

Mapping rural youth's experiences of school exclusion

Silvia Maarschalk

14 December 2007

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for Psychology Masters (Research), in the School of Psychology, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Unless specifically indicated to the contrary, this thesis is the result of my own work.

Signature: Lucretia

Date: 14 December 2007

Abstract

The South African context gives rise to a number of significant adversities that challenge the stability of the individual child and the survival of their families. The repercussions of these adversities are profound. Once risk begins to accumulate, the probability of a negative developmental trajectory increases. A group of South African children that are a particularly vulnerable, at-risk, and marginalized group are those youth who are excluded from school. Access to the schooling system represents an important node of care and support with the potential of linking vulnerable children to key services. Eight youth from a town in a former homeland in rural KwaZulu Natal, who are excluded from the schooling system, participated in this research. The research aimed to map their experiences of school exclusion through a participatory photo interview technique. Using Bronfenbrenner's (1979) socio-ecological systems theory, this study has indicated that exclusion from school relates to risk factors present in the five contextual systems that a child functions within. From this research one can see how each risk factor adds to the web of exclusion that makes these youth hard to identify, access and help. The findings indicate that there is a need to further investigate the South African child care grant system and the impact it has on access to schooling, as well as to develop macrosystemic interventions to alleviate poverty.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the support and guidance that was provided to me by my supervisors, Mary van der Riet and Beverley Killian throughout this research. Thank you very much for your encouragement. I would also like to thank Pretty Zondi for her help with accessing the research participants and to the other members of the broader NRF research team who supported this project. Finally, I would like to especially thank the youth who participated in this research and allowed me to learn more about their lives.

This thesis is based upon work supported by the National Research Foundation (NRF) under grant number 2054168. Any opinion, findings and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this thesis are those of the authors and, therefore, NRF does not accept any liability in regard thereto.

CONTENTS PAGE

List of Tables	3
List of abbreviations	4
Chapter 1: Introduction	5
Chapter 2: Literature Review	6
<i>Risk and vulnerability</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Out of school youth defined</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>Inclusion and exclusion in South Africa</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Education in South Africa</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Understanding socially marginalized and excluded youth's exposure to risk</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>Socio-Ecological model of child development</i>	<i>11</i>
Microsystem.....	14
Mesosystem.....	14
Exosystem	15
Macrosystem	15
Chronosystem	16
<i>Statistics of South African children not attending school</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>Documented barriers to education</i>	<i>17</i>
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	21
<i>Aim and Rational</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>Research Design</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>Sample.....</i>	<i>22</i>
Purposive sampling of the study setting	22
Hard to reach groups.....	23
Sampling technique to access out of school youth	23
Limitations of sampling technique.....	25
Final sample characteristics	27
<i>Data Collection</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>Data Collection Techniques.....</i>	<i>29</i>
Semi-structured interview	29
Photovoice.....	30
Evaluation of the photovoice technique.....	31
<i>Data Collection Process</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>Translation Process</i>	<i>35</i>
<i>Steps in Data Analysis</i>	<i>37</i>
Chapter 4: Results.....	39
<i>The Macrosystem and Exosystem</i>	<i>39</i>
<i>Macrosystemic ideologies.....</i>	<i>39</i>
Apartheid.....	39
Roles and rights of female children	42
<i>The Microsystem and Mesosystem.....</i>	<i>45</i>
Mpume:.....	45
Thuli:.....	48
Zama:	49
Tholla:	52
Nonhlanhla:.....	53
Nondomiso:.....	55
Londeka:	57
Sindisiwe:.....	60

Chapter 5: Discussion	63
<i>Poverty</i>	66
<i>Negative and strained interactions</i>	69
Chapter 6: Conclusion	74
References	77
Appendices	84
Appendix 1: Participant case studies	84
Appendix 2: Letter addressing the learners in the schools	88
Appendix 3: Out of school youth contact form	89
Appendix 4: Semi-structured interview schedule	90
Appendix 5: Photovoice interview schedule.....	92
Appendix 6: English informed consent form for the youth	93
Appendix 7: <i>isiZulu</i> informed consent form for the youth	95
Appendix 8: English informed consent form for the youth's caregiver	97
Appendix 9: <i>isiZulu</i> informed consent form for the youth's caregiver	99

List of Tables

Table 1: Selected schools reporting high numbers of socially marginalized and excluded youth in a small town in a former homeland of KwaZulu Natal – labelled according to geographic location.

Table 2: Out of school youth, ages, urban/rural locality and the sampling techniques used in the final identification of each youth.

List of abbreviations

AIDS - Acquired immune deficiency syndrome

HIV - Human Immunodeficiency Virus

NRF - National Research Foundation

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF - United Nations Children's Fund

Chapter 1: Introduction

The South African context manifests profound risks for children. Poverty, HIV/AIDS, violence, child abuse, fragmentation of the family, loss of caregivers, and a lack of access to and participation in services, have been identified as significant risk factors facing South African children. Amongst many consequences, these risks have a particularly devastating impact on the education of children. Youth who do not attend school have been acknowledged as a particularly vulnerable and marginalized group of youth. This is because they are currently experiencing exclusion from schooling and are therefore at greater risk of current and future adversity than other youth. Schooling has been acknowledged as playing a significant role in not only the education of children, but also in the support and care of children (Giese, Meintjies & Proudlock, 2001). Youth who are not able to attend school have thus been excluded from this pivotal link of access to, and delivery of, social services in their area.

This research is informed by a broader NRF study that maps barriers to basic education in the context of HIV/AIDS, focusing at a micro-level on how participants experience and make meaning of these barriers. The broader study included both adult and child learners, in both formal and/or non-formal education process in a rural district in KwaZulu Natal. Drawing from UNESCO's (2000) recommendations, the broader study aimed to make the notion of exclusion explicit by utilizing participatory techniques that could facilitate hearing the voices of children, families and communities. The project aimed to "engage in a process of mapping inclusion/exclusion in a specific context from the perspectives of children, adults, families and the community" (Muthukrishna, 2006, p.50).

As a specific focus within the broader study, this study aimed to explore out of school youth's experiences and reasons for exclusion from school. Thus, this research aimed to map experiences of exclusion faced by out of school youth, articulating how exclusion from school places already vulnerable children at further risk of adversity. This study gives a voice to vulnerable youth in a particular geographic area of a small rural town in KwaZulu Natal. In addition, by explicitly defining the experiences of exclusion of youth who are not attending school, one can begin to untangle the complex web of the process of exclusion. This will assist in the design of strategies and interventions for targeting youth who drop out of school. Following a review of the literature, the methodology and results of this study will be discussed, preparing the reader for the discussion and then conclusion sections.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The current South African context has profound implications for children's well being. In 2001, there were just over 19 million children in South Africa with a large group (22.7%; 4 million) of these children living in KwaZulu Natal (Statistics South Africa, 2001).

Significant challenges currently facing these children are poverty, HIV/AIDS, violence, child abuse, fragmentation of the family, loss of caregivers and a lack of access to services (Berry & Guthrie, 2003).

In 2003, three out of every four children in South Africa were living in poverty, with KwaZulu Natal experiencing some of the highest child poverty rates (Streak, 2004).

Childhood poverty is understood as "children and young people growing up without access to different types of resources that are vital for their well being and for them to fulfil their potential. By resources we mean economic, social, cultural, physical, environmental and political resources" (Marshall, 2003, p.1). Poverty can become an insidious and complex force that makes accessing basic needs impossible (Barnes, Belsky, Broomfield, Dave, Frost & Melhuish, 2005).

The majority of South African households currently rely on wood or paraffin for cooking, have to collect water from local pumps, live in overcrowded households and use pit latrines as toilets (Berry & Guthrie, 2003). High unemployment rates among caregivers' further fuels these sub-optimal living conditions, and the increase of adults within the home environment, results in an increase in drug and alcohol abuse, as well as child abuse. All of these economic, social, cultural, physical, environmental and political factors further compromise children's access to basic resources such as food, education and care (*ibid*).

