey. The findings show the

PARIDD Model's (integration of PAR & IDD) integration of Participatory Action Research cycles with the phases of Intervention Design and Development facilitated and modelled inclusionary research practices that give voice, agency and influence to participants.

Keywords: Participatory Action Research, Intervention Design & Development, Inclusionary Research Practice, Integrative Research Model

4.13 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This Chapter provided an overview of the research problem and the research methodology implemented in order to address the identified research problem. The decision to employ a qualitative approach to further understanding of multiple perspectives of the research problem was explained along with my research paradigm, which guided the research approach and design. The integration of PAR and IDD to engage collaboratively with participants in the problem analysis and model design and development was unpacked with an emphasis on its alignment with the research aim and its influence on the selection of the sample and methods of data collection. The importance of involving participants as experts and co-constructors during data generation and triangulation through participant observations was discussed in depth with both the benefits and challenges highlighted. The thematic analyses of data gathered throughout the research cycles were explained and the generative nature of the approach was explained as informing the design and development phase. Furthermore, the pilot-testing of specific elements and the refinement of the practice model were discussed. In ensuring rigour of the study, various strategies employed to ensure trustworthiness were described. The ethical considerations applicable to the study were unpacked with the actions taken to ensure ethical conduct during the study discussed in depth. Lastly, a discussion of the efforts to disseminate the results through stakeholder presentations, conference presentations and planned manuscript submissions to peer reviewed journals was described. The following chapter will discuss the findings in respect of the type of support parents need during the CJP.

CHAPTER 5:

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The Type of Support Parents need during the Child Justice Process

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter described the research methodology followed in the research process to achieve the aim and objectives. The overarching aim of this study was to strengthen the Child Justice System (CJS) by co-constructing a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law (CCL) during the Child Justice Process (CJP). This chapter reports the findings in respect of research objective one, namely to explore and describe the types of support needed by parents of CCL during the CJP. As explained in the previous chapter thematic analysis was used to analyse the data applying the three steps of analysis, namely coding text, developing descriptive themes then developing analytical themes (Thomas & Harden, 2008:4). Aligned to research objective one, only the descriptive themes in respect of the parents' experiences and views on their support needs during the CJP are presented in this chapter (section 6.5 of this chapter). The findings are triangulated by integrating the findings in respect of Child Justice Officials' (CJOs') views and the field observations (Barnett-Page & Thomas, 2009:4). The themes that emerged on the CJOs' views in respect of the support parents need during the CJP (reflected in Table 5.2 themes five to eight) and the observation findings are interwoven in the discussion of themes three and four. This is done to show where the CJOs' views or field observations support, expand or diverge from the findings in terms of parents' experiences or views (CR Table 5.3 in the summary of this chapter). The findings in respect of parents' experiences prior to, during and after the CJP (reflected in Table 5.2 themes one and two), emerged as the context for exploring and identifying the type of support parents need during the CJP. However, as themes one and two do not directly link with the aim and objectives of the present study, discussion of themes one and two is contained in Addendum 8 of this thesis as a point of reference. This chapter therefore aims to shed light on parents' views based on their personal or subjective experience during

the CJP as contained in themes three and four. The demographic information of participants was presented in chapter four however, it is presented again before the table of themes for ease of reference. The themes that emerged during the focus groups with parents and CJOs are presented in the table of themes in this chapter. This chapter only presents an in-depth discussion of themes three and four, which relate to findings in respect of research objective one. The next chapter presents a synthesis of the findings presented in this chapter with a literature control, as a precursor to the phase of model development.

5.2 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS

Both parents and CJOs participated in the present study and the demographic profile of the participants follow in the ensuing sections.

5.2.1 Demographic profile of participants: Parents

The parents who participated in the study were all biological family of the children whom they accompanied during the CJP. Significantly, most of the participants were female with twelve mothers, two grandmothers, one maternal aunt and an adult sister. Three participants were males and biological fathers. The ages of the participants ranged between twenty-five and sixty-five years, with the majority (fifteen) of the participants aged 40-49 years. The marital status of the participants showed that just under half of the parents were married, one parent was in a cohabiting relationship and nine parents were single including two widowed and two divorced participants. In terms of language preferences, four participants were Xhosa speaking and fifteen were Afrikaans speaking. The parents mostly spoke their mother tongue except during the joint focus groups with the CJOs when they tried to converse in English or the interpreter/researcher translated parents' contributions. The participants included four parents from the African racial group and fifteen from the Coloured racial group. The term Coloured, although not viewed as politically correct, is used in this study as it is used in the South African context to refer to the race and ethnicity of the group rather than in a derogatory term as viewed internationally.

In terms of the participants' employment status, more than half (twelve) of the parents were unemployed (eleven females and one male). Their primary source of income was childcare grants, pensions or their spouse/partner's salary. The remaining seven parents had some form of employment with two mothers operating a small *spaza* shop (informal shop) from their homes, one guardian employed part-time at a retail store, and four parents (two males and two females) employed full-time.

In terms of the phases of the CJP, all parents had experienced the charge/arrest phase with eight parents reporting that their children were arrested, detained for twenty-four hours, and then released into parental care. The remaining eleven parents reported that their children had been charged and immediately released into parental care. During the study, one parent's child was in the assessment phase, four parents' reported their children had completed the diversion programme, and five parents' children were still attending the diversion programme. The other seven parents reported that their children's cases were still in the trial phase while the married parents reported that their child's case had been converted to a Children's Court Inquiry (CCI) as their child was found to be in need of care, placed in a place of safety then released into their care. One of the seven parents (whose child was still on trial) reported that her child had attended the diversion programme, reoffended and then was detained in a secure care facility pending trial. She was the only parent whose child was in custody during the study while the other parents' children were all placed in their care.

All the participants, except for two, reside in communities characterised by high unemployment rates, high levels of poverty, high incidences of crime, including gang violence, and high incidences of substance abuse with easy access to illegal substances. Most of the parents relied on public transport with only three parents having their own transport. The findings in respect of the types of support these parents needed during the CJP are based on the focus groups attended by the nineteen parents described above, and are presented in section 6.5 of this chapter.

5.2.2 Demographic profile of participants: Child Justice Officials

The CJOs who participated in the focus groups aimed at exploring the support parents needed during the CJP were comprised of participants from the respective government departments involved in the CJS. The probation officers from the Department of Social Development (DSD) and the Magistrate who were not available to participate in the initial session however, joined the subsequent focus group sessions. The CJOs who participated in the study have all been involved in the CJS since the Promulgation of the Child Justice Act 75/2008 (South Africa, 2009) with the majority having more than ten years' experience in the CJS. The racial profile of the participants indicated that seven were coloured, two African and two white. The gender profile of the participants was five males and six females. In terms of the professional profile of the participants five were from SAPS (one police officer dropped out after the first focus CJOs focus group due to ill health), one a social worker from a diversion service provider, two prosecutors were from the NPA and three lawyers were from Legal Aid South Africa. Three of the participants were based at the Uitenhage Court (all three only attended the first CJOs focus group thereafter only attended the stakeholder workshops); six were at the Nerina One-Stop Child Justice Centre (OSCJC) while two were at the district management level. The findings based on the CJO's views on the support parents needed during the CJP are interwoven with the findings presented in section 6.5 of this chapter.

5.3 FIELD OBSERVATIONS

As described and discussed in the previous chapter, three newly qualified social workers were trained as field observers and deployed to the two research sites to observe the CJOs engaging with parents during the CJP specifically during the pre-trial phase. The three field observers completed observation tools related to each procedure involved in the CJP, maintained field notes and participated in reflection sessions with me. Thirty-two half-day observation sessions were conducted, with fifteen observation sessions having been conducted prior to the pilot phase of the research process and seventeen conducted during the pilot phase. Twenty-seven interactions were observed between parents and the CJO throughout the research project with most of the observations taking place in the court setting followed by the assessment sessions with probation officers. Observations at police stations

were only conducted during the pilot phase and only one interaction between a police officer and a parent was observed. The findings of these observation sessions are woven through the thematic discussions of the findings based on the focus groups with parents to contextualise, situate, corroborate or contest some of the findings.

5.4 PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS: TABLE OF THEMES ON THE SUPPORT PARENTS NEED DURING THE CJP

Table 5.1 presents the themes that emerged from the exploration of the types of support parents need during the CJP. The themes that emerged from focus group discussions with parents are presented from themes one to four. The themes that emerged from focus group discussions with CJOs involved in the CJS are presented in themes five to eight. The main theme that emerged was parents’ experiences of the child justice process as being strenuous resulting in them needing both informal and formal support. The themes indicated that parents experienced various struggles prior to, during, and after the child justice process in managing their children’s behaviour and engaging with the various micro-systems such as spouses, siblings, extended family, teachers and colleagues to access support. Despite parents’ seeking support, the lack of available support for parents prior to, during, and after the CJP was found to present various challenges for parents. Themes that emerged from engagement with the CJOs pointed to the CJS’s lack of adequate support for parents and the lack of training for CJOs on how to support parents during the CJP. These themes are set out in the table below (Table 5.1). It can be noted that themes have been linked to the sequential stages of the CJP.

Table 5.1: Themes on the type of support parents need during the CJP

THEMES IN RESPECT OF PARENTS’ EXPERIENCES DURING THE CJP		
Themes	Sub themes	Categories
1 Parents’ experience during the CJP	1.1 Parents’ experience of the arrest/charge stage	1.1.1 Parents’ experience a lack of information about the Child Justice procedures
		1.1.2 Emotions experienced by parents during the charge/arrest stage
		1.1.3

THEMES IN RESPECT OF PARENTS' EXPERIENCES DURING THE CJP			
Themes	Sub themes	Categories	
		Parents' behavioural response to their child's charge/arrest	
		1.1.4 Health issues experienced by parents as a result of their child's arrest	
	1.2 Parents' experience during the diversion stage	1.2.1 Parents' experience of their child's substance abuse relapse during the diversion programme	
		1.2.2 Parents' experience of increased financial demands during diversion stage	
	1.3 Parents' experience during the trial stage	1.3.1 Emotions experienced by parents during the trial stage	
		1.3.2 Victim retaliation experienced by parents during the trial stage	
		1.3.3 Role overload experienced by parents during the trial stage	
		1.3.4 Increased financial demands experienced by parents during the trial stage	
	2 Challenges experienced by parents outside of the CJS during the CJP	2.1 Challenges parents experienced in managing their child's behaviour during the CJP	2.1.1 Child's substance abuse
			2.1.2 Managing their child's behaviour
2.1.3 Conversion of child justice cases to Children's Court Inquiries			
2.2 Family challenges experienced by parents during the CJP		2.2.1 Lack of spousal support	
		2.2.2 Lack of family support	
2.3 School challenges experienced by parents during the CJP		2.3.1 Parent-teacher communication	
		2.3.2 Stigmatisation by teachers	
		2.3.3 School attendance	
2.4 Community challenges faced by parents during the CJP		2.4.1 Stigmatisation by community	
	2.4.2 Community safety		
	2.4.3 Adverse socio-economic conditions		

THEMES IN RESPECT OF PARENTS' EXPERIENCES DURING THE CJP		
Themes	Sub themes	Categories
3 The support needs of parents of CCL	3.1 Information support	3.1.1 Information about their child's charge or arrest
		3.1.2 Information about the Child Justice procedures
		3.1.3 Information about the progress or outcome of their child's case
	3.2 Emotional support	3.2.1 Spousal support
		3.2.2 Professional support
	3.3 Practical support	3.3.1 Transport
		3.3.2 Food
		3.3.3 Police protection
	4 Support seeking efforts by parents of CCL	4.1 Parents' support seeking efforts prior to their child's entry into the CJS
4.1.2 Parents seeking advice and assistance from teachers		
4.1.3 Parents seeking advice and assistance from Social Workers		
4.2 Parents' support seeking efforts during the CJP		4.2.1 Parents seeking informal support
		4.2.2 Parents seeking information and advice from Social Workers
		4.2.3 Parents seeking advice and protection from Police officer
THEMES IN RESPECT OF CJO'S VIEWS ON SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CCL		
Themes	Sub themes	Categories
5 CJO's views on parents' role	5.1 CJO's views on parents' role prior to their child's entry into the CJS	5.1.1 Parents' role to identify their child's at-risk behaviour and seek support
		5.1.2 Parents' role to provide for child's basic needs
		5.1.3 Role of absent fathers
	5.2 CJO's views on parents' role during the CJP	5.2.1 Parents' availability during the charge or arrest stage.
		5.2.2

THEMES IN RESPECT OF CJO'S VIEWS ON SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CCL		
Themes	Sub themes	Categories
		Parents' knowledge of the CJP
		5.2.3 Parents' presence during the preliminary inquiry and court proceedings
6 CJO's views on the support parents need	6.1 CJO's views on the support parents need prior to their child's entry into the CJS	6.1.1 Prevention services
		6.1.2 Social Work services
	6.2 CJO's views on the support parents' need during the CJP	6.2.1 Parents' need for information on the CJP
		6.2.2 Parents' need for immediate notification of their child's arrest
		6.2.3 Parents' need for social work assessment
		6.2.4 Parents' need for social work intervention
	6.3 CJO's views on the support parents need after completion of the CJP	6.3.1 Parents support needs after their child's completion of the diversion programme
		6.3.2 Parents' support needs after completion of the child's sentence
	7 CJO's views on their role in supporting parents during the CJP	7.1 The Polices' role to support parents during the charge/arrest stage
7.2 The probation officers' role in supporting parents		7.2.1 Assessing parents
		7.2.2 Court recommendations for supporting parents
7.3 Attorney's role in supporting parents		7.3.1 Court preparation
		7.3.2 Emotional support
8 CJO's views on the challenges experienced within the CJS hindering the support of parents	8.1 Exclusion of parents during the CJP	8.1.1 Procedure focused
		8.1.2 Parent focused
		8.1.3 <i>Loco Parentis</i>
	8.2	8.2.1 Community education

THEMES IN RESPECT OF CJO'S VIEWS ON SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CCL		
Themes	Sub themes	Categories
	Multi-stakeholder support system for parents	8.2.2 Case management
	8.3 Resources to support parents	8.3.1 Personnel
		8.3.2 Training

5.5 PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS: SUPPORT PARENTS NEED DURING THE CJP

This section reports the findings in respect of research objective one from the parents' perspective, namely to explore and describe the types of support needed by parents of CCL during the CJP. Therefore, only themes three and four are presented with their subthemes, and categories. The following section reports the findings based on four focus group discussions with parents during the course of this study at the two research sites. These findings are presented in the ensuing sections triangulated with the findings from the focus groups with the CJOs and the observation findings. The excerpts from participants' contributions during the focus groups are presented to support the findings. Excerpts, reflections or quotes from participants' are presented verbatim (including grammatical errors), which have not been corrected to maintain authenticity of the data.

5.5.1 Theme 3: The support needs of parents of CCL

Reflecting on parents' experience during the CJP (see Addendum 8) and the support needs of parents of CCL, the findings show that parents need informational support, emotional support, professional support and practical support. Parents needed information about available services and support groups they could access for support and assistance during the CJP. The findings further showed that parents needed information about the CJP and their child's criminal case. Parents experienced a variety of emotions and challenges prior to, during and after the CJP supporting the findings that parents needed emotional support from their family, especially their spouses, and professionals to cope with their emotions and experiences. It was found that parents needed professional support from social workers that was immediate and that included having access to counselling, support

groups, parenting advice/guidance and facilitating school access for their children. Another finding pointed to parents' need for practical support in the form of transport, food and police protection. These findings are discussed in depth in the ensuing sections.

5.5.1.1 Subtheme 3.1: Information support

Findings indicate that parents needed information of where to find assistance or services in dealing with the challenges they experienced prior to, during and after their child's clash with the law. Parents experienced various challenges related to managing their children's misbehaviour, their children's substance abuse, their school attendance and their safety. The findings indicate that most parents sought help from police, social workers employed at the DSD or non-governmental organisations (NGOs). However, parents were not able to get assistance or find information on available services that could assist them. Only one parent referred to the government employee assistance programme (EAP) for psychological counselling and found information about the EAP services and local substance abuse support groups she and her child could attend. This information was only found out by the parent after the child's entry into the CJS and enabled her to access the services free of charge. The findings showed that despite two of the participants being government employees, only one participant indicated being informed about the EAP services by their employer. The mother explained discovering this information about available services and support groups in the following extract.

Participant 2 (Mother): Like, I wasn't also aware of this uh, this program uh, I mean this counselling sessions that was for free. If you are government employee, so, (it) is the wellness program of them, then (you) qualify for, four to six sessions with a, with a counsellor, so we, we got to go to this psychologist.

Participant 2 (Mother): I think there's also um, support groups that you get because, we through this, um, psychologist, showed us where the support groups for that specific area that you are in trouble with (or) have trouble with the child in. Where you can go and um, that support groups is available in our areas but we don't know about it.

Contrary to the views of the CJOs, parents seemed to recognise when they needed professional support and assistance in dealing with their children's behaviour.

However, they did not always know where to access services specific to their needs. CJOs confirmed that there were no support services for parents prior to and during the CJP. Parents also needed information specific to the CJP particularly regarding their child's case and outcome of the case. CJOs confirmed that parents did not understand the CJP and particularly their role during the CJP. The observation findings prior to the pilot study found that the two sites had no visible information about the CJP and resources parents could access for support. The findings confirm that parents needed to be educated about the CJP and the resources available to them to access assistance with their children's case and their behaviour. It also emphasises the need for primary, secondary and tertiary prevention services to educate parents on the CJP and the provision of support services for parents at the three prevention levels.

Category 3.1.1: Information about the child's arrest

The findings show that one guardian experienced stress, as she did not immediately know about the child's arrest. The police only notified the guardian of the child's arrest the following day and she had spent the entire night phoning around as she was worried about what had happened to the child not knowing where the child was.

Participant 3 (Aunt): uh, it was stressful because...she didn't answer the phone...and I didn't sleep that night at all I didn't know what was happening and then in the next morning the police come and told us she was arrested.

In line with the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009), the police detained the child for less than twenty-four hours and informed the parent within twenty-four hours of the child's arrest. The parents' stress was related to the child not being home after dark and her not knowing where to find her. CJOs also reported that the police often struggled to locate parents or guardians resulting in children being detained or being assessed without a parent being present. The issue of *loco parentis* was raised as a concern by CJOs who understood the importance of parents being involved from the charge/arrest stage.

Category 3.1.2: Information about the child justice procedures

The findings show that most parents needed information about the CJP as they were not familiar with the CJS and the court setting. Parents felt stressed by the CJP especially the arrest and court procedure. Parents needed a CJO to explain the process while they were waiting for the assessment or court proceedings. The findings indicate that when children appeared in the district magistrate's courts compared to the One-Stop Child Justice Centre (OSCJC), parents needed clear signage directing them to where they must report for the assessment or the court proceedings. This finding is consistent with the observation findings, which indicated that parents at the OSCJC had clear signage directing them where to report as the court is specially set up for children only. This is compared to the parents whose children appeared at the magistrates' court where all criminal cases were heard and where certain courts or offices were used for child justice cases but were not clearly marked as such. The following excerpt describes the parents' experience of feeling lost at the magistrate's court and needing information on the child justice procedure.

Participant 3 (Maternal aunt/guardian): They don't care at the court. They will call you and then you stay at their office for hours. Even you get lost; you don't know what is happening. They neglect you there at the court. I don't know what is happening there because I was staying there for, for almost it was two hours. The guy called me and then I was staying there and they still didn't tell me what to do, when, what was going to happen and they I just stayed there, alone with [names the child] in that office not knowing whether I was going to, go in front of the magistrate or not.

Lack of clear signage and information on court processes seemed to cause parents to feel lost. Parents felt that they were not attended to when CJOs failed to provide them with information necessary for them to navigate through the CJS and CJP. The lack of information seemed to elevate parents' feelings of stress and confusion more during their first court appearance. However, they were more familiar with the system after their first contact with the court. CJOs confirmed that parents felt overwhelmed during the CJP. They pointed out that probation officers and especially Legal Aid attorneys could educate parents about the CJP and support parents during the court process. During the pilot-testing phase of this study, Court Preparation Officers were placed at the two research sites to provide parents with

information about the CJP. Posters were also placed at the two sites containing information on the CJP and support services for parents. It was observed that parents actively sought information about their role during the court process from the Court Preparation Officer but did not read the information on the posters. It was further observed that parents were not supported by any CJOs during the actual court procedure, with the observation findings noting that parents were excluded and were passive throughout the court process.

Category 3.1.3: Information about the progress or outcome of their child's case

Most of the parents involved in the study had some information about the progress or outcomes of their children's' cases, particularly cases where children were diverted. One parent indicated not knowing what would happen with her son's case after he completed the diversion programme. The findings indicate that coupled with the need for information about the child justice procedure in general, parents experienced a need for regular feedback or information about the status of their child's case particularly during the trial phase. Parents expressed feeling anxious and fearful about the outcome of the case and cited waiting long periods for any feedback or contact from a CJO. One father felt that waiting on the outcome of his child's pre-sentence assessment report held him back from moving forward with the enrolment of his son in school. This father also alluded to his concern about the case not being finalised in view of him having to monitor the child during the trial. Three of the parents expressed their need for information about their children's' cases in the following extracts:

Participant 7 (Sister/Guardian): I've been waiting for their calls or someone they can come to tell me when is the date again and that thing it's fear on me because of I hear stuff I don't know anything about justice or anything.

Participant 5 (father): the big thing that he hurts me is that... I don't know what's gonna happen with my child with the, after the...the assessment results. I'm waiting for that, because that is holding me, my child back. Because I don't now want him, to send him to any school at that stage because uh, I don't know, uh, are they going to send him to jail or are they gonna keep him uh, let him be at home and just give him a, a sentence that is just outside like they call it. Uh, so, that's the only thing I'm scared of and, that's, that's busy killing me at

the moment because now at the moment, I'm at work, he's at home. When I get home, he's not there.

Participant 10 (Mother): Ek sit met 'n saak wat twee maande oor dieselfde kinders gedoen het, en ons het nog niks gehoor nie... Is nou twee maande wat nog nooit 'n speurder by sy huis, hy het nie eens geweet wie die speurder wat hom saak, hy het net 'n saak nommer gekry... Ons staan nog steeds op 'n dood loop, ons weet nog eintlik, ons weet net die kinders was opgetel vir 'n assault (aanranding) saak... Is al wat ons basies weet. Die kinders was toe gesluit. Daar eindig dit. [I sit with a case for two months that has to do with the same children and we have not heard anything yet... It is now two months that no investigating officer has been to his house, he did not even know who the investigating officer is for his case, he only got a case number... We are still standing in a dead end, we actually only know, we only know the children were picked up for an assault case... It is all that we basically know. The children were locked up. That is where it ends.]

Although children's cases have to be processed speedily during the CJP parents, however, experienced a delay in the progress of their child's case and in some instances lacked information on what would happen next in their child's case. This finding points to the need for parents to be actively involved by the CJO during court procedures and for parents to receive regular updates or feedback on the status of their children's cases.

5.5.1.2 Subtheme 3.2: Emotional support

All the parents indicated their need for emotional support based on the negative emotions and various challenges they experienced during the CJP. The majority of the parents indicated that they also needed the emotional support prior to and after the child's entry into the CJS as they struggled to manage their children's behaviour, particularly substance abuse. The findings indicate that parents were not always focused on their own need for support and upon reflection of their own experience during the CJP were able to identify their need for both informal and formal support. Parents were also able to articulate the type of support they needed from professionals to deal with their emotions and challenges (see themes 1 & 2 in Addendum 8) they experienced during the CJP. Two parents reflected on the emotional toll of their experience with their child during the CJP in the following phrases.

Participant 9 (Mother): Dis nou al 'n lang, baie lang tyd, ek moet ook 'n Social Worker (maatskaplike werker) sien met wie ek kan praat. Ja, want...julle moet weet, ek het baie trauma deur gemaak, nou in die tyd in. Want hoe jy as ouer, hoe gaan jy voel? [It is now a long time, a very long time, I must also see a Social Worker with whom I can speak. Yes, because...you must know I have gone through a lot of trauma, during this time. Because how you as parent, how will you feel?]

Participant 18 (Granny): Die kind is besig om jou sielkundig te kan breek...en daar moet 'n Sielkundige moet daar betrokke wees met 'n Social Worker (Maatskaplike Werker), waar jy die polisie ook gaan by kry. En, sê een maal of twee maal in 'n maand bymekaar komen sit om die tafel en laat die Social Worker (Maatskaplike Werker) en die Sielkundige dan moet jy as ouer moet getoets raak. Sy moet jou kan ondersoek en sy moet jou kan toets om te kyk hoe vorder jy. Hoe is jou vordering met die kind en die kind ook self moet ook deur die proses gaan. Met waar die Social Worker (Maatskaplike Werker) en die polisie moet by wees...dink ek die polisie moet selfs die Social Worker (Maatskaplike Werker) met die Sielkundige, moet hulle by hulle stasie het. [The child is busy breaking you psychologically...and there must be a Psychologist involved with a Social Worker where you also get the police with. And, say once or twice a month they must sit together around a table and let the Social Worker and the Psychologist, then you as parent must be tested. She must be able to investigate you and she must be able to test you to see how you are progressing. How is your progress with the child and the child must go through the same process. With the Social Worker and the police officer must be with...I think the police must even have the Social Worker, with the Psychologist, must have them at the station.]

Some parents seemed to experience a dire need for emotional support as they experienced increased and prolonged periods of strain during and after the CJP. Parents seemed to be experiencing emotional breakdowns because of their child's consistent behavioural challenges and substance abuse. Although they recognised their need for emotional support, some parents seemed unaware of where to access such support. The CJOs confirmed that parents approached the police for support and assistance when their children displayed at-risk behaviour especially substance abuse. The CJOs reported that the lack of available services at primary and secondary prevention level for substance abuse meant that they had limited or no resources they could refer parents to. During the expert panel review, the Judiciary concurred and stated that even children already involved in the CJS due to substance abuse could not be admitted to the local drug rehabilitation centre as it was not an accredited diversion service provider. This implies that parents and their children have limited to no access to support services to deal with children's at-risk behaviour especially substance abuse. One parent suggested that a multi-

disciplinary team of professionals be available at police stations to assess parents' and their children's progress during the CJP. Assessing parents' need for and access to emotional support from professionals and family is important, it will guide and facilitate prevention and support to parents.

Category 3.2.1: Spousal support

The findings indicate that parents who were in a marital or cohabiting relationship needed the support of their partner/spouse during the CJP. Most of the single participants, except for two participants, indicated that they sought and found support from family members while the married/cohabiting parents sought support from their spouses. Only two participants indicated that their need for spousal support was unmet as the spouse had refused support or the spouse worked out of town. The following two excerpts from parents reflect on the lack of support from their spouses:

Participant 6 (Mother): Daar kom nie 'n bystand dat hy my help ... Want hy (referring to the stepfather) gaan nie gee nie omdat dit die saak is. [There is no assistance where he helps me... Because he (referring to the stepfather) will not give due to the case]

Participant 2 (Mother): he's father isn't here. So that makes it worse. He's father's working in Pretoria, since last year and when this happened he, there wasn't a father and I think that made it a little bit worse. So I had to, up and down, up and down and do everything.

A spouse's ability to provide emotional and practical support can be instrumental in a parent feeling better equipped to deal with their child's behaviour and their involvement during the CJP. Parents being able to rely on their spouse for emotional and practical support could reduce role overload as the spouse would provide another "set of hands" where the parent, especially mothers, had to support their child at each child justice procedure. In the present study, most of the participants were mothers indicating the need for fathers' involvement in the process to share the parental responsibilities but also the strain of going through the CJS. This finding was confirmed by the CJO who cited the absence of fathers as a significant contributor to children's involvement in crime and emphasised the need for efforts to be made to encourage father's involvement in children's lives and during the CJP.

Category 3.2.2: Professional support

The findings show that all the participants expressed their need for professional support to deal with the following issues:

- Role overload experienced prior to, during and after the CJP.
- Emotions, concerns and challenges experienced prior to, during and after the CJP particularly linked to their children's aggressive and substance abusing behaviour.
- Parents' struggles in gaining access or re-enrolling their children into schools.

Participants cited social workers (probation officers) as their preferred professional that should assess and support them in addressing the aforementioned issues. In view of the findings discussed under subthemes, one and two in addendum 8; parents' need for professional support indicated that they needed probation officers (social workers) and at times psychologists to provide counselling so that they had an opportunity to verbalise their concerns, their challenges and express their emotions in a counselling setting. Parents also indicated that they needed the opportunity to participate in assessment and counselling sessions with professionals who could converse in their preferred language as they helped them feel comfortable to participate in the assessment and counselling sessions. Similarly, the CJOs held the view that parents and families of CCL must be included in assessments to identify the root causes of the child's offending. Most of the CJOs from the judiciary agreed that the probation officers' assessment must explore and identify parents' concerns and the family relationship issues. Probation officers and social workers cited personnel and time limitations as a reason for conducting a child centred assessment (also confirmed by the observation findings) to the exclusion of assessing parental and family issues that needed intervention. The findings from parents concurred and indicated that they struggled to find professional support at DSD. They indicated their need for specialised services from social workers (probation officers) that included counselling, parenting programmes or guidance, emotional support, peer parent support groups and assistance with their children's re-admission to school. The parents explained their need for professional support in the following excerpts:

Participant 9 (Mother): Ek het gevra is daar nie miskien iemand wat Afrikaans met my kan praat nie want ek wil mos nou praat, ek is Afrikaanssprekend. Wil nie healtyd Engels praat met die man nie, en is 'n African Social Worker en hy verstaan mos nou nie my lekker nie. En ek vra vir hom 'jinne', ek sê vir hom ek soek van dertien jaar af al hulp, en elke keer as ek mos daar by resource centre-hulle gekom het, dan sê hulle mos vir my dat die kind moet iets gedoen het. [I asked is there not maybe someone who can speak Afrikaans with me, because I want to speak, I am Afrikaans speaking. I do not want to speak English with the man all the time and it is an African Social Worker and he does not understand me well. And I ask him 'jinne', I say to him I am seeking help since thirteen years, and every time I came to the resource centre, than they tell me the child must have done something.]

Participant 12 (Father): Ja, somtyds dan het jy 'n spesifieke hulp nodig van iemand maar, dan kom dit by 'n ouer wat alleen werk, ...of dan is dit 'n geld storie. Ek wil nie hê ek moet gou gehelp raak by enige ander plek nie. Maar as daar spesiale mense is wat jou kan sê, jy moet môre kom dan gaan jy gehelp raak. Want dan maak jy 'n afspraak by dan voel dit so dat, dat daar, daar is darem hulp. Maar nou as mense sê hulle gaan weer terug na jou toe kom dan, dan voel dit daar is nie hoop nie.[Yes, you need specific help from someone, but then it comes to a parent who works alone...or than it is a money story. I do not want to get help quickly by any other place. However, if there are special people who can tell you, you must come tomorrow than you will be helped. Because then you make an appointment with, then it feels like, that there, there is at least help. Now when people say they will get back to you, then you feel there is no hope.]

Participant 18 (Grandmother): Jy weet nie watter kant toe nie, jy het nie rigting nie. Jy kom daar party dae kom daar by jousef, "ag man, as ek sommer vir myself kan maar selfmoordpleeglaatjy uit al die dinge uitgaan". Jy kry, daar kom 'n depressive. Jy kry later van tyd jy wil 'n kliniek loop want jy kry 'n depressie wat niemand gaan verstaan nie. Niemand weet waardeer gaan (jy) met die kind nie en, en ek voel net as, die, as die Hof en as die polisie saam met Social Development (Maatskaplike Ontwikkeling) kan werk om maar om ons as ouers meer support (ondersteuning) te gee om die kinders te support (ondersteun), dan gaan glo ek stellig dit sal baie beter kan gaan.[You do not know which way, you do not have direction. You come there, some days it comes to you. "man, if I can just for myself, commit suicide so that you can get out of all these things". You get, there comes a depression. Later, you want to attend clinic because you get a depression that no one can understand. Nobody know what you go through with the child and, and I only feel that if the Court, and if the police with Social Development can work to give us as parents more support to support the children, then I believe certainly it will go much better.]

Parents suggested that social workers and psychologists be allocated to them during the CJP so that they have a professional with whom they could share their problems and concerns as well as help them find solutions to their challenges. The following excerpts reflect three parents' view on their need for counselling services.

Participant 5 (father): Parents also, you also you also need because of your traumatisation and everything you guys need to see a, uh one of the Social Workers so that you can explain the problem and ... your situation, your experience and everything, if afterwards you're gonna need maybe consultation with someone.

Participant 14 (mother): Ek het nou nog niemand 'geapproach' (genader) nie maar ek, ek dink ek moet, want ek voel ek is ook besig om in 'n depressie te gaan. Want in die oggende, ek kan skaars, ek, ek voel skaars om op te staan nie. Ek voel altyd, 'jissie', hoe gaan ek die dag maak. Is nou weer die kind, is nou weer met sy problem (probleem). [I have not yet approached someone, but I, I think I must, because I feel I am also busy going into a depression. Because in the morning, I cannot even, I feel I cannot even get up. I always feel "jissie", how will I get through this day. It is now this child again, it is now with his problem again].

Participant 7 (guardian sister): so how about also we as parents we must have our own, maybe you can give us psychologist. In fact I know there, you going there because you want some help and you said "yes I want you to help me" so I just need someone which I can talk to and which someone is gonna come with the solution uh, what am I going to do about this pain.

The findings further indicate that parents felt a need to access informal support from other parents through peer support groups. Most parents agreed that they found it helpful to speak to other parents who had experienced the same emotions and challenges as they had. One parent emphasised the need for parents to support each other in a support group setting by sharing how they had dealt with their situation and their children in a constructive manner. This parent also pointed out that support groups should be available for them every second week and should provide opportunities for them to meet alone as parents and to meet in joint sessions with their children. The following excerpts reflect how two parents expressed their need to participate in parent support groups and highlighted the benefit they could derive from participating in support groups with fellow parents in the CJS.

Participant 2 (Mother): so you also need to talk to people, maybe a support group..., when you know, this children was in a, in this case get the parents together of that and make a support group and have the parents talk to each other and what are you doing? How are you dealing with this because I didn't have a clue how to deal with this, every time.

Participant 17 (Mother): I was thinking it would lessen the burden for many parents. If there could be programmes where like, parents can be brought together to share their problems.

Like every other week and maybe even other times where it can be both parents and children together with the police and Social Workers. So that parents can strengthen each other because when you are alone as a parent, you have no hope. But, if it's like a support group of parents then parents can share ideas on how to handle the situation. [Bendinga ingehlisa umthwalo kubazali abaninzi xa kungabakho inkqubo apho abazali bangadityaniswa babekunye bancokole ngeengxaki zabo. Mhlawumbi, veki na veki ngamanye amaxesha kudibane abazali kunye nabantwana, namapolisa kwakunye nonontlalontle, ukuze abazali bazokomelezana, ngoba xana u wedwa ungumzali awubinalo ithemba, kodwa ingoluhlobo, xa singadibana sixhasane njengabazali, abazali bangabonisa ngemibono yokuphakamela isimo].

Participant 18 (Granny): Om eerlik te wees u-hulle het 'n goeie stap gedoen, om ons bymekaar vandag te bring om ...want jy sit met 'n bors vol en dan weet jy nie na wie toe moet jy gaan nie, gaan nie, jy weet nie met wie jy moet gaan praat. Nou ons het, ons het vandag die geleentheid gekry om ons se borste (harte) oop te maak. [To be honest, you took a good step, to bring us together today... because you sit with your chest full than you do not know to whom you must go, you do not know with who you can talk. Now, we has, we had an opportunity to open our hearts.]

Given the CJOs' view, that parents did not attend parenting programmes when they were available, parents proposed that they could benefit from support groups within their community. Parents explained that it would allow them space and opportunity to share with other parents and gain insight into how they could handle their situation. Parents' emphasised the need for social workers to have support groups and parenting programmes for parents. The lack of available professional support caused parents' to feel abandoned by the CJS and left to carry the burden of managing their increased or overwhelming parental responsibilities on their own. The findings indicate that in view of parents numerous failed attempts to facilitate the enrolment or resumption of their children's schooling, parents needed professional advice and assistance from probation officers or social workers in this regard. Parents need professionals to lobby for and negotiate their children's enrolment or re-entry into schools as some children dropped out of school during the CJP and even prior to their clash with the law. Linked to theme 2.3 parents also expressed the need for professional assistance when children were expelled from school due to their alleged clash with the law. Three parents reflected their need for assistance with their children's school enrolment in the extracts below.

Participant 8 (the father): I do want help; I want the child to go back to school. [Ndiyafuna uncedo; ndifuna umntwana abuyele esikolweni].

Parent 11 (mother):...wat my so bekommerd maak en my siek maak, my kind is in graad sewe. Sy is nou twee maande nie in die skool nie. [What concerns me and makes me sick, my child is in grade seven. She has not been in school for two months].

Participant 5 (father): I'm struggling 2 years just to get a school for him 2 years..., educational department doesn't wanna help me. I've been up and down, up and down ..., they don't help me and my child.

Parents seemed to struggle with their children's attendance at school, breakdown in parent-teacher communication, teachers stigmatising children resulting in them dropping out of school and the refusal of schools in allowing children to attend school during the CJP. Parents' efforts to address some of these struggles were not consistently successful and at times parents lost hope in finding assistance. Probation officers during their assessment have to explore and assess each child's school progress and attendance. However, where children have dropped out or school problems are identified, it is not consistently addressed and parents are not always advised on ways to address the situation or where to find assistance.

5.5.1.3 Subtheme 3.3: Practical support

Few parents needed practical support during the CJP with some parents indicating their need for money to fund their transport to diversion sessions or court appearances. One parent indicated the need for safe transport as people using public transport in her area were frequently robbed by gang members. This forced her to look for alternative transport from others and having to pay them for the transport. One parent expressed the need for practical support in terms of someone standing in for her to take the child to court appearances when she could not get time off from work to accompany the child to court. One parent expressed the need for food to be provided, as he had no income to support himself or his son. Two parents whose children were constantly being threatened by their victims' friends indicated their need for police protection especially during the trial stage. The following guardian describes her experience of needing practical support from her neighbour in the following extract:

Participant 7 (Guardian): And me also I was, um, I asked a neighbour to come with [names the child] she did not come. Imagine now they told me here if I didn't come it's R5000, inside 3 months. Then I came here, I ask ugh I ask this lady

“please take [name the child] there and please tell them I’m at work now”. I need this bread money for him so I have to go, to, ... my job and then when I called the lady, I think it was 12 o’clock I ask her “did you go?” “Oh my God I forgot” then I just left everything there as I had to, as I had to.

The increased demands experienced by parents during the CJP (CR subtheme 1.3) increased their need for practical support particularly from the various micro systems linked to them. Given the varying support needs of parents and their children, involving families and communities in restorative justice conferences could offer an opportunity for parents to verbalise their support needs and access support from the various micro systems.

Category 3.3.1: Transport

The findings show that one parent needed support for transport and had to pay a family member or her pastor to give her and her son a lift to court appearances. The parent’s motivation for not using the public transport was her concern for their safety as the taxis in her community were robbed on a frequent basis. She explained having to make alternative arrangements for transport to court as follows:

Participant 6 (Mother): Ek moet as ek hier na toe kom (verwys na die Hof) met hom moet ek die priester vra om my hier na toe te bring. My swaer vra my, ...R100 as ek hier na toe moet kom, vir hier na toe en huis toe. ... Party keer dan het ek nie eens geld, dan moet ek daai geld gaan leen. [I must, when I come here (referring to court) with him, I must ask the priest to bring me here. My brother in-law asks me R100 when I have to come here, to here and back home. Sometimes I do not even have money, than I have to go borrow that money].

This is consistent with other findings of parents who struggled with securing transport for themselves and their children to attend child justice procedures (Abulla & Goliath, 2015:215; Doncabe, 2013:59 & 62). Some parents took the initiative to make arrangements by borrowing money from family or their pastor to pay for transport. The tangible support offered in terms of transport seemed to respond to the parents’ specific need, however, it must be noted that although parents could claim reimbursement of transport fees from court they did not always have the funds to get to court in the first place.

Category 3.3.2: Food

One parent needed assistance with the provision of food or groceries, as he was unemployed, did not qualify for any social grant and was reliant on his family for food or material assistance. The father expressed his need to receive regular food parcels and he was linked with the probation officer's supervisor to assist him with his son's care and accessing food parcels from the local Social Development service office. The father described his need for support as follows:

Participant 8 (Father): I would like to be supported to get grant or groceries. To be supported with grocery maybe my child will start acting all right because what is hitting us is hunger because I don't work and I don't get grant, I don't have a job. Because the only assistance I get is from home because I have nothing. [Ndingathanda ukufumana inxaso nge mali yesibonelelo okanye ngo kutya. Ukufumana inxaso nge mali yesibonelelo mhlawumbi umntana wam angaqalisa aziphathe kakuhle ngoba into esibethayo yindlala ngoba andisebenzi, andisifumani nesibonelelo semali ngaphezulu andinawo umsebenzi. Kanti ke ndifane ndincedwe ekhayeni lam kuba ndingathathi ntweni].

Linked to subtheme 2.4 category 2.4.3 this parent experiencing severe poverty needed practical support in the form of food, as he was unemployed and failed to qualify for a social grant. This implies that although the child, including his home circumstances, had been assessed by a probation officer no help was offered to the parent to address the financial situation and his struggles in meeting his child's basic needs. The DSD has the primary responsibility for linking this parent to material assistance, however, due to a lack of resources DSD are not consistently able to assist parents with food or refer them to organisations providing such relief.

Category 3.3.3: Police protection

The findings show that a number of parents needed the support from police in terms of protecting them and their children in the community. Three parents, whose children had threatened them with violence, expressed their need for police protection from their own children. These three parents had approached the police several times and due to a lack of intervention from the police, they felt that the children did not take the police seriously when they warned them. Two parents needed police protection for their children against the victim's friends who frequently threatened their children by throwing stones at them and one child was threatened with a knife. Both parents had reported the numerous incidences to the police who

advised them to lay charges and apply for protection orders. However, both parents reported that the threats persisted throughout the children's trials, which were still underway during the present study. A number of parents expressed their need for police protection from the incidence of gang violence and the prevalence of drugs in their community, which they felt, plagued their community thereby placing their children at risk. A few excerpts from parents' reflections are cited below;

Participant 12 (Father): ...en hulle (verwys na die polisie) moet bereid wees, om by jou, by jou te kan wees. Laat die kind sien hier is iemand wat my ma kan protect (beskerm), want sy is mos in daai anger (kwaad) posisie daai spesifieke tyd. Maar nou wil jy vrees om die polisie te bel.[... and they (referring to the police) must be prepared to be with you. Let the child see here is someone who can protect my mother, because she is in that anger position that specific time. But now you are fearful to phone the police].

Participant 11 (Mother): My kind sê dan as ons so ry en die polisie dan sê sy daargaan my chommies (vriende). So, sy vat die hele geregstelsel as 'n joke (grap).[My child says when we are riding and the police, than she says there go my friends. So, she takes the whole legal system as a joke].

Participant 10 (Mother): Daar was niks, so te sê niks niks hulp wat jy kon gekry het van die polisie want ek het by elke kantoor ingegaan. Dit het gelyk asof jy loop elke keer in 'n doodloopstraat. [There was no, so to say, no, no help that you could get from the police, because I went into every office. I seemed as if you every time walked into a dead end street].

Participant 10 (Mother): Nou kom die polisie nou verduidelik, "mevrou ons kan net soveel doen en ons kan ook nie elke dag uitkom vir kinders se klipgooiery". Jy weet daai? Dan praat hulle met jou, dan sê ek, so wat wil julle hê moet gebeur? So iemand gaan doodgemaak word en dan gaan julle die kinders kom arresteer en of, is dit wat gaan gebeur. Want ek, ek stel belang in die kind. [Now the police come explain, "Ms. we can only do so much and we cannot come out everyday for children's stone throwing". You know that? Then they speak with you, than I say, so what do you want to happen? So someone will be killed, then you will arrest the children and if, is that what will happen? Because I, I am interested in the child].

Part 16 (Mother): Die polisie is nutteloos, eerlik gesproke... daar is nie kans meer dat hulle ons kan help as ouers nie. Nowhere (nêrens) nie. Ons se hande is afgekap, eerlik gesproke.[The police is useless; honestly speaking... there is no chance anymore that they can help us as parents. Nowhere. Our hands are cut, honestly speaking].

The findings point to police using their discretion in deciding how to respond to parents' requests for assistance or support and being inconsistent in how they responded to parents. The three parents in the current study who were threatened

by their children all reported the matter to the police and even took out protection orders against their children. In all the instances, the police failed to arrest the children and encouraged the parents to resolve the conflict with their children and seek help from social workers.

5.5.2 Theme 4: Support seeking efforts by parents of CCL

In view of the challenges parents experienced prior to, during and after the CJP and their various support needs, most parents sought either informal or formal support or both to manage their children's at-risk behaviour. The findings indicate that parents approached various professionals such as teachers, police and social workers for assistance and support prior to their child's clash with the law. The findings further indicate that once children entered the CJS, parents sought support and assistance from their spouse, their pastor, social workers and the police. It is important to compare these findings to theme five, which indicated parent's role in seeking support and assistance for their children's misbehaviour. The findings suggest that most parents recognised their children's at-risk behaviour prior to, during and after the CJP, sought support or assistance, however, failed to consistently find support or assistance from professionals. These findings are discussed under the following themes, subthemes, categories and sub-categories.

5.5.2.1 Subtheme 4.1: Parents' support seeking efforts prior to their child's entry into the CJS

Eleven parents sought support and assistance in managing their children's uncontrollable behaviour prior to their children's entry into the CJS. Six of the parents experienced challenges with their children's substance abuse and sought support from social workers or the police to help them manage their child's substance abusing behaviour and find treatment. The CJOs cited examples of parents' seeking support at police stations for their children's substance abuse and alarmingly told parents that unless their children had committed a crime they could not intervene or assist. Four parents expressed their desperation for help, as their children were violent and even threatened their lives. Five parents sought support from professionals in getting their children back into school, however; no support was received or accessed resulting in their children becoming school dropouts. The

following excerpts from parents reflect their ongoing struggles with their children's behaviour and their support seeking efforts:

Participant 11 (Mother): September toe wil sy nie skool toe gaan nie. Maar ek was so, ek het gevoel sy het 'n gedragsprobleem soos ek hier sit, sê ek vir haar, sit ek met 'n mes hier. As ek nou huis toe gaan, steek ek daai kind dood. So keer sy my om...Sy begin my te gooi en alles te doen. Sy het die huis omgekeer...Sy het by Protea gebly ses maande, teruggekom. Die Judge (Regter), die Social Workers (Maatskaplike Werkers) wat daar gewees het, het so goeie verslag van haar. Sy is so goed... Daai kind is so rebels, ons het, soos ons twee nou hier sit weet ons nie waar is sy nie. Sy is Vrydag weg. [September she did not want to go to school. But I was so, I felt that she has a behaviour problem as I am sitting here, I said to her. If I go home now, I will stab that child dead. So she upsets me... she starts to throw me and does everything. She messed the house up... She stayed at Protea for six months then returned. The judge, the Social Workers who was there, had a good report of her. She is so good... That child is so rebellious, we had, as the two of us now sit here, we do not know where she is. She left Friday].

The following parent's child was fifteen when he clashed with the law and she explains her long-term effort in seeking support:

Participant 9 (Mother): Ek soek hulp vir hom van dertien jaar oud en niemand kan my help nie. Dis waarom toe sy (verwys na die navorser) nou laas week daar kom toe sê ek vir haar ek soek hulp. [I am looking for help for him from the age of thirteen and no one can help me. That is why when she (referring to the researcher) came last week, I told her I am looking for help].

These findings oppose the views held by the CJO (see theme five) in that parents were able to identify their children's at-risk behaviour and took responsibility for seeking support to manage this behaviour. The findings also support the view held by the CJOs (see theme 6 subtheme 6.1) that parents need social work services prior to their child's entry into the CJS. Parents involved in this study approached both police and social workers for assistance with their children's unmanageable behaviour. Unfortunately, due CJOs' lack of training on how to assess, support or assist parents (as stated by the CJOs) and the lack of services to support parents at a secondary prevention level, children eventually clashed with the law.

Category 4.1.1: Parents seeking advice and assistance from the police

Most of the parents who sought support in managing their children's at-risk behaviour approached the police first. The findings indicate that parents sought

advice from police regarding their child's case and about how to deal with their children's behaviour. The findings indicate that some police officers listened to parents' concerns and agreed that the parents' needed assistance. Findings from one observation session concurred that police listened to a parent and treated all complainants at the police station with respect. Two parents reported that the police took time to speak to their children and listened to the problem. It was also found that while police recognised parents' need for support and assistance; they provided no concrete or practical advice or assistance for them to deal with their children's at-risk behaviour. A number of parents sought support, advice and assistance from police as can be seen from the following extracts from parent's reflections.

Parent 10 (Mother): As daar meer, belangstelling was, van die polisie se kant af en as hulle in die ouers meer belangstel, die ouers kom kla dat hulle nie na ouers luister (nie). [If there was more interest, from the police's side and if they were more interested in the parents, the parents come complain that they do not listened to parents].

Participant 7 (Guardian-sister): I took him to the police station and then I said I don't know what I'm gonna do with this boy now, can you please help me or punish him I don't know but do something about, about him and then the other lady took him inside this little room and then she was talking to him.

Participant 12 (Mother): Toe het ek die polisie gebel en hulle het nou gekom en ... ek het vir hulle gesê ek het al ses maal gebel en niemand het al geskryf wat ek sê nie...hy sê vir haar, "jy is 'n mooi meisie. Jy moet skool toe gaan" ..., toe sê hy vir my, "mevrou ons gaan nie die saak toe maak nie". Die kind nodig help, al is dit nie psigiater (psigiater) nie, al is dit nie watse help nie. [Then I phoned the police and they came... I told them that I had already phone six times and no one has written down what I say... He says to her, "You are a pretty girl. You must go to school"... , then he said to me, "Ms we will not open the case". The child needs help, even if it is not a psychiatrist, even if it is any help].

Participant 15 (Mother): Die polisie is vir my 'n probleem, vir onse kinders. Want as 'n mens gaan kla van die kind daar dan, dan het hulle eintlik, lyk hulle maak 'n joke (grap) van jou. Ons het hulle gesê, want ons het al gegaan vir die foon (wat die kind gesteel het), toe sê hulle; ons moet net probeer om onse kind 'n beter kind te maak. [The police is for me a problem, for our children. Because when a person go to complain about your child there, than they actually, it seems like they make a joke of you. We told them, because we already went for the phone (that the child stole), so they said to us, we must just try to make our child a better child].

This finding must be read with theme 3, subtheme 3.2 category 3.2.2 and subtheme 8.4, which indicated parent's need for parenting advice or guidance and police

officer's need for training on how to deal with parents seeking support from them. Although the study points to inconsistency in terms of some police listening and trying to assist the parents some police did listen to parents' concerns. In the current study, none of the police officers arrested the children whose behaviour was reported to them or where parents sought assistance, even in instances of addressing incidences of violence or threat of violence made by children against their parents.

Category 4.1.2: Parents seeking advice and assistance from the teachers

Two parents sought help from their children's teachers about their concerns with one parent needing advice regarding her child's intellectual/cognitive development and his need to attend a special school. However, the latter parent failed to receive any advice or assistance from the teacher. One parent enlisted the help of the teacher to talk to the child in an effort to gather information on what was causing his misbehaviour. The same parent reported that the principal of her own accord also approached the child to encourage him to open up about what was happening.

Participant 16 (Mother): Want ek het vir die meneer ook gesê hy moet 'n bietjie met hom (verwys na haar kind) gesels want hy, hy kom deur baie dinge. Nou, hy wil nie eintlik met my praat nie. Toe sê hy (die onderwyser) vir my hy gaan met hom bietjie gesels en by hom hoor. By die skool ook dan roep die hoof hom, dan sê sy dan praat sy met hom... want hulle sien daar is iets fout. Wat gaan aan (naam van kind)? Wat? Niks. Hy wil nie, hy wil nie oopmaak nie. [Because I also said to the sir, he must speak with him (referring to her child) a little; he has been through many things. Now, he does not actually want to talk to me. Then he (the teacher) told me he would talk to him a little and hear from him. At school also, then the principal calls him then she speak to him...because they see something is amiss. What is going on (name of child)? What? Nothing. He does not; he does not want to open up].

Some parents experienced seeking support from their children's schools helpful. Schools were a formal source of information about their child or they could access services to address their concerns related to their child. Ensuring that teachers are trained to provide parents with support and advice is important in building parent's confidence so that when they seek advice or assistance from them they will be responsive and supportive.

Category 4.1.3: Parents seeking advice and assistance from the Social Workers

It was found that some of the parents sought advice and assistance from government employed social workers at the DSD's service offices. Social workers assisted one parent by referring the parent to the State Psychologist for the child's assessment with the view to applying for the child's entry into a special needs school. Social workers assisted another parent after the child's criminal case was converted to a Children's Court Inquiry (CCI) and the child's behaviour changed when she was placed in a place of safety. It was found that this parent experienced a sense of relief that her child's behaviour had changed, however, reported that once the child was returned to her care she resorted back to her uncontrollable behaviour. This parents' experience indicated the need for professional assistance to parents to be maintained until the point where professionals and the parents had reached agreement that the parent was able to manage the child's behaviour. In some instances when parents sought support and assistance from social workers they could not be assisted immediately and one parent reported having to wait three months for an appointment with a social worker despite her needing immediate assistance. The following reflections from parents describe their experiences in seeking assistance and advice from social workers.

Participant 7 (Guardian-sister): He's supposed to be in high school now but he's still in uh, lower primary school but the Social Worker here (at the court) they tried to help me we are going to (name of public hospital) to psychologists for him. I'm taking him to, (name of private hospital) also for IQ for his IQ and then they're gonna try to place him to maybe special schools.

Participant 12 (Mother): Ons het al, met Social Workers (Maatskaplike Werkers) gepraat. Die kind was al op 'n tyd in 'n place of safety (plek van veiligheid)... Die tyd wat sy daar gewees het, sy het baie verander, soos ek gesien het. Nou dit het my gewys dit het bietjie gehelp. So, en sy was weg, sy was weer terug by die huis. Ons het gedink dat sy goed doen daar, sy gaan goed doen by die huis. Maar toe kom dit so dat sy, sy bully (boelie) die ma by die huis. [We have already spoken to Social Workers. The child was at one time in a Place of Safety... The time she was there, she changed a lot, the way I saw it. Now that showed me that it helped a little. So, and she was gone, she was back at home again. We thought she did well there, she will do well at home. But then it came, that she bully the mom at home].

Participant 3 (Maternal aunt/guardian): About the Social Workers because I went to the Social Workers there by

(DSD). They are not available. They say you uh, must have an appointment to, to come and see us ...According to the Social Workers really it's not fair because they are supposed to help us but they will give you the appointment of three months in advance.

Although parents managed to engage with social workers and receive assistance, the duration of the assistance seemed to be short-term, particularly in the case where the child was removed from parental care and then returned without aftercare support. The accessibility or immediate availability of social workers to attend to parents' requests for assistance seemed to be a barrier to parents accessing appropriate assistance. Although these barriers exist, probation officers who do interact with parents during the CJP have an opportunity to provide immediate assessment and support to parents when they accompany their children. Unfortunately, the observation findings indicate that probation officers only ask questions related to the CCL and information required by the assessment tool. It was found that parents had no opportunity to verbalise their concerns, challenges or support needs during the probation assessment. Probation officers should as standard practice assess parents and provide them with support or assistance to strengthen their ability to manage their children's behaviour and support them during the CJP (CR category 3.2.2 & subtheme 6.2).

5.5.2.2 Subtheme 4.2: Parents' support seeking efforts during the CJP

As discussed in themes one and two, parents experienced various emotions and challenges during the CJP. The findings show that parents sought both formal and informal support while they experienced the various challenges. Parents sought informal support from their spouses, families, neighbours, their work colleagues and their pastors. The types of support that they sought ranged from practical support, emotional support and moral support at court appearances. Parents sought formal support from social workers and police officers during the CJP. Most of the parents sought and had access to some form of informal support during the CJP. While most of the parents sought formal support during the CJP, only a few received some form of support from the professionals they approached. The following extracts from parents' reflections show their need for formal support from professionals and the lack of availability of formal support during the CJP despite their support seeking efforts.

Participant 10 (Mother): Toe kry ek die speurder en hy sê, "wat het hulle daar binnekant (polisie stasie) gesê? ...as hulle niks kan doen nie, wat kan ek doen?" Toe sê ek, "okay ons los dit dan, dan maar daar". Toe sê ek, "sien julle waar kom ek by die regstelsel...Wat kan ek volg? Wat kan ek doen om my kind te help? Of hulp om te kyk waar is die probleem. Ons weet niks nie. Ons staan hier, ons is moedeloos, want ons voel as ouers die gereg handel ons, nie reg nie. Dis hoe ons voel. [Then I got the investigating officer and he says, "what did they tell you there inside (the police station)?... if they can't do anything, what can I do?" Then I said, "okay than we leave it there". Then I said, "can you see where I come in the justice system...what can I follow? What can I do to help my child? Or help to see where the problem is. We know nothing. We stand here, we are despondent, because we feel as parents the justice system does not treat us right. That is how we feel].

Participant 14 (Mother): Die rede hoekom ek opgee, hoekom ek hom (die kind) wegstuur, want daar is niks wat ek meer kan doen nie. Hy het nou, hy het nou ander, hy het nou meer professionele hulp nodig wat ek nie vir hom kan gee nie. [The reason why I give up, why I send him (the child) away, because there is nothing more that I can do. He now, he now need other, he now needs more professional help which I cannot give him].

Parents seek support when they struggle to manage their children's behaviour and their support seeking efforts increase as their levels of distress increase. Parents explored and approached various people for different types of support and were able to access support most of the time. Parents' efforts to find support and assistance from the CJOs did not seem to produce the results they had hoped for resulting in some parents feeling disillusioned with the system.

Category 4.2.1: Parents seeking informal support

Parents sought informal support from their family members, neighbours, pastors and employed parents sought support from their work colleagues as well. Single parents sought support, particularly practical support, from extended family and neighbours. Findings indicate that married or cohabiting parents sought and could access support from their spouses. Only two married/cohabiting parents stated that they struggled to access spousal support; one parent due to her husband working out of town and the other parent due to the spouse being her child's stepfather. The following two parents explained how they sought support from their families.

Participant 1 (Mother): My support was nou my suster, sy het saam met my gekom. [My support was now my sister, she came with me].

Participant 2 (Mother): It was mostly your family ... that you feel that you can trust you will then open your heart towards and then that's the only thing, support that you have uh where you can feel comfortable in sharing what you feel.

As parents progressed through the CJS, they used their existing social networks to seek and access support. These varied in terms of whom the parents felt comfortable with in sharing their struggles. Parents perceiving their spouse and family to be sources of support increased their likelihood of seeking support. Depending on the number of individuals present in parents' support networks, parents were in most cases able to seek and access support from at least one person. Opportunity does, however, exist for informal sources of support to be increased through the implementation of restorative justice, which includes the objective of lobbying and mobilising support not only for the offender and victim but also for their family. Parents seeking support from their spouses was conditional on their spouse demonstrating a willingness to offer support and empathy. Although children's entry into the CJS caused some parents to experience parental conflict, other parents were able to seek and receive support from their spouse. Most of the parents sought support, including practical support, from their families to accompany them to the court appearances and emotional support to share the experience or emotions during the CJP. As a natural extension of the nuclear family, some parents tapped into their extended families to access support. As a vital micro system, a parent's extended family is often able to provide immediate assistance and depending on the closeness of their relationship with their extended family, parents sought support from specific family members especially female members. This could be related to females being more available or nurturing and therefore more likely to offer support when they perceived someone to be in distress.

One parent sought support from her neighbours, approaching two neighbours on separate occasions to accompany her to the child justice procedures. The parent indicated that her mother was elderly and she did not want her to worry about the issues related to the child justice procedures. Another parent also approached a neighbour to accompany the child to court while the parent was at work, however; the neighbour failed to fulfil the supportive role and forgot to take the child to court causing the parent distress. In contrast, one parent stated that she found it helpful

for the neighbour to be with her during the child justice procedures, as she did not feel alone during the process.

Participant 3 (Maternal aunt/guardian): *For me it was my neighbour (who supported me) because at home I only stay with this [names the child] the child and my grandmother. So, my grandmother is very old so, you don't want to worry about these things so I went to my neighbours' even at the court, uh, he was there.*

Participant 3 (Maternal aunt/guardian): *For me, my neighbour for that second uh, my neighbour accompanied me to, to Uitenhage and then we went there, she was there several times when I went three to four times there so yeah, she went with me. She was there; I was not alone so at least there was someone there with me so at least it helped me.*

Although most of the parents did not seek support from neighbours or community members it is important to note that neighbours or community members are viewed by the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) as important stakeholders in the restorative justice process. Facilitating the involvement of these key stakeholders as a source of support for parents can strengthen parents' access to alternative sources of support in the absence of family and professional support.

Two of the employed parents sought support from their work colleagues. These parents found emotional support in being able to talk to their colleagues who comforted them and encouraged them. Both parents found their efforts to seek support from colleagues were positive and helped them feel better. The following parent shared her experience of seeking and receiving support from her colleagues.

Participant 2 (Mother): *Kollegas ook natuurlik (Colleagues also naturally) through talking to each other and how to approach it and we were given that support and just, it helped to talk to, to people, sometimes you, you want to, uh, do things on your own but it doesn't work. So, when you talk about it, you feel better afterwards and that was a support for me also when I talked about it I felt better.*

Participant 2 (Mother): *the other support at least they (referring to colleagues) comforted, comforted me and they told me everything's gonna be right and I still hope everything is gonna work out right.*

Both parents found that their efforts in seeking support from colleagues were positive and helped them feel better. Parents in the present study sought and received mostly emotional support from their colleagues in the form of

encouragement, empathy, reassurance and hope. One parent sought practical support from her pastor. The findings indicate that the support offered by the pastor helped the parent deal with her dilemma of having safe transport to court appearances. Although parents' made reference to attending church none of them sought spiritual support from pastors even when one pastor offered such support if the parent wanted to talk. Although it has been found that parents benefitted from pastoral support and religiosity parents in the present study seemed to only seek practical support from their pastors as they had the resources or transport available. It is possible that due to the stigma attached to their children's involvement in crime that many parents do not seek pastoral support.

Category 4.2.2: Parents seeking information and assistance from Social Workers

Parents sought information and assistance from social workers during the CJP with most parents sharing that they had failed to have an opportunity to meet with a social worker to discuss their need for support, assistance and advice. One parent accessed support from a private psychologist in the absence of social work support during the CJP. Another parent seized the opportunity to seek advice and assistance from a social worker, every time her son had to appear at court she would request to meet with the probation officer to discuss her concerns. One parent sought practical support from the social worker, however, received no support. Another parent asked for information on the next stage of the CJP after completion of the assessment and reportedly received some information but was still unclear on the way forward in terms of her child's case. The following excerpts from parents reflect their efforts to seek information, advice and support from social workers:

Participant 8 (Father): We were told to come back the next day, we went there the next day there at Church street (DSD) and then we found out the Social Workers were not in on that day, they were in Port Elizabeth and then my niece was given a cell number and they took her cell number. Until you (referring to the researcher) came to my house that day. [Saxelelwa into yokuba masibuye ngosuku olulandelayo, sabuyela pha ngosuku olulandelayo saya pha e Church street Kwa DSD, safumanisa ukuba onontalontle abekho ngolosuku base Bhayi kungoko umntana kadadewethu wanikwa ii-namba zikanontlalontle bathatha neyakhe i-namba. Azange ndive nto emveni koko. Kwade kwafika (ethetha ngomphandi) wena endlini yam ngoluya-usuku lokuqala].

Parent 2 (Mother): I asked the, the, the Social Worker what's happening next. So she said the assessment that they did is

now going to the Magistrate and then they will, I don't know if there's gonna be a date again I wasn't sure.

Participant 17 (Mother): When I went to the court I spoke to the Social Worker there and because every 14 days I have to go there then I would see a Social Worker and and the Social Worker would tell me how the child is behaving. The Social Worker would advise me, tell me how to handle the situation, to forgive the child. She told me not to shout at the child and to ask the child you know, what is going on with him. [Xana ndisiya e-court bendincokola nonontlalontle pha ngoba qho emveni kwentsuku eziyi-14 bekunyanzelekile ndiye pha, kulapho bendidibana nonotlalontle khona, unontlalontle andixelele indlela umntana aziphethe ngayo. Unontlalontle ebendicebisa, andixelele indlela emandijongane ngayo ne simo, nokuba ndimxolele umntwana. Wandixelela intoyokuba mandingam'ngxoleli umntwana, mandimbuze kwenzekantoni ngaye].

Participant 8 (Father): And I am this person who doesn't even have financial income, I don't even get groceries, I applied for food parcels but I don't get it, even having applied for it many times. I don't get grant; I was turned away at SASSA because my age is 58 years you see. So I have to wait 2 years, till I am 60 years to get the grant. [Ndingulomntu ungenayo nemali engenayo, andinako nokutya, ndandiyile ukuyosicela isibonelelo sokutya kodwa zange ndisifumane, nasemveni kokuba ndandiyele amaxesha amaninzi zange ndisifumane. Andisifumani isibonelelo semali; ndajikiswa kwa SASSA ngenxa yeminyaka engama-58 uyabona. Ngoko kumele ndilinde iminyaka emi-2, ukuze ndifikelele kwi minyaka engama-60 ndifumane imali yesibonelelo].

Parents consistently viewed social workers and probation officers as a potential source of support for information and advice, however; parents were not always satisfied with the services they received from social workers. Parents seeking support, advice and information from these professionals identified the need for social workers and probation officers to be trained on how to offer a variety of support and services so that parents could feel satisfied with the level of professional support during the CJP.

Category 4.2.3: Parents seeking advice and protection from Police officers

The findings indicate that most parents who experienced difficulty in managing their children's behaviour during the CJP sought support from the police, particularly in cases of substance abuse. The two parents who frequently experienced their children being threatened by the victim's friends also sought advice and support from the police in terms of measures to protect their children and their own houses. The following two parents shared their experiences of seeking but not receiving support from police to address their support needs.

Participant 1 (Mother): Daar het al hoeveel (Polisie vanne) vanne by my opgetrek. Dan as ek vir die polisie sê, sê hulle rather (liewer) vir my ek (moet) vir die kinders 'n interdik gaan uithaal. Nou vra ek, hoe kan ek 'n interdik vir die kinders vir haar twee kinders en daai twee kinders (uithaal) en hulle sien my kind elke dag... Hulle kom all the way (al die pad) op om hom te kom voorkeer by die skool. Daai kind (die slagoffer se vriend) loop elke dag hy loop by [noem 'n skool] skool en hy loop elke dag verby my, verby my huis. ... Die een oggend toe jaag hy my kind met netso lange mes. Toe hy wou steek na my kind, toe steek hy die rugsak raak. Toe vat ek ook die kind polies kamp toe. ... Daar het niks van daai saak gekom nie. Hulle bly net elke keer vir my sê jy kan nie vir hulle 'n interdik kry nie. [There have been many vans (police vans) that pulled up by me. Then if I say to the police, then they rather say I must take out an interdict for the children. Now I ask, how can I take out an interdict for the children, for her two children and those two children and they see my child everyday...They come up all the way to confront him at the school. That child (the victim's friend) walks every day, he walks by (names a school) the school and he walks everyday passed me, passed my house... The one morning he chased my son with a long knife then stabbed at the backpack. Then I also took the child to the police camp...Nothing came of the case. They just kept telling me every time; you cannot get an interdict for the children].

Participant 3 (Maternal aunt/guardian): I think ...you see the signs but you don't know where to go. You know only about the police, you can't go to the police and say I see signs she's using, or she's doing this, she's doing that ...when you don't know where to go you're confused you see the signs but you don't know where to go yeah, if they (referring to CJO) could go to us and then maybe. It's a shock but you'll know where to go.

Although parents sought assistance and protection from the police, most parents reported their dissatisfaction with the lack of support and protection offered by them. Only two parents reported that they were satisfied with how the police tried to assist them, however, they agreed that the police failed to provide concrete assistance or information on how parents could manage or access services to manage their children's misbehaviour or substance abuse. The findings suggest that parents felt helpless with the lack of support from police during the CJP.

5.6 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

This chapter focused on reporting the findings in respect of research objective one namely, to explore and describe the types of support parents of CCL need during the CJP. The demographic information of participants was discussed. The findings were presented in a descriptive form with themes three and four depicting parents'

support needs, and their support seeking efforts. The findings were based on focus groups and field observations conducted at the two research sites and presented in themes. Table 5.2 below illustrates the points of convergence and divergence in respect of the themes that emerged from the parents and CJOs.

Table 5.2: Convergence between themes emerging from parents and the CJOs' views or experience of the support parents need during the CJP

CONVERGENCE BETWEEN THEMES EMERGING FROM PARENTS AND CJOs' VIEWS OR EXPERIENCE OF THE SUPPORT PARENTS NEED DURING THE CJP	
Themes from Parent groups	Themes from CJO group
1.1.1 Parents' lack of information about CJP 5.2.2 Parents' knowledge of the CJP	6.1.2.1 Parents' need for information on the CJP 7.3.1 Role of CJOs in court preparation 8.2.2 Community education 8.3.2 Training (of CJOs)
1.1.3 Emotions experienced by parents during the charge/arrest stage 1.3.1 Emotions experienced by parents during the trial stage	6.2.2 Parents' need for immediate notification of their child's arrest 7.1 Police's role in supporting parents 8.1 Exclusion of parents during the CJP
1.2.1 Parents' experience of their child's substance abuse relapse during the diversion programme. 2.1.1 Child's substance abuse during the CJP 2.1.2 Managing their child's behaviour 2.1.2.1 Children placed under parental care	5.1.1 Parents' role to identify child's at-risk behaviour and seek support
3.2.2 Professional support parents need 3.2.2.1 Counselling 3.2.2.3 Parenting advice and guidance	6.2.3 Parents' need for social work assessment 6.2.4 Parents' need for social work intervention 6.2.4.1 Counselling for parents 6.2.4.2 Family counselling 6.2.4.4 Parent education 7.2.1.3 Parent and family focused assessment 7.2.2.1 Intervention to support parents
2.1.1 Lack of spousal support 1.3.3 Role overload experienced by parents during the trial stage	5.1.3 Role of absent fathers 5.2.1 Parents' availability during charge/arrest stage 5.2.3 Parents' presence during the PI and court proceedings
2.4.3 Adverse socio-economic conditions 1.2.2 Increased financial strain 3.3.1 Transport 3.3.2 Food	5.1.2 Parents' role to provide for child's basic needs 6.2.4.3 Skills development
4.1.1, 4.2.3 Parents' seeking advice and assistance from the police(prior and during the CJP) 4.2.3 Parents' seeking advice and protection from the police	6.1.1 Prevention services 7.1 The polices' role to support parents during the charge/arrest stage. 8.3.2 Training
4.1.3, 4.2.2 Parents seeking advice and assistance from social workers (prior and during the CJP)	6.1.1 Prevention services 6.1.2 Social work services 8.2.2.1 Probation services 8.3.2 Training

CONVERGENCE BETWEEN THEMES EMERGING FROM PARENTS AND CJOs' VIEWS OR EXPERIENCE OF THE SUPPORT PARENTS NEED DURING THE CJP

Divergent themes emerging from Parents and CJO's views or experience of the support parents need during the CJS	
4.1.1, 4.2.3 Parents' seeking advice and assistance from the police (prior and during the CJP) 4.1.3, 4.2.2 Parents seeking advice and assistance from social workers (prior and during the CJP)	5.1.1 Parents' role to identify child's at risk behaviour and seek support.
Themes unique to parent groups	Themes unique to CJO group
1.2.1 Delay and impact of Diversion programme 1.3.2 Victim retaliation experienced by parents during the trial stage 2.3 School challenges experienced by parents during the CJP 2.4 Community challenges faced by parents during the CJP	7.1.1 Securing parents' attendance 7.2.1.2 Tracing absent parents 7.1.3 <i>Loco Parentis</i>

The overall findings show that both CJOs and parents agree that parents need both informal and formal support that provides parents with informational, practical and emotional support prior to, during and after the CJP. The findings indicated that although the CJOs viewed parents as not seeking assistance and support when their children presented with at-risk behaviour, parents described a variety of support seeking efforts in trying to address this behaviour. Parents experienced the CJP, particularly the arrest and court appearances, as stressful and needed formal support such as informational, practical and emotional support which they sought from police officers and social workers/probation officers. Parents sought practical and emotional support from their spouses, families, pastors and neighbours, which in most cases they received. Parents needed access to information about the child's arrest, the status of their case, information about the CJP and resources they could access for support in managing their children's behaviour especially their substance abuse and school non-attendance. The emotional support parents needed during the CJP related mostly to their need for assessment and interventions to help them cope with the child's behaviour. The CJOs and parents both agreed that parents needed access to various services prior to, during and after the CJP such as individual counselling, skills development, parenting education, family counselling, support groups and parent advice/guidance. The CJOs raised concerns about the

absence of parents, particularly fathers, during the CJP. In contrast, parents highlighted the lack of consultation by CJOs with parents during the CJP indicating the process primarily being child centred. The CJOs' views matched parents' expectations in that both highlighted the important role of police and probation officers providing support to parents prior to, during and after the CJP. The CJOs confirmed the challenges parents faced in accessing support during the CJP and highlighted resource limitations, lack of training and the absence of guidelines for CJOs on how to engage with and support parents. Parents and CJOs highlighted the need for multi-stakeholder collaboration when working with and supporting parents at a primary, secondary and tertiary prevention level to facilitate access to various services for parents and their children. The following chapter presents the analytic themes that emerged from the "thematic synthesis" (Thomas & Harden, 2008:2) of the descriptive themes discussed in this chapter with literature control.

CHAPTER 6:

SYNTHESES OF FINDINGS AND LITERATURE CONTROL

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter presented a discussion on the descriptive themes that emerged during the thematic analysis in respect of parents' experiences and views on the support they needed during the CJP. It became evident that parents do fulfil a critical role prior to, during and after the CJP. However, they experienced various challenges in accessing support. CJOs were unanimous in their expectation that parents had to be present with the child from the arrest stage to the sentencing stage. The *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* sections 65 (1 & 3) (2009) stipulates that the parent's role during the CJP is to ensure the child's presence at the preliminary inquiry/court proceedings and ensure the child's compliance with any court orders. The role of parents is described in the *Children's Act 38 of 2005* sections 18 (1 to 3) as general care of the child and ensuring that the child's best interest is protected at all times (2006). Notably, there is no specific reference made in these Acts (2009; 2006) in respect of parents' responsibilities in identifying risk factors that may cause the child to clash with the law or the reporting of such risk factors to authorities to access appropriate assistance to prevent offending behaviour.

The present study shows that parents do fulfil the role of accompanying and supporting their children during the CJP and that they need support in fulfilling their role. Parents' also demonstrated agency in seeking both informal and formal support to help them manage their children's care and their behaviour prior, during and after the CJP. Due to the absence of formal support systems for parents of children at risk of offending and children already involved in the CJS, parents struggle to fulfil their parental role effectively. In some instances, this contributed to parents experiencing mixed emotions ranging from a sense of helplessness or hopelessness in managing their children's behaviour and ensuring their care to exacerbation at not receiving appropriate support from professionals. The ensuing sections present the analytic themes that emerged during the third order analysis (Barnett-Page & Thomas, 2009:8-9). This involved "going beyond the data" and

reviewing existing literature to deduce what would address parents' need for support during the CJP (Thomas & Harden, 2008:3). The analytic themes are presented in a Table 6.1 below and are discussed in the ensuing sections.

6.2 SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS: ANALYTIC THEMES

As presented at the end of Chapter 5 (CR section 6.6), it became evident that there were many points of convergence from the themes that emerged from parents' experiences and CJOs views on the support parents needed during the CJP. During the analytic synthesis, this convergence continued to emerge with various findings from the two participant groups, those either supporting or linking with each other or providing explanations for the findings. A prominent example of this convergence included parents' experience of a lack of formal support during the CJP and CJOs confirming that there was a "complete lack of support for parents in the system". To complete the thematic analysis process I read through and noted the common codes, categories and themes that emerged from the two participant groups and recorded these to identify complex themes from the descriptive themes. The observation findings were also taken into consideration and integrated during the analytic analysis. Through the analysis, I was able to identify four analytic themes and cross-referenced these with the descriptive themes to verify the accuracy of the analytic analysis. The four themes that emerged are:

1. Theme 1: Parent focused prevention services
2. Theme 2: Accessible Social Work Services for parents
3. Theme 3: Family centred assessment and intervention
4. Theme 4: Inclusive and collaborative CJS

The first theme points to parents and CJOs highlighting the need for parents to be included and targeted through prevention services. Prevention is commonly defined as any measure taken to prevent deterioration of a situation or a person's circumstances or behaviour. In the field of crime prevention, it refers to interventions aimed at the stages in which a person can or has entered into the criminal justice system, these stages are categorised as:

- primary prevention refers to any interventions aimed at preventing children's clashes with the law and preventing their entry into the child justice system
- secondary prevention refers to any interventions aimed at children who are identified by professionals as being at-risk of offending
- tertiary prevention refers to interventions aimed at children who have already entered the child justice system (UNODC, 2010:16-17)

For the purpose of the current study, primary prevention refers to interventions aimed at parents to support them in their parenting role, particularly parents of adolescents. Secondary prevention refers to interventions aimed at supporting parents of children (adolescents) who are at risk of offending. Tertiary prevention refers to interventions aimed at supporting parents of CCL who have entered the CJS.

The second theme speaks to Social Work Services being accessible and available for parents at community level, particularly at police stations, where they can access professional support, advice, guidance and counselling prior (secondary prevention level) to, during and after (tertiary prevention level) the CJP. The third theme indicates the need for probation officers' assessment and intervention to be family centred as parents experienced various challenges on an intra and interpersonal level affecting their ability to cope during and after the CJP, warranting their need for support. The last theme relates to the CJS having to shift its focus and efforts to create opportunities for CJOs to collaborate with parents to facilitate parents' inclusion as well as consultation during the CJP. The fourth theme also refers to the CJS adopting an inclusive and collaborative approach based on restorative justice principles that encourage the inclusion of various micro and exosystems in working with children and parents of CCL. These themes are presented below and are discussed with literature control.

In line with the aim of the study, namely to co-construct a practice model for **supporting parents of children in conflict with the law**, the analytic themes that directly link to supporting parents of CCL are elaborated upon. Where the themes refer to parents of children at-risk of entering the CJS, they are briefly discussed as a precursor to children and their parents entering the CJS. Throughout the analytic theme discussions the descriptive themes cited in the thematic table in the previous chapter and the table below are cross-referenced.

Table 6.1: Analytic themes and subthemes that emerged from the descriptive themes

THEME 1: PARENT FOCUSED PREVENTION SERVICES	THEME 2: ACCESSIBLE SOCIAL WORK SERVICES FOR PARENTS	THEME 3: FAMILY CENTRED ASSESSMENT AND INTERVENTION	THEME 4: INCLUSIVE AND COLLABORATIVE CJS
Subtheme 1.1 Addressing parents' adverse socio-economic conditions	Subtheme 2.1 A continuum of support for parents	Subtheme 3.1 Towards family centred probation assessment and intervention	Subtheme 4.1 Parental inclusion and collaboration
Subtheme 1.2 Addressing adolescent substance abuse	Subtheme 2.2 Coordinated support for parents	Subtheme 3.2 Restorative justice and family support	Subtheme 4.2 Parents as partners
Subtheme 1.3 Parent education on CJS	Subtheme 2.3 Aftercare support for parents post CJP	Subtheme 3.3 Parent centred support	

6.3 THEME 1: PARENT FOCUSED PREVENTION SERVICES

This theme points to the CJS adopting a holistic approach in supporting parents of children in conflict with the law. Underpinning this theme is the view that preventing children's entry into the CJS and their desistance from crime require the CJS and its stakeholders to expand their prevention focus. Prevention services must reach or involve parents and children in the general population (primary prevention), those in the at-risk category (secondary prevention) and those already within the CJS (tertiary prevention). The general description of the parents' roles prior to the CJP involves parents disciplining their children or seeking professional help when they identify at-risk behaviour. This is consistent with the findings that primary prevention aimed at at-risk children must focus on ensuring early detection and intervention of at-risk behaviours such as school absence or dropout, substance abuse and violence within the home environment (Souverein, Ward, Visser & Burton, 2016). This implies that parents as caregivers can play a critical role in primary prevention to reduce their child's likelihood of entering the child justice system. This view is supported by various policies, namely the White Paper on Families in South Africa (2012); Integrated Social crime prevention strategy (2011); Draft integrated parenting framework (2011) and most notably by the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009) recognising that involving parents at all levels of prevention services is vital in ensuring holistic prevention services.

The restorative justice (RJ) approach underpinning the CJA 75 of 2008 (2009) further promotes the involvement of all stakeholders including parents and communities in crime prevention. Unfortunately, it appears that the implementation of RJ is very limited, with only few cases that have involved restorative justice processes (Van der Merwe, 2013:1029 & 1035). Social workers have to work with victims and communities to promote restorative justice principles (Van der Merwe, 2013:1029; Brink, 2010:56). The opportunity exists for the CJS and the victim support system to engage in collaborative efforts to promote RJ and support both offenders and victims as well as their families.

The findings point to a three-pronged parent focused prevention approach aimed at addressing poverty, unemployment, substance abuse and education on the CJP inclusive of RJ at the three prevention levels. The findings also point to the

involvement of not only parents but also various stakeholders in addressing these macro and micro level risk factors. The CJS offers a good example of a multi-stakeholder system that claims to involve parents in prevention services, however, in reality these facilitate parental exclusion and admonish rather than support parents of CCL. The findings exposed the relational factors at the meso level that must be addressed to access support for parents from the family, schools and their community, particularly at the secondary and tertiary prevention levels. Schools in particular, can be viewed as social capital as they can offer parents valuable advice, referral to resources and can support the parents' efforts in accessing help for their child prior to their entry into the CJS (Dufur, Hoffman, Braudt, Parcel & Spence, 2015:521).

The impact of macro level factors on parents' ability to fulfil their parental role is highlighted by the findings indicating the need for primary prevention services aimed at improving parents' and communities' socio-economic conditions (CR categories 2.4.3 & 6.2.4.2). Implementation of poverty alleviation and skills development programmes are necessary to enable parents to provide for their children's basic needs (CR category 5.1.2). Gearing interventions such as the expanded public works programme to include more women and to ensure existing skills development programmes which include parents are critical in addressing poverty (Budlender & Lund, 2011:927 & 931). This was a particular concern as unemployed parents struggled to provide for their children resulting in children stealing to provide for their families or being used by drug dealers to deliver drugs in return for money (CR subcategory 2.4.3). It also points to the need for primary prevention services to be integrated and coordinated (CR category 8.2.1) among the various child justice stakeholders to address issues of substance abuse, gangsterism, community violence and community safety (subcategory 2.1.2.2, 2.4.2, 3.2.2). A strong link exists between delinquency and the characteristics of the community in which people reside, particularly communities where young people are exposed to drugs, alcohol and anti-social attitudes to involvement in criminal activities (Cuervo, Villanueva, Born & Gavray, 2018:80). These community challenges directly affect parents' and children as they increase children's risk of engaging in at-risk behaviour such as substance abuse, dropping out of school and delinquency. This in turn increases the need for support, resources and services to be available for parents so that they are

supported in raising their children within these high-risk communities and can prevent the children from becoming CCL.

6.3.1 Subtheme 1.1: Addressing parents' adverse socio-economic conditions

Participants in the present study highlighted the role of parents to provide for their child's basic needs and the difficulties they face. Parents' encouraging children to steal so that they can have food is a concern as it places vulnerable children at-risk of offending. Some parents' are viewed as colluding with their child to commit crimes to buy food for their family. The impact of poverty and unemployment on parents encouraging children to commit crimes to buy food cannot be ignored as macro and micro level risk factors. Addressing these risk factors implies that all departments responsible for job creation, community development, social grants and entrepreneurial development must be engaged by Child Justice fora. Their engagement must be aimed at them understanding the impact of unemployment on the incidence of crime and parenting as well as forging agreements on how parents can be linked with the various opportunities availed by the different departments (CR subtheme 8.2). Similar to Steyn's findings (2012:81) this study suggests that some parents who experience adverse socio-economic conditions shift their responsibility of providing for their child's basic needs to their children. As most children are not in the position to find work to buy food, this results in them engaging in criminal activities not only to feed themselves but also the rest of the family.

This adverse socio-economic situation faced by parents must be understood in the context of South Africa's high unemployment rate, standing at 26.5% at the end of 2017 (Statistics South Africa, 2017). The Eastern Cape has the highest unemployment rate where many adults have given up on seeking employment due to what Klasen and Woolard (2008:40) term long "unemployment spells". Parents who are in receipt of government social grants are often unable to provide sufficiently for their children's basic needs despite being expected to do so (Budlender & Lund, 2011:941). The systemic impact of unemployment and poverty on parents and their ability to fulfil one of their primary roles cannot be ignored. This points to the need for an urgent review of how the Department of Social Development supports parents in general and particularly parents of children at risk to meet children's basic needs

and prevent them from entering the child justice system (Daly, Bray, Bruckauf, Byrne, Margaria, Pecnik, & Samma-Vuaghan, 2015:92). Whitworth and Wilkinson (2013:132) agree that poverty must be viewed as not only affecting children but their families as well therefore, governments' failure to recognise the relational aspect and needs of families, as a context for the provision of childcare grants must be addressed along with the systemic forces that further aggravate unemployment and poverty.

The South African National Development Plan 2020's principles (NYDA, 2015:8) reiterates the importance of focusing on strengthening families and communities of young people to ensure their holistic development including economic development. It has been found that when parents experience financial stress, with limited concrete support, their overall emotional and psychological well-being is negatively affected (Åslund, Larm, Starrin & Nilsson, 2014:6). This points to prevention services being targeted to include parents in poorer communities, particularly mothers as they seem to be the person most likely to accompany children during the CJP (CR 1.1.3) and in many cases are the primary caregiver (CR category 5.1.3). It also means that prevention efforts must be cognisant of the absence of fathers due in part to the legacy of migrant workers and the impact of their absence on mothers having to raise their children on their own and manage children's misbehaviour without spousal support (CR categories 1.3.3, 2.1.1 & 3.2.1) (Hall, 2017:9). This is particularly the case when fathers are absent physically and even in two parent families where the father works and the mother assumes most of the parenting responsibilities, (Richter & Morrell, 2006). Statistics indicate that there is a high prevalence of single parents in South Africa with women being the most likely parent residing with and being responsible for their child's care (Budlender & Lund, 2011:926). Madhavan, Townsend and Garey (2008:661) found that absent fathers often find it difficult to provide financial support for their children while simultaneously meeting work demands placed on them or in some instances due to employment opportunities not existing within close proximity to where their children reside. The history of migrant workers further adds to the father's limited involvement in children's lives (Budlender & Lund, 2011:928-929). Bradshaw (2013:127) found that the increasing number of absent fathers could also be attributed to fathers being unmarried, separating from their cohabiting partner, divorce and in some cases both

parents having several children with other partners resulting in biological fathers reducing their involvement in their children's lives. Despite the introduction of Section 21 in the *Children Act 38 of 2005 (2006)* and the *Maintenance Amendment Act No. 9 of 2015 (2015)* there seems to be a lack of support for fathers to become involved in parenting their children thus resulting in fathers falling short of or being unable to fulfil their parental responsibilities. The current maintenance system - *Maintenance Amendment Act No. 9 of 2015 (2015)* of only holding biological fathers financially accountable for their child's care reduces their role to that of provider to the exclusion of the variety of responsibilities a parent has to fulfil (Budlender & Lund, 2011:930). Given the importance of the father-child dyad within the family system and the valuable contributions fathers can and do make in children's lives, this finding points to the need for increased efforts by government in supporting fathers to become involved in their children's lives, particularly children at-risk of offending. Addressing unemployment and migrant employment issues as a risk factor require government's consideration of the impact of its economic and social policies on the fragmentation of families, the increase of single parent families and father absence as important elements in supporting parents and their children (Budlender & Lund, 2011:943).

Addressing the socio-economic conditions of parents as community, family and individual risk factors (subcategory 2.1.2.2, 2.4.2, 2.4.3) therefore require coordinated interventions with multi-stakeholder involvement. It is important to be cognisant of the impact of the Apartheid legacy on the socio-economic conditions of communities, especially women in the communities. Budlender and Lund (2011) comprehensively argue that the social policies of the Apartheid government entrenched inequality, unemployment and fragmentation of families within the communities of colour. Previously disadvantaged communities (currently still disadvantaged) are mostly affected by risk factors such as unemployment, substance abuse, gangsterism and community violence (subcategory 2.1.2.2, 2.4.2, 2.4.3). This legacy further entrenched a depreciating view of communities and people of colour (Goliath, 2015:302), and continues to impact communities when government refers to them as previously disadvantaged failing to recognise and celebrate the intrinsic strengths these communities and people of colour demonstrate by thriving despite adverse socio-economic conditions. Although the

term “previously disadvantaged” implies that these communities are now in an advantaged position, the current state of the economy, lack of job-opportunities and prevailing poverty continue to grip communities of colour. This in turn contributes to them experiencing increased levels of crime, gangsterism and substance abuse, which have been found to be concentrated in previously disadvantaged and densely populated communities (Rodriquez, 2013:207). The findings indicate that some parents were directly affected by these adverse socio-economic conditions (CR category 2.4.3); while others, despite these conditions, operated small informal businesses from their homes to generate income (See participant profile of parents in this study). The adverse socio-economic conditions experienced by these communities therefore expose parents and their children to increased risk and could explain why most of the children entering the CJS come from these communities.

Table 6.2 below highlights some of the areas of focus in addressing parents’ adverse socio-economic conditions at the secondary and tertiary prevention levels.