In addition, the HIV/AIDS epidemic poses an additional significant challenge to the welfare of families, communities and states, and has long-term consequences for the well being of children (Pharoah, 2004). The HIV/AIDS epidemic has increased the number of orphans and vulnerable children in South Africa. It is estimated that 25 million children, most of whom will be in sub-Saharan Africa, under the age of 15 are likely to be orphaned by 2010 (UNICEF, 2005). One particular consequence of the HIV/AIDS epidemic is that it seriously compromises children's development and the quality and potential capabilities of children's lives. In essence, South African children are growing up in a world marked by adversity.

The repercussions of these adversities for South African children are profound and result in a multitude of stressful situations that not only challenge individual children but also threaten the stability and survival of both their families and homes. Such stressful situations generate risk factors that, once accumulated, make the child more vulnerable, and at greater risk of a negative developmental trajectory. This self-fuelling risk cycle results in children becoming “handicapped in the starting blocks” (Case & Ardington, 2005, p.15). Before looking in greater depth into vulnerable children in South Africa, an understanding of risk and vulnerability is necessary.

Risk and vulnerability

Vulnerability can be understood as the individual child’s actual and underlying susceptibilities and predisposition towards developing a disorder or negative outcome (Garnezy, 1994; Barlow & Durand, 2002). Vulnerability makes a child susceptible to a negative outcome, whether the outcome is immediate or delayed. When investigating a child’s vulnerability, one is taking into account the effects of all the risks the child has been exposed too. Risk research is involved in the identification of factors that will either mediate or moderate an adverse outcome or a deficiency state, and seeks to identify the processes that underlie such factors (Haggerty, Sherrod, Garnezy & Rutter, 1994). The term ‘mediate’ means that some mechanisms lead to disease or disorder that highlight vulnerability. On the other hand, the term ‘moderate’ means that some mechanisms lead to overall positive adaptive behaviours that highlight resiliency (Haggerty et al., 1994). Resiliency can be explained as an ‘ordinary magic’ that resides in all human beings, and explains how despite daily exposure to risk and adversity, some children seem to progress well (Masten, 2001).

Risk research has indicated that at different points in development, the child will have different vulnerabilities and different protective systems (Masten, 1997). Risk factors associated with vulnerability are defined as those factors “that increase the probability of onset, digression too a more serious state, or the maintenance of a problem condition” (Coie et al., 1993, as cited in Fraser, 1997, p. 3). In this way, risk factors can be understood as correlates of adverse outcomes (Masten, Best & Garnezy, 1991). Therefore, the notion of risk implies a relative vulnerability among children in that some children are more vulnerable and other children are less vulnerable, depending on the risk factors they are exposed to (Simeonsson, 1994).

It is understood that individually risk factors do not lead to a higher probability of pathology (Masten, 2001). However, when there are multiple risk factors, the probability of an adverse outcome is increased exponentially (Masten et al., 1991). As risk factors frequently co-occur, risk has a cumulative effect (Rutter, 1999). The danger to a child lies in the accumulation of risk factors that lead to greater adversities (Garmezy, 1994). Therefore, risk factors are seen to be complicated and multilayered, essentially dialectically creating and fueling each other and cannot be understood individually or in isolation from their context. Risk factors exert their influence on the individual, family and community (Baylis, 2002).

It is important to consider that a risk factor cannot be merely eliminated by the presence of protective factors (Rutter, 1999). Protective factors are associated with positive development and are those factors that mitigate or moderate the effects of risk factors and result in resilience (Baylis, 2002). As Baylis (2002, p.2) asserts, “protective factors do not necessarily enhance development in low risk situations, but are defined by their effect in the face of adversity”. Thus, protective factors are those mechanisms that moderate the vulnerabilities of an individual, so that the overall outcome is more positive (resilient) than would be the case, if protective factors were not present (Masten et al., 1991).

The more protective factors that a child has available to them the more likely it is that they will be resilient in the face of adversity (Baylis, 2002). Essentially, we can understand risk processes and protective processes as having accumulative and synergistic effects (Baylis, 2002). This indicates that neither risk factors, nor protective factors, are static, but instead, they are constantly shifting and adapting. Therefore, it is understood that the dynamic interactions between risk and protective factors either give rise to resilience, or emotional and behavioural problems.

A sub-group of South African children that can be identified as particularly vulnerable, at-risk and at an increased threat of adversity, is youth who are not in school and are therefore currently experiencing exclusion from school. It is for these reasons that these youth, as a group, are important to identify, acknowledge and research.

Out of school youth defined

In the literature, youth who are not in school are considered to be a heterogeneous population that necessitates varied definitions. These youth have been defined as those that

have never started school or have dropped out of school, or those who have completed the highest level of schooling (Burns, Ruland, Finger, Murphy-Graham, McCarney & Schueller, 2004). For the purpose of this research, the out of school youth that are of particular interest are those youth who have either never started school or have prematurely dropped out of school. Thus, the youth in this study will be defined as “school going age children that are currently not attending school” (Berry & Guthri, 2003, p. 25). Children of school going age are defined as between the ages of 7 and 15 or between Grades 1 and 9 (Berry & Guthri, 2003).

In a report published in 2004, Burns et al differentiate between mainstream out of school youth and socially marginalized out of school youth. Mainstream out of school youth are those youth who for varying reasons, presently do not have access to any form of formal schooling and do not have access to, (or do not access) other kinds of educational facilities, like extra-mural activities. An example of a mainstream youth who does not attend school would be a child in a rural area who cannot access schooling. Socially marginalized out of school youth include youth who are orphans, street children, child sex workers or children involved in gangs and are thus especially vulnerable (Burns et al., 2004). In South Africa, and specifically in the small town where this study took place, the distinctions between mainstream and socially marginalized out of school youth are blurred. Often, those youth who would be classified as mainstream youth, due to their rural location, could equally belong to socially marginalized youth, as they may also be orphans. Youth in the context of this study who do not, or cannot, go to school, are therefore not only defined by their “out of schoolness” but are also socially marginalized youth and are often youth who are located in rural areas with few resources.

The literature suggests that formal schooling can act as a protective factor for youth, not only in terms of education, but also as a form of psychosocial support (*Interagency Network for Education Emergencies*, 2005). As articulated by the Giese, Meintjies, Croke and Chamberlain (2003, p.2) “all schools represent an important link in the chain of services and support for children in South Africa”. Schools need to be seen as fulfilling a role that extends beyond that of purely education. Schools in South Africa play a significant role in not only the education of the children, but as part of a pivotal role in both the identification, as well as the referral of potentially susceptible or vulnerable children to services that address their needs. It is for this reason that schools have been noted as a crucial link between the services available and support for children. Thus, schools have

been identified as playing a key role in the access to, and delivery of, services to vulnerable children, and therefore can be seen as “potential nodes of care and support” (Giese, 2003, p. 3). The risks facing out of school youth are exacerbated in comparison to those youth who attend formal schooling (Burns et al., 2004). Of particular interest in this research is how ‘being out of school’ is a risk factor that has been caused by already present risk factors and how being out of school can further exacerbate and fuel the child’s vulnerability and make them more at-risk (Giese et al., 2001). Exploring the dynamics of exclusion in a South African context will add to, and assist in an understanding of the barriers to schooling that result in children being unable to attend school and becoming more at-risk.

Inclusion and exclusion in South Africa

Social ‘inclusion’ and ‘exclusion’ are terms that have particular relevance within South African history and, as some may argue, these practices are still perpetuated in aspects of the South African educational system today (Carrim, 2002). During the apartheid era, social exclusion of black South Africans was legitimised under a regime of white supremacy. Black South Africans were excluded from basic amenities on social, economic and political levels, which resulted in vast inequalities within the population, as well as the extreme oppression and exploitation of black South Africans (*ibid*).