Table 6.2: Parent focused prevention services addressing parents’ adverse socioeconomic conditions

SECONDARY PREVENTION	TERTIARY PREVENTION
<p>Ward, Makusha and Bray (2015) painted a bleak picture of the struggles parents face in the context of poverty. They explain that parenting can be very stressful in the face of poverty, contributing to parents’ increased use of harsh discipline and emotionally detached parenting (Wessels, Lester & Ward, 2016:1; Ward et al., 2015:69). The persistent incidence of absent fathers has also been linked to poverty, as fathers often have to work away from home to seek employment (Ward et al., 2015:70). Supporting parents through skills development aimed at income generation or employment is also suggested by Wessels et al. (2016:10) as it would reduce barriers for parents and is in line with the South African National development plan (2013:102). Community development workers, teachers, social workers and police officers could help identify parents who are struggling to meet their family’s basic needs and link them with DSD (CR categories 4.2.1, 4.2.2, 4.2.3, 5.1.2). Social workers could explore and assess the family’s existing</p>	<p>Ward and Wessels (2013:63) indicated transport as a barrier for parents and highlighted the importance of providing parents with money for transport so that they are able to participate in parenting programmes and this could extend to any court procedures as well. All parents who are in need should qualify for court appearance fees, and DSD must avail transport funding for children and their parents to attend diversion programmes (CR categories 1.2.2 &1.3.4). Consistent with the findings of Hargovan (2013:30) and Doncabe (2013:59) providing children with transport or transport fees to attend the diversion programme sessions placed undue financial strain on parents and in some instances resulted in children or parents not attending these sessions. Abdulla and Goliath (2015:216) found that parents suggested that government provide funding for children to attend the diversion programme especially in cases where parents do not have the financial means. Probation officers, through their family centred</p>

SECONDARY PREVENTION	TERTIARY PREVENTION
<p>opportunities/strengths, develop an intervention plan with the family to mobilise existing and potential sources of support to help them provide for their basic needs (CR categories 4.2.1, 6.2.3, 6.2.4). Social workers could also facilitate access for parents to material assistance and social grants (CR category 3.3.2) where the need exists. Social work assessment and intervention with parents could help them manage their parental role and responsibilities in the context of limited resources. Social workers need to be knowledgeable about local job-creation and skills development programmes. They could link parents with skills development programmes and opportunities to generate or supplement their income (CR subcategory 6.2.4.3). Following up on the impact of parents' involvement with these skills programmes would form part of social workers and community development workers' roles.</p> <p>Aftercare services facilitated by community development workers and parents as co-facilitators could include information workshops on topics determined by parents and pool community's resources for communal benefit (Ubuntu).</p>	<p>assessment, can identify parents' that are struggling to meet their family's basic needs; this being a contributing risk factor to the child's offending behaviour or lack of involvement from the parent in the CJS (CR categories 1.3.4, 5.2.3). Probation officers can assess, jointly plan intervention with parents and recommend appropriate intervention for parents (CR subtheme 7.2) to address their needs in respect of meeting their children's basic needs (CR categories 3.2.2, 4.2.2, 6.2.3, 6.2.4). The use of FGC's can provide parents an opportunity to explore their existing strengths/resources/supports, share their financial struggles and access practical and emotional support from their family and community (CR subtheme 2.2, category 3.2.1.). Probation officers must be knowledgeable about local job-creation and skills development programmes and link parents with skills development programmes and opportunities to generate or supplement their income. Probation officers have to follow up on the impact of parents' involvement with these programmes to assess whether their economic situation has improved and determine further support intervention or aftercare. Probation officers as the FGC lead facilitator should follow up bi-weekly then monthly for up to 6 months to monitor implementation of the family agreement and negotiate linkage to community support.</p>

This section discussed parent focused prevention services in addressing parents' adverse socio-economic conditions as micro and macro level risk factors. The next section discusses adolescent substance abuse and parent focused prevention in dealing with adolescent substance abuse.

6.3.2 Subtheme 1.2: Addressing adolescent substance abuse

The impact of adolescent substance abuse on parents is well documented, pointing to the emotional and relational strain experienced by parents (Groenewald & Bhana, 2015 & 2017; Samek, Rueter, Keyes, McGue & Lacono, 2015). In the present study, none of the parents mentioned their children's abuse of alcohol, however, they all highlighted their children's exposure to and abuse of drugs, as these were easily accessible in their communities. Parents seemed to experience children's relapse

during and/or after the CJP despite children attending a diversion programme aimed at addressing their substance abuse (CR categories 1.2.1 & 2.1.1). Consistent with the findings of Abdulla and Goliath (2015) some parents struggled to manage their children's behaviour during their attendance of the diversion programme especially when their children were abusing drugs. In contrast, other studies by Hargovan (2013:30) and Mankayi (2007:47) found the diversion programme impactful in effecting positive change in children's substance abusing behaviour.

The findings indicate that most of the parents reside in communities where drugs are easily accessible and police, according to parents' views, do not have control over the situation (CR category 2.1.1). The inability of police to prevent and curb the incidence of drug peddling and abuse in communities impact on the various systems involved in the community. The majority of the parents involved in the current study expressed their struggles with their children's substance abuse mainly due to its easy access, their peers also using drugs and the lack of treatment support (CR category 1.2.1). During the expert panel review held as part of the current study, the police confirmed that they struggled to assist these parents with substance abusing children, as there were insufficient rehabilitation centres and services in the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage areas. The judiciary also confirmed the lack of resources to assist parents with their children's substance abuse. They stated that they were even unable to refer children to the local drug treatment centre for youth as it is not an accredited diversion service provider and the Centre has limited space and a long waiting list. This is consistent with findings from a study by the Medical Research Council in South Africa that various barriers existed in the establishment and provision of adequate government substance abuse treatment centres resulting in users not being able to receive the required treatment (Myers, Harker, Fakier, Kader & Mazok, 2008). Therefore, as envisioned by the National Drug Master Plan 2013-2017 (NDMP) (Department of Social Development, 2013:73) preventing and addressing substance abuse at a community level require a coordinated social development approach inclusive of communities, youth, parents, the police, the various departments, NGOs, CBOs, schools, and FBOs. Platforms such as the local drug action committees (LDAC) established in line with the NDMP (2013) provide opportunities for such multi-stakeholder coordination and initiatives to address drug trafficking, drug access, substance abuse prevention, treatment and aftercare. Child

Justice Forums can work hand in glove with the LDAC to collaborate on prevention initiatives at all three levels and advocate for resource allocation to address substance abuse within communities and increase access to in and out-patient substance abuse treatment.

The lack of appropriate interventions that are child, family and community centered seem to pave the way for children involved in the child justice system to deteriorating substance dependency and resultant repeat offending due to their commission of drug related offences (CR categories 6.2.3 & 6.2.4, CR subcategories 7.2.1.3). Parents seemed to feel helpless in facing their children's substance abuse and the CJS's lack of a coordinated and meaningful response in dealing with their child's substance abuse (CR subthemes 4.1 & 4.2). The CJS could benefit from having a formalised system of assessment and intervention with children involved in drug related offences and those displaying substance abuse related behaviour. The Juvenile Justice Health Cascade offers a system that maps the sequential stages of services a child within the CJS should be exposed to thereby ensuring adequate assessment and intervention to address their substance abuse (Belenko, Knight, Wasserman, Dennis, Wiley, Taxman, Oser, Dembo, Robertson & Sales, 2017: 83 & 86). It has been found that not only children but also their parents should be involved in interventions when dealing with children's substance abuse as parents who participate in parent education increase the protective factors for children to abstain from substance use (Das, Salam, Arshad, Finkelstein & Bhutta, 2016:73). Das et al. (2016:74) further explain that parents cannot be expected to deal with their children's substance abuse on their own without support from various systems. They recommend a coordinated and collective programme of services and support that include schools, the community and government to prevent substance abuse and facilitate access to appropriate treatment for those who struggle with substance abuse (Das et al., 2016:74). Reyneke and Reyneke (2011:157) found that the current CJS does not have adequate programmes for children who present with substance abusing or uncontrollable behaviour. Belenko et al. (2017:83 & 86) posit that the CJS must have a clear pathway of services for substance abusing children to ensure that they do not fall through the cracks and deeper into addiction. Table 6.3 presents possible focus areas for prevention services to support parents of adolescents' involved in substance abuse.

Table 6.3: Parent focused prevention services supporting parents with their adolescents' substance abuse

SECONDARY PREVENTION	TERTIARY PREVENTION
<p>Implementation of the NDMP (2013) activities aligned to outcome three to reduce the risk of adolescents and communities becoming drug users. Activities focusing on establishing and facilitating access for communities to various resources, services and programmes as alternatives to using drugs or frequenting drug outlets. Furthermore, (NDMP, 2013, outcome 5) having a continuum of care in place to prevent and detect the early onset of drug use, provide appropriate treatment and aftercare support for individuals, including adolescents and their parents as a secondary prevention strategy (CR subtheme 4.1). Developing community and family support for parents dealing with substance abuse aligns to the principle of Ubuntu and Restorative Justice (NDMP, 2013:162). Providing parents with support, resources, intervention and childcare as part of secondary prevention provides the opportunity for parents to access support and not turn to police in dealing with their children's substance abuse (NDMP, 2013:163).</p>	<p>Tertiary prevention is comprehensively outlined in the NDMP (2013) which aim to ensure the implementation of a continuum of care for substance users involved in the child justice system (CR category 2.1). Complementing this continuum of care for the child must be a continuum of support for parents to enable them to manage their child's care and behaviour while they are receiving treatment (CR subtheme 3.2 & theme 4). As found in this study and other studies when parents do not know how to manage their children's substance abuse related behaviour they seek support from police who often criminalise the behaviour rather than seek treatment for the child (CR category 4.1.1; Liegghio, Van Katwyk, Freeman, Caragata, Sdao-Jarvie, Brown & Sandha, 2017:20 & 22). The NDMP (2013) cautions against this and emphasises the risk of substance users being criminalised as their involvement in crime is often linked to their drug use. The NDMP (2013) emphasises the importance of those already in the child justice system being assessed for substance abuse and treatment being linked to interventions aimed at addressing the offending behaviour. This assessment must include assessment of the parents' support needs and ability to manage their child's behaviour including the substance abuse (CR category 6.2.3). It further emphasises the importance of treatment during detention and both in- or out-patient treatment being available as needed by the offender (CCL) who has been diverted or received non-custodial sentence (CR categories 1.2.1 & 2.1.1). Emphasis is placed on the provision of ongoing treatment support and aftercare by trained professionals within the continuum of care with the involvement of family (CR subthemes 2.1, 2.2) and community (CR subthemes 2.3 & 2.4) (NDMP, 2013: outcomes 5 & 7). As with the secondary prevention, mobilising community and family support for parents dealing with substance abuse is equally important during the tertiary prevention stage in helping parents manage their children's behaviour and substance abuse while accessing support from family and the community (CR category 4.2.1) (NDMP, 2013:162). Providing parents with formal support, resources and intervention as part of tertiary prevention further enables them to access support during the CJP (CR category 3.2.2) (NDMP, 2013:163).</p>

6.3.3 Subtheme 1.3: Parent education on the Child Justice System

Since the promulgation of the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009) the establishment of child justice courts was introduced and various departments involved in the CJS

have been raising community awareness about the CJA. The Department of Justice and Constitutional development presented various radio talks, road shows, and printed posters and booklets to educate communities and stakeholders about the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009; Department of Justice, 2018). Despite these efforts, the findings showed that most parents were not aware of the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009), the CJP and the system as a whole (CR Category 1.1.1). CJOs confirmed that parents entered the system not understanding their role during the CJP (CR 5.2.2). Parents being a central figure when dealing with children and particularly CCL need to be educated on the CJA including its restorative justice approach, its relevance to their children and their role as parents in preventing their child from entering the CJS. Consistent with the findings of Cleary and Warner (2017) this study's findings suggest that although parents are expected to have knowledge about the child justice system or process most of the parents seemed to have a limited understanding of this process. It has been found in several studies, that although parents are expected to support their children during the arrest and court processes, the majority of parents do not have adequate legal knowledge to support and guide their children through the CJP (Cleary & Warner, 2017; Cavanagh & Cauffman, 2017; Woolard, Cleary, Harvell & Chen, 2008). In line with the recommendations by Cavanagh and Cauffman (2017:150) CJOs reflected on their role to educate parents to ensure they understood the CJP not only when their child entered the system but already prior to their child's entry into the system. It makes sense that parents need to have adequate knowledge of the CJP so that they can act in their children's best interest and better engage during the CJP. Cavanagh and Cauffman (2017:149) found that parents, especially mothers and parents from poor socio-economic conditions (CR Subtheme 2.4), lacked knowledge of the CJP resulting in an increased tendency for their children to re-offend. Providing communities, victims and parents with information on restorative justice is equally important as it will provide them with alternatives in dealing with CCL and encourage their involvement in the CJS. The findings indicate the need for a staggered approach in providing parents with information about the CJS, the CJP, RJ and the parents' role prior to, during and after the CJP. Providing parents with both written and verbal information is useful especially when that information is shared within a peer support setting at the court site (Walker, Bishop, Trayler, Jaeger, Gustaveson & Guthrie, 2015:444).

Prevention services being targeted to support parents of children at risk of offending and CCL must address the various risk factors such as poverty, unemployment, substance abuse, lack of information about the CJS and any existing barriers that hinder parents' access to support services. Finkelhor, Wolak and Berliner (2001:25) found that parents were more likely to seek help from the police and welfare agencies when their children displayed at-risk behaviour. They proposed a two-stage model of help seeking where parents' firstly had to recognise a need and have knowledge of services available to address their need (Finkelhor et al., 2001:27). Secondly, parents would consider the benefits of seeking help and this would influence their decision to approach police or welfare agencies for services and support (Finkelhor et al., 2001:25-27). They recommend that police and welfare agencies engage in public awareness and made printed information available on support services for parents and children to educate the public so that they could seek assistance when faced with parenting difficulties (Finkelhor et al., 2001:26).

“It is necessary to move from a narrow law-enforcement approach to crime and safety to a focus on identifying and resolving the root causes of crime. To achieve this, a wider range of state and non-state capacities will need to be mobilised at all levels, which requires shifting to an integrated approach with active citizen involvement and co-responsibility.” National Development Plan: Vision for 2030

As stated in the above excerpt, crime prevention as proposed by government (White Paper on Safety and Security, 2016; Integrated Social crime prevention strategy, 2011; National Crime Prevention strategy, 1996) requires multi-stakeholder (exo-level) involvement to address the macro, meso and micro level risk factors known to contribute to children becoming at risk and entering the CJS. These strategies must also target the general parent population, parents of children at-risk and parents of CCL. This view is aligned to Bray's (2015 cited in Daly et al., 2015:96) view that government has an obligation to provide primary intervention services to parents and families to reduce the risk of children requiring statutory interventions. Newham (2005:6) agrees that coordination of efforts, activities and resources are necessary for effective social crime prevention. Primary prevention parenting programmes aimed at supporting parents whose young children display at-risk behaviour have been found to be effective in preventing the development of future anti-social

conduct disorders (Hutchings, Bywater, Daley, Gardner, Whitaker, Jones, Eames, & Edwards, 2007). Reneyke and Reyneke (2011) highlighted the prevention services offered at the Mangaung One-Stop Child Justice centre to address the shortage of services for at-risk youth. The centre offers parents an opportunity to voluntarily refer their at-risk youth to participate in one of their seventeen diversion programmes (Reneyke & Reyneke, 2011). This practice points to an opportunity for some diversion programmes aimed at addressing at-risk behaviour in children to be adjusted and offered as secondary prevention programmes by probation officers, assistant probation officers and diversion social workers. The following section discusses parents' need for access to Social Work Services when their child is presenting with at-risk behaviour, has entered the CJS or is exiting the CJS.

6.4 THEME 2: ACCESSIBLE SOCIAL WORK SERVICES FOR PARENTS

The accessibility and availability of social workers is an important issue in ensuring the provision of professional support for parents within their communities. Child justice officials and parents alike (CR Theme 8, 8.1), have highlighted social workers as the key professionals in assessing and intervening with parents prior to, during and after the CJP. Parents in the present study expressed their struggles in accessing Social Work Services despite many attempts to find a social worker to assist them. September (2006:69) also noted the inaccessibility of social workers particularly at community level and in rural areas. Given the current shortage of social workers and probation officers employed by the Department of Social Development and the recent transfer of child protection cases from NGO's to the Department of Social Development, this situation will continue to persist as most of the social workers in state employ are assigned to child protection services. Loffell (2008:90) and September (2006:67) explained that this shortage of social workers is compounded by the poor service conditions and the low salaries social workers receive. She further explains that government's acknowledgement of the critical shortage of social workers led to the introduction of a bursary scheme to attract people to the profession and in turn expand the number of social workers in the country (Loffell, 2008:90).

Although the findings points to parents seeking help for their children's at-risk behaviour, the lack of available support to assist parents prior to their children's entry

into the CJS is a major concern (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015). Parents are able to identify some of the at-risk behaviour, however, appropriate assistance and support is not readily accessible resulting in parents losing hope of finding help for their children. Having access to Social Work Services including assessment, intervention and aftercare provides a measure of support for parents to cope with the various risk factors they are exposed to within communities and their families (CR Theme 2). Although parents have access to some form of informal support (CR category 4.2.1), parents of children at risk and CCL require the services of social workers for various reasons (CR category 3.2.2 & 4.2.2). Firstly, based on parents' understanding of the social workers' role, parents were unanimous that they needed social work intervention to help them manage their children's behaviour and substance abuse (CR category 4.1.3). Secondly, despite some parents' repeated struggles to access support and services from the social workers they approached, parents still maintained that social workers were the professionals most suitable to assist and support them (CR category 3.2.2 & 4.2.2). CJOs shared this view and felt social workers from DSD in particular, are responsible for supporting parents and providing Social Development services to parents (Categories 6.2.3, 6.2.4 & Subtheme 7.2). Lastly, based on the type of professional support parents said they needed prior to, during and after the CJP, the skills set and expertise of social workers would allow them to support, guide, counsel, educate parents and lobby/advocate on parents' behalf and with parents for access to services or resources (CR theme 2 & theme 3). Maschi, Schwalbe and Ristow (2013) found that probation officers (social workers) were in the best position to assess the level of support parents needed and provide the appropriate advice, guidance, support and education for parents struggling with their children's uncontrollable behaviour.

Parents must be educated on their right to services based on the Bathopele principles and social work principles as well as the type of services available (CR local services discussed in next chapter) to address their support needs and concerns (Department of Social Development, 2013:20 & 46). Increasing social work accessibility requires exploration and the implementation by DSD for social work placements at police stations, schools and at DSD satellite offices within a 20km radius of communities to increase their visibility and accessibility (Department of Social Development, 2013:42). This would help in responding to parents' need for

immediate and accessible Social Work Services. However, notably some barriers exist in making Social Work Services accessible and responsive to parents' needs. Given the need for CJOs to be trained on how to work with and support parents of CCL (CR category 8.3.2) it can be deduced that DSD social workers would also need to be trained on how to work with parents of children at risk of offending and CCL. An underlying issue also points to newly qualified social workers either not being trained to practice family focused intervention or digressing from what they have learned in view of DSD's high caseloads (CR category 8.2.2) and child centred approach. In view of the social worker shortage (CR Category 8.3.1) and DSD's tardiness in employing social work graduates, increasing social work accessibility requires allocation of DSD funding. In line with DSD's generic norms and standards for social welfare services, the recruitment, training of social workers and funding of social services is critically important (Department of Social development, 2013:15, 40 & 49). The recent DSD withdrawal of subsidies from the NGO sector further aggravates the shortage of social workers. NGOs who are often based in communities have reduced their services in communities thereby withdrawing critical services for children and parents (Budlender & Lund, 2011:938). This links with the findings of Lofell (2008:90) who pointed out the systemic challenges faced within the CJS and the child protection system in terms of the shortage of social workers and the existing social workers having high caseloads makes it difficult to attend to the current demand for their services.

6.4.1 Subtheme 2.1: A continuum of support for parents

Linked to the prevention theme parents having access to social workers from primary to tertiary prevention level implies the need for a continuum of care for children at risk and CCL (CR themes 2, 3 & 4). This would enable the opportunity for assessing, identifying and addressing risk factors that predispose children to engage in at-risk behaviour and entering the CJS (CR subthemes 4.1 & 6.1). Nested within this continuum of care should be a continuum of support for parents thereby enabling parents to be assessed and receive appropriate intervention (CR themes 1, 2, 3 & 4). Parents having access to Social Work Services when their children engage in at-risk behaviour such as truancy, uncontrollable behaviour, substance abuse and aggressive behaviour (CR theme 2) would allow parents to enter the continuum of care and support (CR theme 3 & subthemes 6.2, 6.3, 7.3). Social workers who render

services to children at risk should include the parents in assessment and intervention where parents themselves are viewed as part of the client system (CR subcategory 7.2.1.3). Parents and CJOs indicated the need for social work assessment based on the ecological systems model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986) prior to the CJP to identify individual, parental, family and community risk factors (CR themes 1, 2, 3 & 7).

The social work interventions parents need at a secondary prevention level include parents receiving counselling and support to help manage their children's substance abuse as well as linking parents to financial resources (CR categories 1.2.1, 1.2.2, 1.3.3, 1.3.4, 2.1.1, 2.1.2, 2.3.3, 2.4.3 & 3.2.2). Parents in the current study expressed their need for access to Social Work Services prior to the CJP and felt that they would benefit by participating in support groups facilitated by social workers and/or psychologists, parenting advice and guidance as well as school advice or guidance from social workers and practical or financial support (CR subtheme 3.2.2). The existing gap in services to parents as part of the broader Social Crime Prevention Strategy by government is alarming as Pease (2002:95 cited in Newham, 2005:3) highlighted "parent education in the home context and parent management training" as having consistently proven to reduce youth offending. Kumpfer and Alverado's (2003:460-461) study found parents' engagement in programmes that included parent training, family skills development and counselling consistently contributed to parents being better able to manage their children's at-risk behaviour and forge positive relationships with their children. Varma (2007:254) further supports the view that Social Work Services can provide parents with much needed support. Given some parents' struggles in accessing spousal and family support, social workers would be in a position to assist parents in exploring, identifying and mobilising family support (CR subtheme 2.2). Based on the theoretical foundation of DSD's social work practice, namely an integrative approach inclusive of the Life Stage approach, Social Development approach and Community Development approach (Department of Social Development, 2013:15, Budlender & Lund, 2011:938), Social Work Services should provide comprehensive support to parents at the primary and secondary prevention level, ideally preventing children from entering the CJS. Similarly, probation services would provide specialised social work intervention and support to CCL, their parents and families (CR category 8.3.2). Figure 6.1 below depicts the practice standards for social workers contained in DSD's generic norms

and standards for Social Welfare services clearly describes this comprehensive and holistic social work assessment and intervention (Department of Social Development, 2013:56). It further elaborates on the responsibility of social workers to include, engage and collaborate with clients such as parents throughout the process.

Ref No.	Norm	Standards
P-SSP-3	Social welfare service practitioners should adhere to generally accepted standards for practice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social welfare service practitioners should strive to establish and maintain the trust and confidence of beneficiaries from the first contact: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Social welfare service practitioners should work with beneficiaries to assess their needs and circumstances. ○ Social welfare service practitioners should plan, carry out, review and evaluate social welfare services and interventions with beneficiaries and other professionals. ○ Social welfare service practitioners should support individuals in declaring their needs, views and circumstances ○ Social welfare service practitioners should manage risks to beneficiaries, themselves and colleagues. ○ Social welfare services practitioners should, as far as possible, involve beneficiaries in developing and implementing service plans in which their strengths and capacities are acknowledged and respected. ○ Social service assessments and interventions should be appropriate to beneficiaries' situations, in keeping with ethical and legislative requirements and directed towards appropriate outcomes agreed to with beneficiaries wherever possible. ○ Social welfare service practitioners should be aware of the relationship between beneficiaries and their social environment and take appropriate action.

Figure 6.1: DSD's Generic norms and standards for Social Welfare services (Department of Social Development, 2013)

Ensuring accessible and responsive Social Work Services means that social workers need to be knowledgeable and competent in providing a variety of parent-focused services geared towards addressing at-risk behaviour in children in partnership with parents and families (CR categories 3.2.2, 4.1.3, 6.2.4 & 8.3.2). Woodcock (2003) emphasised that probation officers must be multi-skilled in engaging with parents and providing concrete assistance that would enable the parent and child to address any identified risk factors such as school related problems, substance abuse, delinquency etc. For example, social workers trained in the field of substance abuse and addiction treatment should provide family therapy (CR category 6.2.4) for families of children/adolescents abusing drugs (NDMP, 2013:157). Social workers engaging in family focused intervention (CR category 6.1.1) and the active involvement of parents in treatment and parenting skills programmes is vital as part

of a continuum of support for parents (CR category 6.1.2) as stipulated by NDMP (2013:159). It is equally important for parents to be educated on where to access social workers and these services to be responsive to parents' support needs irrespective of where within the continuum of support parents enter.

6.4.2 Subtheme 2.2: Coordinated support for parents

Child justice cases converted to children's court enquiries also experience a lack of support for parents. In the current study, a set of parents continued to experience a variety of challenges and needed support in managing their daughter whose case had been converted from a child justice matter to a child protection matter (CR category 2.1.3). The absence of a continuum of care and support as well as the absence of a case management process (CR 8.2.2) resulted in the child and her parents struggling to access Social Work Services over a prolonged period. The CJS is absolved of any responsibility when a case is converted to a children's court inquiry. However, when such cases are inadequately managed within a continuum of care and parents do not receive adequate support from social workers these children are at risk of entering the CJS. Therefore, failing to provide children at risk and their parents with access to Social Work Services can have far-reaching consequences for the child, their parents and the CJS as a whole. Children end up in the system due to a lack of social work intervention at secondary prevention level. This implies that the CJS (through the child justice forum and case flow management process) has a responsibility to engage with external/DSD social workers (CR subtheme 8.2) to coordinate services to children and their parents. They have to ensure the coordination of a continuum of care for children at risk including children whose criminal cases have been converted to CCI's and children who have exited the CJS. Additionally, support services for parents must be included or nested within this continuum of care. During the current study one case was cited where a fourteen-year-old child's case had been finalised within the CJS with the expectation that external social workers would provide aftercare and address the identified individual and family risk factors. When the child reoffended, the child's case file showed that there had been no social work intervention over a four-year period. The lack of a continuum of care and coordination between probation officers and external social workers were found to result in Social Work Services not being rendered or being accessible for children at risk and CCL resulting in deterioration in their

behaviour or recidivism. The lack of coordinated support for parents meant that parents often continued to experience difficulty in managing their children's behaviour and struggled to access Social Work Services even after their child entered the CJS.

6.4.3 Subtheme 2.3: Aftercare support for parents post Child Justice Process

Access to Social Work Services at tertiary prevention level for parents whose children have been released from the CJS either through diversion, non-custodial sentencing or after serving a custodial sentence was also indicated in the present study (CR themes 1,2,3, 4 & 6). Probation officers and diversion social workers primarily focus their assessment and intervention on children and despite the child centred interventions, some children continue with their substance abuse (CR category 1.2.1). Parents indicated a need for them to have access to Social Work Services within the community context such as police stations (CR category 4.1.1) and DSD offices (CR category 4.1.3) where they could receive counselling, support, information, advice and guidance (CR category 3.2.2). Social workers and probation officers understanding their role and responsibility to render services to parents and children is critical in ensuring that parents have access to professional support (CR subtheme 7.2, categories 8.2.2.1 & 8.2.2.2). The existing gaps within the prevention services (CR category 6.1.1), child protection services (CR category 6.1.2) and probation services (CR categories 6.2.3 & 6.2.4) expose children and parents to Social Work Services that are reactive, inaccessible and unresponsive (CR theme 4 & subtheme 8.2). This leads to parents having to manage without professional support when their children display at-risk or delinquent behaviour (CR themes 1 & 2).

CCL mostly have access to diversion programmes which are child centred. When a child is linked to a probation officer or a social worker, the focus of intervention is primarily on the child. During the present study, only one parent had access to the probation officer to request parenting advice after her child reoffended and one parent asked the diversion social worker about their child's progress. Parents therefore do not have access to Social Work Services even when their child has entered the CJS or has been sentenced (CR themes, 1, 2, 3 & 6). The finding points to an underlying issue within the CJS where the assumption is held that diverting or

sentencing a child will hold them accountable and allow them to learn various life skills to behave responsibly. This assumption, however, fails to take into account that the child requires their parents, family and community to help sustain the changed behaviour learned during the diversion programme to support their continued desistance from crime. This implies that a need exists for continued aftercare and support for children and parents after completion of the CJP. Whether these critical support systems, especially the parents, are able to fulfil this role during and after the CJP is not the focus of assessment or intervention during or after the CJP. This finding also points to the short sightedness of the CJS in not dealing with children in conflict with the law within the context of their family and community to strengthen the support to parents, families and communities to better manage children at risk and children who have been in conflict with the law. This is supported by the findings of Schoeman and Thobane (2015:42) who found that there is a lack of family and parent support to assist parents in ensuring their children's desistance from crime. Steyn (2012:81-82) emphasised the critical role of providing aftercare once children have completed the diversion programme and found the mentorship programme involving home-visits by trained mentors to produce positive outcomes for children and their families. Steyn (2012:78-79) explained that aftercare should be provided for at least six months after completion of the CJP and also highlighted the opportunity to utilise family group conferences to support families during as well as after the child justice process.

The medium and long-term impact of not providing adequate aftercare, including support for parents, may be that more children could become repeat offenders and stand at risk of becoming life-persistent offenders particularly when family risk factors are not addressed during the incidence of adolescence-limited offending (Moffitt, 2006:570 in Cicchetti & Cohen, 2006). Similarly, Bull (2005:231) found that diverted offenders who clashed with the law due to drug related offences needed aftercare and family support to maintain their abstinence from drugs and struggled after completion of the diversion programme in the absence of adequate social support. Parents in this study also reported seeking support and assistance from professionals with little success. In four instances parents reported that their child reoffended after completing a diversion programme and all the cases were substance abuse related. De Vries, Hoeve, Assink, Stams and Asscher (2015:16)

found that aftercare that included a focus on and matched the intensity of the individual and the family risk factors showed positive outcomes for reduced incidence of reoffending among adolescents. The lack of appropriate aftercare impacts on the CJS as it results in the system having to repeatedly expend resources to deal with the same child instead of ensuring holistic intervention with the child, the parent and their family to deal with the root causes during the child's first entry into the CJS. This failure of the system to provide "aftercare" post the child justice process also results in children and parents' repeated exposure to the rigours of the CJS and the risk of parents losing hope of finding the right support. This absence of support and services for parents is prevalent at all prevention levels despite the various policies mandating the provision of such services (CR subthemes 8.1 & 8.2).

6.5 THEME 3: FAMILY CENTRED ASSESSMENT AND INTERVENTION

The findings indicate that due to the multi-stakeholder process involved in the CJS that children and parents must move through, opportunity to assess and provide intervention to the parent is a challenge. This challenge appears to be compounded by the limited time social workers have available to conduct their assessment and ensure that the assessment report is ready for court. This finding also links with the emphases placed on the procedural steps of taking a child through the motions of the child justice system rather than viewing the child and the parents' involvement in the system as an opportunity to provide assistance and support to the parent and the child. Another implication of this finding is that the case flow and the case management processes followed in the system may not adequately facilitate the efficiency of the system in providing parents with the necessary support. The absence of Social Work Services for parents of children at risk and CCL, point to the absence of a continuum of support for parents and families of CCL. This absence can be attributed to a variety of factors such as social work shortage, reactive social work, lack of social work training, child centred assessment and intervention (CR categories 7.2.1 & 8.3.1). The African understanding of family is that children are part of families, families are part of a clan and clans are part of a wider community/village. This understanding is tightly wound around the notion of Ubuntu and the Zulu saying, "I am because you are" and the African proverb that "it takes a village to raise a child" clearly depict children within the various ecological systems. It therefore, also implies

that parents themselves are part of a wider system where they can access informal support (CR category 4.2.1). Considering that the different types of families are equally important, many children are not raised by their biological parents in a nuclear family (Hall, 2017:27). It seems unafican to view a child as an individual on its own, separate from the rest of his family and community. Despite these cultural inferences to the importance of family and community, the current social work/probation practice is to exclude the parent, family and community during the assessment and intervention (CR themes 1 & 2). Jokani (2011:6 & 27) points to the preliminary inquiry being geared to encourage the parents' participation while the *Probation Services Act 35 of 2002* (2002) encourages the involvement of parents during the assessment and restorative justice conferences. Jokani (2011:47), however, confirms that parental assistance in the context of the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009) refers mainly to the parent assisting their child during the CJP. Steyn's (2012:76) study found that although parents were viewed by CJOs as an important role player they were not adequately supported to be involved in the system especially during the intervention stage. He goes on to recommend that the parents' role must be elaborated on and formalised to stipulate exactly what is expected of them with appropriate support so that parents can fulfil their role (Steyn, 2012:76).

Woodcock (2003:88) found that social workers' limited understanding of parenting and their context (e.g. limited assessment time, high caseloads) hinders their ability to assess and provide constructive support or services to parents. Woodcock (2003:100) asserts that social workers, at times, struggled to engage parents in assessment and intervention particularly when social workers were guided by structured assessment tools and only had a superficial knowledge of parents and parenting. The author further emphasises the need for social workers to be trained on parenting assessment practice and parenting interventions based on "psychological parenting literature" (Woodcock, 2003:100). An alarming finding by Reyneke and Reyneke (2011:147) was that when probation officers failed to assess and provide intervention for parents of children in conflict with the law; children were more likely to be removed from parental care and placed into foster care. This implies that instead of supporting parents during the CJP to prevent their child going deeper into the system, probation officers, when faced with parents who struggled to

manage their children's behaviour in some instances removed the child from parental care at the parents' request or because parents refused to take their child into their care. This reinforces disempowerment of parents through probation officer's narratives of parents as non-coping or not good enough parents as well as children receiving the same negative message about their parents.

Family centred assessment and intervention focus on working with the family system as a whole employing various strategies to form therapeutic alliances with families to facilitate improved communication, interaction and changing dysfunctional patterns within the family system (Roberts, Coakley, Washington & Kelley, 2017:5). Farrington and Welsh (2003:145) found that family based interventions with CCL showed a ten to fifteen percent reduction in the prevalence of offending behaviour with long-term positive outcomes for the child. Rooted in the Ecological Systems Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986) family counselling is based on the premise that to influence positive outcomes for an individual it is important to work with their family with whom they have formed bonds and interact with. The assertion that dysfunction in one part of the system impacts the other parts of the system aligns with the finding that CJOs viewed parents' need for family counselling to deal with the issues affecting the individual family members and the family as a whole. CJOs recognised the impact of the family, the home environment, family relationships and family communication on parents and children to support their view that family counselling was needed. When parents are included in assessment and intervention, it is primarily with the view to support compliance with court-mandated interventions (CR subtheme 5.2). However, when children and parents participate in family counselling it helps the family strengthen their ability to better cope during current and future difficulties in the family i.e. family relationships, behaviour or discipline issues of the child (Department of Social Development, 2013:61; Farrington & Welsh, 2003:145). Family counselling can also focus on the parent subsystem and the parent-child subsystem to strengthen the system to restore family relations and functioning.

6.5.1 Subtheme 3.1: Towards family centred probation assessment and intervention

As a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989) during the mid 1990s, South Africa made significant strides to ensure

the increased involvement of parents, families and communities in the assessment and intervention process for child protection cases (Department of Social Development, 2013:61). This was aimed at reducing the placement of children in institutional care and restoring families as their rightful caregivers. The Inter-Ministerial Committee on the Transformation of the Child and Youth Care System spearheaded this process. The committee advocated for each child within the child protection system to be assessed based on the Developmental approach and to have a care plan specifying the interventions the child would receive and the involvement of family to facilitate reunification (Brendtro, Brokenleg & Van Bockern, 2014:14). The child protection assessment therefore, focuses on assessing the parent's ability to care for their children and determines what interventions they require to strengthen their ability to provide appropriate care for their child (Khoza, 2011:2). This emphasises the care and protection of the assessed child although implied in the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009) it is not explicit. Hence, it does not translate into the assessment of the ability of parents involved in the CJS to care for their child and the interventions they need particularly to manage their children who have displayed at-risk behaviour. Social work services in the child protection system focus on family preservation which is cited in the *Children's Act 38 of 2005* (South Africa, 2006) as a family centred intervention. DSD's funding and facilitation of the Isibindi project further attests to their commitment to family focused intervention for children and the return of children to their families and their communities (Department of Social Development, Eastern Cape Annual Report, 2016:69). In the same vein, the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009) emphasised detention and imprisonment as a last resort when dealing with CCL, rather favouring the placement of CCL into parental care. However, this is where the CJA diverges from a family centred approach as it stipulates that the probation officer's assessment is child centred and interventions hold the child accountable so the child does not recidivate. This is contrary to the findings in Canadian studies that parents' ability to care for and provide supervision for their children are actively assessed by CJOs to determine whether children can be placed into parental care (Varma, 2007; Woodcock, 2003). South African studies, however, have found that most CCLs are placed into parental care except where parents cannot be located (Steyn, 2012; Reyneke & Reyneke, 2011). Although parents, families and communities are referenced within the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009); it is done within the

context of restorative justice rather than family preservation. This seems contradictory to the *Children's Act 38/2005* (2006) and even to the spirit of Ubuntu as reflected in the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (Steyn, 2012:79 & 81; Sloth-Nielsen & Gallinetti, 2011:69; South Africa, 2009). The DSD's approach to children is based on the Ecological Systems Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986:723) meaning social workers are trained to view clients as part of various nested systems. The African notion of family aligns to that view and the *Children's Act 38 of 2005* (2006) recognises children as part of wider family and community systems. Despite this, probation officers seem to assess and intervene in children's lives as being separate from their family and community. Their focus is on identifying the child's individual risk and protective factors in isolation from the child's family, school and community context (CR themes 1,2,3 & subtheme 7.2.), thereby excluding parents and families during the assessment process, intervention and aftercare. The term assessment in the Child Justice context refers to:

a process of developmental assessment or evaluation of a person, the family circumstances of the person, the nature and circumstances surrounding the alleged commission of an offence, its impact on the victim, the attitude of the alleged offender in relation to the offence and any other relevant factor (Probation services Amendment Act 35/2002, section 1 (a)).

Social work assessment involves the gathering of information through exploration, analysis and synthesis of the person in a situation focusing on the person, the chronosystem, the various micro systems surrounding them including the relationships and the influence of the macrosystem on the person. Assessment can be done using various theoretical lenses, however, social workers and probation officers employed by the Department of Social Development employ developmental assessment tools, which lean towards identifying clients' needs and strengths with the view to planning appropriate intervention. The developmental assessment is based on the circle of courage, which assesses four areas and their context within a person's life namely, their sense of belonging to the various microsystems, their sense of generosity towards others, their sense of mastery and their sense of independence (Brendtro et al., 2014:14).

A significant finding was that CJOs such as police officers, attorneys, judiciary and prosecution viewed social work assessment (referring to the probation officer's assessment of the child with their parent) as a process of gathering in-depth information about the child, their parent and their family situation. This information is gathered with the view of developing an understanding of the root causes, the needs or problems experienced by the parents and are aimed at assisting the child, their parents and the family. In contrast, social workers in this study viewed assessment as a product namely, a report about the CCL with the view to making recommendations for suitable diversion or sentencing options. This difference of opinion and expectation of what happens during a probation officer's assessment and the resultant recommendation for intervention is a significant finding. It points to CJOs from the legal fraternity assuming that comprehensive family assessment is done to assist not only the child but also their family to deal with the root causes, problems and needs (excluding their strengths) to address the child's offending behaviour. Consistent with the provisions of the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009) and the *Probation services Amendment Act 35 of 2002* (2002) social workers, including probation officers, on the other hand view their assessment as needing to focus only on the child's offending behaviour rather than understanding the child within the family system.

The strengths of the parent sub-system, the parent-child dyad and community system exploring opportunities for holistic intervention to address the offending behaviour and prevent recidivism is overlooked. This exclusion therefore deprives the probation officer and the presiding officer from having a holistic picture of the child, their parents, their family and community (CR subtheme 8.1). Hence, the risk and protective factors within these various micro systems are overlooked during the assessment and intervention with children. It has been found that parents, schools and communities are in a better position to exert social control over adolescents and encouraging the involvement of these systems is vital in understanding children as well as their context (Patchins & Hinduja, 2016: 201-202). Terblanche (2014:139 & 143) highlighted the importance of the extended family and schools playing a supportive role for parents particularly single parent families during times of crisis. Similar to the findings of Abdulla and Goliath (2015) and Mankayi (2007:43-44) parents whose children have been in conflict with the law expectantly experienced

emotional distress during the CJP. Ward and Wessels (2013:62) explains that these parents need individualised and intensive intervention by trained professionals who can enhance the parents' competence in managing their child's behaviour. Mankayi (2007) suggests that these interventions must be aimed not only at the child and parent but also at the various micro and macro level systems to effect sustained and meaningful change. Similar to the findings of Schoeman and Thobane, (2015:43), Cluver, Lachman, Ward, Gardner, Peterson, Hutchings, Mikton, Meinck, Tsoanyane, Doubt, Boyes and Redfern, (2017:763), found that the shortage of social workers and lack of resources has been identified as a stumbling block in the provision of services to parents and at-risk adolescents/CCL in South Africa. When parents participate in social work, intervention it translates into positive behaviour change, improved parenting and increased social support for parents (Cluver et al., 2017:763-764). Khoza (2011:18) states that social work intervention is considered a logical step after assessment as assessment helps guide the social worker/probation officer in determining the need for intervention, the focus areas for intervention, the level and intensity of intervention, the type of intervention and the target system for intervention. Schoeman and Thobane (2015:44) found that a need exists for the introduction of guidelines for assessment within the CJS. Keeping the objectives of the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009) in mind, the need exists to involve the family and community in interventions to facilitate restorative justice. Reintegration of the child requires the system to make the necessary changes to enable social work intervention with parents to enable support for parents and families of CCL.

6.5.2 Subtheme 3.2: Restorative Justice and family support

Dong and Krohn (2017:56) found that the negative impact of stigmatisation and subsequent isolation of CCL in the community could not be adequately buffered by family support. They emphasised the importance of support measures being put in place by the CJS to appropriately support children who experienced stigmatisation due to their involvement in the system. Liegghio and Jaswal (2015:312-313) found that parents benefitted from parent education that included knowledge and strategies for parents to understand stigma, the impact of stigma and how to respond and support their child in instances when they were experiencing stigmatisation. When social workers and the CJS dealt with CCL only, it placed children at risk of

becoming stigmatised or labelled as the “problem” (CR subtheme 2.2, categories 2.3.2 & 2.4.1) rather than understanding the family as a context requiring family focused assessment and intervention to support its family members (CR category 7.2.1). Steyn, Louw and Van Rensburg (2012:117) agree and add that diversion programmes must be expanded to include parents and families as part of the client system by involving them in joint assessment, planning and intervention. The importance of family support for children who have entered the CJS was highlighted by Dong and Krohn (2017:39 & 54) whose study found that family support protected children during the CJP and contributed to their desistance from crime. Van der Merwe (2013:1029) emphasised the value of restorative justice in enabling the CJS to be an inclusive process that could respond to all the role player’s needs including the child and their parents. The restorative justice approach embraced within the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009) recognises that crime affects relationships and harms all involved and affected by the crime. As such, parents, families, communities and victim/s are all affected and must be involved during the assessment and intervention with CCL. Restorative justice conferences and family group conferences honour the importance of children, parents, families, victims and communities as stakeholders that must be involved during the assessment, decision-making and intervention. These stakeholders are viewed as vital in responding to crime in a restorative manner and mobilising all those affected in supporting the victim and the offender. The offender along with his family is supported in repairing the harm and the offender therefore is able to lobby for support to make amends and successfully reintegrate. Family group conferences present a valuable opportunity for probation officers to engage with parents and families during the preparation sessions. During these sessions, parents are able to verbalise their concerns and access support and services. During the actual FGC parents and families are able to access support from their extended family, their community, their child’s school and even other professionals (CR subtheme 3.2). Parents and children being able to access support from family can reduce the risk of continued criminal involvement and reduce the need for professional intervention (Dong & Krohn, 2017:51). Groenewald and Bhana (2017:12) found that it is important for professionals to highlight the value of parents accessing family support and for families to understand how they can support parents, especially parents of children who abuse drugs. The family group

conference monitoring process also allows parents access to aftercare services that are family centred (CR subtheme 6.3).

Additionally, the variety of diversion orders such as family time orders, school attendance orders etc. provide probation officers with the opportunity to engage with families to discuss how their family time and interaction can be managed effectively. Reyneke and Reyneke (2011:157) recommend that involving children and their families in a mentoring programme may provide an opportunity for them to access support or the mentor could facilitate access to appropriate support. School orders allow probation officers the opportunity of engaging with schools to facilitate school access or school attendance (CR subtheme 2.3). It has been found that non-school attendance and substance abuse lead to long-term negative outcomes for young people who in later adulthood struggle to find employment and engage in age appropriate activities due to their lack of preparation during adolescence (Rocque, Jennings, Piquero, Ozkan & Farrington, 2017:592). Similar to the Whole School Child Community approach (Lewallen, Hunt, Potts-Datema, Zaza & Giles, 2015) schools and probation officers can work with parents as a triad team to focus on ensuring the at-risk child receives intervention and support that is child, parent and family centred and links them to community resources as required. Although the *Child justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009) is not explicitly family focused it allows room for probation officers to employ existing interventions such as family group conferences, school attendance orders, family time orders etc. prescribed in the Act (2009) to assess and intervene in a manner that is family centred.

6.5.3 Subtheme 3.3: Parent centred support

The child centred approach employed by social workers and probation officers during assessment and intervention excludes parents from accessing services and limits opportunities for parents, families and communities from fulfilling a supportive role in social work services. CJOs in the current study described four types of parents entering the CJS (CR categories 5.1.3, 5.2.3, 7.1.1, 8.1.3 & subcategory 7.2.1.1.), CJOs, particularly probation officers/social workers' labelling of parents often determined their attitude towards parents and influenced their willingness to engage with and involve parents during the CJP (CR category 8.1.1). Table 6.4 below depicts the four types of parents based on CJOs involved in the present study's

description of parents' presence during the CJP, their emotional and behavioural response during the CJP and the how they fulfilled their role during the CJP.

Table 6.4: Types of parents involved in the CJS (Developed by Abdulla, 2018)

	ABSENT	PASSIVE	INVOLVED	COLLUDING
Physical	Absence- disinterest finances, work responsibilities	Present Non- participative	Present Interested Participative	Present Over-interest Become "lawyer"
Emotional	Disengaged, self-preservation, self interest	Uninvolved Apathetic	Invested- experiencing turmoil & self- blame	Over-invested Over-protective Adversarial/anger/ fear
Behavioural	No communication during CJ process	Views CJ officials as in charge	Views self as responsible and in charge	Covering up Speaking for child Preparing child
Role	Role abandonment/ transfer	Role abandonment /Role transfer	Fulfil role Seeks support to fulfil role	Role confusion

Reyneke and Reyneke (2011:155) found that probation officers struggled to secure parents' cooperation to attend interventions aimed at improving their parenting and found parents resistant. Woodcock (2003:101) similarly found social workers being dismissive of parents "locked in" their ways and not being responsive to social workers' offers of help or support. This points to the need for CJOs, especially probation officers, to focus on establishing working relationships with parents that facilitate openness for parents to voluntarily seek and accept support or assistance identified during the probation officer's assessment. This also implies that parents must be supported to become equal partners in the CJS. Even when parents are resistant CJOs must work with parents to determine the support and services they (parents) need to manage their children's behaviour during and after the CJP.

Understanding the impact of the CJOs' labelling of parents is important as CJOs were dismissive of absent parents and often concluded that these parents were disinterested. Some CJOs expressed anger and annoyance with these parents. This influenced their attitude to reach out to these parents or attempt to find them. Maschi et al., (2013) provide a useful guide probation officers can employ and propose various practice strategies to support the four different types of parents that enter the CJS. Failure to support the different types of parents has far reaching implications as parents who are absent cannot be assessed or receive formal support to assume, resume or fulfil their parental role (CR theme 1). CJOs alluded to some children being placed in foster care and some returning to a life on the streets as no parents could be found (CR category 8.1.3). It is important that probation officers understand their role in finding parents and families to engage with, to ensure children's placement into parental care (CR subtheme 7.2). Equally important is ensuring that these parents and families are supported and have access to social work services to help them fulfil their parental role (CR categories 3.2.2 & 6.2.4). This is consistent with other findings indicating parents' need for professional support from social workers or probation officers during the CJP (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015:215). Evans-Chase and Zhou (2014:460-461) in their review of twenty one evidence based juvenile justice programmes found that programmes that involved multi-modal responses which not only focused on the child but included counselling, parent education and support for parents and their family, resulted in better outcomes for children and reduced their risk of recidivism. Woodcock (2003) found that the interventions offered by social workers often failed to be responsive to parents' needs and are not consistently evidence based. Maschi et al. (2013:476) in Figure 6.2 below agree stating that each type of parent requires a different response from probation officers and specific interventions.

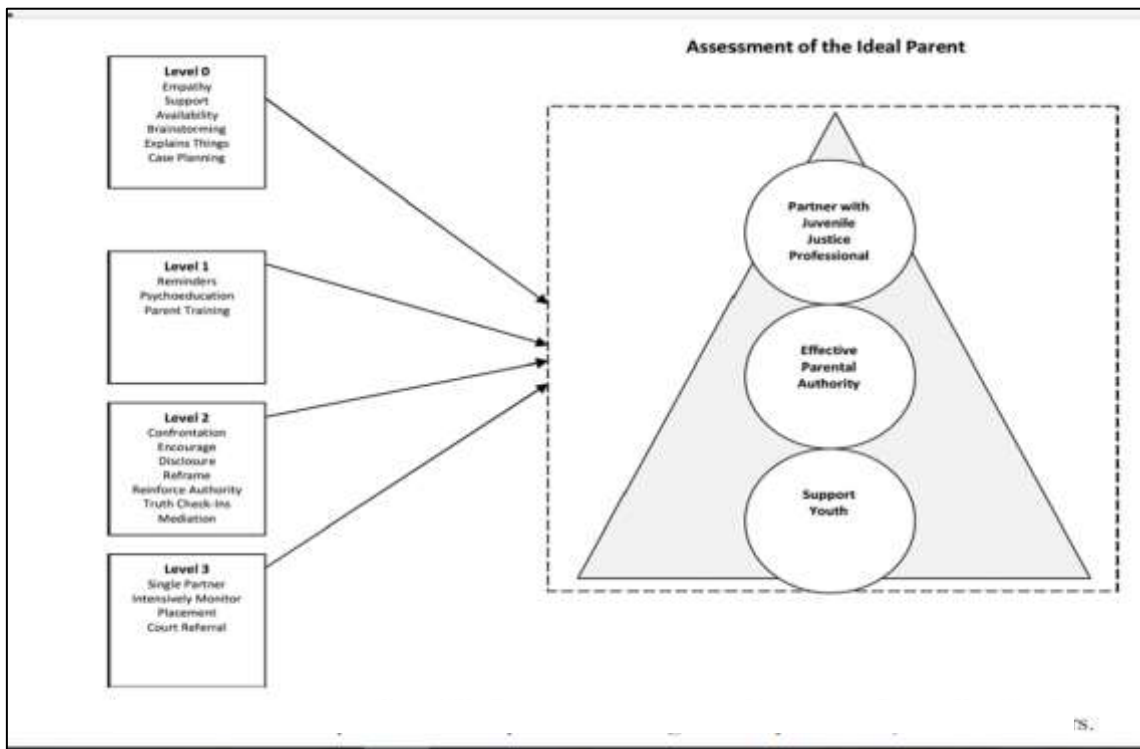


Figure 6.2: Conceptual model of practice strategies with parents of juvenile offenders (Maschi et al., 2013:476)

Although social workers and probation officers are expected to fulfil a supportive role it has been highlighted that their services are often child centered to the exclusion of the various micro systems that surround children such as their parents, families and communities (Van der Merwe, 2013:1029). Family and parent centred assessment and intervention is fundamental in dealing with CCL, and therefore probation officers must shift their focus to expand their view of a CCL as a child that is part of a wider system that needs to be engaged with and supported during and after the CJP (CR categories 7.2.1 & 7.2.3). The following theme discusses parents' inclusion during the CJP as a prerequisite for supporting parents during the CJP.

6.6 THEME 4: INCLUSIVE AND COLLABORATIVE CJS

Underpinning the theme of inclusion and collaboration in the CJS is the issue of power imbalance, where one person is perceived or experienced as superior over the other. In the present study, this power imbalance emerged in relations between parents and schools (teachers) (CR subtheme 2.3), parents and professionals including CJOs (CR subtheme 4.1), and parents and the CJS system (CR subtheme 8.1). With many of the parents being female, issues of gender based power

imbalance also emerged where females assumed the gendered role of taking care of a “child related issue” such as accompanying their child during the CJS (CR category 5.1.3). Budlender and Lund (2011: 929) point out that women are primarily expected to assume the caregiver role even when males are present. The power imbalance also manifested in terms of the parents’ role and voice during the CJP juxtaposed to that of CJOs who assumed the superior status assigned to them by the CJS (CR categories 5.2.2, 5.2.3, 6.2 & 7.3.1). This directly facilitated or contributed to the exclusion of parents throughout the CJP despite them being regarded by CJOs as the persons responsible for ensuring children’s care and desistance from crime (CR subthemes 8.1 & 5.2).

Pennington (2012:493 & 500) found that when parents were not included and informed of the legal processes related to their children’s cases that it negatively influenced their view and confidence in the legal process. The power imbalance emerged most strikingly during the court process where the Presiding Officer sat in a higher position than everyone else did; CJOs had their backs turned to parents throughout the proceedings with most parents either not being engaged or involved during the procedure. This was further compounded by the power imbalance due to the lack of knowledge by parents of the CJP compared to CJOs being knowledgeable on the CJP (CR category 1.3.1, subthemes 3.1., 5.2, 7.3). The importance of parents’ involvement and participation during the CJP, including the court process, has been highlighted by numerous studies as a prerequisite for parents playing a meaningful role during the process and their active engagement in interventions (Cavanagh & Cauffman, 2017; Peterson-Badali & Broeking, 2010; Woolard et al., 2008, Varma, 2007). These studies also found that parents mostly felt overwhelmed and excluded during the court proceedings and were unsure of the role they were expected to fulfil. Reyneke and Reyneke (2011) similarly found that despite the Restorative Justice principles underpinning the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009), that even at a One-Stop Child Justice Centre, there was no physical space for parents or the child to sit in the decision-making circle in court and engage with officials during the court processes. Burke, Mulvey, Schubert and Garbin (2014:11-12) highlighted that for parents to meaningful engage in the CJS and any interventions parents must be respectfully and actively involved throughout the process including decision making about how and what services they want to

access. Parents also experienced exclusion or judgment when CJOs tone was perceived as “speaking down to” or “blaming” parents for their childrens’ offending behaviour (CR category 1.3.1). Varma (2007:248) also found that parents found the trial process overwhelming and even more so when they had to reveal their family struggles during the court process. Parents seemed to feel that they were blamed by the CJOs for their child’s misbehaviour instead of receiving support to help them manage their children’s behaviour (Varma, 2007:249). When parents in the present study were expected to express their needs and concerns in a language other than their mother tongue, they decided not to discuss their concerns/needs especially if they felt they were being blamed.

The impact of power imbalance as a risk factor is that it silences, excludes and deprives parents from assuming their role and meaningfully engaging with the CJS/CJOs. They are unable to influence or give input on the type of interventions that will best support them and address their concerns (CR subtheme 7.2). Peterson-Badali and Broeking (2009) found that CJOs viewed parents as needing to be involved in the CJP; however, the system does not adequately facilitate opportunity for parental involvement and support as implied in the policy. Peterson-Badali and Broeking (2010:17) found that most (73%) of the CJOs in their study agreed that the CJS did not make adequate provision to support parents during the CJP to fulfil the role anticipated by the legislation. It requires that the CJS be sensitive to the various roles parents may assume during the CJP which may include that of ‘service user’, ‘service extender’ in terms of fulfilling tasks related to interventions aimed at their child or ‘advocates’ for services to themselves and their child (Burke et al., 2014:5-6).

6.6.1 Subtheme 4.1: Parental inclusion and collaboration

At a primary prevention level, promoting restorative justice, community cohesion and Ubuntu as part of all prevention work with parents and communities, is critically important (CR category 6.1.1). It will lay a foundation for the social inclusion of parents and the recognition of parents as well as the provision of support for parents in fulfilling their parental role. The *Children’s Act 38 of 2005* (2006) which explicitly prohibits parents from punishing children using physical violence, was viewed by parents in the present study as the system taking away their parental power. The

exclusion of parents in identifying and developing indigenous discipline strategies that are effective and comply with the law has left some parents feeling frustrated at not being given the right to discipline their children as they see fit. Parents' that view their role as that of imposing rules and discipline aligns to the notion that parents are the authority within a family. Hence, parents view the *Children's Act 35 of 2008* (2006) as having deprived them of this power (CR category 1.1.3 & 2.1.2). Despite this view, one parent in this study also realised upon reflection that using physical violence failed to address their child's misbehaviour.

Providing parents with education on how to assume their parental role with authority that treats children with dignity and refraining from the use of violence is comprehensively outlined in DSD's Integrated Parenting Framework (Department of Social Development, 2011). The implementation of this framework is vital in supporting all parents at a primary prevention level in learning how to share power with their children in an age appropriate manner that allows positive developmental outcomes for children. Making parents aware of the parenting strategies contained in section 4.3 and 4.4 of the Framework (Department of Social Development, 2011) and engaging with parents on their own parenting strategies through community education campaigns would contribute to parents feeling more included and competent in deciding how to discipline their children within the parameters of the law (CR subcategories 3.2.2.3 & 6.2.4.4). Parents that are engaged within various community level structures could also allow them the opportunity to voice their concerns and advocate or lobby for support. Institutions/organisations working with parent related issues must be encouraged/mandated to have parents as part of their governing structures similar to the school governing bodies (SGB).

At a secondary prevention level, DSD and NGOs can engage parents of children at risk and those already in conflict with the law during their annual situational analysis and strategic planning. In partnership with parents, these service providers can identify the support and service needs of parents. Parents who serve on the various street committees in communities, ward committees, advisory boards, and forums such as the LDAC, community-policing forums etc. should discuss issues affecting parents particularly those of children at risk. Similar to the childcare forums referred to in the Integrated Parenting Framework (2011), DSD could work with parents to

establish and coordinate parent forums within each community. Through these forums, parents could voice their concerns and access information, support, advice, referral to professional services, education and guidance. Parents, social auxiliary workers or youth care workers trained in issues related to parenting, childcare issues, schooling and substance abuse could lead these forums. These forums could be operated from police stations, community venues, schools, DSD satellite offices, or parents' homes where possible on a weekly basis. The power imbalance between parents and service providers could be levelled by promoting restorative justice, Ubuntu, social inclusion and partnership with parents. The DSD should ensure that all stakeholders such as police, social workers, schools, NGOs, CBOs, religious organisations, and parents themselves who often become first responders to parents of children in need and children at-risk, are trained (CR subtheme 8.2). It has been found that police who are trained in crisis intervention are less likely to arrest and more likely to appropriately refer people to mental health services (Compton, Bakeman, Broussard, Hankerson-Dyson, Husbands, Krishan, Steward-Hutto, D'Orio, Oliva, Thompson & Watson, 2014:527-528). This training should focus on how to support, guide, advise and refer parents appropriately (CR theme 8.3). Training of police to engage with the public in a "procedurally fair" manner is emphasised as an important element in ensuring that police can be viewed in a positive light as a potential source of information and in the case of parents as a source of support (Barkworth & Murphy, 2016:116). Training for these officials should also include sensitisation and knowledge of power relations, restorative justice and Ubuntu principles, cultural sensitivity, and race and gender diversity in dealing with parents, children and communities. Liegghio and Jaswal (2015:313) recommend that not only police should be trained in crisis intervention but that parents should also participate in parent education that focuses on crisis intervention so that parents can competently and confidently diffuse conflict situations with their children thereby limiting parents' need to seek police intervention. Therefore, collaborating with parents and ensuring that parents also have access to the same information and training is important to facilitate their inclusion at the secondary prevention level. Including information on the CJS, will level the power imbalance, as parents would be empowered with the same knowledge as officials and can engage with them on an equal level as well as hold them accountable

6.6.2 Subtheme 4.2: Parents as partners

During the observation sessions, it emerged that CJOs approach to parents during the CJP would affect parents' involvement during the CJP. Three categories of CJOs engagement with parents emerged, namely procedural focused, parent focused and child focused (see Table 6.5 below). The procedural focused CJOs failed to recognise or even consult parents during the CJP focusing more on the documents they had to complete during the CJP. The second category of CJOs was parent focused; however, these behaviours only emerged during two incidences where parents could express their concerns. Lastly, child focused engagement involved CJOs primarily focusing on the child to understand the reason for their transgression and warning the parent to ensure the child's compliance to any court orders. These categories seemed to determine whether parental exclusion during the CJP would occur or whether the parent would have an opportunity to be involved, consulted and engaged during the CJP. Giles (2005:230-231) also found in a study with teachers that they tend to engage with parents based on their own narratives of what type of parents their pupils had which might include a deficit narrative or a relational narrative. She explains that when teachers view parents as part of the problem that the parent-teacher relationship tend to be negative or disengaged compared to when teachers viewed parents as equal partners fostering trusting and engaging relationships with parents (Giles, 2005:232-232). Similarly, when CJOs viewed parents as part of the problem they employed the procedural and child focused approach to the exclusion of the parent focus, and parents were merely viewed as passive passengers during the CJP. Parents involved in the present study reported feeling excluded during the process not having an opportunity to discuss their needs, concerns or share their opinions. Woodcock (2003:101) found that social workers are primarily concerned with fulfilling their legal responsibilities rather than providing responsive social work services to children and their families. Varma (2007:253) also found that parents were often "bystanders" during the CJP with limited opportunity for meaningful engagement with CJOs. Ideally, CJOs should have an integrated and holistic focus when engaging with children, parents and procedures to ensure that people (child & parent) and processes are considered during the CJP (See table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Types of Child Justice Official engagement with parents during CJP (Compiled by Abdulla, 2018)

	PROCEDURAL FOCUSED	PARENT FOCUSED	CHILD FOCUSED	INTEGRATED FOCUS PARENT AS PARTNER
Focus	Focus on CJ process and procedure	Focus on CJ process and procedure Focus on parent as key stakeholder in CJ	Focus on CJ process and procedure Focus child as key stakeholder in CJ	Focus on CJ process and procedure Focus on parent as vital part of: the parent-child subsystem, the family subsystem, and as a CJ subsystem
Behaviour	Follow procedure to ensure compliance Strictly business Threaten to ensure compliance	Acknowledge Parents' role and responsibilities Listen and empathise with parent. Offer concrete support for parent to fulfil role.	Assign blame to parent Concerned with child and offer interventions for child Emphasise parents' monitoring role.	Acknowledge Parents' role and responsibilities Listen and empathise with parent. Offer concrete support for parent to parents beyond their parenting role. Engage parent in advisory and partnership role within the CJS
Communication	Limited communication/one-sided communication with parent during CJ process	Engaging Provide opportunity for parent to ask questions, raise concerns and needs. Consults parent on recommendations	Engaging with child Provide limited opportunity for parent to ask questions, raise concerns and needs.	Engage and involve parents in all meetings, forums and communication that relate to parents and children within the CJS. Consider and include parents' input and recommendations in all matters concerning children and parents.

	PROCEDURAL FOCUSED	PARENT FOCUSED	CHILD FOCUSED	INTEGRATED FOCUS PARENT AS PARTNER
Role	Assume Autocratic role CJ official is in charge	Democratic and Authoritative	Autocratic role & Authoritative	Democratic and inclusive

CJOs' tone and approach to parents also influenced whether parents would ask questions during the CJP and whether parents' input would be considered during the CJP. When CJOs assumed an autocratic approach parents were less likely to ask questions or raise their concerns limiting their opportunity to ask for support and information. Providing parents of CCL with information about their child's case, about the status and progress of their child's case, about the CJP and the CJOs' roles is of primary importance (CR subthemes 3.1 & 6.2). Although the present study indicated that the attorneys felt it their responsibility to provide parents with this information, parents often approached the police and probation officers for this information (CR subtheme 4.1 & theme 7). This implies that all CJOs as prescribed by the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009) must be knowledgeable and have the responsibility of explaining all matters related to their child's case and the CJP to parents. When parents are knowledgeable about the system it increases the likelihood of them engaging with the system (CR subtheme 8.2). The restorative justice approach embraced by the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009) envisions a system that allows increased participation and consultative decision making that includes all significant stakeholders. This is particularly evident in the preliminary inquiry, which resembles a restorative justice conference format, and explicitly uses family group conferences as a diversion option. Thus, preventing parents from feeling or being excluded during the CJP and consulted during the decision-making process requires implementation of the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009) to the letter. It also points to the need for a review of the parents' role within the CJS and the need for probation officers' assessments as well as interventions to include parents. Various studies have found that although restorative justice is viewed as one of the strengths of the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009) that the involvement of victims and communities during the CJP is limited (Schoeman & Thobane, 2015:42; Apollos, 2014:42; Van der Merwe, 2013:1034; Reyneke & Reyneke, 2011:156). However, through the implementation of RJ this will extend to the inclusion of schools and communities where the CJS can demonstrate RJ and Ubuntu principles thereby sharing the responsibility of parental inclusion as well as support (CR theme 2). Including parents to an equal position as a significant stakeholder requires that the court layout the positioning of CJOs during court proceedings and the language used by CJOs be adjusted to create the opportunity for parents to engage and participate throughout the CJP (CR subtheme 8.1). CJOs

and parents of CCL should be engaged on transformation of the CJS with the view to integrate and concretise parental involvement and parental support throughout the CJP (CR subtheme 8.1 & 8.2). Engaging with the various CJS coordinating, advisory, monitoring and governance structures to expand all processes, interventions and services within the CJS could facilitate the inclusion of parents and families of CCL during the CJP as significant stakeholders in decisions affecting their children. In line with RJ, communities should also be recognised as a significant partner in the CJS and in supporting parents of CCL. Parents of CCL must be consulted on a regular basis through quality assurance processes to evaluate their level of involvement and satisfaction with the CJP and services. Providing the opportunity for interested parents of CCL to serve on the local Child Justice Forums could also allow parents' inclusion and consideration of parents' voices within the CJS. Similar to the findings of Harris and Goodall (2008:286) in their study of the school's involvement with parents, parents must be viewed by the CJS and CJOs as integral to dealing with CCL therefore, the system needs to offer or reach out to parents to support them inside and outside the CJS. As the child justice system employs teams of multi-disciplinary professionals who are guided by their respective professional policies and practice guidelines, legislative guidelines would offer a general basis on how parents must be treated, engaged with, supported and assisted throughout the CJP. Adoption of such guidelines could facilitate increased opportunity or space for parental involvement in the CJS. This finding is consistent with that of Steyn (2012) and Varma (2007) who emphasise the need to formalise parents' involvement in the Child Justice System and its processes. Barring the provision of such legislative guidelines, the various oversight mechanisms from national to district level could agree on standard operating practice in the different departments mandating and guiding CJOs in supporting and rendering services to parents during the CJP. These include the Directors-General Inter-sectoral Committee on Child Justice (DGs ISCCJ), National Operational Inter-sectoral Committee on Child Justice (OP ISCCJ), Justice Crime Prevention and Security (JCPS) and the Inter-Ministerial Committee. This finding also implies that the CJS could become an entry point for parents of CCL. They could be linked to various services not traditionally or currently part of the CJS, including services from the various programmes offered by the Department of Social Development in their child protection unit, community development unit or their substance abuse unit.

Maschi, Hatcher, Schwalbe and Rosato, (2008:1383) found that families of CCL present with various support needs and propose a “social systems justice model” where parents and children involved in the CJS can access a variety of services located in the health system, the mental health system and the child protection system.

6.7 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

This chapter presented the analytical themes that emerged in the present study that parents of children in conflict with the law indeed do need support during the CJP. Supporting parents requires an integrated, multi-stakeholder approach that is directed at the primary, secondary and tertiary prevention levels. Supporting parents of children at risk is a prerequisite to ensuring children do not enter the CJS. The absence of parent focused prevention services and the lack of Social Work Services for parents of children at risk has a spill over effect on the CJS. Parents’ struggle to access Social Work Services that can assess and intervene at a secondary prevention level contributing to parents turning to police for assistance who in most instances are not trained to assist or support parents. Most of the parents in the present study struggled to access Social Work Services particularly for their children’s substance abuse. This resulted in the children entering the CJS with parents hoping that they and their children would receive the necessary Social Work Services and support during the CJP. It, however, emerged that probation (social work) services primarily focused on assessing the CCL rather than assessing the child in the context of his/her family. This child centred approach excluded parents as significant stakeholder in the child’s life but also limited parents’ opportunity to access Social Work support and services. The absence of a clear continuum of care for children at risk and CCL also indicated the absence of a continuum of support for parents. This absence of support could also be attributed to the CJS’s struggle to include, involve and collaborate with parents prior, during and after the CJP. The exclusion of parents can be understood in the context of a CJS that is child centred rather than family centred and restorative justice based. Despite the principles underpinning the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009) forming the basis for collaboration and inclusivity of children, parents, families and communities the present study revealed that the CJP is exclusionary and

fragmented in its approach to child justice and parent support. This warrants a review of the way in which CJOs and the system as whole approach parents of CCL meaningfully support parents during the CJP and work with parents as partners. It also points to the CJS being cognisant of the various support needs of parents of CCL prior to, during and after the CJP and ensuring an integrated and collaborative response to supporting parents of children at risk and CCL. The next chapter reports the findings in respect of the potential programmes, services and practice models from local and international child protection and CJS that could be integrated or collaborated with in developing a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law.

CHAPTER 7:

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND LITERATURE CONTROL: POTENTIAL SOURCES OF SUPPORT AND FUNCTIONAL ELEMENTS FROM EXISTING PRACTICE MODELS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter discussed the findings in respect of research objective one indicating the need for parent-focused prevention, accessible Social Work Services, family centred probation services and an inclusive CJS. This chapter focuses on research objectives two and three namely, the findings in respect of potential sources of support for parents of CCL and the functional elements from existing practice models that can be matched with the identified support needs of parents of CCL. This chapter discusses the findings in respect of the various potential sources of support identified through focus group discussions, the literature review and meetings with child protection organisations within the Nelson Mandela Metro district. The findings are presented in tables followed by a discussion. Table 7.1 presents the demographic profile of the participants that formed the core group who guided the literature review and the selection of child protection organisations and child justice practice models, programmes or services for inclusion in the study. Table 7.2 presents the profile of child protection organisations and their practice models/programmes reviewed for this study followed by a brief discussion of each organisations' services to parents and the functional elements that would match parents' support needs in the present study. Table 7.4 presents the profile of child justice practice models, programmes or services reviewed for the purpose of this study followed by a discussion of the programme and reflection on the functional elements that match the support needs of parents in the current study. Each table is followed by a discussion of the findings with the literature control.

7.2 DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF PARTICIPANTS

Table 7.1 presents the participant demographics of the CJOs and parents who participated in four joint focus groups generating the findings and guiding the review of programmes, services and practice models presented in this chapter.

Table 7.1: Participant demographics – Focus Groups 4 to 7 Attendances

PARTICIPANT NUMBER	ROLE	GENDER	FOCUS GROUP			
			Four	Five	Six	Seven
Participant 1	Guardian	Female	X	X	X	
Participant 2	Parent	Female	X	X	X	
Participant 3	Parent	Female	X	X	X	X
Participant 4	Child justice official (Police)	Male	X			
Participant 5	Child justice official (Prosecutor)	Female	X	X		
Participant 6	Child justice official (probation officer)	Female	X	X	X	X
Participant 7	Child justice official (social worker)	Male	X	X	X	X
Participant 8	Child justice official (probation officer)	Female	X	X	X	
Participant 9	Parent	Male	X	X	X	
Participant 10	Child justice official (Police)	Male	X	X		
Participant 11	Child justice official (Police)	Female	X	X		
Participant 12	Child justice official (Police)	Male			X	
Participant 13	Child justice official (LASA)	Male		X		X
Participant 14	Child Justice official (Judiciary)	Male		X	X	X
Participant 15	Parent	Female	X	X	X	X
Participant 16	Parent	Female	X	X	X	

The CJOs and parents who participated in the four focus groups formed the core group who consistently participated for the duration of the research project. Six parents and nine CJOs consistently participated and attended the focus groups except when service delivery protests, as reported by participants, prevented them from attending

focus group seven or at times when they were ill or had other work commitments making it difficult to attend. To ensure all participants involved in the core group had the opportunity to provide input on any processes or discussions, reflection sessions were held at the start of each focus group and written notes were provided to participants, which enabled all participants to remain in the feedback loop. The probation officers from the Department of Social Development and the Magistrate, who were not part of the initial focus groups, joined from the first joint focus group until the conclusion of the research project. Based on the findings presented in Chapter 5 it was conclusively found that no formal support existed for parents within the CJS and where support was offered by professionals such as police, teachers and social workers these offers of support were not standard practice and were thus inconsistent. Parents primarily accessed informal support from their spouses, family, and to a lesser extent from their neighbours, pastors and colleagues. Based on the findings presented in the previous chapter the potential and existing informal sources of support for parents of children in conflict with the law are reflected within the ecological systems model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) in Figure 7.1 below.

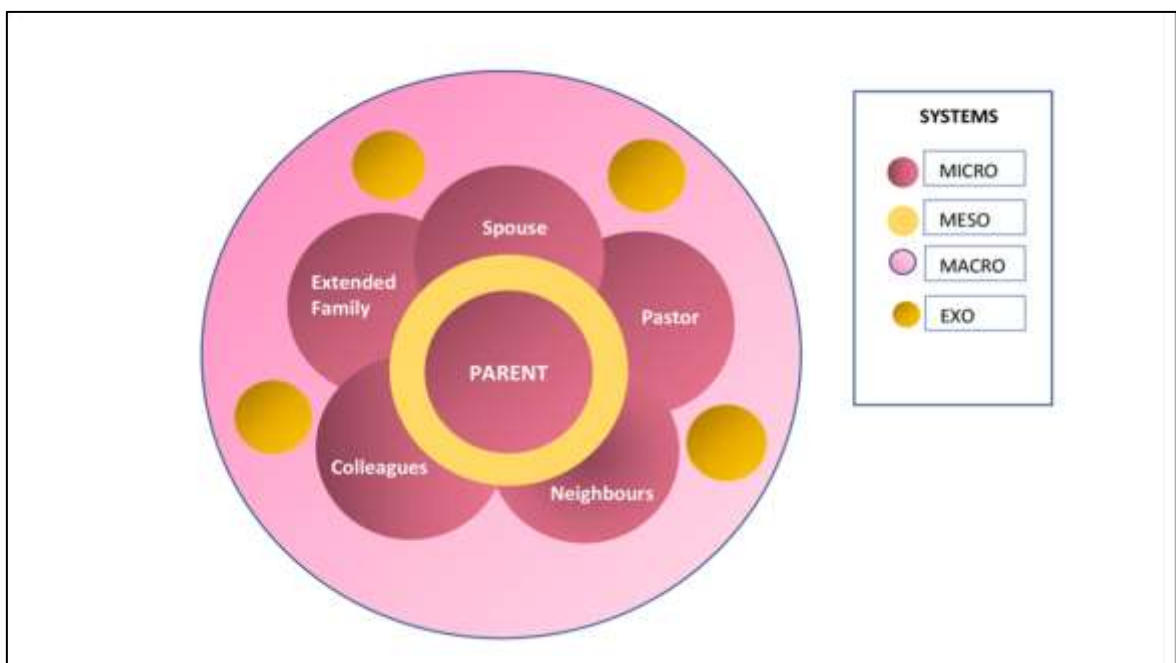


Figure 7.1: Existing informal sources of support for parents of CCL nested within the Ecological Systems Model (Adapted from Berns, 2007:21)

Guided by the research objectives and the realisation that no formal sources of support exist for parents within the CJS, the potential sources of support within the

Child Protection System were explored. Participants identified a few local organisations and I explored their willingness to avail their services to parents of CCL. It is important to note that during the period when child protection agencies were approached by me, the child protection sector and the NGO sector in general were experiencing a major funding crisis brought on by the withdrawal of government subsidies resulting in retrenchment of many social workers and the closure of some organisations (Vetten, 2017). This led to some child protection organisations' services, including their cases, being transferred to the Department of Social Development. Although the research objectives referred to practice models within the child protection sector none of the NGOs involved in the current study referred to the practice model but instead referred to programmes or services. The general practice of supporting parents, however, involved parents coming into contact with a child protection or a welfare organisation due to self-referral or state referral. This intake was done to identify the initial problem, the parent and assessing the child's situation and subsequently services or programmes being rendered to the parent or child to address the identified problem. This is in line with the Department of Social Developments' "Generic intervention process model for social welfare services" depicted below (Department of Social Development, 2013:39).

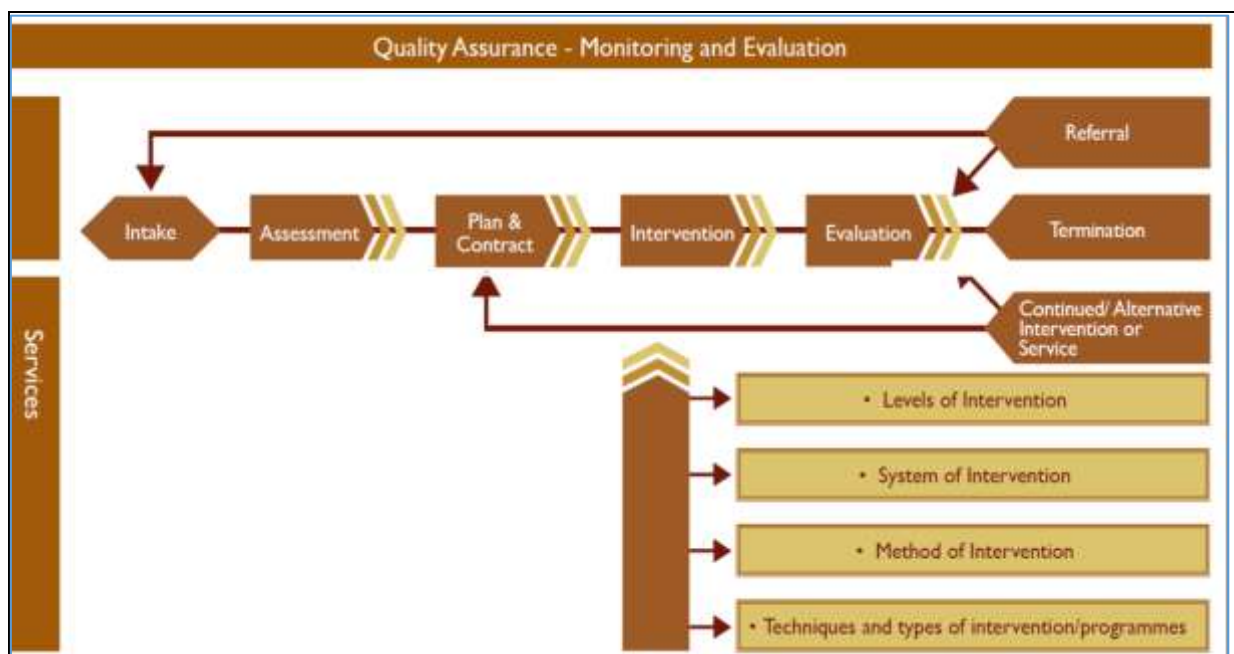


Figure 7.2: Generic intervention process model for Social Welfare services (Department of Social Development, 2013:39)

The standard practice of supporting parents involves providing counselling and parenting programmes as needed, either at prevention level or early intervention level. The next section presents the findings in respect of the existing practice models or programmes within the child protection system followed by the child justice practice models that were identified for inclusion in the co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law. As stated in Chapter 1 the term “practice model” refers to a graphic representation based on theory of how a system or practice can be practically implemented (Zuber-Skerritt, 2011:40, 41 & 63).

7.3 EXISTING PRACTICE MODELS WITHIN THE CHILD PROTECTION SYSTEM

Based on the engagement with participants and child protection agencies, it was revealed that although the child protection agencies primarily render services to children in need of care, the potential exists for parents of children in conflict with the law to access some of the services offered by these agencies. During the research study, three child protection organisations were registered in the Nelson Mandela Metro; however, only two of these render statutory services due to the reduction of subsidies to Uviwe Child and Youth services. The remaining organisations are funded to render prevention and early intervention services focusing on generic social development services. All these organisations were invited to participate in the study and the organisations listed in Table 7.2 participated voluntarily and rendered their services to parents of CCL at the time of the pilot study. The Department of Social Development’s child protection unit listed some of their services for parents as including parenting skills programmes and family preservation programmes that parents could access if they were referred by probation officers.

Table 7.2: Existing services within child protection system and the NGO sector that match the support needs of parents of CCL

POTENTIAL SOURCES OF SUPPORT FOR SUPPORT SERVICES PARENTS NEED PRIOR, DURING AND AFTER THE CHILD JUSTICE PROCESS							
CHILD PROTECTION ORGANISATIONS	Prevention ⁷	Individual counselling	Family counselling	Employment skills development	Parenting education	Parent support groups	Provision of food
	(CR Theme 2.1.1)	(CR Themes 2.2.4.1 & 7.2.2.1)	(CR Theme 2.2.4.2)	(CR Theme 2.2.4.3)	(CR Theme 2.2.4.4, 7.2.2.3, 7.2.2.4)	CR Theme 7.2.2.2)	(CR Theme 7.3.2)
ACVV ((Afrikaner Christelike Vroue Vereniging)	✓	✓	✓		✓		
Department of Social Development- Child Protection Unit	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Uviwe Child & Youth services	✓				✓	✓	
NON-CHILD PROTECTION ORGANISATIONS							
Al Fidaa Foundation		✓					✓
Families Against Drugs (Community based organisation)	✓					✓	
FAMSA		✓	✓		✓		
Missionvale care Centre		✓		✓			✓
REVIVE		✓	✓		✓		

⁷ Prevention refers to primary prevention services with parents to create awareness of child protection issues and substance abuse.

The services offered by each of the organisations and their functional elements as well as their match in meeting parents' support needs as discussed in the previous chapter are briefly discussed and reflected upon.

7.3.1 Child Protection agencies

Based on the Department of Social Developments' 2018 working agreements with their child protection service offices and child protection organisations most of the child protection services in the Nelson Mandela Metro district are rendered by DSD while two organisations are responsible for child protection services in designated areas within the district (Fourie, 2018). DSD render child protection services in Uitenhage and although NGOs such as the Mental Health Society and SHARE, who both render services to vulnerable children, were invited to participate in the study they did not respond to the invitation. The two child protection organisations in Port Elizabeth include the Afrikaner Christelike Vroue Vereniging (ACVV) and the Christelike Maatskaplike Raad (CMR) who have both been involved in child protection services for many decades. Child protection organisations are responsible for delivering child protection services as set out in the Children's Act 35 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006). Their services are child and family centred aimed at addressing issues of child neglect, child abuse, child abandonment and ensuring the care or alternative care of these children. Although all NGOs, both child protection and other organisations, were invited to participate in the study only the ACVV and Uviwe Child and Youth services (formerly a child protection organisation), as child protection organisations, responded and participated along with seven other NGOs and one community based organisation (CBO). A separate meeting was held with DSD to discuss their child protection services in view of the tension that existed between the NGOs and DSD at the time of the meetings due to the subsidy cuts. The few NGOs from Uitenhage involving families did not participate in the study and it must be noted that parents from Uitenhage involved in this study confirmed that they only have DSD where they can access Social Work Services. These organisations' services are discussed in the ensuing section with reflection on their match in addressing the support needs of parents of CCL.

7.3.2 Afrikaanse Christelike Vrouevereniging (ACVV)

The participants in the current study identified the ACVV as a potential source of support for parents of CCL as they do render services to families. The CMR render similar services to the ACVV but in different designated areas. The ACVV has seven branches spread across the Nelson Mandela district and their services, although focused on children, include a parenting guidance programme (ACVV, 2018). The programme focuses on helping biological and foster parents improve their parenting skills and understanding their children. Parents of CCL from the Northern areas in Port Elizabeth could be referred to attend this programme where it is offered with appropriate notification as the programme dates are pre-determined by the organisation. The ACVV employs social workers with knowledge and experience in counselling therefore, their services could be beneficial to parents at a prevention level where they are able to include parenting information during their community awareness campaigns and provide information on various resources parents can access when they identify at-risk behaviour in their adolescents. The ACVV, although a potential source of support for providing counselling and family counselling for parents of at-risk adolescents, may be too overloaded with their child protection cases. However, the ACVV could provide counselling and family counselling to parents whose children are already on the ACVV caseload and are presenting with at-risk behaviours predisposing them to clash with the law.

Identified functional elements: Services rendered by social workers, decentralised services that are based in communities, family centred services.

7.3.3 Department of Social Development – Child Protection Unit

The Department of Social Development render an array of services to children, families and communities; however, for the purpose of this study the focus was on the departments' child protection services. Based on the departments' 2016 annual report their child protection services included statutory work with children, family preservation services with over fourteen thousand children and parenting programmes with close to eight thousand parents (Department of Social Development Eastern Cape, 2016:72). The family preservation programme is aimed at strengthening families by mobilising family support for the care of their children and could be extended to parents of CCL where their families are struggling with

the care and management of their adolescents' behaviour. Parenting programmes seem to be generic programmes focused on general parenting skills; however, probation officers participating in the current study pointed out that they do offer parenting skills programmes to parents of CCL. The generic DSD parenting programme could, however, be offered at a secondary prevention level to support parents whose children present with at-risk behaviour and could include information on how parents could engage with schools to ensure their children's continued school attendance. The family preservation services could be coupled with individual and family counselling for parents who experience difficulties in managing their children's at-risk behaviour as well as their struggles with their schooling (Steyn, 2010:166). The Department of Social Development also provides material relief in cases of severe poverty and parents of CLL who qualify may also be able to access food through the DSD social worker in their community (Department of Social Development Eastern Cape, 2016:65). A consultation meeting held with the DSD child protection unit managers on 19 July 2017, as part of the current study, revealed that the various services offered by the unit could be accessed by parents' of CCL. The DSD management were amenable to the idea of encouraging their social workers to include parents in available programmes or services offered by the units. They also proposed that services to CCL and parents of CCL be included as a standard agenda item on the "Family services forum" when it is activated again as it was inactive at the time of the meeting. This would elevate the importance of services to CCL and their parents to equal importance as services to children and parents in the child protection system (Abdulla, 2017a). As reflected in the findings (CR themes 4.2.2.1 & 8.2.2) parents seeking support and services from social workers (not probation officers) at DSD were not always met with satisfactory results and even CJOs pointed to the difficulties when parents sought services from external social workers. It would therefore be crucial to formalise an interdepartmental agreement specifying the services that parents of CCL should have access to at any DSD service office (CR theme 4.2.2). The agreement should also specify the complementary roles of DSD social workers and DSD probation officers in supporting parents of children at risk and CCL. The DSD child protection unit has experienced an increase in their already high caseload due to them absorbing the child protection cases from the downsized child protection organisations. This increase minimises their ability to support parents of CCL,

however, given that this is their legal mandate, resources and personnel must be allocated to fulfil this mandate (Makiwane & Berry, 2013:6).

Identified functional elements: Services rendered by social workers, decentralised services that are based in communities, family preservation.

7.3.4 Uviwe Child and Youth Care services

The participants specifically mentioned Uviwe when they made reference to services for children in need of care and identified this organisation as a potential source of support for parents. It is important to note that the Uviwe office is 350 meters from the Nerina One-Stop Child Justice Centre (OSCJC) therefore making it a prime partner for rendering services to parents of CCL. During the current study, Uviwe Child and Youth care services rendered child protection services, however, due to the DSD subsidy cuts their services currently focus on prevention services with a large part of their work involving early childhood development programmes. However, Uviwe does offer various platforms or programmes for parents to access support or services. They offer weekly parenting programmes that focus on healthy child development and parenting skills. They also offer monthly parenting seminars on a variety of issues that affect parents and their parenting, with access to experts who can provide advice, support and practical guidance (Uviwe Child and Youth services, 2018). Uviwe's shift from statutory child protection services to prevention services could offer an opportunity for them to provide prevention services to expand on their existing parenting focus. Uviwe could employ a more inclusive participatory action learning approach by engaging parents in reciprocal learning to explore and learn about contextually relevant parenting strategies from parents themselves. This could facilitate parents' inclusion in the development of Uviwe's parent focused prevention programmes and lay foundations for training parents as co-facilitators. They could also collaborate with parents who have already exited the CJS and train them as co-facilitators to educate parents entering the CJS and parents of children at risk on parenting skills, available resources and accessing support. Uviwe could also utilise its monthly parent seminars as a support group platform for parents in general and parents of children at risk/CCL. Parents whose children have to attend court and diversion programme sessions at Nerina OSCJC could also use that opportunity to visit the Uviwe office to access parent education

sessions thereby reducing the need for transport fees to access parenting programmes elsewhere. Similar to the JJ101 programme, trained parent facilitators could be available on court days to offer emotional and information support to parents at the court (Walker, Pullman & Trupin, 2012:58-59).

Identified functional elements: Parent focus, variety of parenting programme formats, experts on parenting, and close proximity to child justice court.

7.4 NON-CHILD PROTECTION AGENCIES (NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (NGOS) & COMMUNITY BASED ORGANISATION (CBO)

7.4.1 Al Fidaa Foundation

The Al Fidaa foundation primarily focuses on poverty alleviation through skills development and provision of food as well as victim support based on restorative justice principles (Al Fidaa Foundation, 2018). The organisation provides material assistance within communities in the Nelson Mandela metro district and is accessible in terms of providing unemployed parents with material assistance. They also provide counselling for any person in distress as they have trained lay counsellors and make referrals to professionals in cases where they are unable to assist the person. The Al Fidaa foundation with its various service points could serve as an access point where parents of children at risk and CCL could receive counselling, be referred for relevant services and even receive material assistance or skills training if they qualify for such services (Al Fidaa Foundation, 2018). The Al Fidaa Foundations' main office is 1.4 km from the Nerina OSCJC and 500 meters from the taxi-stop where most parents get off to visit the Nerina OSCJC. It would therefore be accessible for parents to visit Al-Fidaa foundations' office on their way to or from the Nerina OSCJC.

Identified functional elements: Identified functional elements are accessible referral offices, trained lay counsellors, a variety of entrepreneurial skills development and close proximity to child justice court.

7.4.2 Families against Drugs

Families against Drugs (FAD) is a locally established group of volunteers who have been trained by psychologists at the Nelson Mandela University and SANCA to support individuals and their families affected by substance abuse (Van Aardt, 2014). The organisation facilitates a number of support groups in the Nelson Mandela Metro district. Users and their families can attend separate support groups on a weekly basis where they are able to talk about their challenges related to substance abuse and access support as well as guidance on how to manage their lives and their families while dealing with the addiction (Van Aardt, 2014). During the current study one parent made reference to not being aware of these support groups in her community and being informed by the psychologist about them (CR theme 7.1). Although FAD aim to publicise their support groups not all parents are aware of their services and therefore cannot access their support groups. Parents of CCL were informed via a poster of these support groups during the pilot study; however, it could not be ascertained whether any of them had accessed the services. As many parents in this study shared their struggles of managing their children's substance abusing behaviour FAD could offer the necessary peer support and guidance to parents on how to manage their children's behaviour. Parents in this study recommended that such support groups would be helpful to them as they would not feel alone in their struggles (CR theme 7.2.2.2).

Identified functional elements: Parent focus, family focus, peer support, trained lay counsellors, and accessibility within the community.

7.4.3 FAMSA

FAMSA is a national organisation with an office in Port Elizabeth where individuals, couples and families can access counselling services to deal with relationship challenges, individual struggles related to trauma or stress and family dysfunction. FAMSA also offers parenting programmes consisting of ten sessions for parents who are first time parents, single parents and parents in blended families (FAMSA, 2018). Their parenting programme focuses on strengthening parent-child relationships and positive parenting practices. Although one parent in this study mentioned visiting FAMSA, most parents in the study did not access counselling services or parenting programmes at FAMSA. This could be due to them not being

aware that they could access services from FAMSA and it could also be due to FAMSA offices being far from where parents' reside. It must be noted that FAMSA does charge a nominal fee for counselling services based on parents' level of income. Given that many parents mentioned that, they experienced additional financial strain during the CJP parents might not access FAMSA's services if they had to pay for them. As FAMSA services are subsidised by DSD this could increase funding to FAMSA to offer their services to parents of children at risk and for parents of CCL from accessible satellite offices within the community.

Identified functional elements: Parent focus, individual and family focus, experts on parenting and counselling.

7.4.4 Missionvale Care Centre

The Missionvale care centre provides basic health care, nutrition, schooling and skills development mostly for community members from Missionvale. The centre recently embarked on assisting parents with their children's substance abuse by offering drug testing done by nurses and work with the psychology clinic at the Nelson Mandela University Missionvale campus to refer parents and their children for counselling (Abdulla, 2017b). Although the centre mostly caters for individuals from the surrounding areas, they do not turn any person away and ensure that they refer people to the correct resources. The centre is able to assist parents of CCL with drug testing and referral to counselling at the psychology clinic. Parents from the surrounding areas could also benefit from skills training and material support such as food.

Identified functional elements: Accessible referral office, trained medical staff, and a variety of entrepreneurial skills development, and drug testing.

7.4.5 REVIVE

REVIVE was previously affiliated to Lifeline South Africa and later de-affiliated then registered as Revive. Their services include counselling offered by trained lay counsellors who are available for face-to-face or telephonic counselling twenty-four hours a day (REVIVE, 2018). Counselling focuses on dealing with depression, trauma and relationship issues. They also offer personal growth courses for adults

focused on assisting individuals with self-acceptance, self-expression and self-actualisation. They help clients reflect on and mobilise their intra- and interpersonal strengths to navigate through crises and better cope with their personal struggles. Counselling services offered by REVIVE are free of charge, however, the personal growth course is offered at a nominal fee (REVIVE, 2018). Revive counselling services offer parents access to free 24hr crisis counselling which they could benefit from in dealing with their negative emotions experienced during the child justice process especially the arrest and court procedures (CR theme 5).

Identified functional elements: Accessible 24hr counselling, trained lay counsellors.

To summarise, reflecting on the child protection system as an existing or potential source of support for parents of CCL it seems that the child protection system has a generic practice model for supporting parents. Child protection organisations focus on parents primarily to ensure children's care and protection. Most of their services to parents are aimed at strengthening parenting practices or competencies and family functioning to enable parents and families to take care of their children's needs. The strength of the child protection system is its recognition that in working with children they must also work with parents and families. Within the child protection system, services are offered to parents at a primary prevention level and early intervention level, however, given the high foster care placement rate the impact of these services are not easily measurable. Services offered by NGOs, although not primarily parent focused do offer an opportunity for parents as adult clients to access a variety of services such as job skills development, parenting skills programmes, counselling services and substance abuse peer support. The functional elements of child protection organisations and NGOs point to their programmes/services being offered by trained personnel, both professionals and volunteers, being accessible within community settings, being family centred, being parent focused and being supportive in nature. These functional elements are helpful in shaping the design and development of a practice model for supporting parents of CCL as they speak to addressing parents' support needs for parent focused and accessible support services. Reflecting on the support that could be offered within the child protection and NGO sector, it is apparent that they could

offer a layer of services or at least an entry point where parents of children at risk and CCL could be guided towards services to address their support needs. This implies that the CJS, preferably local child justice forums, could enter into agreement with child protection organisations and NGOs to formalise access for parents to services offered within or by the child protection and NGO sector. The following section presents the findings of existing practice models or programmes within international CJS and the functional elements that could be considered for integration into the design and development phase of the current study.

7.5 REVIEW OF EXISTING PRACTICE MODELS FOR SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CHILDREN IN CONFLICT WITH THE LAW

Review of existing practice models and parenting support programmes for parents of CCL, showed that there are limited evidence-based programmes available. Some programmes are widely used across developed countries such as the United States, Canada, Europe and Australia; however, these programmes are not available or easily transferable to lower income developing countries. The search also revealed a dearth of literature on programmes in Africa and South Africa, specifically for parents of CCL. This presented a challenge in identifying programmes for consideration by participants in the current study. Molinuevo (2013:33), highlighted the United Nations' inclusion of some of the selected programmes being evidence-based and worthy of consideration in the current study's design and development.

Table 7.3: Parenting programmes ranked according to the level of scientific evidence available regarding their results (UNODC, 2010, cited in Molinuevo, 2013:33)

1. Triple P-Positive Parenting Programme	9. Guiding good choices Parenting wisely	16. Multidimensional Family Therapy
2. The Incredible Years	10. Families and Schools Together	17. Nurse-family partnership
3. Strengthening families programme	11. Staying connected to your teen	18. Families Facing the Future
4. Parents as Teachers	12. Helping the Noncompliant Child	19. Parents Under Pressure
5. Stop Now and Plan	13. Positive Action	20. AI's Pals: Kids Making Healthy Choices
6. Multi-systemic therapy	14. Family Matters	21. Resilient Families
7. Parent-child interaction therapy	15. Strengthening Families Programme (10-14yrs)	22. DARE to be You
8. First Step to success		

In line with the participatory action research process (Zuber-Skerritt, 2011:37; Turnbull, Friesen & Ramirez, 1998:181), participants guided the literature search, review and selection of existing practice models, services or programmes. Participants decided which programmes should be considered for integration into the development and design of the co-constructed practice model for the present study. It was explained to participants that the purpose of searching for existing practice models was to understand what was already being offered within national and international CJS to support parents of CCL. Additionally, to explore whether functional elements from these models/programmes or services could be integrated into the current study's practice model. I highlighted the benefit of learning from other CJS' efforts in supporting parents particularly what helped or hindered the support of parents. Participants suggested that the search should focus on the child justice systems from the United Kingdom, Canada, the Netherlands and Australia particularly as the South African CJS draws from the legislation of these countries. The search from these countries resulted in the identification of a few programmes rather than practice models that aimed to support parents of CCL. Most programmes seemed to focus on adolescents in conflict with the law and the parents' role in supporting them or focused on supporting parents through parenting skills programmes. A limited number of programmes were identified from the countries suggested by participants resulting in me, in consultation with participants, expanding the search to include other countries. This resulted in programmes from the United States being included as it has a number of programmes and to a lesser extent South Africa also being included for consideration as very few other African countries seemed to have programmes specifically aimed at supporting parents during the child justice process. Guided by parents' support needs, identified during the present study, participants then reviewed the nineteen identified programmes and based on their own selection they considered the following elements of each programme:

- The focus of the programme in terms of the type of support it offered parents
- The duration of the programme
- The stage of the CJP during which the programme was offered
- The areas of intervention matched to parents' need e.g. substance abuse, coping skills, child discipline etc.

- Individual/parent focused and family focused
- Informal or formal support

Participants were primarily motivated to match the support needs of parents in the current study and the functional elements that could be integrated into the model development and design. Cultural relevance of these programmes was not considered, however, participants noted that the focus areas and functional elements from these programmes must be considered for integration into the practice model rather than the programme itself. During the model development phase, this rationale became clear, as participants were adamant that they wanted to develop the practice model themselves rather than replicate these existing programmes. The programmes shortlisted by participants' for integration into the current study's practice model were narrowed down and are reflected in Table 7.4 below:

Table 7.4: Existing parent support programmes from national and international child justice systems that match the support needs of parents of CCL in the current study

EXISTING PARENT SUPPORT PROGRAMMES WITHIN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CHILD JUSTICE SYSTEMS	SERVICES FORMING PART OF THE PROGRAMME THAT COULD MATCH THE SUPPORT NEEDS OF PARENTS WITHIN THE CURRENT STUDY				
	Programmes	Prevention (CR Theme 2.1.1)	Counselling (CR Themes 2.2.4.1 & 7.2.2.1)	Family counselling (CR Theme 2.2.4.2)	Parent Education (CR Theme 2.2.4.4, 7.2.2.3, 7.2.2.4)
Missouri Model (USA)			✓	✓	✓
Multi systemic therapy (USA, Canada, Europe)			✓	✓	✓
JJ 101 (USA)	✓			✓	✓
Wraparound (USA, Canada, Europe)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Parenting with Love & Limits (PLL) (Canada)		✓	✓	✓	✓
SNAP under 12 Outreach Project (Canada, USA)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Centres for youth & family: Bureaus Juegdzorg (Netherlands)	✓	✓		✓	
Triple P- Positive parenting programme (Australia, USA, Canada, Europe)	✓	✓	✓	✓	
NICRO (South Africa)		✓		✓	

7.5.1 Missouri Model

The Missouri model, which is an American model, is implemented in youth detention centres aimed at the rehabilitation of CCL within a highly structured child friendly environment. It involves the development of reintegration plans and the delivery of systematic re-entry of incarcerated youth into their families and communities. The model focuses on working in partnership with the youth and their parents. The duration of the partnership is dependent on the child's successful reintegration and the parents' ability to manage their care. This partnership is to ensure their re-enrolment into school, their re-engagement into extra-mural activities and the setting of rules to guide their behaviour after release (Burke, Mulvey, Schubert & Garbin, 2014:42). The model is based on the "system of care" approach rooted in the ecological systems and strengths based approaches (Mendel, 2010:43). The model actively works with parents as collaborators encouraging parents to take ownership of the process to invest time and energy in assisting their child's successful reintegration and desistance from crime. Parents are engaged in individual and family counselling as well as parenting training. The model reportedly has a low recidivism rate (8%) primarily due to the individualised treatment plans and family focus in facilitating youth's re-entry into school, family and the community (Nelson, Jolivet, Leone & Mathur, 2010:74). The value of the Missouri model is its focus on ensuring that parents assume the role of collaborators and the encouragement of ownership of the treatment process. This allows parents to verbalise their needs in supporting their child's reintegration and access support from professionals after the child's completion of the child justice process. The model also emphasises the link that exists between successful reintegration, aftercare and desistance from crime as well as the supportive role parents can play in facilitating reintegration and achievement of aftercare treatment goals. Notably, the model's focus on parents is primarily as key role players in supporting their child's successful reintegration rather than focusing on the support parents need after the child's exit from the child justice system. However, the model does provide an example of how professionals in partnership with parents can plan systematic aftercare and reintegration services. Theme 2.3.1 of the current study indicated that aftercare and reintegration services were not planned or implemented resulting in

parents experiencing numerous challenges in facilitating their children's re-entry into schools and managing their children's behaviour or substance abuse.

Functional elements: Collaboration with parents, systematic treatment and reintegration planning, school and community reintegration.

7.5.2 Multi systemic therapy

Multi systemic therapy (MST) is a widely used evidence based model developed to improve outcomes for children who present with serious conduct disorders (Henggeler & Schaeffer, 2016:515). The model is rooted in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological Systems model with assessment and intervention considering the various micro systems and the interplay between these systems at a meso level. MST is based on the assumption that to effect sustainable change in a young person's offending behaviour the multiple micro systems surrounding the young person must be actively involved in interventions. MST also assumes that the parent is a key role player in the system as their parenting style, parenting practice, parent-child relationship and interaction directly impact on the child and the family's overall functioning (Johnides, Borduin, Wagner & Dopp, 2017:324; Henggeler & Schaeffer, 2016:515). It has been found that parents' participation in MST has a positive effect on their psychological well-being and reduces their level of stress in managing their children's behaviour as well as increases the feeling of efficacy as a parent (Johnides et al., 2017:324). Henggeler and Schaeffer (2016:515) add that MST also focuses on increasing parental competencies and facilitates access to support for parents from their family, friends and community. MST is delivered by a small team of professionals with postgraduate degrees who have between 60 to 100 hours of contact with the client and their various micro systems over a period of 3 to 6 months (Henggeler & Schaeffer, 2016:516). These teams usually have a very small case load as MST is very intensive and time consuming, however, given that MST is recommended for more multi-problem families it would be ideal for children entering the child justice system who are at high risk of re-offending to provide intensive intervention and support to the entire family system. MST has been found to improve family cohesion, reduce the incidence of adolescent problem behaviour and reduce recidivism (Timmons-Mitchell, Bender, Kishna & Mitchell, 2006). The findings of the current study indicated that parents of CCL with substance abuse related problems

also experienced problems in enrolling their children in school, being exposed to negative peer pressure and in some instances being re-arrested due to possession of drugs eventually leading to them being detained in custody. These parents would greatly benefit from MST being delivered to them and their family to address the various risk factors not only within the individual but also within the family and school system. An opportunity exists for MST to be integrated into the child justice system through integration with the current family group conferencing (FGC), based on the family preservation model, which can form part of a diversion option benefitting the entire family. Viewing the various diversion orders specified in the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) as an attempt to ensure intervention in the various micro systems of a child, MST within the context of FGC's can help facilitate children's compliance to these diversion orders and support parents in the process. Integration of MST with Family Group conferences as proposed by Henggeler, Melton, Schoenwald and Hanley (1993) can effectively ensure adequate intervention and support for children, parents and their families by a team of professionals such as the probation officer, assistant probation officer and the diversion social worker trained on MST, FGC and family preservation.

Functional elements: Intensive therapy, system wide assessment and intervention, family focused, trained professionals, small caseload, time limited, target high-risk children.

7.5.3 Juvenile Justice 101 Programme (JJ 101)

The Juvenile Justice 101 Programme is a US based programme aimed at educating parents involved in the youth justice system on the court processes and procedures to enable them to better engage with the system. The programme is comprised of three key focus areas namely, on-site support for parents within the juvenile justice system, outreach to parents using other parents who have been through the CJ system (peer support models) and various community outreach and awareness raising on the child justice system (Walker et al., 2012:58-59).



Figure 7.3: Juvenile Justice 101 Program components (Walker et al., 2012:58)

The on-site support involves parents who are trained peer facilitators conducting thirty minute orientation sessions with parents prior to their child’s court appearance. The orientation sessions are held in the court waiting areas and focus on the court processes, the parents’ role or responsibilities as well as the justice officials and their roles. Parents are also provided with information booklets on the justice system processes. In some instances these peer facilitators may accompany parents to court appearances to provide moral support during the proceedings. This programme is mostly effective in educating communities and parents about the child justice system and available resources for parents to access support and family services (Walker et al., 2012:64). The peer support element of the programme links well with the value of Ubuntu as it encourages parents and communities to support parents during the child justice process thereby increasing parents’ access to immediate and tangible support (Walker, Bishop, Trayler, Jaeger, Gustaveson & Guthrie, 2015:445). This programme speaks to themes two and seven of this study as it prepares parents for the court process through the provision of information and supports parents during the court procedures.

Functional elements: On site at CJ courts, peer support, parent education, community linkages through outreach and with community resources, parent focused.

7.5.4 Wraparound

Wraparound is an approach guided by a philosophy that working with young offenders requires an integrated system wide and multi-stakeholder approach that works with families from a strengths based perspective (Kamradt, 2000:14). Wraparound builds on the system of the care model viewing the child and their family as a system needing a variety of services and support to address their individualised needs (Kamradt, 2000:15). Wraparound involves a team of professionals working with the family to assess, plan and provide intervention tailored to the family’s needs, strengths and facilitates access for the family to either formal and informal services or supports. Key elements of the approach are the coordination of services to ensure that each family is assigned a case manager and that their progress is evaluated on an ongoing base (in family meetings and case conferences) by agreed upon outcomes. A crisis team is also linked to the family to respond to them should the need arise and the case manager is not available (Kamradt, 2000:15-19). A comprehensive study to understand and reach consensus of the activities involved in the Wraparound approach resulted in a clear description, as depicted below, of the various phases and activities practitioners engage in when working with families (Walker & Bruns, 2006:1583).

Table 7.5: Wraparound major task activities (Walker & Bruns, 2006:1583)

PHASE 1: ENGAGEMENT AND TEAM PREPARATION	PHASE 2: INITIAL PLAN DEVELOPMENT
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Orient the family and youth • <i>Orient the family and youth to Wraparound</i> • <i>Address legal and ethical issues</i> • Stabilise crisis • <i>Ask the family and youth about immediate crisis concerns</i> • <i>Illicit information from agency representatives & potential team members about potential crises</i> • <i>If immediate response is necessary, formulate response for immediate intervention or stabilization</i> • Facilitate conversation with the family and youth/child. • <i>Explore strengths, needs, culture and vision</i> • <i>Facilitator prepare a summary report</i> • Engage other team members • Make necessary meeting arrangements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop an initial plan of care • <i>Determine ground rules</i> • <i>Describe and document strengths</i> • <i>Create team mission</i> • <i>Describe and prioritise needs and goals</i> • <i>Determine goals and associated outcomes and indicators for each goal</i> • <i>Select strategies</i> • <i>Assign action steps</i> • Develop crisis and safety plan • <i>Determine potential serious risks</i> • <i>Create plan</i> • Complete documentation and logistics

PHASE 3: PLAN IMPLEMENTATION	PHASE 4: TRANSITION
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implement the plan • <i>Implement action steps for each strategy</i> • <i>Track progress on action steps</i> • <i>Evaluate success of each strategy</i> • <i>Celebrate successes</i> • Revisit and update plan: consider new strategies as necessary • Maintain and build team cohesiveness and trust • <i>Maintain awareness of team members' satisfaction and "buy-in"</i> • <i>Address issues of team cohesiveness and trust</i> • Complete necessary documentation and logistics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plan for cessation of formal wraparound • <i>Create a transition plan</i> • <i>Create a post transition crisis management plan</i> • <i>Modify Wraparound process to reflect transition</i> • Create a commencement • <i>Document the team's work</i> • <i>Celebrate success</i> • Follow up with family: conduct regular check-ins with family

Wraparound relies heavily on families, all stakeholders within the child justice system, the mental health sector and the educational sector understanding and buying into the wraparound philosophy and its focus being family centred, strength based, culturally competent and offering a network of care for families. The project has proven successful in ensuring children do not progress further into the child justice system and remain with their families and communities. Similar to MST the Wraparound model is valuable in understanding that CCL and their families must be the focus of any services offered to them, that they must be active partners in determining their service needs and that both formal and informal services or supports are needed to address the varying needs of families. Wraparound's strengths based approach recognises that children, parents, families and communities have inherent strengths that can be harnessed, drawn and built upon during planning and intervention. This perspective would be helpful in shifting CJOs views of parents as passive recipients in need of services and treating parents as incapable of executing their parental role. Parents in the current study consistently demonstrated their level of agency in seeking and accessing assistance, advice and support for their children. Some parents were able to engage assertively with various systems in the educational, mental health and child justice system. Parents' strengths were visible particularly when they managed their parental responsibilities despite facing varying stressors within their families and communities. The Wraparound approach is helpful in guiding the child justice system to respond to parents from a strength-based approach, to engage parents and families as active

and equal partners during the child justice process, particularly during court processes, assessment, intervention and aftercare. This approach is mostly used in developed countries, particularly in child protection. Application of this approach in South Africa due to the demand on personnel and resources would be valuable in working with CCL who are repeat offenders and dealing with substance abuse. The Wraparound approach can also be viewed as an approach that draws on and coordinates the existing formal and informal sources of support of parents and children.

Functional elements: Family centred, integrated multi-stakeholder approach, strength based, family driven, system-wide approach.

7.5.5 Parenting with Love and Limits (PLL)

The PLL approach involves an integration of family therapy and multifamily group therapy with families and their children who are presenting with high risk or offending behaviour (Karam, Sterrett & Kiaer, 2015:3). This approach was developed by Sells (1998 cited in Karam et al., 2015:3) in collaboration with parents and youth who guided the format of the delivery method and the focus of the activities and therapy. Participation in PLL has significantly reduced recidivism among youth, improved their overall behaviour, and improved family functioning as well as parenting efficacy (Karam et al., 2015:3). Families participate in the PLL voluntarily; however, they contract to attend all group and therapy sessions. PLL reportedly has over 70% attendance rate with parents and youth indicating their satisfaction with PLL and the outcomes they achieved (Karam et al., 2015:9). PLL employs a short term, intensive intervention approach and has reduced treatment or intervention time with families by two months compared to the traditional intervention process with the court involved youth (Karam et al., 2015:3). A particular strength of PLL is the practical guidance provided to parents and adolescents by trained counsellors to improve their interaction, communication, conflict resolution and problem solving. PLL allows parents and youth to plan and role-play various techniques and strategies on how to manage their relationships and particularly the adolescents' high-risk behaviour. PLL helps parents assert their position in the family and regain parental control within the family system (Smith, Sells, Rodman & Reynolds, 2006:109). PLL provides counsellors and families with a structured, phased approach to increase

parents' and families' level of competence in improving overall individual and family functioning to better deal with adolescents' high risk behaviour and reduce their risk of recidivism (Smith et al., 2006:113).

<i>The Parenting with Love and Limits (PLL) Model</i>			
	Stage I: Intensive Month 1 and 2	Stage II: Transition Month 3	Stage III: Maintenance Month 4, 5, and 6
Treatment Components	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PLL Motivational Interviewing: One to two sessions lasting on average one hour with Youth and Family • Pretest Administered: CBCL • PLL Parent & Youth Group Modules: lasting 2 hours on average per group: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Group 1: Why Juveniles Have Serious Emotional and Behavioral Problems ◦ Group 2: How to Stop Button-Pushing ◦ Group 3: How to Create a Contract ◦ Group 4: Role Play Aftercare Delivery ◦ Group 5: Troubleshooting Aftercare Plan ◦ Group 6: How to Restore Lost Nurturance • PLL Family Therapy—Phases I & II: Setting the Terms for Therapy and Creating the First Contract: Four family therapy sessions lasting 2 hours each or the equivalent of eight traditional 1-hour sessions. Conducted in the home or in an office setting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No More PLL Group Modules • PLL Family Therapy- Phases III & IV: Dress Rehearsals, Troubleshooting, and Wound Work if needed: Two or more sessions lasting 2 hours in duration or the equivalent of four 1-hour sessions conducted in the home or in an office setting. • Wraparound services in the community are identified—Part-time case manager that works alongside the PLL therapist helps arrange and execute community services such as job and/or vocational placement, school reintegration, medication management, and mentoring • Posttest Administered: CBCL 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relapse Prevention: Calls back to family every 30 days for 3 months postgraduation from PLL to monitor aftercare plan progress and address any obstacles • Refresher Tune-Up Sessions: Additional family therapy sessions as needed if relapse.
<p><i>Note.</i> CBCL = Child Behavior Checklist.</p>			

Figure 7.4: The Parenting with Love and Limits Model (Karam et al., 2015:2)

The PLL approach provides practical guidelines on how parents could be involved in the assessment and interventions with youth, particularly through integration of parenting education, family therapy and group therapy with families experiencing similar struggles. The current study revealed that parents needed support with managing their children's behaviour and expressed the need for guidance, advice and education that would produce positive outcomes for their child and improve their level of competence as parents. The PLL or elements of it would assist social workers in understanding their role and the strategies that has been helpful in supporting and guiding parents as well as involving families in treatment with CCL.

Functional elements: Family focused, parent focused, short-term intervention, intensive multi-model intervention.

7.5.6 Stop Now and Plan (SNAP) Programme

The SNAP programme is a multimodal programme based on cognitive behavioural therapy (Burke & Loeber, 2016:179-180). The programme integrates social interactional learning, ecological systems and attachment theories. The programme involves parents and children under the age of twelve who present with high-risk behaviour simultaneously participating in separate psycho-educational groups focusing on emotion regulation, problem solving and social skills training (Burke & Loeber, 2016:179-180). Children who have had contact with the police due to their behaviour are referred to participate in the programme (Koeogl, Farrington, Augimeri & Day, 2008:422). Parents, schools and courts are also encouraged to make referrals for children they identify as at-risk (Burke & Loeber, 2015:3). SNAP is an effective prevention programme as it addresses the early onset of anti-social or delinquent behaviour in pre-teens and assists parents in preventing their children's clash with the law (Burke & Loeber, 2015:3). Relevant to the current study is the parenting programme where parents are taught hands on strategies how to manage their children's disruptive behaviour and develop problem-solving strategies on how to effect change in their child's behaviour and maintain positive parent-child relations (Koeogl et al., 2008:422). Both children and their parents attend separate group work sessions once a week for twelve weeks followed by an assessment for further individualised interventions which may include individual or family therapy, mentoring, school advocacy, or crisis counselling (Burke & Loeber, 2016:179-182). The individualised intervention is offered to parents and children for as long as they need and until positive behaviour change is observed. SNAP is a community based, structured, manualised programme that has been found to benefit communities, parents and families in disrupting the onset of disruptive behaviour. It also offers a concrete prevention programme to ensure children do not enter the child justice system and parents feel competent in managing their children's behaviour. Given the lack of available prevention programmes for parents involved in the current study, SNAP offers useful strategies for how social workers and probation officers could guide parents' development of competencies and techniques to manage their

children's disruptive or anti-social behaviour and reduce the risk of children entering the child justice system.

Functional elements: Parent focused, prevention focused, short-term intervention, intensive multi-model intervention.

7.5.7 Centres for youth & family: Bureaus Juegdzorg

The Netherlands government aimed to establish centres for youth and family, Bureaus Juegdzorg, in every municipality by 2011 to give effect to its local policies on children, parents and families (Daly, Knijn, Lewis, Martin & Ostner, 2012:5). These fifteen centres are government funded and staffed by trained professionals responsible for ensuring that parents have access to a variety of local support services. These centres are nationally coordinated at a national level and a database is maintained to ensure effective and efficient service delivery in all districts. The centres provide informal and formal support at prevention, early intervention and secondary intervention level involving parent advice, guidance, support, education, counselling, family coaching and referral to other agencies. Agencies linked to the centres serve as a diverse network of service providers to assist the centres in supporting parents and responding to families' diverse needs. The centres' philosophy ensures parents receive support and services at a level that is responsive to their needs, at the intensity that they need and is available when and where they need it. Their approach involves ensuring that parents and families remain the primary caregiver for their children and to reduce the over-involvement of professionals in parenting except where parents voluntarily seek professional help or it is mandated to accept help. Although these centres were envisioned to provide the first line of support for parents, it was found that parents were often assessed; however, very little concrete support was received from the centres and their partner agencies (Daly et al., 2012:9). One of the programmes incorporated into the centres' services is the Triple P programme and all their services are marketed to parents via media campaigns and their websites. The centres offer an example of how local municipal based centres involved with youth work, could serve as an intake and referral point for parents in general, however, the centres do not seem to have a specific focus on parents with at-risk or CCL rather they provide generic parenting advice, services and support. An important

lesson from the centres is that coordination of services and tracking or monitoring of service provision to parents is important in ensuring available services reach parents and respond to parents' real needs at a local level.

Functional elements: Decentralised centres, government initiated, funded and coordinated, parent focused, and monitoring service provision.

7.5.8 Triple P- Positive parenting programme

The Triple-P parenting programme is listed as one of the primary evidence based programmes being used with parents at a prevention and early intervention level in a number of country's (Molinuevo, 2013:33). The programme is a structured parenting programme offered to parents of children under twelve. The adaptation of the programme, Group Teen Triple P, is offered to parents of teenagers (Ralph & Sanders, 2003). Based on the public health approach the overall aim of the programme is to prevent development of anti-social or delinquent behaviour in teenagers. The programme has a tiered approach, offering parents varying levels of support and intensive intervention based on their need (Ralph & Sanders, 2004:2). The programme involves parents participating in eight, two hour experientially based group work sessions with other parents where they gain information, skills and practice techniques and strategies to improve their parenting (Ralph & Sanders, 2003:5). The sessions allow parents to discuss various topics related to raising their teenager including parenting styles, managing parent-adolescent conflict and inter-parental conflict. Once parents have completed the group-based programme they also receive four telephonic one on one sessions from facilitators to discuss the integration of what they learned during the programme into their daily interaction with the children. Intensive family intervention is offered to parents who continue to struggle in managing their children's behaviour and apply the learned parenting strategies (Ralph & Sanders, 2004:2). Parents have reported improvement in their parenting practice after they attended the programme, particularly in terms of resolving conflict and self-regulation (Ralph & Sanders, 2003:7). In a comprehensive review of a wide range of studies conducted on the Triple P programme, findings indicated that the programme has positive effects across diverse settings, reducing the reported problem behaviour in children and improving parents overall well-being (Nowak & Heinrichs, 2008:134). The Triple

P programme's tiered approach and universal application bodes well for its consideration in the current study in terms of possible prevention and early intervention focus with parents. Notably the programme is evidence based and its adaptation to include parents of teenagers points to the opportunity for its wider application in terms of parents with adolescents presenting with moderate to high risk behaviour prior to their entry into the child justice system.

Functional elements: Parent focused prevention and early intervention focused, short-term intervention, tiered intervention.

7.5.9 NICRO

NICRO offers a basket of services; services that parents can benefit from include individual counselling, the adult life skills programme, the positive parenting programme and restorative justice conferences. NICRO's counselling and parenting programmes are specifically geared towards assisting parents in managing their children's journey during the child justice process and managing their children's behaviour to prevent recidivism. The parent programme is based on the Social Development approach integrating cognitive behavioural therapy and family based therapy techniques. The programme is facilitated either weekly over a twelve-week period or in a workshop format over three days (Chakuwamba, 2018). Focus areas covered in the programme include:

- Session 1: Understanding children's behaviour
- Session 2: Listening to children's feelings
- Session 3: Listening to children's negative feelings
- Session 4: Building children's self esteem
- Session 5: Expressing your own needs and feelings
- Session 6: Discipline
- Session 7: Problem solving and assertiveness
- Session 8: Values and family meetings
- Session 9: Putting it together

NICRO's restorative justice programme is accredited and facilitated by trained social workers involving all the relevant stakeholders including parents in the process. As a registered diversion service provider NICRO has direct contact with

parents of children in conflict with the law therefore placing them in the prime position to offer their various services to support parents of children in conflict with the law.

Identified functional elements: Accessible offices at courts and diversion venues, Social workers specialising in working with at-risk children and CCL, variety of interventions and frequent contact with parents of diverted children.

Reflecting on the existing practice models or programmes reviewed by participants in the present study, supporting parents primarily involves parents' participation in parenting education (CR Parenting with love and limits, SNAP, Triple P positive parenting, NICRO, JJ101). Significantly, most of the programmes include counselling either for the parent, the parent and child or the family, based on various theoretical approaches including the ecological systems model, strength based approach and the integrated approach (CR Missouri Model, MST and Wraparound). Some of the programmes place emphasis on engaging the parent, the family, schools and communities as well as various stakeholders in supporting the achievement of treatment goals (CR Missouri Model, MST and Wraparound). Notably most of the programmes are facilitated by trained professionals with the exception of JJ101 that is facilitated by trained parents who offer peer support to parents at court. Although the primary aim for most of the programmes is to support parents with the view to better child outcomes (reduced risk, reduced recidivism rate, reduced substance abuse), the support offered to parents has positively influenced parents' competence in managing their parenting responsibilities (CR Parenting with love and limits, MST, Missouri Model). Aligned with Maschi, Schwalbe and Ristow's (2013:476) proposal, most of the programmes focused on collaborating with parents to plan treatment with the view to restoring parental authority to support positive child outcomes. It is important to note that some programmes are aimed at primary prevention level (Centres for youth and family "Bureaus Juegzorg"), some at secondary prevention level (Parenting with love and limits, SNAP, Parenting with love and limits, MST, and Wraparound), while others are aimed at tertiary prevention level (Missouri Model, JJ101, NICRO) in terms of supporting parents and their children. The Wraparound programme and MST are offered at both

secondary and tertiary prevention level, particularly in cases with multiple individual, parental and family risk factors. In terms of supporting parents of CCL, the JJ101 programme offers a good example of collaborating and including parents in the CJS. MST and Wraparound approaches offer good examples of how to support parents within the context of their family, while mobilising informal and formal support for parents. The Missouri model offers a structured way of engaging parents as collaborators in planning their children's aftercare and supporting parents in managing their children's behaviour, substance abuse, family, school and community reintegration. Drawing from the programmes reviewed for the present study a variety of functional elements for inclusion in the development and design phase emerged and were integrated into the current study's practice model for supporting parents of CCL. These functional elements include the following:

- Parent focused assessment and intervention
- Family focused assessment and intervention
- Multi-model intervention with parents (counselling, parent education, group work/therapy, peer support)
- Collaborative treatment planning with parents
- System wide approach to assessment and intervention with parents from secondary to tertiary prevention level.
- Integration of ecological systems model and strength based approach to assessment, intervention and support of CCL's, parents and families.
- Parent focused prevention at all three prevention levels, particularly at secondary and tertiary prevention levels.
- An integrated multi-stakeholder approach to support parents of children at risk and CCL.
- Continuum of support approach based on parents' strengths and needs, therefore intervention must be individualised based on assessment of parents, their parenting, and their contexts.

Reflecting on the functional elements from child protection services and programmes/services within child justice systems, Table 7.6 reflects the functional elements that are integrated into this study's practice model for supporting parents of CCL.

Table 7.6: Functional elements from existing child protection and child justice programmes, services and practice models integrated into a co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law

Universal functional elements integrated:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integrated system wide support • Multi-stakeholder approach and involvement in supporting parents • Involvement of parents as partners • Evidence based practice • Coordination and monitoring of services • Community based and accessible support services • Community awareness on CJS and services for parents 		
FUNCTIONAL ELEMENTS INTEGRATED AT PRIMARY PREVENTION LEVEL	FUNCTIONAL ELEMENTS INTEGRATED AT SECONDARY PREVENTION LEVEL	FUNCTIONAL ELEMENTS INTEGRATED AT TERTIARY PREVENTION LEVEL
Access to parenting advice from experts	Referral point for parents of children at risk of offending for assessment and intervention	Court preparation officers or peer support to orientate parents to CJP, their role, CJO's roles and support services for parents
Parenting support from formal and informal sources	Access to social work services with expert knowledge on parenting and children at risk of offending	Access to Multi-systemic, strength based social work assessment.
Access to parenting education	Access to multi-systemic, strength based social work assessment	Access to multi-modal interventions such as parenting programmes, counselling, material support, parent education, peer support, managing adolescent substance abuse, facilitating children's access to school, reintegration planning, FGC, RJC.
Referral point for parents needing services at secondary prevention level	Access to multi-modal interventions such as parenting programmes, counselling, material support, parent education, peer support, managing adolescent substance abuse, facilitating access to schools and access to family as well as community support.	Mobilising and facilitating parent's access to family, community and professional support.
	Case management and tracking of services to parents from secondary prevention level.	Case management, supervision and quality assurance of services to parents from entry to CJS to termination of aftercare services.

The review of the programmes also revealed procedural elements that must be considered in the design and development phase of the practice model. These included:

- Trained professionals competent in multi-systemic strength based assessment and intervention to support parents and families.
- Services for supporting parents must be decentralised to be accessible within communities and at courts.
- Services for supporting parents must be government (DSD) coordinated, funded and monitored.

7.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In summary, this chapter focused on the findings in respect of research objectives two and three. These objectives were met as the findings indicated the potential sources of support for parents of CCL and the functional elements from existing practice models that matched with the identified support needs of parents of CCL. Based on the theoretical framework of the present study the exploration of potential sources of support focused on the various subsystems parents have access to or could have access to for support. Through exploration and engagement with local NGOs, Government services and CBOs in respect of child protection services and social development services, potential sources of support for parents were identified. This offered an opportunity for organisations such as Revive, ACVV, Al Fidaa and Uviwe that would traditionally not render services to parents of CCL to avail their services to parents of CCL. Although these organisations primarily render services at a secondary prevention level expanding their services to support parents of children at risk and CCL is possible, provided DSD and in particular the Child Justice Forum formalise agreements with the local organisations and include them as partners in the CJS. The functional elements from the programmes/services offered by the local organisations also reflected a parent and family centred approach; however, this could be strengthened through advocacy, support and collaboration with DSD and the child justice forum. The findings showed the identified potential sources of support and functional elements that could be integrated to match parents' support needs and the selected functional elements

that were integrated into the current study's practice model. The next chapter presents how these potential sources of support, both formal and informal, as well as the identified functional elements of the existing programmes/services, which were integrated in the design, and development of the practice model. The model is also presented in the next chapter as a continuum of support for parents of CCL.

CHAPTER 8:

A CO-CONSTRUCTED PRACTICE MODEL FOR SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CHILDREN IN CONFLICT WITH THE LAW

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the practice model developed from identifying the support needs of parents of CCL. The rich data generated during the focus groups, field observations, stakeholder consultations and literature review facilitated identification of parents' support needs, their sources of support and functional elements from existing practice models that were considered and integrated during the design and development of the practice model. In line with the research approach employed in the present study, namely the integration of Intervention Design and Development with Participatory Action Research, the participants and I co-constructed a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law (Fawcett, Suarez-Balcazar, Balcazar, White, Paine, Blanchard & Embree, 1994:26-49, Turnbull, Friesen & Ramirez, 1998:178-188). This approach guided the achievement of the research objectives and this chapter presents the findings in respect of research objective four. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 have already presented the findings in respect of research objectives one, two and three, as recapped below:

1. To explore and describe the types of support needed by parents of CCL during the CJP.
2. To identify and describe existing practice models within the child protection system and potential sources of support for parents of CCL.
3. To identify functional elements from existing practice models and potential sources of support and match the functional elements with the identified support needs of parents of CCL.

This chapter reports the findings in respect of the following research objective:

4. To design, develop and test a co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of CCL during the CJP.

In designing and developing the practice model, the participants and I reflected on the findings in respect of research objectives one to three to match the support needs of parents with potential sources of support. The group identified the functional elements from existing practice models/programmes and the procedural elements that had to be considered in developing the practice model. It is important to note that although the study set out to co-construct a practice model for supporting parents of CCL during the CJP, the findings indicated a need for support to also be extended to parents of children at risk of offending. This was particularly apparent when parents and CJOs cited numerous incidences where parents had sought support when their children presented with at-risk behaviour. However, due to the absence of support, parents struggled to manage their children's at-risk behaviour resulting in their entry into the CJS. Using the ecological systems lens (Bronfenbrenner, 1986:723) employed in this study, the findings also exposed the lack of systematic inclusion and support of parents at all prevention levels. Supporting parents of CCL therefore, became a complex issue as it became apparent that having a singular focus on parents of CCL would not adequately respond to problems revealed at a macro level, meso level and the micro level linked to parents. Consideration of the multiple systems involved in dealing with parents of CCL and their lack of support for parents warranted a closer look at the legislation, the CJS and the Social Development System. Underpinned by the ecological systems model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986:723) and complimented by the ecosystems' approach (Odum, 1969 cited in Vasishth, 2010:2) the practice model focused on support for parents at various system levels (CR Theoretical framework Chapter 3). Firstly, this chapter presents how the practice model was developed to address parents' support needs within the various systems. Secondly, the support parents need within the various systems is presented followed by the co-constructed practice model to support parents of CCL within the system of concern namely, the Child Justice system including the stakeholder roles.

8.2 DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT OF A PRACTICE MODEL FOR SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CCL

The following design criteria guided the design and development phase:

- Acknowledgement of parents as partners in the CJS as ‘service extenders’, ‘service users’ and ‘service advocates’ (Burke, Mulvey, Schubert & Garbin, 2014:5-6).
- Evidence based parent focused support
- Increasing access to formal and informal support for parents
- Increasing access to practical, educational and emotional support for parents
- Increasing accessibility for parents to professional support particularly from social workers/probation officers that involve ongoing quality assurance of services
- Increasing opportunity for parental engagement with CJOs to share their support needs during and after the CJP

In addition, the design criteria as proposed by Fawcett et al., (cited in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:36) included consideration of the practice model’s effectiveness, replicability, efficiency, practicality, adaptability and responsiveness to parents’ needs. Guided by the research objectives, the research approach and the design criteria, development of the practice model considered and integrated the findings of the present study. The findings in respect of parents’ support needs, the type of support they need, the contexts within which parents sought or accessed support from formal or informal sources and the potential sources of support as well as functional elements were integrated in the practice model to support parents of CCL during the design and development phase. Table 8.1 below depicts the systematic process from identification of parents’ support needs to design elements of the practice model to respond to parents’ support needs during the CJP. This systematic process also involved continuous reflection on the findings, the design criteria and the research objectives to facilitate the design and the development process.

Table 8.1: Systematic integration of the findings in the design and development of a co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of CCL

<p>Research objective 1: To explore and describe the types of support needed by parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process.</p>	<p>Research objective 2: To identify and describe existing practice models within the child protection system and potential sources of support for parents of children in conflict with the law</p>	<p>Research objective 3: To identify functional elements from existing practice models within the child protection system and potential sources of support and match the functional elements with the identified support needs of parents of children in conflict with the law.</p>	<p>Research objective 4: To design, develop and test a co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process.</p>	
<p>TYPES OF SUPPORT PARENTS NEED</p>	<p>POTENTIAL SOURCES OF SUPPORT</p>	<p>FUNCTIONAL ELEMENTS FROM EXISTING PRACTICE MODELS</p>	<p>PROCEDURAL ELEMENTS</p>	<p>PRACTICE MODEL DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT ELEMENTS</p>
<p>Emotional support</p>		<p>An integrated multi-stakeholder approach to supporting parents</p>	<p>Development of guidelines for integrated multi-stakeholder prevention and support services for parents of children at risk and CCL.</p>	<p>Parent focused primary, secondary and tertiary prevention services</p>
<p>Moral support Empathy Encouragement Assessment and therapeutic interventions such as:</p>	<p>Informal sources: Spouse, partner, nuclear and extended family, neighbours, pastor, colleagues</p>	<p>Accessible formal support for parents at primary, secondary and tertiary prevention levels. A continuum of support</p>		<p>Collaborative and inclusive approach to working with parents during assessment and intervention at secondary and tertiary prevention level.</p>

<p>Individual and family counselling Support groups Opportunity to share concerns, needs and feelings during each stage of CJP</p> <p>Access to support services and resources to manage their child's behaviour including substance abuse prior, during and after the CJP.</p>	<p>Formal source: Probation Officers (Social workers) during and after the CJP. Social workers and SAPS prior to CJP. Probation Officers' linking parents with support services from DSD, NGOs and CBOs prior to, during and after the CJP.</p>	<p>System wide assessment of parent at each stage of CJP. Parent focused assessment, intervention and support. Family focused assessment, intervention and support Counselling focused on parent, parent & child, family. Collaboration and joint intervention planning with parent Multi-model parent support and</p>	<p>Formalised interdepartmental agreements on departmental roles and resources in facilitating/implementing parent focused prevention and support services. Training of CJO and DSD social workers as well as parent focused NGO's/CBO's on strategies and practice guidelines in</p>	<p>Access for parents to informal and formal support that is responsive to parents' support needs.</p> <p>Access for parents to emotional, informational and practical support in multimodal formats.</p> <p>Multiple community and court based points of access to support for parents</p> <p>System wide, multi-stakeholder approach to supporting parents of children at risk and CCL.</p>
<p>Informational/Educational support</p>				

<p>Information on CJP including RJ</p> <p>Information on parents' role and responsibilities during CJP</p> <p>Information on roles of various CJO</p> <p>Information on status and progress of child's case</p> <p>Information on reporting incidences of victim retaliation</p> <p>Information on reporting child's physical abuse of parents</p>	<p>Formal sources:</p> <p>CJO during each stage of the CJP</p>	<p>interventions such as parent education, support groups, parenting advice, individual and family counselling, FGC, skills development.</p> <p>Linkage of parents to and facilitation of informal and formal support for parents.</p>	<p>supporting parents of children at risk and CCL.</p> <p>Promotion and integration of the ecological systems approach and strengths based approach in assessment, intervention and supporting parents of children at risk and CCL.</p>	
<p>Information of services and resources where parents can access support</p> <p>Parenting advice, guidance and skills in managing children's at-risk behaviour</p> <p>Parenting advice, guidance and skills on managing and accessing treatment for their child's substance abuse.</p> <p>Information on children's rights and schools' responsibilities in allowing CCL access to schools during and after the CJP.</p> <p>Information of where parents can access material assistance and social grants.</p>	<p>CJO is a source of support as parents seek information and assistance at each CJ stage however; the probation officer is the primary source of formal support during assessment, PI/trial, sentencing and aftercare stages.</p>		<p>Decentralised community and court based access for parents to social workers (Secondary prevention services), probation officers and assistant probation officers (tertiary prevention services).</p>	

Practical support			
Taxi fare to diversion sessions Mobilising family and community support Facilitating access to material assistance/social grants Facilitating access for CCL to school Access to police protection	Probation officers/diversion social workers Probation officers/assistant probation officers Assistant probation officers in partnership with principals and teachers Assistant probation officers in partnership with local police		Mobilising, securing government (DSD & CJF) as coordinators, funders (DSD only), and monitoring body for the implementation of a practice model for supporting parents of children at risk and CCL.

The design and development phase involved participants and I plotting the parent's identified and observed support needs then determining where parents accessed support from both formal and informal sources (CR Chapters 6 & 7). Through this plotting, it was possible to identify existing informal sources of support such as parents' spouse/partner, their family, their neighbours, pastors and colleagues. These informal sources provided mostly emotional and practical support when parents' felt overwhelmed or strained during the charge/arrest stage and the trial stage. The informal sources of support, however, could not always provide parenting advice or information parents' needed. In some instances, informal support was not accessible to parents and pointed to the need for the practice model to facilitate mobilisation by professionals of informal support for parents prior to, during and after the CJP.

The accessibility and provision of formal support for parents within the practice model was a key finding. Therefore, ensuring parents have access to social work services at community and court level is a critical element for inclusion in the practice model. Social Work Services at secondary prevention and tertiary prevention level pointed to parent focused services that included assessing parents and providing parents with professional support, emotional support, educational support and practical support. It also indicated the need for multi-systemic assessment and multi-model interventions such as counselling, skills training, parent education and support groups to address parents' support needs on the various systemic levels. Parents' access to information about the CJP was indicated as a prerequisite for parents' inclusion and participation during the CJP. CJOs having a parent focused and supportive approach to engage with parents also encouraged parents' participation and their willingness to seek support during the CJP. These findings indicated the importance of the practice model's inclusion of a multi-stakeholder parent focused approach to supporting parents and providing parents with information on the CJP to allow parents the opportunity to engage with the system from a knowledgeable position. The practice model would therefore have to respond to parents' varying support needs by ensuring access to responsive parent centred informal and formal support at secondary and tertiary prevention level.

Understanding and plotting the type of support parents need and the formal as well as informal sources of support they need access to, guided the search for potential programmes, services and practice models that could assist in addressing parents' needs (CR Chapter 7). Through engagement with local DSD management, NGOs and CBOs in the child protection and Social Development field, potential sources of support that could be enlisted to render services to parents of children at risk and CCL, were identified. Although none of these services specifically worked with parents of CCL, all of the organisations agreed that parents of CCL could access their services including counselling, support groups, parenting education and skills development. This pointed to the practice model considering the value of and need for collaboration between the CJS and the existing Child Protection/Social Development sector to facilitate access for parents of CCL to existing local support services. This is critical as support services within the CJS are non-existent except for when parents occasionally came across a CJO who offered some form of emotional or informational support. The services or programmes offered by these organisations also pointed to some functional elements that could be included in the design of the practice model. These included services being community based/accessible, offered by trained professionals and provision of various support services for parents and families. Similar functional elements were identified when existing practice models/programmes for supporting parents from local and international parent support programmes, particularly within CJS, were reviewed. The functional elements from these programmes were matched with the identified support needs of parents and based on their responsiveness to these needs, were considered for inclusion in the present study's practice model design and development. The functional elements included in the practice model reflect the model having an integrated, multi-stakeholder, collaborative, multi-systemic and multi modal approach to supporting parents of children at risk and CCL.

- a) The integrated element refers to parent focused prevention, assessment, intervention and support being available prior to, during and after the CJP.
- b) The multi-stakeholder element refers to all informal (microsystems- family, community) and formal sources of support (exosystems-government and non-government officials/departments) being mobilised and collaborating

with parents in a coordinated manner to facilitate access for parents to parent focused support services prior to, during and after the CJP.

- c) Collaboration with parents at multiple levels is also critical in normalising parent inclusion, parent support and parents buying into the interventions and support available to them thereby increasing the likelihood of them accessing the available support (Wessels, Lester & Ward, 2016:6).
- d) The multi-systemic element refers to parent focused support being available at each systemic level as reflected in the ecological systems model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986:723) at the secondary and tertiary prevention levels and particularly at each stage of the CJP. It also refers to support for parents and inclusion of parents as service advocates being prioritised in the Social Development System and the Criminal Justice System particularly the CJS.
- e) The multi-modal element refers to the availability of a variety of interventions and support services for parents of children at risk and CCL to address their varying support needs.

Inclusion of these functional elements into the design and development of the practice model indicated consideration of procedural elements to ensure the feasibility of the practice model. The procedural elements considered included specification of the practice context, roles, functions and responsibilities of the respective stakeholders in facilitating parent focused prevention and support services for parents of children at-risk and CCL. It is important to ensure that all stakeholders or officials based at community level such as NGOs, CBOs, SAPS, DSD, schools and courts who have direct contact with parents of children at-risk and CCL are trained on how to support parents. They must also know when and where to link parents with support services. It also includes securing buy-in, formalising interdepartmental agreements on the coordination, funding, implementation of the practice model, and monitoring of the model implementation. Implementation of the practice model would require training of all relevant stakeholders on the theoretical foundation of the practice model and how to implement the various activities depicted in the practice model.

During early development of the practice model, the pilot testing was done with some elements being implemented at the two sites. CJOs were trained on the

support needs of parents, their role in supporting parents and the resources available to support parents. One parent also participated in this training in his capacity as a child justice official. Parents did not participate in this training primarily due to resource limitations, however, they were involved in deciding which CJOs must be included and what information must be included in the training session. The practice model was piloted from mid-August to the end November 2017 at both research sites where findings from focus groups with parents and observations at both sites further guided the refinement of the model. The elements implemented during the pilot phase included placement of information posters (see Figure 8.1 & Figure 8.2) at the courts, police stations and DSD offices. The poster in Figure 8.1 was sourced from the national department of justice, the directorate of child justice and family law. The organisations' information included in the poster reflected in Figure 8.2 was selected based on these organisations' agreement to provide services to parents of CCL during the pilot testing phase. Court preparation officers at the two courts orientated parents to the CJP for the duration of the pilot study and NGOs/CBOs availed their services to parents of CCL.

THE CHILD JUSTICE ACT, 2008 (ACT NO 75 OF 2008)

STEP BY STEP GUIDE ON THE CHILD JUSTICE PROCESS

1 A child is **suspected to have committed** an offence. In the event of an offence that is not serious, the child will not be arrested but be warned to appear in court.

2 If the offence is serious, the child is **informed, arrested and charged** by the police. If the offence is less serious, the child and his/her parents or care givers, is warned or summonsed to appear in court by the police.

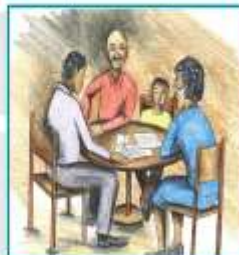


3 There are two possibilities at this stage:
 a. A child **under 10** may be referred to a children's court, or
 b. The child **above 10** years must be assessed by a probation officer (Social Worker).



4 The parents or other care givers or police bring the child **to court**.

5 A **preliminary inquiry** will be set-up to inquire into the matter and how the child may be assisted if he or she accepts responsibility.



6 At the preliminary inquiry there are four possible steps that may be taken:
 a. If the **child is in need of care and protection**, the matter will be referred to the children's court which will determine the best possible environment for the child.
 b. At the preliminary inquiry, the probation officer's assessment report will be considered to determine if the child has **criminal capacity**. The child could then be referred to the Children's Court or be diverted.
 c. If the child accepts responsibility, it may be recommended at the preliminary inquiry that the **child be diverted**. If the child does not complete or comply with the diversion, he/she will be brought back to court.
 d. If no diversion order is made by the court or the child does not comply with the diversion, the case is referred to the **Child Justice Court** for trial.



7 At the trial the child could be **convicted and sentenced or acquitted**.



Figure 8.1: Poster on the Child Justice Process (Department of Justice & Constitutional Development, 2009).

SUPPORT FOR PARENTS

ONDERSTEUNING VIR OUIERS

Revive Tel: 041 3738882

- Counselling for parents and couples
- Parenting programmes
- Crisis & trauma counselling

NICRO Tel: 041 5822555

- Counselling for parents and teenagers
- Only court referred cases
- Diversion programmes

Missionvale care centre
Tel: 041 8117525

- Drug testing
- Referral to community resources

FAD Tel: 0824932204

- Counselling and support for substance abuse & addiction
- Support groups for substance abusers & their parents

FAMSA Tel: 041 5859393

- Counselling for parents and couples
- Personal growth programmes
- R150 payment required

Uviwe Tel: 041 4530441

- Counselling for parents and couples
- Parenting programmes

Girls & Boys Town
Tel: 0861 58 58 58

- Telephonic counselling for parents with teenagers
- Parenting advice & guidance

Al Fidaa Tel: 041 4531222

- Counselling for parents and couples
- Islamic spiritual support

Department of Social Development Toll free number: 0800 428 428

- To speak to a Social Worker for assistance & counselling

Callers can also request a social worker from the Command Centre to contact them by dialling *120*7867# (free) from any cell phone

ASK A PROBATION OFFICER IF YOU NEED INFORMATION OR SUPPORT WITH:

- Coping during your child's arrest, trial or detention.
- Your child's case.
- Your rights and role during the Child Justice process.
- Your child's care or behaviour.

Port Elizabeth Probation Officers
Nerina OSYJC Centre, Cnr_of Phyllis & Gumpert Street, Schauderville, Port Elizabeth
Tel: 041 4074900

Uitenhage Probation Officers
RAR Centre, 12 Church Street, Uitenhage
Tel: 041 9220724

UKUNCEDISANA NABAZALI

Figure 8.2: Poster with information of support services for parents (compiled by Abdulla, 2018)

Parents who had contact with the CJS during the pilot testing period were included in focus groups to explore whether they received any support from CJOs. Lessons learned from the pilot testing included the following:

- Some parents reported receiving information from CJOs, being advised on where to seek support and having an opportunity to ask questions during court proceedings. Unfortunately, the support parents received was not consistent and not always responsive to the type of support they needed. Observation findings confirmed that parents were not consistently assessed or supported during the CJP.
- There is a need for buy-in from all CJOs of the model and their respective roles in supporting parents.
- The CJS and the officials have to make provision for parents' inclusion and support during the CJP.
- There is a need for allocation of a designated social worker/probation officer to work with each parent entering the CJS and to work with the parent from a strength-based, multi-systemic approach.
- Although information posters on the CJP and support services for parents were placed at the various sites most of the parents stated that they wanted probation officers to inform them of these services and link them to these services.

The pilot testing phase indicated that the practice model was adequate in supporting parents provided that CJOs engaged with parents throughout the CJP in a collaborative manner, inclusionary manner, were supportive and responsive to parents' needs.

In addition to the inclusion of the functional elements and the design criteria, I reviewed existing literature on what a good practice model for supporting parents must include. Many studies (Patel, Knijn, Gorman-Smith, Hochfeld, Isserow, Garthe, Chiba, Moodley & Kgaphola, 2017; Walker, Bishop, Pullman & Bauer, 2015; Ward, Makushe & Bray, 2015; Burke et al., 2014; Molinuevo, 2013; Pennington, 2012; Boddy, Statham, Smith, Ghate, Wigfall, & Hauari, 2009, Mulford & Redding, 2008; Farrington & Welsh, 2003), agree on key elements that must be included in

the design and development of a practice model for supporting parents of children at risk and CCL. These elements include the following:

- Builds on primary prevention, focus on secondary and tertiary intervention
- Employ a parent centred, inclusive and collaborative approach
- Employ a family based approach inclusive of family assessment and intervention
- Involve peer support for parents to access informal support particularly emotional support and informational support
- Involve parents in the design and development process of any policies, services or interventions that concern parents and their children.
- Flexibility within the model to accommodate parents' contextual and cultural diversity, however, still maintaining fidelity
- Accessibility to services including home based, community based and court based services for parents.
- Responsive services with multiple strategies or methods of interventions to meet parents' individual and collective support needs.
- Clear service pathways for parents and their children from primary, secondary and tertiary prevention levels
- An inclusionary, coordinated, integrated and system wide approach
- Consideration of power relations and equality between formal sources of support and parents
- Recognising and focusing on the needs of the most vulnerable group of parents
- Improving qualifications and training of officials working with parents
- Mix between child focused outcomes, parent focused outcomes, and parent-child focused outcomes at all prevention levels.

In considering these elements, the design and development of the practice model for supporting parents of CCL has to be a co-created, integrated continuum of support for parents of children at-risk and CCL providing accessible parent focused prevention, intervention and support. The practice model would have to create opportunity for multi-stakeholder collaboration with parents as critical stakeholders and provide support services prior to, during and after the CJP to enable the

achievement of mutually agreed upon child, parent and parent-child outcomes. Walker et al. (2015(a):416) proposed the juvenile family involvement model (JJFIM) to facilitate family and parental involvement during the CJP; however, during the present study it became apparent that parental involvement during the CJP is interlinked with parents' experience of actual or perceived support during the CJP.

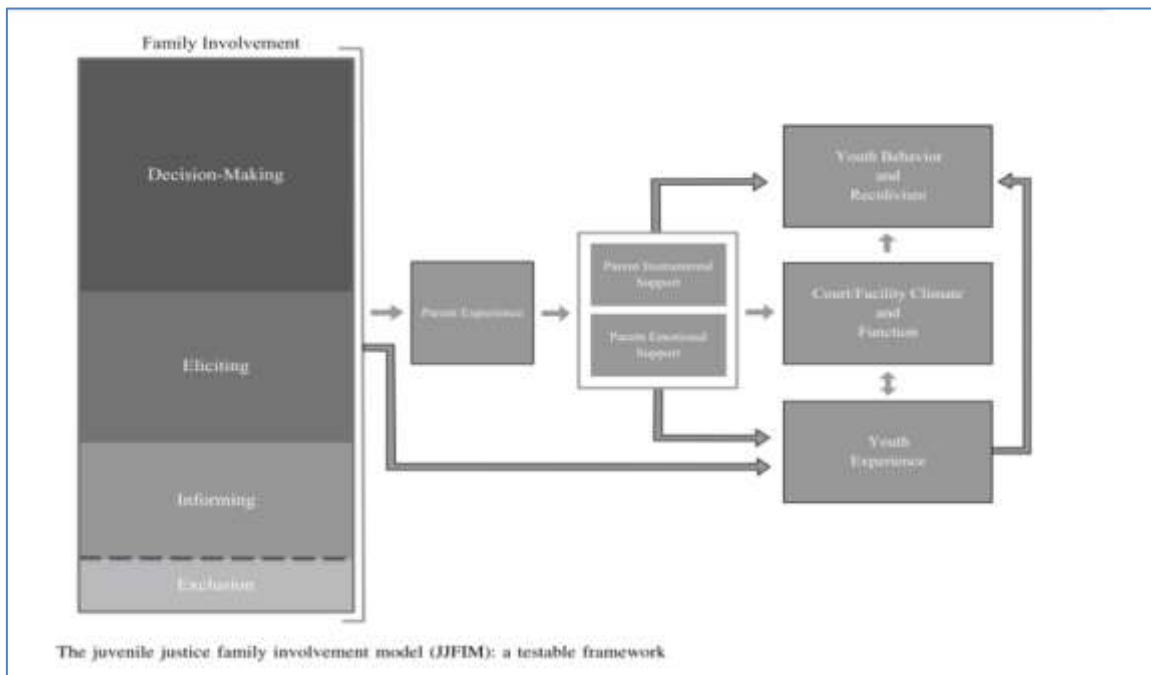


Figure 8.3: The Juvenile Justice Family Involvement Model (JJFI) (Walker, Bishop, Traylor, Jaegar, Gustavson, & Guthrie, 2015:416)

The JJFI model places parental experience of the CJS at the centre of family and parental involvement during the CJP. However, its focus on parental support does not refer to supporting the parent but rather the parents' support to the youth during the court process to influence the youth's experience of the CJP, their behaviour and desistance from crime. Although the JJFI model realises that the parents' experience during the CJP influences their level of involvement during the CJP, it does not link the need for parent focused support during the CJP as a critical element for buffering parents' against the stressors of the CJS and support parents to manage their children's care while they are proceeding through the CJS.

The present study's model therefore, proposes to foreground or zoom into parents' experience of the CJP and create accessible professional support for parents of children at risk and CCL. This study did not set out to focus on parental involvement during the CJP as many studies have focused on parental involvement (Maschi,

Schwalbe & Ristow, 2013, Pennington, 2012, Peterson-Badali & Broeking 2010, Varma, 2007). It however, emerged that a system-wide approach to supporting parents including secondary and tertiary prevention level, is a prerequisite in facilitating parental inclusion and parental involvement during the CJP. Although family focused assessment and intervention has been found to benefit both parents and CCL, it must be noted that this model proposes a multi-systemic collaborative approach to supporting parents. This will enable parents' access to formal and informal support depending on their individualised needs and the family as well as the community context in which they find themselves. Social work/probation officer interventions aimed at supporting parents must be co-designed and developed by parents for parents to ensure that interventions are culturally and contextually relevant (Lachman, Sherr, Cluver, Ward, Hutchings & Gardner, 2016:2346). Similar to the bottom up and participative approach followed in this study, Lachman et al. (2016) provide a useful guide to how CJOs can collaborate with parents in planning appropriate and responsive support interventions for parents within a South African context.

In summary, the design and development process followed for the present study indicated that the model must be targeted at the secondary and tertiary prevention levels involving all CJOs and relevant partners in the provision and facilitation of accessible and responsive parent focused support services to meet parents' educational, emotional and practical support needs. It also indicated the importance of a collaborative and supportive approach to engaging parents during the CJP and beyond. The following section delineates the systems linked to and involved in the CJS where the practice model would facilitate support to parents of CCL.

8.3 PARENTS AS SUPPORT RECIPIENTS AND ADVOCATES FOR SUPPORT

Comprehensive discussions of parents' support needs are contained in the preceding Chapters 5 and 6. This section briefly contextualises the complexity of the systems involved in supporting parents of CCL and how the nested nature of these systems impacts on parents and their experience of the support they need. Understanding these systems will help crystallise the multi-systemic, integrated and multi-phased nature of the practice model presented in section 8.4 of this chapter.

As alluded to in previous chapters the findings exposed not only the support parents need during the CJP but also the need for their inclusion and support within and across systems. Viewing parents of CCL as nested within the ecological systems model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986:723), namely within their family, work environment, community and social environment implies that currently parents are mainly recipients of support. The findings indicated that CJOs viewed parents as the “system of concern” needing support, however, later the narrative shifted in that the CJS became the “system of concern” as it failed to include and support parents adequately (Vasishth, 2010:7). Parents in this study confirmed that they needed various types of support due to the stressors experienced prior to, during, and after the CJP. However, they asserted that the CJS was also a “system of concern” as limited support was available and they were not considered or included during the CJP and were left to cope on their own (Vasishth, 2010:7). Parents also made valuable recommendations for their inclusion in the system as advocates and peer supporters.

Viewing parents as recipients of support implies that support must be proximal and therefore limited to support at community (neighbours, pastors, NGOs, DSD) or family level (spouse, siblings, extended family). In the present study it became apparent that the lack of support for parents was influenced by the limited legislative and policy focus on supporting parents, lack of resources and lack of training in the Social Development and Criminal Justice Systems (the supra-system) to facilitate support for parents (Vasishth, 2010:7). These in turn, limited support for parents within the Child Justice System (system of concern) and the ability of the subsystems (SAPS, Justice, Probation Services etc.) to support parents of CCL (Abdulla, 2014; Vasishth, 2010:7). The practice model for supporting parents of CCL acknowledges and foregrounds the role of the supra-system and the system of concern with its sub-systems in facilitating or providing direct and indirect support for parents, as these systems are primarily responsible for supporting parents of CCL. Recognising these systems of influence and support also pointed to the findings that parents were not actively involved or included in the various systems. Consequently, they were not given the opportunity to voice their support needs, influence decisions and policies that concerned them, and advocate for support services. Therefore, recognising that parents are a vital sub-system in the CJS is

important in moving the current status of parents beyond only being viewed as recipients of services and the system of concern to becoming an equal partner (legitimate sub-system); advocating for inclusive parent-centred policy, procedures and services. Figures 8.4 and 8.5 below depicts parents within the various ecological systems from two vantage points, namely as recipient of support and as an advocate (legitimate sub-system) for support to influence the supra-systems, the CJS (viewed as the system of concern) and the various sub-systems.

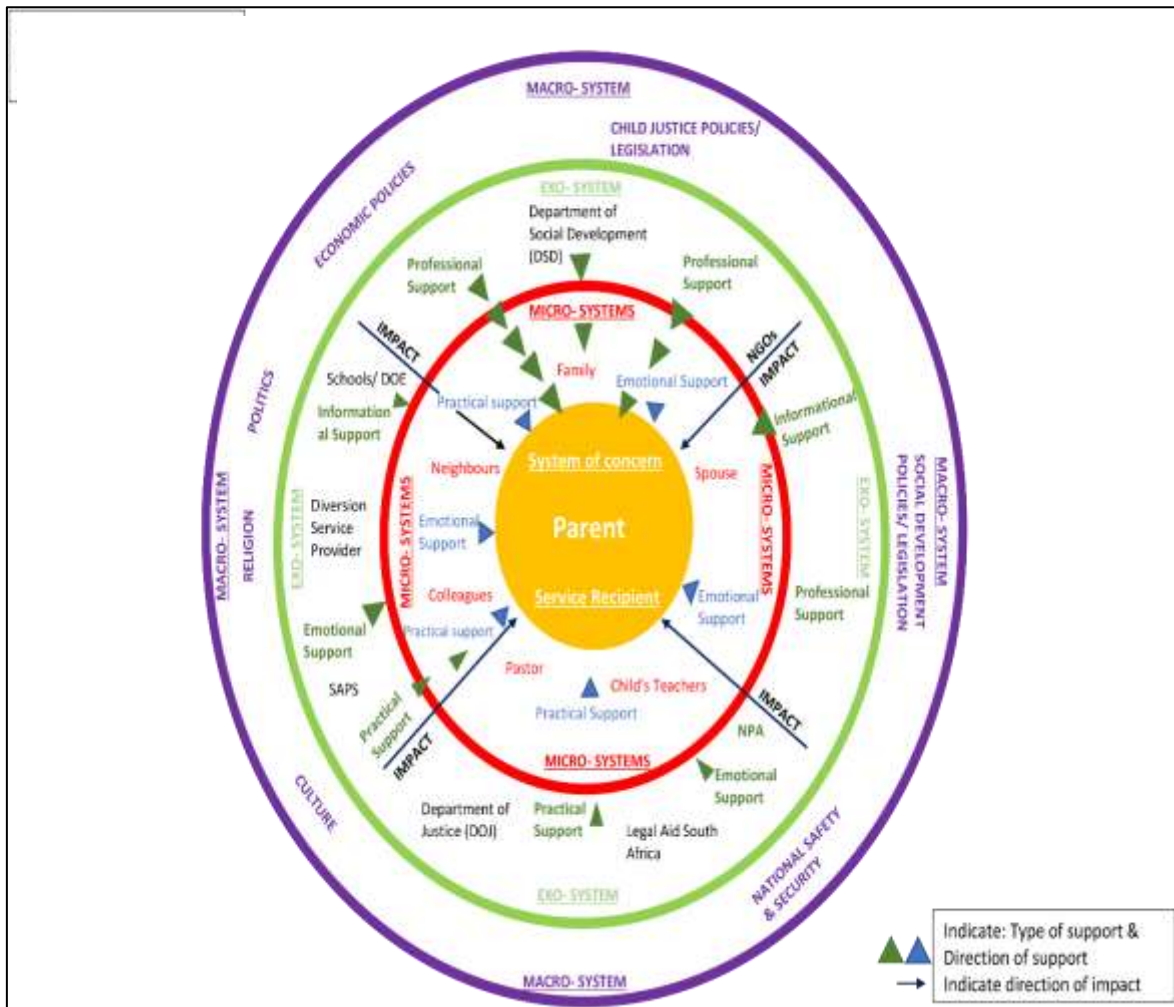


Figure 8.4: Parent as recipient of support within the CJS (Abdulla, 2018)

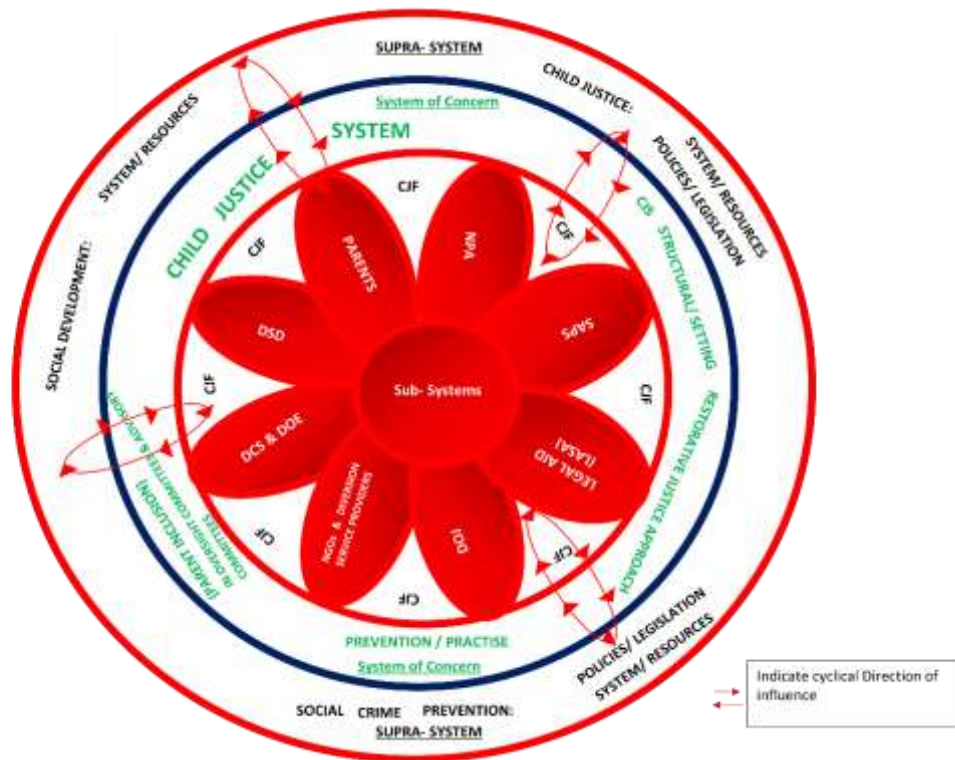


Figure 8.5: Parent as subsystem and service advocate prior to, during and after the CJP (Abdulla, 2018)

Figure 8.4 shows parents as recipients of services to address their support needs prior to, during and after the CJP and depicts the various microsystems that are accessible to parents. These proximal systems are in a prime position to provide parents of children at risk and CCL with emotional support and practical support. Although most parents are able to access informal support, some parents do struggle to seek informal support in which case support from the microsystems must be mobilised by professionals. Social workers and probation officers have a critical role to play in facilitating family and social support for parents through family group conferences and victim offender conferences. The exo-level subsystems in Figure 8.4 highlight the multiple stakeholders available to support parents of children at risk and CCL through the provision of professional, informational, emotional, and practical support. Collaboration between these sub-systems to coordinate support services to parents at the three prevention levels is vital in facilitating accessible services for parents. The SAPS' role, for example includes the implementation of parent focused crime prevention, provision of accessible parent support services at their stations in collaboration with social workers, drug control and maintenance of

community safety. The SAPS can also collaborate with metro police, where possible, on their crime prevention initiatives. DSD's role involves the provision of parent focused primary, secondary and tertiary prevention and intervention services facilitated by social workers and probation officers within communities (at police stations, schools, NGO's and DSD satellite offices) and courts. DSD's role is to lobby, fund and facilitate parent focused social work services including counselling, parent education, parenting skills, support groups and provision of material assistance. DSD could collaborate with local universities for social work and psychology student placements at their satellite offices to provide some of the support services to parents. It is also important for DSD to collaborate with the Department of Education to lobby for the placement of social workers at schools as a primary and secondary prevention measure to address the support needs of parents and parents of children-at risk. It is important to note that the quality and state of parent-teacher and parent-school relationships will influence parents' willingness to approach schools for support. These subsystems have a collective role and responsibility to support parents at primary, secondary and tertiary prevention levels. They also have a responsibility to inform policy makers of the impact of macro and exo-level factors on parents and the importance of facilitating support to parents through policy and practice.

Figure 8.5 depicts parents as a subsystem within the CJ arena assuming a position of collaborator, influencer, co-constructor and decision maker within the supra-system, namely the Social Development system and the Criminal Justice system. These supra-systems' legislation, policies, regulations, practice standards and services provide the context for the CJS. The lack of parent-focused policies and exclusionary practice within the supra-system results in the CJS (system of concern) failing to focus on parents, support parents and include parents in the CJS. Therefore, it is important for the supra-system to engage in a bottom-up and participatory approach in developing and reviewing legislations, policies and practice guidelines. The ecological systems model and ecological model both assert that nested systems have bi-directional influence, meaning that although parents traditionally enter the CJS as a service recipient, the opportunity exists that parents can influence the CJS from their position as a legitimate sub-system i.e. a service advocate and even a peer support to other parents. Figure 8.5 therefore illustrates

the opportunities that exist where parents can be included in the supra-system, the system of concern, and as a sub-system along with the other child justice stakeholders responsible for supporting parents. At a supra-level, parents can be included by DSD and Department of Justice in committees responsible for legislative review, policy development, budget formulation or resource allocations to give input on issues affecting parents, services to parents, parents of children at-risk and parents of CCL. Within the CJS (system of concern) opportunities exist for parents' inclusion and engagement in national, provincial and local child justice oversight committees/forums, diversion accreditation and quality assurance committees, planning and advisory committees. This would integrate parents as a critical role-player in the CJS to a position where they could voice their collective needs and advocate for inclusionary parent-focused practice within the CJS. At the sub-system level, this militates for parents' inclusion as an equal and important sub-system in the CJS moving parents beyond the role of service recipient. Through meaningful engagement, training and support from the various sub-systems, parents can assume their rightful place where they can collaborate with the various child justice stakeholders in advisory, oversight, and monitoring capacity. Parents' involvement in the local CJF and as trained peer supporters at the various courts would help solidify their place in the CJS as a partner with an equal stake in the CJS. Opportunity exists within the various systems for parents to be included, meaningfully engaged and supported within the CJS. This is in line with the Restorative Justice approach embraced in the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009), which emphasises building relationships and facilitating inclusion of all stakeholders affected by crime. The following section presents the outcome of the present study, namely a co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law.

8.4 A PRACTICE MODEL FOR SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CHILDREN IN CONFLICT WITH THE LAW

Built on the findings of this study, previous research and evidence-based parent support, the model consists of support for parents at secondary and tertiary prevention level. This model assumes that in line with current Social Development policies, support for parents must be in place at a prevention level (i.e. universal

support across parents' lifespan) and indicates the availability of various types of support for parents of children at-risk and CCL, namely targeted support prior to, during and after the CJS. Prevention services form the overarching element of the model and Figure 8.6 depicts that those parent-focused services must be rendered at the primary and secondary prevention level to support parents and prevent children's entry into the CJS.

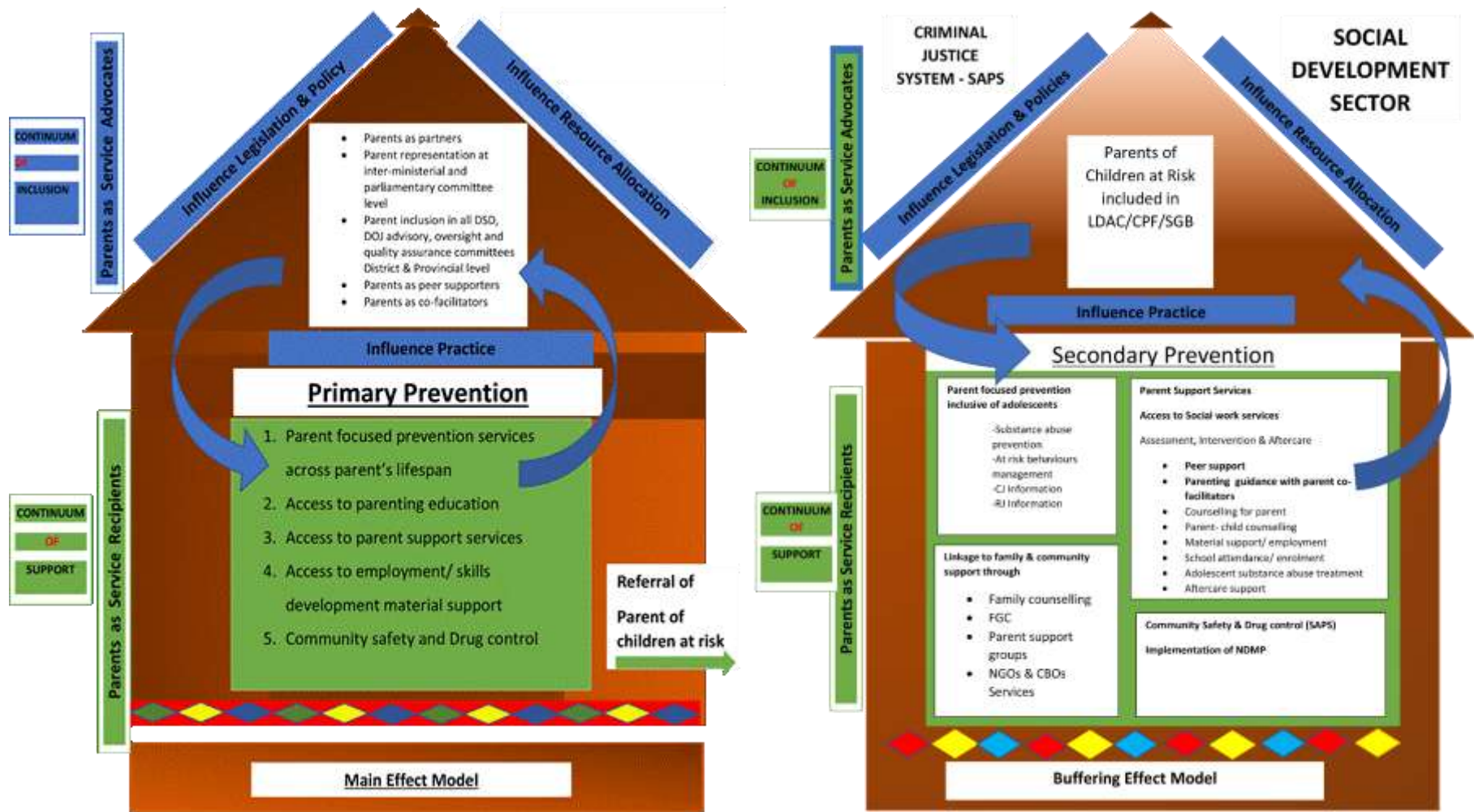


Figure 8.6: Primary and secondary prevention services with parents as service recipients and service advocates (Developed by Abdulla, 2018)

- At the primary prevention level, the model assumes that primary prevention programmes are in place and focused on supporting all parents across their life span through effective social development programmes. This includes access to social workers at community level e.g., schools, DSD satellite offices and NGOs. Parents need to be included in and be the focus of prevention services.
- At the secondary prevention level, the model indicates collaboration between SAPS and DSD to facilitate parent-focused prevention programmes, availability of social work services including multi-systemic strength-based assessment and interventions such as counselling, parent support groups and joint parent-child support groups specially to deal with children's substance abuse at community based venues. Support activities by the various stakeholders, although not currently supporting parents of children at-risk of offending, are reflected in the model (Figure 8.6) and contained in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2: Prevention - practice activities and stakeholder roles in supporting parents of children at risk and CCL

PREVENTION PHASE PRACTICE ACTIVITIES	CHILD JUSTICE OFFICIALS' ROLE	DEPARTMENT ROLE	CHILD JUSTICE FORUM ROLE
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Child Justice Awareness campaigns must include parents in general and of children at risk engaging them on the CJP, their role, CJO roles and restorative justice. 2. Community education focused on educating parents about available resources and support services for parents. 3. Linking parents of children at risk with appropriate informal support and resources/ support services. 4. CJOs to ensure parents are assisted with appropriate resources & support services. 5. Social workers must be based at police stations for parents in high-risk communities so that parents have access to professional support and guidance with their at-risk children including facilitation of school access and substance abuse treatment. 6. Weekly support groups must be facilitated at community venues in high-risk communities by social workers for parents of children at 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Police officers must listen to and assist all parents in accessing support and professional help for themselves and their at-risk child. - DSD social workers and probation officers must assess parents and provide professional assistance/intervention that is responsive to parents' needs including the provision of support to assist parents regain parental authority over child's behaviour and ensure regular school attendance. - Social workers must assess and strengthen or mobilise family and community support for parents. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - DSD must engage with parents and SAPS to address community issues-substance abuse and violence. - SAPS, DSD and DoJ must ensure that all their awareness campaigns include engagement with parents on the CJP, their role, CJO's roles, substance abuse prevention/treatment and restorative justice. - DSD Community education must focus on educating parents about available resources & support services. - DSD educate teachers and principals how to support parents at-risk to ensure children remain in school. - DSD to allocate a probation officer/social worker to collaborate with SAPS stations in high-risk communities to provide services and facilitate support groups for parents of children at risk and children already involved in the child justice system. - All officials must be trained on their role in supporting parents of at-risk children. 	<p>SAPS, Judiciary, NPA, Legal Aid and DSD must collaborate through their monthly forum to engage parents and address parent issues by planning, implementing and coordinating parent support services at a prevention level.</p> <p>Advocating and agreeing for all Departments to be trained on their respective roles in supporting parents of at-risk children.</p>

PREVENTION PHASE PRACTICE ACTIVITIES	CHILD JUSTICE OFFICIALS' ROLE	DEPARTMENT ROLE	CHILD JUSTICE FORUM ROLE
<p>risk and children already involved in the child justice system (to avoid duplication of services).</p> <p>7. Substance abuse support groups and aftercare treatment must be offered at community venues in high-risk communities for substance abusing children and their parents to prevent substance abuse and relapse.</p>			

The tertiary prevention level is indicated as a separate stage during the CJP as parents have specific support needs during the various stages of the CJP warranting targeted support. Most children and parents who enter the CJS do not proceed to the court stage as their children are diverted, however; parents still need access to support services during these stages as diverted children are placed into parental care. The Preliminary Inquiry (PI) and the court stage are coupled as parents experienced similar support needs due to the court processes involved at these stages. The sentencing stage, although not depicted in the model, includes detention and non-custodial sentencing. The court process, sentencing, and aftercare stages are indicated in the latter section of the model as only a few children are sentenced; however, these few parents often need intensive support during these stages.

The model presents a continuum of support for parents from the “pre-existent” primary and secondary prevention level to the tertiary prevention level. In line with research objective four of this study, the tertiary prevention level depicts the co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of CCL. Each stage within this continuum of support is characterised by specific practice activities that enable the support of parents. Parents’ access to formal support depends on their self-referral or the professional assessment of the parents to identify the type of support they need and the provision of various types of support at individual, family, community and court level. While the practice model depicts the stages where parents need support the present study along with other studies such as those of Cavanaugh and Cauffman, (2017); Walker, et al. (2015(a)), and Varma, (2007) emphasise that the support must be offered in a context where professionals embrace the following principles and attitudes:

- Acknowledgement of parents as a valuable legitimate sub-system in the family and the CJS
- Understanding parents’ plight, their circumstances, competencies and culture
- Consultation with parents as service extender, service user and service advocate

- Encouragement of parents' role, competencies and contributions within their families and within the CJS
- Respecting parents as people with various roles, competencies and strengths
- Treating parents as equal partners during the CJP and being sensitive to power relations during engagement with parents.
- Ensuring a CJS and CJP that is inclusionary and allows parents the opportunity to participate, engage, collaborate, influence and monitor at all levels of the CJS.
- Treating parents in a humanising manner during the CJP and during all engagements.
- Demonstrating empathy by listening to parents' stories and being sensitive to their individual needs.
- Reserving judgment of parents and aiming to form professional collaborative working relationships with parents based on trust and mutual understanding of the agreed intervention outcomes.

These principles are important in guiding CJOs' behaviours and attitudes towards parents seeking formal support and should extend to all categories of parents including resistant parents. Parents in the present study emphasised that the treatment they received from CJOs influenced whether they asked for support, raised their concerns, or participated during the CJP. Therefore, CJOs must understand that their approach to parents could either hinder or help parents' seeking and accepting support. Figure 8.7 graphically depicts the model indicating parents' journey during and after the CJP and the different types of support that must be offered to parents during and after the CJP.

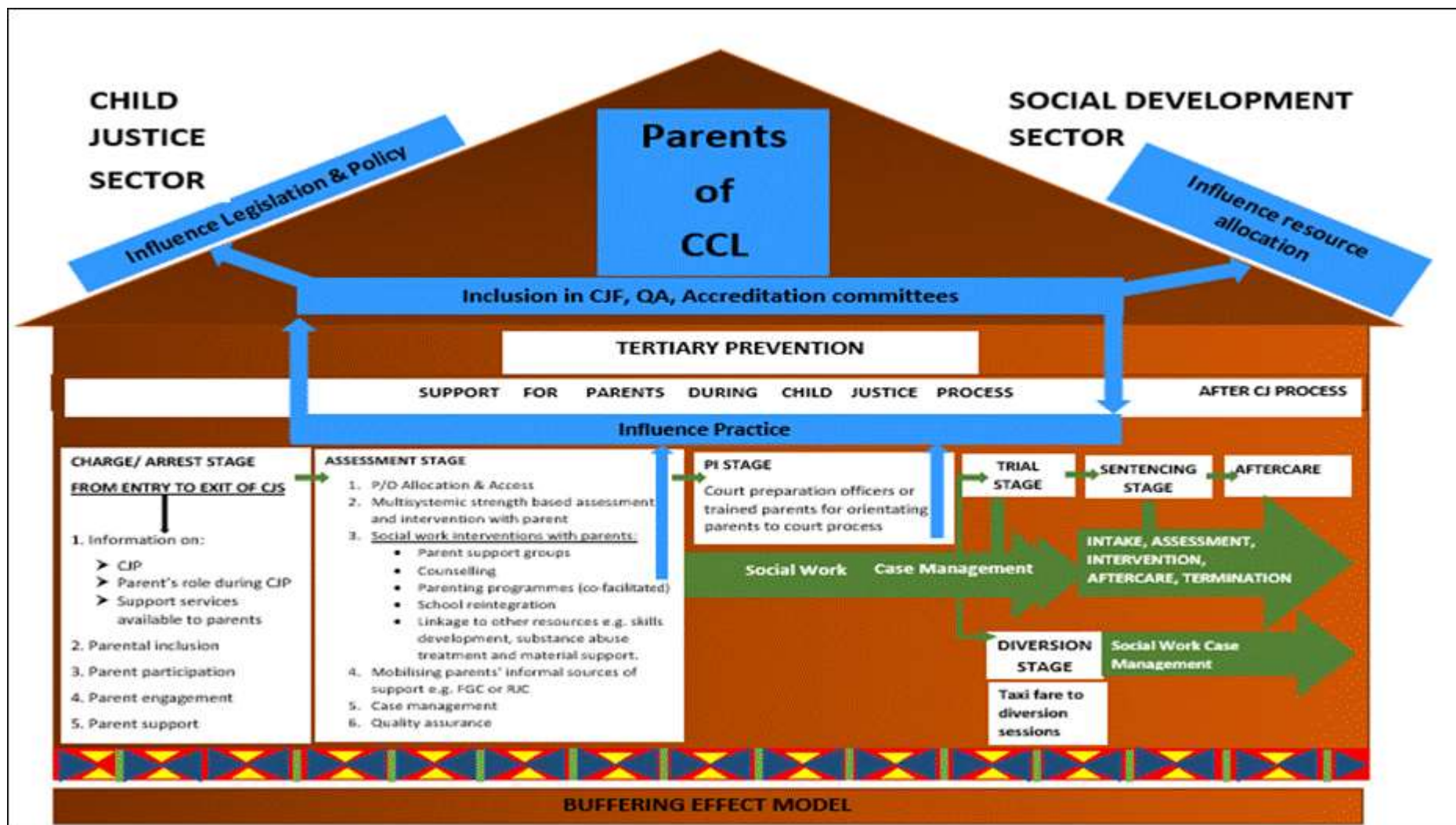


Figure 8.7: Co-constructed practice model for support parents of CCL (Developed by Abdulla, 2018)

At the tertiary prevention level the model points to specific support activities and opportunities for parents as service advocates. CJOs, particularly probation officers, have to ensure that parents' needs and concerns are considered and appropriate support services are availed to them. Support activities by the various CJOs responsible for supporting parents of CCL are reflected in Table 8.3. In order for parents to actively participate in prevention services and the CJS they need to have access to information and be provided with opportunities to engage with and ask questions about the services purported to support them. Parents that have access to informational support involve them being knowledgeable about the CJP, their role, CJO's roles, restorative justice, resources or services for parents and how to manage their children's behaviour or substance abuse. Parents that have access to responsive social work services at community (schools, DSD satellite offices, police station) and court level is another key element in parents participating in a variety of interventions aimed at supporting them. Parents need access to formal support on an ongoing basis guided by their needs rather than only when professionals are available or identify a need. Parents must be the ones determining the type of support and services they need, from which professional they need the support and when they need the support. This takes into account that professionals at times are the ones who need to persuade parents that they need support; however, the model promotes collaboration with parents rather than coercion. This implies that professionals have to use a variety of strategies as indicated by Maschi et al. (2013:476) to build rapport with parents and develop a partnership where parents can see the potential value of participating in support services. Table 8.3 below, lists the practice activities involved in supporting parents of CCL. The table also explains the role of child justice officials, the respective government departments and the Child Justice Forums in facilitating support for parents prior, during and after the CJP.