Following the abolition of the apartheid system, there have been attempts to redefine the exclusionary manifestations of apartheid, and to embody inclusionary practices in all aspects of South Africa (Carrim, 2002). The constitution of the “new” South Africa represents an open, democratic and inclusionary society, striving to uphold social justice and human rights, and to remain proactive in initiating and maintaining the inclusion of all groups (*ibid*).

Education in South Africa

Since the 1980’s, the South African education sector has created many new laws and policies in line with the new South African constitution (Carrim, 2002). National policies, plans and programmes are informed by the ‘education for all’ approach, as set out in the South African School’s Act of 1996, with the aim of making education a child’s right and achieving basic education for all children between the ages of 7 and 15 years (Grades 1-9) (Berry & Guthri, 2003). These policies, plans and programmes include: *The Education for All Campaign* which aims to ensure that by 2010 all children will have access to free,

quality education at a primary school level; the *Ministerial Tirisano Call to Action* which aims at expanding the role of schools in the community; *Whole School Evaluation* looking at professionalism in schools and effectiveness of educators; the *Education White Paper 5*; the *Education White Paper 6*; *The National Policy on HIV/AIDS for Learners*; the *Safer Schools Programme*, and others (Berry & Guthri, 2003). It is argued that educational policies like these are fundamentally antiracist and inclusionary in their frames and that there has been a discernable effort to operationalise inclusivity since 1994 (Carrim, 2002).

However, some may argue that although there has been marked progress in the South African education sector, the South African education system is still characterised by poor learning outcomes that are reflective of “gender, geographic and racial differences” (Berry & Guthri, 2003, p. 25). Despite the large-scale efforts of policies and inclusion programmes, many children are still faced with barriers to education and are struggling to gain access to effective schooling. In essence, whilst the education system is trying to be inclusionary, there are still many exclusionary elements within the system. Unfortunately, the children who experience exclusion from school are the children who are most vulnerable and at-risk. It could be argued that it is these children who most fundamentally need to be in school.

Understanding socially marginalized and excluded youth’s exposure to risk

In order to facilitate an understanding of the full spectrum of multidimensional risks that are experienced by out of school youth, we need to better understand the systems in which the risk exists. Risk will be discussed in the context of Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) socio-ecological model, which gives a taxonomy of contexts that are useful for understanding the influences on human development.

Socio-Ecological model of child development

The socio-ecological model arose out of three successive stages in the evolution of models for understanding development in context. Each successive stage built upon the preceding, expanding theoretically and shifting paradigmatically (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1983). The first models for research on development in context arose in the 1870’s and involved the comparison of developmental outcomes of children raised in different geographic and social settings. These models were child-centered and unidirectional, where the child was seen as a passive recipient and a product of their environmental influences. Later, in the 1960’s, these models were combined with structural models that facilitated more complex

operational definitions of environments to include class, ethnicity, family variables and socialization processes (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1983). These models facilitated an understanding of environments as contexts for human development, where the environment was perceived as a series of interdependent systems and signified the second successive stage of model development. In years to come, these systems were further developed to include the perceptions and behaviour of the developing child.

In the late 1970's, and in line with the third successive stage of development, Bronfenbrenner developed the socio-ecological systems theory. This theory allows for a comprehensive and detailed analysis of a child's development in relation to their socio-cultural and environmental influences (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1986) and offers a useful framework for understanding the risk factors that children face in relation to their context. The model outlines numerous factors, both temporary and more stable, that influence the child's life (Killian, 2004). Within the model, there are four main interacting dimensions that shape a child's development. These dimensions are person factors, process factors, contextual factors and time factors and are evident in each system in which a child is situated (Bronfenbrenner, 1992).

- Person Factors

Person factors include the child's characteristics, such as their individual biological, temperamental, intellectual and personality characteristics (Killian, 2004). These personal characteristics influence subsequent development and some are more consequential than others (Sontag, 1996). Person factors also include the characteristics of significant others in a child's life (Killian, 2004).

- Process Factors

Process factors are those factors that include the interactions that take place between a child and significant others. These interactions can take the form of either supportive and encouraging interactions or they can take the form of destructive and negative interactions (Killian, 2004).

- Time Factors

Time factors are those variables that allow for one to understand other dimensions, that impact on a child, in relation to time (Killian, 2004). As the child grows up and time

passes, dimensions will change and influence the child in his or her context in a variety of ways.

- Contextual Factors

Contextual factors allow for the embedded ideologies within contexts to be included in an understanding of child development. Such systems are a child's family, community, cultural group and ideological practices, political surroundings and economic situation (Killian, 2004). As Killian (2004, p.35) expresses, "each (system) has a purpose and regulates social exchange". In this way, each system has a set of rules by which to abide, roles to fulfil and power dynamics to negotiate (*ibid*). The way in which contextual factors are perceived and understood by the child, and their significant others, impacts upon the outcome of the child's development.

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) particular contribution to the understanding of the social ecology of childhood lies in the way in which he further elaborated on the contextual layers of the ecological systems. Bronfenbrenner (1979) understood the four dimensions of child development within contextual systems. A child is embedded within several of interacting systems that prescribe particular activities and make certain resources available. These systems are thought to influence development in important ways as they determine the type of childhood or developmental path an individual will have. Importantly, Bronfenbrenner's (1986) model also understands a child as an active agent influencing and contributing to the contextual systems. Developmental competencies are not focused solely within the child nor entirely within the environment, but are rather understood as the result of the reciprocal interactions between the child as an agent and interactions with significant others within their contexts (Sontag, 1996). As such, risks are understood as both coming from the child and in turn being imposed on the child. Bronfenbrenner (1979) referred to the contextual systems that a child operates within as the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem and chronosystem. The five systems and the relationships between each system are not static but instead change during the course of the child's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). Bronfenbrenner and Crouter (1983, p.381) articulated these changes as ecological transitions that "takes place whenever, during the life course, a person undergoes a change in role either within the same or in a different setting". These changes serve as an impetus for developmental change and can occur at anytime across a life span. These changes can either be initiated earlier on by others, or subsequently by the developing individual. By considering ecological transitions, one can investigate development as a product of environmental change.

Microsystem

A microsystem, as outlined by Bronfenbrenner (1979), is the innermost environmental layer, representing the child's immediate daily interactions and patterns of activities. Daily interactions within the microsystem are characterised by bi-directional influences between the child and significant others to create patterns of behaviour and result in assumed roles (*ibid*). Once interactions become ingrained and reinforced, they become habitual and influential in shaping aspects of a child's development (Killian, 2004). These habitual interactions may become reproduced in other microsystems in which the child may play a role. As time passes, different microsystems hold varying degrees of importance in a child's life.

Bronfenbrenner (1986) placed particular importance in the way in which the child perceives the interactions and relationships with significant others in the microsystem. Some theorists have researched the cognitive styles that a child and significant others use in their lives to interpret and understand interactions. It is hypothesized that these cognitive styles will affect the way in which these events will eventually impact on the child (Killian, 2004). In this way, the child is seen as taking an active role in negotiating interactions in the microsystem whereby interactions could be perceived positively leading to psychological validation or, alternatively could be perceived negatively, leading to destructive attributions and a sense of personal invalidation. An example of a positive microsystem would be when a caregiver is present and the child's daily interactions with the caregiver are characterised by consistency, care and support. High-risk microsystems, for example when a caregiver is not present or abusive, contributes to inconsistent, ambivalent and abusive daily interactions that results in maladjusted patterns of behaviour. All of these risks contribute towards a lack of reciprocally rewarding relationships and interactions. It is for these reasons that a supportive microsystem will promote the child's development whilst an unsupportive microsystem will limit a child's development. It is within the microsystem that a strong foundation for positive development can be created (Masten, 2000, as cited in Killian, 2004) and risks within this system are especially detrimental.