Table 8.3: Practice activities and stakeholder roles in supporting parents of CCL during and after the CJP (Abdulla, 2018)

PRACTICE ACTIVITIES AND STAKEHOLDER ROLES IN SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CCL DURING AND AFTER THE CJP			
Charge and arrest phase practice activities	Child justice officials' role	Departmental role	Child justice forum role
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provide parents with information on the CJ process and services of Legal Aid SA. 2. Provide parents with information on parents' rights and responsibilities during charge/arrest phase. 3. Link parents to appropriate services for counselling and support. 4. Inform the probation officer of services parent has been linked with to ensure coordinated support to parent. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - SAPS must respectfully assist all parents in accessing support and professional help for themselves and their child in conflict with the law. - DSD probation officers must engage parents in assessment to establish their support needs and facilitate intervention that is responsive to the parents' needs to assist parents' whose children are detained or are placed into their care prior to the preliminary inquiry. - P/O to assess and strengthen or mobilise family and community support for parents. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - SAPS must ensure that all stations have posters on the child justice process and information on local support services for parents, restorative justice, parents' rights, role and responsibilities during the CJ process. - DSD to allocate or link probation officers to SAPS stations in their district to enable SAPS to contact a probation officer when a parent needs crisis counselling when their child is charged or arrested. - SAPS to educate parents on their complaints' process to submit grievances/complaints about SAPS services to parents and their children during the CJ process. - SAPS must ensure all their officers are trained on how to treat, support and refer parents of children in conflict with the law. 	<p>SAPS, Judiciary, NPA, Legal Aid and DSD must work together through their monthly forum to address parent issues identified by parents and CJO during the charge/arrest phase and implement responsive strategies to support parents during this phase. The Child Justice Forum must play an overseeing and monitoring role to ensure that SAPS locate parents; parents are treated professionally and referred for support services by SAPS</p>

PRACTICE ACTIVITIES AND STAKEHOLDER ROLES IN SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CCL DURING AND AFTER THE CJP

			during the charge/arrest phase.
Assessment phase practice activities	Child justice officials' role	Departmental role	Child justice forum role
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provide parents with information on the purpose of the Assessment, the CJ process, the CJ role players, RJ, parents' rights and responsibilities. 2. Assign a probation officer to each parent; provide parents with the contact details of the case manager, APO and probation officer verbally and in writing. 3. Assess and identify parents' needs, concerns and ability to cope with their child and the CJ process. 4. Provide emotional support, individual and family intervention (FGC) as well as link parent to appropriate resources/services based on assessment outcome 5. Assist parent with identifying and mobilising informal sources of support. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The probation officer must engage in and comply with DSD prescribed case management activities to ensure comprehensive assessment, intervention and aftercare with all parents of children in conflict with the law. - DSD probation officers must assist parents regain parental authority over child's behaviour and ensure regular school attendance. - DSD probation officers must ensure that all parents are involved in and participate actively in the assessment, are consulted and understand the recommendations to court. - P/O to assess and strengthen or mobilise family and community support for parents. - Probation officers must have knowledge of all local support services for parents. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - DSD to ensure that all probation officers are trained on how to guide and counsel parents to cope during the child justice process. - DSD to ensure that all probation officers are trained on how to guide and counsel parents to cope with their child's behaviour and facilitate behaviour change to prevent recidivism or substance abuse relapse. - DSD to ensure that their social work supervisors conduct quarterly quality assurance on all case management processes and cases to evaluate as well as monitor support services to parents. - DSD to ensure that non-compliance to their case management standards and processes are addressed through supervision and performance management. 	<p>SAPS, Judiciary, NPA, Legal Aid and DSD must work together through their monthly forum to address parent issues and monitor the referral of parents for support services through probation officer recommendations.</p> <p>The Child Justice Forum must play an overseeing and monitoring role in ensuring that parents are located by APO's, parents are treated professionally and receive professional intervention from DSD throughout and after the child justice process.</p>

PRACTICE ACTIVITIES AND STAKEHOLDER ROLES IN SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CCL DURING AND AFTER THE CJP

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Assist parents' with their child's school attendance or school enrolment issues. 7. Enlist the services of an APO (family finder) to locate absent parents, engage with parent and ensure their participation in the assessment and appropriate intervention. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - DSD must formalise working agreements with all local support service organisations to accept and provide services to referred parents. 	
Preliminary inquiry/court phase practice activities	Child justice officials' role	Departmental role	Child justice forum role
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Inform parent of and provide practical support- taxi fare, letters of attendance. 2. Court preparation officers to explain to parents the CJ court procedure/etiquette, court role-players, parents' role and responsibility during the PI/Court proceedings. 3. Flexible PI/court hours to accommodate elderly or employed parents. 4. Informal setting/face to face court setting to encourage parent participation and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Court preparation officer must explain the CJ court process and role players. - Presiding officer must engage with the parent so parent can ask questions, raise concerns or needs and ask for support. - Presiding officer must explain court processes and introduce role players to parent. - PI being held in informal setting. - CJ officials must demonstrate sensitivity to parents' needs, concerns and feelings during court proceedings. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - DoJ, NPA, DSD, Legal Aid SA and Diversion service provider to ensure that all court officials are trained on how to treat and work with parents of children in conflict with the law during PI/Court process. - DoJ, NPA, DSD, Legal Aid SA and Diversion service provider to ensure that all court officials are trained on how to guide advise and provide concrete support to parents during the PI/Court. - DoJ to ensure that all preliminary inquiries are held in an informal 	<p>SAPS, Judiciary, NPA, Legal Aid and DSD must work together through the monthly CJF to collaborate with parents in identifying parent concerns, and plan, implement as well as coordinate parent support services to parents throughout the CJ process.</p> <p>The Child Justice Forum must play an</p>

PRACTICE ACTIVITIES AND STAKEHOLDER ROLES IN SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CCL DURING AND AFTER THE CJP

<p>provide opportunity for parent to ask questions, raise concerns and request support during the CJP.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Encourage parents' inclusion and participation during the PI/Court process. 6. Consider and acknowledge parents' contributions during the PI/Court process. 7. Consider P/O assessment of the parents' needs, concerns and recommendations on interventions needed to support the parent. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents' role and responsibilities explained by the presiding officer. - Legal guidance given to parents by attorney. - Parent being acknowledged in court/PI by the presiding officer and their contributions considered during the proceedings. - CJ officials must have respectful tone, be approachable, and have an inclusive approach to parents. - CJ officials must treat the parent as equal partner during CJ process. - CJ officials must provide parents with concrete advice, guidance and assistance to support parents in assuming/resuming parental responsibilities. 	<p>setting as prescribed by CJA 75/2008</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - DOJ to ensure that the monthly CJ forum discuss and address identified parent issues/needs to ensure speedy resolution/response by all departments. - DoJ and NPA to allocate court preparation officers to all CJ courts with relevant training. - DOJ must have flexible court hours at CJ courts to accommodate working or elderly parents. 	<p>overseeing and monitoring role in ensuring that parents or suitable guardians attend the PI/court, parents are treated professionally, are engaged during the proceedings and receive support services.</p>
Diversion phase practice activities	Child justice officials' role	Departmental role	Child justice forum role
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provide information on diversion programme content, directions to venue, parents' role/responsibilities during diversion. 2. Provide parents with regular feedback on children's progress through home-visits. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The diversion social worker/facilitator must inform and refer parents to support services/resources. - Diversion social worker/facilitator must provide the parent with regular feedback on their child's progress during the diversion programme. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Diversion service provider to ensure that all social workers are trained on how to guide and counsel parents to cope during the child justice process. - Diversion service provider must ensure that all social workers are trained on how to guide and counsel parents to cope with their 	<p>SAPS, Judiciary, NPA, Legal Aid and DSD must work together through their monthly forum to collaborate with parents in identifying and addressing parent issues and monitor the</p>

PRACTICE ACTIVITIES AND STAKEHOLDER ROLES IN SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CCL DURING AND AFTER THE CJP

<p>3. Provide taxi-fare to diversion sessions for child and parent.</p> <p>4. Provide emotional support and parenting advice at support groups for parents of diverted children to help them cope with their child's behaviour during and after the diversion programme.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Diversion social worker/facilitator must provide aftercare services (for 3 months with home visits twice a month) to monitor the child's progress and support the parent where needed. - Diversion social worker/facilitator to link parent to or facilitate support group for parents of diverted children. 	<p>child's behaviour and facilitate behaviour change to prevent recidivism or substance abuse relapse.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Diversion service provider must provide taxi-fare to parents and their children to attend diversion programmes that are less accessible from parents' places of residence. - Diversion service provider to ensure that their social work supervisors conduct quarterly quality assurance on all case management processes to monitor support services/aftercare to parents. - Diversion service provider to allocate staff to facilitate or link parent to support groups while their child is attending the diversion programme. 	<p>referral of parents for support services through the diversion service provider recommendations. The Child Justice Forum must play an overseeing and monitoring role in ensuring that parents do attend required diversion sessions and receive professional intervention from the diversion service provider during and after the diversion programme.</p>
<p>Detention/sentencing and aftercare practice activities</p>	<p>Child justice officials' role</p>	<p>Departmental role</p>	<p>Child justice forum role</p>
<p>1. Assess and provide parent/family intervention and access to resources for parent to cope during the child's detention/sentence/aftercare.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Detention Centre social worker/probation officer must ensure comprehensive assessment, intervention and aftercare with all parents of detained/sentenced children. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provide parent verbal and written information on Detention Centre rules, activities, and case manager contact details. - DSD to ensure that all Detention Centre social workers/probation 	<p>SAPS, Judiciary, NPA, Legal Aid and DSD must work together through their monthly forum to collaborate with parents in</p>

PRACTICE ACTIVITIES AND STAKEHOLDER ROLES IN SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CCL DURING AND AFTER THE CJP

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Provide parent information on Detention Centre rules, activities, and case manager contact details. 3. Plan jointly with and support the parent during detention, sentence and after care. 4. Identify and mobilise informal and formal sources of support needed by parent during and after the CJP. 5. Where parents are not involved to assign an APO to locate the parent or family of the child. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Detention Centre social worker/probation officer must assist parents regain parental authority over children's behaviour and ensure regular school attendance or skills training. - The Detention Centre social worker/probation officer must have knowledge of all local support services for parents and link parent to appropriate services. - The Detention Centre social worker/probation officer must in partnership with the parent identify and mobilise informal support for the parent 	<p>officers are trained on how to guide and counsel parents to cope during and after the child justice process.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - DSD to ensure that all social workers/probation officers are trained on how to guide and counsel parents to cope with their child's behaviour and facilitate behaviour change to prevent recidivism or substance abuse relapse. - DSD to ensure that their social work supervisors conduct quarterly quality assurance on all case management processes to evaluate as well as monitor support services to parents. 	<p>identifying and addressing parent issues and monitor the referral of parents for support services through Detention Centre social worker/probation officer recommendations.</p> <p>The Child Justice Forum must play an oversight and monitoring role in ensuring that parents are located by APO's and they receive professional intervention from DSD throughout and after the child justice process.</p>
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The practice activities contained in the practice model sets out to facilitate parents' access to a continuum of support from the primary prevention level to the aftercare stage within the tertiary prevention level (Figure 8.8). The model also depicts a continuum of inclusion to enable parents to participate as service advocates in various overseeing or decision-making structures to influence legislation, policy, resource allocations and practice (Figure 8.8). Tables 8.2 and 8.3 explained the practice activities that must be implemented at each stage to address parents' support needs and provide a variety of support that would allow them to experience a supportive, collaborative and inclusive CJP. The tables clarify the role of each CJO in supporting parents at each stage and the collaborative approach in the respective departments ensuring parent focused prevention services and a CJS that is conducive to supporting parents.

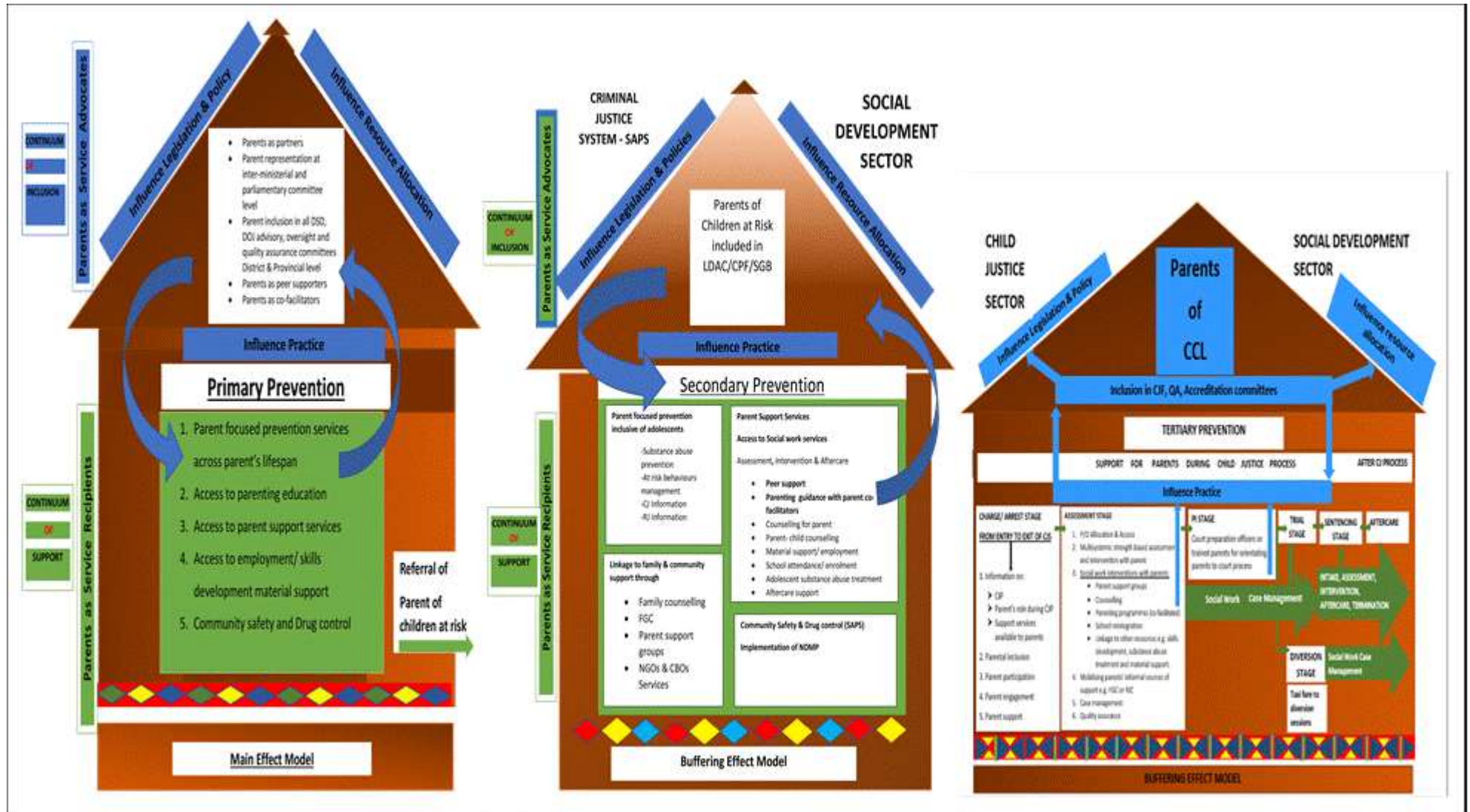


Figure 8.8: Primary, secondary and tertiary prevention services with parents as service recipients and service advocates (Abdulla, 2018)

The CJO at the centre of supporting parents are probation officers tasked with engaging the parent in strength-based, multi-systemic assessment and responsive intervention at all levels. The role of the Child Justice Forum in spearheading the collaboration with parents and inclusion of parents not just as service users but also as service “advocates” is vital in parents assuming the role of equal partner in the child justice system advocating for themselves and their children (Burke et al., 2014:5-6). The Child Justice Forum as a legislated national, provincial and district level multi-stakeholder forum is in the prime position to facilitate system wide, multi-stakeholder and multi-systemic engagement with parents and implementation of parent focused support. The Child Justice Forum as an existing overseeing body is also able to advocate and monitor support services to parents during the CJP and exert influence on the various departments to provide parent focused secondary prevention services.

Implementation of this model requires CJOs, the CJS and the legislation alike to expand their view of the parental role and allow room for parents to assume and fulfil a meaningful role prior to, during and after the CJP. The model also requires CJOs, the system and the legislation to recognise parents’ need for access to emotional, educational and practical support in not only fulfilling their parental role in relation to their child but also their role within the CJS. Implementation of the model requires not only a shift in focus but also the allocation of resources such as personnel and funding to facilitate support for parents prior, during and after the CJP. This allocation of resources is aligned to the achievement of the vision of the White Paper on families (Department of Social Development, 2012) and the Integrated Parenting Framework (Department of Social Development, 2011) as governments’ commitment to supporting parents and families. Personnel allocation for implementation of this model includes assigning existing personnel or recruiting, training and assigning social workers to render services to parents at community and court based settings. The allocation of court preparation officers to courts dealing with CCL and APO’s to assist with finding parents when needed. Funding of resources like vehicles and office space is also needed where social workers/probation officers can render services to parents to support them at secondary and tertiary prevention level. Keeping in mind the shortage of funding in the social development sector, the model can be implemented by mobilising existing resources within the government sector and non-governmental sector (NGOs/CBOs) to collaborate and expand their services to include parents and

focus on supporting parents. An opportunity exists for all stakeholders working with children at-risk of offending and CCL to work in a collaborative and coordinated manner in supporting parents thereby reducing duplication of services and increasing accessibility to services for parents. This collaboration is envisioned by the *Child Justice Act 75 of 2008* (2009) and the integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy (Department of Social Development, 2011) which provide a framework for the implementation of the model within a multi-stakeholder setting. Ensuring achievement of a collaborative multi-stakeholder approach requires buy-in from the respective departments and for all stakeholders to be sensitised on the role of parents and their support needs at secondary and tertiary prevention level. This stakeholder buy-in was secured at district, provincial and national level through engagement with the Child Justice Forums and the National Technical Inter-Sectoral Committee on Child Justice during 2018.

Reflecting on the model, the design criteria and the principles that were taken into cognisance during its development the practice model allows for parent-focused prevention and support services that are collaborative in allowing parents to access informational, emotional and practical support at secondary and tertiary prevention level from formal and informal sources of support. The model also promotes a multi-stakeholder and a multi-systemic approach to supporting parents that is cognisant of parents' role and the inclusion of parents as services users and service "advocates" (Burke et al., 2014:5-6). Guided by the participatory action research (Turnbull et al., 1998:178-188) design employed in this study, the model development process sought to not "re-invent the wheel" but to locate the study firmly within the current practice system in a collaborative manner in order to transform practice with stakeholders rather than for them. The model works within an existing system of prevention services and child justice guided by legislation and policy, which speaks to its relevance in responding to the parents' needs, the system's needs and fulfilling legislative/policy requirements for supporting parents. The model is effective in identifying parents' support needs and comprehensively detailing how CJOs and the system as a whole can support parents of children at risk and CCL. The model's bottom up and participative approach lends itself to be practical, adaptable and responsive to parents' needs as the model is generic enough to prescribe practice activities but promotes parents' inclusion in determining their support needs, the type of support they need

and when they most need the support. The replicability of the model is partly reliant on CJOs and parents within a given context collaborating to assess what existing support services are available to parents, the systemic strengths and barriers to implementing the model and adapting the model to fit the context. For example, if resources are limited and court preparation officers cannot be assigned to courts, assigning a parent or an APO trained on court processes to do court preparation may be considered. Non-availability of social workers at SAPS offices and community venues to facilitate parent support groups could be addressed by exploring placement of fourth year social work or psychology students at SAPS offices/community venues. Although limitations in resources may affect the replicability of the model in its totality many of the elements of the model do not require investment of resources such as inclusion of parents, collaboration with parents, multi-systemic assessment and intervention with parents, and linking parents to existing resources. The adaptability of the model itself is therefore impacted by the availability of personnel and existing support services for parents, in which case CJOs in collaboration with parents has to explore alternative ways to support parents through informal sources of support and by advocating with government for increased funding for services to support parents.

8.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presented the design and development phase of the present research, which culminated in an intervention (Thomas & Rothman, 1994 cited in Rothman & Thomas, 1994:3), namely a co-constructed practice model to support parents of CCL. The chapter discussed the parents' support needs, the sources of support and the functional as well as procedural elements that were identified then integrated into the design of the model. The key design elements and design criteria were discussed followed by the presentation of the practice model. The practice model highlighted support being accessible for parents prior to, during and after the CJP. The roles of the respective CJOs, departments and the CJF in implementing the practice activities were also detailed. The application of the design criteria was then discussed with potential challenges highlighted. The next chapter presents summaries of the chapters; draws conclusions based on this study and makes recommendations.

CHAPTER 9:

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter presented a discussion on the culmination of this research project, namely, the co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law. Table 8.1 in the preceding chapter depicted the systematic process followed in this study to achieve the research aim and objectives. The current study aimed to co-construct a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process by achieving the following objectives:

5. To explore and describe the types of support needed by parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process.
6. To identify and describe existing practice models within the child protection system and potential sources of support for parents of children in conflict with the law.
7. To identify functional elements from existing practice models and potential sources of support and match the functional elements with the identified support needs of parents of children in conflict with the law.
8. To co-design, develop and test a co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process.

The research aim was successfully achieved as the systematic research design enabled the inclusion of participants as experts and collaborators throughout the research process. The integration of the research objectives into a clear implementation plan (CR chapter 1 Table 1.1) with specific phases and operations helped the working group remain on track in working towards the achievement of the research aim. Buy-in from gatekeepers and participants alike facilitated the co-construction of the practice model, its pilot testing and refinement. Table 8.1 clearly shows the systematic achievement of the research aim and objectives while Figure 8.7 graphically depicts the outcome of the current research study. As such, it can be concluded that all the research objectives in the present study were achieved.

This chapter summarises specific aspects of the thesis with a view to drawing conclusions. Recommendations will then be made for policy, practice, training, research methodology and future research. Summaries and conclusions will be presented as follows:

- Motivation and methodology for the study
- Relevance of the study within existing literature
- Theoretical framework employed in the study
- Application of the research methodology
- Empirical findings – Descriptive themes
- Empirical findings – Analytic themes
- Empirical findings – Potential sources of support
- Empirical findings – Development and pilot testing of a co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of CCL

The following section will summarise the motivation for the study and the research methodology employed in this study.

9.2 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: MOTIVATION AND METHODOLOGY FOR THE STUDY

Legislation and policies focusing on children in conflict with the law allude to the important role of parents prescribing programmes and strategies to support parents. However, the implementation of legislation and policies does not translate into parent-focused support for parents. Support services for parents of children involved in the child protection system are prescribed with resources, personnel and dedicated services subsidised by government to render family-centred or child-centred programmes, and services to ensure parents are supported to care for their children. The child protection system recognises that parents need support and services to help them fulfil their parenting role. Although the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) promotes the placement of CCL into their parents' care during the CJP, it fails to provide support to parents to manage their children's behaviour during and after the CJP. The child justice system expects parents to fulfil the role of supporting their children during the CJP and holds parents liable when children fail to comply with court orders. Despite parents struggling to manage their children's challenging behaviour

and substance abuse, the child justice system employs a child-centred approach in the assessment and intervention with CCL. Parents are reduced to the role of service extenders despite their need to be involved in the CJS as service user and the opportunity to be included as service advocates. The literature review and practice observations point to the need for the assessment of parents and interventions to be co-developed to support parents during and after the CJP.

To understand the type of support parents' need, during the CJP and how their needs could be addressed through a co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of CCL, the research methodology adopted a qualitative approach employing a PAR and IDD design. The integration of PAR and IDD allowed a systematic, yet flexible process with a non-probability purposive sample of parents and child justice officials to work collaboratively over a predetermined period to engage in problem analysis, project planning, knowledge generation, design and early development. The current study was motivated by the paucity of research and literature on the type of support parents of CCL need as well as the absence of a practice model for supporting these parents during the CJP. It can be concluded that this study's aim to not only understand parents' support needs but also to work collaboratively with parents and child justice officials in co-constructing a practice model for supporting parents of CCL, contributes to knowledge development and practice.

9.3 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY WITHIN EXISTING LITERATURE

As a point of departure, the concept of "supporting parents" was discussed as most literature refers to parenting support focusing on improving parenting practice (Daly et al., 2015; Molinuevo, 2013; Daly, 2011; Boddy et al., 2009). Various countries' legislation and policies focus on parents in the context of child policies or family policies mainly aimed at improving either child or family outcomes (Daly et al., 2015, Byrne & Margaria, 2014; Mokomane, 2014 in Robila, 2014; Makiwane & Berry, 2013). The one-dimensional focus on parents in their parenting role, as opposed to their overall well-being, results in parents not being supported to cope with personal and mental health problems that they may face across their life-span. South African policies focus on a social development approach (Midgley, 2014:17) in working with

children, parents and families. However, this approach is not fully operationalised in current social development programmes for parents.

The focus on parents in the context of child and family outcomes forms the basis for a variety of universal services or programmes being offered to parents of toddlers, children and pre-teens and to lesser degree adolescents, at primary prevention level (Division for Social Policy and Development Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, 2001). Females seem to be the primary target of parenting programmes with the absence of fathers noted as a concern (Daly et al., 2015: 20; Molinuevo, 2013:2; Hochfeld, 2007:86-87). Various professionals are involved in supporting parents particularly in the health and welfare sector with some countries having dedicated trained staff to support them (Daly, 2011:19). Literature and research on supporting parents of children at risk of offending and CCL mainly focused on adolescent offending behaviour with particular emphasis on risk factors associated with offending behaviour (Farrington & Welsh, 2007; Riele, 2006). Parents' role and competence in identifying and preventing deterioration or escalation of children's at-risk behaviour is highlighted with a call to normalise support seeking for parents. The de-contextualisation of at-risk behaviour and the resultant stigmatisation of parents of children at-risk including blaming parents for their children's at-risk behaviour was discussed.

Studies seek to identify key risk domains such as family or community domains for intervention to reduce the development of at-risk behaviour (Cluver et al., 2016; Meinck et al., 2015; McAlister & Carr, 2014; Farrington & Welsh, 2007; Amoateng, Barber & Erickson, 2006; Armstrong et al., 2005; Wortherson & Schissel, 2001). However, various scholars call for a multi-focus on the various domains, their interconnections, and the impact of the structural domain to guide a holistic approach to supporting parents of children at risk through targeted multi-systemic and multi-modal interventions (Hoeve et al., 2009; Amoateng et al., 2006; Bradford et al., 2003).

Research in the field of child justice mainly focuses on adolescents' offending behaviour with parents featured as service extenders rather than service users during the CJP (Keijsers et al., 2011; Schroeder et al., 2010). Parenting and peer support programmes for parents of CCL are noted and mostly available in developed countries with limited offerings in Africa and South Africa (Karam et al., 2015:3; Walker et al.,

2012:58-59). In South Africa, the implementation of child justice legislation and parents' role as service extenders have formed the basis for a few studies (Hargovan, 2013; Steyn, 2012; Reyneke & Reyneke, 2011) with only two studies exploring parents' experience of their children's diversion during the CJP (Abdulla & Goliath, 2015; Mankayi, 2007). Focus on parents of CCL in research and literature is limited despite parenting risk factors and mental health problems being linked to children's offending behaviour. Although parents' need for support and inclusion during the CJP is recognised, no studies present an understanding of the support needs of parents of CCL or propose how these could be addressed during the CJP. The gap in existing literature and research formed the basis for the present study,

Based on the literature review it can be concluded that although parents are recognised as an important stakeholder in legislation and policy, to date, the child and family focus of policies and practice facilitates the exclusion of parents as service users and service advocates. This exclusion can be seen in the prominence afforded to child- and family-centred research, literature, policy and practice resulting in a paucity of research and literature on parent-centred policy and practice. The need for parents of children at risk and CCL to be supported and included at secondary and tertiary prevention level is evident. However, insufficient empirical evidence exists on what support they need and how they can be supported and included prior to, during, and after the CJP. Further research must endeavour to contribute to knowledge development in the area of supporting parents of children at risk and CCL, especially in developing countries where there is a deafening silence.

9.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK EMPLOYED IN THE STUDY

Integration of the ecological systems model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986:723), and the buffering effect model (Cameron & Vanderwoerd, 1997:35) has been used as the theoretical lens for underpinning the study and in understanding and verifying the findings of the present study. The nested systems depicted in the ecological model, namely the nucleus, micro-, meso-, exo- and macro-systems are explained as interconnected systems showing the various systems or individuals surrounding parents as potential or actual sources of formal or informal support. The buffering effect model is presented to explain how parents access support, the type of support

parents may need and how the various systems can offer support within and between systems as parents' journey through the CJS.

The need for universal support (main effect model) and targeted support during crisis (buffering effect model) is linked to parents' need for support not only when they experience a crisis but throughout their life span to facilitate their overall well-being. The buffering effect model is discussed in depth in relation to the crisis parents experience when their children clash with the law and proceed through the CJS.

Integration of the two models helped in explaining which systems parents, as service users, can access for support and the type of support, namely informational, emotional, practical and professional support, parents may need. Depicting the child justice system as a system of concern, nested in the supra-systems, namely, the social development and criminal justice system highlights the opportunity for parents to assume the service advocate role. The integration of this approach helps in demonstrating how parents' inclusion during the CJS and beyond could be facilitated with parents located as a subsystem within the CJS. The integration of the theoretical models helps in understanding parents' support needs, their support seeking behaviour and identifies the potential informal and formal sources of support. It also helps in explaining parents' potential to not only access support but also to advocate for support and influence policy, practice and resource allocation for supporting parents of CCL. The various informal and formal sources of support and their relationship with parents as well as their supportive role were discussed with emphasis placed on how these sources can either help or hinder parents' efforts to seek, access and utilise support during the CJP.

In conclusion, the importance of viewing parents as part of their families, communities and the macro-system helps identify potential and actual sources of support. However, focusing on parents as the nucleus to reveal their support needs is vital in matching the various sources of support and dealing with the dynamics that may exist when support is offered or when it is absent. The integration of the two theoretical models lays the foundation for engaging parents in multi-systemic assessment and intervention as service users. It also enables positioning and including parents within the child justice system in their role as service advocates. The two theoretical models underpinning the practice model developed during this study are useful in guiding

social work practice aimed at supporting parents of CCL. Furthermore, the inclusion of parents during the CJP and in the supra-system as well as the CJS can be guided by the ecological approach which recognises parents' role as service advocates and an important subsystem in the CJS.

9.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: APPLICATION OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The choice of the research problem was guided by multiple factors including the gap in literature, the paucity of research on supporting parents of CCL, and practice observations. In an effort to understand the research problem and achieve the research aim the selection of a qualitative approach allowed in-depth exploration of the type of support parents need in the context of the CJS through a collaborative process of knowledge generation and knowledge construction with participants. Employing a constructivist paradigm, PAR and IDD were integrated as a research design to foreground participants as experts during the research process and facilitate the design and development of a practice model. The integration of PAR and IDD in the current study is a novice innovation, as I could not find any studies where these two designs were integrated. The research aim and objectives were clearly aligned to the research approach and the research design, which prescribed a systematically phased process of problem analysis, project planning, design and early development. Entry to the two research sites was met with buy-in and commitment from gatekeepers and participants alike.

The selection of the sample of parents and child justice officials set the stage for the data generation phase. The involvement of the participants in twelve focus groups over eighteen months resulted in parents' support needs being understood from both parents' and CJOs' perspectives then triangulated with observation findings generated at the two research sites by trained observers. The continuous reflection and refinement of the practice model throughout the research process allowed for multiple perspectives and input from an expert panel, practitioners, observers and parents involved during the pilot testing phase. Analysis and synthesis of the data generated throughout this study were strengthened by the use of an independent coder. Through thematic analysis, both descriptive themes and the analytic themes were generated and verified by the independent coder, participants, the research supervisors and the

expert panel. The integration of the observation findings helped in contextualising the focus group findings and contributed to the refinement of the practice model during the early development phase. Pilot testing of certain elements of the practice model and its impact showed which elements addressed parents' support needs and identified the refinements required for the practice model to be responsive to parents' support needs.

Strategies to ensure the trustworthiness of this study included securing commitment from gatekeepers and participants for the duration of the study. The rigour of the study was strengthened by ensuring a thick description of the research process with an evidentiary audit trail. The continuous checking of all data generated during the study by participants facilitated the verification and accuracy of the findings. To ensure transparency of the research process this report contains a clear project implementation plan and description of the research process. Literature control is applied throughout the research report to contextualise the study within the current literature and support claims made in this study. Strategies employed to ensure coherence included the continuous reflection and checking of the knowledge generated during the study by me, participants, the independent coder and the presence of the moderator throughout the research process. Accurate recording and reporting of the findings and the research process to participants and stakeholders throughout the study further enhanced coherence.

The collaborative process that was followed facilitated multiple forms of inquiry and the integration of multiple perspectives during the study. This furthermore strengthened the validity and quality of the PAR process. The significant contribution this study made to the child justice system laid the foundation for the knowledge utilisation phase of the IDD process. The ethical considerations involved included voluntary participation, ensuring informed consent, preventing or minimising risk to participants and guarding participants' privacy. Voluntary participation was secured from all participants prior to the commencement of the study and renewed every time participants signed the attendance registers during focus groups. Verbal and written information shared with participants on the scope of the study, its duration, the risks and the expectation of collaboration facilitated informed consent from all participants. Participants who assumed the role of co-facilitators during the focus groups and

parents who attended the stakeholder workshops signed additional consent forms that stipulated that their identity would become known to other parents and CJOs not part of the core working group. All participants gave written consent for the focus groups to be audio-recorded, transcribed, and then anonymised to ensure confidentiality. All research assistance provided by the moderator, independent coder, transcriber, and observers involved the signing of confidentiality agreements to ensure that they maintain confidentiality regarding the participants' identities and any information related to the study.

Dissemination of this study's findings has been shared at two local and one international conference with planned dissemination through publication planned for the next two years. In conclusion, the research methodology employed in the study allowed for a systematic collaborative process of data generation, continuous reflection and innovation by a purposefully selected sample of participants with experience and insight into the research problem and its solution. The research methodology and design aligned to the research aim and the selected methods of inquiry facilitated the achievement of the research aim. Integration of PAR and IDD facilitated a balance between structure, meaningful participation by research participants and creativity, which allowed a goal directed but flexible as well as reflective research process.

9.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: EMPIRICAL FINDINGS – DESCRIPTIVE THEMES

The descriptive themes that emerged based on the data generated during the problem analysis phase and the data analysis process in respect of parents' experiences during the CJP and CJOs' views on supporting parents of CCL are presented in Table 5.2. Themes three and four, which speak to research objective one, namely, to explore and describe the types of support needed by parents of CCL during the CJP, were discussed by triangulating with the observation findings. A summary is presented in the subsection below.

9.6.1 The support needs of parents of children in conflict with the law

Parents' support needs prior to, during and after the child justice process included informational support, emotional support, practical support and professional support especially from social workers/probation officers.

- *Informational support*, indicated parents' need for information on how to manage their children's challenging behaviour, their substance abuse, their children's reintegration or enrolment in schools and how to deal with community victimisation. Parents' efforts to seek assistance and support from professionals were unsuccessful, as professionals were unable to provide concrete support and parents could not find any information on where to access support services. Only one parent was able to access services from a psychologist as part of the government employee assistance programme. Parents' entry into the CJS left them feeling lost and overwhelmed as they had limited information or knowledge on how the CJS works. One parent spent a night not knowing where her daughter was as the police only informed her of the child's arrest and detention the next day. CJOs confirmed that the police sometimes struggled to locate parents. Parents' lack of knowledge and understanding of the CJP indicated the need for CJOs to explain the process to parents prior to and during the CJP. Legal aid attorneys seemed to assume this role by explaining the CJP to parents and during the pilot testing phase court preparation officers' orientation of parents on the CJP was found to be helpful in providing informational support to parents. Parents' need for information about the progress, status and outcome of their children's cases were also identified. Parents' required clarity about their children's cases in order to plan for their children's return to school and to allay their fears about their child's possible detention.

In conclusion, based on the findings related to parents' need for informational support it could be concluded that parents required CJOs to provide information on support services so that they could access professional support to manage their children's behaviour, substance abuse and schooling. Parents also needed information on the CJS, the CJP and about their children's cases and found it useful when CJOs engaged with parents and shared the information

face-to-face prior to and during the CJP. The inclusion of parents who had been through the CJP, then trained as peer supporters, could also be considered as a possible support resource for parents of CCL during the CJP especially when CJOs are not available.

- *Emotional support*, highlighted the emotional strain parents experienced prior to, during and after the CJP as a result of their struggles in managing their children's misbehaviour, especially their substance abusing behaviour. Parents' need for emotional support from informal sources included spousal support, which was not consistently available especially in cases of father absence or single mothers.

Parents' need for and access to formal sources of support was highlighted with many parents reporting that they sought support from police and social workers but to no avail. CJOs and the expert panel confirmed the lack of treatment facilities and services for adolescent substance abusers. Parents indicated their need for social workers to help them cope with the emotional strain related to the care of their children and managing their misbehaviour, substance abuse and school dropout. Parents being assigned a social worker for the duration of the CJP and thereafter was indicated to ensure parents have access to social work services.

Social work assessment, in parents' mother tongue, to explore parents' concerns, needs and capacity to cope with their child's behaviour, was indicated as necessary in determining the level of emotional support parents need during and after the CJP.

Based on the emotional support parents need it is concluded that probation officers/social workers have to assess parents need for emotional support to enable exploration of parent's access to informal and formal support. Guided by the social work assessment, these sources of support can be mobilised by social workers during family group conferences and family counselling sessions to support parents during and after the CJP. CJOs, especially the presiding officer and the probation officer's inclusion, involvement and support of fathers during the CJP are vital in sharing the parental responsibilities with mothers.

- *Practical support* needs articulated by parents related to parents' various struggles that required practical support from both formal and informal sources of support. Some parents struggled with paying taxi fare for children and themselves to attend court proceedings and diversion sessions. A few parents had to contend with community violence especially two cases where the alleged victim or friend of the alleged victim of the child threatened the safety of parents, the CCL and threw stones at their property. Parents' efforts to report the threats to their safety and enlist police intervention failed to resolve the matter. Parents who worked or who entered the CJS for the first time reported accessing practical support from their neighbours who accompanied them to court or stood in for them when they could not be at court due to work commitments. One unemployed parent's struggle to access a social grant and his child's resultant involvement in crime to get money was highlighted as a concern. The parent reported needing food or material assistance as he and his child had no source of income to meet their basic needs.

The conclusion drawn from this theme was that parents experienced various challenges, which required practical support from professionals, family or neighbours. Identifying parents' practical support needs should form part of the parent-focused multi-systemic assessment conducted by probation officers/social workers during the CJP. Through this assessment, the interventions can also focus on which informal and formal sources of support can be mobilised to provide practical support.

9.6.2 Support seeking efforts by parents of children in conflict with the law

When their adolescents engaged in substance abuse or dropped out of school most parents recognised the behaviour as placing their children at risk. The findings showed that prior to their children's clash with the law some parents sought support from police, teachers and social workers, however, the support offered was not consistently responsive to parents' support needs and at times professionals failed to assist parents.

- *Parents' support seeking efforts prior to their child's entry into the CJS*, represented parents' efforts to access support and assistance as they struggled

to manage their children's behaviour. Many parents' first call for support was directed at police officers when their children displayed aggressive behaviour due to substance abuse. Police were unable to direct parents to resources or support services because they were unknowledgeable about available resources or as there was a lack of services for substance abuse treatment. Similarly, social workers approached by parents also failed to support and link parents to support services. Based on the findings it was concluded that although parents sought support services prior to their children's clash with the law that the lack of support services for parents at secondary prevention level, coupled with professional's lack of knowledge on how to support parents of children at risk resulted in their children's entry into the CJS. Barriers to accessing substance abuse treatment services were identified as a concern due to parents' reports that their adolescent's substance abuse resulted in their clash with the law and in one case the child's recidivism.

- *Parents' support seeking efforts during the child justice process*, involved parents accessing support from both formal and informal sources of support. Parents sought emotional and practical support from their spouse/partner, family members, and neighbours. They also sought emotional support from colleagues and practical support from a pastor in terms of transport. Parents cited informal sources of support as helpful when individuals were willing to assist, were empathic and they shared a close relationship. Formal support was sought from social workers/probation officers for professional (counselling), emotional, informational (parenting advice and guidance) and practical support (food/material assistance, school enrolment).

Parents sought support from police with their children's substance abusing behaviour and information on where to access substance abuse services for their children. Parents' efforts to access support during the CJP were unsuccessful as professionals were unable to refer them to appropriate support services or provide concrete responsive support. Parents also highlighted the importance of being afforded an opportunity during the CJP to express their support needs and concerns as well as the CJOs' willingness to listen to parents during the CJP.

Based on this theme it can be concluded that parents need both formal and informal support to access informational, emotional, practical and professional support during the CJP.

9.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: EMPIRICAL FINDINGS – ANALYTIC THEMES

Parents' role in identifying their children's at-risk behaviour, although expected by CJOs, is not reflected in legislation. Despite this legislative omission, most parents in the present study identified and sought support in managing their children's at-risk behaviour. Parents sought both formal and informal support prior to, during and after the CJP, however, formal support offered was inconsistent, unresponsive and inaccessible at secondary and tertiary prevention level. Synthesis revealed the emergence of four analytic themes, namely: parent-focused prevention services, accessible social work services for parents, family-centred assessment and intervention, and inclusive and collaborative CJS. The analytic themes were verified through a literature control.

I *Parent-focused prevention services* highlighted the need for a multi-stakeholder approach to prevention services at primary, secondary and tertiary level to provide universal and targeted support for parents. The early detection of children's at-risk behaviour and parents' need for targeted support at secondary prevention level was identified as lacking resulting in children and parents' entry into the CJS.

Parent-focused prevention requires a three-pronged approach which includes addressing poverty/unemployment, addressing adolescent substance abuse/access to drugs, and parent education on child justice/restorative justice. The opportunity to facilitate collaboration between relevant stakeholders, parents and communities in the context of restorative justice is highlighted as a strategy to facilitate integrated, parent-focused prevention. The various fora aimed at crime prevention tend to blame parents as contributing to children's clash with the law resulting in parents being excluded rather than being supported through prevention initiatives/services. Prevention focus must aim to mobilise various micro- and exo-level systems to improve and strengthen

parents' access to various types of support at all prevention levels. Addressing macro level risk factors is indicated as a prerequisite for effecting parent-focused prevention that enables a socio-economic environment conducive for universal and targeted support for parents.

Parents' experience of the charge/arrest stage alludes to the importance of addressing parents' adverse socio-economic conditions as parents struggle to provide for their children's basic needs with some children resorting to crime to provide for their families' basic needs. This pointed to the reality that dealing with CCL and supporting their parents cannot be reduced to addressing only micro-level risk factors but requires CJFs to collaborate with government to ensure economic policies, and programmes include parents to enable universal economic support and empowerment for parents. Addressing parents' socio-economic challenges at secondary and tertiary prevention level is unpacked, emphasising targeted interventions such as material assistance, payment of transport costs to court and diversion sessions and linking parents to resources.

Parents' experiences during the diversion stage highlights the need for a targeted approach to deal with adolescent substance abuse as many parents in this study reported their children's easy access to illegal drugs, their struggles with substance abuse and their relapse despite participation in diversion programmes. The findings indicated the lack of targeted interventions to address children's substance abuse and the absence of support services for parents to manage and cope with their children's substance abuse as a major concern. The need for an integrated social development approach and implementation of the National Drug Master Plan (2013) was evident in supporting parents, their children, families and communities to prevent substance abuse among adolescents. Implementing substance abuse prevention is especially critical in the context of the recent legalisation of private cannabis use in South Africa (Head, 2018). Coordination of a multi-stakeholder approach to substance abuse prevention and support for parents of substance abusing adolescents is highlighted as a strategy for ensuring collaboration and inclusion at all system levels. A continuum of care for substance abuse treatment and relapse prevention that foregrounds parents' needs and

facilitates access to assessment, intervention, treatment and after care for substance abusing adolescents' was noted as an important targeted prevention strategy.

Parents' experience during the trial stage emphasised the need for parent education about the child justice system as parents in the present study indicated their lack of knowledge about the CJP, the role players, the procedures and parents' role during the CJP. Parent-focused prevention services must include information on the CJS, RJ and resources available to parents prior to, during and after the child justice process. Parents' being knowledgeable about child justice would enable their engagement with and during the CJP as well as acting in their child's best interest during the CJP. Parents and communities' understanding restorative justice would introduce them to alternative restorative strategies of resolving conflict and mobilising support. Parents being knowledgeable about various support services at all prevention levels is vital in ensuring parents access support as needed and before their children's at-risk behaviour escalates to delinquent behaviour.

- II. The current study's findings highlight the importance of *parents having access to social work services* as parents and CJOs view social workers as the primary professionals responsible for supporting parents at secondary and tertiary prevention level. Access to social work services is viewed as allowing the opportunity for parents to be assessed to identify their support needs, concerns or challenges and for parents to access a variety of interventions. Although social workers/probation officer's services are viewed as vital in supporting parents, access to social workers at community level was identified as a major barrier to parents accessing support.

The lack of social workers within the community, the shortage of social workers at DSD and NGOs and the resultant lack of accessible social work services for parents at secondary and tertiary prevention level was highlighted by all participants and confirmed by literature. This finding indicated the need for more social workers to be employed and placed in various community locations such as DSD offices, NGOs, police stations and schools. Training of all social

workers placed in the community on working with and providing social work services to parents of children at risk and CCL is important in ensuring targeted support for parents. Social workers must be trained to assess the risk factors related to offending behaviour and how to address these at secondary prevention level to support parents and children at risk of offending. Probation officers, as a specialised category of social workers, are trained to assess offending behaviour and provide specialised interventions to address this offending behaviour. However, they are not trained or skilled in working with the parents as well as families of CCL.

Findings further highlighted the need for a continuum of support for parents where they are viewed by social workers as part of the client system and engaged in multi-systemic assessment and intervention from secondary prevention level through to tertiary prevention level. The importance of social workers embracing a social development approach coupled with specialised knowledge of working with adolescent substance abuse, parent support and multi-systemic assessment and intervention was highlighted as necessary for social work services to be responsive to parents' support needs. DSD as the primary employer of social workers/probation officers and the funder of social development services must provide trained personnel, resources and offer multimodal interventions accessible to parents to ensure support for parents of children at risk and CCL. DSD's partnership with various government departments, NGOs and CBOs is also vital in facilitating a coordinated, multidisciplinary approach to supporting parents of children at risk and CCL.

Participants emphasised the coordination and implementation of a continuum of support for parents operating parallel to a continuum of care for children at risk and CCL. The continuums are proposed as a strategy for ensuring both parents and their children have access to social work services and prevents duplication or absence of services at secondary and tertiary prevention level.

The lack of case management and coordination of services between the child justice system and the child protection system was found to place children at risk of not receiving social work intervention and parents continuing to struggle

in managing their children's behaviour. The lack of social work services at secondary prevention level led to some children's entry into the CJS, while child justice cases converted to children's court inquiries failed to access appropriate social work services to address children's at-risk behaviour.

Parents' repeated failed attempts to access social work services in the child protection system and the CJS resulted in them feeling alone in dealing with their children's at-risk behaviour especially their substance abuse. The need for partnership between the child protection system and the CJS through case conferences, CJFs and case flow and case management meetings were identified as a means for ensuring coordination and implementation of a continuum of support for parents and their children.

Aftercare was highlighted as a critical part of the continuum of support to enable parents to access support services after the CJP. Parents' reports highlighted their continued struggles in managing their children's behaviour after their completion of diversion programmes and parents' anxieties about ensuring their children's desistance from crime as well as abstinence from substance abuse. The need exists for social workers/probation officers to jointly plan, prepare and support parents during the aftercare stage so that parents can access support after the CJP. Parents also emphasised the need for social workers to be accessible in the community and to coordinate and facilitate peer support for parents through parent support groups in the community. The indication that parents need support after the CJP is linked to the current lack of aftercare services for children after completion of the CJP resulting in social workers/probation officers not being available to provide support services to parents. The limited implementation of family group conferences and mentorship programmes as part of aftercare service hinders the mobilisation of both formal and informal support for parents after the CJP. The lack of inclusion of parents, families, communities and schools in reintegration planning and implementation limits the CJS's reach in effectively supporting parents and their children to ensure long-term multi-system impact and children's desistance from crime. Accessible, responsive social work services underpinned by the social development approach are needed at secondary and tertiary prevention

level inclusive of aftercare to assess parents' support needs, provide appropriate multimodal interventions and include parents as a vital part of the client system prior to, during and after the CJS.

- III. The need and importance of social workers and probation officers conducting family-centred assessment and intervention as empirical evidence, policies and social work practice emphasise a family-centred approach in working with children and families. The alignment of the family-centred approach to the African perspective of all individuals being part of or nested within the family system is highlighted and juxtaposed to the current social work practice in the CJS which is child-centred.

Social workers' labelling of parents and lack of knowledge or skills in developing therapeutic alliances with parents and families are highlighted as barriers to implementation of family centred assessment and intervention. Family centred probation assessment and intervention as a theme, highlights that the current use of a structured assessment tool and probation officers' view of assessments within the CJS as being purely to make recommendations for diversion or sentencing further hinders their implementation of family centred assessment and interventions. Lack of a comprehensive multi-systemic assessment of CCL and their parents is partly linked to the CJS' adherence to the Child Justice Act's (Section, 43(3)(b) of the Child Justice Act, 75 of 2008, South Africa, 2009) forty-eight hour assessment period coupled with probation officers' use of a structured assessment tool. The current one-dimensional assessment of children decontextualises children and limits the opportunity for parents to access social work services. It also hinders probation officers' ability to collaborate with parents, include parents during assessment and mobilise support for parents and their families. CJOs, particularly probation officers, recognising and including parents as service users and not exclusively as service extenders requires a shift in the social work knowledge, practice, supervision and case management processes. It also requires that the case flow management process followed in the CJS runs parallel to the social work case management process to create time and space for family centred assessment and intervention during and after the child justice process. It is

recommended that a practice guideline be developed for CJOs, especially probation officers, on how to support parents in the context of a family centred approach during and after the CJP.

The opportunity for restorative justice as the context for mobilising family support was highlighted as a subtheme. The increased implementation of family group conferences based on family preservation and restorative justice principles presents an opportunity for probation officers to facilitate a family centred approach during and after the CJP. Implementation of restorative justice offers an opportunity for children, parents and families to deal with the impact of stigma associated with children's involvement in crime and parents' need for support. Recognising the incidence of crime having an effect on children, parents, families, communities and victims, restorative justice allows for these various stakeholders to give input during the multi-systemic assessment and offer support for parents and families during and after the CJP. Restorative justice conferences allow probation officers to enlist informal and formal sources of support to assist in monitoring the implementation of the various diversion orders and support parents during and after the CJP.

The importance of parent centred support being offered by CJOs to facilitate partnership with parents was indicated as a sub-theme. CJOs have to be trained on how to engage with various types of parents to determine their individualised needs and render a variety of targeted interventions to support parents. CJOs assigning negative labels to parents especially absent or resistant parents reduce their likelihood to reach out to parents so that they can access formal support. In addition, CJOs' interaction with parents and their ability to offer meaningful responsive support determines whether parents will verbalise their support needs or concerns and seek or access support from CJOs. CJOs must understand their respective roles in locating parents, forming supportive working partnerships with parents so that the parents can access support throughout the CJP.

- IV. The findings pointed to the need for an *inclusive and collaborative child justice system* and reflected on the power imbalances that are present within the

current CJS. These include the gender imbalances with more mothers than fathers accompanying children during the CJP. Exclusion of parents during the CJP was identified and linked to parents' lack of knowledge about the CJOs' roles, the CJS especially the court not allowing parents to be included or interact with CJOs during the CJP and parents not included during decision making as envisioned in the restorative justice approach.

The findings showed that CJOs considered parents "to blame" for their children's transgressions and failed to collaborate with or include parents during the CJP. Parents and CJOs reported parents feeling overwhelmed during the court proceedings indicating the need for parents to first be supported in order for them to participate during the CJP. Parents emphasised that the language used during the proceedings must be simple and ideally in the parents' mother tongue, as they felt more comfortable to engage with CJOs in their own language. The need for cultural and gender sensitivity in dealing with parents during the CJP was highlighted by one parent as she felt more at ease to express her needs or concerns to a CJO of the same culture and gender.

The need for parents to be included as service advocates in legislation and policy development was highlighted in this study's findings. Provision of support services to parents and children, parenting programmes/services, child justice services and secondary as well as primary prevention services must involve parents so as to reflect parents' interests in all services that affect them. The inclusion of parents in various CBOs, NGOs, and government fora responsible for support services to children, parents and families is highlighted as essential in normalising parent inclusion in primary, secondary and tertiary prevention levels. Collaboration with parents as valuable partners and service advocates is emphasised in ensuring all decisions affecting parents as a collective include parents' contributions or views. It can be concluded that parents must be included to play a meaningful role within various fora to influence the type of services and support availed to parents at primary and secondary prevention level. Creating opportunities for parents' inclusion in various fora within relevant government departments and NGOs is critical in foregrounding parent-centred support services and normalising parent inclusion.

V. The subtheme, parents as partners, highlights the CJOs' engagement with parents as a determining factor in how they collaborate with or exclude parents during the CJP. CJOs were found to adopt different approaches to parents either being procedural focused, child focused or parent-focused during the CJP. The latter focus was adopted to a limited extent with the child and procedural focus featuring prominently and resulting in parents being excluded during the CJP. The integrated approach coupled with CJOs respectful and inclusive approach was emphasised as vital in facilitating the parents' role as partners during the CJP. Reimagining the CJS and its officials and parents as partners during the CJP is viewed as laying a foundation where parents can be involved in all child justice structures responsible for oversight, decision making, quality assurance and accreditation. Formalising standard operating practice guidelines for the CJS and its respective departments is highlighted as a strategy to normalise parent support and standardise parent inclusion as well as collaboration in the CJS.

9.8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: EMPIRICAL FINDINGS – POTENTIAL SOURCES OF SUPPORT

The potential sources of support for parents, identified by participants, included both formal and informal sources of support. The informal sources of support included parents' spouse/partner, their siblings, family, neighbours, colleagues and a pastor. Parents mainly accessed emotional and practical support from these informal sources.

Parents' access to formal support mainly involved professionals such as social workers, teachers and the police for informational, emotional, practical and professional support. To facilitate achievement of the second research objective programmes/services and practice models in the child protection system and the child justice system were explored and their functional elements identified for potential matching to parents' identified support needs. The services of various NGOs, CBOs and the DSD child protection unit within the Nelson Mandela District were identified by participants and engaged with at a stakeholder meeting to explore their services. The organisations who agreed for parents of CCL to access their services during the pilot testing phase were described, the potential of their services matching parents' support

needs were discussed and their functional elements identified. A variety of services offered by these potential sources of formal support included parenting guidance programmes, parenting support groups, counselling services and provision of material assistance. Functional elements identified included services being accessible, being offered by trained professionals and peer supporters, being family centred, interventions being multimodal and parent-focused.

Opportunities identified for the child protection system to collaborate with the CJS to support parents of CCL included Uviwe (Uviwe Child and Youth Services, 2018) being funded by DSD to partner with parents as co-developers and co-facilitators of parenting programmes that could be offered to parents at secondary and tertiary prevention level. Parents of children at risk and CCL were linked to counselling at Revive (Revive, 2018) and material assistance or skills development at Al Fidaa (Al Fidaa Foundation, 2018) or Missionvale Care Centre (Abdulla, 2017b). The opportunity for collaboration between DSD's Child Protection Unit and the CJF to coordinate access to support and programmes offered in the Child Protection Unit for parents of CCL was identified.

Realising these opportunities requires a formalised partnership between the child protection system and the CJS to explore and coordinate support services to parents, not only at a tertiary prevention level but also at a secondary prevention level. The shortage of social workers in the child protection system, their high caseloads and the lack of services to support parents at secondary prevention level hinders the child protection systems' potential to provide support to parents of children at risk and CCL. The potential exists for the coordination and implementation of a continuum of support across all three prevention levels, however, it requires that DSD as the primary funder, coordinator and provider of services to children, parents and families collaborates with the CJS, NGOs, CBOs and most importantly parents to realise this potential.

Exploration of child justice programmes, services and practice models aimed at supporting parents of CCL indicated that most programmes were focused on parenting support or family counselling with parents mainly as service extenders to ensure children's desistance from crime. A number of programmes were selected by participants guided by their potential match to parents' support needs and their functional elements that could be integrated during the design and development of the

practice model. Programmes on secondary prevention level included PLL (Sells, 1998 cited in Karam et al., 2015:3), SNAP (Burke & Loeber, 2016:179-180) and Triple P (Ralph & Sanders, 2003). The PLL programme involves multi-family group therapy, family therapy and a manualised structured group based programme for parents of children at risk of offending. The programme is intensive, short term and offered by trained facilitators and therapists. The SNAP programme facilitates structured group programmes running parallel with parents and their children respectively over twelve weeks. The programme involving individualised assessment and interventions includes individual counselling, family therapy, mentoring, school advocacy and crisis counselling. The Triple P programme is one of the most widely used programmes for parents and is focused on preventing the development of at-risk behaviour in children. The programme adopts a tiered approach with varying levels of support based on parents' needs. The programme involves parenting skills training and is followed up with four one-on-one telephone-counselling sessions. The functional elements identified from these secondary prevention programmes included having a variety of access points for parents, being parent and parenting focused, being family focused, intensive and including multi-model interventions.

The programmes or services offered at a tertiary prevention level included JJ101 (Walker et al., 2012:58-59), MST (Henggeler & Schaeffer, 2016:515), Wraparound (Kamradt, 2000:14), NICRO (NICRO, 2018) and the Missouri Model (Burke et al., 2014:42). The centres for youth and family although not specifically aimed at tertiary prevention level included universal prevention and support for parents including parents of children at risk and CCL (Daly et al., 2012:5). The JJ101 programme involves the provision of peer support by trained parents at juvenile courts to orientate, support and provide parents of CCL with resource information. MST is an intensive multi-systemic intervention facilitated by trained professionals with families that includes mobilisation of both formal and informal support for improved child and family outcomes. The Wraparound programme, similar to MST, draws on the inclusion of multiple stakeholders to provide integrated and system wide family focused assessment and interventions. Case managers and crisis teams work with families using case conferences as well as family meetings to jointly plan and monitor progress. As an accredited diversion service provider NICRO's services for parents involve parenting skills training to particularly manage children's at-risk and offending

behaviour and the facilitation of restorative justice conferences which are prescribed in the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (Department of Justice, South Africa, 2009). The Missouri Model engages parents as partners in planning the family, school, and community reintegration of their children after detention. Guided by individual treatment plans this model involves parents and CCL in individual counselling, family counselling and parenting training. The functional elements identified from the tertiary prevention level programmes, services or models and matched with parents' support needs included collaboration with parents, multi-systemic assessment and multimodal interventions with children, parents and families. It also included joint treatment and aftercare planning by trained professionals as case managers, facilitators and therapists.

The provision of targeted intensive interventions, peer support and parent education as well as linking parents to formal and informal support were also identified as functional elements. Employing a system wide, multi-stakeholder, strength based approach to provide coordinated services to parents at community level were indicated as functional elements for inclusion in the current study's early development phase. As reflected in chapter seven (Table 7.4) the functional elements from programmes in both the child protection system and the child justice system matched the support needs of parents during prior to, during and after the CJP. The procedural elements for consideration in the early development phase included the training of professionals, accessible points to support services for parents and DSD's coordination, funding and monitoring role in the provision of support services to parents.

9.9 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: EMPIRICAL FINDINGS – DEVELOPMENT AND PILOT TESTING OF A CO-CONSTRUCTED PRACTICE MODEL FOR SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CCL

The design and development of the practice model was presented in the preceding chapter and referred to the design criteria. Some of the criteria included the model being parent-focused, being inclusive of parents as service users and advocates, involving formal and informal support and being responsive as well as practical. Matching parents' support needs with the informal, formal and programme support identified during the study was discussed as part of the development phase. The systematic integration of the potential sources of support and the functional elements

from existing programmes/services and practice models in the child protection and child justice systems into the design was discussed (CR table 8.1). Mobilising and linking parents to various types and sources of support and inclusion as well as collaboration with parents at secondary and tertiary prevention level were discussed as critical elements included in the early development phase. Provision of accessible social work services inclusive of multi-systemic assessment and multi-modal interventions prior to, during and after the CJP were highlighted as an integral part of the practice model's design. Formalised and coordinated collaboration between multiple stakeholders and partnership with parents was indicated as the bases for ensuring parent-focused prevention and intervention as well as inclusion of parents as service advocates across prevention levels. Although the knowledge utilisation phase of the research process does not form part of the present study, the procedural elements identified for consideration prior to implementation of the practice model were discussed emphasising the need for CJOs' training and the CJS's buy-in, coordination, funding and quality assurance processes. Based on the early development phase it was concluded that the practice model had to be focused on parents of both children at risk of offending and CCL to ensure parents' various support needs are addressed through their inclusion as service users and service advocates prior to, during and after the CJP. It was also concluded that the model had to embrace an integrated, collaborative, multi-level or multi-systemic and multimodal approach to parent support and parent inclusion became evident during the development of the co-constructed practice model.

The elements implemented during the pilot testing phase were described and the practice model's refinement based on the findings of the pilot test was discussed. Based on the results of the pilot it was concluded that placement of information posters for parents was not effective in providing informational support and that engagement with CJOs, including court preparation officers, was more effective as a means of informational support. It was also concluded that system wide training on the practice model, the role of CJOs in supporting parents and buy-in from CJOs is critical in ensuring parents have access to formal and informal support throughout the CJP. Emphasis was then placed on the parent-focused continuum of support across prevention levels to ensure parents were included as service users and service advocates prior to, during and after the CJP. The practice model was graphically

depicted, portraying a continuum of support for parents as service users and a continuum of inclusion of parents as service advocates. As a prelude to the co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of CCL, the practice model is first presented at the primary and secondary prevention level and discussed as a necessary level of support for parents of children at risk. The roles and responsibilities of officials, departments and fora are presented to show how their respective roles would enable support for parents at the primary and secondary prevention level. The graphic depiction of the co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of CCL presented with its various elements within the sequential child justice stages, was discussed at the tertiary prevention level. The roles and responsibilities of the various CJOs and their respective departments as well as the CJF are unpacked to show how this practice model can be operationalised within the current CJS. The model's depiction as a holistic and integrated continuum of support and inclusion of parents across prevention levels are presented and discussed to show the interconnectedness between these prevention levels in ensuring universal and targeted support for parents.

9.10 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of this study and the consequent conclusions drawn, the ensuing subsections will discuss recommendations related to policy, practice, training, research methodology and future research.

9.10.1 Recommendations for Policy

- Based on the lack of parent-focused legislation and policy to support parents at primary, secondary and tertiary level, it is recommended that the current policies purporting to focus on parents, namely, the White Paper on Families in South Africa (2012) and the Draft Integrated Parenting Framework (2011), be reviewed to ensure prescription of universal and targeted support services for parents across the three tiers of prevention.
- All policies must be based on empirical evidence and include parents in a participatory capacity as service advocates during the policy development, implementation and review processes.

- Guided by the social development approach, it is recommended that the SA National Development Plan 2020 (NYDA, 2015), along with its supporting economic policies, consider the inclusion of parents in general as a focus area in facilitating access to income generating and employment opportunities to improve parents' socio-economic status. Parents of children who have clashed with the law to meet their or their family's basic needs must especially be linked to employment or income generating opportunities to support parents and prevent children's clash with the law.
- The pervasive impact of substance abuse and the perennial lack of substance abuse prevention, treatment and aftercare points to the urgent need for collaboration between various stakeholders, including parents, to ensure implementation of the National Drug Master Plan (2013) with consideration to the changes in legislation relating to cannabis use in South Africa. It is recommended that support services must be availed to parents across the prevention levels especially targeted support for parents of children at risk and CCL.
- Regulations guiding CJOs practice during the CJP need to be reviewed to clearly articulate how CJOs engage with, support and include parents of CCL as service extenders, service users and service advocates during and after the CJP.

9.10.2 Recommendations for Practice

- The lack of formal and informal support for parents during the CJP forms the basis for the recommendation that a continuum of support should be available to parents throughout the CJP. Such support should include parents in multi-systemic assessment and multi-model interventions with targeted support and services. Interventions should include counselling for parents, parenting programmes, peer support, practical support and family group conferences to mobilise as well as link parents to both formal and informal support.
- CJOs must facilitate parent-centred secondary and tertiary prevention services, which focus on providing parents with information on parent support services, the CJS and CJP as well as ensuring that parents are informed of the status of their children's cases throughout the CJP.

- Provision of integrated parent support services to ensure parents have access to parent-focused services across the prevention levels and across departments to prevent parents from being sent back and forth to access support.
- Secondary prevention services should be available to parents of children at risk of offending so that they can access social work services to assist them with managing their children's at-risk behaviour.
- DSD should allocate social workers to accessible community-based venues such as police stations, schools and DSD satellite offices to provide support services to parents at secondary prevention level. DSD must coordinate, fund, and render support services for parents at the secondary prevention level including substance abuse prevention, treatment and aftercare for youth and their families.
- DSD must ensure probation officers and social workers, working with children at risk of offending and CCL, including their parents, are trained to competently provide specialised substance abuse prevention and treatment services.
- All parents entering the CJS must be allocated to a probation officer/social worker as a case manager to oversee the provision of social work services to parents to enable them to cope with their children during and after the CJP, and to facilitate access to informal and formal support for parents.
- To accommodate the provision of social work services to parents of CCL, the DSD must increase the number of probation officers and social workers assigned to render services within the CJS.
- Family group conferences should be included as an intervention with parents as they offer the ideal platform for mobilising a variety of supports for parents during and after the CJP.
- It is recommended that substance abuse prevention, treatment and aftercare for children at risk and CCL be integrated. Such services should include support for their parents at secondary prevention level. The absence of a clear service pathway for youth involved in substance abuse is placing them at risk of being criminalised instead of receiving the substance abuse treatment they require. Parents as a proximal source of support for these adolescents must be

supported to identify the incidence of substance abuse, seek treatment for their children and support their children during and after treatment.

- Mobilising parents to serve on and work with local drug action committees to facilitate parent inclusion and parent participation in addressing substance abuse issue.
- Reorientation of the current court structure and processes to allow inclusion of parents during the preliminary inquiry and the court proceedings.
- Coordination and partnership between child protection services and the CJS to facilitate access for parents of children at risk and CCL to support services within the child protection system to address current fragmentation.
- Coordination and collaboration between DSD, DoJ and the CJF to coordinate the case flow management system and the social work case management system to ensure inclusion, assessment and provision of support services to parents, children and their families during and after the CJP.
- CJOs must adopt an integrated approach when engaging parents during the CJP to facilitate the opportunity for parents to engage and collaborate with CJOs during the CJP.
- Dissemination of the findings of the present study and collaboration with the National Technical Intersectoral Committee for Child Justice to plan implementation of the practice model with the view to test, refine and facilitate the national implementation of the practice model.

9.10.3 Recommendations for Training

- Professionals, including CJOs, should be trained or resourced to support parents of children at risk and CCL especially in coping with their adolescents' substance abuse and their children's challenging behaviour.
- The training of CJOs should include a focus on parents' support needs and the importance of including and collaborating with all parents, including fathers, during the CJP to provide responsive support services to parents of CCL.
- All professionals who have contact with parents should be sensitised and trained on how to support, guide and refer parents of children at risk to access appropriate and responsive secondary prevention services.

- All first responders such as police, social workers, and schools along with parents are trained on how to include, collaborate and support parents as service advocates and service users.
- Training of parents as co-facilitators of parenting interventions, as peer supporters to fulfil the role of court preparation officers and as an additional support subsystem in the CJS.
- Training of parents on parent-focused substance abuse prevention and treatment

9.10.4 Limitations of this study and methodological recommendations

The limitations of the research methodology employed in this study and recommendations to address these limitations include the sampling method, which only allowed for a small number of parents to be included in the study. The use of DSD and NICRO as gatekeepers to provide lists of parents who met the sampling criteria limited the number of parents available for inclusion. Accessing potential parent participants could have been improved by also requesting lists from the Department of Justice and setting the inclusion criteria to parents who have been involved in the CJS from January 2016 instead of June 2016.

The inclusion of participant observations as prescribed by IDD could have been strengthened by training and including parents as observers to facilitate their increased participation during the PAR process. Reflecting on my own lack of training and experience in participant observation, this was a limitation and could explain why I did not feel comfortable with parents being included as observers coupled with my concern in maintaining their privacy.

The duration of the study could be construed as a limitation as some parents indicated their unavailability to participate for the full duration of the study, and thus could not attend all the focus groups. This limitation is inherent to the research design as PAR prescribes prolonged engagement during problem analysis and early development phases. In contrast, prolonged engagement ensured regular member-checking and foregrounded inclusion and participation by parents and the various CJS stakeholders.

The limited involvement of parents and CJOs from the Uitenhage district in the pre-pilot phase, due to the location of the focus groups at the Nerina OSCJC, was identified as a limitation in this study. The travelling distance required limited their opportunity to participate throughout the study instead of mainly contributing during the stakeholder workshops, the expert panel and the focus groups during the pilot phase.

The research design, although goal directed and systematic, required many resources such as venues for the focus groups/stakeholder workshops, funding for participant refreshments and taxi fare, payment for the moderator and observers, and travel expenses to present at the provincial and national child justice forums.

The inclusion of IDD in the design was the most expensive aspect of the study, however, I believe that it strengthened the research process in terms of being systematic with clearly prescribed choices along the PAR process to facilitate achievement of the research aim.

9.10.5 Recommendations for future research

It is recommended that future research should focus on the following:

- Inclusion of more fathers in the sample to allow exploration of fathers' experiences and support needs during the CJP.
- Inclusion of children in conflict with the law to foreground their perspectives on what they view as the types of support their parents and families need prior to, during, and after the CJP.
- Exploration and understanding of restorative justice as an inclusive and collaborative strategy for mobilising support for parents as service extenders, service users and service advocates within the child justice system.
- Exploration and understanding of rural parents' support needs during the CJP while their children are detained in correctional and/or secure care centres situated in urban settings.
- Exploration and understanding of the support and service needs of parents who resist involvement during the CJP and social work intervention during the CJP.

9.11 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter summarised the discussions contained in this thesis and drew conclusions as well as made recommendations based on the summaries. The need for parents of CCL to be supported during the CJP was highlighted and the need for collaboration with participants as experts was indicated as an integral part of the research design of this study. The existing literature related to this study's topic indicated the dearth of literature and the paucity of research on supporting parents of children at risk and CCL. This gap in existing literature laid the foundation for the present study to contribute to knowledge development thus making a theoretical contribution. The theoretical models integrated in understanding the findings generated in this study namely, the ecological systems model and the buffering effect model were briefly discussed and it was concluded as useful in understanding potential and actual sources of support for parents as well as parents' support needs.

Application of the integrated research design and methodology was discussed reflecting on each stage of the research process, limitations of the methodology employed and recommendations for how these could have been improved upon. As such, it can be concluded that the thesis has made an important methodological contribution to the discipline of social work. Recommendations were also made for future research focus areas related to this study's topic.

The descriptive and analytic themes that emerged during this study were summarised and presented alongside conclusions and recommendations. The themes highlighted parents' support needs; the sources of support, parents' support seeking efforts, the need for parent-focused prevention services, social work services and probation services as well as inclusion of parents during the CJP. The existing programmes/services and practice model in the child protection and child justice system were summarised with their functional elements highlighted for integration during early development of the co-constructed practice model for supporting parents of CCL. Lastly, this chapter summarised the plotting of the findings of the present study to develop the co-constructed practice model, pilot testing of certain elements of the practice model and the eventual co-constructed practice model.

In conclusion, reflecting on the current study as a whole, the importance of parents as significant role players within the CJS as service users and service advocates is evident. Parents of CCL must be supported prior to, during and after the CJP to ensure that they have access to emotional, informational, practical and professional support. Parents' struggles with children's challenging behaviour and especially adolescents' substance abuse highlighted the critical need for a continuum of support for parents from primary to tertiary prevention level. Integrating support for parents and normalising support seeking for parents is equally important so that parents are not stigmatised or blamed when they seek support or assistance. The current study's significance lies in its contribution to developing understanding of parents' support needs during the CJP and exposing the opportunities that exist to not only support parents but also collaborate with as well as include parents as service advocates.

The participatory research design employed in the current study demonstrated how parents could work with and alongside CJOs to collaboratively address a real life problem. Through this collaborative partnership, the transformative power of the research design was evident through participants' positive attitudinal and behavioural change. Participants' transformation was also linked to their acquisition of shared knowledge, introspection and reflection, which attested to the value of PAR of learning in action. The inclusionary research process employed in this study set the foundation for CJOs' to assume a supportive role during the CJP and for parents to assume a supportive role as a subsystem in the CJS. Dr Maya Angelou (Ramos, 2014) eloquently reflects the value and importance of this mutual support in the following quote:

“ When we look at each other, we must say I understand. I understand how you feel because I have been there myself. We must support each other because each of us is more alike than we are unlike”.

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Addendum 1: Appendix linked to chapter 4.6.1 Interview guides

Focus group interview guide: Parents /CJO

Focus group number: **4 P/CJ**
2016

Date of focus group: 30 September

Name of interviewer: Zurina Abdulla

Attendance register	YES	NO
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- The interviewer welcomes all participants present and thank them for availing themselves for participation in the focus group.
- The interviewer explains and **re-affirm consent of participants through signing attendance register and I** will proceed to **switch on the audio recorder**.
- During the focus group, I will use the following interviewing skills to explore and clarify the participant's responses: minimal verbal responses, paraphrasing, clarification, reflection, reflective summary, listening and probing.
- The **interviewer thanks the participants** and asks whether she **may proceed with the focus group**.
- Once the participants are at ease and indicates that the interviewer may proceed, the following questions will be asked:

A. To guide the discussion I will again use a discussion board to help us show the concerns/support needs identified during the different steps of the child justice process and reflect on the support people and programmes available to parents to address these concerns or needs expressed during our previous focus groups.

1. Reflecting on the identified concerns and support needs expressed during our previous focus groups are there any new concerns/support needs that we need to add or any there are there that we should remove from the board?

B. People and programmes parents access during the child justice process

1. What support or help do parents receive during the child justice process?
2. From who do parents seek support from while their child is going through the child justice process?

3. How do you think parents feel about asking help for their child, for themselves or their family during this time?
4. What type of support do you think parents receive from these various people you mentioned?
5. Who else could support parents during the child justice process?
6. What makes the support offered by these people useful for parents to cope during the child justice process?
7. Which organisations or programmes do parents access when they want assistance during the child justice process?
8. What type of support do you think parents receive from these various organisations/programmes you mentioned?
9. What makes the support offered by these organisations/programmes useful for parents to cope during the child justice process?
10. What do you think officials can do to support parents during the child justice process?

C. In trying to explore existing practice models for supporting parents;

1. What practice models/services are you aware of that currently focus on supporting parents in general?
2. What practice models/services are you aware of that currently focus on supporting parents with specific support needs e.g. parents of children in need of care, children with special needs, children abusing drugs/alcohol etc.
3. In your opinion, which of these support programmes could be useful for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law?
4. Thinking about what we have discussed thus far, what information or key issues do you think I must find out from literature to help us gain understanding of how parents can be supported during the child justice process and also to explore existing practice models/services?

After the interviewer has posed all the research questions and the participants have responded adequately:

- The interviewer will negotiate with the participants the **dates for the follow up focus group session October 2016 aimed at developing an observation tool and focus for the next step in the research process.**
- The interviewer will **thank the participants** and explain that a copy of the **findings of this focus group** and the focus group with the parents will be **made available to participants to review** and verify before the follow up of the next joint focus group.
- The focus group will then be ended and the interviewer will bid the participant farewell until the next focus group meeting.

Focus group interview guide: Parents & Child Justice Officials

Focus group number: **6 P/CJO**

Date of focus group: 23 February

2017

Name of interviewer: Zurina Abdulla

Attendance register signed	YES	NO
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- The interviewer welcomes all participants present and thank them for availing themselves for participation in the focus group aimed at reflecting on the data gathered and planning.
- **The interviewer request participants to switch off cell phones and to not interrupt or side-chat during the focus group as it will interfere with the recording.**
- The interviewer explains and **re-affirm consent of participants through signing attendance register and I** will proceed to **switch on the audio recorder.**
- I will explain the process for this focus group as being different in format as it will be used as a reflection session primarily and also plan the way forward.
- During the focus group, I will use the following interviewing skills to explore and clarify the participant's responses: minimal verbal responses, paraphrasing, clarification, reflection, reflective summary, listening and probing.
- The **interviewer thanks the participants** and asks whether she **may proceed with the focus group.**
- Once the participants are at ease and indicates that the interviewer may proceed, the following questions will be asked:

D. Reflecting on the support needs and concerns of parents from parents and CJ official's perspectives.

2. I will ask participants to divide into two sub-groups, one parent group and one CJ officials group.
3. Each group will receive a handout reflecting the needs and concerns of parents- the CJ officials will receive a copy reflecting the statements made by parents on their needs and concerns during the CJ process while the parent group will receive a copy reflecting statements made by CJ officials on their views of what parents needs and concerns are during the CJ process.
4. I will sit in on the parent sub-group to read the statements to them and then ask the participants the following questions:
 - a) What thoughts came to your mind while you were listening to the statements?
 - b) How do you feel about what CJ officials said parents' needs and concerns are?
 - c) In what way were their views similar or different to your own views?

- d) In what way do their statements change your view about CJ officials?
- e) If you could change one thing about their (Child Justice official's) view of parents, what would that be and why?
- 5. The **moderator** will sit in on the child justice officials sub-group to read the statements to them and then ask the participants the following questions:
 - a) What thoughts came to your mind while you were listening to the statements?
 - b) How do you feel about what parents said their needs and concerns are?
 - c) In what way were their views similar or different to your own views?
 - d) In what way do their statements change your view about parents'?
 - e) If you could change one thing about their (parents') view of CJ officials, what would that be and why?
- 6. The two groups will then join in the larger group and share their reflections on what they have realised or learned about each other and their respective views.
- 7. I will then ask the participants to reflect on how parents and CJ officials could support each other in working towards addressing some of the needs and concerns they have shared.
- 8. I will then summarise the reflection session and move to reflecting on the literature review.

E. Reflecting on the literature review on existing programmes to support parents of children in conflict with the law.

- 1. I will hand out copies of the results of the literature review and a highlighter for each participant.
- 2. She will explain to participants that she had searched for literature and programmes focussing on parents of children in conflict with the law and parenting support groups and managed to identify some programmes that links to the area of focus. She will then explain that she will read the results and as she reads participants can listen, ask questions and also highlight programmes or elements of programmes they think could be useful to consider when we design our own practice model.
- 3. Once I had read through the literature review and participants had highlighted the information they want to be considered during the design process. The moderator will collect the participants' highlighted documents and I will explore with the participants what they thought of the programmes they heard about and what they thought could address some of the needs and concerns they reflected on earlier.

F. Reflecting on the observation tools and planning the observation sessions.

- 1. I will then introduce the reflective activity aimed at participants reviewing and reflecting on the observation tools and schedule.
- 2. Participants will be divided into three subgroups consisting of group 1- judiciary/prosecution/LASA & 2 parents, group 2- SAPS & 3 parents, Probation officers/Social workers & 2 parents. Each subgroup will be allocated an observation tool/s related to their professional group and asked to review, discuss and recommend amendments or endorse the tool.

3. Once the subgroups have concluded their task they will reconvene in the plenary where they will reflect on the observation tool and I will also share the observation schedule in terms of sites. As well as the process after the observations are concluded.
4. I will then provide participants an opportunity to make closing comments or reflections.
5. I will summarise the session and thank participants for their active participation and valuable contributions.
6. The focus group will then be ended.

Addendum 2: Appendix linked to chapter 4.6.2 Observation block

Confirmed dates for observation sessions: March-May 2017					
Date of observation	Site of observation	CJ stage of observation	Time of observation	Person being observed	Observer
Port Elizabeth (Nerina/Gelvandale)					
20 March 2017 Monday	Nerina, DSD office/NICRO office	Assessment	09:00-12:00	Probation officers/Social worker	Lindy
20 March 2017 Monday	Nerina, NICRO office	Diversion (YES)	2:00-4:30pm	NICRO	Lindy
22 March 2017 Wednesday	Nerina, PI/court	PI/Court	09:00-12:00	Magistrates Prosecutors Probation officers Legal aid/private attorney	Lindy
Port Elizabeth (Nerina/Gelvandale)					
27 March 2017 Monday	Nerina, PI or court	PI/Court	09:00-12:00pm	Magistrates Prosecutors Probation officers Legal aid/private attorney	Lindy
28 March 2017	Nerina DSD office/NICRO office	Assessment	09:00-12:00	Probation officers/Social worker	Nombasa
28 March 2017	Nerina, NICRO office	Diversion (ADAPT)	2:00-4:30pm	NICRO	Nombasa
29 March 2017	Enkuselweni	Detention	09:00-16:00	Social worker	Lindy
Uitenhage/Dispatch					
20 March 2017	UTH, PI or court	PI/Court	09:00-12:00pm	Magistrates Prosecutors Probation officers Legal aid/private attorney	Nombasa
22 March 2017	UTH DSD office/NICRO office	Assessment	09:00-12:00	Probation officers/Social worker	Yolo
23 March 2017	UTH/ DSD office/NICRO office	Assessment	09:00-12:00	Probation officers/Social worker	Yolo
23 March 2017	Lemikhaya, NICRO office	Diversion (YES)	2:00-4:30pm	NICRO	Yolo
24 March 2017	Enkuselweni	Detention	09:00-16:00	Social worker	Yolo
Uitenhage/Dispatch					

2 May 2017	UTH, PI or court	PI/Court	09:00-12:00pm	Magistrates Prosecutors Probation officers Legal aid/private attorney	Yolo
2 May 2017	Lemikhaya, NICRO office	Diversion (ADAPT)	2:00-4:30pm	NICRO	Yolo
3 May 2017	UTH/ DSD office/NICRO office	Assessment	09:00-12:00	Probation officers/Social worker	Nombasa

Addendum 3: Appendix linked to chapter 4.8 Abridged report of findings

Abridged report on the overall outcome of the parent focus group held on 25 August 2016 at Nerina OSYJC, Port Elizabeth

The concerns and support needs of parents of children in conflict with the law during the child justice process. The discussion with parents related primarily to an implicit and explicit voicing of their needs for:

- Emotional support;
- Supportive guidance during the phases of the process;
- Financial support and other legitimate social factors that might challenge their attendance of procedures during the process.

When compared with the concerns expressed by the Child Justice officials

- The above needs also arose from officials although obviously not expressed with same intensity or perception.
- There were no indication from the parent group about not being willing to attend court procedures but the above needs might challenge their attendance.
- A conclusion can be made that the parent group confirm the Child Justice official's concern about the socio-economic conditions of parents.
- There were also no responses indicating an apparent indifference to the child but implicit, rather a feeling of helplessness with handling the child.
- There are indications that parents are struggling (generally) with control of children (compare to officials concern about apparent lack of primary preventative interventions to help with parental guidance and support)

The concerns and needs expressed by parents throughout the child justice process included the following:

1. Hearing informally in the neighbourhood and "conviction"/judgement" by neighbours, before formal arrest of child and parent took the child to report the allegation

2. Formal “arrest” and “court room” events identified as first stages of the process the child went through: causing accumulative anxiety/stress. Most participants related the identified arrest event as most shocking and anxiety provoking.
3. Going to court: Some participants in this study seemingly do attend court after the arrest.
4. Post-arrest needs of parents included the need for emotional support for anxiety due to revenge/retaliation during house arrest. The need for information, guidance and support during the awaiting trial phase.
5. Parents expressed experiencing financial and safety constraints to get to court or to provide transport money to attend the NICRO programme
6. Parents expressed ongoing emotional support needs before, during and after the child justice process.
7. Parents seemingly struggle with control of children amidst social issues and economic challenges of the specific community. There are implicit indications that parents struggle for control of children within contexts of poverty/financial constraints and lack of positive socialising within a protective environment.
8. Parents’ experience of the NICRO diversion program stating that the programme took too long to start, that the programme’s approach towards the children were too lenient and providing transport to attend the sessions were costly were parents.

Addendum 4: Appendix linked to chapter 4.9.3

Transcript of focus group B

A co-constructed practice model
for supporting parents of children
in conflict with the law

Pilot phase Focus Group with parents

Transcript

Participant Demographics

Participant number	Occupation	Gender
Participant 9	Parent	Female
Participant 10	Parent	Female
Participant 11	Parent	Female
Participant 12	Parent	Male
Participant 13	Parent	Female
Participant 14	Parent	Male
Participant 15	Parent	Female

1. **Researcher:** Okay, so, uhm, miskien kan ons net begin by, by voorstel. U kan net u naam se as u wil. U hoef nie meer as dit te se nie, maar net sodat ons maar kan gemaklik word met mekaar. So, ek het nou klaar vir ons die, die amptenare [Navorser lag stletjies] voorgestel, en uhm, u name, daar is n label wat u kan ook skryf vir uself sodat as ons gesels met mekaar dan kan ons darem, uh, die name sien, neh. [Geraas van die opvangtoestel]. Kan ons maar die kante begin by, [Deelnemer antwoord, "Sarah"]. Sarah? [Deelnemer antwoord, "Sarah Fortuin"]. Okay, aangename kennis, Sarah. [Res van die deelnemers se hul name] ["Glenda Potgieter"] Okay. ["Felicity Forbes"] Okay. ["Collete Jasson"] Okay. ["Neville Jasson"], Okay, aangename kennis weereens. Okay, so, uhm kan ons net aan die begin uh, uh saam stem met mekaar dat onse cell phones op silent (stil) gaan wees of op vibrate (vibreer) asseblief, uhm, sodat dit nou nie vir ons interrupt (steur) nie, neh. En uhm, net om vir jou te verduidelik weereens, jy is welkom om ietsie te kry om te eet, en dan die toilette is net so hier uit die deur uit na die regter kant toe. U is welkom tussen in, as uhm, die toilet wil gebruik, neh. Okay. Uhm, dan wil ek net begin deur te se dat, uh, die ouers uh, uh, om seker te maak dat ons uh, voel vry om te gesels, ens. As u nou mekaar ken of leer ken, uhm kan ek

asseblief vir u vra om of versoek dat u nie buitekant gaan praat nie en se “ooh, ek het vir Felicity daar gekry en Felicity het dit uitgele in die groep” nie. Asseblief kan ons uhm, saam stem dat ons dit ook konfidensieel gaan hou wat hier gedeel word – en soos ek se ons respek mekaar en die feit dat ons wel consent (toestemming/inwilliging) gegee het beteken ook natuurlik dat die ander mense ook dan nou gaan trust (vertrou) dat julle gaan nou nie alles gaan uit blaker op die straat nie. Kan ons in stem tot dit? [Deelnemers se, “ja”]. Okay, dankie. Uhm, en dan wil ek ook he u moet in stem dat, as u nou dink aan die Child Justice System. Ek gaan nou ‘Child Justice System’ se want Geregs... Kinder Geregs Sisteem klink n bietjie snaaks maar ons kan nou maar Child Justice System, julle weet wat beteken dit mos. Is mos nou die Nerina, [Deelnemers se, “mm”], en die wet wat daar is vir kinders. So, uh kan ons in stem dan dat, die proses is basies dat daar, uh an arrest (inhegtenisneming) is, neh, uhm of n charge (klag) is. Dis die eerste stap, neh. [alle deelnemers stem saam deur te se “mm”]. is dit reg so? Of u word as ouer ingelig, daar is nou die kind word verdag, word verdink van n uhm, uh, n misdaad of en die kind word in u, uhm sorg, uh, [Deelnemer antwoord, “geplaas”], daar is hy, geplaas, dankie vir die Afrikaans... ek, ek waardeer dit baie baie mevrou, [Deelnemers lag stilletjies] geplaas en dan is natuurlik in sommige, uhm cases (gevalle) dan gaan die kind mos nou gearrester word en ingeneem word, neh. Dis die eerste stap. Is dit reg so? [Deelnemers se, “ja”]. Okay. Dan is die tweede stap dat n proefbeampte, probation officer dan nou u kind gaan assesseer. Dis nou die tweede stap. Dat n social worker (maatskaplike werker) dan nou u kind, met u kind gesels en met u gesels, neh. [Deelnemers stem saam]. So, dit beteken assesseer, neh – dis waar hulle nou wat was die situasie, hoekom het die kind nou dit aan gevang, wat is die situasie by die huis, ens. So, dis die tweede stap, neh, dat die kinders en die ouers dan nou by die profbeampte is. Dan som van die ouers gaan na wat ons noem n preliminary inquiry (voorafgaande navraag), dis nou waar jy met die, met die magistraat sit en met die amprenars sit, ens. met die, met die verslag wat die proefbeampte voorberei het – en jy en jou kind, en dan bespreek hulle dit en dan se hulle nou wat moet gebeur met jou kind. Of jou kind gaan noun a NICRO toe, na die diversion programme toe, right? Of een van die Departement van Maatskapike Raad, hulle programme toe, of u kind gaan nou na n, na n trial (verhoor) toe, neh. Miskien se hulle dis bail hearing (borg verhoor) of die kind moet by Enkuselweni gehou word of wat ookal. Daai is die twee opsies, neh. As die kind ‘gedivert’ word dan gaan hulle gewoonlik NICRO toe, en dan moet u nou seker maak u kind gaan na die life skills programme toe, neh. Uhm, so dis, dis die een way. Die ander way is as die kind nou nie na NICRO toe gaan nie, dat die kind nou na die hof toe gaan. Daar is nou n trial (verhoor), neh. So, as die kind nou trial (verhoor) toe gaan en dan beteken dit gewoonlik die kind is of in custody (hegtenis), by n correctional centre by n gevangenis, of by Enkuselweni, of in u sorg terwyl hy na die trial (verhoor) toe gaan, neh. En dan, terwyl hy die trial (verhoor) toe

gaan, dan gaan hulle luister na die hele saak, reg? en dan gaan hy 'gesentence' (gevonnis) word of hy gaan not guilty (onskuldig) gevind word, neh, dan gaan hy mos nou in u sorg geplaas word, neh. So, is not guilty (onskuldig) of hy gesentence (gevonnis), en so dis basies die, die, die proses, uhm waarvan ons praat, neh. So, u is verskillende plekke met u kind. U was miskien aan die begin gewees, neh, en u kind was 'gedivert', of u kind is miskien op die oomblik, uhm op trial (verhoor) of die investigation (ondersoek) is still (nog) 'on-going' (aan gaan) en kan nog nie ready (gereed) wees vir trial (verhoor) nie. So, van julle kinders is op verskillende plekke, neh, maar kan ons in stem almal van julle het kontak gehad met die sisteem? Is dit reg so? [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Almal van julle het kontak gehad met die sisteem? Okay. Uhm, is daar enige iets wat julle tweetjies wil bydra? [Deelnemers se, "nee"]. Nee? Okay. So, ons kan in stem dit is die proses, net sodat wanneer ons gesels dan is ons almal op dieselfde blaaie. Dan weet ons daai ouer wanneer hy gesels, dan weet ons sy kind is op daai step of die step of daai step, neh. Okay. En da nook omtrent die, die, die gesprek vandag, ek wil graag vra dat ons gesprek gaan om u, u laaste kontak met die sisteem. So, was dit, hopelik was dit vanaf Augustus. Wanneer was u laaste kontak met die sisteem? Wanneer was u laaste keer hier gewees? Of by n NICRO program, of, [Deelnemer antwoord, "nee ons se saak was twee weke terug"]. U was twee weke terug? Okay. [Ander deelnemer antwoord, "ook twee weke terug"]. Okay, so dit is onlangs. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Okay. [Ander deelnemer antwoord, "die 6de was ek hier, die 6de Augustus"]. Okay, so dit is belangrik so wanneer ons gesels wil ek graag dink, he u moet dink aan daai tyd, daai laaste keer wat u hier gewees het – uhm, want toe het u mos kontak gehad met sekere amptenare toe u hier, toe u hier was na verskillende kantore toe gegaan miskien, miskien was u in die hof hier – ek wil he u moet dink aan daai kant, aan daai tyd en nie voor dit nie. Is dit okay so? [Deelnemers se, "okay"]. Okay. Uhm, right, dan gaan ons begin nou n bietjie met ons gesprek. Uhm, so as u dink aan u onlangse, uh kontak met die, uh, met die sisteem en die amptenare wat u, uhm, wat u in kontak gekom het – miskien was dit die prosecutor (aanklaer) of wat ookal hier gewees het. Kan u vir my, uhm vertel van daai ervaring? Die laaste kontak wat u ge... hoe was dit? Wat het gebeur? ens. [Deelnemer vra, "kan ek maar praat?"] – enige persoon. Julle is vry om met mekaar te gesels, hoef nie met my net te gesels nie.