Mesosystem

Bronfenbrenner (1979) explained the mesosystem as the second systemic layer where interrelationships between two or more microsystems become evident. The mesosystem consists of sets of interrelated microsystems and the linkages between these systems. The

stronger the links between the microsystems the greater the likelihood of positive development. When links between microsystems are ineffectual, destructive or non-existent, the mesosystem is characterised by levels of high-risk. Examples of high-risk mesosystems would be poor communications or negative associations between a parent and a child's school because of the stigmatisation and discrimination around HIV/AIDS and poverty. The linkages between microsystems that form the mesosystem are important when considering that even one strong positive linkage between two microsystems may offset other problematic facets in a child's life (Killian, 2004).

Exosystem

The exosystem is the third system influencing the individual. The exosystem is the context in which an individual child and his/her family may not necessarily take an active role, but nevertheless, is a context that plays an influential role in their development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Examples of exosystems are the neighbourhood in which the family resides, schools in the community, a parent or caregiver's workplace, friends of the family, legal services and community services like health and welfare systems.

Community and environmental factors characterize risk factors within the exosystem. Examples of community and environmental risk factors are poor socio-economic status within the family and community; lack of health and social service facilities; lack of, or inferior, educational institutions, political discord in the area; the absence of role models or relationships with other members of the community and neighbourhoods in which there is drug or alcohol abuse or gang related activity (Baylis, 2002; Rak & Patterson, 1996). All of which were evident in the context that the youth in this study reside.

Macrosystem

The macrosystem is the fourth layer that represents broader institutional and ideological systems that shape the culture and subculture within which the other systems operate (Killian, 2004). As articulated by Killian (2004, p.37), "in its broadest sense, the macrosystem dictates children's place in society". Certain beliefs, cultures, practices or traditions that affect children may result in protection or risk (*ibid*). South Africa's legislative frameworks also deal with the treatment of children and form part of the macrosystem (*ibid*). Examples of protective factors within the macrosystem are policy frameworks that address the needs of children in their contexts and meet these needs. For example, the Conventions on the Rights of Children (UNICEF, 1989), which defines how

children must be legally defined, prioritized and treated within the national context (Killian, 2004).

Examples of risk factors in the macrosystem are broad ideologies like apartheid that had extreme discriminatory and oppressive tenets, which are still evident in economic, social, educational and political inequalities between black and white South African's today. Other risky ideological systems that are dictated culturally, and perpetuated economically and socially, are perceptions of females in relation to males and the culturally submissive roles that women and young girls must assume. The same can be said for children, who are forced to assume adult roles because of sickness in the family, economic difficulties, exposure to early pregnancy or exclusion from schooling. All of which signify risk, as the child's rights are not acknowledged nor acted upon within this systemic layer.

Chronosystem

Finally, Bronfenbrenner (1979) outlined the fifth layer, the chronosystem that represents the historical changes that impact on any of the other layers, which ultimately affects the overall direction of the development of the individual child. Risk and protective factors are shaped in this domain by political disturbances, economic depressions, diseases and pandemics or any other revolutions that the child may live through (Killian, 2004).

In a South African context, the political disturbances of apartheid are still evident today, manifest in all aspects of society. The political regime of apartheid is perhaps one of the largest revolutions that a South African child will live through, or be impacted by, and thus constitutes a historical period of extreme risk.

Thus, a child's individual development is characterized by, and dependent on, the way in which the four developmental dimensions (process, person, contextual and time factors) interact with each other in the five contextual systems articulated by Bronfenbrenner (1979). Within each of these systems, there arise different risk factors. However, it is important to note that the risk factors articulated here do not represent the entire scope of adversity a child may encounter but provide a theoretical framework from which to explore adversity in marginalized and excluded youth's lives (Baylis, 2002; Rak & Patterson, 1996). From this articulation it becomes evident how intertwined risk processes are, and how important awareness of this is in developing our understanding of vulnerable, at-risk and marginalized groups.

To understand barriers to schooling in a South African context, and to give credit to the true extent of the issue at hand, a further exploration of the current statistics and estimates of children not attending school is necessary.

Statistics of South African children not attending school

At the start of the 21st century Lloyd and Hewett (2003) report frightening estimates of children who will not complete their primary schooling in sub-Saharan Africa. They estimated from 26 countries in sub-Saharan Africa, that 37 million adolescents between the ages of 10 and 14 will not complete their primary schooling (*ibid*). This represents 83% of the youth in sub-Saharan Africa (*ibid*). Thus, the current level of education attainment in sub-Saharan Africa falls substantially below the educational attainment of children in other developing countries (*ibid*).

In South Africa, of the 12 million learners attending public schools, only 21% are able to access public schooling in urban areas, whilst the majority of learners attend public schools in rural areas that are characterized by their lack of facilities and resources (Berry & Guthri, 2003). In South Africa, “in 1996, 16% of children aged 6-14 years were out of school, with the highest prevalence of non-schooling in rural areas (19.1%) and among black Africans” (Giese et al., 2003, p.5). It becomes apparent that there seems to still be a mismatch between policy and practice and that dynamics of inclusion and exclusion are still part of the South African education system.

It is for these reasons that exclusionary factors and barriers to schooling need to be further identified, articulated and addressed (Berry & Guthri, 2003). It is argued in this research that these reasons need to be articulated by youth who are currently not at school. It is also evident that geographic regions impact on rates of school attendance. Thus, this study, in an attempt to articulate barriers to schooling, will look specifically at why children in this small rural town are not able to go to school.

Documented barriers to education

There are numerous documented barriers to schooling in the South African context. Each barrier to schooling cannot be understood in a vacuum, but rather they need to be understood as interacting with one another. Some barriers to education as documented by the Department of Education (2000) range from socio-economic barriers such as the inability of the family to pay school fees and purchase school uniforms, to infrastructural

barriers like the lack of transport and long distances to access schools, to social and personal barriers like hunger and disability. Other documented barriers that exclude children from attending school are issues of homelessness, economic struggle to provide for the family, the need to complete household chores, caring for the sick, and the lack of parental guidance that encourages children to attend school (*ibid*). All of these barriers can be understood within Bronfenbrenner's (1979) socio-ecological model of child development.

For example, one barrier to schooling is inherently interlinked with gender ideologies at the macrosystemic level. Whilst it is evident that both girls and boys are found to be out of school, the reasons for non-attendance are strongly gendered (Huber & Gould, 2003). In a recent study in South Africa, it was reported that 11% of girls and 6,5% of boys that were of school-going age had either currently dropped out of school or were never enrolled (Steinberg, Johnson, Schierhout, Ndegwa, Hall, Russell & Morgan, 2002, as cited in Giese et al., 2003, p.7). Huber and Gould (2003) assert that girls are most likely to either drop out of school, or never attend school based on a variety of reasons. Girls are expected to spend more time doing domestic chores around the home, are the ones expected to care for younger siblings and relatives, and are looked to for home-based care when an adult or sibling falls ill (Giese et al., 2001; Giese et al., 2003; Huber & Gould, 2003; HSRC: *Emerging voices* report, 2005). All of these home based activities result in either intermittent school attendance and/or the learner eventually dropping out of school. Hence, gendered ideologies within the macrosystem perpetuate and fuel how parents perceive and interact with girl children at the exosystemic layer. This in turn influences patterns of interaction in the girl child's micro and meso systems. As a result, these ideologies shape patterns and processes of behaviours, which in turn shape the child's person characteristics.

Other barriers to school have been outlined in studies with learners in school. It has been found that learners spoke about extensive concern for a parent's or sibling's well being (Giese et al., 2001). These learners said that they find it difficult to concentrate at school for fear of what might be occurring at home (*ibid*). Learners', whose family members have died or are sick and unable to work, have often had to become the breadwinner in the home. Exosystemic barriers like these, impact upon the child and can result in the child being no longer able to attend school.

Other exosystemic barriers to schooling are that children may be unfairly turned away from the school premises. Despite the Department of Education's voiced commitment to ensuring access to quality education for all, children are still being turned away from schools when school fees are not paid or when their uniforms are of a poor quality. This is a real concern for learners and parents, and as research findings tend to suggest, is the most widely experienced barrier to education (Giese et al., 2003). In addition, many children feel that they cannot attend school if they do not have these resources; some are being denied these state-provided resources by the schools if they have not paid their school fees.

Barriers to schooling that are created when there is a disjuncture between policy in the macrosystemic system and practice in the exosystemic system further create conflict between the child's most primary microsystems. Conflict in a child's microsystems creates mesosystemic tension, for example between the family and the school, between educators and learners, and between caregivers and children (HSRC: *Emerging voices* report, 2005). Many children have reported being denied access to school, expelled, beaten, discriminated against through not being able to access nutritional programmes, or teased and embarrassed by educators, for not being able to pay school fees (Giese et al., 2001). The stigmatisation and discrimination around poverty also prevents children from wanting to wear a school uniform that is too small, worn or old. These patterns of interactions and experiences impact upon process dimensions in the school and within the home, and ultimately impact upon person dimensions that shape successful child development.

Another barrier to education is the lack of food available to many children, which is a contextual barrier within both the macro and exo systems. Hunger results in exhaustion and diminished attention, which contribute to further non-attendance and poor performance rates in schools (Giese et al., 2001). Children have spoken of the embarrassment of collapsing during school from hunger (*ibid*). The stigmatization of being poor or ill experienced by the child has an impact on the person and process dimensions of development within the microsystemic level.

Access to transport to and from school poses a problem for many children in South Africa. Often children must walk long distances to school (Giese et al., 2001). The safety of children travelling long distances either early in the morning or late in the afternoon results in children not feeling safe (Giese et al., 2001). These are exosystemic barriers and indicate the way in which the neighbourhood and community can negatively impact upon the child.

Certain person dimensions can impact upon the microsystems in which the child interacts. Children who are slow learners, or who are experiencing some form of physical or learning difficulty, are often asked to move to specialized schools that will cater for their needs. This is very difficult for such youth and their parents as specialized schools are often more expensive, further away, or unknown to the family concerned (Giese et al., 2001).

It becomes evident that barriers to education are extremely complicated, intricate and interwoven. Effectively, barriers to education create, and dialectically fuel, each other and it is for these reasons that no barrier can be understood in isolation. Youth who do not attend school are a group that are particularly vulnerable and at-risk of adversity. In relation to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) socio-ecological model, one can make the assumption that marginalized and excluded youth's vulnerabilities are evident on all the systemic layers. From the literature it is evident that youth who do not, or cannot, attend school are excluded from a pivotal link of access to, and delivery of, social services in the area, further marginalizing them as a group. It is for these reasons that these particular youth's risks, experienced barriers, and reasons for not attending school need to be voiced. Once this is determined, and the specific exclusionary barriers these youth face are identified, this may be able to inform the design of psychosocial interventions for these vulnerable youth.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Aim and Rational

One of the lasting effects of the risks that the South African context poses is the devastating impact it is having on the education of children. It is for these reasons that out of school youth, those children who do not or cannot attend school, have been identified as a particularly vulnerable group and an important population that needs consideration. These youth are the focus of this study.

This study aimed to map the reasons for, and experiences of, school exclusion of youth who do not, or cannot, attend school. The study explores an understanding of the risks experienced by these socially marginalized and excluded youth with the use of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) socio-ecological model. The socio-ecological model facilitates an understanding of the contextual taxonomy of systems that impact upon child development. Thus, this study specifically asked the question of what are rural youth's experiences of, and reasons for, being excluded from schooling, as well as what is the process of exclusion that these youth experience. In doing this, the study theorizes how exclusion from school relates to already present risk factors in the context where these youth reside. By explicitly defining the experiences of exclusion of youth who cannot attend school, one can begin to understand the complicated process of exclusion in order to assist in the design of strategies and interventions for targeting youth who drop out of school.

The study focused on female out of school youth between the ages of 7 and 15 years because, as the literature suggests, school non-attendance is strongly gendered (Huber & Gould, 2003). This study is particularly important because it is based in and around a small town in a former homeland in KwaZulu Natal. The area is characterized by differing degrees of rurality, poverty and has a history of political violence. This population consists of many rural children who are particularly vulnerable to exclusion.

Research Design

The research utilized an applied, exploratory qualitative design that was interpretative in nature (Kvale, 1996; Durrheim, 1999). It made preliminary investigations into an area that was relatively unknown, the experiences of socially marginalized and excluded youth in and around a small town in a former homeland in KwaZulu Natal. Through the identification of particular problems in specific social conditions and systems, the findings

could ultimately contribute towards pragmatic issues of decision-making and problem solving both at the level of policy and community interventions (Durrheim, 1999).

Sample

Sampling of the study setting, and the participants within this setting, was non-probabilistic and purposive. Non-probability sampling is sampling according to principles of convenience and accessibility and not according to principles of statistical randomness (Bickman & Rog, 1998). The sampling technique was chosen in order to access a very particular set of participants that are recognised as a hard to reach group, as well to include a specific research setting.

Purposive sampling of the study setting

The district in which this study took place was purposively sampled as a setting that was appropriate to answer the research questions in this study, and thus, an understanding of the context is central to understanding out of school youth in this area. John and Rule (2006) look at how the historical context of violence has shaped schooling in this rural district of KwaZulu Natal, by attempting to “provide a contextual understanding of the area as a geographic and socio-historic space” (John & Rule, 2006, p.165). Anti-colonial resistance during the late 1980’s and 1990’s made this rural district feature as a site of “chronic violence and instability” that was characteristic of the province at the time (*ibid*, p.169). John and Rule (*ibid*, p.168) reflect how this violence has been referred to and used as an “anchor point” for discussions around barriers to schooling.

During the violence, the loss of breadwinners resulted in the disintegration of the families, who were already experiencing contextual struggles like poverty and unemployment. As a result, many residents and breadwinners were displaced from the area, causing further disruption of the family unit. Children experienced extreme loss and bereavement that, in the absence of any form of bereavement counseling, resulted in psychological trauma. As argued by John and Rule (2006), the family as a supportive network is a scarce commodity in this rural district as a result of these traumas.

This violence and political instability, fragmentation of the family and the disintegration of society have resulted in the introduction and increased use of alcohol, drugs and commercial sex work in the area. This has also resulted in rising HIV/AIDS prevalence in the district. Death and illness resulting from HIV/AIDS and the above mentioned factors,

has resulted in additional financial constraints within families and increased number of orphans. In addition, one of the many repercussions of this socio-historical context is the number of out of school youth in the area. It was for these reasons, that this rural district in KwaZulu Natal was an appropriate setting in which to sample out of school youth.

Hard to reach groups

Hard to reach groups are difficult to access for many reasons. A group may be hard to reach logistically, in that members are located in widely dispersed rural areas. A group may be hard to reach because of circumstance, as they are involved in daily chores and caring within the home and do not attend an organized institution like school. Groups may also be hard to reach because of social expectations where children are not considered appropriate consultees or because they may be sceptical or wary of outsiders and may wish to remain hidden. Thus, for both simple and pragmatic reasons, youth who do not attend school as a group can be considered hard to reach (Jones & Allebone, 1999).

This had a number of implications for the appropriate and ethical recruitment and retention of these youth in the research. Making contact with and gaining access to these youth, as children who are vulnerable, at-risk, and marginalized made issues of power and status as well as gender and culture complicated. When researching a vulnerable and marginalized population one needs to be consciously and consistently aware of power dynamics in the research process (Johnson & Mayoux, 1998; Kelly & Van der Riet, 2001). Power dynamics threaten to distort the information collected as well as lead to the exploitation of the vulnerable participants. It is for these reasons that participatory techniques were chosen to specifically address issues of power between the researcher and the researched, and to maximize the children's participation in the research in order to facilitate individual expression.