2. **Participant 9:** Haai oggend wat ek nou mos nou in gaan in die hof in, en ek kom daar in die hof in – ek was biddend. Ek is mos n biddende ma. Al die tyd het ek maar, deur die ervaring wat ek deur gaan met my kind, het ek al die tyd met Felicity gedeel. Ons kom nie regtig bymekaar nie maar as ons as ouers bymekaar kom, dan gaan ek altyd vir haar se; "Uh, Felicity, ek het n kind wat n anger problem (boosheid probleem) het" en, uh, dit kom nou al

baie lank al aan, van dertien jaar oud af. En ek het by Rufane Donkin het ook vir die hoof gese, toe het die hoof altyd gese, toe vra ek, is daar nie miskien n social worker (maatskaplike werker) wat julle kan in bring of my miskien kan help nie, het ek gevra – daai tyd toe was dit nog Lottering. En toe se die hoof vir my mos dat daar is fout met my, sien jy? En elke tyd as ek daar gekom het dan het ek en hy so met mekaar ‘geargue’ (gestry) dan se hy; “daar is niks fout met jou kind nie, want jy wil nou jou precious (dierbare) man se paarte vat” – en, uh, ek weet mos ek maak my kind groot in die huis van die Here. En ek is nie n ma wat drink en slegte ‘goedte’ doen in my plek, en haai nie. En daar is mos rules (reels). As daar seven o’ clock (sewe uur) in die huis moet is, dan moet jy seven o’ clock (sewe uur) in die huis is. Jule weet mos nou se dae hoe is die kinders, die kinders gaan mos oor ons se rules (reels). Die kinders doen hulle eie dinge en julle weet, neh, ek kyk dit so laas week met n geestes oog, neh, ek kyk dit ‘jinne’, die duiwel kan nie vir my kry nie nou kry hy my kind. En werklik waar ek sit so en ek se vir die Here; “Here, wat U ander dag in my lewe gedoen het, neh, gaan U n mooi werk in die kind se lewe doen”. En, Zurina, ek het hulp gesoek, neh, die tyd wat ek nou daar so sit met die social worker. Ek het gevra is daar nie miskien iemand wat Afrikaans met my kan praat nie want ek wil mos nou praat, ek is Afrikaans sprekend. Wil nie heelyd Engels praat met die man nie, en is, is n African social worker en hy verstaan mos nou nie my lekker nie – en ek vra vir hom ‘jinne’, ek se vir hom ek soek van dertien jaar af al hulp, en elke keer as ek mos daar by resource centre-hulle gekom het, neh julle, dan se hulle mos vir my dat die kind moet iets gedoen het, neh. Daar moet, kyk hier, daar moet n crime (misdad) teen jou kind is laat jy verdere stappe kan neem. Ek het dit nooit geweet nie en ek het maar so lope geloop en, uh, baie ouers gekom and dan se hulle, nee is dieselfde geval wat ons deur gemaak het. En toe die kind nou in die ding in kom, want hy is mos nou een van die klip gooiers, en ek kan mos nou nie vir my kind se verkeerde ‘goedte’ mense gaan uitskel daar buite en gese dat my kind, my kind doen nie die ‘goedte’ nie. En God laat toe dat ek die dag by die kliniek kom en sien my kind doen die ‘goedte’ en ek gaan ‘slat’ (slaan) hom daar so en toe se ek vir hom, “as jy ongeskik is met groot mense, neh, dan gaan, dan gaan ek nou nie, dan gaan ek jou uit my huis uit gooi”. Maar elke keer, ons as ouers het mos soft spots (sagte plekkies) vir onse kinders. Die pa gaan baie kwaai is. Die pa gaan nie, hy gaan hom uit gooi by die deur, maar jy as die ma, ooh, daai, julle weet mos ons het maar nou daai kinders gebaar, neh, Felicity? [Deelnemer se, “mm”]. En nou toe voel ek wat ek daar in die hof in sit, dit moet nou net gedoen word en, uh, die magistraat het my gevra is daar enige iets wat ek miskien wil se. En weet julle, neh, ek het gepraat, ek het nie dinge toe gehou nie. Ek het gepraat soos n moeder want ek weet ek soek hulp vir my kind. My kind gebruik, uh, die dagga met die hookah pipe en as hy huistoe kom dan is hy meer aggressive (aggressief/aanvallend). En julle moet weet, neh, is nie hy, is nie hy homself nie, is die ‘goedte’ van die kinders. Julle moet

weet, daar in die straat in, neh, julle moet weet, God tree in. God tree in, in n saak in, neh – n ouer gaan bid. In enige geloof in gaan bid jy vir jou kind. Maar ek is n moeder, ek het gevoel ek soek hulp vir my kind voor my kind n lyk gaan le daar buite, of hulle roep my en se daar le my kind n lyk, verstaan jy, Zurina? [Navorser se, “mm”]. So, ek wil my kind help, laat my kind n lang, gesonde lewe moet lewe want my kind is aggressie (aggressief) en julle weet wat maak aggressie (aggressief) aan n kind, neh, en nou moet julle weet daai dagga, julle weet nie wat gooi hulle nog, miskien moontlik tik ook nog, [Deelnemers se, “mm”] neh? [Deelnemers se, “mm”] binne in daai ‘goedte’ met die hookah pipe. So, ek, ek as n moeder, as n ma, ek soek hulp vir my kind want, ek soek hulp. Ek wil nie sien my kind staan agter n tronk se tralies nie. Dit gaan my hart baie, dit gaan my hart breek. Dan kan ek een maal nie meer, ek voel dan kan ek maar een maal dood gaan. Sien jy? So voel ‘ekke’ (ek). Ek wil ook nie hom lyk daar sien nie, ek soek hulp vir hom van dertien jaar oud en niemand kan my help nie – dis waarom toe sy nou laas week daar kom toe se ek vir haar ek soek hulp, want as ek by die winkels loop, die outjies wat hulle saam meek lip gooi, wil dan nou my ook seer maak. Verstaan jy? Hier is die mammie, haar huis word sommer stukkend gegooi deur die einste outjies maar haar kinders is nog darem in die skool in. Nou hulle wat buitekant die skool is, neh, my ‘ene’ (een) was nou in die jaar uit die skool gegooi – ek het ook programmes (programme) geloop by Chapman, maar my kind wou nie gehoor gegee het aan my nie. Nou elke keer as die kind in die huis is, hy is soos n engeltjie. As hy uit die huis uit stap dan doen hy mos sy eie ding, want dis mos nou groter ‘maters’ (maats) as hy wat vir hom gaan se, “doen dit, doen dit, hier is dagga, hier is geld, kom ons gaan nou drink”. Maar is hy in my huis is dan gaan hy my wette onderdanig, maar as hy daar buite stap, ek as ma kan mos nou nie se hy was hier by die huis en hy was nie hier by die huis gewees nie. Verstaan jy, Felicity? [Deelnemer se, “mm”]. Maar soos ek vir Felicity ook se, daai spesifieke dag, toe hulle my kom se het van die geval, daar is altyd ‘ene’ (een). Dan begin ek te bid, dan tree ek in – dan se ek vir my suster, “los dit netso, ek is sy ma”. Hulle het al gese, “jy bly jou kind se paart vat”. Ek het gese ek gaan nowhere (nerens) hardloop nie. Daar wat hy nou is, hy is onder die Bloed, maar die dinge wat hy doen, dit gaan nie my saam nie, want daar is ouers daar buite wat bid vir hulle kinders ook. Zurina, ek bid vir my kind want ek weet, ek weet hoe ek my kind alleen groot gemaak het. En n nog n ding is die, hy is nog baie jonk, vyftien jaar oud, vyftien jaar oud en hy word in, hy is nou my, hy is nou my, sien julle daai? n kind met n anger (boosheid), n anger problem (boosheid probleem), ooh is nie n nice (lekker) ding nie julle. Ek kom daar vandaan af, dis waarom ek vandag hier sit as n ma want ek soek hulp vir my kind. Ek het ook hulp gekry en dis waarom ek kan praat vandag deur n anger problem (boosheid probleem). So help hom, want n kind met n anger problem (boosheid probleem), hy kan kom, neh, hy kan jou, hy kan n klip op jou kop, hy kan jou mors dood kap. Dis waarom ek soek hulp

laat hulle daai anger problem (boosheid probleem) en dan is dit nou die drugs wat hy nou gebruik. Ek weet nie wat gebruik hy nou alles nie maar so, hy is seven o' clock (sewe uur) in die huis in. Hy slaap heel nag. Half past seven (half agt) staan hy op, was hy hom, dan gaan hy na haar huis toe, net om, om koffie te gaan maak en brood, soos daai. Maar ek soek net hulp vir hom. Baie dankie.

3. **Researcher:** Okay, so, so dis twee goedjies wat vir my uit staan. Dis n situasie by die huis waar u al oor die jare probeer hulp kry.
4. **Participant 9:** Oor die jare ja.
5. **Researcher:** En klop aan, aan, aan deure en niks gebeur nie.
6. **Participant 9:** Maar niks gebeur nie.
7. **Researcher:** En u was in die sisteem en ek het gehoor u se, “ek het met die maatskaplike werker gepraat, die proefbeampte maar hy het nie my taal gepraat nie”. En so, dit het miskien vir u swaar gemaak om als te gesels.
8. **Participant 9:** Om als te gesels – toe kon ek nou nie als met hom gesels nie. Julle moet weet is beter as om met n vrou, neh, in kontak te het en iemand wat Afrikaans ook nou meer verstaan. [**Navorser se, “mm”**]. Jy sien, hy is nou nie regtig, die kind, as jy nou miskien daar gesit het, Zurina, dan het jy nou gesien, nee hy het n anger problem (boosheid probleem). [**Navorser se, “mm”**] – want Felicity is ook een van daai mammies, hy is n baie lifelike kind. Ek dink die mammie, die mammie ken hom ook, [**Deelnemer antwoord; “ek ken hom nie”**], ooh, hy is, is baie mense kan nie glo die ‘goedte’ dan, dan sal ek altyd se, “sien julle, die duiwel kan nie my kry nie, nou kry hy my kind”. [**Deelnemers se, “mm”**]. Hy weet net hoe.
9. **Researcher:** Okay, dankie dat jy gedeel het.
10. **Participant 10:** Zurina, om in te kom, wat, wat sy gese het van die, van die social worker toe ons hier kom. Daar was nie regtig vir ons gese nie. Agterna het hulle gekom om vir ons te kom se daar gaan n social worker kom – ons gaan daai social worker sien, dan gaan ons daar vandaan af hof toe. Soos sy se, miskien was die kinders nie gemaklik toe hulle gepraat het met die social worker. [**Deelnemer se, “hulle was nie gemaklik nie ja”**]. Baie keer is dit verkieslik om met iemand te praat wat miskien die taal praat, [**Deelnemers se, “ja”**] wat jy praat of wat die of wat kinders praat, [**Deelnemers se, “ja”**] en goed in is – wat hulle hulle meer miskien kan uh, uh, [**Deelnemer se, “relaxed (ontspan), relaxed (ontspan) voel”**], ja. Ek dink die kinders was baie onder druk. Hulle was baie senuweeagtig daai oggend gewees because (want) hulle het nie geweet wat om te verwag nie, want van, van die polieskamp af

na die Alibama, tot hierso het hulle die kinders onder verskriklike druk geplaas. Die, die, die, hulle houdings was, het my heeltemaal afgesit. Toe hulle by jou huis kom, okay ons gaan nie terug nie, en van die uh, uh, speurder se kantore, ons het by die polisiecamp aangekom toe se hulle ons moet Alibama toe. Ons het in n taxi, ons het n polies van (bakkie) gevra, kan hulle ons gaan drop? Hulle het ons geweier. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ek het vir hulle gaan, fine ek gaan betaal vir ons in die taxi. Ons het afgeklim hier, kan julle nie na die...? Jy weet daai attitude [houding] wat hulle die ouers, dit, dit het gelyk hulle praat met uh, uh, [Deelnemer se, "gangsters" (bende)], ja, uh, "julle kinders is nie engels nie". Ons se nie so nie, maar daar is n Justice System wat moet uit vind of die kinders betrokke gewees het, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], in, in die ding wat die kinders miskien opgetel gewees het – want ek het aan die een speurder verduidelik, dieselfde aand met die incident (geval) het ek n polies van (bakkie) gebel because (want) hierdie kind se pa het na my huis toe gekom en met netso lange yster na my kinders gevra. Toe se ek vir hom, "meneer, ek gaan vir jou oopsluit dan gaan jy sien waar sit my kinders" besig om skoolwerk te doen, met take. Maar ek, ek was n bietjie confused (verward), ek bel toe n van (bakkie) en ek vra toe, "kan julle net daai ouer gaan waarsku want ek het n baie siek ma hier by die huis", en dit onstel my om sulke mense nog hier te, om met sulke mense te deal (handel). Gepraat, ons het hiernatoe gekom, ons het met die social worker gepraat – die kind, ek het gedink hy was nie gemaklik gewees nie, maar ek dink hy het meer ge... hy het verduidelik hoe hy voel en hoe, en hoe dit daar binnekant gewees het, hoe die polisiebeampte met hulle gepraat het. En, die een polisie beampte het die kinders verskriklik te nagekom, en ek dink die kind kry nou nog nagmerries uit die woorde uit wat die een beampte gegee het. [Deelnemer hoës]. As jy nog nooit in so plek gewees het nie, jy is so groot geskrik laat jy nie weet wat gaan nou van my verwag word nie. En, ek dink hulle behoort at least (ten minste) die kinders te educate (onderrig) wat vorentoe gaan en miskien vir hulle se dit gaan nou gebeur met julle en dan so, maar moenie die kinders lelke woorde toe swaai en maak asof hulle, en hulle weet nie of hulle kriminele is nie. Onse kinders is nie kriminele nie. Ons ouers wil maar net op die platte van onse voete staan en vir onse kinders daai nodige leiding gee – maar nou kom hulle hier, nou gaan druk hulle die kinders af en dan voel die kinders by die einde van die dag verneder, want ek dink die kinders was baie verneder gewees daai dag. Ek is n ouer wat nog n seun, want daar was twee van my seuns betrokke, moes terug gaan na polisiecamp toe – my ander seun was toegesluit gewees vir n hele nag. En, ek bedoel die kinders skryf eksamen. Daar was, daar was niks, so te se niks niks hulp wat jy kon gekry het van, van die polisie want ek het by elke kantoor in gegaan. Dit het gelyk asof jy loop elke keer in n dood loop in. Jy weet ook nie regtig, ons het geweet die kinders is aangekla vir assault (aanranding) en, maar ons weet nie eens regtig wie is die kind nie – of uh, wat het regtig gebeur nie. So, was ons nie eens ingelig nie. Die kinders was

net opgelaai gewees vyf uur die oggend en na die poliesstasies toe gevat. Ek voel net hulle kan, uh, uh beter met die ouers of beter die ouers verduidelik wat gaan aan en wat gaan nou met die kinders gebeur en alles daai. Die kinders, 'vernaam' die kinders wat nog in skool is. Ek bedoel die kinders is twee dae uit die skool uit gehou want hulle, hulle lewe was heeltemaal ontwrig gewees deur dit wat gebeur gewees het. Ek voel maar net ons as ouers verdien meer hulp en, en, en meer inligting wat ons te doen staan as, in so probleem.

11. **Researcher:** U het al vir my, met ons gedeel omtrent die kinders wat hulle ervaar terwyl die polisie nou vir hulle kom optel het, ens. En ek, toe ek nou luister na u toe wonder ek nou, u sien nou al die wat gebeur en hoe hulle met u praat en u kinders praat. As u nou vir uself dink terug en u focus is op uself, wat het u deur gegaan as n ouer nou?

12. **Participant 10:** Ek was, om die waarheid te se ek was, ek was eers baie baie kwaad. Ek was so kwaad dat die manier hoe hulle met jou kom praat het, uh, uh het my verskriklik ontsel. Ek het my kinders gaan wakker maak. Die een het, uh, uh drie uur, sy alarm (wekker) gestel vir drie uur because (want) hy het geleer. Vyf uur toe se hy "ma ek gaan net so klein bietjie..." voor daai, daai was nou voor half past four (half vyf), die eerste brood van (bakkie), ek het n huis winkel, kom so by vier uur. Toe vra ek hom gaan hy nou bietjie gaan slaap toe se hy ja, dan moet ek hom so ses uur wakker maak dan gaan hy nou was en aantrek vir die skool. En, toe kom hulle daar en hulle kom vra nou na die twee kinders en ek vra, "in verband met wat?". "Ons kom neem hulle in hegtenis want hulle het iemand gestee". En nou vra ek, wie is die persoon? Hulle het die naam gegee, dit het, die naam het ook nou nie eens vir my 'geclick' en daai. Nou se ek vir hulle, wanneer was dit? Dit was twee weke terug en is in Inyala Straat, toe kom dit sommer nou by my by, ooh dis seker die incident (geval) wat gebeur het wat die kinders se pa – toe se ek 'jinne' uh, uh dis Suza, want van die speurders ken ek. Dis Suza, ek het dieselfde aand die polisie gebel. Hulle was hier gewees en toe verduidelik hulle die warrant officer (adjutant), ek weet ek dink is Goeda is sy van, hy het nog, toe se hy vir my, "mevrou is die man dronk vir die goed?" toe se ek man, ek dink hy is onder die invloed. Maar gaan maar en gaan waarsku hom asseblief om nie so na onse huis toe te kom nie en my mammie is baie siek hier by die huis en ek wil nie nog sulke onnodige stress, "nee, nee julle moenie vir ons verduidelik nie. Julle ouers wil niks weet van julle kinders nie, uh, uh verduidelik maar daar by die kamp, die kinders moet toegesluit word", en alles daai. Ek het die kinders gaan wakker maak, ek het vir hulle gese hulle moet kom want die mense kom hier vir n saak. En hulle kom en die een se toe, "meneer, ons was nie by nie, ons weet nie eens van die 'goedte' nie". "Ja julle was nie by nie, trek julle net aan". Daai attitude. Hulle kom en ek se die kinders skryf eksamen. Is daar, is dit moontlik dat die

kinders miskien by die skool uitkom. “Hoor hier” se die een vir my “hoe langer jy vat, hoe langer gaan die kinders aangehou word. So maak laat jou kinders net klaar maak en kom”. Ek se, “julle praat met ons asof ons geskeurde lappe is”, het ek gese. Ek se vir die kinders, “gaan trek vir julle aan, julle weet mos julle was nie betrokke gewees nie, gaan trek vir julle aan en gaan saam”. Toe ek buite kom in die straat toe is daar sewe polies, sewe polies ‘vane’ (bakkies) wat skool, en meeste van die kinders is nog nie eens twintig nie. Sewe polies ‘vane’ (bakkies), toe is ek op, werklik waar baie kwaad. Die hele straat was vol, almal het uitgekom. Ek het gevra van die ouers, die ou mense het so nader aan kom skel toe se hulle vir hulle, “daai kinders loop skool en daai kinders”. Toe se ek vir hulle, “is fine, laat die kinders klim”. Ons het na die ander kinders se huise toe gegaan toe kom daar nog ‘vane’ (bakkies) by en dit het gelyk asof die kinders moorde gepleeg het. So het ek gevoel, ek was, ek was so verneder. Ek het uitgeklim, ek het terug huistoe gekom, ek het my weer kom aantrek toe gaan ek polisiestatie en daar vandaan af, uh, uh Alabama toe. Hier na die Nerina toe, ‘hierso’. Hier is nog die beste hulp wat ons gekry het want ons was verduidelik, uh, uh, dit gaan gebeur en julle gaan social worker (maatskaplike werker) sien en julle gaan moet praat en daai social worker (maatskaplike werker) se report (verslag) gaan state (uiteensit) uh, wat in die hof gaan gebeur en dan sal dit daar vandaan sien of die kinders gaan huistoe kom – dit het ons verstaan. En dit het ons n bietjie tevrede gestel want, uh, met alles wat gebeur het die oggend, was ons baie confused (verward). Ons het nie geweet wat staan ons te doen nie en wat gaan ons nou te wagte wees met, met alles nie because (want) ek was nog meer bekommerd because (want) ek het nog n ander seun gehad wat aan die ander kant, uh, uh, by die ander poliesstasie aangehou gewees het. En dit, ek was so bekommerd because (want) my man moes van die werk af terug kom sodat hy daar kan wees en ek ‘hierso’. Ek bedoel hy is twee dae uit die werk uit om die ‘goedte’ because (want) die volgende oggend toe is ons hof toe vir die kinders. Die kinders het een uur die middag eers voorgekom. Hulle sit a van die vorige dag vyf uur by die polisiestatie. Die kinders het nog nooit geeet nie, hulle se want wat hulle aangebied het was eier en jam (konfyt) brood gewees en ek bedoel die kinders is mos nou nie gewoont aan sulke dinge nie. En soos die outjies daar met ons aangegaan het in daardie hofsaal, was ons moes laat die poliese die kinders agter uit vat. Ons, ons ons kon nie voor by die kamp uitgaan nie [Navorser se, “okay”] soos daai kinders ons kom threaten (dreig) het binne in die hof. [Navorser vra, “binne in die hof?"]. Binne in die hof, binne in die hof, laat ek vir die sekuriteit gevra het, “is daar nie iets wat julle kan doen omtrent dit wat hier binne gebeur nie because (want) dit maak, ons is nou bang om uit te gaan”. Ek moes n kar (motor) bel om ons voor die hof te kom op te tel. [Navorser vra, “en by Nerina mevrou...]. Nee, hier het ons ook nou n kar gekry om ons te kom vat en ons huistoe te vat, want toe se ek ek gaan nie, want ons weet nie, ons ken ook nie Schauder nie. [Navorser se, “ja”]. En

toe gaan ek daar na toe, daar moes ons ook, uh, my skoonbroer kry om ons te kom haal because (want) ons kon ook nie loop daar nie, soos dit gestaan het, die ouens vir die kinders in gestaan en wag het. Dit was, dit was net nie iets wat ek baie vining sal vergeet nie. Dit was baie onstellend en ek dink die kinders was, is, is so bang. My baby (baba) seun kry nou nog nagmerries omtrent dit wat gebeur het. Hy skreeu in die nag in en is, is vir my, [Deelnemer se stem klink asof sy wil huil], voel ek net nie lekker nie.

13. **Researcher:** Okay, dankie mevrou. Ouers? Ander ouers?

14. **Participant 11:** Ek wil net se, neh, ek luister nou na julle 'goedte'. My, my kind het, sy het n angry (boosheid) probleem. Sy is nou eers veertien. [Kort stilte]. [Deelnemer begin huil en praat verder met n huilerige stem]. 2016 September was sy verkrag, neh, en na Setember toe wil sy nie skool toe gaan nie. Maar ek was so, ek het gevoel sy het n gedrags probleem gehad. Sy begin my te gooi en alles te doen. Sy het die huis omgekeer. Nita was seker al drie maal daar. Ek het nader aan, daai was fiifteen (vyftien), neh? Sestien (sestien) toe wou sy nie skool toe gaan nie. Ek se vir haar, kyk hier toe is sy in graad ses. Ek se vir haar, "kyk hier, jy moet skool toe gaan. Dis nie eerste keer dat dit met iemand gebeur het nie". 2016, sy wil nie skool toe gaan nie. Ek dink ek kan haar nie so los nie, sy het die wrong (verkeerde) persoon accuse (beskuldig) vir die rape (verkragting). [Navorsers se, "okay"]. Die kinders is mos nou daai wat hulle dan hier wil gaan dan daar wil gaan dan daar wil gaan. Ons bly in Bell Road. Sy het, volgens die verkrag was dit nou in Voisen Road. [Navorsers se, "okay"]. Okay, toe het ons nou regtig agter gekom sy praat nie die waarheid nie want sy lieg van kleins af. Sy was twaalf jaar oud, dertien en sy wil nie skool toe gaan nie. Ek kom Childline toe, ek se vir daai social worker (maatskaplike werker) die kind wil nie skool toe gaan nie en die kind keer, daar moet altyd iemand by my is want sy keer my om. [Deelnemer praat steeds met n huilerige stem]. Sy keer my om. Haar pa werk out country (uitstедig), as hy nou Maandag ry dan kom hy Saterdag huistoe. As hy Maandag gery het Durban dan kom hy Vrydag Kaap dieselfde. Sy keer my om. My kind nodig help, julle, sy keer my om. 2016 gaan ek na die social worker (maatskaplike werker) toe, ek se vir hulle daai kind keer my so om, soos ek hier sit, se ek vir haar, sit ek met n mes hier. As ek nou huistoe gaan, steek ek daai kind dood. So keer sy my om. [Deelnemer huil stilletjies]. Aunt Glenda ken my. Ek kon vir agt jaar nie loop nie, en om iets te houvas of eens op te staan, sy weet ek kan nie myself help nie. Die volgende dag toe kom die social workers en hulle kom haal haar. Ek was so bly, sy was by Protea Safety Home. [Foon biep]. Sy was vir ses maande daar. [Deelnemer hoes]. My kind, as julle haar sien, neh, julle gaan se is nie sy, is nie van haar wat ek praat nie want sy is so goed, sy is so netjies alles. Sy sal kom dan sal sy se, "gou vir aunt Glenda tee maak". Die mense kan nie glo as ek praat van haar, ek praat van die kind my so omkeer

nie. Sy het by Protea gebly ses maande, terug gekom. Die judge (regter), die social workers (maatskaplike werkers) wat daar gewees het, het so goeie verslag van haar, sy is so goed. Vir haar ouderdom was sy so gelyk vir n agtienjarige meisie. [Navorser se, "okay"]. Sy is omtrent haar, maar sy is nog n bietjie dikker. Sy het die mense, sy het die kindertjies gehelp 'daarso'. Sy het hulle gewas, sy het die mat 'gevacuum' (stofsy), sy was so goed daar. Sy het terug gekom, sy het skool geloop van die huis af Protea toe. Dit het on R350 petrol (brandstof) geld maar ons wil laat daar skool loop. [Navorser se, "ja"]. Die jaar het sy by Gelvan Park gaan begin om te dink nou jy wil die petrol (brandstof) save (spaar). Sy het twee maande toe begin sy weer 'ritserig' raak. [Navorser se, "ja"]. En, uh, my, my, my kind is so, ek weet nie, sy need help vir die verkrag saak sy het nie waarheid gepraat nie. Sy moes sielkundige help by Protea gekry het maar daai social worker (maatskaplike werker) het alles so goed gedoen en gese die kind het niks nodig nie, die kind help ons dan en die kind doen dit en die kind doen dit. Sy het dit nie nodig nie. My ma se verjaarsdag was die 1ste of die 2de Maart op n Sondag, ons kom van die kerk af, kyk waar is sy, sy is nie by die huis nie. Sy is so rebels nou. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ons het gaan slaap die aand, twee uur die nag bel n vrou ons, die vrou se julle kind is in Central. [Navorser se, "okay"]. Toe is sy nog nie veertien nie, toe is sy dertien. Sy is in Central. Die vrou se haar man is ook n polies man en gaan haal haar toe daar. Vra haar hoe het sy hier gekom? Sy het met n outjie daar gekom, dit en dit en dit en dit. Bring haar toe huius toe, is toe die Maandag toe moet jy nou weer, sy het nou vir, vir FAMSA se, is dit social worker (maatskaplike werker) daai of n sielkundige? [Deelnemer antwoord, "sielkundige"], sielkundige, vir Robert, weet ook nie wat is sy naam nie, [Deelnemer se, "Robin"], vir Robin gese sy wil terug gaan Protea toe. [Navorser se, "okay"]. Toe het sy nou daai Maandag by Protea, toe ons haar mos nou in die nag by Central gaan haal. [Navorser se, "ja"]. Die Dinsdag het sy by Protea gegaan, sy het die hele maand by Protea gegaan, toe sy by die eksamen begin en sy begin my weer om te keer. As ek se sy moet skool toe gaan dan sit sy met n mes voor my. Ek gaan daai Vrydag oggend, ek staan vroeg op, ek gaan hof toe, ek gaan haal vir haar n interdik. Die poliese was al vier of vyf maal daar, daai kind se as die polies van (bakkie) kom, "ag is my chommies (vriende) die wat hier kom, hulle gaan my nie optel nie". Want hulle se dis nie n saak nie. Sy het my nie geslaan nie, sy het my nie ge... niks nie. Ek se, "sy het met die mes gesit", hulle se dis niks nie. Daai kind is so rebels, ons het, soos ons twee nou hier sit weet ons nie waar is sy nie. Sy is Vrydag weg. Sy slaap uit, dit lyk is n moet. Dit lyk sy het n vastige kerel. Sy het Vrydag nie in die huis geslaap nie, sy het Saterdag nie in die huis geslaap nie, sy het Dinsdag nie in die huis geslaap nie, sy het gisteraand nie in die huis geslaap nie. Vrydag sit die pa in die kar (motor), sy soek by my geld. Ek wil haar nie geld gee nie, sy het die blou mes, se ek gaan sien – sy sluit haar toe in die... Sy sien ek vat haar nie kop nie. Ons is ou Apostolies, sy vat my hoede so [Deelnemer

wys deur hand gebare], sy vrommel, weet ons is baie oor onse hoede. Sy gaan met my te kere, die pa se vir haar sy moet, hy moet, sy moet my kom roep, sy kom se vir my, “my pa se hy gaan vir jou n kop dokter kry want jy is besig om mal te raak”. Sy werk op my, sy doen net enige iets. Volgende week gaan die pa weg Joburg toe dan is ek en sy alleen in daai huis, alleen. En sy mind (gee nie om) nie wat sy met my doen nie, wat sy aan my se nie, [n Deelnemer sug], sy breek – party keers kan ek nie eens n ding doen nie dan se sy, “ek het geweet jou man gaan weg, ek het geweet”. Een aand toe gaan ek en my, een dag toe gaan ons social worker (maatskaplike werker) toe in lbhayi want die mense het toe gemaak hier bo. Ons kom nou by lbhayi, stel haar voor aan die social worker (maatskaplike werker), social worker (maatskaplike werker) se sy gaan Bloemfontein toe, sy se ja sy gaan Bloemfontein toe. Soos die dag gaan, soos die dag gaan change haar mood netso. Sy se vir my nee sy gaan na, wat is daai winkel se naam daar op die hoek? Daai nuwe winkel daar op Bell Road se hoek? Wat is daai skopper se naam? [Deelnemer antwoord, “Dalton”], Dalton. Sy is daar na Dalton toe. Sy wil my ma se gown (japon) aantrek, my ma se, “jy gaan nie”. Sy kom, my suster is baie kwaai. My suster het nou uit die taxi uitgeklim en haar gesien en haar n paar klappe kom gee. Sy kom terug, ek het nie n phone (foon) nie want sy vat my phone (foon) af. [Navorser se, “okay”]. Sy kom terug, sy se, “ja jy het lekker jou suster gebel, neh, om my te klap voor outjies daar so”. Sy het die brood mes, sy se, “jy en jou ma gaan nie slaap vannaand nie, jy en jou ma gaan nie slaap”. Ek is so bang. Sy se vir my, [n Deelnemer sug], sy gaan vir Pokkels gaan haal om die tv te kom haal en sy is weer uit, en sy kom terug ek en my ma bid, net laat ons die next (volgende) dag hoor Pokkels is dood in Standford Road. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. Ek se dankie Here, U werk vir my. Sy is van daai soort, sy is te doene met gangsters (bendeledede), sy is te doene met gangsters (bendeledede). Gisteraand sit ons so buite by die kar (motor) so past four (na vier), so snaakse outjie bring haar halfpad. Nou sien sy ons sit in die kar (motor) in, nou vra die pa, “is daai jou boyfriend (kerel)?” “Nee daai ding tik, kan jy nie sien hy tik nie?” Ek se, “hy tik maar jy loop”, maar nou is ek ook so bang, ek ken nie te hard met haar, volgende week is ek alleen met haar dan gaan sy my weer over power (oormagtig). [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. En my interdik is gevat – die wat ons hier by Nerina House, hulle het ons, ons het nie voor gekom vir n saak nie. Hulle het die saak, [n Deelnemer hoes], oor gesit Child Court [Navorser se, “ja, Children’s Court”], Children’s Court toe, [Navorser se, “ja”], want sy is nog onder Social Development, [Navorser se, “ja is reg”], sy moet eintlik, uh, Erica House toe gaan, [Navorser se, “ja”], maar sy is nou weer wat my so bekommerd maak en my siek maak, my kind is in graad sewe. Sy is nou twee maande nie in die skool nie. [Navorser se, “sjoe”] Protea wil haar nie meer he nie, [Navorser se, “okay?”], want sy het met n kind aangegaan en toe het sy die juffrou omtrent, jou lyf Zurina, gestoot laat die juffrou val. Nou se die juffrou, ek het nie n kans teen haar nie, as sy die juffrou so rond

gestoot het laat die juffrou plat le, nou wie is ek? [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. Sy het krag daai kind, sy het krag. Sy slaap uit, sy doen net wat sy wil. Waar ons haar moet gaan haal in Reginald Road, daar op soos jy Barcelona toe gaan. Fichard Road. Sy loop plekke wat ek nie eens sal in die dag wil loop nie. Ons het in Katanga geloop, ons het in Katanga geloop. Ons het vriende gehad maar soos Katanga nou is kan jy nie meer daar net gaan loop nie, verstaan? Ek soek help vir my kind want dit lyk party keers, die pa het vanoggend gese dit lyk haar kop vat nie reg nie. Sy kom gister huistoe, waar is die key (sleutel)? Was sy haar, le sy net so vir n half uur toe se sy, “ek gaan julle sien, so eight o’ clock”. Ek wil skaars kerk toe gaan in die aande nie wat sewe uur begin, sy het nou nog nie terug gekom nie, Zurina. [Navorser se, “sjoe”]. Ek weet nie wat se die pa nie.

15. **Researcher:** Joh, wat sê die pa?

16. **Participant 12:** Zurina, ek het so baie om te se maar ek wil nou begin waar jy gese het ons moet, waar ons geeindig, moet ons praat van. [Navorser se, “ja”]. Ek het ge... ons het al n lang pad wat ons aankom met my dogter, [Navorser se, “ek kan hoor so”], en ons net vir hulp wens, enige een wat net bereid is om ons te kan help. [Navorser se, “ja”]. Ons het al, uh, met social workers (maatskaplike werkers) gepraat. Die kind was al op n tyd in n place of safety (veilige plek). [Navorser se, “ja”]. Die tyd wat sy daar gewees het, sy het baie verander, [Navorser se, “ja”], uh, soos ek gesien het. Nou dit het my gewys dit het bietjie gehelp. [Navorser se, “ja”]. So, en sy was weg, sy was weer terug by die huis, ons het gedink dat sy goed doen daar, sy gaan goed doen by die huis maar toe kom dit so dat sy, sy bully (boelie) die ma by die huis [Navorser se, “ja”], met haar, uh, [Navorser se, “attitude” (houding)], ‘red flat attitude’ wat sy het. [Navorser se, “ja”]. Uh, dan kom ons weer by verskillende soorte van social workers (maatskaplike werkers), dan kom ons dan se hulle vir ons hoe gaan, hoe werk die social system (maatskaplike sisteem). [Navorser se, “mm”]. Dan kom ons by n punt wat ons vra, ons leef met die kind by die huis, kan hulle nie prober maak soos ons vir hulle vra nie? Dan se hulle vir ons nee, volgens die wet word n ding so gedoen. [Navorser se, “okay”], en dis hoe ons, dis hoe die wet te werke gaan. [Navorser se, “okay”]. Dan staan ons nie, dan voel dit vir my ek staan nie n kans nie om my kind te help nie.

17. **Researcher:** En, en wat wil u graag he moet gedoen word om u kind help? Ek hoor u kind was by Protea en daar was n struktuur miskien en ondersteuning was daar [Deelnemer 4 se, “ja”], en was dieselfde tipe ondersteuning aan u-hulle gebied by die huis, toe sy by die huis gekom het?

18. **Participant 12:** Ons het, ons het, ons het soos n klas, ons was, die social worker (maatskaplike werker) het dinge by ons bespreek. Kyk die die kind is

nou in onse sorg, ons gaan so te werke met die kind en daar is miskien nou, julle as ouers het miskien nou fout gemaak, en so, en so, en so, en so. So julle moet kyk op daai punte. [Navorser se, "ja"]. Okay, ons is nie, ons is nie volmaakte mense nie, dis waarom ons het terug gegaan en ons het gese, "kyk hier, as ons foute daar gemaak het as ouers, ons gaan nou konsentreer op dit. [Navorser se, "ja"]. Nou, nou, uh, nou my verlangste is dat as my kind se veiligheid en ons se familie se veiligheid ook as enige ander mens buite se veiligheid. [Navorser se, "ja, ja"]. Ek het gevra, ek wil net kyk, is nie dat hulle nie die kind vir jare moet weg stuur of wat ookal nie, net vir n tyd in n place of safety (veiligheids plek), [Navorser se, "ja"], en die, kyk die kind se vordering na haar skool, uh, en haar education, verstaan? [Navorser se, "mm"]. Maar dan se hulle vir jou die kind moet eerste vensters stukkend gooi en ek weet nie wat moet die kind doen nie, die magistraat, dan gaan hulle die kind, [Navorser se, "eers n misdaad wees voor..."]. Ja, so dis moeilik vir my as n ouer om te verstaan. Dit, dit kom dan nou so dat ek voel hulle kan my nie help nie, want ek leef met die kind die meeste van die tyd, verstaan?

19. **Researcher:** En ek dink u vrou, elke dag, [Deelnemer 4 se, "elke dag"]. U het darem n break as u nou travel (reis), maar die mammie is daar al die tyd, 24/7, neh?
20. **Participant 12:** Dit sal lyk of ek n break het want want my gedagte is altyd daar. [Navorser se, "altyd daar, okay, okay"].
21. **Participant 11:** Soos die social worker (maatskaplike werker) hier onder gese het, as die kind nie wil skool loop nie, whether (hetsy/of) sy is veertien, vyftien, sestien, is die kind se reg. Hoe ken dit die kind se reg is van veertien om nie wil skool te loop nie? [Navorser se, "glad nie"]. Dis die kind se reg as die kind nie wil... die social worker (maatskaplike werker), Sakie, het gese as die kind nie wil skool loop nie, is die kind se reg dan moet die kind bly. Nou hoe kan die, hoe kan die kind wil bly? [Navorser se, "en, en wat doen?"]. Veertien, en wat gaan n kind doen van veertien af tot agtien? Daai kind gaan jou mos by die huis treiter soos daai kind my nou treiter. En sy is n meisie kind. Ek sou nooit so sleg gevoel het as dit n seuns kind, maar is n meisie kind, verstaan? En daai kind, daai kind van my wil aan trek whether (hetsy/of) sy nou gaan geld steel by ons, sy wil aantrek. En as sy net sien ek het n R10 of n R5, sy vat hom en sy vat met geweld. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Sy vat hom nie mooi nie, [Navorser se, "ja"]. Ek het n phone (foon) gekoop verlede jaar van R2800 vir my want ek het geweet sy gaan hom vat en syt het hom gevat, en January (Januarie) het ek hom vir my suster se kind gegee. My suster se kind het hom gebere en July (Julie) toe raak sy mos nou dertien, veertien, ek is mos nou groot ek kan die phone (foon) kry. Weet julle, sy het daai phone (foon) gevat, sy het healtyd, as jy haar soek, sy is in Fichard Road, sy is in, sy is in al daai strate. En nou een, die laaste Maandag

kom die kerk mense by my en hulle se my 'jinne' hulle het nie, Belinda oorkant die pad se deur is toe, kan ons hier, ek se ja. Okay hulle kom. Daai suster is net weg, sy se, "mase die se, ooh sy vloek, wat moet hulle nou hier kom kerk hou en dit en dit". Sy het daai phone (foon), hulle kom sy se, "naand, naand". Sy groet almal, niemand glo dis daai kind, [Deelnemer lag sagies], ek se, "Here as dit U wil is moet daai phone (foon) afgevat word". Sy kom die Dinsdag middag twee uur daar, huil-huil-huil die phone (foon) is afgevat in Fichard Road. Ek se dankie Here. Sy se, "jy gaan nou sien, jy gaan nou sien". Sy gaan soek die phone (foon), sy kom terug ek moet nou polieskamp toe. Ek se, "ek, ek was nie in Fichard Road nie, hoe gaan ek vir die poliese se?" Ek se jammer. Toe het hy mos vir my n ander klein 'phonetjie' gekoop, sy treiter weer met hom laat ek Vrydag vir die neighbour (buur) gese het ek het mos nie phone (foon) nodig nie, hou jy die phone (foon). Nou volgende week as sy my treiter ek moet daai phone (foon) gaan haal. Sy is so, ek is bang [n Deelnemer sug] Zurina ek is bang. Ek gaan haar dood maak. [Navorser se, "ja, ja, ja, en iets moet gedoen word gou gou"]. Iets moet gedoen, ek is bang. Sy is n kind, sy se maar nou net. Sy se vir die sielkundige by UPE, ons het nou, uh, kontak verloor met, uh, Megan Warmington [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Sy se vir my Megan die laaste tyd, sy se vir Megan, "die vrou", okay hier is ek, hier is sy, "die vrou, sy praat alles met haar man", [Navorser se, "mm"], "sy praat alles met haar man, haar suster en haar ma, die vrou gaan dood". Sy se, "Megan, ek gaan die vrou dood steek. Die vrou kan party dae nie beweeg nie dan kan sy skaars n koppie vas hou nie. Sy gaan dood". Ons het nooit weer na Megan toe gegaan nie en sy verlang om na Megan toe te gaan. [Navorser se, "ja"]. [Navorser se, so sys al nou eers vir Megan weer sien as, Megan is nou die sielkundige neem ek aan?"]. Ja Megan is nie nou meer by UPE nie sy is by Vista.

22. **Researcher:** Is daar n psychologist (sielkundige) wat u vir haar na toe gestuur het al reeds?
23. **Participant 12:** Uh, ek wil haar nou na iemand toe gevat het, Zurina, uh, maar... [Deelnemer 3 se, "Megan is mos die psychologist (sielkundige)"], [navorser se, "ja"], ja, ek wil haar na iemand wat, kyk ek het nou probeer nou als in my lewe wat ek kan, [Navorser se, "ja"]. Daar is iemand met die naam van Dr. Swarts. Hulle se... [Twee deelnemers se Deon], hy is baie goed, baie goed met kinders. [Navorser se, "okay"]. Ek het gereel vir n afspraak saam met hom. [Navorser vra, "en sal sy, sal sy gaan?"]. Ek het die afspraak klaar gereel en toe ons moet gaan toe hardloop sy weg. [Navorser se, "okay"].
24. **Researcher:** Ek dink ek, ek, ek hoor baie wat u se en dis van die goedjies wat ek dink en ons gaan weer gesels oor watter dienste is daar en watter ondersteuning kan mens miskien, uh, uh, nader want ek dink dis, n mens kan

voel dit is swaar vir u-hulle as ouers, almal van die ouers. Julle sit met al die goedjies en julle probeer hulp kry maar die hulp is nie beskikbaar nie of die regte hulp is nie beskikbaar nie. [Deelnemer 4 se, "ja"]. So dis belangrik voordat ons uitgaan hier dat u-hulle miskien, uhm, rigting het, wat, wat is die volgende stap wat u-hulle kan, kan doen, neh. Okay, dankie. En vir u, u ervaring met die laaste kontak?

25. **Participant 13:** Soos ek, ek het, uh, die speurder wat daar was by my huis. Hy was bedagsaam. Hy het die saak gehoor, hy was by die kind want ons is vriende, soos familie vriende. My kind en die meisietjie hulle is soos broer en sisters al die jare saam. Wat ek nie kon oor my hart kry nie, dit was vir my so snaaks gewees. Ek het gele die Sondag aand, die 27ste, 27ste July (Julie), ja Sondag aand. My kind slaap daar by haar want haar ma het toestemming gegee hy moet by haar wees. En so het hulle maar so saam groot geword maar die vorige week se hy vir my, as sy dronk is dan gaan sy met hom aan, maar ek vat nie notisie nie, okay dis die drank. En die volgende week kom hy en hy klop hard aan die deur en die pa is besig in die kombuis en die pa maak die deur oop en die pa sien toe die bloed aan hom – en die pa vra toe wat het gebeur? Hy is ook so short temper (kort humeur) maar hy was kwaad gemaak. Hy is so en hy raak gou kwaad maar hy is nie onbeskof nie. Ek het nie n probleem nie, watter probleem ek net het, hy wil nie leer nie. [Foon biep]. Hy word van graad agt al word hy net oorgeplaas, oorgeplaas, hy is nou in tien en hy is oorgeplaas want hy wil nie boeke vat ek leer nie. Se vir hom hy moet leer, hy gaan net daai tyd leer. Brandon het jy skoolwerk? Hy gaan net daai tyd 'kamma' nou die boeke vat, want nou se dae die onderwysers stel ook nie belang nie. Hulle kyk nie in die kinders se boeke nie wat gaan aan nie, daar word nie eens datums geskryf nie. Vandag was dit die datum in die boek in nie, is net geskryf en dit gaan net aan. Weet is ek, ek ken mos se ek verstaan nie wat aangaan vandag in vandag se skool en daai nie. Maar anyhow (in elk geval), uh, sy het hom toe soos die broer se meisie, die meisie kind Chante se broer se meisie kom toe nou daar, en sy se, "moeder hou tog vir Brandon net in die huis, moenie laat Brandon weer oor kom nie". En ek vra toe, wat het gebeur? En sy le toe uit, sy se, Brandon-hulle almal het gesit en movie (fiek) kyk in haar broer se kamer en hulle het tee gesit en drink. En sy het ingekom, die deur oopgemaak en hom koppie tee gevat en in sy gesig gegooi, en hom nou getrap ook in die gesig. En met die het hy kwaad geword, enige een sal kwaad word, is dit net, daar het niks gebeur nie, uit die bloute uit kom jy nou net en kom slaan my – en nog in my gesig mors. En hy het daai selfde koppie gevat en haar geslaan. [Navorser se, "sjoe"]. En toe is dit nou oop hier bokant haar oog. En sy kom nog bebloed met n 'grootte' klip, ek moet nou my deur oopmaak want laat sy nou vir Brandon [Navorser se, "slaan"], kan dood maak – want sy se sy gaan hom dood maak. [Navorser se, "sjoe"]. En ek se toe vir haar, Chante gaan net van my huis af asseblief, gaan se ek. Ek se, "want hier staan Gina, Gina se wat

het gebeur, hy het jou niks gemaak nie. Jy het gekom en jy het met hom aangegaan". Ek se, "ek het nie lus vir moeilikheid en die 'goedte' nie, Chante gaan". En sy is toe weg en uit die straat uit skel sy daar in die huis in, sy gaan hom dood maak waar sy hom kry en al daai dinge. En sy het hom eerste die Dinsdag oggend gaan vang, dit het die Sondag aand, nee sy het hom die Woensdag gaan vang. Die Donderdag, ja die Donderdag kom die speurder maar die speurder was mos nou eerste daar by haar. En hy kom toe en hy se, "mevrou ek kom vir Brandon kom arresteer want hy het vir Chante aangerand, maar ek gaan hom nie arresteer nie want ek het die saak gehoor. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]". Hy het niks gedoen nie, sy het eerste met hom aan, maar ek moet my werk doen. Ek moet hom polieskamp toe vat en moeder moet nou saam gaan laat ons statement (bewering) afle en al". Polieskamp toe nou gegaan en hulle was vriendelik en alles dat ek nou niks kan se nie, en hier ook gekom, die dienste was ook goed. Ons het die social worker (maatskaplike werker) Coreen gesien. Coreen het met hom gepraat en die ander 'ene', ek weet nou nie is sy die judge (regter) [Navorser se, "ja"], of 'wat ever' nie, Sy het dan, dan se sy is nou nie n saak nie en ons gaan nie, is nie n magistraat en daai nie, [Navorser se, "nodig nie"], en ons het ook die magistraat gesien toe se hy ook, "nee hier is nie n hof nie en hy het nie n cloak (toga/mantel) aan nie", en alles daai dinge. En toe vra hy nou vir my of ek iets het, toe se ek, nou toe se ek hoe voel ek, ek is onsteld omtrent haar. Sy het met hom aangegaan nou moet ek nou voor n hof kom staan. Ek moet nou op en af wat in my huis was, wat van niks af weet nie. [Navorser se, "ja"]. Toe se ek ek voel ontevrede want ek was nog nooit in sulke plekke nie, ek was nog nooit involved (betrokke) in poliese en goed nie [Navorser se, "ja"], laat dit nou die eerste maal is, [Navorser se, "ja"], wat ek in so iets, [Deelnemer se, "mm"], [Navorser se, "betrokke"], betrokke is. Ek is tot nou nog toe is ek onsteld vir haar, [Navorser se, "ja, ja"], vir dit wat sy gedoen het. [Navorser se, "ja"]. Dit sit nie goed op my hart nie maar dan vra ek die Here ek wil niemand in my hart dra nie. Ek wil haar nie in my hart dra nie – dat sy nou gedink het is goed wat sy gedoen het, laat sy maar daar met dit is. Nou ons kom nou weer die 24ste van volgende maand, [Navorser se, "voor"], kom ons nou weer voor ek en hy. [Navorser se, "okay"]. Nou moet ek nou gehoor word as ek nie hof toe kom nie, dit lyk nou soos die magistraat dan word ek toegesluit en al daai dinge [n deelnemer hoes], wat ek moet hoor van, dit lyk ek, n ouer stuur nie jou kind vir dit nie en is nie te se hy het dit gaan veroorsaak nie, dit het na hom toe gekom. [Navorser se, "ja, ja"]. Maar ek vertrou net op die Here dat alles...

26. **Researcher:** En ek kan sien, uh, toe u se nou dit is nou op u skouers, u moet nou hier natoe kom, en, uhm, die feit dat hulle vir u se dat u kan toe gesluit word, [Deelnemer 5 se, "ja"], as hy nou nie kom nie, [Deelnemer 5 se, "kom nie, en as ek nie kom nie, as ek nie opdaag daai dag nie dan gaan

hulle my toe sluit. Drie maande gaan ek toe gesluit word”]. Hoe voel u oor dit? Die feit dat hulle dit vir u se?

27. **Participant 13:** Ek voel nie lekker daarvoor nie want ek het hom nie gestuur nie en hy het dit nie gevra vir dit nie, dit het na hom toe gekom. [Navorsersê, “mm”]. En nou moet ek nou gedreig word as ek, wat uh, more is nie aan jou belowe nie. Wie weet wat more gaan gebeur? Ek se nie daar gaan iets gebeur nie, nou kan ek nie hier kom nie dan hoe? Verstaan jy Zurina? [Navorsersê, “mm, worry u oor, u oor dit?”]. Nee ek worry nie maar dit sit maar net nie lekker op my hart nie.
28. **Researcher:** Okay, okay, okay. Die ander twee ouers, enige iets se op, op wat die ouers gese het of n vraag vra. Riaan en, uh, Carol-Ann?
29. **Participant 14:** Ek sit en luister want ek en die mammie is in een bootjie in, is dieselfde geval. [Navorsersê, “okay”]. My seuntjie is dertien jaar oud en dieselfde klip gooi storie. [Navorsersê, “okay”]. En nou die, daar soos daai een nou uitgele het en uitgebrei het van die polisie se optel en hoe het hulle die kinders gehanteer in die selle – dit het maar dieselfde met my gebeur. [Navorsersê, “mm, okay, so u kan dan identifiseer met wat daar nou gese?”], Ja. [Navorsersê, “okay”]. Dit was dieselfde gewees. [Navorsersê, “okay”].
30. **Participant 10:** Zurina, om in te kom daar, [n Deelnemer hoes], ons het al van verlede jaar af wat ons met die probleem met die kinders so. Die bondel wat nie skool loop nie, die kinders wat skool toe gaan in wag en gooi want ek het nou al na almal toe gegaan dan word ek na die ‘ene’ se kantoor toe gestuur. Hulle maak afsprake met jou die kollonelle dan kom jy daar dan is hulle nie daar nie en dan word die afspraak weer uitgestel – kom weer volgende week en dan kom jy weer volgende week daar, ooh ‘jinne’ die kollonel het nou n dringende vergadering. So het dit gegaan, jy weet, dit maak jou despondent, moedeloos, want jy dink jy probeer iets doen, jy wil op n punt af kom, [Navorsersê, “ja”], dat ‘goedte’ soos die kon verhoed gewees het. [Navorsersê, “ja”]. As, as, as daar meer, uh, uh belangstelling was van die, van die polisie se kant af en as hulle in die ouers meer belang stel, die ouers kom kla dat hulle aan n ouer luister. En miskien vir die ouer, ek gaan vir jou die advies gee, uh, uh gaan die kant toe, en nou stuur hulle vir jou, uh, uh gaan na die kantore toe. Die kinders was aan die begin van die jaar, die skole het net geopen, haar seuntjie was ook nog in die skool, toe het ons, uhm, my twee seuns en, uh, een van die seuns wat in die straat in bly wat in matriek is en die ander ‘ene’ oorkant die pad. Hulle is altyd vier wat saam, vier of vyf wat saam loop wat in die straat in bly. Ek loop in die oggende, hulle kan maar voel ek is n mal mens, n mal ouer maar ek wil altyd kyk laat die kinders veilig by die skool aankom, because (want) die ouers gaan so met die kinders aan. Is nie lekker nie, die kinders gaan nog, dan kom dit, ek

loop gereeld met my phone (foon) ek sorg laat ek ten alle tye air time (lig tyd) op my phone (foon) het want dan bel ek die 'vane' (bakkies). Dan kom hulle daar dan se ek hulle gooi kinders wat skool toe gaan want dan is dit n, uh, man dit is eintlik, want om te sien hoe gaan daai ouens, dis nie twee of drie nie hulle is n bondel, [Navorser se, "mm"]. Nou gaan hulle daai drie of vier kinders gooi met klippers, daai kinders moet hardloop vir die skool of ek moet vir hulle se hardloop terug of gaan terug huistoe. Nou kom die polisie nou verduidelik jy, "mevrou ons kan net soveel doen en ons kan ook nie elke dag uitkom vir kinders se klip gooie". Jy weet daai? Dan praat hulle met jou, dan se ek, so wat wil julle he moet gebeur? So iemand gaan dood gemaak word en dan gaan julle die kinders kom arressteer en of, is dit wat gaan gebeur – want ek, ek stel belang aan die kinders, [Navorser se, "mm"], dis hoekom ek 'hierso' kom of ek gaan tot by die skool. Ek gaan gereeld na die onderwysers toe want ek wil gaan uitvind van die kinders se skool werk because (want) die, die hoof ken my ook al. Ek is elke tweede of derde dag daar by die skool om te gaan vra is alles rustig 'hierso' om, omdat ek concerned (bekommerd) is. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ons, die areas wat ons bly is so deurmekaar. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ons, onse kinders wil skool loop maar nou gaan dit, kom haar kind uit die skool uit oor klip gooie – hy kan nog skool geloop het, maar omdat die, nou voel die skool hoof die kind is n gangster (bendelid) because (want) aan die begin van die jaar het hy die kinders, toe word die een matrikulant seun wat saam met my seun. Hulle se hulle ken nie, toe hulle net sien toe steek die een ou net, toe steek hulle hom in die hand in. Die hoof jaag die bondel kinders huis toe, "gaan julle is gangsters (bendeledede)". Ek is op die oomblik in die kantoor toe se ek "meneer, dit gaan jy nooit vir een van onse kinders se nie. Jy gaan dit nie oor onse kinders se lewe spreek nie, nie n gangster nie. Jy gaan my en al die kinders se ouers omverskoning vra vir dit wat jy nou gese het". Ons het, daai kinders was twee weke by die die huis, twee weke. Ek het seker gemaak laat hulle die kinders se skool werk vir hulle gee, hulle up to date (op datum bring), hulle klasse gee wat hulle verloor het. [Navorser se, "okay"]. Ek was elke dag vir daai twee weke was ek by n polieskamp. Ons was part dae van die more af tot laat middag in die wind buitekant dan het niemand ons gehelp nie. Dan se hulle net vir ons, "die 'ene' gaan nou kom om jou te kom sien. Die 'ene' gaan nou", tot dit op n einde gekom het, al die ouers in n vergadering kom, die ding was net julle moet vrede maak en toe wou die kinders weet waarvoor gaan dit. Hoekom gooi hulle hulle? [Navorser se, "mm"]. Nee dis oor meisies, maar nou se ons, hier kom dan die meisies by die kinders se huise nie. By my huis kom daar nooit meisies nie so ek sal nie weet nie waarvoor gaan dit. Nou drie weker terug toe kom die hele bondel seuns en hulle kom daar na my toe op die hoek. Ek se vir my kinders loop aan, vir die viertjies loop ek gaan 'hierso' staan. Ek staan daar op daai hoek, ek staan op die oorkant, hulle kom hulle se, "aunty ons baklei nie met jou kinders nie". Toe se ek, "nee okay ek baklei ook nie met julle nie. Ek kom kyk

net laat my kinders skool toe gaan”. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. Hulle het so maand terug het hulle kom gooi daar by onse huis en het nog gestaan in die winkel, die winkel was nog oop, toe gooi die een die baksteen laat dit die hele se, ek moes net so maak om my. En die spesifieke een is nou vriende van die kind wat die saak gemaak het. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. En ek het vir hom gese, “ek gaan jou laat toe sluit”. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. Is nou die derde maand, my ma het so siek geraak in skok gegaan, my ma was n maand en twee weke in die hospitaal. My ma is nog nooit weer dieselfde nie. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. Ons moet my ma voer nou, ons moet haar letterlik dra van een punt na n punt, dit wat die skok gemaak het – because (want) hulle het so klippe gegooi, [Deelnemers sug], hulle het die kar (motor) van ons beskadig in die yard (werf) in. Die speurders het daar gekom, net een keer daar gekom. Hy gaan nou in, toe het ek nou informasie gehoor die outjie was nog nooit opgetel gewees nie. Ek het hom kom sien by die kantore, uh, uh, hyt vir my gevra, “wil jy my werk vir my doen?”. Toe se ek, “nee ek wil nie jou werk vir jou doen nie maar ek wil weet wat gaan aan? My ma is in die hospitaal. Ons moet heeldag hospitale toe gaan, jy kom nie na my toe om my te kom. Ek moet jou kom sien, is nou n maand en twee weke. Ek hoor niks nie. Die ‘boytjie’ (seun) kind het al twee keer gekom tot by die huis in die straat in my kom dreig, hy gaan my vrek steek. Ek gaan jou vrek steek aunty toe se nee dan is dit ook reg. Jy is, is baie sterk. Daar het niks van gekom nie, onse kinders hulle kon my vra, wat het die kind aangehad? Ek moes hom van kop tot tone verduidelik en hoe sal jy hom ken as hy in die straat loop? Onse kinder swat niks van die aard gevra. Onse kinders was kom optel sonder dat iemand inligting gevra het, “was die kinders by die huis gewees? Of kon vind het by die ouers [n Deelnemers hoes], uh, die spesifieke aand wat het gebeur? Was julle by die huis gewees toe die insident gebeur het?” Daar het niks gebeur van die aand nie. En die spesifieke insident daai aand was twee van die my graad elf seuns se klas maats want hulle was besig met n taak, want hulle was van die middag af al besig daar. So hulle sal kan se of die kind buitekant in die straat in gewees het of nie. Sy sal weet my kinders is nie ‘straterig’ nie. As hulle iewers heen dan gaan hulle se, “ma ons gaan tot by die ‘ene’ se huis”. Ek het drie seuns. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. “en, en dan daar vandaan af, ons gaan so half uur is dan kom ons terug”. Ek het n probleem gehad met n oudste seun wat baie rebellious (opstandig) gewees het en soos ek gese het ek het altyd probeer stappe volg, SANCA ooral want hy het ook n drug (dwelm) probleem gehad. En ek het altyd gese ek het dienste geloop, ek het gebedsgroepe aangesluit. Ek het vir my kind so gebid totdat eendag en, ek het net n besluit gemaak ek gaan vir jou n interdik gaan kry. [Navorsers se, “mm”]. En ek het gegaan en die dag toe hy voorkom toe se hulle hy moet n borg betaal en ek het nie gegaan nie. Ek het nie hof toe gegaan nie want ek het gese ek is jou ouer en ek gaan vir jou n les leer in die lewe in. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. En gegaan [n Deelnemers hoes] en my suster bel my, “die kind moet n R500 het dan gaan

hy St Albans toe". Toe se ek, "nee my suster hy moet St Albans toe gaan. Ek betaal nie geld nie, as jy nie respek het vir n ouer nie, ek is baie jammer gaan vir jou n lesson (les) leer". Hy was St Albans toe gewees, broers en sistere het maar bymekaar gegooi laat hy kan bail (borg) kry en af kom. Ek het vir hulle gese en het vir hulle geroep en gese ek is sy ouer, ek is die 'ene' wat deur gaan, ek is die 'ene' wat onder woorde ly, because (want) hy is nie n example (voorbeeld) vir sy twee kleiner broers nie. Daar is n groot gap (gaping) tussen die oudste en die jonger kinders, n tien jaar en n twaalf jaar gaping. En ek se hy behoort vir hulle by example (voorbeeld) te wees en hulle moet leer van hom af en soos nou is hy die een wat altyd vir hulle se, "boetas, uh, uh maak klaar met die skool, leer klaar laat julle vir ma kan" jy weet daai, hy motivate (motifereer) hulle nou – because (want) iewers moes ons ook maar drasties optree. Ek moes hom ook gewys het, nee man jy gaan nie oor my loop nie. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Verstaan jy? En daar kan ek nog se het ek nou nog n bietjie hulp gekry van mense af, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], maar nou met die, en dit kom nou al twee jaar wat ons loop op die pad die met die kinders en dit maak die kinders meer aggressief.

[Deelnemers se, "mm"], because (want) nou die kinders voel hulle word provoke (geprikkel) in die straat in. En ek is net bang dat, miskien een gaan een van my kinders net voel because (want) die kleintjie het vir my gese, "ma die kinders kan ons mos nie elke dag gooi as ons, is nie lekker nie ons moet aanhou om n 'omdraend' loop om by die skool. Ons kan hier afgaan skool toe maar nou moet ons ompad loop because (want) ma is bang die kinders, [Deelnemers se, "mmmm"], u weet? [Deelnemers se, "jisty"], is ook nie altyd lekker nie – hulle is nie, hulle is bang. Nou se ek vir hulle, dit is nie bang nie julle is versigtig. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Wees maar net versigtig dit se nie julle is bang nie, die next person (volgende persoon) dink daai outjies hulle is dom because (want) hulle wil nie skool loop nie, because (want) is kinders, nou is hulle met groter ouens van Voisen Straat en ek ken nie eens die, daai kante daar nie. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Daai dag wat ons hof toe gewees het, die oggend wat ons loop toe kom hulle met klippe om ons te gooi toe staan ek stil toe se ek, "gooi een van julle". [Deelnemers se, "mm"].

31. **Researcher:** Kan ons, uh, ek het nou gehoor is daar nog iets wat u wil se? [Deelnemer 2 se, "nee dis reg so"]. Net so bietjie bymekaar trek wat ons gesels. Uhm, ek wonder miskien, uhm, wil julle n five minute break (vyf minute breuk) he? [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ons het nou bietjie swaar stories geluister na elkeen se ervarings, miskien n five minute break (vyf minute breuk) net om n koppie tee of koffie te kry en ietsie te drink en n smoke break (rook breuk) [Deelnemers lag]. En dan kan ons weer aansluit, is dit okay met u-hulle? [Deelnemers se, "okay"]. Vyf minute. We are taking just a five minute break and then we are catching up again (Ons gaan net n vyf minute breuk neem dan sluit ons weer aan).

32. [BREUK TYD]

[Ketel wat kook en geselsies gedurende breuk].

33. **Participant 9:** Weet julle, neh, ek is, vanmore, neh, is ek nie eens spyt ek is hier nie, ek moet hier gewees het want, sien julle die twee ouers neh, vat my so terug na, my ouers het deur dieselfde drama gegaan wat hulle deur gaan met hulle kind. [Navorser se, "okay"]. En ek was twee en twintig jaar oud, neh; nou nie met n rape case (verkragting saak) en daai nie, neh, maar ek, ek het altyd verdwyn en my ouers het altyd nooit geweet waar is ek nie. En ook in die nagte in die huis gekom maar weet julle, neh, God is so groot en goed, neh, laat ek nooit dinge oorgekom het in die lewe nie. [Deelnemer se, "ja"]. Ek was rebels teenoor my ouers en daai, maar wat ek julle kan encourage, neh, dat soos ek nou vir haar en Sibahle gese het, just love your, just love your child (het net jou kind lief). [Deelnemer se, "ja"]. Gee jou kind net daai nodige liefde en se vir haar elke dag hoe lief jy vir haar is want dit het my pa en my ma gedoen aan my. En weet julle dit was nie ek uit myself uit, dit was nie ek uit myself uit nie, en op n neentienjarige ouderdom, julle moet weet daai jare by die kliniek, neh, toe loop ek kliniek toe uit my eie uit. Toe gaan vra ek vir die sisters weet hulle nie waar n toe ek moet gaan nie want ek wil myself inboek by Donkin. [Navorser se, "mm"]. Weet julle onmiddelik toe gaan haal hulle my ouers by die huis, en my ouers kom af, met my ouers se verbasing wat soek ek daar. [Deelnemer se, "ja"]. Weet julle onmiddelik het daai mense by die kliniek iets gedoen, en weet julle die tyd wat ek by daai Donkin gele het, dit het my so goed gedoen toe ek daar uit kom – weet julle ek het elke dag gebid. Julle ek kyk na die, ek le daar, neh, ek kyk na die ander mense wat regtig probleme het, soos mal is, sien jy by die hekke en daai histories en daai. Weet julle ek het elke dag het ek gebid soos ek daar gewees het, neentien jaar ouderdom, julle. My ouers, neh, my ma het moed opgegee, my ma het moed opgegee. Julle moet weet ons as vrouens, neh, ons is baie sterk maar as daar tye van dit kom met n kind, neh, dan maak dit jou baie swak – want jy het mos daai kind gebaar, neh, julle is ek reg of verkeerd. [Deelnemers se, "is ja"]. Maar is die pa, die pa se liefde vir daai, n pa is mos baie oor n meisie kind, [Deelnemers se, "meisie"]. Julle my ma en my pa het gestry oor my dan se my ma, ek onthou die woorde wat sy vir my pa gese het, "Sidney, die 'klimeitjie se paarte wat jy so vat, die klimeitjie maak ons so seer en sy het al so baie dinge aan ons gedoen". En julle moet weet neh ek het nou die dag toe sit ek met my kinders toe se ek vir hulle, ek het nie my verlede, [n Deelnemer hoes], vir hulle uit gebring nie. Ek het nie nodig om dit te doen nie. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ek het daar gesit toe se ek vir hulle, julle moet weet, neh, ek roep hom, ek roep hom, ek se, "Adrian sit 'daarso' ma wil n bietjie gesels vandag met jou". Ek sit daar, julle moet weet my kinders het n stiefpa, die lieflikste mensie wat julle kan kry, daar is Liz. Oh julle ander stiefpaens sou al lankal weg gehardloop het in die situasie wat ek nou met die kinders. Julle is net God wat die man daar by my

neer geplaas het, maar hy wil niemand, hy wil vir niemand se dit is nie hom kinders nie. Mense moenie sulke 'goedte' praat nie wuh, maar met die wat ons nou so sit en wat, wat ek nou so sit 'daarso', weet julle twee en twintig jaar oud kom ek en ek le in my dronkenskap, ek het kom rus, neh, in my dronkenskap le ek en ek vra my ma en pa om vergifnis. [Deelnemer se, "yhuu"]. En julle moet weet na daai neh het ek begin drink en op n ouderdom van dertig, neh, toe verlos die Here my nou van drank af van alkohol af, [Deelnemer se, "Amen"], dat Hy kom gee my n goeie man, kinders, los kinders, neh, Hy kom gee my n goeie man. Hy vat my verlede, Hy gooi dit is n sak net so wes, weg, mense kan maar praat, [Deelnemer se, "ja"]. van daai Glenda, [Deelnemer se, "mm"], van daai Glenda en haar jong kind. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Maar weet julle gaan vandag, neh, loop ek verby mense, neh, dan sal ek net vir hulle se, ek vat nog n rokie Zurina, [Navorser se, "mm"], maar ek is nie daai wat ek, wat rook my gaan rook nie, as ek nie het nie dan wil ek histories raak nie. [Deelnemers se, "mm"] – want ek weet waar God my uitgehaal. Maar soos ek vanmore julle twee kan encourage (bemoedig), ek gaan ook na, ek gaan ook na jou huis toe kom, ek gaan baie somer nou na jou huis toe kom. Weet julle dat God vir my kom, kom se het al ek moet tussen jong mense werk en ek het nooit gehoor gegee nie, die stemmetjie het altyd ek moet tussen die youth (jeug) gaan werk. Ek moet tussen die youth (jeug) gaan werk Zurina, maar dit was nie vir my, en hier kom ek vandag, hier kom ek vandag in die situasie net om tussen sulke kinders te werk want is nie sy uit herself uit wat sy wil so wees nie. Sien jy? Want ek kom daar vandaan af en weet julle, [Deelnemer 1 begin huil]. Die dag toe ek huis toe kom, julle moet weet in die Bybel waar die velore seun, my pa het my so ontvang. My pa het my so ontvang as die verlore seun want julle moet weet ek was een nag uit ook saam met vriende, en kry nou my niggies en my aunties (tantes) almal, hulle is mos nou jonk. My niggies is jonk my aunties (tantes) is jonk ook nog my ouderdom. Jy moet weet die oumas en die skoonma en skoondogters het somer saam kinders gekry mos, sien jy? En die nag sit ek, julle moet weet daai nag almal in die kar in, sit, soos ek in die kar in sit, die kant weet ek nie die kar kan nie oop nie, maar weet julle weereens was God my weer genadig. Weereens, neh, le julle twee by die huis al is jou man, jou man gaan out country (uitstедig) toe, jy tree in jy is bidden vir jou man, neh. Ek sal weereens se dit maak nie saak in waste geloof jy is nie, ek se vir my dogter sy is n Muslim, ek se vir haar gisteraand, "jy moet weet, neh, as jy angry (boos) is, neh, dan gaan jou kind ook angry (boos) het. Ek ek begin bid vir daai daai kind en ek le my hande so op daai kind. Ek se vir haar ek weet waarvan praat jy. Ek was angry (boos) en ek was bitter nou is my kind angry (boos) en bitter. Verstaan jy? [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Ek se vir haar dis waarom ek se jy gaan nog klein kinders ook kry my liefie, jy gaan nog klein kinders kry en jy gaan nie dit vir hulle se wat hulle ma aan hulle gedoen het nie. Julle moet weet neh, eendag toe se ek, toe se my ma, "nee jy het nie nodigheid om vir hulle te se wat was

jou verlede nie want ek gaan nie like hulle moet daai teen jou gooi nie. Ek is jou ma, ek het jou gebaar en is nie jy uit jousef uit wat” – julle moet weet ek was nou op, op n tyd, neh, soos ek se van dertien jaar oud af toe wil hulle my kind gebruik mos met drugs (dwelms). Daar sy weet wat ek bly. Is Tupac hier natoe, [Deelnemer 1 klink vingers], Tupac daar natoe, Tupac. Hulle het hom glad die naam Tupac gegee. Adrian Potgieter is sy naam, Deneven. Toela het hom naam Deneven gegee, neh, Aunt Toela, Adrian Deneven. [Deelnemer se, “jy het hom terwyl jy...”]. Ja, pragtige jong mannetjie. Pragtige, pragtige kindjie, ek het my kind in die huis van Here groot gemaak. Maar nou moet julle weet, wie is daar om te judge? [Deelnemer se, “mm”]. As ek dink, neh, waar het ek, ek se nou die dag daai generation curse (generasie vloek) van daai mense, dit gaan nie my kind follow (volg) nie, nooit. Julle moet weet ons as ouers moet versigtig wees, julle wat een kinders het, weet jy wat? Mense wat een kinders het, hulle sukkel dan nog meer as ek wat drie het. [Deelnemer se, “mm”]. Huh? Dan sit ek, dan se ek, dan kan ek in my binnekamer gaan dan kan ek vir die Here se dankie, verstaan jy? [Deelnemer se, “ja”]. Liz ek kan al, ek kan al nou al n stroke (beroerte) gehad het. Ek kan al nou al dood gewees het julle. Daar is, julle nou in die tyd neh met my ma se sterfte, my ma sterwe, my ma le n maand en nhalf in die hospitaal, neh, Liz. Julle moet weet my skoon suster kom, ek gaan so deur n krisis, sy se vir my die polis het collapse (ineen gestort) en alles daai. Weet julle, neh, ek gaan ek gee alles vir God dis waarom ek se die saak met my kind die gangsters (bendeledede) my kind wou gebruik het daar rond, nou is, [n Deelnemer sug], dit eintlik nou n naar rakens want my kind is nou mos daar in Bagley Straat. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. Hy se ma, “jy het dan, jy het dan gese ek moet weg kom ‘hierso’ nou is ek mos nou daar bo. Nou is ek rustig daar bo nou kan ons nie by die winkels gaan nie. Ons het skool geloop, huh? Toe word dit gese ons is gangsters (bendeledede)”. Toe se Nita onse kinders is gangsters (bendeledede). Hulle, hulle laat ons so, sien jy? So die ‘goedte’ wat aangaan ‘hierso’ is so anderste laat ek nie – ek weet nie eens eintlik party keer wat om te se nie dan staan ek ‘geshock’ (geskok) maar dan kom die Here weereens na n moeder toe dan maak Hy ons maar net weer bewus, sien jy? Dis waarom ek jou se ek sal like daai ‘be still and know that I am God’, Hy baklei mos ek en jy se geveg. Al is jou man nie daar nie, ja hy is net n phone call away (foon oproep weg), maar jy, jy daai vrees is jou in. Weet jy? Ek het sommige tye dan staan ek by die sink (wasbak), soos ek vir julle se ek het mos daai ek het daai anger (boosheid) gehad. [Deelnemer se, “mm”]. En ek het mos by Donkin gele om daai anger (boosheid) mos nou, en ek het self my gehelp ook. Laas week, ken julle glo laas week toe kom ek, toe wil daai anger (boosheid) weer in my in opkom, vat die mes en steek die kind mors dood, verstaan jy waarvan praat ek? Dis waarom ek vir jou se jy is n encouragement (bemoediging) vir my en ek is n encouragement (bemoediging) jou. Moenie laat, laat die duiwel met dit met ons op kom nie want ek het gevoel, [n deelnemer sug], ek het die poliese

gebel, die poliese het gekom, die poliese het gevra, “wat gaan aan mevrou?” Toe se ek vir die poliese is nou voor die wat ons mos nou, toe se ek dat, “die kind gee nie gehoor aan my nie. Die kind is baie rebels teen ek en my man en ons voel hy raak n probleem vir ons. Wat moet ek nou verder doen?” Toe se hulle, “nee mevrou gaan Donderdag oggend, gaan maak n interdik teen hom”. Maar toe voel ek, hoekom moet ek my kind vir die swyne gooi? [Deelnemer se, “mm”]. Hulle wag sommer so oop hande vir hom. [Navorser se, “mm”]. Verstaan jy? [Navorser se, “mm”]. As ek nie meer vir hom slaap plek gaan gee nie dan gaan hulle hom mos vat. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. [Navorser se, “ja”]. Hulle gaan nou vir hom lekker tekkies en tracksuit (sweeptak) broeke en alles koop dan is hy nou, sien jy? [n Deelnemer hoes]. Nou maak hulle mos vir my bewus, hy is mos die voor ‘ene’ van die klip gooier so hy is alreeds n gangster (bendelid), ek se, “nee ek kansleer dit, [Deelnemer se, “ja”], hy is nie n ganster (bendelid) nie. Hy is nie”. Ek se, “hy word gebruik deur die vyand”. Verstaan jy my punt? Daai kind is nie by haar eie positief. [Deelnemer se, “ja is, is...”]. Ek het vir my ouers gese, “ek gaan julle wys”, ek gaan, kyk hier ek en my ma , in haar laaste paar maande met haar siekte, weet jy hoe stukkend het ek my gelag as sy my uitle wat het ek als gedoen. Weet jy dan lag ek vir jou, ek lag laat ek sak want sy is – daai ‘goedte’ wat jy netnou gese het wat sy vir jou se, nou se ek vir Tessa, “Tessa my suster jy het dan vir ons gaan se jy gaan ons wys jy gaan n kind kry van Boetie”. [Deelnemers lag]. Jy het ons gewys. Wie wys jou vandag, [Deelnemer lag en se, “Tessa van Boetie se suster], wie wys jou nou vandag my suster, verstaan jy? [Deelnemer lag]. Maar daar kom God weereens, nou na my ma se sterfte, hier is ek nou ma. Ek gee daai, ek gee vir Tessa al die liefde, ek gee vir daai kind al die liefde, verstaan jy? Want ek gaan dit nie aanhou voor haar kop gooi nie. En weet jy hy is so spesiaal, ek se ook, “jy is so spesiaal, neh, maar ek soek nie jou pa nie”. Verstaan jy? Ek is, dis waarom sal ek haar ook se met elkeen soek, kyk hier man, ons loop, ons almal loop n pad saam met mekaar. En op die einde van die dag, neh, as ouers nie omgee vir mekaar nie, dis waarom ek die ouer, sy het ingekom, sy het vir my gese daai is Liz maar ek het van haar gepraat toe weet jy nie een ek praat van haar nie, neh? Maar sy is n ouer, as ek nie n stukkie brood in my huis het nie dan hardloop my kind na haar toe, dan vra sy, “boeta het jy geeet? Is daar niks om te eet nie?” Of ek het niks gemaak om te eet nie of ek is miskien somewhere (iewers) dan wonder ek hoekom is die kind dan nou heeldag weg, dan loop ek nou bietjie Borchard Straat op dan se ek vir die kinders, “gaan kyk net sien julle hom nie daar”, dan se hulle, “nee hy is daar, moenie worry (bekommer) nie, hy is daar”. [Deelnemer se, “mm”]. Ek het altyd my duty gedoen om op te gaan maar ek het nou ‘ene’ wat ek sommer so opstuur tot in die middel, dan kom hy nou terug om my nou te se nee hy is daar. Maar soos ek vir jou ook se, uh, Collette neh, dat wees sterk en vol moed man. Daai kind gaan reg kom. Eendag toe se my, my, my, ek en my, weet jy wat? Uh, dit gebeur, neh, dan kom, uh, dan stry jy en die man ook

sommer want my ma en my pa het baie ge... oooh, dan het ek dit so 'gelike' (daarvan gehou) want my pa vat nou my paarte. [Deelnemer lag]. Sien jy? Weet julle ma het al by Blou dak gaan sit, daai jare toe is dit aunt, aunt, sien julle daai, daai jare, soos die mense van die Blou dak, [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Liz toe loop ek nog skool by, by, by, by daar op hoer skool. [Deelnemer vra, "wat is daai aunty se naam"]. Man sy is nou dood. [Deelnemer se, "aunt (tannie) Jana"]. Man daai mense is nou dood nou. [Deelnemer se, "uuh"]. Maar wat ek vir julle kan se, neh, dat daai mense was baie behulpsaam. En julle moet weet daai jare, neh, julle moet weet daai jare en nou, neh, [n Deelnemer sug], is nie meer dieselfde nie want daai jare was kinders nog kinders. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Kinders is nie meer kinders vandag nie. Die kinders, weet jy wat se, die kinders maak kinders, en weet, hier is Liz, my agtien jarige, hy was vyftien, sewentien, sestien, neh? My boytjie (seun) kind, [Deelnemer se, "mm, sewentien"], sewentien geraak, neh? – n kind gemaak, maar julle toe kom die mense en hulle se ek moet n saak gaan maak teen die meisie want sy is ouer as hom, is rape (verkragting) en alles daai. [Deelnemers lag]. Julle ek het baie 'goedte' deur gemaak, baie. [Deelnemers lag].

34. **Researcher:** Kan ons maar begin dames en here [Deelnemers lag]. Ek dink ons gaan, ek, ek, ek terwyl ek luister besef ek dat as ouers kom ons nie altyd bymekaar, [n Deelnemer hoes], en praat met mekaar as ouers nie. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Ek dink, dis hoekom ek stil bly, ek laat julle gesels want ek dink dit help as jy hoor dat ander ouers, [Deelnemer se, "deur gaan ja"], deur struikelblokke gaan met hulle kinders. Maar as n mens weet daar is n ouer wat my sal verstaan, [Deelnemer se, "mm"], en my kan bemoedig wanneer ek n bietjie over loaded (oorlaai) voel. [Deelnemers se, "ja"]. Ek is ook n ouer en daar is tye wat jy voel vir jou kind, is darem swaar en is lonely (eensaam) sometimes (sometyds). [Deelnemer se, "ja, ja, ja"]. So, uh, ek dink, ek kan net sien dat dit help as mens met mekaar praat ook, you know (u weet). Somtye is n maatskaplike werker of, uh, iemand nie altyd beskikbaar nie maar baie keer is daar n ander ouer beskikbaar, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], net met wie jy kan gaan praat en, en bemoediging kry, ens. [n Deelnemer hoes], baie dankie vir die bemoediging vir, vir Collette.
35. **Participant 9:** Maar julle, julle moet maar my nie kwalik neem nie want ek, daar is Liz. [Deelnemers lag]. Sy is ook so wuh, sy is nog erger as ek regtig. [Deelnemers lag].
36. **Researcher:** Okay, kan ons nou terug dink aan wat ons nog, ons het nou geluister na mekaar se, se ervaringe en veral met die polisie en dan as ons nou dink aan die maatskaplike werkers, ook van die wat met die maatskaplike werkers ook in verbind gekom. En dan ook met die magistraat en aanklaer wat som van julle in verband gekom het. So almal van julle het

op een stadium met iemand, uhm, betrokke geraak hier by die hof, uhm, en ek wonder nou terwyl julle saam met jou kind deur die sisteem gegaan het. Watter ondersteuning het julle nodig gehad? En, uhm, watter amptenare het u genader vir daai? Ek het reeds gehoor n hele paar van dit, watter amptenare het u genader vir daai ondersteuning? So watter ondersteuning het julle gevoel het nodig gehad? U het al begin praat van daar was inligting, ek wil weet wat gaan gebeur? Ek was confused (verward), ek het nie geweet, so daai tipe ding en wie het u genader om daai inligting te kry. Uhm, so as u nou dink terug, uh, watter, watter behoeftes was daar terwyl u nou hier by Nerina gekom het of by die polisie stasies was.

37. **Participant 11:** Ek het nou nie so aanraking met die hof gehad nie, maar daai kind het daai Maandag aand toe wil sy mos nou nie deur vir my oopmaak nie en as ek nou voor die deur moet heeldag staan, ek kan mos nou nie staan en dit, en dit nie. Toe het ek die poliese gebel en hulle het nou gekom en hulle het – ek het vir hulle gese ek het al ses maal gebel en niemand het al geskryf wat ek se nie. [Navorser se, “mm”]. Hier is die interdik en hulle het nou geskryf. En Sersant Malgas, [navorser se, “ja”], hy het na my toe gekom toe se hy die is nie n saak nie en hy het haar so gekyk en hy se vir haar, “jy is n mooi meisie. Jy moet skool toe gaan” – en als, en dit, en dit, en dit toe se hy vir my, “mevrouw ons gaan nie die saak toe maak nie”. Die kind nodig help, al is dit nie psigiater (psigiater) nie, al is dit nie watse help nie, en die Erica wat jy van praat gaan jou ook nie help nie want daar is ietsie weg ‘hierso’. En hy het gese is nie n saak nie maar hy gaan kyk wat kan hy doen. Toe se ek vir hom, “aag man, die polisie praat almal dieselfde ding, die poliese, hulle kry net geld, [deelnemer 3 lag], hulle werk nie”, sorry wuh. [Deelnemers lag]. Ek se hulle werk nie, hulle gaan net agter die geld aan. En ons was Malabar toe, hy was eerste week op vakansie en toe kom hy Sersant Malgas en hy praat mooi maar soos jy kan gesien het Sersant Malgas wil ons baie graag gehelp het. Hy wil nie gehe het dit moet n hofsaak is nie, [Navorser se, “mm”], of sy moet Erica toe gaan nie. Hy wil gehe het sy moet soos in programmes (programme) loop, [Deelnemer se, “ja”], waar sy ander kinders, [Deelnemer se, “ja”], wat ook met dieselfde probleem, [Navorser se, “ja”]. Hy het gese sy nodig help. Hy se vir my al vat jy haar Provinsial toe, vir psigiater (psigiater), hy het n kolega gebel wat se kind dieselfde probleem het en dit, en dit. Maar aanhou as ons haar wil nou net na n plek toe vat dan hardloop sy weg. [Navorser se, “ja”], [Deelnemers se, “ja”]. Sy was haar hier twelve o’ clock, one o’clock (twaalf uur, een uur) dan se ons, “ooh, sy is weer 2-10”. [Navorser se, “mm”]. Dan kom sy die next dag. Dit is eintlik so, dit lyk so sy wil gehelp word, neh, [Deelnemer se, “ja”], maar daan staan die duiwel so, [Deelnemer se, “in die pad ja”], [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. Ons was nou eendag, nou twee weke by n funeral (begrafnis), nou ons se kerk het nie die funeral gerun (waargeneem) nie want die is mos nou n ander kerk en hulle se almal wat moet vir gebed moet vorentoe kom.

Dit lyk iets staan voor my, ek kan nie gaan nie, vra vir hom, ek het nie naby hom gesit nie, ek like (hou van) nie naby mense sit nie. En toe hulle se daar is net n minuut oor, [Deelnemer 3 kap op iets], toe gaan ek. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. En ek kom terug, en toe ons nou ry van die, toe se sy vir my, sy wou ook gaan maar dit lyk iemand het voor haar gestaan. [Deelnemer se, "mm"], [Deelnemer se, "dit gebeur mos so, dit gebeur so"]. Ons het al, ons het al gebedens gekry vir daai kind. Weet, weet julle as ons diens toe gaan, vra hier ek like (hou van) voor uit loop want ek weet sy gaan my nou pla. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Daai kind gaan haar pa pla tot hulle nie in die diens kom nie. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Dan se sy sy is bang, sy is bang vir die priesters wat daar voor staan, sy is bang. Sy is, dit lyk is n gees wat in haar kom, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], [n deelnemer hoës], n vuil gees. As daar kerk mense kom, as die pries kom, [Deelnemer se, "dan hardloop jy weg"], en hy klop en hy se, "sister is ek" dan gaan sluit daai kind haar toe in die kan, in die, in die, in die 'dinges' kamer. Dit lyk is iets wat voor haar, die duiwel is voor haar. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ons kry haar party keer so lekker dan lees sy die Bybel en toe kry, kry ek iemand wat vir my se laat sy haar was in olive oil (olyfolie). Dan se ek, "bad jou man en gooi die olive oil (olyfolie)" dan smeer sy dan is sy lekker man – vra vir haar pa daai kind maak die huis skoon vir hom. [Navorser se, "mm"]. Daai kind maak n huis skoon jy sal dink n bediende het skoon gemaak. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ek kan mos nou nie regtig beweeg nie, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], maar as daai kind voel daai gees is by haar, sy sal, sy sal hier sit en eet dan staan sy op dan gaan eet sy daar. Sy los als netso, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], dan kan jy ook sien nee, [Deelnemers se, "sy is nie haarself nie"], dan kan jy ook sien as sy skoon maak dan se hy, "ooh, hier is Britney onse baby", dan soen hy haar, "my Britney". [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Is nie lank nie, [Deelnemer 3 lag], dan kom daai duiwel, daai duiwel wil nie he ons moet saam leef nie. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Verstaan? Die ding is die, ons dink onse kinders, is die duiwel ook wat ons wil besoek, [Deelnemers se, "is"]. Hy weet mos as hy nie by jou reg kom nie dan gaan hy, [Deelnemers se, "by die kinders"], by die kind reg kom. Ek, ek en hy het getrou 2003, 2006 toe kon ek nie loop nie. Ek het n wonderlike werk gehad by Continental Tyres, ons het n huis gekoop, ons het als toe kon ek nie loop nie vir agt jaar. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ek het gebid om te loop sonder crutches (krukke) en ek het my eerste operasie 2015 gekry. 2016, die wat ek nou loop, baie se vir my ek loop nie reg nie maar vir my voel ek honderd persent, [Deelnemers se, "mm"] – want ek bly by Bell Road, my ma-hulle bly in Gail Road voor jy Barcelona kry. Ek kan darem daar op loop dan tel ek nog ek loop n half uur tensy ek nou nie iemand gekry het langs die pad nie, dan loop ek forty minutes (veertig minute) – maar ek voel ek wil so twenty five minutes (vyf-en-twintig minute) loop, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], ek challenge (uit daag) my, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], want toe ek met die crutches (krukke) loop, al loop en n uur en n half daar op, maar ek wil by my ma uitkom. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Maar ek het daai tyd gese,

“Here ek wil loop” en die Here het vir my gegee en daar is n kind in Zimdhal Straat, neh, sy was in die drugs (dwelms) en alles. Daai kind werk nou by Spar. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. Weet jy as ek haar so kyk by Spar dan se ek, “Here wat Jy vir haar gedoen het gaan Jy vir my ook doen”. [Deelnemers se, “mm”], [Deelnemer se, “Amen, Amen”]. [Deelnemers se, “nou daai is my woorde wat Hy vir my gedoen het”]. Sy het heeldag by die pos gesit. Sy het weg geraak, sy het in Central, sy het weg geraak, toe ek daai kind by Spar sien, nou se ek nou se ek vir haar, vir die ander duiwel, [Deelnemers se, “mm”], ek se vir haar, daai kind van suster Maart, “aag man daai kind tik nog steeds”. Ek se sy sal nie tik en sy werk by Spar nie. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. Verstaan? Die duiwel wil nie he mooigheid, [Deelnemers se, “mm”], verstaan? Maar nou gister toe sit ek in die kar (motor) en sy bring n customer (klient) uit, sy werk op die till (kasregister) en sy help die customer (klient) en sy is weer vining in, en ek se, “dankie Here, wat U vir haar gedoen het gaan u vir my ook doen”. [Deelnemers se, “mm”], [Deelnemer se, “Amen”].