Sampling technique to access out of school youth

Two main processes of accessing out of school youth shaped the sample in this research. Firstly, through the NRF study, it became evident that 'volunteers' in the small town, who were volunteering in home-based care and the delivery of food parcels, had access to specific information about the geographic location of these youth. The 'volunteers' worked at a drop-in-centre in the town which is a day care and support centre that supplies meals for children who 'drop-in', in addition to identifying vulnerable families, providing home-based care, and delivering of food parcels. Through the volunteers' home-based care visits,

the names, ages, gender, and area location of children who were identified as out of school youth, were captured, along with the volunteers assumed reasons for the youth not attending school. In total, 106 information sheets detailing socially marginalized and excluded youth in this small town were accessed from the volunteers. This information was then summarized in terms of the geographic location of the youth and the frequency with which each area was cited. Information from the volunteers indicated a high frequency of youth who did not attend school in specific areas.

The information collected from the volunteers was combined with and guided by, a second means of sampling. The second means of sampling was informed by the broader NRF study's decision to sample schools in the small town in a former homeland in KwaZulu Natal in terms of different urban and rural localities, political alignments, historical access to resources and degrees of racial integration (Van der Riet, Hough, Killian, O'Neill & Ram, 2006). From the NRF studies sample, six schools, that reported high numbers of youth who did not attend school in the area, were selected as starting points in further accessing out of school youth. Of the six schools that were identified, three were secondary schools and three were primary schools. Of the six schools, one was rural (School A), one was urban (School C), one was peri-urban (School D) and three were deep-rural (School's E, H and I). The schools geographic locations are illustrated in Table 1 below. The letters allocated to the schools are not consecutive because they follow the labelling used in the broader NRF project.

Schools *	Geographic Location
A	Rural
C	Urban
D	Peri-urban
E	Deep-rural
H	Deep-rural
I	Deep-rural

* According to NRF classifications

Table 1. Selected schools reporting high numbers of socially marginalized and excluded youth in a small town in a former homeland of KwaZulu Natal – labelled according to geographic location

It was assumed that learners in school would know of other children in the area who were not currently attending school. Letters addressed to the learners in *isiZulu* were given to all

of the learners in the primary schools and selected grades (Grades 8, 9, 10) within the secondary schools during a general assembly. The letters requested the learners' assistance in the identification of out of school youth (See Appendix 2- Letter addressing the learners). This formal letter was explained by an *isiZulu*-speaking researcher to the learners at each school. At this meeting, the reasons for the importance of contacting out of school youth were explained and discussed, highlighting the need to give a voice to the exclusion experienced by these youth. Learners were asked to record the contact information of the youth on a form (See Appendix 3 – Out of School Youth Contact Form). A date for a second visit to collect the learners' information about the youth was arranged with the learners.

At the second visit, an *isiZulu*-speaking researcher met each of the learners who had information to report. An *isiZulu*-speaking researcher independent to the school was utilised and all information was collected during the school break times. In total, 122 information sheets detailing out of school youth's information were collected from the learners.

Limitations of sampling technique

These sampling techniques had limitations. Firstly, it is important to note that the information collected from the volunteers was primarily in relation to the existing geographic distribution of the volunteers and the degree of the proactiveness of their investigations and recording of the youth. Therefore, the information collected may not have accurately reflected the actual frequency of out of school youth in the area. For example, volunteers worked in the areas in which they resided and might have had particular relationships with particular families and out of school youth, and may have had vested interests in identifying these youth. However, volunteers provided a 'way to' these youth, i.e. they enabled access to this particularly marginalized group of participants, but this procedure also contained biases, which could not be controlled.

Secondly, by initially using the learners in schools as informants about youth who did not attend school, the research may have been seen as either coming from the school, or as having a relationship or alliance with the school. Socially marginalized and excluded youth may have had negative perceptions of, and relations with, the school and by virtue of this, may have perceived the research in a negative or threatening light. These youth may also have feared that the information they shared, either initially with the learners, or finally

with the researcher, may be used to report on them to the schools, or to other authorities like the police or government. For these reasons, the youth may not have wanted to be accessed or to participate in the research. They thus might not have come forward, or agreed to have their information passed on to the researchers. This sampling approach used was also dependent on the learners being able to convey the motivation for the research to these youth.

The following steps were taken to minimize such limitations:

- Special emphasis was placed on obtaining the out of school youth's permission to record their details and information before the learner reported this information to a researcher. It was highlighted that the information given about the youth would not be reported to educators, education department officials, or other authorities, and that the information collected was for the purposes of research only. It is important to note that many learners reported to the researchers that whilst they had identified youth who were out of school, these youth did not want their details reported to the researchers. Such instances indicate that the learners were seeking the youth's permission to report their details. In these instances the youth's details were not recorded so as to maintain their desired confidentiality.
- Researchers collected all information from the learners as opposed to educators in the school setting.
- All information was collected during break time at the schools, in empty classrooms or on the field, so as to encourage the learners to report information that they may not feel able to report if educators were present. This process ensured that the learners felt comfortable with coming forward with information about people they knew.

In order to further address these anticipated limitations, out of school youth were also identified through the specific sampling technique of snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is a means of identifying participants who are then used to refer researchers to other participants (Atkinson & Flint, 2001).

Snowball sampling is based on the theory that the initial participant will link the researcher with others in the same target population. Snowball sampling has a number of advantages, such as the ability to identify and access populations that are often socially marginalized,

at-risk, or particularly vulnerable (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). It also facilitates entry into hard to access population subgroups, such as out of school youth. This sampling technique was able to assist in accessing out of school youth who are not often in contact with formal social networks and thus remain a hidden group. This means of sampling was enlisted once out of school youth from the learners and volunteers were identified and were able to identify other out of school youth in the area.

Thus, out of school youth were identified via three means of sampling: the volunteers, the learners, and other youth who were not attending school. The participants accessed via the sampling through the school system were the hardest group to access logistically, took the most time to locate, and were at first, the most sceptical group of participants. This may have been because our initial visit was unannounced.

The youth that were accessed through the 'volunteers' were easier to contact, as the volunteers had previously organised a meeting time and place. In addition, perhaps because of the way in which they were contacted, these youth had a basic understanding of why we were there. However, these youth in particular and the youth accessed via snowball sampling believed that the research was linked to social support services as we had made contact via the 'volunteers'. This misperception took much time to dispel and resulted in these youth, more so than the other youth, expressing a rhetoric of poverty.

Final sample characteristics

Six youth, who did not attend school were purposively selected (Bickman & Rog, 1998), and accessed. In addition to these youth, a further two out of school youth were identified and accessed by means of snowball sampling. Thus, the final sample comprised of eight out of school youth girls, between the ages of 10 and 15. Girls, within this age range, were sampled because it is at this age that girls would be expected to be able to care for the sick or younger siblings, and to carry out domestic activities. Furthermore, this age range was selected, because, at this age, children are cognitively able to participate in the photovoice technique. This age range also allowed for the broader NRF study to compare these youth directly, in terms of age, with the learners who had been targeted in schools. As far as possible, each youth was selected from different geographic regions in the small town in a former homeland in KwaZulu Natal. It was thought that this may assist in an understanding of how an urban or rural locality may affect youth being out of school (Giese et al., 2003). Six of the youth were located in rural areas, one in a peri-urban area and one in an urban

area. Table 2 outlines the selected socially marginalized and excluded out of school youth, their ages, the areas in which they were located and the sampling technique used for identification of the youth. Please note all names listed are pseudonyms and will be used to refer to each of the youth throughout this research report.

Out of school youth *Pseudonyms	Age	Urban/rural locality	Sampling technique used
*Mpume	14 years	Rural	Purposive: Via learners from selected schools
*Zama	12 years	Urban	Purposive: Via learners from selected schools
*Tholla	15 years	Peri-urban	Purposive: Via learners from selected schools
*Thuli	15 years	Rural	Purposive: Via learners from selected schools
*Nonhlanhla	15 years	Rural	Purposive: Via volunteers
*Nondomiso	15 years	Rural	Snowball sampling
*Londeka	12 years	Rural	Snowball sampling
*Sindisiwe	14 years	Rural	Purposive: Via volunteers

Table 2. Out of school youth, ages, urban/rural locality and the sampling techniques used in the final identification of each youth.