38. **Researcher:** Dankie man. So die polisie man was baie behulpsaam en hy het probeer help, [Deelnemer se, “mm”], en in die regte rigting wys?
39. **Participant 11:** En ek glo stellig hy sal weer n draai maak, [Deelnemers se, “mm”], want hy, hy het haar so gekyk en hy het met haar gesels, “maar hoekom wil jy nie skool loop nie?” en dit en dit, dan se sy, “ek ken nie die mense nie”. Sy ken die hele Gelvan en Katanga. Sy se vir hom waar het sy hom gesien. [Deelnemer se, “sy is soos ek”]. [Deelnemers lag]. [Navorser vra, “wat se Riaan?”].
40. **Participant 14:** Nee ek wil maar net se so die polisie was behulpsaam dan gewees. [Deelnemers se, “ja”]. So almal soek, [Deelnemer se, “een uit n honderd uit”], [Deelnemers lag], almal soek nie geld nie. [Deelnemers lag].
41. **Researcher:** En die ander ouers, watter ondersteuning, het julle, voel julle het nodig gehad tydens daai tyd by die hof nou en by polisie stasie en wie het u genader, [n Deelnemer hoes], of met hulle gedeel dat u daai support (ondersteuning) nodig gehad het?
42. **Participant 10:** Nerina, uh, Zurina, ek sal praat van, ek gaan nie praat van hier nie, ek sal miskien praat van daar by Gelvandale want hier was hulle baie behulpsaam gewees. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. Moet ek se, en hulle het vir ons kom verduidelik van punt een na punt twee, [Navorser se, “mm”], tot in die hof in, [Navorser se, “ja”]. tot ons uitgegaan het. Ons het darem at least (ten minste) gewet wat se rigting ons gaan loop ‘hierso’, [Navorser se, “mm”], uhm, maar toe ek nou gaan want daar is mos een saak na die ander seun toe [Navorser se, “ja”], toe loop ons in die rondte in. En ek het vir die kinders by die huis gevra, “het enige een miskien verklarings van julle

gevat?" Toe se hulle nee, hulle was net in die selle gesit gewees, hulle was niks gevra nie, daar was niks gedoen nie en ons het gegaan die next (volgende) oggend ook. Gaan vra wanneer kom die, watter tyd gaan die kinders voor kom? [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. En wie, ek het na die speurder toe gegaan met die saak en dit was net niks. Dit was niks, dit, hulle het net gevoel, ag dis nie my kind nie, dis nie my probleem nie, julle moet maar net wag. Toe gaan ons terug na die polisie stasie toe en ons het na Nita toe gegaan en ons het haar gaan verduidelik toe gaan ons na die speurder se kantore toe, toe vat sy ons af. En daar het hulle vrae gevra wat aan ons as ouers, meeste van ons ouers was mos nou daar, gevra en toe kon die een speurder se, die ding klink nie reg vir hom nie, want hoekom was die kinders so lank aangehou gewees? Toe se ek, "dis wat ek ook wil weet, is, is, ons is nou nog, ons voel ook nie gelukkig oor die hele ding nie, en ons weet nog steeds nie wat gaan vir wat nie. En die kinders is nou huistoe gestuur tot hulle nou weer die 3de November voor gaan kom. Die kleintjies kom nou die 3de Oktober voor, neh". [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. So, is n hele deurmekare ding. Ons weet nou nie, ek het nou al gevoel ek wil my eie want die kinders se pa het gevoel ons moet maar n attorney (prokureer) wat ons gaan help om die ding because (want) die kinders se name is nou gegee en die kinders is nou in die toestand gesit. Ons, ons weet nie wat gaan aan, wat staan ons te doen nie, alles was net onseker. [Navorser se, "ja"]. Want dit het nou meer gelyk omdat ek n saak teen die kilp gooiers wat onse huis beskadig het, toe voel hulle nou hulle gaan my betrek hulle kan my kinders betrek, [Navorser se, "mm"], in die ding om by my uit te kom. Maar ek voel maar net dis nie reg nie, because (want) my kinders loop skool hulle, hulle name word beswadder. [Navorser se, "ja"]. En hulle was nie en ek het ook maar net gevoel wie ever (ookal) betrokke gewees het en wat miskien daai aand teenwoordig gewees het, moet maar se net dat wie van die kinders was nie by gewees. [Navorser se, "ja"]. Want haar seun het gese, en toe se ek vir haar, okay jy is, maar die anders is mos, is miskien nie soos jy nie. [Navorser se, "ja"]. Hulle gaan ook nou voel hulle wil nie, hulle gaan ook nou nie versuim nie, hulle gaan ook nou net mense betrokke, in sit in die ding, [Navorser se, "ja"]. wat ook nou nie daar gewees het nie. Ons gaan ook maar wag tot ons op hierdie punt uitkom, [Navorser se, "mm"], maar ek voel maar net, die polisie het ons nie hulp gegee nie. Ek sal maar seker maar verdere hulp moet kry, [Navorser se, "ja"], om, want my kinders loop nog skool, die kinders het n hele lewe voor hulle. Hulle gaan met n rekord op hulle naam en dan check (kyk) die mense dan kan die kinders, [Navorser se, "mm"], nie more oormore werk kry nie. [Navorser se, "ja"]. Verstaan jy? Dis hoekom die kinders wil uit die skool uit wil gaan naderhand, [Navorser se, "ja"], en nie wil skool loop nie en dat die kinders gaan voel ons gaan skool loop, ons het n kriminele rekord op ons so ons gaan ook maar nie werk kry nie. [Navorser se, "mm"]. So wat gaan die moeite werd wees om aan te gaan met die skool? Ek is net bang vir daai probleem wat gaan opduik in, in die nabye

toekom wat die kinders met daai probleem gaan sit dat hulle kriminele rekords het vir iets wat hulle nie betrokke in gewees het nie. [Navorser se, “okay, Riaan?”].

43. **Participant 14:** Soos ek, ek het nou na almal geluister, uh, en dit, dit blyk voorkom dat by Nerina self het meeste van die ouers nie n probleem gehad nie. [Navorser se, “mm”]. Uh, Nerina self was behulpsaam gewees. [Navorser se, “mm”]. Vandat die saak tot by, van die oomblik toe julle arriveer ‘hierso’ was julle ingelig van die prosedures en al daai. Die grootste probleem wat ek en, wat ek kan, wat ek nou kan sien julle ondervind is dat die prosedure vanaf arrestasie tot by die hof word nie aan julle verduidelik nie – want dit is iets baie belangrik en dit is iets wat elke ouer moet weet. En dit is volgens konstitusionele, volgens konstitusie is elke ouer genoodsaaklik om te weet waarvoor u kind gearresteer word. Die prosedure wat gevolg moet word, want dis basies, jy vat die kind word opgetel by die huis, die ouer word verduidelik waarvoor die arrestasie is, die ouer word gewaarsku daar en dan dat die ouer die volgende dag hof op agt uur. Die rede waarom ons se agt uur by die hof te wees want die kind gaan voor die hof begin, gaan die kind deur n social worker (maatskaplike werker) gesien word. [Navorser se, “mm”]. En elke kind onder agtien is n kind. [Deelnemer se, “mm”]. En dis wat aan julle verduidelik moes gewees het. Daar was geen nodigheid gewees om nadat die kind gearresteer gewees het, na enige polies stasie toe te gaan nie, want alles gaan vir hulle verduidelik word by die hof self. [Navorser se, “mm”] – want daar is dit klaar taxi fare (huurmotor geld) gemors. Julle is, julle is deurmekaar, julle is onder skok en julle kan nie by die regte ‘dingese’ kom nie. Julle het nou deur n klomp, uh, uh, toestande gegaan as ouer en dit, dit het kommer gewek by julle. So dit is, dis die, daai, die begin is die belangrikste en die hof ‘goedte’ kom agterna en die hof sal, want op daai oomblik by die hof dit gaan net n uitstel datum wees. Ondersoek gaan gedoen word en al daai. So die grootste probleem wat ek met die klas van, met die ouer groep nou op die oomblik het, is die procedure vanaf aanhouding, vanaf arrestasie tot en met aanhouding. [Navorser se, “mm”]. Tot en met die hofsaak begin, [Navorser se, “ja”], die eerste veskyning, [Navorser se, “mm”], dis die grootste probleem wat ek hier ondervind. [Navorser se, “mm”]. En dan die ander probleem wat ek opgetel het is, social (sosiale), sosiale probleme, [Navorser se, “mm”], wat die ouers ondervind, omgewing en, uh, die kinders, dis, dis basies al. [Navorser se, “mm”]. En julle kan maar net se as julle verkeerd is en as daar iets wat julle wil byvoeg, kan julle maar net se. [Navorser se, “mm”].
44. **Researcher:** Mooi opsomming. Enige iemand wat wil by, bysit, in, in, in terme van die ondersteuning wat julle, want ek wil soos, uh, Riaan se, dit klink vir my die inligting wat julle nodig het is een van julle behoeftes, [Deelnemers se, “mm”], reg daar aan die begin by die arrestasie of as die

polisie daar kom, ek hoor dat die polisie – daar was byvoorbeeld n polisie in julle geval wat wel geluister het. Wat interested (belang stel), he showed interest (belangstelling gewys). Hy wou weet waat aangaan, [Deelnemers se, “mm”], selfs met jou kind gepraat het mooi en dieselfde hier met die speurder. Nou iets klink nie reg nie, you know (u weet)? dit met die saak nie. So dit klink vir my daar is instances (gevalle) waar n speurder of n polisie wel, they should they cared. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. So dit, al is dit one out of a hundred (een uit n honderd) soos die mammie gese het, maar daai ou, daai een speurder, of daai een polisie man, die feit dat hy luister en, en en dit lyk hy is geïnteresseerd in wat, wat u se, [Deelnemers se, “en dit was ook nie n saak soos hy se nie, maar hy luister”], maar hy luister na jou, neh. Dit lyk, dit klink vir my dit was een van die behoeftes en dit kon vervul word deur n polisie man, of, of vrou, uhm, as hulle net luister na die situasie. Ek weet nie of die ander, ander amptenare ook genader was vir hulp, uhm, ek, ek weet by Nerina het u gese u het met die maatskaplike werker probeer praat. Watter behoeftes het u gehad en met wie het u daarvoor gepraat, watter amptenare?

45. **Participant 9:** Zurina, uhm, kan ek gou praat voor die assault (aanranding) saak, neh, het ek en sy mos geloop daai heel, van hulle begin het met die klip gooiery, neh, van daai outjies met Inyala Straat met onse kinders ‘begine’ baklei het. Kyk die kinders is nou so, daar gaan nie n vlieg op hulle neus gaan nie. Nou soos ek se, my kind het n anger problem (boosheid probleem) – hy, as iemand met hom skoor gaan soek en die een tart hom uit dan gaan niks, hy, hy gaan ook [deelnemer klap haar hande], maar begin baklei. So tipe kind het ‘ekke’, sien meneer? En ek het, uh, die hoof gevra, toe hy mos nou skool loop, toe se ek vir die hoof ek sal, ek sal wil so graag elke maand of is, kan hulle my help met iemand wat kan inkom, [Navorser se, “mm”], wat met my kan sit met my kind met daai anger problem (boosheid probleem). [Navorser se, “mm”]. Toe se die hoof nee, hulle daar hulle was behulpzaam, neh, Liz nadat ons as ouers in meetings (vergaderings) daar gaan sit. Ons het gesit nou soos jy saam met ons sit, Zurina, [Navorser se, “mm”], ek en Liz en nog ander ouers. Ons het, uh, met Labans gaan sit met ouers. En ek, ek is op SGB by, by die skool daar wat my twee kleintjies is en daar is baie ouers – so as ons meetings (vergaderings) het dan staan ek op dan lig hulle punte dan kan ek hulle antwoord op daai punte. Maar soos ek ook se, ek sit ‘daarso’, dan se ek vir myself, “wat het gebeur dat die dinge so lyk?” En weet julle die dag, neh, uh, uh wat die ouer net kom klap aan my. Luister mooi, ek is winkel toe, by die winkel gekom as n ouer gaan ek om vir die ouer te gaan vra, uh, “hoor ‘hierso’ kan jy my verduidelik, wat het nou hier gebeur?” En nou voor ek nou die ouer gaan vra wat het gebeur, kom sy, sy is getik, en sy ‘beginne’, en julle moet weet daar staan skare mense. Ek het eintlik skaam geraak, neh, ek was embarrassed (verbouereerd). [Navorser se, “mm”]. Ek wil nie terug baklei nie, ek gaan nie

van my skandaal maak nie en ek is polieskamp toe en ek gaan maak n saak teen haar. Maar nou moet julle weet, die een mammie wat saam ek en die mammie is, neh, haar kind is saam met onse kinders, neh, met die klip gooier. Weet julle wat doen daai mammie? Moet ek jou se wat doen daai mammie? Sy draai om, sy se sy was nie daar nie die tyd wat daai ouer met, die ouens wou my ook seer kom maak het, my kom slaan het. Weet jy, en ek se vir die Here, "Here ek gee maar die saak in Jou hande", en ek gaan nie verder met die saak nie. En ons gaan na Nita-hulle toe, neh, en ons gaan vra vir Nita-hulle aanhou, neh, vir hulp dan wys hulle vir ons. Ons was by Labans, aanhou as ons daar kom om Labans te gaan soek. Dis waarom ek het nie lekker gevoel nie. Ek het gese, "Here werk Jy maar, Here God tree Jy maar in in die saak". Hoekom moet dit dan net onse kinders is en die mense se dan nou dis my kind – en eendag toe se sy vir my, hou op, hou op hou so jou kind ook af druk. [Navorsers se, "mm"]. En ek verduidelik vir haar en ek se vir haar, "ek druk nie my kind af nie", ek like (hou van), my pa was, dinge wat ek verkeerd gedoen het, dan se my pa, "jy moet betaal vir jou dinge wat jy verkeerd gedoen het", en soos daai. Maar soos ek se, toe ek by Nita kom daai dag toe se Nita vir my, daar was sy, die een mammie het amper baklei met my daar voor toe is die mammie ook dronk en gaan netso 'whaa-whaa', hulle is daai 'lai-lai, lai-lai' Lollo-hulle. Daai Inyala Straat se, [Deelnemer se, "okay ek sien daai"], se 'lai-lai' daai 'lai-lai' – maar gister toe ek by haar kom toe vra ek vir haar, "jinne Lollo kan jy vir my eintlik se wie was daai aand almal saam? Want Liz se twee seuns was in die skool in". En my kind se vir my, "ma daai aand toe is ons winkel toe gestuur vir brood. Toe die fight kom, wie is ek, ma weet mos ek is maar vining, en toe baklei ek. Ek en die ander drie chommies (vriende)". Maar ek wil weet by hom wie is die ander drie, hy se maar Keagan was ook nie by nie, verstaan jy? Nou se ek mos nou vir Lollo gister, hoekom moet die bondel altyd, is nou polisie sake maar daai kinders word nie, die poliese kan niks aan Inyala Straat se kinders doen nie. Daar is n 'ene' wat Labans somer se is hom seun daai. Sien jy? [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Hy se, hy se somer is, is my seun die. Is amper soos aan hom, aan hom gaan niks gedoen word nie, [Deelnemer se, "Kashiem"]. Kashiem. Nou die Kashiem, hy kom baklei daar bo, hy kom, nou, nou, nou die gangsters (bendeledede) hier wat ek bly op die pos, hulle involve (betrek) hulle ook nou. En onse vyftien, sestienjarige kinders sal hulle nou seer maak die gangsters (bendeledede) hier, maar toe gaan ek na hulle toe, toe se ek vir hulle, "ek vrees net God". [Navorsers se, "mm"]. Toe, toe se ek vir, vir Noppies-hulle, Liz, toe se, "ek vir hom ek kom al jare. Julle is mos hier, neh, ons pla nie wat enige doen hier nie, ek stel belang aan my kinders". Want, uh, die boytjie (seun) kind wat ek nou wat hier, hy was met die gun voor sy kop gehou, voor die tavern (drank winkel) se hek en toe gaan, toe gaan vat ek my kind. Toe se, "ek ek sny die dood af oor die kind se lewe hier. Julle is groot manne maar julle wil julle involve (betrek) in vyftienjarige kinders, maar ek se vir julle hier gaan ons nie weg uit Tereblanche Straat nie,

hier gaan julle weg ‘hierso’”. Ek het niemand vloek en skel nie. Ek het net gese onse jong kinders, neh, voel ook, hulle sien mos wat in onse area aan gaan met die drugs (dwelms). Hulle sien mos hoe word, wat word gedoen ‘daarso’ en die ‘goedte’ word verkoop voor hulle. [Navorser se, “mm”]. Nou ons as ouers ons is bang, ons kan nie vloek nie, ons kan nie skel nie, ons kan niemand niks aan niemand se nie want dan word onse plekke uit kom brand. Daar word nou bomme na onse huise toe gegooi want ek het gese my kind, hy voel party keer bang – as hy op die winkel gaan staan dan wil die gangsters (bendelede) hom seer maak daar op die stoep omdat hy ook mos nou nie wil met n gun (rewolwer) hardloop vir hulle nie.

46. **Researcher:** Carol-Ann ek gaan vir jou vra om jou vragie te vra.
47. **Participant 15:** [Deelnemer hoes]. Watter inligting of ondersteuning het u of kon, [n deelnemer hoes], u by, by gevind het? [Navorser se, “baat gevind het”]. Baat gevind het? [Navorser se, “mm”].
48. **Researcher:** So, so as ek dink jy het nou deur die, u se daar was spesifieke inligting, as u nou terug dink aan daai tyd, neh, watter spesifieke inligting en ondersteuning kon u gehelp het, of kon u baat by gevind het as ouers? Ek praat nou van by Nerina en van by die polisie stasies, spesifiek.
49. **Participant 9:** Want daai more wat hulle in my plek in kom het, het hulle nie baie mooi ingekom nie, julle moet weet, neh, ek bly maar in n wendy house (huis) by my ma, agter in die yard (werf), my ma se huis is voor. Nou se ek vir my suster, sy vra, “wat gaan nou aan?” Ek se, “kyk hier, is dan ses ‘vane’ bakkies”. [Navorser se, “mm”]. Dit lyk die kind het nou iemand of met n gun (rewolwer) gehak of iemand dood gaan skiet. Hulle kom in my plek in, julle, julle, julle moet weet, neh, want die more is mos deurmekaar. Almal le nog, die komberse le nog alles so. Julle moet weet hulle kom daar in, ek vra mos nou wat het my kind gedoen, wat gaan aan? Ek se, “meneer ek is n moeder, ek wil weet wat het hy gedoen, want as hy iets gedoen het en hy was nie in die huis geslaap nie dan kan ek julle gese het, maar ek is n moeder, ek soek hulp vir my kind want ek wil hom terug in die skool in he”. En, uh, maar die reaksie van hulle was nie nice (lekker) nie, dit was nie nice (lekker) nie. [Navorser se, “mm”]. Dit lyk nou is vir n moordenaar wat hulle nou kom haal.
50. **Researcher:** Wat wou u gehe het hulle moet doen? [Deelnemer se, “hulle moet doen”]. Ja.
51. **Participant 9:** Ek wou gehe het hulle moet nou met my gesels, met my gesels terwyl hy hom klaar maak want een van polieskamp gaan staan glads by die wardrobe (hangkas) binne in die kamer in, saam met hom. [Navorser se, “mm, so u wil he hoe hulle met u gesels het”], ja, [Navorser se, “dit was

belangrik”]. Want ek het met hulle reg gaan gesels, ek het met hulle reg gaan gesels maar, [Navorser se, “mm”], soos ek se, ek as n ouer weet dat was dit ook nie vir iemand wat my gehelp het nie en jy het ook nou daar gekom nie, want ek gaan ook deur trauma. [Navorser se, “mm”]. Dis nou al n lang, baie lang tyd, ek moet ook n social worker (maatskaplike werker) sien. [Navorser se, “okay”]. **Navorser: “So u kon baat vind by dit”** Vir myself, vir myself, soos ek se ek wil nie my kind agter n tralie gaan sien in die tronk nie, [Navorser se, “mm”], of sy lyk le ‘daarso’, [Navorser se, “mm”]. Ek soek net hulp vir hom is al, ek wil he hy moet by n, n plek kom waar hulle die drugs (dwelms) uit hom uit kan kry en, uh, na n spesiale plek toe stuur waar hy sy kan skool loopbaan kan klaar maak. [Navorser se, “mm”]. Hy was dan in standerd sewe. [Navorser se, “mm”], [Deelnemer vra, “het jy hom al na SANCA toe gevat?”]. SANCA toe? [Deelnemer se, “hulle is nou by, is hulle nie by Dora nie?”]. Soos ek, soos ek vir jou se, neh, dat ek was by daai mense, en hulle het my die SANCA ding gegee, neh, in die tyd mos met die klip gooiery, neh, maar ons kan mos nowhere (nerens) loop met hulle nie. [Navorser se, “mm”]. Ons kan nie eens taxi gaan vat met hulle nie, hulle word soos gansters (bendeledede), [Navorser se, “mm”], aangeklas. Want, moet ek julle se hoe gebeur die ding? Die gangsters (bendeledede) involve (betrek) hulle nou. Ek is n klip gooier, my broer is n gangster (bendelid) so gaan die ding aan. [Navorser se, “dit, dit, dit is wat nou gebeur”]. Ja dis wat nou gebeur, dis wat nou gebeur.

52. **Participant 15:** Want daai boytjie (seun) kind van my het nou vyftien jaar oud gemaak maar hy is baie kort. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. En net deur die sake (onthalwe) dat hy, hy, hy is meeste, hy is in die yard (agterplaas/werf) in. Hy is nooit buitekant nie nou as hy gaan sokker speel in die straat in, nou enige een gaan mos nou kom speel is in die straat in. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. Nou van die outjies wat so gun (rewolwer) skiet kom ook maar nou kom saam speel, [n deelnemer se, “speel”]. En toe kom die rumour (gerug) nou na my huis toe, [Navorser se, “mm”]. Mark, en hulle noem die name op, hulle kom se ook nog wie almal, [Navorser se, “mm”]. Hulle, uh, uh, die gangsters (bendeledede) gebruik nou hulle om te kom spy (spioen/uitvis) by op Lead Straat se hoek toe vat ek my tot daar toe se ek vir hulle, “my kind is nie n gangster (bendelid) nie en as julle my kind wil seer maak, begin maar by my [Navorser se, “mm”]. Want toe se ek ook nog, “vir jou ken ek Klaasie, as my kind enige iets oorkom, [Navorser se, “mm”], ek gaan jou to be blame (blameer) hou want jy het geuit-en-in by my huis en jy weet my kind is nie n gangster (bendelid) nie. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. Na die klip gooiery meng daai kind hom met niemand nie. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. Nee hulle doen dit nou, hulle, hulle, hulle kyk nou die kleintjies aan nou, [Navorser se, “hulle recruit (aanwerf) vir hulle”]. Ja. [Navorser se, “okay”].

53. **Researcher:** Iemand anders, wat, watter, so u het gese die, die hulp vir uself, [Deelnemer 1 se, “ja”]. n Social worker (maatskaplike werker) met wie u kan praat en vir die kind ook.
54. **Participant 9:** Met wie ek kan praat ja want, uh, uh, julle moet weet, neh, ek het, ek het baie trauma deur gemaak, [Navorser se, “mm”], nou in die tyd in, want hoe jy as ouer, hoe gaan jy voel? Gangsters (bendeledede) stuur die kleintjies na jou toe, ek gaan na my dogter toe op die vlak, neh, my dogter is getroud. Sy se, “jinne ma, laat Seuntjie wegbly ‘hierso’ want Bottie was nou hier, dis nou my oorlede neef wat uitgebrand, [n Deelnemer hoes], het n paar maande terug, se kind. Bottie was nou hier, hy werk nou vir die Ire, hy se, “hulle het drie koppe wat gaan, Seuntjie is een van daai”. Hoe moet ek voel, [Deelnemer se, “as ouer ja”], as n ouer om te hoor dat my kind se kop gaan nou spat? En weet julle my reaksie daai tyd was, ek hou my ‘kamma’ reg maar ek is net nie myself nie. [Deelnemers se, “mm”]. Dis amper nou soos n doodstyding wat ek nou kry, [Deelnemer se, “ja dit is”]. Sien jy? En, uhm, ek het na drie, vier maande hier op vlak toe Saterdag. Kom ek by die vlak maar ek is onrustig en hy se vir my gisteraand hy gaan nou bietjie op na haar toe. En ek se vir hom, “nee, jy gaan nie daar natoe nie”, en hy, sy se sy kom uit die werk uit, sy se, “ma, waar is seuntjie ek verlang hom? En ek se nee moet hom, moet hom nie verlang nie, bid net vir hom”. En ons het klaar gepraat maar die vrees wat ek opgekom het by my, om te dink, [Navorser se, “mm”], hy is n kind wat ek van baby’s (baba) dag af loop Dora toe op my rug. Daar is somtyds wat ek nie eens taxifare (huurmotor geld) gehad het nie, dan loop ek hier oor Dora toe tot twaalf jaar oud toe, dertien jaar oud – twaalf, dertien toe kon ek darem kliniek toe gaan met hom, [Navorser se, “mm”], want hy is n asthmatic (aamborstig) en as die bors begin, ooh dan begin dit, dan moet ek sommer in die nag in die ambulance (ambulans) bel, soos daai. [Navorser se, “mm”]. Nou kan ek nie verstaan dat die kind met die ‘goedte’ in die weer is nie, en met dagga in die weer is nie. [Navorser se, “mm”].
55. **Researcher:** Okay, iemand anders? [Deelnemer 3 se, “Zurina nee ek het”] wat u baat by vind? [Deelnemer se, “nee baat by vind?”]. By in, in, in plek van die informasie of die, of die ondersteuning soos sy nou verduidelik vir uself. Wat kan u baat by vind? Ek weet u kind is nou nie, uhm, betrokke by daai misdaad nie, [Deelnemer se, “misdaad nie”], [Deelnemers se, “ja”], maar die feit bly staan u het die polisie kontak gemaak en as gevolg van daai intervensie, het hulle gese? - die Children’s Court (Kinder Hof), neh, [Deelnemer se, “mm”]. Dit is deel van die, so watter, watter inligting of hulp kon u baat by vind? Ek het eintlik vroeër gehoor n sielkundige of n psigiater (psigiator) kan miskien iets is wat u nodig het. Is dit wat ek gehoor het dis hoekom u uself gesoek na n siekindige?

56. **Participant 12:** Ja, die ding is die Zurina, somtyds dan het jy n spesifieke hulp nodig van iemand maar dan kom dit by n ouer wat alleen werk, [Navorser se, “mm”], of dan is dit n geld storie, [Deelnemer se, “mm”], [Navorser se, “ja”], verstaan? [Navorser se, “ja, ja”]. So dit dan maak dit dinge vir jou moeilik, [Navorser se, “mm”], en as jy na miskien, ek wil nie he ek moet gou gehelp raak by enige ander plek nie, [Navorser se, “ja”], maar as daar spesiale mense is wat jou kan se, uh, jy moet more kom dan gaan jy gehelp raak want dan maak jy n afspraak by dan voel dit so dat, dat daar, daar is darem hulp. [Deelnemer se, “iets is darem”], [Navorser se, “ja, ja, ja”], Maar nou as mense se hulle gaan weer terug na jou toe kom dan, [Navorser se, “mm”], dan, dan voel dit daar is nie hoop nie. [Navorser se, “mm”]
57. **Researcher:** En dan kom daai mense ooit terug na julle? Is dit die gevoel dat jy, dat mense met jou praat, en dan se, “okay ons gaan vir jou inligting gee of ons gaan vir jou kom help, ons gaan afspraak maak en dan kom daai mense nie. They don’t honour their appointment (hulle eer nie hul afspraak nie).
58. **Participant 12:** Zurina, ons het nou n geval gehad hier by, hier by, [Navorser se, “Nerina?”], Nerina House. Ons het, hulle het ons so, hulle het gese dis nie n kriminele saak nie so hulle gaan dit vir die Kinder Hof gee. [Navorser se, “ja”]. En, uh, ek weet nie ek dink dis die magistraat wat vir ons gese het, hy se hulle gaan dit oor sit na die Kinder Hof toe maar, en die social worker (maatskaplike werker) wat besig is met ons, gaan terug kom na ons toe. Maar as ons, die social worker (maatskaplike werker) het vir ons n kontak nommer gegee. [Navorser se, “mm”]. As ons daai nommer bel dan kan ons nie haar in die hande kry nie. [Navorser se, “mm”]. Die social worker (maatskaplike werker) wat besig met ons gewees het, het gekyk op die computer (rekenaar) om die om die social worker (maatskaplike werker) in die hande te kry. Hy het seker omtrent drie of vyf nommers gebel maar hy kon ook nie haar in die hande kry nie. [Navorser se, “mm”]. So my vrou kan nie taxi vat nie. [Navorser se, “ja”]. As ek by die huis is, dan is ek, die dag wanneer ek by die huis is, is Maandae, [Navorser se, “ja”], dan is ek my besigheid regmaak. [Navorser se, “ja, ja”]. En as ek nou besigheid reg maak op so dag dan vat dit my heeldag. [Navorser se, “mm”]. So ek as julle vir jou darem kan se, saam met jou kan bel en praat dan sal dit dinge darem beter gaan dan weet jy waar staan jy en hoe, [Navorser se, “en gee vir jou rigting”], rigting. Ja.
59. **Participant 11:** Die social worker (maatskaplike werker) by Childline, sy het ons mos nou laas jaar gehelp en die kind weg gestuur. Toe gaan ek mos nou weer na haar toe om te se die kind is dan nou ten times worse (tien keer erger). [Navorser se, “ja”]. Ja mevrou, sy roep haar supervisor (opsiener). Haar supervisor (opsiener) is seker jonger as my oudste kind, my oudste kind is ses-en-twintig. [Navorser se, “mm”]. Ja mevrou die problem le by jou.

[Navorsers se, "joh"], [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Jy, volgens wet mag jy skaars n kind met n belt (band) slaan nie, [Navorsers se, "mm"], verstaan? Die kinders dreig jou met die Blou dak. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. [Deelnemer se, "ja"]. Maar ek mind (gee om) nie, as ek krag gehad het dan sou ek my kind geslaan het, ek het nie krag in die arthritis (arthritis) hande nie en krag in die liggaam nie. "Ja die probleem le by jou", en dit, en dit, en dit. Ek se vir haar ons los die saak nou net hier. Is die Dinsdag, die Donderdag vat ek taxi Law Courts (Hoog Geregs Hof) toe. [Navorsers se, "mm"]. Ek is Child Court (Kinder Hof) toe, ek sit voor die magistraat se deur, toe dit oop gaan toe gaan ek in. Ek worry nie wie se saak moet nou voorkom nie, ek is in. En die magistraat het haar gebel en gevra kan sy nie haar werk doen nie en toe is sy nou so geworry want ek gaan laat sy haar werk verloor. Toe se ek, "as jy jou werk reg doen", [Deelnemer se, "mm"], "dan hoef jy hom nie verloor nie". [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. En sy kan dankie se die Here, Childline het toe gemaak, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], ek weet nie het sy haar werk verloor nie, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], maar toe gaan ons maar uit onse eie uit by lbhayi. [Navorsers se, "ja"]. lbhayi, jy kan nou lbhayi toe bel tot vannaand tot 16:30 toe, jy kry nie n antwoord by lbhayi nie. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Hulle tel nie op nie. [Deelnemer se, "jisou"]. [Deelnemer se, "nee dit is daai probleem"], [Deelnemers se, "joh"]. Die, die, die, hulle gee om vir die kinders maar hulle gee glad nie om vir die kinders. Jy moet nou net hier deur gaan en as jy by lbhayi kom, hulle het alewig n meeting (vergadering), [Deelnemers se, "mm"], en dan is hulle meeting (vergadering) van 8:00 tot 12:00 toe, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], nou moet jy hulle five minutes (vyf minute) sien eenkant. [Navorsers se, "mm, en dis nie genoeg tyd om te praat oor wat jy wil praat nie"]. Ek voel al ek is moeg, [Navorsers se, "mm"], ek is moeg ek kom van SANCA af, ek kom van FAMSA af, ek kom van Childline af, ek kom van Dora af. [Navorsers se, "lbhayi"]. En dis pure 'goedte' wat ek uit my eie uit gaan. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ek was al haar gaan piemp daar by die hof toe raak sy, sy joh, sy is nou 'kamma' twee maande swanger, ooh sy kan nie nou nie sy moet huistoe gaan, sy is siek. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Toe se ek jy gaan meer by die huis is as jy by die werk is. [Deelnemers se, "mm"].

60. **Researcher:** So u kry nie die regte diens van die mense wat veronderstel is om daai diens te lewer aan u nie, as n ouer nie? Okay. Okay, ek sien ouers maak so. [Navorsers lag].
61. **Participant 11:** Die kinders, dan vertel hulle vir jou die kinders het meer regte as jy. [Navorsers se, "mm"]. Die kinders se dit vir jou, as jy dit doen dan gaan ek jou gaan vang. [Navorsers se, "ja"]. Weet jy wat hulle daai hof wet wat hulle ingestel het van die, jy kan die kinders niks doen nie. Jy kan regtig niks doen nie, [n Deelnemer hoes], [Deelnemer se, "ja want die kinders gebruik dit nou teen ons. Ek slaan nog, ek en my man slaan"]. By, by, by Protea House, daai kinders is so klein, daai kinders is so klein daar by Protea

Safety Home, hulle is klein. Jy is nou die mamma wat na hulle kyk, jou kar (motor) staan hier buite, jy het nou net iets gese, hulle kan jou kar (motor) gaan stukkend gooi, jy kan niks doen nie. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Jy kan nie daai kinders slaan nie, jy kan nie vir hulle se hulle moet in die hoek staan nie niks nie, daai kinders word nie gestraf nie. [Navorsers se, "ja"]. Daai kinders word eerder swembad toe, daai kinders, Navorsers se, "is geen nagevolge". Daai kinders het lekker lewe. [Navorsers se, "daar is geen nagevolge vir hulle nie"]. Daar is nie n straf nie.

62. **Participant 12:** Zurina maar, uh, uh iets wat ek nou oplet in die probleem wat ek nou het saam met my kind - as daar altyd gepraat saam met haar word deur social workers (maatskaplike werkers), [Navorsers se, "mm"], of die magistraat of wat ookal, en sy hoor hulle kan niks maak aan haar nie, [Deelnemer se, "mm"], dan lyk dit so hulle gee haar [Deelnemer se, "mm, krag"], injection (inspuiting) om nog stouter te raak. [Deelnemer se, "erger te raak"], [Navorsers se, "want daar is nie nagevolge nie"]. Ja dis wat my so seer maak, [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Daar was n tyd toe se vir my, my vrou se vir my, ek wil nie mense blameer vir wat ons deurgaan nie maar, [Deelnemer se, "mm"] - die poliese kom een tyd 'daarso', sy se vir die polies man wat doen die kind en die kind slaap uit die huis uit. Toe se die polies man vir haar, "maar mevrou nou se dae moet jy die kind die sleutel gee laat die kind uit gaan en die kind kan enige tyd terug kom, hulle slaap so oor en weer". [Deelnemers se, "nee waar?"], [Deelnemer se, "sjoe"], [Deelnemer se, "nee"], [Deelnemer se, "vir n meisiekind"]. Is seer om so iets te hoor vir n meisiekind. [Deelnemer se, "yhuu is hartseer"]. Ek dink, ek dink, ek weet hoe het ek groot geraak in onse ouers huis. [Navorsers se, "joh"]. Waar kan n kind gaan buite kant slaap en sy weet eens met wie nie?
63. **Participant 14:** Waar is jou kind daai oomblik wat die polies man so met jou praat?
64. **Participant 12:** Waar was sy gewees mammie? Want ek was nie by die huis nie, waar was sy?
65. **Participant 11:** Was dit nie daai tyd wat sy daar in 'dinges' daar, daar by jou dogter maar sy het nie gese nie. [Deelnemer se, "is nie regte polies man daai nie"]. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Daai kind sal, jy kan haar vannaand in Reginald Road gaan haal, more is sy in Fichard Road. [Deelnemer se, "ek skaam my dood vir daai polies man"]. [Deelnemer se, "yhuu"], more, more is, [Deelnemer se, "ek het nou al gedink"]. [Deelnemers se, "daai polies man is glad nie reg nie"]. Daai polies man hy se jy moet die key vir die kind gee. [Deelnemer se, "nee, nee gaan hy dit aan hom kind doen, gaan hy dit aan hom kind doen?"]. [Deelnemers se, "hy doen dit seker met sy kind"]. Hy se hulle kinders, wit kinders, hulle se dertien jaar dan kry hulle die sleutel.

66. **Participant 12:** Toe, ek wou nou nie, maar toe vra ek wat is die, die ras van die polies man toe se sy nee is n blanke man toe se ek nee okay, miskien doen hulle dit. [Deelnemer se, "uh, hulle doen dit"]. [Navorser se, "oor die algemeen, van kleins af leer hulle hulle kinders so"]. [Deelnemers se, "mm"].
67. **Participant 11:** Ek was hom ek was dertig, ek se vir hom ek was dertig toe gaan ek met haar pa uit. Ons het getrou op thirty one (een-en-dertig), ek se ek was dertig, as ek wou by hom oorslaap dan lyk dit nou ek gaan pak kry as ek my pa vra kan ek daar ander kant gaan slaap, [Deelnemers se, "ja"], [Deelnemer lag stilletjies], want my pa was so streng oor my. [Deelnemers se, "mm"].
68. **Researcher:** So, so as, ek hoor iets baie belangrik, die advies wat u kry, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], van dis amptenare, [Deelnemers se, "ja"], voel u dit is altyd behulpzaam? Ek wonder nou want ek hoor daai advies. Dink u dat nie amptenare weet, is altyd bewus van die ondersteuning wat u nodig het en dat hulle en hulle gee nie die regte advies vir u nie as u nou se ek weet nie wat om te doen nie. Ek sukkel met die as n ouer.
69. **Participant 12:** Die, die, die manier hoe ek sien, uh, hulle kom uit, jy bel hulle ek meen nou as die polisie het ons gebel en dan kom hulle uit. En nou net om als te squash (verbrysel) miskien in die huis in, nou kom hulle met nou so voorstel. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Nou moet jy nou as ouer vat aan dit en daar vererger jou kind, [Deelnemer se, "joh"]. Zurina ek glo nie daar is een ouer hier binne vandag wat sy kind wil agter die rug trap, [Deelnemers se, "yhuu"], en hy sien, [Deelnemer se, "nooit nie"], die kind gaan by die afdraend afgaan. [Deelnemers se, "mm-mm"]. Dit sal te seer wees.
70. **Researcher:** Maar die advies wat u kry van die mense wat u bel, want u, [Deelnemer se, "joh"], ek neem aan u bel daai mense want u dink hulle is die mense wat vir my moet hulp gee. [Deelnemer se, "hulp gee"]. [Deelnemer se, "en raad"]. En die hulp wat hulle aanbied ek hoor, [Deelnemer se, "negatief"], is nie die regte advies wat hulle gee nie en hoe hulle praat is nie die regte manier, [Deelnemer se, "ja"], waarop hulle altyd op praat nie. Dis wat ek hoor. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Is dit reg wat ek hoor? [Deelnemer se, "dis doodreg"].
71. **Participant 12:** Die ding is die ook, want volgens wat ek weet, is wat safety concern (veiligheid betrek), ek meen as, as u in n geval is met n kind wat jou dreig of wat ookal, [Navorser se, "mm"], en jy voel jy is nie safe (veilig) met die kind nie, [Navorser se, "mm"]. Kan jy miskien jou neighbour (buur) roep, [Deelnemer se, "mm"], jy kan miskien die poliese bel om jou, of jy kan miskien n councillor (raadslid) wat in die omgewing is bel en se, kyk hier ek

sit nou met so situasie - en hulle moet bereid wees, [Deelnemer se, "ek soek net raad"], om by jou, by jou te kan wees laat die kind sien hier is iemand wat my ma kan protect (beskerm), [Navorsers se, "ja"], want sy is mos in daai anger (boosheid) posisie daai spesifieke tyd. [Navorsers se, "ja, ja, ja"]. Maar nou wil jy vrees om die poliese te bel. [Deelnemer se, "maar nou moet julle weet die wet het mos verander soos julle mos nou se].

72. **Participant 11:** My kind se dan as ons so ry en die poliese dan se sy daar gaan my chommies (vriende), [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. 'Jinne' wanneer wil my chommies (vriende) hier stop. Of sy sien nou die van (bakkie) daar oorkant by jou huis dan se sy, "jirre die mense wat so baie hier kom staan, kom mammie ons gaan staan daar en hoor wat se hulle daar. [Deelnemers lag]. So, sy vat die hele geregstelsel as n joke (grap). [Deelnemers se, "mm"].

73. **Participant 10:** Is nie omdat, is omdat die gereg as jy gaan na hulle toe, neem van daai oggend wat die kinders gearrester gewees het, [Deelnemer se, "mm"], daar by haar huis, [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Agt uur toe is ons 'hierso', neh, toe wag ons nou om te hoor wat gaan aan. [Navorsers se, "mm"]. En met die kry ek n oproep van die huis af, uhm, een van my familie lede wat n suster is hier by die hospitaal, sy se, "ek bel hier van julle huis af, jou ma het nou so siek geraak oor jou broer because (want) dieselfde outjies het nou kom gooi by julle huis", [Deelnemer se, "mm"], julle huis so kom gooi. Die speurder wat die saak het kom hier en ek se nou toe vir hom, uhm, dit het gebeur, hy vra vir my, "wat maak, wat moet ek nou maak? Want ek kan mos nou niks maak nie". [Deelnemer se, "mm-mm hy is rou"]. "Gaan maar kamp toe ek kyk wat kan jy doen daar". [Deelnemer se, "yhuu"]. Ek het gegaan die middag toe ek hier klaar is, gaan ek af eerste gaan kyk na die kinders en toe gaan hoor is die kinders hier is in die selle. Ek gaan toe, ek gaan se toe vir hulle, "uhm, ek wil n saak kom maak want, uh"... "uh, se gou vir my wie het seer gekry en wat is beskadig?". [Deelnemer se, "joh"]. Ek se, "ek hoor jou nie reg nou nie. Ek het nie gese iemand het seergekry nie, onse huis is en kar (motor) het hulle gegooi, so eintlik se jy dis nie n saak nie?"

74. **Participant 10:** [Deelnemers se, "sjoe"]. Toe se ek, "okay dan weet ek nou nie, wat, wat is n saak in julle oe?" [Navorsers se, "mm"]. Ek se vir die, want die kaptein is toe daar. Ek se, "verduidelik gou vir my wat is n saak in jou oe? My broer het ampers n stroke (beroerte) gekry en my ma is so siek hulle moes n dokter laat kry om haar in te spuit. Ek is by die hof en my kinders is opgetel vir iets wat hulle nie gedoen het nie"? "So wat wil jy he moet ek vir jou se? Uh, jy sal maar moet gaan hoor by die speurder". Toe se ek okay nee, toe ek uit kom toe kry ek die speurder en hy se, "wat het hulle daar binnekant gese? Yhuu as hulle niks kan doen nie, wat kan ek doen?" Toe se ek, "okay ons los dit dan, dan maar daar". Ek het omgegaan die next (volgende) dag toe verduidelik ek die kaptein wat daar agter is wat, toe vra

die kaptein, "hoe kan hulle vir jou?" Toe se ek, "sien julle waar kom ek by die reg stelsel?" [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ons as ouers ons wil weet wat is onse regte, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], maar dan word ons sulke questions (vrae) gevra because (want) dan gaan hulle vir jou vra, uhm, "het jy die 'ene' gesien?" [Deelnemers se, "ja"]. "Of wat het jy, is jy seker dit was daai 'ene'?" [Deelnemers se, "mm"], wat dit gedoen het? [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Al daai dinge maar met sekere dinge word dit, word die gereg dan so vinnig, so ek wil weet is daar iewers iemand wat 'gefavour' (guns kry) word? Of mense wat in die gereg is wat hulle mense help wat, wat 'goedte' doen want die goed van hierdie kind wat nou so vinnig gedoen gewees het, [Navorser se, "mm"], maar ek sit met n saak wat twee maande oor dieselfde kinders gedoen het, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], en ons het nog niks gehoor nie. Uh, uh, of enige iets was gedoen gewees om te se ons, die een daddy (pa) het ook n saak gemaak - is nou twee maande wat nog nooit n speurder by sy huis, hy het nie eens geweet wie die speurder wat hom saak, hy het net n saak nommer gekry, die speurder was nooit toe het hy die speurder gaan vra. Toe se die speurder, nee hy is nie in daai groep nie. [Navorser se, "mm"]. Daar is twee groepe, hy is by die anders, hy is seker die ander speurder, toe se ek, luister mooi, toe ons vra toe gee die speurder die saak nommer en die speurder se naam wat die saak doen. [Navorser se, "mm"]. So hoekom sal die system (sisteem) daai naam gee maar jy se nou hier is n ander naam wat betrokke is? So iewers is iets nie lekker wat ons nie, [Navorser se, "inconsistent (veranderlik)"]. Ja. Want daar is nie, dit volg nie vir my en maak ook nie sin vir ons nie. [Navorser se, "mm"]. So ons weet nou nie, was, ons wil net regte advies he, soos hier van die kamp af van die hof af, verduidelik dit is wat nou gaan gebeur met die kinders. Uh, die kinders gaan miskien voor die hof verskyn en die prosedure, [Navorser se, "prosedure"], prosedure wat gaan gevolg, na, na dit en wat die kinders gaan moet doen en dit, dit wil, dis dinge wat ons wil weet en die regte maniere en wat die channels (kanale) wat ons kan doen en kan deur. Dit wil ons he, ons wil weet watse kanale moet ons volg, [Navorser se, "mm"], met die saak en as ons gaan, ons sit nou, neh, want ons weet nou nie wat gaan aan nie. [Deelnemers se, "wat gaan aan nie"]. Ons is nou op n dood loop. Ons gaan nou net die 3de hof toe kom dan moet ons ook maar nou net weer kom luister, uh, uh, wat gaan aan. [Navorser se, "mm"]. Of eintlik weet ons eintlik net regtig niks wat nog gebeur het nie of wat ever (ookal), because (want) die kinders het nog nie enige verklaring gegee nie, daar was nog niks kom vra vir die kinders nie. So ons staan nog steeds op n dood loop, ons weet nog eintlik, ons weet net die kinders was opgetel vir n assault (aanranding) saak, ons. Is al wat ons basies weet, die kinders was toe gesluit, daar eindig dit. [Navorser se, "mm, en die rigting vorentoe die kanale wat moet gebeur?"]. Dit weet ons niks nie, [Navorser se, "weet nog niks nie"]. Die kinders het hof datums gekry, dis al en daar eindig die punt. Ons gaan seker, ons moet nou seker wag vir die hof datum weer maar as n ouer voel jy mos, jy wil mos darem weet. Wat kan ek

volg? Wat kan ek doen om my kind te help? Of om te hulp om te kyk waar is die probleem. [Navorsers se, "mm"]. Ons weet niks nie. [Navorsers se, "mm"]. Ons staan hier, ons is moedeloos, [Navorsers se, "ja"], want ons voel as ouers die geregtelike handel ons, [Navorsers se, "ja"], nie reg nie. Dis hoe ons voel.

75. **Researcher:** Dankie. Okay, Riaan wil jy graag n vraag vra?

76. **Participant 14:** Ek wil net een vraag he, [Navorsers se, "mm"], want dit lyk asof ons al die aspekte van die ander vrae behandel het. Uh, siende dat ons weet nou wat is die probleem van arrestasie tot by, tot met die hof eerste verskyning, uh, julle het informasie gekry was behulpsaam gewees by die hof. Uh, die informasie wat julle gekry het, het dit, is daar miskien opening miskien vir enige gapings, daar enige ander, ander, uh, behoeftes wat julle nodig ag wat in die kinder, want die is die Kinder Hof. Hulle noem dit nou die Child Justice System, maar die is die Kinder Hof, plain Afrikaans dis Kinder Hof. Is daar enige gapings wat julle kan inkyk vandat julle met, vandat julle hier gearresteer het, vir die mense wat hier gearriveer met die, uh, eerste verskyning tot en met julle laaste verskyning? Is daar enige gaps (gapings) wat julle in tussen in gesien het waar julle vind, kyk hier ek het, ek het inligting hier nodig, ek het inligting daar nodig. Ek gaan n klein voorbeeldjie gee, want jy kom in die hof in, uh, as ouer staan jou kind daar by die bank. Dan staan die ander beamptes daar. Aan jou regter kant gaan jy sien is die aanklaer. Net voor jou kinders is die defense lawyers (verdedigings prokureurs). Die, uh, lawyers (prokureur) wat jou kind defend (verdedig), julle kinders defend (verdedig) en dit kan either (of) lawyers (prokureurs) is wat van die staat af is of dit kan either (of) lawyers (prokureurs) is wat julle self aangestel het - staan hulle daar en dan is die regter bo. Die landdros bo en daar waar jy staan kan jy, is nou n voorbeeld, kan jy sien almal sien die persone wat jy mee praat? Dis, is al, dis n vraag. Kon julle dit, dit sien? Terwyl julle daar staan? Onthou hier is mense voor julle. Kon, kon julle darem reg deur kyk na die landdros toe?

77. **Participant 10:** Okay Riaan, daar was nie daai dag mense wat voor gesit het nie. Dit was die staats aanklaer, die, [Deelnemers se, "daar is mense wat daar voor gesit het"]. [Deelnemers se, "daai bondel daar"]. [Deelnemers hoes]. [Deelnemers se, "daai bondel by n tafel"]. Hy het ons mos verduidelik daai, daar was vier wat daar gewees het, dit was mense wat hulle gese het is trainees, [Navorsers se, "mm"], wat ingekom het wat ook op regte gaan studeer. Dit was die vier wat ingekom het daar wat daar gesit het. Hulle het mos die, hulle het mos vir die kinders gevra of hulle, uh...

78. **Participant 9:** Is daai nie die trainees wat saam met die social worker (maatskaplike werker)? Kyk hier, ons is mos nou met die social worker (maatskaplike werker) gesit toe is die trainees agter.

79. **Participant 14:** Kom ek, kom ek my vraag net anderste stel want dit lyk my julle verstaan my nou nie reg nie. Die rede waarom ek nou so verduidelik want ek het die probleem gehad toe ek in die hof in staan. Ek het voor my kind gestaan, uh, gelukkig vir my kind is hy langer as ek, hy kan oor my kyk. Want ek het die probleem gehad dat ek kon nie die staats aanklaer sien nie. Ek kon haar hoor maar ek kon haar nie sien nie. En die grootste probleem wat ek gehad het is dat die persoon wat hier voor is wat my defend en my kind teen die klagtes wat daar is, is voor my maar gedraai met haar, [Deelnemer se, "met haar rug"], rug teen my. [Deelnemer se, "ja"]. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. [Deelnemers se, "ja"]. En vir my het dit gevoel is, is, is nie ek hoor haar maar ek wil darem sien, [Deelnemer se, "wie is dit"]. Nee ek wil haar sien terwyl sy praat daar soos ek die landdros sien 'daarso' terwyl hy praat. En gedeeltelik van die staats aanklaer kan ek ook nie sien nie. [Navorsers se, "mm"]. Want ek weet ons kan nie kla oor hoe die, hoe die hof ingeskep is nie maar at least (ten minste), uh, kan hulle darem net n verskil maak in die hof. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Dis waarom ek vra, so daai was my gaping gewees. [Deelnemer hoers]. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Nou vra ek vir julle wat se gaping kon, het julle aanvaar miskien, is daar gaps (gapings) tussen in wat julle aanvaar dat die, by die Kinder Hof? - wat miskien gechange (verander) kan word wat julle kan behulpsaam wees? Want jy moet onthou in n hof in moet jy as ouer honderd persent weet wat gaan in jou kind se saak aan. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Jy moet ook kan vrae vra aan die, aan die, jy vra nie vrae aan die landdros nie, jy doen dit deur middel van jou verdediging, jou defense lawyer (verdedigings prokureur) wat voor jou is wat jou kind defend (verdedig), doen jy dit. Jy moet alles daar kan weet. Nou daai was my grootste ding. En ek dieselfde aanvaar wat jy aanvaar en ek het dit nog erger aanvaar, ek is n polisie beampte en die landdros het nog vir my gevra, "jirre ek sien jou baie". Toe se ek, "nee man jy sien my mos ek kom elke dag 'hierso' ek is n ondersoek beampte". Want dit het nou vir die ander mense gedink ek is n groot krimineel, [Deelnemers lag], ek kom elke dag hier n toe, [Deelnemer se, "saam met die kind"]. Verstaan jy? [Deelnemer hoers]. En die rede waarom hulle my, hulle het my ook gedagvaar om elke keer in die hof te wees. Maar dit moet so wees want ons is daai kind se ouer. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Of dit nou hoe sleg voel in die hof in omdat ons nou so 'dingese', en ek het ook kwaad geraak. Ek het my, jy is nog gelukkig, ek het my kind teen die keel gegryp. Ek het hom amper daar by die balcony (balkon) afgegooi by my ouma se huis. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. En toe se ek vir hom, "vir jou gemors gaan ek nie hier kom staan elke keer nie". [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. En ek as ouer was ek gegrief gewees. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Nou dis waarom ek net vra is daar enige gapings wat julle kon gesien het, iets wat julle dink wat kan gechange (verander) word? Onthou changes we can't do now but (veranderinge kan ons nie nou doen nie maar) in die toekoms kan ons dit doen. [Deelnemers

se, "mm"]. Dis die grootste rede hoekom, uh, Zurina die 'goedte' doen. Daar was baie changes (veranderinge) gewees, uh, byvoorbeeld toe julle, toe sy, toe soos julle hof toe kom het julle nou meer inligting gekry van die prosedures by die hof self. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Hoe die behulpsaamheid van die beamptes wat julle gehelp het, daar was nie daai nie. Dit is in plek gestel in die afgelope drie maande en dit is harde werk van twee jaar wat Zurina en die ander amptenare en ouers gedoen het vir so ver. Dis waarom dit vandag is om net te kyk is daar enige changes (veranderinge) wat ons kan maak. [Navorsers se, "om te verbeter, mm"]. Onthou ons as ouers word daar nie gekyk nie. Ek kry nie eens geld om elke dag hier na toe te gekom het hof toe nie. Gelukkig julle ouers kry. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ek kry nie en ek moet uit die werk uit ook bly, [Navorsers se, "mm"], om hier te wees. Sommige tye dan het ek nie verlov dae oor nie dan moet ek maar lieg daar by die baas, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], en se ek is siek - maar dan is ek nie n hel siek nie. Verstaan? Dan moet ek hier wees. Sulke tipe dinge. Dis hoe dit is.

80. **Researcher:** Dankie Riaan. So watter verbeterings, soos hy se, daar is sommige goedjies wat ons wil instel, want u, soos almal gepraat het vandag, is dit, is dit swaar alreeds om n ouer te wees. Al die dinge wat n mens deur maak. Nou kom die situasie, die kind nou deur die sisteem gaan en nou hoop jy dat daar is miskien hulp gaan wees en ondersteuning gaan wees. En, en u het gese, het gese daar is sommige inligting, sommige ondersteuning wat gegee was. Maar wat is daar nog wat u voel moet daar nog meer ge... in plek gesit word? En sodat ons die sisteem kan verbeter sodat soos u en ander ouers deur gaan dan weet ons darem defnitief dat die ouer gaan die regte hulp kry, by die regte advies, hoe hulle gepraat gaan word, gaan die regte manier op gepraat gaan word. So wat dink u is die gapings en wat kan ons doen om dit te vul?

81. **Participant 9:** Soos 'ekke', neh, ek het mos nou hulp gesoek vir my kind laat hulle hom kan stuur miskien na n spesiale skool toe. Eerste vir die drugs (dwelms) om uit hom uit, uit hom system (sisteem) uit te gaan. Want ek voel as n ma daar moet regtig gewerk saam met hom word vir die anger problem (boosheid probleem) wat hy ook mos nou het. En is nie maklik as n ma nie, [Navorsers se, "mm"], somtyds dan voel dit ek kan maar dood ook gaan, hoekom lewe ek nog? Soos daai maar is alles die duiwel se plan mos nou. Maar soos ek se, soos daai social worker (maatskaplike werker) mos nou vir my gese het, hulle kan my nie help nie ek moet mos nou na daai plek toe gaan, neh, hulle kan my nie help nie. Wat ek daar sit toe vra ek mos nou, ek soek net help vir hom laat hy net in n inrigting kom want ek wil he hy moet verder skool, [Navorsers se, "mm"], met sy skool, sien jy? Gaan maar daar was nou nie hulp daar vir my nie. Maar binne in die hof die magistraat my baie mooi, hy het my n kans gegee om te praat ook hoe ek voel, [Navorsers

se, "mm"], as n ouer. Hy het laat die kind my omverskoning vra tussen almal nou wat daar gesit het en hy het laat die ander ouers uitgaan laat ek alleen daar binne is. [Navorser se, "mm"]. En soos, uh, die magistraat ook sien hy is die jongste van hulle almal maar die mondjie, die mondjie van hom. [Navorser se, "mm"]. Hy, hy is so tipe kind hy sal sommer se hy het alleen daai kind seer gemaak. [Navorser se, "mm"]. Hy gaan lieverste laat daai vriende, [Deelnemer se, "maar hy is nice (lieflik) man, hy was al daar by my huis"]. Hy, hy is n baie lifelike kind, daar is Liz, nou dis wat ek se hoe kan die duiwel, die duiwel gebruik sulke kinders, sulke kinders. Jy het n nice (lieflike) dogter maar ek het gesien is die duiwel binne in my kind is. [Navorser se, "mm"]. Ek het gesien, is soos n demoon wat binne in my kind in vaar. Julle my kind kom dan vra hy, "pa moet ek vir pa tee maak?" Is all right (alles reg), net nou kom daai kind dan is dit soos n duiwel wat binne in my kind in gevaar het. Nou sien julle, ons sense (voel/aanvoel) almal die ding op verskillende maniere maar party van ons verstaan mekaar. As daai demoon binne in daai kind is julle, dan moet ek ook se, "Here help vir my, help". Dan moet ek eerste se, "Here help my" dan moet ek nou bid. [Deelnemer se, "dan moet jy nou stil wees"]. Ja. [Deelnemer se, "want dan werk die Here vir jou. Hy se vir jou wees stil en Ek sal vir jou werk"]. Ja. [Deelnemer se, "die ding is die"]. Nou wanneer hy in kom dan se ek mos, [Deelnemer se, "Here help my en maak my stil"]. En as hy inkom dan se ek vir my man, "kalmte, kalmte, kalmte". Soos gisteraand wat hy inkom toe sien ek mos nou, toe sien ek daai demoon. Van julle ouers sal seker nie verstaan nie. Toe sien ek daai demoon en ek begin bid in my binneste want ek soek mos net, julle ons soek mos net vrede en liefde in onse plekke, neh, [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. [Deelnemer se, "al eet jy droee brood, jy vrede en liefde het"]. Is al wat ons soek. Is al wat ons soek, net die vrede en die liefde. Jy sit nog so binne in jou plek dan kom die duiwel daar van buite kant af in jou plek in.

82. **Participant 11:** Nou, nou by my geval is dit so, neh, my begeerte is net hoe gaan ek eendag vir my kind se hoekom het ek nie gebaklei vir haar om skool te loop nie. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Sy gaan mos daai tyd die wysheid het om my sulke vrae te vra. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. [Deelnemers se, "ja"]. "Hoekom het ma nie laat ek skool loop nie, hoekom?" Hoekom dit en hoekom dit, verstaan? Dan kan ek nie vir haar vertel van die duiwel nie, [Deelnemer se, "ja"], want ek is dan die moeder ek moes bid. Verstaan? [Deelnemer sug]. En die ding is die, ek bly in Bell Road en dis so seer die kinders gaan Chapman toe, [Navorser se, "mm"], die kinders gaan Alpha toe, [Deelnemer se, "is hartseer neh?"]. die kinders gaan Paapenkuil toe, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], die kinders gaan St Thomas, [Deelnemer se, "sjoe"]. Al die skool kinders nou sit my kind deur die venster. "Haai kyk daar gaan 'dinges'" dan dink ek Here ek wil net he sy moet skool loop. [Navorser se, "ja"]. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Sy is veertien, [Deelnemer se, "joh"], sy lyk groot. As mense daar kom sy is altyd netjies en skoon en - my neighbour (buur) het nou die dag gese, "ek kan nie

glo dis die kind wat jou so omkeer nie". Ek sien nou want is, "hello aunt (tannie) Charmaine, hello aunt (tannie) Charmaine" of sy sal, as sy vir jou se ek groet nie vir 'dinges' of vir 'dinges' of vir 'dinges' want ek sien hulle like (hou van) skinder. Ons kos nie gese het ons groet nie mense nie.

[Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ons moes groet. My begeerte is net om skool te loop, nou dan het sy my iets gedoen dan wil ek vir niemand se nie.

[Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ooh, nou se ek vir hom, nou kom hy met n draai,

[Deelnemer se, "skaam maak"]. Ek hoor dit en ek hoor dit, [Deelnemer 3 lag stillietjies]. Dan se sy, "praat alles met jou bek, hy gaan Maandag weg dan is ek en jy alleen hier. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. [Deelnemer se, "is nie lekker nie"].

Oooh, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], dan moet ek maar so Maandag, dit lyk ek ken vir jou se sit nog bietjie man sit. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Sy se

sommer vir vriende wat daar kom, "ek sien jou vriende kom hier, ek gaan vir my pa se wuh. Vriende het dit kom haal en dit kom haal en dit kom haal". Of sy sal iets net dan, dan, dan glo haar pa haar. Sy, sy kan, sy kan so lieg. Jy sal, jy sal glo is die waarheid wat sy vir jou se. Sy kom een Dinsdag,

Maandag aand daar op op n 22:45, maak oop. [Deelnemer klop]. Ek en my ma is daar, sy se, "ma ken mos daai chommie (vriend) van my?" Ek se ja.

"haar ma is dood geskiet in Fichard Road, in, [Deelnemer se, "Stagg Straat"], Stagg Straat. Haar ma het mos n pos en haar ma het dit en dit en dit". Net laat ek die Vrydag die vrou by Spar kry. [Deelnemers lag].

Ek kon amper siek raak. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. [Deelnemers lag]. Ek kon amper siek raak. Ek kan amper se, "is jy nie dood nie?" [Deelnemers lag]. Die Sondag kry ek die vrou weer in die kerk. Ek dink 'jirre' die duiwel het die kind so sy lieg so,

[Deelnemer se, "dat jy glo dit is so"]. Sy lieg oortuigend. [Deelnemer lag]. Sy is n mooi meisie. [Deelnemer se, "hulle soek net hulp, hulle moet hulp kry"].

83. **Researcher:** So ek hoor gapings dat u weereens die skool, ek hoor dis baie belangrik dat, [Deelnemer se, "vir my is die skool belangrik"], dat as u kom dat hulle, dat hulle vir u help om die kind terug in die skool kry. [Deelnemer se, "te kry"].

84. **Participant 11:** Kyk sy het, sy het March (Maart) maand nie geskryf nie toe skryf sy June (Junie) maand, toe het sy een vak, [Deelnemer hoes], nie geskryf nie maar sy het goed geslaag. [Navorsers se, "mm"]. August (Augustus) toe gaan sy skool toe het sy net vir die een meisie gese, "gee gou aan daai ding" en die meisie se, "nee". "Gee gou aan daai ding daar" en nie meisie se, "nee" en die meisie gee en die juffrou se "waddaddaa" (klank). En sy het die meisie en hulle baklei laat die secretary (sekretaresse) hoor daar. En die secretary (sekretaresse) is jou lyf toe het sy die secretary (sekretaresse) omgegooi. [Navorsers se, "ja"]. En die hoof was besig toe het sy nou, hulle het voor gaan kom en na daai dag wou sy nie, en die hoof se daar was niks fout nie. Daai is n social development (maatskaplike raad) skool. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Hulle kies nie kant nie want die law (wet) is

aan die kinders kant. En sy het nooit weer terug gegaan nie. [Navorser se, "okay"].

85. **Researcher:** Okay, uhm, wil jy n laaste vragie vra Carol-Ann?

86. **Participant 15:** Ja, watter advies kan u vir ons ou, ouers gee ten opsigte van ondersteuning vra gedurende die geregsproses?

87. **Researcher:** Hoe kan julle seker maak dat as julle nou weer hof toe gaan, byvoorbeeld, julle het vir my nou eintlik alles gese watter ondersteuning het julle nodig wat julle mee sukkel. Wat dink julle kan ons vir, julle as ouers but (maar) ook ander ouers, wat kan julle vir hulle se hoe, hoe moet hulle maak dat die, die amptenare verstaan watter, wat hulle sukkel mee, wat hulle nodig het, en, en die regte hulp kry. Wat kan die ouers doen? Ek het nou al gehoor van julle, som van julle het gese, "nee ek stap elke tyd, ek gaan vra, ek maak seker, ek gaan". [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. And, and, and that's very admirable (en dit is baie bewonderenswaardig). Maar ek hoor nog steeds in dieselfde tyd julle stap en julle sit heel dag by n plek vir hulp en dan kry jy nog steeds nie hulp nie. [Deelnemers se, "regte hulp nie"]. So watter advise dink julle kan julle vir ouers gee dat daai ouers soos ons se amper jy gaan klop, [Navorser klop], maar alewig en maar, [Deelnemer se, "daar is nie antwoord nie"]. Ja. Wat, watter advies kan julle vir die ouers gee?

88. **Participant 10:** Ons het nou laaste gebesluit die ouers moet almal gaan tot by die polisie kantore en almal saam en hulle moet hulle harte gaan uit praat en vir hulle vra. "Julle help ons nou, [Navorser se, "mm"], en julle se vir ons 'waantoe' vorentoe, [Navorser se, "mm"], want ons weet nou nie meer nie, want ons loop altyd op n dooiemans deur - because (want) dit lyk vir my as daar een of twee is wat loop, [Deelnemer se, "mm"], dan vat hulle nie notice (notisie) nie van jou nie. Maar ons het gevoel as daar n groep gaan, [Deelnemers se, "en almal moet saam staan"], en almal staan saam, [Deelnemer se, "nie net een, twee nie"], dan gaan hulle nou miskien meer gehoor, [Deelnemer se, "aandag gee ja"], gee. Want regtig met een en twee werk dit nie. Ek se vir jou, ek het al gesit dan se die mense, "daai een is nou weer gou in n meeting (vergadering)" - dan sit ek daar heeldag dan kom ek drie uur by die huis aan dan het ek nog niks, nog niks, [Navorser se, "uitgerig nie"], bereik nie. Of ek het nog met niemand gepraat nie dan is ek so heeldag daar, [Navorser se, "mm"]. Ek gaan honger, ek gaan miskien Spar toe moet loop om vir my n koel drank of iets te gaan koop om te eet. Ek is nie n eter nie maar baie keer sit jy so nou raak jy frustration (frustreerd), [Deelnemers se, "mm"], nou, jy dink jy het gekom met daai doel, die een het dan. n Kolonel het my een aand gebel toe se hy vir my, "uh, kom sien my asseblief agt uur want nege uur gaan ek na n vergadering". 7:30 toe was ek al daar want ek dink ek wil jou nou nie misloop nie. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ek wil

seker maak ek is n half uur voor die tyd, because (want) ek glo in punctuality (stiptheid). Kom daar en om te sit, en te sit, en die secretary (sekretaresse) het al gebel, sy phone (foon) is op 'voicemail'. [Navorser se, "mm"]. Sy het my toe al na van Pontus na Pilatus, gaan maar nou na daai 'ene' se kantore toe. Gaan, ek het geloop 'daarso' soos n mal mens. Nee, nee jy moet maar weer gaan wag, ek het gaan wag en is al twaalf uur al. Is al een uur al, die man se phone (foon) is nou nog op 'voicemail'. [Navorser se, "sjoe"]. Ek se, "okay julle het my cell phone (sellulere foon) nommer, laat weet my maar wanneer die man eendag available (beskikbaar) is om my te sien". Ek het gewag, ek het n week na die tyd maar weer gebel, [Navorser se, "mm"], om net n afspraak te maak. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ek, hy kom tot vandag toe, [Navorser se, "vandag toe nog"], en dit is nou van December (Desember) af, [Navorser se, "sjoe"], en is al weer December (Desember), [Deelnemers se, "en dit raak amper al weer December (Desember)"]. En ek wag nou nog because (want) ek het gese ek gaan nie gehoor gee tot hulle nie na ons gaan luister, [Deelnemer se, "luister ja"], om hulp vir onse kinders because (want) onse kinders gaan uit die skole uit. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Because (want), nou gaan, wil onse kinders gaan gansters (bendeledede) raak, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], [Deelnemer se, "ja hulle raak gangsters obviously (bendeledede natuurlik)]. Because (want) die hoofde en die menerens gaan en dan [Deelnemer se, "hulle se dit vir die kinders"], die kinders gaan, because (want) nou is daar die kinders oppad skool toe en in die einde word hulle aangerand nou lyk dit die kinders, uh, uh, loop en soek vir dit. Dis waarom wat ek se, ek maak n punt om in die oggende, ek was al vyf uur in die more laat ek weet ek is klaar want my kinders moet skool toe loop laat ek kan saam loop om te gaan kyk. En dan, my sisters en broer vra gaan jy ook nie, dan se ek ek maak daai winkel toe as daar niemand is nie. Ek worry nie, ek se geld is nie belangrik nie. Ons kinders se lewens en se, se toekomse le op die spel, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], because ons wil, ons kan nie net terug sit en verwag onse kinders moet op winkels se stoepe. Ek persoonlik stuur nie eens my kinders winkel toe nie, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], because (want) hulle, die kinders is so lief om met die kinders aan te gaan hier. Ek loop whether (of) ek tien keer n dag winkel toe gaan, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], om goed te gaan maar ek gaan nie my kinders stuur nie omdat ek weet, die gangsters (bendeledede) in, in, in Beverley Hills is te erg. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Hulle gaan met enige 'ene' aan. [Navorser se, "mm"]. En jy kan maar daar natoe gaan, na hulle toe loop dan stry hulle hulle nou af. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Is dis waarom as hulle my sien dan se hulle ook, "daar kom daai aunty (tannie) aunt (tannie) Liz nou weer aan, sy kom check (sien) ons nou weer" - because (want) ek wil nie he hulle moet met die skool kinders aangaan nie want kinders is daar om te leer. 'Jinne' onse, ons as ons kyk na die ander, uh, uh, uh, areas en hoe loop die kinders skool, [Deelnemer se, "mm"], die kinders wil leer dan raak jou hart seer as ek dink onse kinders se geleerdheid moet weg gevat word, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], van hulle af oor,

oor sulke klein dingetjies. Nou is die kinders bang om skool toe te gaan want ek gaan nie my laat seer maak nie om skool toe te gaan nie want, die kinders gaan le op die hoek. Dit is mos nou nie reg nie, so iewers moet ons n punt kry wat hulle ons moet na ons gaan luister. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Want een en twee werk regtig nie meer nie. Ek het gevoel ons moet n groep, [Deelnemer se, "groep is"], ons moet iets stig wat kan se dit is die, uh, uh, uh, groep en ons wil, onse stemme wil gehoor wees. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Because (want) regtig ons loop in n dood loop op, op oral waar ons gaan. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Is, jy kom net op n dood loop, niemand help jou meer nie. [Navorser se, "dankie"].

89. **Researcher:** Dankie vir dit. Ander advies? So ons hoor dat ouers moet bymekaar kom veral as dieselfde issues (problem) dan gaan present daar, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], dat hulle n voice (stem) het, neh? [Deelnemers se, "ja"]. Ek het dit gehoor, maar ek hoor ook dat u se as ouer dat ons maar aktief moet wees en sien waar onse kind moet ondersteun word, [Deelnemer se, "mm"] – ek hoor dat u stap saam met die kinders skool toe omdat u voel hulle is nie veilig in die gebied nie. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. En dat u selfs na die skole toe gaan, ek hoor dit ook en betrokke is darem by die skool, neh?
90. **Participant 11:** Kan ek gou in kom daar by hulle saak? Die klip gooiery begin mos by Bell Road, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], en Inyala Straat se mammas help hulle kinders gooi, [Deelnemer se, "nee help gooi"]. Hulle help hulle kinders gooi. [Deelnemer se, "hulle help"]. [Deelnemers vra, "die aunties?"]. [Deelnemers se, "ja"]. Hulle help. [Deelnemer vra, "gooi hulle saam?"]. [Deelnemers se, "hulle gooi saam"]. [Deelnemer se, "maar die poliese kan niks doen aan hulle nie"]. [Deelnemers praat almal op een tyd].
91. **Participant 10:** Ek het een oggend gestaan. My kinders is al In die skool toe en kom daar haar seun en nog drie. Toe kom die hele Inyala straat en ek probeer nou met die bondel praat en vir die mammie se, "nee man hoe gaan julle, uh, uh, uh, voel? Julle is dan nou ouers, wat gaan julle jou vir hulle vorentoe wees, [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. wat julle gooi dan nou self". Praat met die kinders. Ek ek het vir die bondeltjie gese, "gaan huis toe". Praat, toe kom die bondel, ons gaan daar, toe se ek vir die bondeltjie, "lig een van julle net een van julle n vinger aan my". [Navorser se, "mm"]. En ek staan in die bondel, ek se, "een van julle lig n vinger aan my dan gaan ons van vandag af 'hierso' sien. Julle sal nooit weer aan n klip behoort nie". [Deelnemer se, "ander vrou het self gese sy help gooi"]. Nee hulle, hulle gooi letterlik, hulle gooi tot by jou huis. Hulle het eendag daar gekom toe kom staan hulle daar. [Deelnemer vra, "watse straat bly julle Collette?"]. [Deelnemer se, "Hier is Brown. Ons bly in Bell Road ons kan sien as hulle gooi"]. Ek kom staan op die hoek by die kliniek dan kyk jy af dan staan die bondel 'daarso'. [Deelnemer se, "so en Vrydae is hulle beste, is hulle beste gooi"].

[Deelnemer se, "Vrydae oggende"]. Sodra hulle sien die kinders kom aan, [Deelnemer se, "en one o' clock (een uur)"], dan moet jy sien hoe begin en dan waai die klippers. [Deelnemer se, "hulle worry (gee nie om) nie wie ry daar in die straat nie"], of loop daar, die kinders is, [Deelnemer vra, "en wat doen die poliese omtrent dit?"]. Niks nie. [Deelnemer se, "nee die poliese doen niks nie"]. Eendag toe staan hulle almal met netso grote klippe en die 'vane' (bakkies) stop, weet julle wat se hulle vir die 'vane' (bakkies), "daar hardloop". Toe se ek, "nee daar hardloop niemand nie". Die kinders is in die skool, die kinders het hulle gejaag tot in die skool yard (werf). Julle kan maar nou na die hoof toe gaan en dan gaan vra jy, [Deelnemer se, "is daai plek nog steeds"], daai 'vane' (bakkies) het net verby gery, nie eens 'gebothert' met, ooh nee dan is hulle dan veilig. Daar ry hulle in die straat op. [Deelnemer se, "hulle maens is poppers man"]. [Navorsers se, "mm"].

92. **Participant 9:** Gaan kyk daai een huis daar by Lollo-hulle is tik, is dagga, [Deelnemer se, "is poppers"], die ma tik, die pa tik. Hulle is nie n voorbeeld vir die kinders nie maar as hulle praat dan, [Deelnemer se, "hulle is hyper active"], praat hulle nou van voorbeeld hulle vir hulle kinders. [Deelnemer se, "hulle is regtig hyper active"].
93. **Participant 10:** Want as jy, as jy sien hoe gooi hulle klip en dan, [Deelnemer se, "sjoe"]. [Deelnemer se, "hulle mind nie (gee nie om nie) van ons wat winkel toe gaan nie"]. Dan gaan jy verbaas wees, ek staan want ek het gese hulle gaan, hulle moet my raak gooi want ek gaan nie met een van daai ouers speel nie. Ek se of hulle moet my kinders raak gooi because (want) ek maak reeds my punt om want my kinders kan veilig by die skool uitkom. Die hoof, dan draai ek by daai hek in die oggend om, en dan kom dit. Eendag het die hoof vier outjies uitgesit. Die kind het sy take en hy se, "ma ek het die taak vergeet", van die wat hulle deurmekaar is in die oggende want hulle wil by die skool uit kom, [Deelnemer se, "uh"], want hulle is nou al bang. Die kinders wat nou bo om kom die oggend, en is met die wat ek nou terug kom met die taak en toe sit die, en ek vra "hoekom is julle buite?". "Die hoof het ons uit, die hoof se ons moet tot, tot". Toe se ek die hoof moet leer om die ouers te vra wat elke dag daar staan en Mr Humphries, hom seun is ook n kolonel in die polisie. En hy se vir my, "Felicity kom haal vir my man want ek staan elke dag hier". Ek sal vir die hoof se, "die kinders is nie betrokke nie, die kinders moet so hardloop vir hulle lewe want is grote klippers wat na hulle toe kom". [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Want dan staan hier nou, toe se ek, "hoekom kan die polisie niks doen omtrent die kinders nie? Hoekom kan hulle nie vir die kinders vra hoekom staan julle, as julle nie skoor soek nie, waarvoor staan julle elke oggend op daai hoek?" [Deelnemer se, "daai hoek"]. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Nes mense wat werk toe gaan of aan n werk gaan behoort nou. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Want julle loop nie een skool nie, die een is in graad agt, hy het, ek het hom nog nou eendag met hom lekker

gepraat toe se ek vir hom, "wat gaan aan, 'waantoe' gaan jy met n graad agt sertifikaat? [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Hier is dan n, ek se vir hom, 'jinne' jy is dan so mooie jong man, jou hele lewe le voor". "Ja aunty (tannie), nee ek gaan skool toe, ek gaan vir my ma se". [Navorser se, "mm"]. Om te kry laat die kind my eendag so vloek, "daai aunty (tannie) wil vir my kom vertel ek het n ma wat vir my..." Ooh ek was so verbaas, ek dink ek het nou probeer om met jou nou mooi te praat, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], om jou aan te moedig, maar hoor, en verder aan stap ek, dink ek nee ek gaan jou nou nie eens terug antwoord nie. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Want dis nou nie die moeite werd nie. Ons is nou nie hier, daai los dit maar vir jou ouers want dit is hulle, dis waarom wat ek se - die gemeenskap moet opstaan, die poliese moet met ons probeer hand-aan-hand werk, [Deelnemer se, "mm"], om n oplossing te kry vir onse probleem. Anderste gaan die more nie net na klip gooi, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], maar na gun (rewolwer) skietery, [Deelnemer se, "gun (rewolwer) skietery"]. En die kinders gaan dood gaan, want dan gaan, wat gaan hulle dan se? [Navorser se, "ja"]. As die kinders dood gaan, [Navorser se, "ja"], watse hulp het hulle ons want ons staan nou nog, ek sal se ons staan op moeds verloor se vlakke. [Navorser se, "mm"]. Ons staan daar en ons weet net wat, niks om te doen nie.

94. **Participant 9:** Want dit gaan in onse omgewing nou so, neh, jy bly hier, jy kan nie daar by Bagley straat nie, jy bly mos hier. Jy bly mos hier by die pos. [Deelnemer se, "by ons is dit ook so, Fichard Straat kan nie in Lead Straat loop nie. Deverell Road kan nie in Lead straat nie, ons kan nie winkel toe gaan nie"]. Nou my seuns is nie meer vriende in Tereblanche Straat nie. Die een is vriende in Zimdhal Straat dan is die een mos bo, nou hulle al twee was al, die een was, die ouer een was al gejaag met n gun (rewolwer) Bell Road af, neh, deur die gangsters (bendeledede) daar. En hy was 'gegun point' deur die gangsters (bendeledede) daar. En, en wat jy as n ouer, jy gaan so deur baie trauma, [Deelnemer se, "mm"], is maar net vir jou om op jou kniee te gaan en te bid. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Want dit baat nie ek gaan nou ook gaan baklei daar buite nie. [Navorser se, "mm"].

95. **Researcher:** Ja,so dis, is die disunity (tweedrag) in die gemeenskap lyk dit vir my ook. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Yoh know (u weet), en die feit dat die kinders dan nou teen mekaar gooi en die ouers ook dan nou nie bymekaar staan nie - want klink vir my daar is ouers wat wel probeer om kinders te aan te moedig, om n voorbeeld te wees ens. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Aan die ander kant is daar dan ouers wat weer se nee die verkeerde 'goedte' sal ons nou aanmoedig. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. You know (u know), en vir die kinders bystaan as hulle verkeerde dinge doen, so dit lyk my daar is baie goedjies op n gemeenskaps vlak wat gedoen moet word. [Deelnemers se, "daar is baie ja"]. Uhm, vir ouers ek dink, uh, dat hulle ook besef wat hulle rolle het om te speel, neh?

96. **Participant 9:** Zurina, ek, ek het op al daai punt gekom, neh, Felicity-hulle dat, uh, ek gaan vir my kind n groente stand (staan plek) op sit, neh, daar voor by my maar julle moet weet daar is dan jaloesie in dit ook. Sit my kind met daai groente stand (staan plek) daar en dinge gaan nou lekker dan is dit n skoor 'soekerigegeid' ook, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], wat aangaan. [Navorsers se, 'sjoe']. Sien jy, hy se, "ma hulle gaan met my kom skoor soek ook soos ek daar sit, dit gaan ook nie uit werk nie". Ons het al n winkeltjie begin agter, neh, Felicity, toe word daar remarks (aanmerke) ook gegooi. [Navorsers se, "joh"]. So is amper soos as die gangsters (bendeledede) se territory (grondgebied), is die gangsters (bendeledede) se territory (grondgebied).
97. **Researcher:** As jy wil probeer progress (vorder) soos skool toe gaan of iets doen op jou eie dan target (teiken) hulle.
98. **Participant 9:** Want hulle sien mos nou onse kinders loop skool dan gaan koop hulle hulle zolle. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Voor hulle skool toe gaan dan rook hulle hulle zolle. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. En, en die gemeenskap is bang om op te staan dis waarom Felicity mos nou praat.
99. **Researcher:** Okay. Ons het baie gepraat, ek dink ons lyk moeg. [Deelnemers lag]. Ek sien die ogies, [Deelnemers lag], maar ek wil net eers vir u baie, baie dankie se. U het baie gedeel ek weet dit was baie goed wat swaar was op die hart en ek hoop dat selfs net in die praat met ander ouers dat n bietjie verligting na u kant toe gekom het. Uhm, ek wil ook u, vir u bewus maak dat daar is hulp en ek weet dis n swaar want u gaan na mense toe en ek dink somtyds is die hulp daar maar die mense wie die hulp moet aan bied, hulle gee nie die regte hulp nie, [Deelnemer se, "hulp nie"], of hulle het nie regte attitude (houding) nie. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. So ek dink dit is baie belangrik dan ons as ouers ook assertive (uitdruklik) moet wees en se en hoer gaan en hoer gaan. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Maar wat ek wil se ook, uhm, uh, die, die way forward (pad vorentoe), wat ons gaan doen, ons het nou nog n focus group, dieselfde soos die in Uitenhage, om, om met die Uitenhage ouers te gesels en dan gaan ons nou sien wat kan ons nog verbeter, neh? [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Carol-Ann en Riaan is deel van daai groep dat ons nou sien wat kan ons nog verbeter. En een baie belangrike ding is die, die tipe advies wat gegee word, en, en die tipe dienste wat aan u gegee, veral by die probleme wat u bespreek het met ons. En veral dan met die arrestasie, die charge phase (beskuldigings fase), daar is nog n bietjie probleme daar, uh, dink ek ons kan almal saam stem wat ons kan sien wat kan ons doen, neh? So ons gaan aan dit werk en dan op die 23ste November het ons dan nou, uh, uh, n groot, uh, workshop (werkswinkel) waar ons dan nou vir die polisie manne, die prosecutors (staats aanklaers), en die magistrate almal daai mense kan het daar en vir kan se dis die

bevindings wat ons het. Ouers sukkel met dit, dis nou wat die ouers nodig het, dit is wat ons wil in plek wil sit. En dan gaan ons nou praat met mekaar. So ek wil eintlik vir u, u as ouers ook uit nooi na daai op die 23ste November. U is welkom om te kom. Uhm, sy gaan vir u die uitnodiging gee, as u nou vir my se, nee Zurina ek sal graag wil. Dit is by Missionvale Campus, dis nou deel van die universiteit. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. So ek weet nie of u weet hoe om daar uit te kom nie. Maar ek het dan nou n R50 taxi fare (huurmotor geld) gegee net om vir u daar uit te, uit te kry en dit is ook weer 10:30 se kante. So ek sal dit waardeer want ek dink, uh, daar is baie wat u gese het en as n mens miskien n geleentheid aan jou gee by daai workshop (werkswinkel) dan som van die ouers wat gewillig voel - laat hulle hulle storie vertel van hoe hulle sukkel om aan die deure te kloep en die tipe hulp wat hulle kry dat dit nou nie die regte hulp is nie. Ek dink somtyds as ek miskien praat, my kind het nou nog nie deur die sisteem gegaan nie maar as dit nou van die ouers kom van hulle hart af, hopelik dan sink dit in. Want ek dink somtyds dan, you know (u weet) is ons hard as amptenare. Ons, ons, ons sien ons nou elke tyd honderd mense en die honderd mense se stories klink dieselfde. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Maar ek dink is belangrik dat hulle somtyds sien die effek dit het op families en op die gemeenskap, [Deelnemer se, "mm"], en op julle as ouers. So ek gaan van julle nader en julle vra. Maar se, bid daarvoor en, en dink daarvoor. U se Zurina ek dink ek wil daar ook praat dat die mense weet hoe sukkel ek al so lank met my kind en kry nie die regte hulp nie. Ek sal dit waardeer ek dink dit sal baie belangrik wees.

100. **Participant 14:** Zurina, uh, het jy van die stasie kommissaris se genooi na daai plek toe?
101. **Researcher:** Ja ons sal dit bespreek as ons nou bymekaar kom by daai vergadering, Riaan neh? [Deelnemer 6 se, "okay"].
102. **Participant 14:** Die rede, die rede waarom ek vra want die probleem, die social develop (maatskaplike raad) probleem is 'gebase' (gebaseer) in daai tipe stasie, [Navorser se, "mm"]. Verstaan jy? Daai area, [Navorser se, "ja"], so die stasie kommissaris van daai area, [Navorser se, "moet kom"], moet, moet kom. Moet betrokke wees daar, [Navorser se, "ek stem saam"]. Laat hy kan weet, uh, hoe behandel, die lede, [Navorser se, "ja"], wat onder hom werk, die ge... [Navorser se, "die situasie"], die situasie wat hy op daai oomblik mee werk. [Navorser se, "ja, ja"]. Verstaan jy? [Navorser se, "ja"]. Want dit klink asof daai probleem daar is. [Navorser se, "ja"]. Verstaan jy? In daai area in en dit is sy lede wat verantwoordelik is wat nie weet hoe om die, uh, die benader hoe om met sekere probleme te benader of so iets nie. [Navorser se, "ja"]. Is nie, dit, dit klink asof ons nou kind of (soort van) hulle piemp of daai, [Navorser se, "mm"], maar ons piemp nie. Daar is nie so nie. [Navorser se, "daar is nie so voorval nie"]. Jy kan nie so voort gaan nie.

[Navorser se, "uh-uh"]. Jy kan nie vir een polisie man die, as jy, is amper soos as daar n vrot appel in n sak is. Hy gaan, [Deelnemer se, "al daai appels aansteek"], al daai ander appels aansteek, dan lyk dit nou die hele polisie beamptes is nou. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Verstaan? So, en, en dit is verkeerd. [Navorser se, "ja"]. Verstaan jy?

103. **Researcher:** Ek dink miskien op, op n manier vorentoe wat ek wil se, uhm, die, die situasie met sommige van die gevalle, soos u gese het u het n maatskaplike werker so ons kan miskien gesels net buite kant hierdie, en sien wat, wat is die rigting vir u. Soos ek vir u gese het, ek dink dis baie belangrik dat u weet watter rigting u moet in neem. [Deelnemer se, "ja"]. Uhm, en dan die proefbeamptes is die beste dan nou om met u-hulle te gesels, u, u weet wie is u kinders se proefbeamptes, [Deelnemer se, "mm"], neh? So die nommer is daar maar hulle is ook hier so u kan altyd gaan inloer en kyk anderste Mirinda Burrell, u kan vir my miskien net n sms, n 'missed call' gee en dan kan ek met die supervisor (opsiener) ook, as u-hulle nou meer rigting wil he.
104. **Participant 10:** Die kinders kom in die 3de is mos nou volgende week voor maar ek gaan vir jou n sms stuur, [Navorser se, "neh, dan kan ons gesels daaroor"]. Okay?
105. **Researcher:** En u, in u geval voel u gemaklik, als gaan okay of?
106. **Participant 13:** Alles is nog okay, uhm, Zurina. [Navorser se, "okay"]. Ja. [Navorser se, "okay"]. Maar net, ek soek ook maar nou net hulp vir my kind wat die leer is baie swaar. [Navorser se, "ja, ja, ja"].
107. **Researcher:** So, so weereens dan kyk ons nou, so ek gaan weer vir u bel in mm, Vrydag of volgende week laat ons gesels laat ek net vir u in die regte rigting in verwys. Omtrent die saak wat Riaan gepraat het van die polisie, ek dink ek gaan n afspraak moet reel saam met die polisie kommissaris en gaan praat met hom. En dan, en as hy dan nou nie vir my gehoor gee nie dan sal ek myself maar opgaan as dit okay is met u. [Deelnemer se, "dan kry jy sommer vir ons die provinsial (provinsiale) kommissaris"], ja, ja ek kan ja, "of what ever (wat ookal) wat in daai gebied is. Ja ek sal so maak. [Deelnemer se, "die cluster commander (trop bevelvoerder) of gaan vat sommer"]. Ek gaan sommer vir advocate (advokaat) Keith Bandit vra vir advies, wat is die regte rigting om te in te gooi. [Navorser se, "mm"]. Die legal advisor (regs adviseer) vir SAPS (SAPD). [Deelnemer se, "ja"]. So ek dink dis iets wat ek aan my kant ook kan doen sodat ons weet dat die vergadering hier wat ons gehad het ook dan vordering is. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Is dit reg met u-hulle? [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. [Deelnemer se, "dis goed"].

108. **Participant 14:** Want op die oomblik, op die oomblik Collette sit ek met dieselfde probleem wat julle sit wat social development (maatskaplike raad), uh, betrekking het. [Navorser se, "mm"]. En kyk hier ek het nou die afgelope tydperk het ons so baie kinder sake, verkragting sake gehad dat dit is asof dit, uh, uh, dit lyk asof dit, uh, is, is asof dit is iets wat in die lig in is. [Navorser se, "mm"]. En julle hoor dit op die nuus dit was op Radio Algoa gewees vyf jariges ses jariges en ons, daai, die en ons need (benodig) social development (maatskaplike raad), ons need (benodig) Uviwe, verstaan jy? Is al mense wat ons op die oomblik gehelp het. [Navorser se, "mm"]. Maar nou moet ons so ver ry en ons het nie eens resources (hulpmiddels) wat karre (motors) betref, ek ry met my eie kar (motor) werk toe, [Navorser se, "mm"], om Uitenhage toe te ry nie. [Navorser se, "mm"]. Verstaan jy? Ek het die twee, ek het die dae af gevat om die, Zurina skuld my nou weer verlof vir die 23ste. [Deelnemers lag]. Uhm, maar, maar voor ek enige tyd regtig Zurina try (prober) om te help. Sy het my probeer help met my kind ook, verstaan jy? My 'laaitie' (seun) is nou twee jaar uit die skool uit. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Hy is agtien nou. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Ek het nou vir hom gese ek moet nou kyk om hom buitemuurs te laat studeer en hy sit met dieselfde probleem, graad agt. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. En die probleem wat ek het is dat ek het die probleem gemaak vir myself want ek het besluit, no my child must go to a private school because it's better (nee my kind moet na n privaat skool gaan want is beter), en al daai. As my, my kind sou reg gekom het by Livingstone want ek sou hom, hulle sou hom gebliksem het miskien en what ever (wat ookal). Maar dis, dis altyd, is n social development (maatskaplike raad) probleem want is die, ons blammeer, ons ouers moet dit verstaan vandag wil ek he ons ouers moet verstaan. Moenie ander kinders blame (blammeer), [Deelnemer se, "vir jou kind nie, ja"], vir jou kind nie. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Daai moet ons verstaan, jou kind kan vir homself dink. [Deelnemer se, "is ja"]. Onthou ons almal het in Schauder groot geraak en in Gelvan groot geraak onder omstandighede waar dit gangsterism (bendegeweld) op sy hoogste. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Ek het in Kleinskool, Missionvale groot geraak. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Gangsterism (bendegeweld) was op sy hoogste, daai tyd toe was dit nog die Mafias en die Mongrols. [Deelnemers se, "ja"], en klomp 'goedte'. Die klomp gangsters wat uit Schauder alleen gekom het was n klomp. Ons het deur dit gekom. [Deelnemer se, "deur dit ja"]. Nou onse kinders kan ook deur dit kom want jy dink vir jouself, ek weet jy gaan experience (ondervind) deur daai experiment (eksperiment) gaan maar at least (ten minste) is daar n saadjie wat jou ouer geplant het, in jou in. [Navorser se, "mm"]. Wat kan maak laat jy kan om, omdraai. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Maar al probleem wat ons nou het, daar is meer drugs (dwelms) as enige iets. [Deelnemer se, "dis die ding"]. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Dis die grootste probleem wat ons het. [Deelnemer se, "dis die grootste probleem regtig"]. Dis net daai drugs (dwelms), [Deelnemers se, "mm"], maar met die

hulp van die Here kan ons deur dit hardloop. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. [Deelnemer se, "deur dit gaan, ja"]. [Navorser se, "en ondersteuning vir mekaar ook, onthou tog dit"]. Ja, groot ding.

109. **Researcher:** Daar is ouers, daar is altyd n ouer next door (langsaan) en next door (langsaan), jy weet, jy sal nou moet kies watter ouers kan jy mee praat, [Deelnemer se, "praat"]. Maar jy is nie alleen nie. Ek wil graag vir julle, vir julle wys daar is ondersteuning daar by verskillende organisasies. Hulle het ingestem dat ouers kan bel ook vir leiding. Dan die Girls en Boys Town, jy kan vir hulle ook bel. Hulle sal vir jou regte rigting inwys en dan ook, uhm, uh, Revive. Hulle gee counselling sessions (berading sessies) vir die ouers sodat julle eerste kan sterk voel en dan nou voort gaan met die, met die struikel met julle kinders. Ek wil he julle moet foto vat, julle het mos cell (sellulere) fone, neh?
110. **Participant 14:** Girls en Boys Town help baie. [Deelnemer vra, "Girls en Boys Town?"]. Girls en Boys Town help baie, hulle sal vir jou rigting gee. [Navorser se, "ja"]. Maar die probleem wat ek het met Girls en Boys Town, onthou daar is n fooi wat hulle vra. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. [Navorser se, "maar daai een is telefonies so jy gaan net moet bel"], nee ek praat nie van telefoon nie, ek praat nou van die, ek meen as hulle hulle kinders, [Navorser se, "fisies"], fisies vir skool. Verstaan jy? - is daar n fooi. [Navorser se, "ja"]. Kyk, [Deelnemer vra, "n skool?"]. Ja hulle het n girls (meisies) en boys (seuns) Town skool.
111. **Participant 9:** Riaan, neh, ek wil weet, neh, ek was laas jaar onse councillor (raadslid) van onse gemeenskap, [Deelnemer hoes], ek het daar gesit by haar om vir my mos nou Boys Town te skakel maar weet jy, ek het daai, daai heel week geloop agter haar aan, neh. [Navorser se, "mm"]. Sy kan my nie gehelp het nie.
112. **Participant 14:** Nee daai nommer, daai, kyk hier ons, [Navorser se, "dis n direk nommer for Girls and Boys Town"], dis direk na Girls en Boys Town, 0861 nommer. Hulle sal vir jou al die inligting gee. Hulle sal vir jou die counselling (berading), en by the way (in elk geval), uh, daai nommer is n tolvry nommer, wuh? [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Dis n tolvry nommer, jy kan hulle direk bel, [Navorser se, "mm"], dan kan jy 'dingese'. Hulle sal vir jou die fooie en fees (fooie) en alles gee. Verstaan jy? [Deelnemer se, "mm"], want, en hulle help kinders onder agtien. [Navorser se, "mm"].
113. **Researcher:** En, en die ouers ook so julle kan n foto vat. Meeste van ons het mos fotos op ons foon.

114. **Participant 12:** Jy sien, wat, uh, wat, dit klink baie goed vir my, Zurina, want die ding is die is nou net die so... is wat ek verlang is net die social worker (maatskaplike werker) moet haar. Sy is bereid om te gaan, sy sal skool los, [Deelnemer se, "ja"], maar hulle moet haar kom vat by my, [Deelnemer se, "mm"], dan moet hulle nou net in die process (proses) is, verstaan jy? [Navorser se, "mm"].
115. **Researcher:** Nee, ek hoor u. Dis hoekom ek se ons moet gesels, ek gaan vir u bel miskien more. U is mos nog met verlof, neh? [Deelnemer 3 se, "vat hom hom nommer want my phone (foon) is weer in die lug"]. Okay. [Deelnemers lag]. Okay, u nommer is op die attendance register (bywonings register), neh? [Deelnemer se, "ja dit is daar op"]. Goed so, dan gaan ek bel net om te sien wat ons kan doen watter rigting daar is. [Deelnemer se, "asseblief Zurina want dit lyk nou so hoe langer sy by die hy is, hoe, ek wil nie he sy moet gewoon raak aan die huis nie"]. Ja.
116. **Participant 14:** Nee myne, Neville myne het ek sommer straight away (reguit) gese, "jy moet onthou jy het agtien geword, neh?" [Deelnemer se, "uh"]. "Jy was by Nerina Huis", [Deelnemer se, "ja"]. "Jy het nie n kriminele oortreding nie want hulle het jou op, op n, [Navorser se, "diversion"], program gesit en daai diversion (afleiding) program het gemaak laat jy nie een voet in die tronk sit nie. Al twee jou voete is uit die tronk sel uit". [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. "Maar sodra jy agtien is het die landdros gese, kom jy terug". [Deelnemer se, "yhuu"]. [Deelnemer se, "ja is weg"]. En ek het hom gaan, ek toets hom elke, ek het hom elke ses maande getoets vandat hy met sy saak besig gewees het. [Navorser se, "mm"]. [Deelnemer se, "okay"]. Ek toets hom nou nog. Ek het vir hom gese, "ekke gaan oor tien jaar op vroeë pension (pensioen) my kind, julle kry niks by my nie". [Deelnemers lag]. "Ek gaan my geld lekker gaan vreet ek gaan op toer gaan", [Deelnemers lag], "want ek weet julle is, jy is groot jy is agtien jy het jou eie besluit gemaak. Julle wil nie my geld gebruik om te studeer nie". [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. [Deelnemer se, "ja"]. Nou ek gaan my geld gebruik op my. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Ek het nie n vrou nie, [Deelnemer se, "mm"], ek kan gaan net wanneer en waar ek wil. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. [Deelnemer se, "ja, ja"]. So dis waarom, n mens moet onse kinders ook op daai punt bring dat, kyk hier as jy nie gaan self vir jou sorg nie, [Deelnemers se, "mm"], as jy nie n punt gaan bereik nie, [Deelnemer se, "tough love (harde liefde) gee"], is tough love (harde liefde) vir jou. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. [Deelnemer se, "daars hy"]. Jy moet onthou die Here is n regverdige God. [Deelnemer se, "ja"]. Hy kan sy grace (genade) kan Hy netso vat van jou af weg. [Deelnemers se, "ja"]. Verstaan jy? Is nie dat, want, want, geen vader, en dis wat die Here ook soek, Sy genade is tot op n punt. [Deelnemer se, "ja"]. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Verstaan jy? En ons ouers moet dit vir onse kinders wys onse genade is tot op n punt. [Deelnemer se, "punt"]. Ons kan die die af pit delf van onse

kinders se, se sondes nie. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Dit kan ons nie doen nie, dit, dit is verkeerd. Honestly (eerlik waar), want Collette, een, een ding waar ek voel saam met jou maar, uh, Neville, ek gee nie om nie, as ek, of ek tronk toe gaan nie maar Neville jy moet jou punt staan. Jy moet daai kind, al moet jy haar breuk, [Deelnemer se, "mm"], moenie laat sy jou vrou so terroriseer nie [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Honestly (eerlik waar), 'bogger' die wet en daai, die Here hoor my, jy, jy kan my nommer by Zurina kry. Jy kan my nommer nou vat ook want geen hof sal jou skuldig bevind op die getuienis van jou vrou nie. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Maar jy moet tot op n punt kom laat jy daai kind uit moet breuk, honerstly (eerlik waar). [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. Want regtig dit wat sy julle laat deur maak en al dit, dit is, dit is, regtig, [Deelnemer se, "drasties"], [Deelnemer se, "baie drasties"], amper lyk asof, of dit dui... duiwel besetene is. [Deelnemer se, "sjoe"]. Maar geen mens kan dit verwag nie. Verstaan jy?

117. **Participant 12:** Sorry, sorry om jou in die rede te breuk. Daar is n tyd wanneer ek kom dan luister ek wat die vrou se, [Deelnemer se, "mm"], dit voel seer om te dink n kind kan, [Deelnemer se, "is, dit is ja"], dit doen. [Deelnemer se, "verstaan jy"]. [Deelnemers se, "aan haar ma doen"]. Is aan haar ma, is aan my vrou, [Deelnemer se, "ja"]. [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Ek kan nie se ek staan tussen die vrou en kind nie. [Deelnemer se, ek het nie gese"]. Ek staan saam met die vrou want osmoet die kind leer, [Deelnemer se, "nee, jy moet, jy moet haar nie slaan nie"].
118. **Participant 14:** Nee, nie slaan nie, jy moet net tot op n punt kom waar, kyk hier, waar jy vir haar die do's en die don't's, [Deelnemer se, "ja"], verstaan jy? Dit, dit, sy, jy moet dit so in haar in plant dat sy moet weet waar staan sy. [Navorsers se, "mm"]. Verstaan jy? Onthou ek sit met, ek is n enkel ouer ek sit met twee volwasse kinders in my huis in, wat op n punt gekom het waar hulle vir my gese het hoe laat ek in my huis in moet kom. [Deelnemer se, "mm"]. [Deelnemer se, "jissie"]. Toe vra ek vir hulle, "wie sit die kos en goed op die tafel? Wat doen julle? Julle doen absoluut niks nie, julle kry van my af alles". [Deelnemer se, "ja"]. "So julle gaan nie my kom vertel nie", en nou het ek die problem, my ma staan aan my kinders se kant. Toe se ek vir my ma, "jy is my ma", [Deelnemers se, "mm"], "maar ek is jammer om te se, nie een kind gaan vir my kom vertel wat om te doen wat ek doen in my huis nie. Nie een kind gaan vir my se ek kan nie n girlfriend (meisie) buitekant het nie". [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. Verstaan jy? Nie een kind gaan vir my se wat om te doen nie, ek sorg vir julle, julle gaan in my lyn. En ek kom wanneer ek wil in my huis in. Julle is volwasse, jy het gekies om n kind te gaan maak en kind te kry so wees volwasse en doen jou ding. Moenie kom huil omdat jy alleen by die huis moet sit nie". [Deelnemers se, "mm"]. [Deelnemer se, "is ja"]. [Deelnemer lag]. Verstaan jy? Sulke tipe dinge. [Deelnemer se, "ja dit is"]. "Jy het besluit jy is, jou skool loopbaan laat vaar en jy gaan nou, jy wil

dagga gehad het, jy wou. Jou. Jou vriende loop skool, baie van hulle is nou amper klaar met skool. Neh? Nou wil jy vir my kom se hoe om lewe te leef, nee joh". [Deelnemers se, "ja"]. Oh, heerlijkheid moenie laat ek nou. [Deelnemer lag]. [Navorser se, "u is die ouer"]. Laat, laat die kinders weet wie is ouer en, en, en daar word nie, maar, maar is onse oumas man. Soos ek net nou vir haar gese het, die oumas van nou se dae, neh, is besig om onse kinders afgrond toe te werk. Hulle vat onse kinders se paarte maar sodra hulle by jou as ouer kom dan kom praat sy, "ooh jou kind is dit en dit". [Deelnemers se, "ja"]. Maar voor die kinders dan is hulle baie mooi. [Deelnemer se, "nee ek stem saam jou Riaan, ek stem saam"]. Nee ek is moeg vir dit.

119. **Participant 9:** Daar is my ma vandag in haar graf, ek moet nou alleen sukkel. Want dan se my ma, "laat los hom, laat los hom". Dan gaan hy in dan skinder hy en my ma daar binne. [Deelnemers lag].

120. **Researcher:** Uhm, kan ek gou vir u se dat as u, uh, uh, het u die uitnodiging gesien? Is, stel u belang om te kom, die 23ste? [Deelnemer se, "ja"]. [Deelnemers se, "ja"]. As u wel gaan kom dan, uh, moet u net vir my teken dat ek vir u n uitnodiging gegee het en Sibahle gaan om kom by u. Ja, ja daar by Mr Jackson, neh? [Deelnemers praat saam]. Maar baie dankie weereens ek waardeer dit baie, dan sal ons mekaar weer sien, ek sal prober bel en net om te check (uit vind) hoe gaan dit met u en wat ons gesels het. [Daar is iets om te drink, u kan iets saam u vat, ek het nou nie iets om te wrap nie, vat maar n serviette (servet) vir n bordjie, neh? Asseblief. [Deelnemers grap en lag verder].

Addendum 4: Appendix linked to chapter 4.9.3 Transcript of focus group B

A co-constructed practice model
for supporting parents of children
in conflict with the law

22 July 2016

Focus Group 1 with Practitioners/ Child justice officials

Transcript

Participant Demographics		
Participant number	Occupation	Gender
Participant 1	Prosecutor	Female
Participant 2	Social worker	Male
Participant 3	Police	Male
Participant 4	Lawyer	Female
Participant 5	Police	Female
Participant 6	Police	Male
Participant 7	Police	Male
Participant 8	Police	Female
Participant 9	Prosecutor	Female
Participant 10	Lawyer	Male
Participant 11	Lawyer	Female

- 1. Researcher:** What I'd like us to do [clears throat] before we go into the deep questions and so forth, umm I'd like us to think we work in the child justice system whether that be in the police or prosecution or whatever it might be. I want us to have a collective umm agreement or consensus on what are the phases of the child justice process, okay. So, in my mind it is the pre-trial, trial and then sentencing but you need to tell me, are you comfortable with that being the 3 phases and why I'm asking that, so that it will guide our discussion

as we go forward and what is your concerns at pre-trial phase, what is your concerns at trial phase and at sentencing phase. Are you comfortable with those 3 phases or do you think we should name something else or should or should there be more phases, what's your feeling?

2. [silence]
3. **Participant 1 (Female Prosecutor):** I just want to know that now, the pre-trial?
4. **Researcher:** mmm [nodding head]
5. **Participant 1(Female Prosecutor):** Is that umm, where the prosecution decides whether it's going to be a prosecution, diversion or a, um normal court procedure
6. **Researcher:** [Nodding head] There we go.
7. **Participant 1(Female Prosecutor):** And if I do decide it's a normal court procedure then we go to the {trial phase} [together with researcher]
8. **Researcher:** That's it, is that what you guys understand by it. That's what the understanding is?
9. **Participant 1(Female Prosecutor):** Yeah
10. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** I also understand...[fades]
11. **Participant 3 (male police):** I would understand it like [clears throat] pre-trial proceeding starts with the arrest or the apprehension of the child...
12. **Researcher:** There we go. Yes, that's a beginning point of it.
13. **Participant 3 (male police):** The beginning point of the process...
14. **Researcher:** Absolutely, okay [pause] so that's [interrupted]
15. **Participant 3 (male police):** Where the victim warning is issued, summons or...
16. **Researcher:** Yes
17. **Participant 1(Female Prosecutor):** And the sentencing part is that in the normal court?
18. **Researcher:** Yeah, the normal court so, obviously the child justice court for example at Nerina so there, you've already made a, a conclusion of the case and now the child has been found guilty or not guilty then, then, from there they will make a decision. Now, obviously from there the child would have been found guilty and then now there will be sentencing that will occur...okay. So can we agree on those 3 phases that there will be pre-trial, trial and sentencing? Does it make sense? That that is basically an umbrella for the child justice, justice system. Okay [clears throat]. So now that we've agreed on that I'm gonna ask you to get up, yes. I have pictures there [points to table with pictures displayed on top of it] and then I want you to select one picture or word that, that you think is going to describe the pre-trial phase, an activity that is happening in that phase, an activity that's happening in the trial phase, an activity that is happening in the sentencing phase. Okay?
19. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** Only 1 picture?
20. **Researcher:** You can take 1 picture for now because we're many [participants start to get up] but if there's more then you can wait around and there's prit and there's prestik that we're going to put up
21. [Participant 2 (male social worker) laughs in the background]

22. **Researcher:** So look at those pictures
23. [participants looking at the pictures] [quiet discussions in the background]
[participants following instructions and laughing] [researcher scribbling on board]
24. [participants laughing]
25. [researcher continues writing the three phases on the discussion board]
26. **Researcher:** Okay, so if you see there's more pictures that you would like to and no one else has taken it, please take it
27. [participants busy with activity]
28. **Researcher:** Okay so, if you have your pictures I'd like for you to, place your pictures or your words under the section that you think it belongs. There's prestik and there's prit on that table where the pictures are, please take some and you're going to stick it for me around that particular phase
29. [participants moving around]
30. **Researcher:** Okay, so make sure you do have prestik or that you have prit and you can use either
31. [participants pasting pictures]
32. **Researcher:** Here there's also prestik [participants doing the activity] okay, here's more prestik [researcher giving to participants]
33. [participants pasting pictures]
34. **Researcher:** Yeah you decide where it must go, is it pre-trial, trial or sentencing phase
35. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** Okay
36. **Researcher:** And it can be a word or a picture
37. [participants chat in the background whilst doing the activity]
38. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** I have the word with the department responsible for the service nhe [researcher "there we go"]
39. **Researcher:** There will, we'll share with each other now, now why, why do we choose the particular picture or word so let's first put them on the board under the section we think it belongs
40. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** Okay [nodding] [the participant whispers "no it's fine it doesn't matter"]
41. [participants still engaging with the activity]
42. **Researcher:** Okay there's space there by the sentencing, if you have anything under sentencing?
43. [participants move along the black board inspecting their pictures and chatting]
44. [Participant 9 (Female prosecutor) laughing]
45. [Participants chatting]
46. [researcher "okay"]
47. [2 participants arriving late into the group are welcomed by other participants with hello and "how are you"]
48. [participants chatting]
49. [the researcher can be heard saying "thank you for joining"]
50. [participants try to get settled in]
51. [participants chatting]

52. [disruptive background due to two participants' late arrival]
53. **Researcher:** Okay so do we have enough of the pictures under each um phase? I see some phases are quite empty
54. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** Trial is empty.... And the sentencing
55. [participants talking all at once]
56. [noise with paper shuffling, chairs moving, people discussing]
57. [participants discussing, still engaging with activity]
58. [participants laughing]
59. **Researcher:** Okay do you feel comfortable that you have enough pictures?
[participants still chatting] [No response, noise in the background] do we have enough pictures?
60. [participants speaking Afrikaans]
61. **Researcher:** There we go
62. [participants discussing in the background, whisperings can be heard]
63. **Researcher:** Okay, you want to fetch more? It seems we're determined to fill the board, that's good.
64. [participants still engaging with activity]
65. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** May this be the community?
66. **Researcher:** You must decide; I'm not allowed to decide [researcher laughs]
67. [participants discuss]
68. [Participant 9 (Female prosecutor) can be heard discussing, Afrikaans is spoken]
69. [participants discussing]
70. **Researcher:** Nee, Here, okay let me not speak Afrikaans, have a seat [to participants] [laughing]
71. **Researcher:** Okay let's have a seat, okay, you're still having a picture, you want to put it down somewhere
72. [participants put more pictures on the discussion board]
73. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer):** I was gonna keep it [jokingly, participants and researcher laugh]
74. **Researcher:** You were gonna, uh there's a, prestik there. Okay, so let's look at our pictures, what we have [clears throat] so...first of all before we go in to the pictures, right, thank you so much for doing that I didn't realise you would really take all pictures so that's wonderful effort on your side
75. **Researcher:** We just want to welcome 2 members that's joined us. We're not going to say their names at the moment, you agree? Yeah, because we're recording already, right is that fine, so we're going to ask you to silently put on your name badge just for us to, know who you are um, and then also to make sure that the consent forms are signed by you because we're not allowed, you're not allowed to speak until you've signed that, um, just to make sure because we are recording at the moment so we're not gonna put off the recorder is that fine with the 2, you participants, thank you. If anything is unclear you can put up your hand, then [researcher moderator] will just clarify something for you on the form as well. Okay, thank you.
76. **Researcher:** Okay, so let's look at our, our board. So basically we are all agreeing that the pre-trial stage, the various activities that's happening there,

um, and maybe you can share with me, choose 1 picture under pre-trial or trial or sentencing that you chose and tell me why you chose that particular picture. So just 1 picture under 1 of the stages.

- 77. Researcher:** So we can decide to go around or we can just decide to randomly volunteer, okay so 1 picture that you chose and say why did you choose it under that [okay, you want to go, to Participant 2 (male social worker)]
- 78. Participant 2 (male social worker):** Okay. I've chosen the word assessment and also from a, the other word that goes with it, a, the picture actually from the department of social development whereby they do the, pre-sentence or pre-trial assessments for us [researcher "okay"] and we do the final assessments, so that we can do the recommendation for the court [researcher "okay"] so yes those 2 go together
- 79. Researcher:** Okay, so just 1 picture we want, so anyone else who chose a picture. Thank you so much [to Participant 2 (male social worker)] [Participant 2 (male social worker) "okay"]
- 80. Researcher:** Just 1 picture that you put on the board
- 81. Participant 1 (Female Prosecutor):** Okay, I chose a, um, the judge for the trial
- 82. Researcher:** Okay, okay...right, and that's self-explanatory
- 83. Participant 1 (Female Prosecutor):** Yeah, it's a, when they already when the pre-sentence report has been a, done, the assessment has been done and they um, say normal court procedure and then we go to the trial
- 84. Researcher:** Okay, thank you, okay, anybody else?
- 85. Participant 3 (male police):** I chose the picture where it appears that the parent is taking the child to court [researcher "okay"]
- 86. Researcher:** And that's at what stage, at the?
- 87. Participant 3 (male police):** I said the pre-trial stage
- 88. Researcher:** Okay, thank you, anybody else?
- 89. Participant 10 (Male lawyer):** I chose obviously, legal aid [participants laugh] the rights of the children need to be protected [researcher "okay"] uh, I think in terms of the act, children are...not allowed to choose [researcher "okay"] their rights are protected from beginning of the process [fades]
- 90. Researcher:** Alright, thank you. Anybody else, what picture did you [cut off by Participant 9 (Female prosecutor)]
- 91. Participant 9 (Female prosecutor):** The very first picture on the top where the police officer hands something to the mommy and arrest [researcher "okay"] because that's where my concerns are
- 92. Participant 7 (Male police):** I chose 1 where the parents look after care with us the police will always be the last resort so preferably if it's a less serious offense we will serve a written warning or, a, summons or whatever the case may be in 24 hours the probation officer must be notified and the child must be released to the care of the parent, you know [researcher "yes"]
- 93. Researcher:** Okay, thank you. Who hasn't had a chance?
- 94. Participant 6 (Male police):** I chose the, the police sign and the handcuffs [researcher "okay"] when the child is arrested [researcher "alright"]

95. **Researcher:** Okay, and that's also under, pre-trial [Participant 6 (Male police) "yes"] okay, thank you, who else hasn't chosen I think everybody, yes and the 2 ladies this side you have chosen [participants agree]
96. **Participant 5 (Female police):** Yeah, I chose this one and, because obviously when children are arrested they have to come to police cell when they are arrested [researcher "okay"] they can also be brought there if they will be warned [researcher "right"] but for, uh, the one with the police gate is detention in the police cell.
97. **Researcher:** And you have shared already? [Mumbling from participant] where is your picture?
98. **Participant 1 (Female Prosecutor):** This one? [pointing to picture on board]
99. **Participant 8 (Female police):** The arrest here, no the arrest and the word arrest [researcher "okay"]
100. **Researcher:** So everyone had a, some picture or word that they used they've described some activity during the child justice process, okay. That means that all of us have some idea of what's happening in the child justice process and I'm hearing that also particularly when it comes to the child we understand what must happen. I'd like to the 2 participants, once, you've signed um, maybe to look at the pictures for us just so you can get on board. Any of the pictures that speak to you I'm just, maybe you can say why that picture speak to you particularly and you quickly um, stand up and have a look.
101. [participants have a look at the pictures]
102. **Researcher:** Okay, so they can join us as well. Any of the pictures that they have chosen that speaks to you and you think that they have that part for me, ugh, is important or yeah, is part of the process and I, I've something I want to point out to
103. [silence]
104. **Researcher:** [looking at participant] you have a picture in mind already?
105. **Participant 4 (Female lawyer):** Yes
106. **Researcher:** Okay, she has a picture, which picture have you decided on?
107. **Participant 4 (Female lawyer):** The assessment
108. **Researcher:** okay and where does that fall and the reason why you chose that one?"
109. **Participant 4 (Female lawyer):** um, uh, when the child is being assessed by the probation officer, the, some of the questions they ask the, the children nhe to, to go deeper [researcher "yes"] to their personal [researcher "history"] personal history, yes, and how to involve the parents' more
110. **Researcher:** Okay, thank you, okay. For you? [looking to Participant 11 (Female lawyer)]
111. **Participant 11 (Female lawyer):** The arrest, the handcuffs, um, I believe that um, in terms of not only the constitution but also the child justice act the child's rights need to be explained on arrests, um, a, as well as the parent's rights with regards to the process the child will be going through until

- the child reaches the assessment process as well as the um, the trial stages
 [Participant 2 (male social worker) “yes”] [researcher “okay”]
112. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** I agree with her because I think, in terms of the handcuffs and the picture of the 2 persons being handcuffs together we might have a discussion there, where it’s only certain children can be arrested or handcuffed [participant 1 “yeah”] not all of them because of the age differences
113. **Researcher:** Okay
114. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** Yes, there’s different schedules that needs to be considered [researcher “considered”] [researcher “okay”]
115. **Researcher:** So it sounds to me again when you guys were talking that [someone coughing] a lot of emphasis put on the child, did you hear that for yourself? And so what I’d like us to focus on is really what uh um you said, the concerns that you have in each of those phases not so much for [someone coughing] the child but for the parent because we are aware that the parent accompanies the child or the guardian accompanies the child and the someone has pointed out earlier on also sometimes the absence of a parent or a guardian becomes an issue. So my first question to you is, and really for the group to start discussing is [clears throat] to share with us what are your experiences in working with or dealing with parents of children in conflict with the law? At any of those stages.
116. **Participant 1(Female Prosecutor):** Okay, some are absolutely oblivious, they, they don’t know, there um
117. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** Processes
118. **Participant 1(Female Prosecutor):** Any of the processes...
119. **Researcher:** mm [nodding]
120. **Participant 1(Female Prosecutor):** And others just don’t give a damn, I’m sorry for using the word but really they are, they don’t give, a damn
121. **Researcher:** Okay...okay, and anything else on [interrupted]
122. **Participant 1(Female Prosecutor):** And, and, many of the um times we actually have to speak to the parent [researcher nod, okay] to tell him what his function are.
123. **Researcher:** What their role is supposed to be?
124. **Participant 1(Female Prosecutor):** Yeah
125. **Researcher:** okay
126. **Participant 4 (Female lawyer):** And some parents they think that when the child has been arrested, so now it’s the load of their shoulders [participant 1, nods, voices out that she agrees] because some of them can’t even look after the children so they will say that “I don’t want this child to come back to my house because he does not listen” “he does not do this and that” so for them it’s like [participant 1 interjects “so the government took him now so it’s their problem”] mm, mm, and they don’t want to come to court, so you have to [using hands] [researcher interjects, so you have to encourage them to come to court] uh-huh, Yes.
127. **Researcher:** Okay, and the others, I’m seeing ah, nods and, what would you like to tell the this [interrupted]

128. **Participant 11 (Female lawyer):** I think that educating the parents is the most important priority [researcher encouraging, uh-huh?] you know? The child is also, the child also needs to be educated but the, the “but” stops with the parent, ultimately the child is the parents’ responsibility [researcher interjects, yeah] and um if one starts by educating the parent eventually the parent will understand the system and understand the process and the procedures by the time the child goes to court um if it is found that the, that the um the child now needs to appear before the magistrate or once the assessment is done then, the parent understands the court procedures [researcher, nodding head, voices, “yeah, yeah”]
129. **Participant 3 (male police):** As far as the role that parents are concerned with, my main concern is in the first place that the child is, gets involved in this thing [researcher clarifies “in the crime?”] yes, I don’t care whether the parent understands the process or not my concern is, how do children get involved in crime
130. **Researcher:** so what factors have already contributed to them in the first place?
131. **Participant 3 (male police):** The first place [researcher voices out “okay”]
132. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** So I think; education must start not when a child is arrested [researcher “okay”] but before that [researcher “okay”] so that the result will be that um minder kinder gearresteer word [Participant 2 (male social worker) interjects “yes, yes”] [researcher clarifies “so few people are arrested”] yeah because you will have, educated parents
133. **Researcher:** Okay, okay [looking around to other participants]
134. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** What I found during my assessment with the parents is that a lot of them mentioned there was no ah, biological father involvement by raising that, that particular child or even, they know where the father is but there is no contact or support for that youth so he starts rebellious behaviour from a certain age [researcher, “okay”] it’s not like they just um become 10 years and they just want to do it, it’s all the background that influence or impact on that child’s behaviour [researcher, “okay”] if there’s no discipline, sometimes the ah, um rebellious behaviour so worse that the parents are unable to discipline that child. So there’s no discipline in the house itself when there’s no father figure.
135. **Participant 6 (Male police):** uh, what I also see sometimes, the children, they are like in need of care, they do have parents but like the parents don’t care for them or like they don’t have a plan with them. And when the police arrive at the CAC they just say the parents don’t care they don’t want to, just like she said [pointing to Participant 4 (Female lawyer)] they don’t want to be involved with them, they don’t want to come to court so yeah...
136. **Participant 7 (Male police):** I can always see in the environment where I work for arguments sake say I work in the township area there the social economic factors plays a huge role in sometimes you can almost hear that there’s this paradigm shift you know that needs to be created with the parents because in certain instances the parents will even encourage the

children to become involved in criminal activities like stealing or whatever you, to put bread on the table [quiet chatter in agreement from other participants] so ah, yeah I think we need to bring about that uh, that mind-set change with the parents I don't know uh, about know how the, unemployment and the adverse socio-economic issues are gonna be addressed

137. **Researcher:** Beginning with talking to the parents, beyond that any other factors beyond that is now...anyone else who'd like to share?
138. **Participant 8 (Female police):** I think nowadays most of the parents or some of the parents don't want to be parents they want to be friends with the child [nod from participant 10, "mm"] they don't want to take that responsibility of "I must go to work, I must see that my child has bread" now that, now the child must see that the parents have bread or something to put on the table. So that's why some of the parents they encourage their children to do, commit crime [researcher "okay"] [Participant 2 (male social worker) "yes"]
139. **Researcher:** And in terms of the actual arrest, what have you observed when you, oh there we have a hand, sorry [gives participant with raised hand the chance to speak]
140. **Participant 9 (Female prosecutor):** This is really not criticism but if we want to support the parents we must get the parents to court [researcher nods "okay"] and sadly to get a docket and the SEJ form and it's very clear that parent was not involved by the police. So the, the process starts with the police once that child is arrested to make the parent realise how important it is for them to come to court because they just can't simply come to us and they say sy ma het gesê sy gaan nie hof toe nie (*His mother said he is not going to court*) [participant 1 "yeah", nods umhm mh"] so it's important from that very early age already, ag, stage [participant 1 interjects "starting point"] already, that parents must realise the court is there to help the court is there to help address their problems and court doesn't know what the problems are. So to simply just accept the fact that "I'm not going to court is not, I don't want to see him again", is not good enough at that stage already they must be made aware of the fact that we want to assist [researcher "okay"]
141. **Researcher:** Anybody else who'd like to share?
142. **Participant 3 (male police):** It's actually a concern if a person looks at it from this perspective that, it's merely a system dictating that the child's parent must be with because he's a youth. It's got absolutely nothing to do with helping the parent. It's about advancing the system [researcher "okay"] because without the parent we cannot do x, y, and z and it should not be like that. It should really be an aid from the beginning to the parent be it to assist the parent or to educate the parent because like I'm saying, I mean it's from the original concern how do children become involved in crime? Where then is the parents also? Whenever a child is arrested there is never a parent around. It becomes a headache to trace the parents [researcher, "yeah"] and that is the real assistance I suggest that [fades]
143. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** So in other words you're saying that assistance must be given to the community [Participant 3 (male police),

“absolutely”] uh edu...in the form of educating them uh [Participant 3 (male police), “what their responsibility is”] so that this story will uh, actually be, be the last uitweg (*resort*) [Participant 2 (male social worker) interjects “the last resort”] in other words that the police they do run an a certain day wat noem julle dit? (*what do you name it?*) [Participant 2 (male social worker) interjects, “CPF”] awareness programmes [Participant 2 (male social worker), interjects “the police forum”] [other participants attempt to assist with thought – disruptive] [participant 10 interjects, “awareness program”] yeah awareness programs, now can’t you run a program for just parents of children in every area, white, black, pink, yellow, wherever [researcher, okay] and start educating them and, and not so that nobody thinks that they are good enough and such arrest to their child, wouldn’t happen.

144. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** I think in terms of arrest, apprehending the child in the area I work, I specialize in Uitenhage. The children are very fond of the police because if a child gets for example arrested in Taraba but the child lives in Rosedale, uh the police will take the child first to the home, to report what happened “this child was caught for possession of” and then ask the parent to accompany them to the police station but then for the SAPS service I think they also have their own challenges in terms of service delivery because some of my client, clients they would say church street they are the police but then when you hear Kamesh then you see? So there’s a lot of challenges in the community as such yeah and if you ask a parent do you, are you aware of the CPF’s in the community they don’t know, so [shrugs]
145. [Participant 1 chatting with Participant 9 (Female prosecutor) – disruptive whispering]
146. **Participant 3 (male police):** I think a person should really contextualize this to understand that SAPS is a mere department you know it’s a small fish in a big pond and we, I think one speaker mentioned here the socio-economic situation in the country. I’m telling you now there’s a strategy we implementing sector e policing in [coughs] that boils down to community policing whereby which we endeavour to involve the community. Trying to preach the gospel out there but this is now our side it’s far too little to reach every parent there’s other departments that need to really come on board in this educational theme
147. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** [interjects] Yes, I agree
148. **Participant 3 (male police):** To really reach out to the people the potential parents as well as the parents lest the child becomes involved in this system because there is hardly anything we can do through this system for a parent [participant 1 interjects, “if, yeah by then it’s too late”] I hate to say but for, it’s hopelessly too late.
149. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** It’s actually too late to educate them really [researcher, “okay”] because they, they’re now addicted already to the, to the drug for instance, I take now drugs [researcher, “yeah”]
150. **Participant 9 (Female prosecutor):** We went to a school on [looks to participant 10] Wednesday? [Participant 10 confirms, “Wednesday”] and

Tuesday, I now during lunch went to, to see where the school is and outside the school gates the parents were sitting drinking. [researcher, "okay"] And people are very...quick to, to point fingers at us, at the system is failing at its job but...it's our parent that something the socio-economic situation is just so bad now, that here the parents sit outside the school yard are drinking (Afrikaans- unclear)...children

151. Researcher: So, I, I want us to just quickly focus and really zoom in and I think you're saying something valuable in terms of, there's many factors, many issues and from your experience that you've shared, you gave nice examples of what are those issues what you've observed what yourself you've experienced so I'd like us to zoom in on the actual if you look at the pre-trial stage um and one of the participants said yes maybe it's too late [clears throat], but could we agree that parents are now there, right? We have contact with them now [Participant 2 (male social worker) "yes"] right, they are part of the system now and it might very well be the only time they have an opportunity... where their needs are addressed, right. Because you've said yourself they are out there [Participant 2 (male social worker) "yes" nodding head] we're not necessarily able to address all of the needs but maybe, we, the moment they enter our system, [Participant 3 (male police) coughs] We want to see how we can do something... to address some of those issues. So could we zoom in to the pre-trial, you've shared some of what happens when there, there is arrest and some of the issues the police are struggling with and even during assessment all the issues that must be picked up. What are the main concerns [Participant 6 (Male police) coughing] that you have and I really want you to think about it what's your main concerns about parents at that pre-trial phase whether it be, when you arrest, whether it be when you go and inform them or, or tell them the child has to appear, what, wherever it is in the pre-trial phase, during assessment where the parent is saying, is participating in the assessment? Just that one phase, what are the major concerns, the main concerns that you have are, that you think needs to be on that board?

152. Participant 1 (female prosecutor): Okay, can I say, I think the parents must be contacted immediately so that they can be with the children as soon as possible [researcher, "okay"] especially when, um, the err, the social workers speak to them [researcher "okay"]

153. Participant 2 (male social worker): Okay, just to add on that, in the pre-trial stage, [researcher "mm"] I think it's important while we as social workers are, assessing the child, the parents in the other hand also need to receive counselling [participant 1 "yeah"] [researcher "okay"] because some of these parents are very shocked that my child are now being arrested, because they are not used to this behaviour, because children they're so rebellious they can hide this behaviour when in front of the parents or at certain schools they are good children but once they left the gate that is where everything happens [shrugs]. So while you are busy assessing the child [using hands] the mother and the father or the aunt the guardian is receiving

counselling on this side [researcher “okay”] you see...for them also to debrief and work with the shock and...[shrugs] [researcher “okay”]

154. **Participant 3 (male police):** We could perhaps think of extending the counselling as to a sort of assessment of the parents themselves as to the contributory role they play and to perhaps rehabilitate them [assent from other participants] in the process. Because we base our arrest on reasonable suspicions [researcher “okay”] so why not then can it be a reasonable suspicion that this child became involved because of the, parents’ lack of [Participant 2 (male social worker) “yes”] control the child over the child. So in the same assessment session we should actually also then look into the possibility of the parent perhaps allowed this to happen [Participant 2 (male social worker) interjects “but then again”] [participant 1 “assess the parent, whether they are fit or not] [participants laugh, disruptive communication]
155. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** But then again, they say the government, the challenge of human resource [researcher nods – uh], human resource shortages because they don’t want to employ people [researcher “okay”] for example counsellors and social workers need to be at schools, they need to be at prisons, at hospitals, clinics but
156. **Researcher:** also the availability of that to address those needs?
157. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** yes, yes, yes [nodding head]
158. **Researcher:** I just want to hear, is your [indicating to Participant 4 (Female lawyer)]
159. **Participant 4 (Female lawyer):** Yeah, talking to what um he’s saying there, because sometimes there’s problems at home, even nhe (“nhe” means “right?”), which lead the child to committing the, the, those offenses [Participant 2 (male social worker) “crimes”] crimes, nhe (right), sometimes you find out the kids are even angry at their parents and the parents don’t even know the kids are angry or if the parents are angry at their kids so there’s that even at home or there’s abuse. So what he’s saying that counselling for the parents, that’s where you’ll get to know in this specific case, what is going on in the family then you can...try...because you see that these kids they come and go then come again because...you see the, the root cause is not [shakes head] is not addressed [researcher says last line with participant] addressed yes [Participant 2 (male social worker), “yes”]
160. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** And because we as social workers we don’t have enough time to do everything [assent from participants “yeah”] so we need the extra help
161. **Researcher:** So I’m hearing one of the major concerns is that the, parents themselves are in need of some kind of [Participant 2 (male social worker) “yes, services, yes”] support during that stage? And could possibly be the assessment stage [participant 10 “yes”] where that is provided I’m hearing that and that now the limitation is the, the resources, okay?
162. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer):** Yes, I will agree fully with that, that the parents also need support [researcher “okay”] I will think for example, when the child gets arrested um, it’s obviously a traumatic experience for the parent [participant 1 & 2 “yes”] and obviously they come from a, a background

whereby um the socio-economic conditions are bad why don't you just use that opportunity for example, if the child goes for example for an assessment, the child goes for an assessment, so does the parent as well perhaps the parent can be sent for also a skills development [participant 1 & 2 "yes"] things like that so that the parents themselves can equip themselves err to get out of this socio-economic conditions that they've found themselves in. Perhaps that can also be in a way to uh to alleviate the problem [researcher "okay"]

163. **Participant 7 (Male police):** I can maybe just say, uh especially with your, your uh perpetrators above the age of 14 to 18 who've committed more serious offences, that would be schedule 3 offences or whatever there's a possibility that they may be uh, err, you know, incarcerated basically [participant 1 interjects "they have to be"] or awaiting trial or whatever, yeah so maybe it's imperative to, to, impress on the parents there, you know, to, it's crucial for them to be there every step of the way for the child because ultimately it's gonna, it can have a long term...negative, psychological effects on the child, because it can be a very traumatic experience for the child ultimately.
164. **Participant 9 (Female prosecutor):** The parents should actually, the, err they think this place operates like a normal court. So when they get here... My kind gaan nou tronk toe (*My child is going to prison*). So there must be some way that, you shouldn't just leave them there in the waiting room downstairs and uh ag wat gaan nou vandag gebeur. It's right from the start the parents must be explained, we must explain to them what the process is we follow here, so that, that takes some pressure and some anxiety away from them [researcher "yeah"] as well because, I had these parents [mumbling] and he liked to charge [laughing from participant 1], wasn't he? He even charged in yesterday mevrou maar nou wat is die?. (*Mrs, but now what is this?*) Something that wasn't a charge dit was 'n verkeerde mens, nie die kind nie (*it was a wrong person, not the child*). So this person was now already [participant 1 "mm"] [using hands]. And, and he now thinks the worst he's child is now going to prison and he's hardly going to whatever so he ported for them to be, so we explained what the process is and it's different from, from normal courts [researcher "okay"]
165. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer):** I think what she is saying actually is that the perception, the public perceives, how the public perceives basically this place especially once the child gets arrested must start to change perhaps that this place is here to assist and not to punish [researcher clarifies "to change"?] to change, to change the perceptions of how the [researcher "child"] child justice is actually function basically how people perceive it [researcher, "yes, yes"]. Uhm, I think that's what she's trying to say basically, that people they come here and they're anxious [researcher "yes"] they think that their child is going to jail basically
166. **Researcher:** So parents particularly are anxious when they come here not knowing what's going to happen and so forth. Okay, so pre-trial we have established quite a, a lot of issues happening for the parents' that's

concerning to you and I heard you saying them not knowing their role and what that they're supposed to do, I've heard you talking about the anxiety that's there and also the opportunity that's there that we could possibly help them and provide some information and, and kind of help them ease the anxiety by giving that information. During the trial process, let's talk about that, what are your main concerns, during the trial process, what are the things there where you think this is, umhm what I'm really worried about with the parent in court when the parent is with the child what are the main issues for you there or the main concerns when it comes to the parents themselves

167. **Participant 3 (male police):** The main concern should be the nonchalance of parents. Uhm, in many instances [clears throat] the parents are indeed [incoherent] and warned but they simply don't care [nods and assent from other participants] [researcher "okay"] and it is a real concern [Participant 2 (male social worker) "definitely"]
168. **Researcher:** I see lots of nods [Participant 2 (male social worker) "definitely, (still nodding)] yeah?
169. **Participant 9 (Female prosecutor):** umm, the parents must also be encouraged not to encourage their children to tell lies [assent from other participants]. I for instance, had a trial once where we went so far as to call the brother as a defence witness [researcher "okay"] and he took all the blame on him and under cross examination everything just fell flat and that child was convicted whereas had he had just said I robbed this guy right from the start he could have been diverted [researcher "okay"]. So parents encourage the children to...to...lie, because they think the children might go to jail [Participant 2 (male social worker) "yes"]
170. **Researcher:** Yes, yes, so is that misinformation from the starting point already. Okay, anybody else in, in
171. **Participant 4 (Female lawyer):** I was going to say what she's saying that we notice that the parents they even answer when you are speaking to a child [Participant 2 (male social worker), "mm"] preparing for trial, they even answer for the child and you have to tell them "no mama, just listen, don't answer for the child, because you were not there, you don't know what happened, let the child tell the story himself" now the child is afraid to tell the story because now the parent is here and the parent is saying something else [researcher "yeah"] trying to protect the child so the child ends up not telling you the truth as to what happened [researcher, "yeah, yeah, okay"]
172. **Researcher:** Any other concerns in terms of the trial itself when it comes to the parents how they conduct themselves and [participant 1 "yeah"] and so forth
173. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** I, I can only add that um, in the trial then the legal aid attorneys or the any attorneys they are our help there concerning the parents, because at that stage we're not actually allowed to speak when they've got an attorney [researcher "yeah"] to speak to the child or the parents [researcher "yeah"] so anything that happens there um must you know be ons maak staat daarop dat die verediging vir ons sal sê as daar

enige help verwag word the (*We depend on the defence telling us if there is any help that is being expected*) [researcher “okay”]

174. Participant 11 (Female lawyer): The process moving is, in the trial stage especially when the child has now a legal representation is that both the, the parent and the child needs to be explained what is the court process, you know, you’re no longer gonna attend a program now we’re now dealing with the reality of what happened and the reason why you were arrested and are now before court and um, we normally explain to them, you know, um with the more serious offences the matters going to regional court and that um what are the consequences of that actions you know [researcher “yeah”] that this could possibly lead to a sentence and you can be incarcerated, you know, it’s not a matter of you’re just going to get a slap on the wrist and you’re going home you know, we need to look at the bigger picture here. We also need to explain to him the, err, procedure in the courtroom [researcher “yeah”] because sometimes it’s a first time parent and the first time the child is in the courtroom and there’s always anxieties involved because people, the unknown is always scary so you need to settle them down and explain to them this is there procedure that’s gonna take place in the courtroom. This is my role as the attorney that leaves the prosecutors role and that is the magistrates role so that everybody can just understand the bigger picture of what is going to happen here now. Even with the sentencing phase, um when they assess by the probation officers we also need to explain to them what information will be asked from them and be required you know at the end of the day what information is going to be compiled in that report and that we need to discuss that report with them you know. So, it’s quite a procedure when it comes to the trial stage and people, educating the people for them to understand what roles the various role players play in um, getting them through the court process.

175. Researcher: And, and just to um, ask you a follow up question on that, in explaining that to the parents what do you observe in terms of how the parent is able to cope with that trial process and what are the concerns there in them going through that trial process

176. Participant 11 (Female lawyer): My experience was that the parents ask questions, you know and then you, you um, the best thing is when you explain the process to them is to try to get down to their level and to try and explain to them in simple terms what is going to happen here. Um, in the regional court they normally have the props outside the courtroom and then, we’ll take them there and explain to them “listen this is what the magistrate with the role, this is where, you know, where you will be, this is where the child will be, there’ll be no one in the courtroom, this is what in camera means, when the magistrate asks everybody to leave the courtroom and so”

177. Researcher: Okay, anybody else who’d like to share around the trial process and any other concerns still?

178. [silence]

179. Participant 2 (male social worker): I think when there’s a youth involved it’s quite scary for that youth to go into trial [participant 1, “yes”] but

some of the parents they also act as lawyers [researcher “okay”]. So I called the father aside and asked “what was he apprehended for?” the father said murder [participant 1 inquires, “the child?”] [the participant responds “yes”] [participant 1 assents “oh yeah”] [Participant 2 (male social worker) continues] the murder case. Then I said fine, okay it’s not for NICRO then I went in to the other prosecutor, says name of prosecutor. So yeah, but then when I came out from that office, the father was busy preparing there [researcher “okay”], what to say and what not to say [researcher asks “so that was the observation?”] So, [participant responds “yes”] sometimes the parents they don’t understand their role of just supporting the child, they prepare the child, [researcher “okay”] the youth beforehand, before they go into the court [researcher “okay”]

180. **Researcher:** Any similar experiences or different, during the trial process?
181. [silence]
182. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer):** I think at that time in the trial process actually I think that’s the height of anxiety [participant 1 “mm” “yeah” nodding] [researcher inquires, “for the parent?”] [participant responds “yes” and continues] for the parent
183. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** Especially there, um, all of us wearing the robes [participant 10 “the robes”], I mean that must scare the helluva [participant tries again “hell of a”] [participants laughs] [researcher “okay”]
184. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer):** [continues] that’s the height of anxiety and people know that, if you at a high in anxiety you’re not thinking rationally in that point in time um as a parent I think at that time that when you talk a lot of this counselling and stuff like that. I think that’s the point um [researcher “okay”] because that’s the height of anxiety because you don’t know whether your child is going incarcerated or not [researcher “okay”]
185. **Researcher:** So, I’m hearing also then during the trial process the parents themselves are with the child and the child has all these feelings and so forth. Parents experience similar feelings and they behave in different ways because of those feelings, is that what you’re saying? Okay.
186. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** That is only when there is availability of parents [researcher “okay”] because in some cases there is no availability of parents [participant 1 “yeah”] or willingness of parents to be involved [researcher “okay”]
187. **Researcher:** So the absence of parents becomes also an issue during trial? Is that a concern?
188. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** well...I mean...it, it, tends to be a concern when, I mean somebody must act as a guardian or something err, caregiver to the child so who do we use, um, if we ask the social workers then, um, there’s one that always help me in such cases but she’s gone on to a pension now [shrugs sadly] [participants laugh] I have to find a new [participants continue to laugh] [researcher observes, “you seem very sad”]

- about that] [participant continues (disruptive background) she always stood in for mom and dad, I'll have to find a new culprit now [laughs continue]
189. **Researcher:** So that does make it difficult during the trial process now [participants nod, "yes"]
190. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** Last year I had 2 children that I mean um they actually slipped through the cracks because of um they haven't got a mom and dad they're both dead and they didn't stay with auntie and them [researcher "okay"], they don't have family. So what do you do?
191. **Researcher:** So it's also picking that up [cut off]
192. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** I mean we're all moms [researcher "mm"] I mean I want to take that child and that now, you know, you never sleep well [Participant 2 (male social worker) laughing] really, you feel awful and then to put a child now, you know he's going back to the streets and the thing is, it's a, a life of survival [Participant 2 (male social worker) "mm"] that's why the steal [researcher "okay" nodding] it's not that they have um, inherent criminal behaviour, sometimes it's survival [participants assent] the game of survival
193. **Researcher:** And that's picked up during the child justice process would you agree? That somewhere it's picked up that this child doesn't have err parents or a guardian [participant 1 'yeah'] and then, how do you deal with that? You've said, you look for the person to stand in but if there's nobody to stand in?
194. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** My experience through the years is like, ough they don't have a mom and they don't have a dad so we've just got to get on with it [researcher "mm, mm"] and the
195. **Researcher:** What does that mean, "get on with it"? I
196. [silence]
197. **Researcher:** Let them go through the process, [participant 1 "yeah"] the child justice system, okay
198. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** I think also [cut off by participant 1]
199. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** I also really try to get, um, um, this form 10 [researcher "okay"] thing, where they, where they are, declared a child in need of care but now um, Protea, I think they don't take, don't take boys of 16, 17 [Participant 3 (male police) laughing] and that's where the 1 slipped through the cracks [researcher "okay"] I mean I worked with, um, my, presiding officer was the chief um Mr [names the person] and mean I told him what, what about now, that child? We're all going home, [researcher "mm"] what about him? [researcher "mm, mm. mm"] But I mean no other house would take him
200. **Researcher:** So there's a difficulty with that age group? [participant 1 "yeah"] that you're converting them
201. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** 16, 17 they are very difficult, getting a place for them and a home in a house of you know [researcher "yeah"] [participant continues] in plek van veiligheid (*place of safety*)

202. **Researcher:** Okay, and then in terms of sentencing if we can quickly move to sentencing [looking around to participants] What are your challenges there or any concerns in the sentencing and now remember now our lens in terms of the parents
203. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** We don't have it because there's no sentence
204. **Participant 9 (Female prosecutor):** I thought you were going to say something now, no we don't have things like that [researcher "okay"] [participant 1: "yeah I mean, it's] our last sentence, we talked about it yesterday it was in 2008
205. **Researcher:** Wow, okay, so, so by all means you try not to, okay so what are the concerns then
206. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** But, I, I, excuse me, but there are now, a few trials in regional court coming up [researcher "okay"] with youths [researcher "okay"] really, robbery, rape [participant 10 "they are increasing now"] and murder
207. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer):** They are quite increasing those matters in the regional court now
208. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** The thing is they knew they um, they the tickets is booked not for jail [researcher "yes"] it's for a postponed sentence [researcher "okay"] so rather get, let him, take the punch [researcher "because he's under 18"] yeah
209. **Researcher:** [Looking to Participant 2 (male social worker)] I hear a yes too
210. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** In terms of sentencing, it's good diversion for the youth they enjoy that [researcher "okay"] because of, it's only 3 months of attending a program [researcher "okay"] but the concern is that there for the parents there is no recommendation made for them to also attend a program, for example, a parenting skills program [researcher "okay"] or educational program you understand, for them to learn how to, better manage their children for example in the future or to better learn them more values in the future [researcher "mm"] because some of these youth they don't even know the values [researcher "okay"] of they. So it's important if we can get where social workers can also make a recommendation to assist parents [assent from other participants]
211. **Researcher:** [looking to Participant 4 (Female lawyer)] you wanted to add? [the participant responds, "no"] okay, so in sentencing not so um, much in terms of parents um, but where you had cases of when there was a postponed sentence and some conditions attached that, were parents responsible in making sure the child is adhering to that or what did you feel was the role there for the parents or concerns for fulfilling that?
212. [silence]
213. **Participant 3 (male police):** I think the concerns should be a couple of months down the line, even before that suspension time is... finished [Participant 4 (Female lawyer) "yeah"] the child find himself again at the pre-trial stage [researcher "okay"] that's the concern about parents involved and

the outcome is [Participant 2 (male social worker) “yes, the recommendation”]
[researcher “okay”]

214. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** Because after that child completed the program for the past 3 months, a week after that he get arrested again for the same offence [researcher “okay”] so the parent didn’t learn or benefit anything to enhance her skills to manage the child so
215. [whispering in the background, chatting noise – disruptive]
216. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** The parents, well they aren’t really interested in developmental parental skills programs because they’ve had them here on a Saturday [incoherent] [participant 1 “for 50 people, 1 attend”] diversion program magic wand
217. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** So I feel, as professionals, we’re failing the parents and the client [researcher “okay”] in my space, in my profession, where I’m working. Because I feel like I’m making a certain impact on the youth, but what about the parents, so I’m done with the youth I’m just passing him, next year if he reoffends I’m dealing with the youth again. What about the parent
218. **Researcher:** Okay, others’ have different [cut off by Participant 3 (male police)]
219. **Participant 3 (male police):** Perhaps not to revert here, but just to step back to the previous [researcher “stage”?] stage. I listened to Mrs [names participant] she said, children that doesn’t have parents, I don’t know how much is built into this, this system of ours. In order for a court as the upper guardian to sort of direct social development to look for someone that can stand in as such [researcher “yes”] you know, perhaps if there’s not, something like that, we should really look into that angle and if we can cover that angle we must continuously use the same person just to complete the circle [researcher “yes”]
220. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** I agree but, we as social workers we also should have a responsibility [participant 1 “yeah”] for tracing parents [researcher “okay”] the court, when you compile your form 38 to the presiding officer, make a recommendation that he will give you maybe 60 – 90 days to try and trace the parent but it also depends on which organisation you working for. Are you working for a child protection organisation, or are you working for reintegration? [researcher “okay”] organisation
221. **Participant 3 (male police):** My mind, wasn’t really about the tracing of the parent, I know that’s a challenge on its own. I was talking about you know, appointing someone [participant 1 “yeah”] for the child to, to, in the instances where the child doesn’t have natural parents anymore so [researcher “okay”]
222. **Participant 11 (Female lawyer):** But the court can also as the upper guardian act as in local parentless as the, for the child
223. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** Yeah but no one ever normally [cut off by Participant 11 (Female lawyer)]
224. **Participant 11 (Female lawyer):** I’ve had magistrates that acted in local parentless in the past, yeah

225. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** In Uitenhage?
226. **Participant 11 (Female lawyer):** Yeah, in Uitenhage
227. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** Where?
228. **Participant 11 (Female lawyer):** Um, in [names of magistrates]
229. **Participant 3 (male police):** Yes, but now if that is a given then, the, the prosecutor should then make such request, because we cannot let the child go alone through a system, I mean that is really a controversy of law.
230. **Participant 11 (Female lawyer):** The attorney can also act in local parentess [researcher “okay”] [participant 1 “yeah”]
231. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** But what if the child participation, and the child is older than 12 and the child say I don’t want this person to be involved [Participant 3 (male police) interjects [but currently the child goes through the system without] but again, it depends which organisation is involved. If it’s a CPO (child protection organisation) when the child has child participation section 10 is very important if a child is older than 12 and the child specified “but I don’t want this person to be involved in these proceedings” then
232. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** Is that now the parent or...
233. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** Yes, if it’s for example if you working for ChildLine, Uviwe and there’s a foster care placement, this child is for example 16 and he or she decides this isolated person can’t be involved in my proceedings, he has a right to do so
234. [silence]
235. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** According to the act...
236. **Researcher:** So we’re talking now about the children’s act?
237. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** Yes [participant 1, “yeah”]
238. **Researcher:** Okay, okay, thank you. Yes, so there’s some issues there as well in terms of when the parent is absent and we are trying to get a substitute or someone to stand in for that and then keeping in mind the children’s act, prescriptions in terms of that, so I’m hearing that [Participant 2 (male social worker), “yes”]
239. **Participant 9 (Female prosecutor):** We had a child yesterday where, we searched high and low for somebody he’s from Pedi’s’, he’s been in Galithembani somehow they sent him out to Pedi but he ended up in PE now the, the guardian doesn’t want him anymore so the social development people went to fetch for someone from Jansenville but that’s not going to happen. So then we found a, the sister in Wells estate [researcher “okay”] now he says, “I’m not going to stay with her”. He shouldn’t have a choice, that’s the only person who cares [“mm” “mm” assent from participants] [researcher “okay, so that’s”]
240. **Participant 11 (Female lawyer):** But maybe something happens in that house that he doesn’t like
241. **Participant 9 (Female prosecutor):** Mm well, but still, he’s been in the system since April. He shouldn’t be here. He’s in need of care, he shouldn’t even be here, now he’s, he can’t we must explain why a case is on the roll for

longer than 6 months [participant “you see”] and he wants to choose who he wants to stay with

242. **Participant 3 (male police):** Again it can become a problem to simply complete the system circle. Because if this child clearly indicates “I do not want to be with x” and you force that child to be with x he’s gonna be back sooner than you expect him to be in the system [“yeah” assent from participants], he’s gonna be back again
243. **Participant 9 (Female prosecutor):** But, it’s in his own interest to be with someone, he can’t stay [interrupted by Participant 3 (male police)]
244. **Participant 3 (male police):** To be with someone yeah but now he [interrupted by Participant 9 (Female prosecutor)]
245. **Participant 9 (Female prosecutor):** up until he’s 18 he’s only 16 now [Participant 2 (male social worker) “but now he has a right to say”]
246. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer):** Which is what, I was gonna, I agree fully agree with the issue, with the matter that I’m also involved in the same matter [researcher “alright”] the question is this [clapping hands together] “why doesn’t he want to go back, that’s the, the question [Participant 9 (Female prosecutor) “he never believed her, he just doesn’t like his sister] you see, that’s the question [Participant 9 (Female prosecutor), he says “I don’t like her, I’m not staying there”] [researcher, “okay”] and that’s the biggest question. Is that he is, he’s still in need of a guardian [researcher “yeah”], he’s still a child at the end of the day [researcher “yeah”] he’s still in need of a guardian, [researcher “okay”] there is a guardian for him and he refuses, now what do you do then
247. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** The, I feel that, somebody...social worker must go and find out what is the circumstances there. If it’s not like you know, if it’s normal and he just don’t want to stay there because of the discipline that would be a, a, inferred on him
248. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** I don’t think it’s normal, I think it’s personal issues [Participant 3 (male police) “issues, they have issues”] between the 2 siblings, where there’s again, professional human resources needs [participant 1 “needed”] come in. A counsellor needs to be provided so that both of them can be called in so that they can speak about issues [researcher “mm, mm”]
249. **Participant 9 (Female prosecutor):** But now, some of the [Participant 3 (male police) “it’s personal issues] children have some external social workers [participant 1 “yeah”] and as soon as you, you hear that [Participant 3 (male police) “mm”, then you’ve already quite [fades] ... you want to commit suicide...but
250. [Participants laugh]
251. **Participant 9 (Female prosecutor):** That’s another problem, because the people outside this building [researcher “yes”] must look and, and give services and do family reunification [researcher “okay”], whatever ...are just not interested [researcher “okay”]
252. **Researcher:** So the professionals that’s supposed to prepare the families [Participant 9 (Female prosecutor) “that’s it”] for reunifying and

accepting that child [Participant 9 (Female prosecutor) “that’s it”] working through the relationship issues. That is not happening there. So then you’re stuck with that child not knowing what to do. That’s what I’m hearing?

253. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer):** Yes, exactly [researcher “okay”]. I, I think in other matters in last week [researcher “okay”] um, it was either the child was first reported in 2012 and the child is, was before court uh last week 2016 and when the other social worker looked at the file of the child. Nothing has been done since 2012 [researcher “okay”] with regards to the assessment of this child. Now, the child comes before court umm, 4 years, 4 years later, the same problems that he had [researcher “yeah, yeah”] 2012. Which means that, that problem could have been sorted out way before time [researcher “mm”] now when he comes before us, now we’re left [researcher ‘yeah’], uh, to handle them [researcher “yeah”]
254. **Researcher:** Okay, so it sounds again, somewhere along the line something is not happening that’s supposed to happen. To address some of those issues and ends up here with the courts having to deal with that as a result of it.
255. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer):** Because in that matter the parent actually went and reported the child to the social worker said “I have a problem with this child” [researcher “mm”] and nothing was done [researcher “okay”] actually the parent went looking for help [researcher “yeah”] and she did not get help. And that’s the problem now, the child, now we’re at the end, now of the problem [researcher “mm, mm”]
256. **Researcher:** And I’d like to link to what he’s saying now [clears throat] if we just...back track again now to our pre-trial phase and going from there what are your views on the supportive needs of parents what do you experience people, parents need during the pre-trial phase, trial, what are the support needs and you’ve spoken about that but I’d like us to bring it down really to really if I think about it. When the child is arrested this is what the parent needs and you’ve guys already put a few out
257. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** Okay, I, I’d say first, education [researcher “okay” Participant 2 (male social worker) “yes”] about the whole process [researcher “yeah, okay”]
258. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** Awareness’s [researcher “awareness”] awareness campaigns whether it’s at schools, or in the community itself [researcher okay”]. Where all the stakeholders are together [researcher “okay”]
259. **Researcher:** What else during the pre-trial even trial and so on? What are those things, you think the parents, what are the needs?
260. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** I think for example at courts if there’s maybe pamphlets or booklets there, they explain the whole process [researcher “okay”] all the stages, the 3 stages in that, them. Because sometimes you don’t have the time to explain everything in detail to the parent and he or she whilst he’s awaiting the youth to come out, read through that pamphlet or that booklet [researcher “okay”]
261. **Researcher:** Others?

262. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer)** : Do you really think that the parents will read through those pamphlets? [snort-laugh from participant and others]
263. **Participant 2 (male social worker)**: It depends on their education level [participant 10 “oh the question I’ve asked” cut off by Participant 2 (male social worker)] you see some of them don’t even have a grade 5
264. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer)**: Which is what I was gonna say, which was gonna be my next point that the people [Participant 2 (male social worker) “the problem with their educational level yeah”] that the parents that come here their educational level is not of the, a level that they can [Participant 2 (male social worker) “yes, record, stand I do understand”]
265. **Researcher**: Okay
266. **Participant 4 (Female lawyer)**: As someone has already said that, as attorneys...we are representing these children so it’s our duty as well to, to educate the parents to explain to them the procedure what’s going on, what’s going to happen [researcher “mm”] because sometimes, after the matter has been postponed it’s like they were not listening [researcher “yeah”] they will come to you “must I leave now, what happened” [researcher “yeah”] so we also have a duty to, to be with them to walk with them [researcher “mm”] to explain every process to them so that they know and understand, what is going on and what is going to happen [researcher “yeah”]
267. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer)**: So in reality what she’s saying is that we also need some training [participants laugh]
268. **Researcher**: Okay, okay, so you are...in terms of what. What do you need training for?
269. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer)**: Um, uh, in reality what she’s saying is that perhaps, in how to, um, to explain the whole process to the parents [researcher “umhm”] and also, to give some...emotional, [Participant 11 (Female lawyer) “counselling tips”] some [Participant 11 (Female lawyer) & 10 laughs] [researcher “some, what?”] [Participant 11 (Female lawyer) “counselling tips”] some more of umm, emotional ... [Participant 2 (male social worker) “counselling?”] um not counselling, I don’t want to use the word counselling, [Participant 2 (male social worker) “emotional support?"]. Support, to the parents, I don’t want to use the word counselling
270. **Participant 4 (Female lawyer)**: Because you find out that when you are consulting the parent is crying [researcher “okay”] [Participant 2 (male social worker) “umhm”] because she does not know what to do [researcher “yeah”], you see, “my child does not want to listen” this and this [researcher “okay”] sometimes they say “no I don’t want the child to come out” the next time the child appears “I want my child to come out” so you have to, have a way of how to deal with her without being angry or irritated or [shrugs] you see [researcher “support”] yes, you have to support her
271. **Researcher**: Okay
272. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer)**: One, one must take into account I’m a, we, we attorneys we are educated to do the law [researcher “yes”] we’re not educated to, do counselling [researcher “yes”] and to deal with that other stuff [Participant 2 (male social worker) “emotions”] [researcher “yes”] emotion

273. **Researcher:** But you see that support parents need the parents have there, which is engaging with them
274. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer):** Which is why I'm saying that, perhaps that's what she's saying that we need a little bit more training perhaps [researcher "yeah"]
275. **Participant 3 (male police):** In-service training [background chatter]
276. [Background chatter becomes dominant]
277. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** Like we as social workers, we also [cut by Participant 7 (Male police)]
278. **Participant 7 (Male police):** SAPS, remember we, our members are hard core policeman [researcher "yes"] and maybe they also need to be sensitised with the anxieties or whatever the parents and the children are facing you know [researcher "okay"] when they are dealing the, with them at pre-trial stage [researcher "yes"] we need to address the service of the users or whatever the case may be
279. **Participant 3 (male police):** I think you know, listening to what he's saying. It's true what he's saying. But now on the other hand SAPS is a one sided system. Every department is you know, guided by its policies and now, we're catering for victims, we've got a victim support centre for instance that runs a 100% [researcher "mm"] but now, not forgetting about not having catered for parents of perpetrators that is where the problem is and I think such should be built into this child justice act to cater for parents per se [participant 1 "yeah"] because you can't expect a policeman to counsel a person [researcher "yeah"] [Participant 2 (male social worker) "mm"] you can't expect them to, he's dealing with the law and the hard facts. Counselling must be done by social development and their partners and so forth [participants agree "yeah"] that should be built into the system to cater. Because I'm not gonna waste my time counselling a parent because he's child was naughty [researcher "yeah"] even my children, is okay, [participants laugh] why should I bother with another person's child [participants continue laughing] so yeah, really there should be
280. **Researcher:** To be included in the child justice act, I heard you and then make that provision through social development [participant "yeah"]
281. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** I agree with her here saying we're also responsible in advocacy for our clients [researcher "yeah"] explaining things and so forth and so forth. But when it comes to support, we're also restricted in terms of policies. We can't be too over affectionate toward our clients, for example if your client cry, you can't stand up from your office and hug your client you must just offer her a tissue [researcher "okay, okay"] [chatter from participants]
282. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** Is that a basic, no, no you're not allowed?
283. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** It's in our principles
284. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** They say you must not, you're not allowed?

285. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** No, we must just offer them a handkerchief
286. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** What about compassion? What happened to that?
287. **Researcher:** Um, we would hug her we just [cut by Participant 9 (Female prosecutor)]
288. **Participant 9 (Female prosecutor):** Paradigm shifts
289. **Researcher:** I just also want to hear also the, again. In terms of the support needs of parents throughout what is it from your profession can you provide them, if, if you've identified that support need, okay
290. **Participant 4 (Female lawyer):** I didn't mean that you must be a counsellor but just to show support to the parent because now you are representing his or her child so now she is emotional. You don't have to give her a hug or do that, but just to explain [researcher "mm"] so that you can put her mind or his mind at ease as to what is going on now. Not to be a social worker or what but, even if you are an attorney but you still have a heart, you see and at school you studied psychology so to prepare you for these [researcher "yeah"] step or, type of cases. You are dealing with children, so if you're dealing with children, so you must also have that soft but hard as an attorney but you must also have that soft spot
291. [participants attempt to speak at the same time]
292. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** Yeah, but as social workers, we're also liable to counsel our clients. It's just we don't have [researcher "let's listen to him"] As social workers we are obliged to counsel our clients. It's just that sometimes we don't have the time [researcher "okay"] you see
293. **Researcher:** And that includes parents? Does that include parents in terms of counselling them?
294. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** Let alone the parents
295. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** Let alone the parents
296. **Researcher:** So it's a limitation with time [Participant 2 (male social worker) "yes"] it's not extended to the parent [Participant 2 (male social worker) "yes"] okay
297. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** Sorry, for instance, um this, I, I get 3 dockets [Participant 2 (male social worker) "mm"] maybe in a day, 3 children, now I phone the social workers, "Mr number... okay right up at 3 children here, come" okay they maybe rock up in an hour and a half [Participant 2 (male social worker) laughing] or 2 hours later. Now that guy has been already there [Participant 2 (male social worker) "yes, waiting for them for them to come"] waiting [researcher "mm"] Okay, now when they come, I'm a bit steamed up [Participant 2 (male social worker) giggles] and groany (Ek is rooi in die gesig (*I am red in the face*)) but you can't say anything, okay, here's the dockets now they've got and here, by the magistrates they used to work in the afternoon [researcher and Participant 2 (male social worker) "mm"] did you know, after 9 – 4 afternoons are not for work anymore [participants laugh] [researcher "okay"] so um, they, social workers they actually rush through the assessments [participants agree] am I

right or am I wrong? [Participant 2 (male social worker) “no, it’s a 100% right”] and I mean really this guy I give, I’ve got a lot of respect for him, [participant coughing] because he really wants to give everybody his time that he needs [researcher “okay”] and he doesn’t have the time, because of, all the rounds [mumbling]

298. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** But in that case we fail the parents again [researcher “mm”] [participant 1 “yeah”] waiting for certain social workers to come from the department because that parents sitting there from 8 o’clock or half past 8 so when he pitches up at 11 [participant 1 “yeah”] how do you think the parent is feeling at that stage [researcher “mm”] late, because he’s wondering “what’s gonna happen to my child” [researcher “yes”] if these officials or these professionals are they serious about this or maybe it’s nothing, you understand, so there’s a lot of emotions already dealing with, by just waiting for a certain person to come
299. **Participant 1: (female prosecutor):** There is a lot they must do
300. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** Yeah, so they say
301. **Participant 1(female prosecutor):** So they say
302. **Participant 3 (male police):** It’s really you know, it’s really a concern once you, talking now, dealing with parents and their children. I think, this talk so to speak cater for a parent of or parents with one child forgetting that the parent might have 3, 4, 5 children, perhaps also necessarily problematic children [researcher “yeah”] while she’s maybe in the system with one the others might be on their way to the system [Participant 2 (male social worker) “mm”] and, maybe that’s why I’m saying they actually should provide for that type of assistance to parents from the onset. We spoke about outside assistance obviously we know that’s via your social grant prevention and your [researcher “mm”] social development programmes and all those kind of things but when they enter the system there should be provision for parent’s assistance people should know whether you’ve still got 3 -4 children potentially how will you work the system and how can you cope with this, “no time” this “no personnel” issue [researcher “yes”] while the children you know are at large. Those, that kind of thing, should, should, [mumbling] [researcher “should be made provisions”]
303. **Participant 1(female prosecutor):** So you’re actually saying there’s a loophole in the children’s act for not uh, catering for the parent’s needs
304. **Participant 3 (male police):** There’s actually no place for parents in the system except [Participant 2 (male social worker) “mm, mm mm”] that they must come for the children
305. **Participant 1(female prosecutor):** I think you must get a, like, get a children’s act have a parent’s act [researcher “okay”] for, um, disobedient children [laughing from participants]
306. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** There’s a small space that the children’s act focus on the parents, it’s only that’s rights and responsibility and the certain roles that’s all [researcher “okay, okay”] [participant 1 “yeah”] then it ends

307. **Researcher:** And in terms of the child justice act is there any provision [participant 1 “no”] based on your own knowledge
308. **Participant 3 (male police):** That is the concern, why, we the law and we’re still concerned about is mommy gonna come with or daddy [researcher “mm”] to simplify our processes [researcher “yes”] it’s got nothing to do with their emotions and their trauma and stuff and that is a problem [researcher “okay”] at the entrance stage they should be catered for. Parents should be catered for
309. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** You know sometimes I have children, they rock up from, on their own without the parent [researcher “okay”] but they were told by the police to be there for a dagga or whatever and parents said no they first must go to work [Participant 2 (male social worker) “mm”] [researcher “okay”] so, he rocks up alone, so I have to tell him, listen come again tomorrow and bring mommy with [researcher “okay”] you know and just make, just hope and pray that he will come and bring his [Participant 2 (male social worker) “parent”] guardian or parent
310. **Researcher:** Okay, so in terms of, everything that we discussed now. We’ve raised quite a number of concerns so I’m going to highlight that what we will do with the next focus group it will actually be consolidated so that we will have collectively what are those main concerns what are some support needs that you’ve observed for parents, right and as I said before um in terms of the, the parents themselves, I’m going to have a focus group with them. So that will be the focus group that will happen hopefully mid-August towards the end of August and then hopefully we will meet again as a collective with some of those parents and ourselves in September. Where we will then look at how can we address some of those support needs, what is the already and where are they currently going for that type of support so that will be where we will meet again.
311. **Researcher:** What I’d like for all of you to do now. I’m going to send this around [sticky notes] you can take your favourite colour if it’s here, maybe pink as you see on the lady [Participant 3 (male police) giggling] I’d really. I’m going to ask a series of questions and um, the questions I’m asking is actually asking you for help. What are those questions that you think I should ask the parent’s when I meet with them that will help us to better understand, what are the support needs? [looking around to everyone] Okay, I’m going to send it around, because I really want you to think about it when I ask the question and you’re going to write what you think should be asked and then these questions will be my guide when I actually meet with them. Does that make sense? Right. So what are those burning things that you think I should be asking so I’m gonna go through a list of, this gives you time to also just think about. So I’m just going to send this around [sticky notes] there you go so take a colour that you feel comfortable with and you have a pen.
312. **Researcher:** And those are we going to put on that board [referring to board poster in the middle of the table] okay? So that board I will take with me to the next focus group so we will make sure that we ask [clears throat] the

questions that you have, um, you think that I should be asking them. Okay?
So this is to guide that process when I meet with them

313. [Participant 3 (male police) makes a joke regarding the sticky notes colours and the group laughs]
314. **Researcher:** Okay, so once everybody has, I'm going to ask a few, so you might need a few pieces of paper so maybe you want to take off more than 1 maybe you have 10 questions that you want me to ask the parents then we can definitely do that
315. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** So, so, we just going to jot it down?
316. **Researcher:** So, I'm going to ask you, I'm going to ask you and then you going to respond to the particular question. Okay, so you're going to listen to me for the instructions. Okay, so take a few, we'll come around [referring to the sticky notes going around the table so that others can take again] and I see some of you taking half of the book that's very good
317. [chatter and laughter in background]
318. **Researcher:** Okay, everyone has a pen?
319. [background chatter]
320. **Researcher:** Right? Okay
321. [background chatter]
322. **Researcher:** We are comfortable with pink as men, are we not?
323. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** Yes, yes we are yeah
324. [background chatter]
325. **Researcher:** There we go [participant responds, "thank you"]
326. [background laughter]
327. **Researcher:** Okay so, let's listen to the question and then you're going to tell me what questions I must ask okay? So remember now, so this is your presence in the next focus group with the parents, makes sense? And then we will eventually meet with the parents' together with you. Okay? So what question would be important for me as the researcher to ask to establish what parents' concerns and support needs were or are when they were going through the child justice process?
328. **Researcher:** What questions, do you think I should be asking them, in terms of their support needs and what their [participant coughs] concerns were?
329. [Participant 3 (male police) speaking in the background]
330. **Researcher:** So think of that question you think I should ask
331. [participants discuss in the background]
332. [participants writing down questions]
333. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** What was the question again?
334. [participants laugh, participant 10 and 11 answer the participant]
335. [response in Afrikaans by Participant 11 (Female lawyer)] As sy by die ouers kom, watter vrae moet sy vrae, soos hulle concerns en support needs (*If she comes to the parents, what questions should she ask, like their concerns and support needs*)

336. **Researcher:** What are their concerns and what are their support needs
[together with Participant 2 (male social worker)]
337. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** So what their support needs are?
338. **Researcher:** Yeah, so what should I ask them
339. [Participants writing down. Quiet background noise]
340. **Researcher:** And there's no right or wrong
341. [quiet background as participants' write]
342. **Researcher:** Remember, if you don't have a question that's fine too, okay, you don't have to write. Just, if you think there's something that you think I should be asking then put that down
343. **Participant 3 (male police):** Thank you, ma'am
344. **Researcher:** Okay
345. [action noise: shuffling-sorting in background]
346. **Researcher:** Okay, once your pens are down, I'll ask you the next question
347. [quiet background]
348. **Researcher:** What, okay, soon as the pens down we'll do another question okay?
349. [paper noise shuffling]
350. **Researcher:** More still available if you want more of the pages
351. [seat movement]
352. **Researcher:** Okay, so each answer, each one should be on a separate page nhe, one question, per page
353. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** How many questions?
354. **Researcher:** Okay, there's 7 questions
355. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** Thanks for telling us now hey
356. [Researcher laughs]
357. [participants laugh]
358. **Researcher:** Okay, that was a very good question [laughing continues] there's lots of pink now going round now that's good [referring to sticky note pages] okay, can I ask the next one
359. [participants settle in their sits, adjusting]
360. **Researcher:** What questions should we ask parents to help you understand, um, what support, where they access support. So what question should we ask from parents for you to understand where do they access support to help them cope with the child, while going through the child justice system. So, you as a child justice stakeholder want to know where they access support from who, programmes, what people. So what questions would you ask them
361. [chair adjustment noise, participants writing questions quietly]
362. [participants quietly chatter]
363. **Participant 3 (male police):** I don't know what is going on with these, maybe I'm too long that I've, can you maybe just qualify that question more?
364. **Researcher:** Okay, so remember we're meeting with the parents right, so we want to also part of us to explore where are they getting support currently, right, currently, while they're going through the child justice system

where are they getting help, right, we, because we don't know where they are getting help are they being supported by whom are they being supported. So we want to find out such information, I'm asking what question should I ask them to get that information from them. Does it make sense?

365. **Participant 3 (male police):** Yeah
366. [paper noise in background]
367. [cup noise]
368. [paper tearing noise]
369. [participants writing quietly]
370. **Researcher:** Okay, and then the next one. What questions do you think we should ask to establish from parents and child justice officials, um how, we can support parents during the child justice process. So, how can we ask child justice officials as well as the parents, what is it that you think we should be doing to support you, how can we support you?
371. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer):** Who's we?
372. **Researcher:** It's us, the child justice system. Okay, okay? So the child justice system. So we want to get some clues you know in terms of what, what is it you want us to do as a child justice system to support you. So you can have your own types of questions that you would want to ask them
373. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer):** To support the parents or?
374. **Researcher:** Both
375. **Participant 10 (Male lawyer):** Okay
376. **Researcher:** Okay, so remember there is a child justice system so I'm referring to the system as "we" because it's a collective system with lots of stakeholders so what can that system do alright to support both child justice officials and the parents throughout this process right. Remember, you guys said, child justice officials are expected also to provide some kind of information, support etcetera. Right? But maybe, there's some needs that the child justice officials have in order to be able to fulfil that role of supporting the parents. Right? And then for themselves, for the parents also, what are their, their needs as well in terms of supporting them
377. **Researcher:** So think of any questions like I said there's no right or wrong it's really to give me some idea of what is should ask the parents when I meet with them
378. [quiet]
379. [participants quietly writing]
380. **Researcher:** Okay, so we've the last 2 questions
381. [paper noise in background]
382. **Researcher:** Okay, can we ask the last 2 questions?
383. [participants nod]
384. **Researcher:** Are you sure?
385. [participants nod]
386. **Researcher:** Okay, so my last question in terms of the parents themselves what questions do you think we should ask the parents to identify the gaps in the child justice system in terms of supporting them currently. What can we ask the parents so that they can tell us what are the gaps mm?

in the system, in the child justice system so we want to be able to identify that so what should I ask them?

387. [participants quietly write in the background]

388. [chair noise]

389. [quiet]

390. **Researcher:** Now, our very last question, who are the people, besides the parents and the people that's in this focus group. Who are the people that you think should be part of the next focus group when we are going to discuss the support um that parents need and also where they are accessing support. So who are the stakeholders that you think, uh, you know, they should have been at this focus group "I think that they would add value" if you have a particular stakeholder that you think should be here, please write that persons' details down for me and we will try to invite them to the next focus group, okay?

391. [silence]

392. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** Do we have to take a certain person

393. **Researcher:** You can take a person or a department for example um if you have a department it's of course makes my life a bit easier if I know who in that department since departments are quite big. So if you have a particular contact person that I can make that contact with them. Okay

394. **Participant 3 (male police):** So how does the question read here?

395. **Researcher:** So, is there a stakeholder that you think should be on board in terms of helping us going forward with the focus group they must participate so that we can uh, have the right people, in terms of the focus group going forward, right, so is there anybody else that you think should have been here today and would have added value so that we can make sure they are on board going forward okay?

396. [silence]

397. [participants quietly writing]

398. [participant 1 asking researcher question in Afrikaans]

399. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** Gaan die magistrats nie deel neem nie (Will the magistrates not participate?)

400. **Researcher:** No, no, we will. I have invited and some of them have said yes. I just think that they were called away so, the one is on leave so we have magistrates who are invited and actually submitted apologies so they are on board

401. [participants chatter in the background]

402. **Researcher:** Okay, so all your little colourful pages, you're going to just put it on the black board and we will take that afterwards. Make sure there is no identifying details for yourself on there. Obviously the only people that we want to invite to the next one those identifying details will come to me so

403. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** I think. That was only 5 questions hey

404. **Researcher:** Yes, I condensed 2 of them

405. [participants chatter]

406. **Researcher:** Can you place it on the black for me, thank you so much.
Okay
407. [participants chatter]
408. [disruptive noise]
409. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** This gentleman next to me [referring to Participant 3 (male police)] just shared something very important with me
410. **Researcher:** okay, [calling group into order] so we just want to share something here [looking to Participant 2 (male social worker)] okay, before I continue
411. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** No the, gentleman here next to me just mentioned something very important. There's no official from social development
412. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** Yeah!! dis wat ek ook geskryf het. (that is what I also wrote)
413. **Researcher:** Yeah, I, yeah I will actually clarify that and respond to that and say social development I only met with them yesterday after many meetings that were postponed because of their commitments but they are on board and they have committed um in terms of probation officers and assistant probation officers that will join us for the next focus group as well as refer participants from the parents as well, definitely okay
414. **Participant 3 (male police):** Can I, we, assume safely, that these ladies there are representing the DPP or is it just for this system that they're catering
415. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** Me
416. **Participant 3 (male police):** Yeah
417. **Researcher:** So all the participants are [disrupted by participant]
418. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** You don't like me?
419. [participants fall into laughter]
420. **Researcher:** What I will clarify that everyone that is here is everyone your departments thought would add value in terms of your experience and working with child justice in whatever capacity that might be. So obviously we had now meetings at district level and we had briefing sessions [participant 1 "yeah"] so I think that is really how we came down to people being part of the focus group
421. **Participant 3 (male police):** So the gentlemen over there, I suppose is part of this centre [researcher "that's correct"] and we are advisors so it appears that SAPS is represented where as they are, yeah?
422. **Researcher:** Yes
423. **Participant 3 (male police):** Okay, okay no we're not supposed to say on tape
424. [participants laugh]
425. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** You're satisfied now?
426. **Participant 3 (male police):** I am pleased now thanks, and I love you all
427. [participants laugh]

428. **Researcher:** Okay
429. **Participant 2 (male social worker):** No, I'm thinking in terms of officials from uh, community development [researcher "okay"] is the certain officials responsible for community development
430. **Participant 1 (female prosecutor):** Yeah, you know and I thought of another problem [researcher "okay"] they never have vehicles [Participant 2 (male social worker) "yes"] and if they have they're broken
431. **Participant 11 (Female lawyer):** Social workers that has to do visiting the parents and um, home visits you know [researcher "okay"]
432. **Participant 9 (Female prosecutor):** There's only one vehicle for that whole building [participant 1 "yeah"]
433. **Researcher:** Okay, that's what resources you said earlier on [Participant 2 (male social worker) "we have 4 but they're not sufficient"]
434. **Researcher:** So resources is what, what I'm hearing? [Participant 2 (male social worker) "yes"]
435. **Participant 5 (Female police):** And they used to have appointed social workers, a person, to a, go search for parents [researcher "okay"] but that doesn't exist anymore [researcher "family finders"] family finders
436. **Researcher:** Okay, okay, so that's not there anymore [participant responds "no"] okay that's good to know
437. **Researcher:** Okay, I can see, that the energy levels have gone a little bit down and that's natural because you had a very, lively discussions about the topics that we came to discuss today. So really, a heartfelt thank you to all of you for you know, giving up your time and sharing with me um, a part of your life and I know it's a day to day part of your life. So thank you so much for that and I, as I said, I do um trust that you will be part of this journey going forward so that we really can see, how can we put something in place because I think we are feeling the effects of there being nothing [participant 1 "mm"] So I really want to thank you very much for your contributions I appreciate it. The process from here on is really, where we will take these concerns we will transcribe and get the key issues that has, come out of this discussion. I will have also a discussion with the parents as I said. Separately, similar to what we had here today and then together we have a collective idea of what are those main issues that's coming out, the concerns, the support means of parents, where the gaps are and so forth. And then our collective a, uh focus group hopefully that we'll have in September so I will send an invitation to all of you again and there we will then start looking, what is there, what is working. So that we can start with that moving forward, um, not just from the seeing what's the problem but what can we do together to address some of those issues
438. **Researcher:** So um, that is really the journey forward, I will also email by the, before that focus group I will email to all of you what were the main concerns so you can look at it and you tell me uh, [researchers' name] there is, there's some things that I think should still be there that is not there or "you know I thought of it afterwards it's important" and we will even do a, uh, that

when we start our next focus group in September. So have we got everything, is there anything else that I must add before we move to the next step, okay?

439. Researcher: If um, without further ado then I want to thank you very much for your time and uh, I appreciate the time that you have given to me and I look forward to um, seeing you again in September. Thank you

Addendum 5: Appendix linked to chapter 4.6.2 & 4.9.3 Observation tool

NMU Research Ethics clearance number: **H16-HEA-SDP-001**

Observer Name:

Observation date:

Observation site:

Observation time/duration

Child Justice Officer being observed (circle the person being observed):

Presiding officer/magistrate	Prosecutor	Legal Aid/Private attorney
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Intended observation focus

The observation will focus on Child Justice Officers of the court's (Presiding officer/Prosecutor/Legal aid attorney) interactions & conversations with parents as well as their behaviour towards parents during these contacts

Behaviour being observed	Was the behaviour observed (circle answer)			Observer comments (Descriptive and detailed)
	Yes	Partially	No	
The PI/court waiting area displays visible information about the child justice process that is parent friendly.				
The waiting period for parents at the PI/court is longer than 30 minutes.				