Data Collection

In recent years, there has been a shift in perceptions that children are passive recipients of socialization practices, to an understanding that children are active participants dialectically creating their realities in the societies where they live (O’Kane, 2000). Methodology has shifted away from viewing the child as an object of concern and begun to engage with

children as active participants in the research process with the competence to assimilate and report their views (Hazel, 1995). Participatory techniques embody specific ontological assumptions and methodology, which enable children to engage with researchers in ways that facilitate children's expressions about issues that affect them (O'Kane, 2000).

Participatory techniques reside within the interpretative tradition of research and aim to attain a clear understanding of the perception's and construction's of individuals in their everyday lives. When using participatory techniques in data collection, an important consideration is the actual process of application (O'Kane, 2000) where information collection is seen as part of a process of many detailed interactions. This process of information collection creates rapport between the researcher and the researched allowing for the participant's needs to be clearly expressed. Furthermore, such a 'process' allows for information collection to pay critical attention to ethical ways of working with vulnerable children.

Participatory techniques, like the semi-structured interview and photovoice used in this study, allowed for rich, in-depth, individual descriptions (Kvale, 1996; Wang, 1999) of the experiences of exclusion from schooling for youth who do not attend school.

Data Collection Techniques

Two main forms of data collection were used in this process: a semi-structured interview and a participatory technique known as photovoice. The semi-structured interview was used as a means to collect baseline information and the photovoice technique was used as a means to build on, and explicate this foundation of information.

Semi-structured interview

A semi-structured interview is a flexible interviewing method through which to collect a wide range of information (Kvale, 1996). This technique was chosen because it allowed for information to be collected that addressed the focus of this research, whilst still maintaining a flexible and dynamic style so as to facilitate the information sharing process. The semi-structured interview questions were informed by, and developed from, the literature on articulated barriers to education and from the NRF project's focus group outline used with the within-school youth.

The questions in the semi-structured interview aimed to access information concerning the daily experiences of youth who do not attend school and the social systems to which the youth had access. The questions sought to elicit information about the reasons for not going to school and their experiences of being excluded from schooling. The questions were also designed to get a better understanding of what types of activities these socially marginalized and excluded youth were involved in from day to day. The questions also intended to draw out the risk factors that the youth may be exposed to and the types (if any) of help seeking behaviours they enact (See Semi-Structured Interview Schedule attached in Appendix 4).

In addition to this, some of the questions were combined with participatory techniques such as drawing (Theis & Grady, 1991). A drawing is a means by which the participant can represent aspects of their lives in a condensed and accessible form. Furthermore, visual representations of aspects of one's life may be easier initially to draw, than discuss. Drawings can also facilitate discussion and communication around issues that are difficult to address (*ibid*). However, this technique was only used with one participant to stimulate discussion.

Photovoice

Photovoice is a specific photographic technique used in participatory action research. It utilizes the notion of imaging as an important way in which to represent an individual's worldview. Through the use of cameras, participants are able to document their realities and begin to map their personal experiences (Wang, 1999). Photovoice aims to provide a subjective lens that facilitates participants identifying, representing and communicating their expertise (Wang, Yi, Tao & Carovano, 1998). By allowing participants to portray their lives through imaging, photovoice is affirming the value of knowledge that is grounded in experience (Wang, 1999).

Photovoice as a technique further aims at promoting dialogue through group discussion and reflection on the photographs (Wang, 1999, p. 185). Wang argues "the lesson an image teaches does not reside in its physical structure but rather in how people interpret the image in question" (*ibid*, p.186). In this way, the process of mediating the image to others, and relaying the image's story, is a crucial part of the photovoice technique. Thus, photovoice acts as a tool through which, by means of visual images, voices can emerge (*ibid*). Photovoice is of particular interest when considering research with vulnerable individuals

because it challenges the notions of authorship and thereby attempts to tackle some of the key issues around the power dynamics of researching vulnerable and marginalized individuals (Wang, 1999).

Evaluation of the photovoice technique

Whilst photovoice aims to facilitate the documentation of the realities of participants' lives, allowing participants to map their personal experiences and communicating and representing their expertise, it is important to reflect on the application of the technique in this study. Whilst the photovoice technique aims to achieve these results, it was used in this study for a number of additional reasons: a) to assist in the expression of the perspectives of more marginalized people; b) to supplement the semi-structured interview that preceded the photovoice technique; and c) to stimulate and include the youth in the research process, giving them an opportunity to engage in photography and enjoy the activity.

The photovoice technique was able to facilitate a discussion of the subjective experiences of barriers to schooling of the participants and assisted in steering away from the researcher's preconceptions. This was achieved through the limited restrictions placed on the photography of the youth (i.e. the instruction was broad and non-specific). Thus, a specific aim of this participatory technique was to give control and authorship over the research process to the participant. This hopefully reduced the power and control that the researcher usually has over the experience.

The photographs also facilitated discussion through changing the dynamic from the semi-structured interview format. The photographs stimulated discussions that lead to interesting and useful information about certain barriers to schooling. The story behind each photograph further facilitated an expression of the youth's perspective, once again moving away from the researcher's interpretation of the photographs. However, whether these perspectives were reflective of the participant's true realities or 'socially desirable' realities is debatable. Thus, it could be argued that the photovoice technique was not used in its 'true' manner, as it is debatable whether the participants did portray their 'socially desirable' realities or their 'true realities'. This may be because the time spent with each youth, might not have been sufficient to build levels of trust with these vulnerable, marginalized children. However, the technique was able to stimulate and include the youth in the research process through the enjoyment of what became a 'photo interview' activity. Thus, the photographs taken by the youth in this study were used as a medium through

which interaction could be facilitated; however, the photographs were not used as data in the analysis of the findings.

Data Collection Process

Several steps were taken in the data collection process. The visits that took place were as follows: the initial contact meeting; the semi-structured interview and camera training with photovoice focus discussion; the camera collection and the photo interview.

An initial contact meeting was initiated with each youth, the translator and the researcher at the youth's home. This meeting aimed to facilitate contact between the youth, their family and the research team, to explain the reason for our visit and the research that we wished the youth to participate in. This initial meeting characterised an information sharing process where the contextual and social factors surrounding the youth became evident and informed future data collection with the youth.

Following this, the research process, and the aims, goals and participatory techniques of the research was discussed with the youth. Each youth and caregiver, if present, was given a consent form (See Appendices 6, 7, 8 and 9). All consent forms were translated into *isiZulu* by an *isiZulu* speaking researcher, and were back translated by another *isiZulu* speaking research assistant. All the participants were under the age of 18 and thus, particular care was taken with regards to informed consent, where both the youth, and where possible, the youth's caregiver consent was required. A future meeting date and time was negotiated with the youth. The time between these visits would allow for the youth to consider if they wish to be involved in the research, and to receive the caregiver's consent. In addition, it was believed that the time given would allow for the mitigation of any pressures that the youth may have felt, or power dynamics, which might have been present, because of our unannounced arrival.

In this second meeting, the youth were asked if they wished to participate in the research and whether they had received their caregiver's consent. If so, the informed consent procedure took place whereby the consent forms were reread and signed. There were no aspects of the research about which the participant was not informed. The translator informed the participants that they should feel able to decline participation at any stage of the research if they wished to do so.

When entering the homes of the participants one can unintentionally reveal information, such as one's social and economic status or presence of illness to the community. This can lead to stigmatisation and discrimination. It is for these reasons that specific attention was paid to issues of anonymity and confidentiality. Anonymity was explained to the participants in relation to a pseudonym. In addition, confidentiality was ensured to the participants in that the data collected would only be linked to their pseudonyms and all data would be destroyed after the completion of the research. In this way, no direct links are made between the participants and the information collected following the research, or in the dissemination of the findings.