While waiting for the PI/court, parents have access to a CJ official that they can pose questions to.	Yes	Partially	No	
At the beginning of the PI /court proceedings the CJ official introduced himself/herself to the parent and explained their role.	Yes	Partially	No	
At the beginning of the PI /court proceedings the CJ official introduced all the role players present in the court and explained their respective roles.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ officer explained the parent's role during the PI/court proceedings.	Yes	Partially	No	
Describe the parent's role during the PI/court based on the CJ officer's explanation.				
The CJ officer uses plain language and terms that can be understood by the parent and child.	Yes	Partially	No	
The PI/court proceeding was conducted in a room that is private.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ officer explained the purpose of the PI/court to the parent and the parents' role during the PI/court proceedings.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ officer demonstrated sensitivity towards the parent and their emotions during the PI/court proceedings by allowing the parent an opportunity to express their emotions and acknowledging the parents feelings.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ officer explained to the parent the rights and responsibilities of the child before commencing the PI/court proceedings.	Yes	Partially	No	

The CJ officer explained to the parent their (the parents') rights and responsibilities during the child justice process & the PI/court proceedings.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ officer confirmed with the parent that the child's rights to legal aid had been explained to them by the SAPS officer & probation officer/Social worker and that they understand this right and its implications.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official's conversation with the parent during the PI/court proceedings also focussed on the parent's feelings about the situation with the child.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official's conversation with the parent during the PI/court proceedings also focussed on how the parent is coping with their child since the child's arrest/charge against the child.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official's conversation with the parent during the PI/court proceedings also focussed on the parent's concerns about the child's behaviour.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official's conversation with the parent during the PI/court proceedings also focussed on the parent's concerns and ability to manage their child's behaviour.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official's conversation with the parent during the PI/court proceedings also focussed on the parent's support system and the parent's need for support to cope during the child justice process.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official's conversation with the parent during the PI/court proceedings also focussed on the parent's need for support to help manage their child's behaviour to prevent re-offending.	Yes	Partially	No	

The CJ official shared and discussed the content of the assessment report with the parent.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official elicited responses from the parent about the content of the assessment report.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official elicited responses from the parent about the PI/court proceedings.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official discussed diversion and confirmed parental consent before issuing an order for diversion.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official explained the diversion order and the parent's responsibilities in ensuring the child's compliance with the diversion order.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official explained the legal consequences for the parent if the child fails to comply with the diversion order.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official elicited and discussed with parents their (the parent's) needs and concerns in monitoring their child's compliance with the diversion order.	Yes	Partially	No	
List the parents' needs and concerns expressed about monitoring their child's compliance with the diversion order.	Parent's needs	Parent's concerns		

The CJ official considered the recommendations made by the probation officer in respect of the parent's needs and concerns.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official endorsed the recommendations and advised the parent to access and participate in the recommended services /programmes to address their concerns and needs.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official based on their own assessment of parents concerns and needs, advised the parent to access and participate in services /programmes to address their concerns and needs	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official asked the parent about their support system or discussed the parents need for support.	Yes	Partially	No	
List the support people or programmes/services parents expressed they have access to within their support system.	Support people/programmes/services parents have access to.			
List the support people or programmes/services parents expressed they need to have access to for support.	Support people/programmes/services parents need for support.			
The CJ official advised the Probation officer/Social worker to guide and help the	Yes	Partially	No	

parent access resources/services or programmes to address parents' concerns/needs.				
The CJ official provided the parent with emotional support throughout the PI/court proceedings by acknowledging parents feelings, empathising with the parent, re-assuring the parent.	Yes	Partially	No	
List the CJ official's behaviours that demonstrated that they supported the parent emotionally throughout the PI/court proceedings.	CJ official's supportive behaviours.			
The CJ official provided the parent with legal guidance throughout the PI/court proceedings.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official provided the parent with adequate and correct information on where to access services/resources/programmes to address parents' concerns and needs.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official explained to the parent the child justice process that will follow after the PI/Court proceedings.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official explained to the parent where to report for the diversion or next/court appearance and provided the parent with clear <u>verbal</u> directions to the diversion/court venue.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official explained to the parent where to report for the diversion or next court appearance and provided the parent with clear <u>written</u> directions to the diversion/court venue.	Yes	Partially	No	

The CJ official prepared the parent for what will happen during the diversion/next court appearance.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official elicited the parent's understanding of the information provided.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official listened to the parent's reactions and concerns with undivided attention.	Yes	Partially	No	
The CJ official was able to answer the parent's questions competently.	Yes	Partially	No	
List the concerns the parent expressed to the CJ official.	Concerns expressed by the parent.			
The CJ official provided the parent information on resources, services or programmes where the parent can access assistance to address their concerns.	Yes	Partially	No	
List the names of resources, services or programmes the CJ officer referred the parent to for assistance to address the parent's concerns.	Names of resources/services/programmes			
The CJ official provided the parent with support to address their concerns.	Yes	Partially	No	

Describe the support the Child Justice official provided to the parent to address their concerns.	Support provided by the CJ official.			
The parent appeared comfortable to ask the CJ official questions.	Yes	Partially	No	
List the questions parents asked the CJ official during the PI/court proceedings.				
The parents appeared comfortable to ask the CJ official for assistance.	Yes	Partially	No	
List the behaviours of the parent that indicated that they were comfortable to ask the CJ official for assistance.	Parent behaviours observed:			
Describe the assistance parents asked for during their engagement with the CJ official.	Assistance asked by the parent:			

<p>List the behaviours of the CJ official that made the parent feel comfortable to ask the CJ official for assistance.</p>	<p>CJ officials behaviours observed:</p>			
<p>Describe the assistance the CJ official provided to the parent during their engagement with the parent.</p>	<p>Assistance provided by CJ official to the parent.</p>			
<p>Throughout the PI/court appearance the CJ official treated the parent with respect and dignity which includes addressing the parent in a respectful tone, not speaking down to the parent, not raising their voice to the parent, not</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Partially</p>	<p>No</p>	

ignoring the parent, acknowledging what the parent says, acknowledging the parent's feelings.				
List the CJ official's behaviours that demonstrated respect for the parent's dignity.	CJ official's behaviours that demonstrate respect for the parent.			
The CJ official provided the parent with information and contact details of where to report any complaints about the CJ official's conduct.	Yes	Partially	No	
Observer reflection: What aspects hindered the CJ official & parent's interaction?		Observer reflection: What aspects helped the CJ official & parent's interaction?		

Addendum 6: Appendix linked to chapter 4.9.3

Consent form



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Consent form

I, _____, agree to participate in this research by allowing the field observer to observe me in my place of work and during my engagement with parents of children in conflict with the law.

The following points have been explained to me;

1. Participation is entirely voluntary and I can withdraw my consent at any time.
2. The focus of this research is on developing a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law.
3. Although no discomfort or stress is foreseen, should I experience any discomfort or stress I reserve the right not to answer any question at any time during the observation sessions.
4. Should I experience discomfort or distress the researcher will provide details of counselling services available at the Psychological Services Centre at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, NICRO or psychologists in private practice.
5. Participation in this research is entirely confidential and information will not be released in any individually identifiable form. I however understand that should my conduct endanger the safety or infringe the rights of any person during the course of the observation session that the field observer will be legally required to share such information with the relevant authorities.
6. The researcher will answer any questions I wish to ask about this research now or during the course of the research process.

Signature of participant

Signature of researcher

date

Signature of research supervisor

Researcher: Zurina Abdulla

Email: Zurina.Abdulla@nmmu.ac.za

Tel: 041 5044821

Research supervisor: Veonna Goliath Email: veonna.goliath@nmmu.ac.za Tel: 041 5042197

Addendum 7: Appendix linked to chapter 4.11.1 Participant letter



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Department of Social Development Professions

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Zurina.Abdulla@mandela.ac.za

Date: _____

Dear Participant

I am a social worker currently employed as a lecturer at the Social development Professions Department within the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University and am studying towards a Doctorate Degree in Social Development Professions at the University. One of the requirements of the degree programme is that I complete a research study. Since 1999 I have been actively involved in rendering Social Work services to children in conflict with the law and their parents. I have had the privilege of working hand in hand with parents who support their children in becoming responsible and law abiding citizens. The challenges faced by parents or guardians whose children have been in conflict with the law are complex and in terms of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 parents have specific responsibilities in monitoring and supporting their child.

The focus of my study will therefore be on understanding the support needs of parents or guardians whose children have been in conflict with the law and in partnership with parents as well as Child Justice Officials develop a practice model for supporting parents of children in conflict with the law.

This research study can only be conducted if I am able to obtain participants who would not mind sharing their experiences on the question posed above and is willing to share their insights on how parents can be supported during the child justice process. To this end I would need to conduct focus groups, consultation sessions and reflective sessions with Child Justice Officials and parents of children who have appeared at the Nerina One Stop Youth Justice centre or the Uitenhage Reception, Assessment and referral Centre from Between June 2016 and November 2017. The dates, time and location of the sessions will be discussed with you during a briefing session that will be held on a date to be confirmed. The content of the focus groups, consultation sessions and reflective sessions will be audio recorded, but at all times confidentiality and privacy will be ensured. The study will conform to the ethical guidelines and requirements of the university, and I will enter into individual confidentiality agreements with each person interviewed and involved in the research process.

My research supervisor is Dr Veonna Goliath, and she can be contacted at 041-5042197 or Veonna.Goliath@nmmu.ac.za. My contact details are 041 5044821.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter and I hope to hear from you.

Yours sincerely

Ms. Z Abdulla

Prof B Pretorius

DPhil Social Work Student

Research supervisor

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Addendum 8: Appendix linked to chapter 5.1 & 5.5.1

Parents' experiences during and after the CJP as a context for their support needs

Theme 1 Parents' experience during the CJP

To contextualise parents' concerns and support needs during the CJP parents first described their experiences during the CJP as this helped them to reflect on their concerns and support needs. Even the parents who participated in the pilot phase focus groups extensively shared their experience of going through the CJP. The need for parents to share their experience could be understood at two levels. Firstly, most of the participants reported that they did not have an opportunity prior to the focus group to share their experience during the CJP. Secondly, due to the significant stress or trauma experienced by parents during the CJP, parents experienced their child and their journey through the CJP as a significant life event worthy of sharing. It was found that parents shared similar experiences in terms of their emotions during the charge/arrest and trial phase, which manifested in a variety of behavioural responses from parents. Although the focus for all the focus groups were on the CJP, parents articulated their struggles with managing their children's misbehavior prior to their children's clash with the law and some parents explained that they sought professional assistance but struggled to find any support. The findings suggest that parents were experiencing difficulties with managing their children's at-risk behaviour, particularly children's substance abuse, prior to their children's clash with the law. It was further found that parents sought assistance first from their local police then from social workers however, most parents found no assistance from these professionals. The findings also indicated that parents struggled to manage their children's behaviour while their children attended the diversion programme, while their children were on trial and after their child's completion of the CJP. Parents also experienced increased demands on their finances to cover the transport costs to attend child justice procedures and diversion programme sessions. Parents expressed their need for various types of support however; parents were unanimous in their need for ongoing professional support prior to, during and after the CJP. Their needs mostly related to the increased stress, depression and hopelessness felt as they struggled to cope with their child's misbehavior and particularly their child's substance abuse. The findings showed that parents felt helpless and disillusioned with the lack of support from the police, social workers/probation officers and the courts throughout the CJP and proposed ways in which support could be offered by the CJS. The following subthemes and categories will elaborate further on the findings in respect of parents' experiences during the CJP.

Sub theme 1.1 Parents' experience of the charge/arrest stage

The findings indicate that parents' interaction with the police was experienced as positive for some and negative for others. The findings suggest that half of the parents experienced the police's approach and attitude during the charge or arrest stage as abrupt. Six parents described the attitude of the police as causing them to feel disrespected and two parents stated that the police could have asked them to call their children into the house rather than arresting their children in full view of the community. One of these parents described how the police had chased the child around the community, which aggravated the stigma the child later experienced in the community. The findings suggest that parents received reports from at least two children of alleged physical assault by the police with one child alleging the police used a Taser gun and the other child alleging the police kicked him. In both cases parents were informed of the reporting channels to follow to report the alleged abuse during the arrest stage however, both parents felt that they had no physical evidence so could not lay a formal complaint with the authorities. Some of the parents reflected their experience of the charge/ arrest stage as follows:

Participant 10 (mother) En, toe kom hulle daar en hulle kom vra nou na die twee kinders en ek vra, "in verband met wat?" "Ons kom neem hulle in hegtenis want hulle het iemand gesteek"... Daai attitude (houding). "Hoor hier" sê die een vir my "hoe langer jy vat, hoe langer gaan die kinders aangehou word. So maak laat jou kinders net klaar maak en kom". Ek sê, "julle praat met ons asof ons geskeurde lappe is". Ek was so kwaad dat die manier hoe hulle met jou kom praat het, het my verskriklik ontstel. (And, then they came there and they asked for the two children, and I asked "in connection with what?" "We came to arrest them because they stabbed someone"...That attitude..."Listen here" says the one to me "the longer you take, the longer your children will be detained. So see to it that your children finish and come." I said, "you speak to us as if we are torn rags". I was so angry with the manner in which they spoke to you, it upset me terribly).

Participant 1 (the mother): Daai speurder het nou nie gekom en kom klop nie "Goeie middag is U [noem kind] se mammie? En ek sê ja. Ek kom soek vir [naam van kind] in verband met die saak." Sommer so in die straat in het hy die kind gevat. Kom jy [noem kind] klim in hierse. (The investigator now did not come and come knock "Good afternoon are you (name's child) mommy? And I say yea. I came to look for (name's child) in connection with the case." Just like that in the street, he took the child. Come here (name's child" climb in here.)

At least three parents from the pilot phase focus groups reported that the police were friendly, listened to them and tried to assist.

Participant 13 (mother): Die speurder wat daar was by my huis. Hy was bedagsaam. Hy het die saak gehoor ... en hy sê ... ek gaan hom nie arresteer nie ... maar ek moet my werk doen. Ek moet hom polieskamp toe vat en moeder moet nou saam gaan laat ons statement (verklaring) aflê"... Polieskamp toe nou gegaan en hulle was vriendelik ..., en hier (by die hof) ook gekom, die dienste was ook goed. (The investigator who was at my house. He was very courteous. He listened to the case...and he says...I will not arrest him...but I must do my work. I have to take him to the police station and mother must now come with so that we can take a statement...To the police station we went and they were friendly, and here at the court the services were good.)

Although CJOs struggle to locate some parents during the arrest stage, in this study most of the parents were located and notified of their child's charge/arrest within twenty-four hours. Police indicated in theme eight that they are trained to be "hard" and do not always know how to interact with parents who may need empathy or support. During the observations the findings indicated that when the general public and in particular one parent engaged with the police that they were helpful and friendly. One of the police stations even had a sign stating that no complainant must be turned away without receiving assistance.

Category 1.1.1 Parents' experience a lack of information about child justice procedures

It was found that most of the parents experienced a lack of information on the CJP. Many of the parents reported that they were only told about where they must take their child for the assessment and court appearance however; were not told what exactly would happen during assessment or at the court. The findings suggest that parents felt lost during the charge/arrest stage and this feeling persisted when they proceeded to the courts where they had to see the Probation officer for assessment. Parents at both research sites reported a lack of information on the CJP as they received no written information from the CJOs and verbal information were provided inconsistently. The observations conducted prior to the pilot revealed that the sites had limited to no written information for parents on the Child Justice Act 75/2008 (South Africa, 2009), the child justice procedures or the child justice role players. Although this information was contained in colourful English posters in the waiting areas during the pilot, parents reported that they wanted the child justice process and procedures to be explained to them by CJOs. This is consistent with the CJOs' views that parents do not understand the CJP and CJOs have to explain the process to them (see theme 6 subtheme 6.2). This finding could be understood in the context of parents feeling overwhelmed during this stage by their child's charge/arrest, by the court environment or by the volume of information contained in the posters on the child justice procedures. Lastly, it must be noted that many of the parents entering the

CJS only speak English as a second or third language while some parents may also have low levels of literacy. It was found that parents experienced the lack of information in terms of directions (signage) at the court of where to report for the assessment or court also overwhelming increasing their feelings of being lost in the system. This was especially experienced by parents attending court in Uitenhage, which is not a one-stop child justice centre, but a normal court. The parents reflected as follows:

Participant 10 (mother): Daar was nie regtig vir ons gesê nie. Agterna het hulle gekom om vir ons te kom sê daar gaan 'n social worker kom – ons gaan daai social worker sien, dan gaan ons daar vandaan af hof toe... Baie keer is dit...ek het nie geweet wat om te verwag nie... Dis hulle houdings, het my heeltemaal afgesit. (It was not really said to us. Afterwards they came to us to say, there will be a Social worker who will come, we will see that social worker, then we will go to court from there...Many times it is...I did not know what to expect...It is their attitudes, it put me completely off.)

Participant 3 (Maternal aunt guardian): they don't care at the court they will call you and then you stay at their office for hours even you get lost, you don't know what is happening. They neglect you there at the court, I don't know what is happening there because I was staying there for, for almost it was two hours [participant 7 agrees "mm"] The guy called me and then I was staying there and they still didn't tell me what to do, when, what was going to happen and they I just stayed there, alone with [names the child] in that office not knowing whether I was going to, go in front of the magistrate or not.

Majority of parents involved in the study indicated that it had been their first encounter with the CJS and this may have contributed to the lack of knowledge about the CJS. Parents seemed to have a general knowledge that there would be a court and the magistrate but did not understand the processes and the role players' functions. Parents' level of knowledge of their children's and their own rights, responsibilities and roles during the CJP was not revealed during the study however, parents seemed to encourage their children to be honest with the police and understood that they as parents had to attend the court processes.

Category 1.1.2 Emotions experienced by parents during the charge/arrest stage

As alluded to earlier, the findings showed that most parents experienced their child's arrest as a shock and reported feeling emotions such as trauma and confusion. Majority of the parents experienced the charge/arrest stage as stressful with one parent expressing her distress that the child lied to the police. One parent reported that she felt obligated to accompany her child during the CJP based on her child's report of alleged verbal and physical abuse by police during the arrest stage. Similarly, another parent

felt she had to protect her two children during the process as they were wrongly accused. It was also found that many parents felt angry towards their children for being charged or arrested with only one parent reporting that he physically assaulted his child in front of the police, as he was so angry. It is important to note that the parent also alleged that the police did not intervene to stop him from hitting his child.

Participant 1 (mother): Hulle is gevang vir die moord, daai hy sê die polies man het so geskop aan hulle. En vertel hulle van julle is mos Katanganaars (derogatory reference to their community), julle skiet gun en hy wil by hulle weet wie gee vir julle die gunne? Wie stuur julle om te gaan skiet? Sulke tiepe goete het hulle oor gekom in die selle in hier onder. Is dit wat my so baie om gekrap het, dat ek gesê het ek wil nie dat hulle alleen dit deur maak nie. (They were arrested for the murder, that he said the police man kicked them so. And told them that you are “mos” Katanganaars, you shoot guns and he wants to know from them who gives you the guns? Who sends you to go shoot? These are the type of things they experienced in the cells down here. This is what upset me so much, that I said I do not want them to go through it alone.)

Participant 3 (the aunt): we were shocked and then [voice raised from normal level] she (referring to the child) even lied to the police...so it was a stressful thing, trauma.

Participant 1 (mother) die kinders gaan nou toegesluit word want die saak het nou opgestaan. Is 'n skok daai gewees vir ons. Ons is ook deurmekaar nou, wat is dit dan nou? (the children will now be locked up because the case arose/came up again. That was a shock to us. We are also confused now, what is it now?)

All the parents experienced negative emotions upon hearing of their child's arrest and although few of the parents reported that, their child had been using drugs they still experienced shock when they were informed of their arrest. One parents' negative emotions was not only linked to her child's arrest but also her child's report to her of alleged verbal and physical abuse by the police.

Category 1.1.3 Parents' behavioural responses to their child's charge/arrest

The findings suggest that parents found the arrest phase stressful with one parent explaining how she could not sleep, as she was not aware that the child had been arrested and detained overnight. Three parents had heard from the community or the victim's parent that their children had allegedly committed a crime and the parents had taken their children to the police to verify the claims and ask for guidance from the police in terms of what will happen to the children. As discussed under the previous heading one parents' anger spilled over into physical violence towards his child and upon

reflection he noted that he was too angry to acknowledge the child's report of alleged physical abuse by the police. Participant three and five described their behaviour during the arrest stage as follows:

Participant 3 (the aunt): uh, it was stressful because...she didn't answer the phone...and I didn't sleep that night at all. I didn't know what was happening and then in the next morning the police come and told us she was arrested.

Participant 5 (father) I got very angry and I started assaulting him and then he told me the police assaulted him and showed me where they, on his tummy where they put that shock machine I said to him, I was cross at that moment I didn't worry what he's told me.

Participant 5 (the father): really, uh, I, I, I ill-treated my child in that time ...So I didn't care about, how, about his feelings about what he went through.

The emotions experienced by parents during the arrest stage seemed to have manifested in behaviours such as not being able to sleep and in the case of the father, he became aggressive to the extent that he assaulted his son in front of the police officers. It is important to note that while all the parents experienced emotions of stress or shock during the arrest stage only two parents described their behavioural response.

Category 1.1.4 Health issues experienced by parents because of their child's arrest

One parent reported experiencing a deterioration in her health because of the child's arrest causing her to experience panic attacks. This parent also reported having to seek medical assistance from her doctor to prescribe medication for recurring or frequent panic attacks after her child's arrest.

Participant 1 (the mother): Dit is mos my kind se klip wat nou die kind dood gegooi het. Ek het nie geweet van die anders wat ook involved is nie. Dit het my ook getrap, ek het nou net daai wat ek amper elke tweede dag of elke derde dag dan het ek net daai, dan kry ek daai angsaanvalle. (It is "mos" my child's stone that now killed the child. I did not know about the others who are also involved. That also shook/rattled me, I now have that where almost every second day or every third day then I just have that, then I get those panic attacks.)

Although most of the parents experienced their child's charge/arrest as stressful, the one parent's stress impacted on her psychological wellbeing in that she experienced what she described as panic attacks. Given that a child's arrest, particularly their arrest for alleged murder, is a life-changing event for the parent and child, it is reasonable to understand the psychological distress experienced by the parent.

Subtheme 1.2 Parents' experience during the Diversion stage

Some parents experienced the diversion stage as positive whilst a few highlighted their concerns about the timing, intensity and impact of the diversion programme. It was found that some parents experienced the diversion stage positively as they could meet with the Diversion Programme facilitator to briefly discuss their children's behaviour and they reportedly noted a positive change in their child's behaviour. Two parents whose children had completed the diversion programme expressed concern that the programme was not intensive enough and as a result, their children continued to abuse illegal substances during and after the diversion programme. It was found that parents struggled to manage their children's behaviour during the diversion stage and two parents raised their concern about the negative peer influence of the children attending the diversion programme on each other. These findings will be elaborated on in the following categories. These two parents explained their concern about the negative peer influences by fellow diversion attendees:

Participant 15 (mother) Van die wat ek begin loop het wat ek Mr ... (Diversion Social worker) ontmoet het, is ek tevrede met dit. Maar die, is nou net een dingetjie wat my pla, die kinders wat saam loop, nie laat ek ander mense se kinders blameer nie. Die kinders wat saam loop gaan dit, gaan hulle 'n goeie invloed het op mekaar of wat (With this that I started walking that I met Mr... (Diversion Social worker), I am satisfied with that. But this, it is now just one thing that bothers me, the children who walks together, not that I'm blaming other people's children. The children who walks together will it, will they have a good influence on each other or what)

Participant 16 (mother) Daar is 'goedte' wat die kinders in die groep, daar is baie slegte 'goete' wat hulle leer. Nie in die klas wat hulle sit nie, miskien nou ja, as hulle loop en daai geselsies en goetjies... (There are things that the children in the group, there are a lot of bad things that they learn. Not in the class where they sit, maybe yes, if they walk and those talks and things...)

The diversion programmes are aimed at addressing children's at risk behaviour and focused on children as the primary target for intervention. The limited involvement of parents and families in the programme through joint sessions and counselling sessions may limit the long-term impact of the programme. Expanding diversion programmes to include parents and families of diverted children in a meaningful way as collaborators to ensure achievement of the diversion outcomes is vital in addressing children's at-risk behaviour. Involving parents' of diverted children in counselling, parenting skills and offering support to parents could help parents sustain their children's behaviour change after completion of the diversion programme.

Category 1.2.1 Parents' experience of their child's substance abuse relapse during the diversion programme

The findings indicate that parents find their children's continued substance abuse as stressful. Two parents reported that their children continued to abuse drugs despite them attending and completing the diversion programme. One parent reported that her husband hit her son when he found out that he is still abusing drugs. Another parent shared that not long after her child completed the diversion programme he reoffended and was arrested for possession of an illegal substance. This mother reported that her child was in custody awaiting trial. One father reported that he felt children should undergo drug testing while attending the diversion programme to monitor their drug use or abstinence. Majority of the parents whose children had or were still attending the diversion programme due to drug related cases shared their concern about whether their children will refrain from substance abuse now that they had attended or was attending the diversion programme. This finding further points to the need for such diversion programmes to be inclusive of parents of substance abusing children in interventions aimed at supporting and guiding parents during their child's recovery.

The mother of a substance-abusing child explained as follows:

Participant 2 (the mother): In my case, um, like I said, it just took a little bit too long to start the program. The child was um, trespassing the law at that time and then 2 months after that the program started okay in meantime, he was trying it (drugs) again and his father beat him also up.

An underlying issue raised by this finding is the need to ensure that the diversion programmes offered to children for substance abuse must be designed to provide drug treatment to CCL on a long-term outpatient and in-patient basis depending on the child's level of addiction and choice of drug. This finding further points to the need for such diversion programmes to be inclusive of parents of substance abusing children in interventions aimed at supporting and guiding parents as well as families during their child's recovery. The findings also support the notion that dealing with children's substance abuse warrants a multi-systemic approach. This require all micro systems and macro systems to work colloratively to reduce opportunity for children to access drugs in their communities, to sensitise children to the benefit of engaging in pro-social activities and supporting children already abusing drugs to have access to in-and out-patient drug treatment. Having a coordinated approach within the CJS to supporting parents when their children are engaging in substance abuse is important in ensuring parents feel competent in managing their children's substance abuse. Parents must also

have information on where to access support and services when they recognise their child's continued drug use which could lead to their re-arrest.

The delay in the diversion programme starting after children's diversion was highlighted as a concern. One parent explained that the starting date of the diversion programme was too far from when the child was ordered to attend the diversion programme. It was found that the child had abused drugs again while he was waiting for the diversion programme to commence. The finding show that parents also needed clarity from the diversion social worker on what would happen after the child's completion of the diversion programme. This finding points to parents' realities in terms of their children continuing the behaviour or conduct for which they were arrested for and having to manage their child while there has been no intervention due to the delay. Additionally this finding imply that the parent expect the diversion programme to help the child deal with their substance abuse. The mother explained the delay in the diversion and the child's subsequent relapse in the following excerpt.

Participant 2 (mother): he was to go into a NICRO program for 6 weeks. The program took a little bit for me... long to start because everything is not in place. They told us in 2 weeks' time um, they're gonna start with the program but actually it started only in June for, so in June, no in May it started right through until July he came here every Wednesday for the program and after that we had to come to the last day we came with them, the parents and um, they had now to say what they learnt and whatever. So, I don't know if they... I asked the, the, the social worker what's happening next. So she said the assessment that they did is now going to the magistrate and then they will, I don't know if there's gonna be a date again I wasn't sure.

Participant 2 (the mother): In my case, um, like I said, it just took a little bit too long to start the program The child was um, trespassing the law at that time and then 2 months after that the program started.

This finding points to parents' realities in terms of their children continuing the behaviour or conduct for which they were arrested for and having to manage their child while there has been no intervention due to the delay. Additionally, this finding imply that the parent expect the diversion programme to help the child deal with their substance abuse. The need therefore exist for children along with their parents to be engaged in family counselling and be linked to support groups from the moment they entered the CJS. This will enable both the child and parents to access the necessary therapeutic services and support to address the substance abuse with the diversion programme supplementing or complementing these services or support.

Parents also raised their concerns about the Impact of diversion programme as they expected children's behaviour, especially their substance abuse, to change after they had attended the diversion programme. Most of the parents' whose substance-abusing children completed or attended the diversion programme found that their children continued to abuse drugs, their behaviour changed somewhat but not substantially. It was found that parents struggled to manage their children's behaviour and one parent related how her child's behaviour has changed while he is in custody. She was however concerned about how she would cope after his release. It was found that parents experienced the impact of the diversion programme on their children's behaviour to be short-lived and parents felt ill equipped to manage their children's misbehaviour after their children had completed the diversion programme.

Participant 2 (the mother): I would also say like, when, from the start of, of what happened to your child um, okay I was by the social worker, I, I had the social worker appointed and then he, uh, um, referred me to the other one that's gonna start the program but in that time there was nothing. So you don't know how to deal with the child at home. What must you do? Because we try to restrict him to be at home but you can't do that all the time you know, you're not around the child all the time. So you don't know how to, to, to manage him.

A concern raised by this finding is that the lack of impact on these children result in them being at risk of developing drug dependency and addiction patterns, which further increase their risk of recidivism. It is critical to ensure that children are adequately assessed to determine their level of substance abuse and their treatment must involve linking them with the appropriate intervention. It also points to the need for adequate after care services inclusive of parenting support to enable parents to manage and cope with their children's substance abuse and support their treatment goals.

Category 1.2.2 Parents' experience of increased financial demands during the diversion stage

It was found that one parent experienced an increased demand on his finances, as he had to budget extra for petrol to take his child to the weekly Diversion programme sessions. Notably this parent had to travel twenty-five kilometers once a week for the duration of the diversion programme. Most parents whose children attended the diversion programme did not note this as a concern as the one parent had her own vehicle and the other parents' lived within walking distance of the diversion programme venue.

Participant 5 (father) for 2 months I spent R1200 of petrol for the 2 months coming here, up and down, uh, (referring to the diversion programme and venue).

This parents' concern is directly linked to subcategory 1.3.4.2 as he was not reimbursed for his travel costs to court proceedings due to him being a government employee. Due to the spread of area across the Nelson Mandela metro district it is unlikely that diversion programmes will be accessible for all children in their area of residence resulting in some parents having to provide transport or taxi-fare for their children to attend these programme sessions. Funding of accredited diversion programmes should therefore be inclusive of funding taxi-fare for children to attend the programme sessions or funding of venues that are accessible within communities.

Subtheme 1.3 Parents' experience during the trial stage

The findings show that parents expected the presiding officer or magistrate to give parents an opportunity to discuss their concerns and one parent wanted to give input on their child's sentence. The findings indicate that one parent expected the Social worker to discuss the child's problems with the parent with the view to understand the problem, the parents' concerns or needs and provide a solution to the problem. Although parents alluded to their need to speak to a social worker during their children's trial, only this parent described her need for a Social work assessment that includes her as a parent. It was found that parents' understood the assessment to be focused on the child for the purpose of the court however; the need for parents to receive support especially in managing their child's behaviour would mainly be ascertained during the assessment process. One mother voiced her experience that the magistrate's suspended sentence did not consider her inability to control the child's aggressive drug addiction related behaviour.

Participant 14 (mother): Ek voel nie tevrede, met die straf wat die magistraat vir hom uitgedien het nie... ek wou gehad het..., ek het gedink hulle gaan vra vir die ouer iets vra om te sê, voor hulle hom 'n straf gee. Ek wou vir haar gesê het, "edelagbare, net vir tien minute, gee my net tien of vyf minute gou kans laat ek gou net explain ... Wat wou gehad het is dat soos die proefbeampte vir my het hulle gaan hom weg stuur. Dit gaan, dit gaan sy straf wees en skool loop daar. Hy gaan sy skool loopbaan vol, voltooi... Ek wil net nie gehad het hy moet weer in my sorg geplaas wees het nie. En die feit is dit, hy doen nog steeds dieselfde., hy verkoop sy 'goedte', hy verkoop sy klere, ...hy is aggressief, hy is manipulative (manipulerend),... ek kan hom net nie control (beheer) nie. (I do not feel satisfied, with the sentence that the magistrate served him with... I wanted..., I thought they will ask the parent to say something, before they give him a sentence. I wanted to tell her, "your honour, just for ten minutes, give me a chance of only ten or five minutes so that I can just explain quickly... What I wanted is what the probation officer told me that they will send him away. That will, that will be his sentence and he will attend school there. He will complete his schooling career... I did not want him to be placed in my

care again. And the fact is that, he still does the same..., he sells his things, he sells his clothes, ...he is aggressive, he is manipulative,... I just cannot control him.”)

Participant 14 (Mother): Hulle moet vir ons as ouer ‘n spesifieke social worker (maatskaplike werker) gee met n sielkundige want dit, dit is regtig ‘n depressie.... dan moet hulle vir ons soos ‘n, ‘n magistraat gee wat vir, saam met die ouer en die kind kan sit. En die social worker (maatskaplike werker) en sien waar, 'waantoe' gaan die probleem. Is die probleem, uh, is daar, uh, uh, uh, uh oplossing, ‘n solution (solution) vir die probleem of kan ek maar die kind uit die ma se sorg (verwyder). Okay, die ma is daar. Hoe voel die ma? Soos ek op die oomblik voel, ek sal vir die magistraat sê ek wil hom nie in my sorg hê nie. (They should give us as parent a specific social worker with a psychologist because it, it is really a depression... then they should give us like a, a magistrate who will sit with the parent and the child. And the social worker should see where the problem is going to. Is the problem, uh, is there, uh, uh, uh, uh solution, for the problem or can I remove the child from the mother’s care. Okay, the mother is there. How does the mother feel? The way I feel at this moment, I would tell the magistrate that I do not want him in my care.)

Similarly, the pre-pilot observation findings showed that parents were present in court and when assessments were conducted however, they were not provided with an opportunity to engage the magistrate or the probation officer. Parents could not raise their concerns about their child, about their ability/inability to manage the child’s behaviour and their view on the probation officer’s recommendation or the magistrates’ decision to place the child in their care. This finding also links to the views expressed by CJOs that parents need social work assessment and intervention (see sub-theme 6.2). Parents’ being involved in assessment, intervention and throughout the CJP to facilitate their active engagement in the process and services seem to be a mutual need shared by parents and CJOs however; creating opportunity for their active involvement is a challenge at present. Addressing this challenge is at the centre of ensuring parents are supported during the CJP as support can only be offered when parents are deliberately and actively involved by CJOs throughout the process.

Category 1.3.1 Emotions experienced by parents during the trial stage

The findings show that most parents found the trial stage stressful. This parent (participant 5) reflected on how difficult it was for him to stand in front of the magistrate having to explain his situation. In this instance, the parent had an opportunity to explain his situation to the magistrate however felt that despite the difficulties he shared with the magistrate that it had no impact. The findings show that when the trial process does not proceed speedily and parents do not know what is happening in the case that parents found it stressful. One parent (participant 7) reflected on the emotions she experienced at not knowing what is happening with the child’s case.

Participant 5 (father): So there I had to stand that was shocked for me to stand there, ... standing there then I just suddenly broke into tears my wife is sick at home, uh, my daughter is pregnant so all that stuff is going through my mind and... but that didn't help.

Parent 7 Guardian-sister: I don't know what's going on what is gonna happen to [names the child] and this case you see, like this thing is like traumatising me.

Parents seemed to experience the trial process as highly stressful particularly when their views had no influence on the magistrate, as it appears parents felt that they were providing context for their current situation. This finding points to CJOs, including magistrates, providing parents opportunity to share their struggles however; not necessarily empathising with parents' daily struggles with their children and their families. The lack of empathy from CJOs when parents do share their concerns may inhibit parents' disclosure and discourage parents from seeking support to address their concerns.

Category 1.3.2 Victim retaliation experienced by parents during the trial stage

The findings showed that two parents experienced their children being intimidated or threatened by the victims' friends while their child was on trial and placed in parental care. The threatening behaviour included stone throwing, entering the one parents' home with a knife looking for the child and breaking the one parents' house windows. Both mothers shared how their children could not walk in the street or walk to school. It was found that parents had reported the threats to the police and was advised to take out a protection order against the intimidators or lay formal charges against them. Both parents reported that despite police responding to their calls for help that the threats persisted. One mother resorted to walking her children to school every day and fetching them after school so that she could protect them from the victims' friends. The other parent kept the child out of school and at times had to pay taxi fare so he could go to school. Both mothers had reported the intimidation to the police and its management however, the threats continued.

Participant 1 (mother): Ek staan daar in die kombuis in, hulle kom soek vir [her child who perpetrated the crime]. ... My ma skrik ook toe nou wat gaan nou aan [names a person]. Al daai het op my gewerk. So gepak want aanhou moet ek dink watse kant toe. (I stood there in the kitchen, they came to search for [her child who perpetrated the crime]... My mother was also shocked for what is going on now [names a person]. All of that worked on me. Packed because I always had to think which way to go.)

This finding points to a gap within the CJS as it leaves children still in the trial stage vulnerable to victim retaliation and as found in the current study parents having to protect their children during the trial stage. It is understood that while the trial is underway that the offender and their family may not

contact the victim and their family as it may be viewed as them interfering with witnesses. Probation officers have a critical role to play in ensuring children and their families' access services and protection from police during the trial phase to ensure their safety. It also points to the need for victim support services to be linked to victims of children involved in the CJS so that victims can access the necessary support to deal with the trauma related to the crime rather than seek revenge or retaliate.

Category 1.3.3 Role overload experienced by parents during the trial stage

The findings show that female participants mostly accompanied children to court appearances and ensured children desisted from crime. Only one of the fathers who participated in the study had the responsibility of taking his child to court appearances and this was because he is a widow. It was found that parents, especially single parents, like the widowed father experienced increased demands on their role as parent during the trial phase often compounded by the existing demands already placed on them as parents. One divorced parent described feeling alone during the trial stage, as she had to fend for all her children on her own without meaningful family support.

Participant 7 (the guardian): uh, because of I don't have any support from anyone uh, I'm fighting all these battles alone even though I have family but they would just "okay, shame, what are you gonna do now?" That's the end. Now I don't have anyone, whom I can share all these things, all these things are happening to me because all these things are happening to my kids they are all in me now. So I was thinking, I don't know, where must I go or whom must I talk to .

Parents often have to deal with competing demands on their energies and their time even more so when they have more than one child, when they are single parents and when they are employed. Parents are generally more invested the younger their children are and their load is expected to gradually reduce as their children grow into adolescents however with children who clash with the law this is often not the case. Parents are faced with having to increase their level of practical support, emotional support and monitoring efforts when children are involved in the CJS, which may negatively affect parents' wellbeing.

The findings showed that single parents felt overwhelmed by their parental responsibilities particularly within the context of their child's substance abusing behaviour and during the trial process. Just under half of the parents involved in the study were single and struggled to cope with having to manage their children's behaviour on their own during the trial phase. The two grandmothers cited in the quotes below shared their struggles in having sole parental responsibility for their grandsons with one grandmother reaching out to the police for assistance and failing to

receive assistance as promised. The other grandmother stressed the emotional toll of the difficulties she experienced. She alluded to the need for help and her feeling helpless to the extent that she feels that it is not worth living. The two participants shared their experiences as single parents as follows:

Participant 16 (mother): Ek het vir hom gesê ek wil die sup sien. En ek het gaan... ek het hom gesê waardeur ek gaan. En ek't hom gesê, "jy weet daar is nie 'n man in die huis nie, is ek, ek is ma. En hy het vir my gesê, "Maggie, ek sal kyk wat ek kan doen. Ek sal kyk kan ek 'n social worker (maatskaplike werker) na jou toe stuur. Kan ek iemand na jou toe stuur om jou te kan help deur die proses met die kinders, om te kom gesêls met die kinders maar tot hierdie uur toe het niks nog gebeur nie. Is nou sê is nou drie weke terug wat ek met dit sit. Ek sit nou nog net waar ek is en sit en wag, niks gebeur nie. ...Maar na wie toe gaan n mens? Na wie toe gaan jy in so geval? (I told him that I want to see the sup. And I went... I told him what I'm going through. And I told him, "you know that there is no man in the house, it is me, I am the mother." And he told me, "Maggie, I will see what I can do. I will see whether I can send a social worker to you. Can I send someone to you to help you through the process with the children, to come and talk to the children but to this hour nothing has happened yet. It's now about, it's now for three weeks that I'm sitting with it. I'm still sitting just where I am, sitting and waiting, nothing happens. ...But who does one go to? Who do you go to in a case like this?)

Participant 19 (Grandmother) ...en daar is nie hulp nie, daar is niemand wat naby jou kom en wat kan sê, " kom ons gaan dit doen om te help, niemand is daar nie. Jy as ouer, as ma, ver naam as jy ma alleen is, en daar is nie pa in die huis nie. Is dit baie swaar, is moeilik om, so ding deur te kan gaan met 'n kind wat jy nie weet watter kant toe nie. En, en eerlik gesproke, Nie net hulle, om ons ouers, om die ouers te kan help. Want mevrou dis vir jou drasties, is nie soos ek nou vir jou hier sê nie maar jy sal by jouself ook sien is nie die moeite werd om se te kan leef nie. (...and there are no help, there is no one that comes close to you who can say, "come we will do this to help, nobody is there. You as parent, as mother, especially when you're alone, and there is no father in the house. It is very difficult, it is hard to, to go through such a thing with a child where you don't know which way to go. And, honestly speaking, not only them, but us parents, to be able to help the parents. Because ma'am it is drastic, it is not like I'm telling you now but you will also see for yourself that it is not worth living like this.)

Single parents carry an increased load, as they are solely responsible for all parenting responsibilities. Given the high number of children who are raised in single parent and single grandparent headed families there is a great need for support to be offered to these families. Based on the findings of the present study, single parents' struggled during the trial phase and approached professionals for

support as their children were not in school and they seemed to be the matriarch in the family responsible for the care of their whole family including the extended family.

Category 1.3.4 Increased financial demands experienced by parents during the trial stage

During the trial stage, it is expected of parents to attend the court proceedings with their child and given that children mostly appear either at the one magistrate's court or the One Stop Youth Justice Centre, most parents have to use their money for taxi fare to attend court. Although parents are reimbursed for, their taxi fare which range between R60 and R45. Parents are expected to first get themselves to court and then claim the taxi fare back when they are at court. It was found that some parents were not in a financial position to fund their taxi fare to court then claim it back resulting in them having to borrow money to pay for transport. One of the parents explained that she would arrange for a lift from a family member or the pastor then pay them for the transport. This finding must be understood within the context of the parents' unemployment, which may make it difficult for them to secure transport money during the trial phase.

Participant 6 (the mother): Ek moet as ek hier na toe kom met hom moet ek die priest vra om my hier na toe te bring. My swear vra my, hy bly in Missionvale hy vra my R100 as ek hier na toe moet kom vir hier na toe en huis toe. Die priest vra my nou, toe ek nou vir die met die priest praat laat ek nou voel dis te veel vir my. Party keer dan het ek nie eens geld, dan moet ek daai geld gaan leen. Toe sê die priest vir my [names a person] wanneer jy met [names a person] hof toe gaan dan kry jy maar net vir my 'n R50 of 'n R40 se petrol geld hier na toe en terug. (When I come here with him I have to ask the priest to bring me here. My brother-in-law asks me, he stays in Missionvale, he charges me R100 when I have to come here, to come here and to go back home. The priest asks me now, when I spoke to the priest about this, I now feel that it is too much for me. Sometimes I don't even have money, then I have to borrow that money. Then the priest told me [names a person] when you go to court with [names a person] then you just get me a R50 or a R40 towards petrol money to come here and to go back.)

Some of the parents indicated that they had to attend numerous court appearances, which meant that with every court appearance they had to make sure that they have transport money. Although parents could claim reimbursement of the transport costs at court, they did not always have money to get to court in the first place. Reflecting on the CJOs view that some parents fail to attend court proceedings, further investigation is needed to establish whether parents' absence during the CJP could be linked to the lack of transport or money for transport.

It was also found that parents were concerned about them not being able to pay bail, as they are unemployed and therefore not by the financial means. One parent was concerned about having to pay bail money when her child was arrested however, this parent's child was eventually released into her care during the trial phase with no payment of bail being required.

Participant 1 (mother): Ek sê vir hom ons werk nie, ons het nie geld nie. Ons Kan nie borg betaal nie. (I told him we do not work, we do not have money. We cannot pay for bail.)

Parents' experiencing increased financial strain during the CJP can cause stress especially when they are not by the means to meet anticipated financial demands. Parents having access to tangible support or perceiving support to be available during times of financial strain buffer them against negative psychological effects of experiencing financial stress. Therefore, informing parents of available financial reimbursements for court attendance and waiver of bail in cases where parents are unemployed could reduce parents' anxiety about anticipated financial implications of their child's involvement in the CJS.

Theme 2 Challenges experienced by parents outside of the CJS during the CJP

This theme relates to the meso level and to a lesser extent the macro level challenges parents experienced during the CJP. Parents experienced various challenges within the context of the parent-child relationship, the family setting, the school setting and the community setting during the CJP. The findings suggest that while children were released into parental care during the CJP they struggled to manage their children's behaviour particularly when their children were abusing drugs. A further finding indicate that parents experienced a lack of spousal and parental support to manage their children's behaviour and the increased demands placed on parents during the CJP. Parents' struggles with their child's school or teacher causes parents difficulty in ensuring their child's enrolment and attendance at school. Parents faced various community challenges including their child being stigmatised and threats to their safety in the community. Some parents face challenges of poverty, which they at times felt, placed them and their children at risk. These findings are elaborated upon under the following subthemes and categories.

6.5.2.1 Subtheme 2.1 Challenges parents' experienced in managing their child's behaviour during the CJP

- The findings implies that although most of the parents were found to be suitable by CJOs to have their children placed in their care majority of the parents reported that they struggled to manage their children's behaviour during the CJP. Most of the parents expressed that they could not control their children's behaviour. In some instances, their children were aggressive, they

could not always monitor their children's whereabouts or activities and in cases of substance abuse, the children continued to abuse drugs. Several parents shared their daily struggles in living with their substance-abusing children who resorted to demanding money or stealing money from parents to buy drugs. The one parent whose child was attending the diversion programme during the study shared her exasperation with her child's continued aggressive behaviour. She shared an incident with her child as follows:

Participant 14 (mother) Mevrou dit was ondraaglik ... hy soek geld, ... Ek het buite gestaan en ek het, ek het nie geweet wat om te doen nie... ek vrees vir my eie lewe die way (manier) daai kind aggresief is, die way (manier) hy wreed is. Dit lyk hy, hy kan my nou dood maak. (Ma'am it was unbearable... he looks for money, ...I stood outside and I, I did not know what to do... I fear for my own life the way that child is aggressive, the way he is cruel. It seems like he, he can kill me now.)

Participant 14: Ek kan hom nog steeds nie control nie want dit is nou al so ver, hy vat die kos geld. (I still cannot control him because it is so far already, he takes the food money now.)

The following parent reflected on the lack of support from CJOs for parents:

Participant 18 (grandmother) Ons as ouers kry nie eintlik support (ondersteuning) van die wet af nie... Die polisie gee ons ouers nie support nie. Die hof gee ons ouers nie support nie (ondersteuning), so teen die einde van die dag dan staan jy alleen langs die kantlyn. (We as parents do not actually get support from the law... The police does not give us as parents support. The court does not give us as parents support, so at the end of the day you are standing alone on the sideline.)

Significantly, the parents who expressed that they had to protect their children during the CJP either from ill-treatment by CJO, teachers or the community felt that they could manage their children's behaviour. These protective parents also restricted their children's movement and increased their efforts to supervise their daily activities. Two parents who participated in family counselling, one with a private psychologist and one with a government-employed Social worker both reported an improvement in managing their children's behaviour. They however cited their nervousness at the sustainability of their children's behaviour change. Parents who reported struggling to manage their children's behaviour felt that they had little support or assistance in from professions in managing their children's behaviour.

Category 2.1.1 Child's substance abuse

The findings suggest that many parents experienced their children's substance abuse as troubling as it resulted in their children's entry into the CJS (CR category 1.2.1). Twelve of the parents' reported that their children were charged or arrested for drug related offences with most of the parents citing the use of tik (methamphetamine) and Nyaope (also known as Whoonga) as their children's drug of choice resulting in a variety of negative behaviours parents felt ill-equipped to manage. This parent expressed her concern that she does not want her child to end up in prison because of his drug use but desire for him to receive in-patient drug treatment instead.

Participant 9 (mother): Vir myself, vir myself, soos ek sê ek wil nie my kind agter 'n tralie gaan sien in die tronk nie... Ek soek net hulp vir hom is al, ek wil hê hy moet by 'n, 'n plek kom waar hulle die drugs (dwellms) uit hom uit kan kry en, uh na 'n spesiale plek toe stuur waar hy sy skool loopbaan kan klaar maak. (For myself, for myself, like I said I do not want to go see my child behind a bar in prison... I'm just seeking help for him that's all, I want him to get to a, a place where they can get the drugs out of him and, uh to send him to a special place where he can complete his schooling career.)

The following parent reflected that the help her child received by attending counselling with a social worker assisted in changing his behaviour however he continued using drugs.

Participant 15 (mother): Toe het die skool ons verwys na die social workers (maatskaplike werkers) hier by, by in ... Straat in. En toe is hy onder Mev B. (referring to the social worker) ..., maar hy het mooi gereageer, als, als gedoen wat hulle sê. Toe verander hy toe is hy nou net op die zolletjies. Maar nou, die zolletjies is nou weer 'n ding, hulle rook, hulle rook drie tot vier zolletjies, dan is hulle lam. En nou vat hy miskien Mev J se foon, dan vat die anders die foon dan raak hy weg, soos my foon weg geraak het, hy wil nie meer leer nie. Hy gaan ook nie meer skool toe soos toe hy eers skool toe gaan. (Then the school referred us to the social workers at, by... in Street. And then he was under Mrs B. (Referring to the social worker) ..., but he reacted nicely, everything, did everything that they say. Then he changed, he was then only on the weed blunts 'zolletjies'. But now, the weed blunts 'zolletjies' is now a thing again, they smoke, they smoke three to four weed blunts, then they are tired/lazy. And now he maybe takes Mrs Jr's phone, then the others take the phone then it gets lost, like my phone got lost, he does not want to learn anymore. He also does not go to school anymore like he used to go to school before.)

In the present study, none of the parents mentioned their children's abuse of alcohol however, they all highlighted their children's exposure to and abuse of drugs as it is easily accessible in their

communities. Parents' seemed to experience children's relapse during and/or after the CJP despite children attending a diversion programme aimed at addressing their substance abuse. The lack of appropriate interventions that are child, family and community centered seems to pave the way for children involved in the CJS to deteriorate to substance dependency and resultant repeat offending due to their commission of drug related offences. Parents seemed to feel helpless in facing their children's substance abuse and the CJS lack of a coordinated and meaningful response in dealing with their child's substance abuse. The CJS could benefit from having a formalised system of assessment and intervening with children involved in drug related offences and those displaying substance abuse related behaviour.

Category 2.1.2 Managing the child's behaviour

Most of the parents who struggled in managing their children's behaviour pointed to their child not showing them respect. It was found that parents desired for their children to attend school, to not have to be monitored all the time as parents found it stressful having to worry about their children on a daily basis. One parent pointed to the environment in which their children are raised where children cannot be disciplined resulting in them disrespecting parents. Another parent who was suffering from cancer felt stressed at having to monitor her child's daily movement and wished for things to be as it was when her child was younger and more manageable. The findings suggest that most of the parents could not manage their children's behaviour and felt they needed professional support or assistance in this regard (see subtheme 3.2). The parents shared their experiences as follows:

Participant 5 (the father): our kids are being brought up in a, environment, where they don't have respect...we can't touch them and that is making the way they are now at the moment.

Participant 12 (father): Ek het gevra, ek wil net kyk, is nie dat hulle nie die kind vir jare moet weg stuur of wat ookal nie, net vir 'n tyd in 'n place of safety (veiligheids plek), en die, kyk die kind se vordering na haar skool, en haar education...Nou, my verlangste is dat as my kind se veiligheid en ons se familie se veiligheid ook as enige ander mens buite se veiligheid. (I asked, I just want to see, it is not like they have to send the child away for years or whatever, just for a time in a place of safety, and the, look at the child's process at school, and her education...Now, my desire is that my child's safety and our family's safety is just as the safety of any other person outside.)

Participant 16 (mother) Ek wil vry voel soos ek gevoel het toe my kind tien, twaalf jaar was...Ek moet vry voel by die werk, ek moenie worry (bekommer) nie, ek moenie aanhou bel nie. Is hy nie al by die huis nie, wat maak hy, of iemand bel nie,... (I want to feel free like I felt when my

child was ten, twelve years old...I have to feel free at work, I should not worry, I should not call constantly. Is he not home yet, what is he doing, or someone calls,...) I won't want that stress because I am not well as well. I am sitting with breast cancer and it's not actually good for myself as well.

The increased incidence of at-risk behaviour in their child meant these parents had to increase their monitoring efforts to manage their children's behaviour or activities. These parents struggle to cope with and manage their children's behaviour in the absence of any professional support. As mentioned earlier, all the children whose parents participated in this study were released into their parents' care except one child who had reoffended resulting in him being placed in a secure care facility. It was found that although the children were released into parental care most of the parents felt that their capacity or ability to manage their child's care particularly their behaviour was not ascertained during the CJP. Some parents explained that they had no opportunity to share their concerns with CJOs regarding their inability to manage their children's behaviour and even when they did share their concerns they were told that there is nothing CJOs can do to assist the parents. A mother was voicing her experience that the magistrate's suspended sentence did not consider her inability to control the child's aggressive drug addiction related behaviour:

Participant 14 (mother) Ek voel nie tevrede, met die straf wat die magistraat vir hom uitgedien het nie... ek wou gehad het..., ek het gedink hulle gaan vra vir die ouer iets vra om te se, voor hulle hom n straf gee. Ek wou vir haar gese het, "edelagbare, net vir tien minute, gee my net tien of vyf minute gou kans laat ek gou net explain ... Wat wou gehad het is dat soos die proefbeampte vir my het hulle gaan hom weg stuur. Dit gaan, dit gaan sy straf wees en skool loop daar. Hy gaan sy skool loopbaan vol, voltooi.... Ek wil net nie gehad het hy moet weer in my sorg geplaas wees het nie. En die feit is dit, hy doen nog steeds dieselfde., hy verkoop sy 'goedte', hy verkoop sy klere, ...hy is aggressief, hy is manipulative (manipulerend),... ek kan hom net nie control (beheer) nie. (I do not feel satisfied, with the sentence that the magistrate served him with... I wanted..., I thought they will ask the parent to say something, before they give him a sentence. I wanted to tell her, "your honour, just for ten minutes, give me a chance of only ten or five minutes so that I can just explain quickly... What I wanted is what the probation officer told me that they will send him away. That will, that will be his sentence and he will attend school there. He will complete his schooling career... I did not want him to be placed in my care again. And the fact is that, he still does the same..., he sells his things, he sells his clothes, ...he is aggressive, he is manipulative,... I just cannot control him.")

The following parent shared her frustration with finding no assistance from CJOs as she expressed her concerns.

Participant 18 (grandmother): Ek sê die polisie sal ek baie blameer en die hof want as jy ouer na die polisie toe gaan met n probleem dat jou kind gebruik drugs (dewelms) of jou kind gebruik tik.. die polisie reageer nie eintlik regtig nie, want al wat hulle vir jou ouers sê, hulle kan niks doen nie. . Hulle weet nie wat om te doen nie, nou sit jy ouer met die probleem - wat moet jy doen? Jy dink, jy weet nie 'waantoe' nie... nou vra jy vir die magistraat, wat moet jy doen? Jou hande is afgekap. Jy kan nie die kind slaan nie, jy kan niks doen nie. (I'm saying I shall blame the police a lot and the court because if you as parent go to the police with a problem that your child is using drugs or your child is using 'tik.. the police does not really react, because all that they say to you as parents is that they cannot do anything.. They do not know what to do, now you as the parent is sitting with the problem – what should you do? You think, you do not know where to go to... now you ask the magistrate, what do you have to do? Your hands are cut off. You cannot hit the child, you cannot do anything.)

This finding must be understood in the context of the current CJ as police officers, probation officers, prosecutors and presiding officers/magistrates are mandated to recommend or release children into parental care at various stages as far as possible with detention being a measure of last resort. It however appear that this decision is not based on an assessment by the Probation officer of the parents' ability to manage their child's care during the CJ. Rather it appear that in line with the Child Justice Act 75/2008 (South Africa, 2009) children are released into parental care as detention is viewed as undesirable except in serious cases or as a measure of last resort. Placing children into parental care without consideration for the community context to which children will be exposed links to the findings that some children's safety were at risk due to community retaliation victim retaliation. Two parents struggled with incidences in the community where community members who wanted revenge threatened their children's safety. These parents shared that they had to protect their children from violent attacks in the community on a daily basis. Despite repeated reports to the police, the situation persisted. The following parent even escalated the matter to the local Police station commander however; found no permanent solution to ensure her children's safety in the community.

Participant 10 (Mother): Hulp vir onse kinders because onse kinders gaan uit die skole. Because (want), nou gaan, wil onse kinders gaan gangsters (bendeledede word)...Ek sal vir die hoof sê, "die kinders is nie betrokke nie, die kinders moet so hardloop vir hulle lewe want is grote klippers wat na hulle toe kom". Want dan staan hier nou, toe sê ek, "hoekom kan die polisie niks doen omtrent die kinders nie? (Help our children because our children are dropping

out of school. Because now, our children want to become gangsters... I would tell the principal, "these children are not involved, these children have to run for their lives because they are being thrown at with big stones". Because now there are standing, then I said, "why can't the police do anything with regards to these children?")

This theme relates to sub-theme 1.3 category 1.3.2 where the absence of restorative justice processes at the trial stage directly compromise children's safety in the community. Given that restorative justice is not implemented at the trial stage and that serious cases such as murder are less likely to be considered for restorative justice sanctions the need exist for the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) and CJOs to consider their role in ensuring children's safety during the trial process. Involving victims of child offenders in victim support services immediately after the crime may reduce the likelihood of them seeking revenge and threatening the child offender. This point to the CJS having to work holistically and collaboratively with all the micro and exosystems to ensure the safety of both offenders and victims during the CJP.

Category 2.1.3 Conversion of child justice cases to children's court inquiries

One parent couple whose child had entered the CJP due to her aggressive behaviour reported that the case against the child had been converted to a children's court inquiry resulting in their child being placed into a place of safety. Although the case was no longer a child justice matter and the child had been returned to the parents' care after six months, the child's aggressive and uncontrollable behaviour persisted. Both parents related their experiences in the following excerpts.

Participant 11 (mother): Ek soek help vir my kind want dit lyk party keer, die pa het vanoggend gesê dit lyk haar kop vat nie reg nie...sy is te doene met gangsters (bendeledede),...volgende week is ek alleen met haar dan gaan sy my weer overpower . En my interdik is gevat – die wat ons hier by Nerina House, hulle het ons, ons het nie voor gekom vir 'n saak nie. Hulle het die saak, oor gesit Child Court, want sy is nog onder Social Development, sy moet eintlik, Erica House toe gaan. (I'm seeking help for my child because sometimes it seems, the father said this morning that it seems as if her mind is not functioning well...she deals with gangsters,...next week I will be alone with her and then she will overpower me again. And my interdict was taken – when we were here at Nerina House, they, we did not appear in court for the case. They referred/transferred the case to Child Court, because she is still under Social Development, she actually has to go to Erica House.)

Participant 11 (mother): Ons het al 'n lang pad wat ons aankom met my dogter, en ons net wens vir hulp... enige een wat net bereid is om ons te kan help...dan kom ons weer by verskillende soorte van

social workers (maatskaplike werkers), dan kom ons dan hoe werk die social system (maatskaplike sisteem). Dan kom ons by 'n punt wat ons vra, ons leef met die kind by die huis, kan hulle nie prober maak soos ons vir hulle vra nie? Dan sê hulle vir ons nee, volgens die wet word 'n ding so gedoen en dis hoe ons, dis hoe die wet te werke gaan.. Dan staan ons nie, dan voel dit vir my ek staan nie 'n kans nie om my kind te help nie...Sy is so, ek is bang Zurina ek is bang. Ek gaan haar dood maak. (We have walked a long road with my daughter, and we are just wishing for help... anyone who is just willing to help us...then again we get to different types of social workers, then we hear how the social system works. Then we get to a point where we ask, we live with this child at home, can't they try to do what we ask them to do? Then they tell us no, according to the law this is how a thing gets done and that's how we, that's how the law works.. Then we don't stand, then it feels to me that I don't stand n chance to help my child...She is so, I am scared Zurina I am scared. I will kill her.)

Parent 12 (father): Die social worker (maatskaplike werker) by Childline, sy het ons mos nou laas jaar gehelp en die kind weg gestuur. Toe gaan ek mos nou weer na haar toe om te sê die kind is dan nou ten times worse (tien keer erger). Ja mevrou, sy roep haar supervisor... Ja mevrou die probleem lê by jou. (The social worker at Childline, she helped us last year and sent the child away. Then I went to her again to tell her that the child is now ten times worse. Yes ma'am, she calls her supervisor... Yes ma'am the problem lies with you.)

It was found that although the child had been dealt with under the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (South Africa, 2006) and experienced behaviour change while in custody that the parents felt ill equipped to manage their daughter's behaviour after she was released into their care. The parents sought professional help from government social workers and non-governmental organisations but could not find help to manage their child's behaviour or return her to institutional care. These parents reluctantly accepted that their child would remain in their care despite the risk of future threats of violence from their daughter. These parents continued to seek help from various professionals including the police for their daughter's uncontrollable, aggressive behaviour however; received no concrete assistance and were blamed for their child's behaviour. These parents were referred to the Nelson Mandela University's psychology clinic and they confirmed receiving the help they needed with their daughter.

Subtheme 2.2 Family challenges experienced by parents during the CJP

As can be expected, children's entry into the CJS affected their families. In instances where children were aggressive due to their substance abuse their siblings and the parents felt threatened or were actually assaulted. Two parents' described the tension that existed in the family due to their children's clash with the law but more so when the children continued to abuse drugs. When parents could not

manage their children's behaviour, it negatively affected their other children in the family and the family relationships. Four parents shared that the substance-abusing children stealing money, possessions or eating all the food in the house would affect the family members. The following reflection from a mother describe her experience:

Participant 14 (mother) Hy het sy agtjarige broer aangerand, hy was, hy is nog steeds tans op drugs (dwelms) en vir my is dit baie emosioneel in die sin dat, soos ek voel vir my voel dit social development (maatskaplike ontwikkeling) is daar vir ons, is, is, is mos daar vir die kinders en as ouer. Maar voor hy met die drugs (dwelms), begin het was hy 'n grade (graad) A student, nou recently nou in verlede maand in het hy 'n Samsung tablet gevat van my, ...die derde dag toe kry ek hom in die hande en toe verduidelik ek vir hom dat, "dit wat jy gedoen het, jy gaan terug weer, ja, in die tronk gaan en dan gaan hulle jou, dan gaan jy seker vir vyf jaar of so gevonniss word". In die proses is, hy voel nou hy is op daai stadium, hy doen net wat hy wil. Vir my lyk dit hy gee nie, hy, hy, hy gee nie om wat die wet doen nie, hy is op daai stadium. En in die proses, hoe, hoe moet jy maak as ouer? (He assaulted his eight year old brother, he was, he is still currently on drugs and for me it's very emotional in the sense that, as I'm feeling, for me it feels that social development is there for us, it's, it's, it's there for the children and the parents. But before he started with the drugs he was a grade, a student, now recently in last month he took my Samsung tablet, ...the third day I found him and I explained to him that, "what you have done, you are going back again, yes, to prison and then they will, then you will probably be sentenced for five years or so". In the process, he now feels he is on that stage, he does whatever he wants. To me it seems like he doesn't give, he, he, he doesn't care what the law does, he is on that stage. And in the process, what, what do you do as a parent?)

Although parents and the family as a whole is the primary source of support when a child has clashed with the law it appeared that, many of the families struggled to cope with and was affected by their child's uncontrollable or offending behaviour. This contributed to families not being in a position to provide support to these children rather having a relationship characterised by conflict and lack of support. In the current study, it appeared that some parents experienced reduced family support not only for their child but also for themselves particularly in families where parents were not married but cohabiting and where the child had a stepfather.

Category 2.2.1 Lack of spousal support

It was found that when parents were single as result of their spouses' death or due to divorce that they experienced the lack of spousal support negatively. These parents had shared their parental

responsibilities before becoming single and struggled to cope with the increased demands on themselves as parents or guardians in the absence of spousal support. The one parent whose child had a stepfather experienced increased conflict with their spouse, as the stepfather would label her child and withheld food from the child. A parent whose husband worked out of town also experienced a lack of spousal support and felt she had to do all the tasks related to the child's case and manage his behaviour. The following quotations describe parents' experience in the absence of spousal support.

Participant 6 (the mother): soos ek dit nou kan stel ons het baie gestry oor [names a person]...Hys nou haatig teenoor my kind, teen oor [names a person]. ..Nou hy het al vir hoeveel maande nou geskel "my kind is 'n moordenaar" hoe kan hy sê my kind is 'n moordenaar. Hy ek bedoel is al die goed wat dit, dit het ook 'n hoe kan ek sê uh effect op my want [names a person] antwoord hom nie. (as I can put it now we argued a lot about [names a person]...He is now hateful towards my child, towards [names a person]...Now he's been yelling for months "my child is a murderer" how can he say my child is a murderer. He, I mean it's all these things that, it also has a, how can I say uh effect on me because [names a person] does not answer him.)

Participant 2 (the mother): he's father isn't here. So that makes it worse. His father's working in Pretoria, since last year and when this happened he, there wasn't a father and I think that made it a little bit worse. So I had to, up and down, up and down and do everything.

Facilitating access for parents to spousal support or family support in the case of single parents is a critical role that social workers and probation officers can fulfill during the CJP especially during restorative justice conferences. Impressing upon fathers and families their role to be involved and extend support to mothers during the CJP is very important, as they seem to be the parent carrying the responsibility of supporting their child during the CJP.

Category 2.2.2 Lack of family support

The findings suggest that most parents had access to some form of family support including emotional and practical support. However, single parents experienced a lack of support from their family including their extended family and where support was offered family did not provide the type of support the parent needed. Similarly, one parent explained that she could not ask her sister to support her as the sister was facing her own family challenges at the time.

Participant 7 (the guardian): uh, because of I don't have any support from anyone uh, I'm fighting all these battles alone even though I have family but they would just "okay, shame, what are you gonna do now?" that's the end. Now I don't have anyone, whom I can share all

these things, all these things are happening to me because all these things are happening to my kids they are all in me now So I was thinking, I don't know, where must I go or whom must I talk to .

Participant 6 (mother): Nou dit voel vir my asof al die goed, dit werk op my want daar is niemand met wie ek kan my uit praat nie. En ek kan nie my gevoelens deel met iemand nie, want my suster aan die ander kant sy het haar selfde problem. (Now it feels to me as if all these things, it works on me because there is no one whom I can talk to. And I cannot share my feelings with someone, because my sister on the other hand she has the same problem.)

Given that the child justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) promotes the principle of “Ubuntu” which implies that families provide the context for care and support for each other, it makes sense that any interventions with CCL must be family centered. Involving parents and family during the CJP is set out as one of the objectives of the Act and parents in the present study described many instances when they relied on their extended family for practical and emotional support. Instances where parents’ struggle to request, negotiate or access family support warrants the need for social workers and probation officers to negotiate with families to provide support as needed. This could be done in the context of family group conferences, which could incorporate elements of family preservation principles emphasising the central role of the family to draw on its own strengths and resources to support its family members.

Sub-theme 2.3 School challenges experienced by parents during the CJP

Most of the children whose parents participated in this study did not attend school. Seven parents reported that their children were still attending school when they clashed with the law. The findings indicate that the school attending children were treated differently at their respective schools. One parent reported that her son was suspended for a week as he was found to be in possession of drugs while on the school premises. Two parents reported that their children were labeled as either murderers or gangsters due to their alleged involvement in crime, resulting in one child being sent home and eventually dropping out of school. A significant finding is that schools or teachers seem to be inconsistent in how they dealt with children involved in crimes outside the school premises as one school sent the child home without a formal suspension while at another school the principal labelled the children as gangsters and wanted to chase the children away from the school. In both cases, the children were still on trial and had not been found guilty of their alleged offences however; the schools already treated them as convicted criminals. Two of the fathers and one mother reported that their children had already dropped out of school prior to their clash with the law and despite various efforts by themselves to enroll their children at school, they could not find suitable placement due to their

child being aged sixteen years and having left school at primary school level. The mother in the following quotation described her son and her experience with the school as well as the teacher.

Participant 4 (the mother): Ek weet nie is die kind nou geskors nou of wat nie, die kind moet nou elke Woensdag bly om boeke te kom haal by die skool. Verlede week toe skryf hulle eksamen en toe word hom blaai opgeskeer. Nou bly die juffrou hom skel, ja jy is omgeskik en die wat jou so in snaakse goete betrokke is en so. En ek weet nie vir wat stuur jou ma hulle jou skool toe nie, want jou ma mors net haar geld. Sulke woorde kry die kind by die skool. Die kind is nou by die huis... nou weet ek nie wat om te maak nie. (I don't know whether the child has now been expelled or what, the child must now stay behind every Wednesday to come and collect books from the school. Last week they wrote exams and then his papers got torn up. The teacher now keeps yelling at him, yes you are rude that is why you are involved in such weird things. And, I don't know why your mother them send you to school, because your mother is only wasting her money. This is the kind of words that the child gets at school. The child is at home now... now I don't know what to do.)

The mother explains that her son had been suspended from school.

Participant 2 (mother): they were suspended from school for a week and the next week they had to start control test that was in March so um, we just had to take them back to school to fetch their books in the lockers and take them home.

Children remaining in school and experiencing school as a supportive environment are important protective factors contributing to children not engaging in at-risk and substance abusing behaviour. Schools play a critical role in children developing prosocial attitudes and behaviour that translate into positive outcomes for them. A few parents' participating in the current study approached teachers or principals when they needed advice and guidance with inconsistency in responsiveness to parents' need for support. Parent-teacher engagement is critical in facilitating opportunities for parents to seek support from teachers and ensure their children's continued schooling during the CJP.

Category 2.3.1 Parent-teacher communication

The findings showed that at least four parents had attempted to establish communication with their child's teacher to discuss their concerns about their child's school progress and their behaviour. The school principal who spoke with the child assisted one of the parents by enquiring about the child's behaviour. A teacher assisted another parent by referring her to a social worker. The other two parents unfortunately had no meaningful response to their request for information or guidance on

what to do with their child's schooling resulting in both children dropping out of school. It was found that most of the parents maintained some communication with the school however the communication with the teacher was limited to what school work the child had to do or missed out on when they were absent due to the trial. One father whose child was not attending school reportedly reached out to the Department of Education to find school placement for his son however; claimed that he found no assistance in this regard. The following participant described her efforts to establish communication with the teacher to discuss her concerns.

Participant 7 (the guardian): Okay, nowhere I was going through with my, it's my brother and uh, I'm his guardian. He doesn't have any parents, so what I went through because of I knew when he, when he was 10 years old he has this low syndrome which is I didn't go to school for it I just knew like [names the child] he's not supposed to be in this standard. Then I keep on telling his teachers like his teachers what is going on to him but they didn't, they ignore me.

Most of the parents involved in the study appreciated the importance of their child remaining in or being enrolled in a school. Several parents expressed concern that their children had dropped out of school and felt desperate for them to get back into school. Parents were able to establish some communication with teachers and express their concerns about their child however; few parents stopped communication with the teacher primarily because they could not find any meaningful help.

Category 2.3.2 Stigmatisation by teachers

The findings show two parents' children experienced stigmatisation at school by the teacher or the principal due to their alleged involvement in crime. Significantly, both alleged crimes were committed in the community resulting in the children experiencing community stigmatisation and stigmatisation at school as teachers/schools found out about the alleged crimes from other pupils. The one mother (participant ten) engaged with the principal and advocated for her children's right to remain in school and even reprimanded the principal in his actions to label the children as gangsters. This parent was eventually linked with the Nelson Mandela University's law clinic for legal support and guidance to advocate for her children to remain in school. The other parent (participant four) had attempted to make contact with the teacher to facilitate her child's continued school attendance however, the parent was told to keep the child at home due to his behaviour. The mother eventually relented keeping the child at home and eventually the child dropped out of school. Both parents' described their child's stigmatisation or labelling at their respective schools.

Participant 10 (mother): Onse kinders wil skool loop maar nou gaan dit, kom haar kind uit die skool uit oor klip gooiery – hy kan nog skool geloop het, maar omdat die, nou voel die skool

hoof die kind is 'n gangster (bendelid) because (want) aan die begin van die jaar het hy die kinders, toe word die een matrikulant seun wat saam met my seun. ..is. Die hoof jaag die bondel kinders huis toe, "gaan julle is gangsters (bendeled)". (Our children wants to attend school but now it's going, her child comes from school due to throwing of stones – he could have been in school still, but because the, now the school principal feels that the child is a gangster because in the beginning of the year the children, one matriculant boy who was with my child. The principal chased the group of boys home, "go you are gangsters.)

Participant 4 (the mother): Ja, ek wil net vir [names a person] vra die kind van my loop by [names the school] skool, nou omtrent die saak, wil U die onderwyser nou kind so aanhou vertel van die saak. En van die, die klip gooiery gebeur het kan ek net sê van dit en haai. En nou bly die juffrou die onderwysers die kind skel of huis toe stuur of. (Yes, I just want to ask [names a person] my child goes to [names the school], now about the case, do you as the teacher now continuously want to tell the child about the case. And since the, the throwing of stones occurred I can only talk about that. And now the teachers keep on yelling at the child or they send him home.)

Although CCL must be viewed as innocent until proven guilty, it appeared that despite these children's cases still being in the trial stage, that the school personnel had already concluded that they were guilty. This conclusion lead to the children being labelled and treated poorly by teachers. In both cases, the school could have protected these children and offered their parents some form of support to ensure their continued school attendance however, in both instances the schools failed to support the child or the parent. The impact of schools stigmatising CCL and their attempts to refuse these children to continue with their schooling is a great concern given the damaging consequences of stigma on the child and the lifelong impact of them dropping out of school. Contrary to the objectives of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009) which emphasise dealing with children outside the criminal justice system in an effort to reduce the risk of them being stigmatised, children who do enter the system are experiencing stigmatisation.

6.5.2.3.2 Category 2.3.3 School attendance

Findings show that four parents struggled with ensuring their children's school attendance primarily due to their children's refusal to go to school. In one incident, the mother reported that her daughter had assaulted a child and a teacher resulting in her being sent home from school. Both parents held the belief that getting their daughter to attend school would address half of their problems however; given the child's violent behaviour the school refused to accept the child back. Both parents sought assistance from social workers for their child's misbehaviour and school absence to no avail. The parents reported that their child had dropped out of school; they suspected that she is part of a gang

and they do not have any control over her even though she is aged fourteen. It is important to note that these parents were referred to a psychologist at the Nelson Mandela University's psychology clinic for counselling and assistance.

Parent 11 (mother)...maar sy is nou weer wat my so bekommerd maak en my siek maak, my kind is in graad sewe. Sy is nou twee maande nie in die skool nie. (...but she is now again, what concerns me and makes me sick is, my child is in grade seven. She has not been in school for two months now.)

Although children have a right to education and the schools have an obligation to fulfil this right, schools seem to be ill equipped to deal with children presenting with severe behaviour problems. Schools seemed inconsistent in how they dealt with children who entered the CJS with some teachers or principals encouraging children to stay away from the school because of their alleged involvement in crime while another school suspended a child for five days. Given the strong link between truancy or school absence and delinquency it is concerning that children are prevented from attending school which often provide a safety net for them from further becoming involved in crime. Children who are not attending school also place additional demands on parents to increase supervision and monitoring while the child is at home.

It was found that parents' reported their children had dropped out of school prior to their clash with the law with all three parents noting their children's substance abuse having played a role in their child dropping out of school. All three parents made some effort to find assistance from social workers or the department of education to enroll their children at school however, they had been unsuccessful. One mother explained that she wanted her child to be admitted into an institution where he can first receive drug treatment then attend school. Two parents explained their experience as follows:

Participant 5 (father): I'm struggling 2 years just to get a school for him 2 years per deal, educational department doesn't wanna help me. I've been up and down, up and down but I get there, they sit and eat lunch so they're out of the office and the teacher can talk about that [referring to participant 2] I'm not hiding it away. It's that office, they don't help me and my child, up till my child is 18 then there's help for him.

Participant 16 (mother): As ek net hulp kan kry waar hy in 'n institusie (instelling) kan gaan waar hy sy droom kan verwesenlik, die arts (kuns). Na die skool, want dis maar twee maande wat oor is. (If I could just get help where he could go to an institution where he can accomplish/fulfil his dream, the arts. After school, because there's only two months left.)

The enrolment of children into schools after they had either voluntarily dropped out or had been expelled from school poses a serious challenge for parents especially when these children were involved in substance abuse or presented with aggressive behaviour. The findings further showed that one parent whose child had been stigmatised at school and whose teacher continued to send the child home from school eventually struggled to get her child to permanently return to school. The parent experienced the teacher and the school's handling of the child's situation as contributing to the child's eventual refusal to return to school and him deciding to drop out of school. This child was also harassed and threatened by the victim's friends on a daily basis as he walked to school which could therefore further have compounded his feelings of being stigmatised and judged despite still being on trial. The following explanation by the mother shows her feeling lost at what to do about the situation.

Participant 4 (the mother): toe besluit ek maar nou ek gaan hom by die huis hou dan gaan ek maar nou vir die jufrou vra wat moet ek maak. Want hulle het hulle self ook 'n social worker. Maar ek weet nie want ... want die kind wil nou nie meer skool toe gaan nie. (then I decided I will just keep him at home then I will ask the teacher what I should do. Because they also don't have a social worker. But I don't know because... because the child does not want to go to school anymore.)

It appeared that very little effort or accommodation is made by schools to help parents in enrolling their children however given the struggle schools have in dealing with children's substance abuse and aggressive behaviour it is understandable that they cannot enroll these children without the necessary support from Social workers to address their at risk behaviour. Addressing the multiple risk factors that contribute to school absence/truancy and later drop out must be addressed in early childhood and adolescence warranting the need for social workers to be involved or placed at schools. Schools and teachers' inefficiency or inability to work with parents and children to mutually discuss and find resolutions to address concerns or needs of both the school/teacher and the child concerned contributed to children dropping out of schools. Sensitising schools to the benefits of restorative justice and training teachers on their role to support children's retention at schools is vital in creating a communal supportive school environment where children want to remain in school opposed to dropping out.

6.5.2.4 Sub-theme 2.4 Community challenges experienced by parents during the CJP

Parents experienced various community challenges that either placed their children at increased risk of becoming involved in crimes linked to substance abuse or violence. In some instances the community challenges experienced by parents and their children emanated from their children's alleged involvement in crimes compromising their children's safety and resulting in their children

being stigmatised by the community. Although almost half of the participants were unemployed, only one participant pointed out that poverty played a role in his son's alleged involvement in crime. Two parents cited the high prevalence of drugs and gangsterism in their community as causing them to feel helpless particularly as they felt the police were not able to address the issues of drugs and gangs in their community. The following two parents referred to the prevalence of drugs and gangs in their community.

Participant 18 (grandmother): Ek het nou die dag vir, vir Sup Chetty gesê, "weet jy wat, ek voel baie teleurgesteld in die polisie. Ons se areas is 'gebevlek' met drugs (dwelms). Die tik en hierdie pille en dagga maar kom ons by julle en vra is daar nie iets wat julle kan doen nie dan sê jy vir ons, ons se hande is afgekap, ons kan niks doen nie. Nou wat moet ons ouers doen"? (The other day I told Sup Chetty that, "do you know what, I'm feeling very disappointed in the police. Our areas are stained with drugs. The 'tik' and these pills and 'dagga' but when we come to you and ask if there isn't anything that you could do for us, then you tell us, our hands are cut off, we cannot do anything. Now what should we as parents do?")

Participant 16 (Mother): Maar nou sit hulle in die groep, die groep kom mos nou uit dan begin hy nou weer met daai maniertjies en 'goedte', dit is nou eintlik, uh, 'n slegte, invloed wat hy op die kinders het wat hy saam mee loop ...ek bly in n area waar daar baie gangsters (bendes) en 'goedte' is. (But now they are sitting in this group, and now when the group comes out then he starts with his attitudes and things, this is now actually, uh, a bad influence that he has on the children that he walks with... I live in an area where there are a lot of gangsters and things.)

Based on the ecological systems model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986) the parent and child nested within the community system directly and indirectly influence and impact on their experience of the community. Parents residing within communities that are densely populated and characterised by poor socio-economic conditions are often exposed to sustained strain that can be compounded by normal and abnormal life events such as children's entry into the CJS. These parents often have reduced access to community support as fellow community members are equally strained by the community risk factors. Addressing community risk factors is important in reducing children's exposure and involvement in crime and supporting parents especially those living in high-risk communities. The intersection between the implementation of a community development approach and an integrated social crime prevention strategy by DSD would address the various community challenges that expose children and families to various risk factors. However, currently these efforts are neither coordinated nor implemented consistently in communities resulting in persistence of various social issues in communities.

6.5.2.4.1 Category 2.4.1 Stigmatisation by community

The findings suggest that when children were arrested in full view of the community, parents reported that their children experienced stigmatisation by the community. It was found that some parents experienced their children being treated with suspicion and discriminated against purely on the bases of the children's alleged involvement in crime as their children had not yet been convicted of the crime by the court however; the community stigmatised them as convicted criminals. One parent reported keeping their child in the house for fear of them being accused by the community of any crimes similar to the crime the child was alleged to have committed. Two parents shared their experience of the community stigmatising their children as follows:

Participant 5 (father): that's the problem we're having, our kids are being ...discriminated according to what the people hear on the ground already the community see your children as guilty.

Participant 7 (guardian-sister): he can't go and play with other kids because he's still on uh house arrest also..., maybe he's playing with other kids and there's a window there they're gonna say its [names the child] if there's maybe a girl, "he's pulling his uh panty" and he's around there it's [names the child] or all those things they're coming to me... this thing is stressing me.

Similar to the children who were on trial and experienced stigmatisation at school, children whose cases had not yet gone to trial and the one child who had been diverted experienced stigmatisation in the community. The arrest of these children in public, though understandably the prerogative of the police, negatively affected the communities view of these children. Similar to the school personnel in theme 2.3, community members concluded that these children were guilty of the crimes they allegedly committed and viewed the children as criminals. This finding point to the importance and opportunity that exist to engage community members in restorative justice conferences so that they can assume a role of being a support and developing empathy for the child and parents involved in the CJS. This would be in line with the principles and objectives of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South Africa, 2009).

6.5.2.4.2 Category 2.4.2 Community safety

The findings indicate that two parents experienced increased threats to their children's safety within their respective communities because of their children's alleged involvement in crimes. In both instances the children's alleged crimes involved an ongoing conflict between groups of children in the community where they would throw stones at each other. The one parent (participant 10) reported

that the stone throwing was reported to the local police and its management repeatedly prior to her children's alleged crime. The police had allegedly attempted to intervene by talking to the children and their parents but the stone throwing persisted. This mother claimed that her children could not walk to school as they were being threatened and stones thrown at them by friends of the alleged victim. Similarly, the other mother (participant one) also reported her child not being able to venture into the community or walk to school for fear of being attacked by the victim's friends. Both parents described their experience in the following extracts.

Participant 1 (Mother): Ons kan nie 'n saak gaan maak nie want ek bly oorkant die pad...En ek like mos daar af, die boytjie kind van my moet ek sometimes laat ry skool toe. Hy loop mos hier oorkant [names a school] by [names a school] skool. Dan moet ek laat hy ry tot daar. Hy kan nie [names a street] af loop nie... Want hulle (victim's friends) wil hom net seer maak. (We cannot go and open a case because I'm staying just across the road...And I like to go down there, I sometimes have to let my boy ride to school. He goes to the school just across [names a school]. Then I have to let him ride to school. He cannot walk down [names a street]...because they (victim's friends) just want to hurt.)

Participant 1 (mother): Daar het al hoeveel (Police vans) vanne by my opgetrek. Dan as ek vir die poliesie, hulle sê vir rather vir my ek vir die kinders 'n interdik gaan uit haal. Nou vra ek hoe kan ek 'n interdik vir die kinders vir haar twee kinders en daai twee kinders en hulle sien my kind elke dag.... Hulle kom all the way op om hom te kom voor keer by die skool. Daai kind loop elke dag hy loop by [naam van skool] skool en hy loop elke dag verby my, verby my huis. Die een oggend toe jaag hy my kind met netso lange mes. Toe hy wou steek na my kind toe steek hy die rugsak raak. Toe vat ek ook die kind polies kamp toe. Daar het niks van daai saak gekom nie. Hulle bly net elke keer vir my sê jy kan nie vir hulle 'n interdik kry nie. (There has been many police vans that pulled up. Then when I tell the police, they rather tell me that I should go and get an interdict for these children. Now I ask them how can I get an interdict for the children, for her two children and those two children and they see me every day... They come all the way up to get him at school. That child walks every day, he goes to [names a school] and he walks past me every day, past my house... This one morning he chased my child with a very long knife. He wanted to stab my child but he just stabbed the back pack. Then I also took the child to the police station. ...Nothing came of that case. They just tell me every time you cannot get an interdict for them.)

Participant 10 (Mother): Die gemeenskap moet opstaan, die polisie moet met ons probeer hand-aan-hand werk om 'n oplossing te kry vir onse probleem. Anderste gaan die môre nie net

na klip gooi, maar na gun (rewolwer) skietery. En die kinders gaan dood gaan, want dan gaan, wat gaan hulle dan sê? As die kinders dood gaan, watse hulp het hulle ons want ons staan nou nog, ek sal sê ons staan op moeds verloor se vlakke. Ons staan daar en ons weet net wat, niks om te doen nie. (The community should stand up, the police should try to work hand-in-hand with us to get a solution for our problem. Otherwise, tomorrow this will not just be throwing of stones, but shooting of guns. And the children will die, because then, what will they say? If the children die, what help did they give is because we are still standing, I would say that we are standing at a place where we have lost all hope. We are standing there and we just don't know what to do.)

The incidence of continued peer conflict or bullying seemed to cause both parents a great deal of stress, as they had to worry about their children's safety on a daily basis. Both parents seemed to take it upon themselves to address the situation by seeking help from the police on numerous occasions. Their efforts to try to resolve the issue seemed to be motivated by their need to protect their children and to prevent their own children from being provoked into fights with the perpetrators. One parent reportedly tried to talk to the perpetrators and they ended up breaking the windows of her house. The parents' engagements with the police seemed to result in no meaningful response. The police who stated that they could not intervene unless a charge is laid or there is evidence of the stone throwing confirmed this. In line with restorative justice principles, Social workers, Probation officers and assistant probation officers as part of their crime prevention strategies must facilitate the involvement of these various micro systems in resolving conflict and facilitating community safety.

It was found that two parents not only experienced a threat to their children's safety in the community but also a threat to their own safety and their property. Both parents reported that the victim's friends had thrown stones at their windows to threaten them and intimidate them. Both parents had reported the incidences to police however claimed that nothing came of the cases. The findings indicate that these two parents continued to experience victim retaliation by having their homes damaged by the victim's friends with no protection from police despite repeated incidences being reported. One of the parents described her experience as follows;

Participant 1 (Mother): kan ek gou iets sê kyk hierso van die saak aan is toe gooi hulle (victim's friends) my ruite. Nou wat die kind die sesde in die maand in, die sesde August toe maak hy 'n jaar oorlede toe gooi hulle weer my ruite. No weet ek nie wat moet ek doen nie want dis nou al die derde maal wat hulle my ruite gooi vandat die saak aan is. (can I say something quickly, look here, since this case is on they (victim's friends) have been throwing at my windows. Now when the child, on the sixth of this month, the sixth of August he had past on for a year, then

they also threw at my windows. Now I don't know what to do because it's the third time that they've been throwing at my windows since the case is on.)

Although the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008 (South, 2009) purport to protect CCL from stigmatisation and engage families, victims and community in restorative justice and reintegration processes children do experience instances of stigmatisation and victim retaliation in the community. Parents seem to endure some of this community stigma and retaliation to the extent that their safety is compromised and their property is damaged. This is a great concern as it leaves children on trial and their families vulnerable to community retaliation, which increase their need for support.

6.5.2.4.3 Category 2.4.3 Adverse socio-economic conditions

Although almost half of the parents were unemployed and most of the parents resided in communities with high unemployment rates and poverty, only one parent had no source of income. This parent reportedly applied for a government grant however, his application was declined leaving him and his son to experience extreme poverty where they were entirely reliant of extended family for food. The father experienced their poverty as a contributing factor to his son's vulnerability in seeking money from the community and in some instances from community members who sell drugs. The father explained his situation as follows:

Participant 8 (Father): And I am this person who doesn't even have financial income, I don't even get groceries, I applied for food parcels but I don't get it, even having applied for it many times. I don't get grant; I was turned away at SASSA because my age is 58 years you see. So I have to wait 2 years, till I am 60 years to get the grant. [Ndingulomntu ungenayo nemali engenayo, andinako nokutya, ndandiyile ukuyosicela isibonelelo sokutya kodwa zange ndisifumane, nasemveni kokuba ndandiyele amaxesha amaninzi zange ndisifumane. Andisifumani isibonelelo semali; ndajikiswa kwa SASSA ngenxa yeminyaka engama-58 uyabona. Ngoko kumele ndilinde iminyaka emi-2, ukuze ndifikelele kwi minyaka engama-60 ndifumane imali yesibonelelo].

Consistent with other findings that youth from disadvantaged communities have an increased chance of involvement in delinquency (Rodriquez, 2013:207). The parent who experienced severe poverty attributed his son's clash with the law to their lack of income and severe poverty. Although poverty is not directly linked as a singular factor to adolescents engaging in criminal activity, it has been found to be a risk factor that in combination with other community, family and individual risk factors may contribute to an increased propensity to commit crime.

Addendum 9: Ethics Approval Letter

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Ref: [H16-HEA-SDP-001/Approval]

Contact person: Mrs U Spies

11 May 2016
Dr V Goliath
Faculty: Health Sciences
Department: Social Development Professions South Campus
Dear Dr Goliath
Chairperson: Research Ethics Committee (Human)
Tel: +27 (0)41 504-2235

A CO-CONSTRUCTED PRACTICE MODEL FOR SUPPORTING PARENTS OF CHILDREN IN CONFLICT WITH THE LAW

PRP: Dr V Goliath PI: Ms Z Abdulla

Your above-entitled application served at Research Ethics Committee (Human) for approval.

The ethics clearance reference number is **H16-HEA-SDP-001** and is valid for three years. Please inform the REC-H, via your faculty representative, if any changes (particularly in the methodology) occur during this time. An annual affirmation to the effect that the protocols in use are still those for which approval was granted, will be required from you. You will be reminded timeously of this responsibility, and will receive the necessary documentation well in advance of any deadline.

We wish you well with the project. Please inform your co-investigators of the outcome, and convey our best wishes.

Yours sincerely

Prof C Cilliers

Chairperson: Research Ethics Committee (Human)

cc: Department of Research Capacity Development Faculty Officer: H