Each activity within the data collection process was either held individually, with a participant (because of the geographic region in which the participants were located made it impractical to have group participation), or the data collection process was held in small groups of two (if the participants were located in geographically similar areas). Four of the participants were interviewed in groups of two. This was the case for Nonhlanhla, Nondomiso, Londeka and Sindisiwe, who were all located in the same rural area in the small town where the study took place. When interviews were done in groups of two, it was ensured that each youth was given an opportunity to answer each question in the semi-structured interview schedule, as well as other questions that arose from discussions. The remaining participants were interviewed individually because of geographic dispersion and because of the different days on which data collection began for each participant.

Each interview was tape recorded to facilitate information collection, and then transcribed to aid in the data analysis. All participants' first language was *isiZulu* therefore an *isiZulu* speaking translator was used in all interactions during the research process. The translator was a female, *isiZulu* speaking assistant researcher based at the University of KwaZulu-Natal who had a background in education and experience of working with children. The same researcher and translator were present in each interaction with the participant so as to begin developing rapport with the participants.

Following the semi-structured interview, the participatory technique of photovoice (Wang, 1999) was introduced. The technique aimed to allow for the youth to map their personal experiences of exclusion and to use the photographs as a means to communicate and represent these experiences. The photovoice technique was discussed with each participant in relation to the focus and theme of the photographs that the participant was asked to take.

The focus was to take photographs that would portray for others, 'what it is like to be me'. The focus was not defined specifically because the desired effect was not to prescribe what photographs were taken. If further unpacking of the focus became necessary, it was suggested that the participant should think of questions like, 'where do you live and with whom?', 'what do you do in your day?' or 'who are people who help you?'

When we began working with the camera and talking about photographs the youth became very excited. At this point, the youth would laugh and smile and would engage actively by asking questions. In two separate instances, youth that had previously only communicated in *isiZulu*, via the translator, began to speak in broken English for the first time, asking questions about the camera and the subjects of their photographs.

Following this, participants were given training on how to use a camera, highlighting issues of where one must stand in relation to the sun, where one should stand in relation to the subject of the photo and how to operate and look after the camera. The cameras that were used were Kodak disposable cameras with 25 photographs on each camera.

Because the idea of a camera was so novel to all the participants, two practice photographs were taken. The participant practiced loading the camera and then posed for a photograph. This picture was used to identify which photographs belonged to which youth after development of the photographs. Each participant was then encouraged to practice with the camera on their own by taking a photograph of their choice. It was then explained that the research team would return in one week's time to collect the camera so as to develop the photographs.

In the following meeting with the participant, the cameras were collected. A future meeting was then decided upon with each participant.

The specific aim of the photo interview visit was to allow for the youth to map their personal experiences of exclusion and to use the photographs as a means to communicate and build upon the discussions from the semi-structured interviews. The technique was also used to stimulate and include the youth in the research process, giving them an opportunity to engage in photography and enjoy the activity. During this visit, each participant was given all the photographs that they had taken. The youth were openly excited to receive their copy of the photographs. The youth would usually hurriedly skim through the photographs and then go back to admire or laugh at certain memories from the

photographs, stopping at certain pictures that they had forgotten having captured. Following this excitement, the photographs were spread over an open surface. The researcher engaged the youth in a discussion about the photographs, covering issues such as why the participant had chosen specific pictures, as well as any other information she wished to share. This interaction took place by means of a dialogue between the researcher and the participant and thus took the form of a photo-interview (Find Photo-interview schedule attached in Appendix 5). At first the youth seemed confused at the level of detail that we were willing to discuss for each picture and would often hurry over each description. However, soon the youth began to understand the process and took time in reflecting over all the pictures. This interaction was tape recorded so as to facilitate data analysis. Following this, the research process was completed and final farewells were said.

During, and after, each visit with the participants, detailed field notes of all interactions and conversations were recorded. These notes spanned details of the contextual surroundings of the participant's homes and the neighbours and relatives that the researcher and translator met. The field notes were useful in highlighting key ideas and points that needed to be followed up in future visits. These notes were particularly important in two instances where the audio taping of the semi-structured interview was not audible. Because this was identified almost immediately after the interviews, additional notes generated by the translator and the researcher supplemented these detailed field notes. The field notes were used as a means of highlighting aspects of the data and particular interactions that needed further investigation.

Translation Process

Translation occurred immediately during the research process. This involved the researcher asking questions of the participant in English, whilst the translator translated the question into *isiZulu*. The participants answer was then translated into English. This was important as it enabled the researcher's direct involvement in the process of the research. However, the translating and transcription of the research data was not without challenges. The ability to translate is a skill that requires the translator to be fluent in both *isiZulu* and English, which are not directly comparable in the use of language, resulting in difficulty in the accurate translation between the two. The semiotic difficulties between the two languages was further complicated by the translator trying to accommodate expressions and meanings to facilitate common situation definitions between the participant and the researcher. This

resulted in inaccuracy in the interpreting of the conversations between the researcher and the participant. An example of this is captured in the extracts below:

Extract 1: Interviewer: What happens if maybe you could go back to X Primary?
Translator: Would you go back to the school X Primary?

Extract 2: Interviewer: Can you maybe tell us a little bit about school?
Translator: Why do you not go to school?

Often, these slightly parallel conversations only became apparent through the transcription process, where the interactions that have been tape-recorded are captured as written text.

To further add to these difficulties, research transcription requires the transcriber to move beyond capturing conversation and the 'gist' of the interaction, but rather requires a word-for-word verbatim translation. Verbatim research transcription is best facilitated when the transcriber has a detailed understanding of the research questions and an understanding of the importance of the transcription and its use as data in the research process.

The data presented in this study has undergone two transcription processes. The first transcriber, whilst fluent in both English and *isiZulu* did not have the skill of verbatim transcription and as a result, incomplete, unusable transcriptions were generated. Thus, the data underwent a second transcription process which involved highlighting the differences in meaning, as well as the grammatical structuring of the text. An example of the different transcriptions is illustrated below:

First Transcription:

So, tell me if you have to ask for one person here in the picture to send you to school who will it be or have you ever ask them. Yes I did ask my grandmother and she says she can't because sometimes I miss some of the days from school and that was because of the school uniform I didn't have the nice uniform cause the one I had was torn and old. And my mom couldn't afford to buy new one cause she was still paying for that old torn one. Was that old uniform was a dress or skirt and a shirt asked the interviewer? Its was a dress and I was growing and its was getting smaller and smaller and my mom says that she can't buy new one cause she was still paying for the old one.

Second Transcription:

Interviewer: Thandeka if you have to ask anyone in this family if they can send you back to school who would you ask or have you ever asked anyone?

Thandeka: I once asked my grandmother and she says she can't because sometimes I miss some of the days from school.

Translator: (inaudible) could you tell us about the days that you missed school?

Thandeka: It was because of the school uniform. I didn't have the nice uniform cause the one I had was torn and old. I said that I can go to school because I like school. My mother then said I should stop going to school because she pays debt all the time.

Translator: Is she still paying the debts even now?

Thandeka: Yes.

Interviewer: Still paying for the uniform that you were using while you were at school?

Translator: Yes.

Interviewer: So you stopped in the middle of the year? Was this because of the uniform?

Translator: Yes, it was because of the uniform.

Interviewer: What happened to the uniform?

Thandeka: It did not fit me anymore it became small.

Interviewer: (inaudible) getting smaller and smaller, was it a dress or was it like a skirt or it was a top?

Thandeka: It was a full uniform.

Translator: It was a dress.

Interviewer: And why did you not tell your mother that the dress is getting, the uniform is getting too short?

Thandeka: I told mother and she said that she can't buy new one because she was still paying for the old one.

Steps in Data Analysis

Many steps were involved in refining and combining the data before it was ready for final analysis. After data collection in the field came to an end, the data underwent its first transcription process. The first transcription facilitated a valuable first read into the data, but the data used in this study is from the second transcription. During this time, the researcher began to write a reflection of her role within the participant's contexts, critically looking at her interactions with the participants. This reflection was useful in understanding the dynamics in the research interactions between the researcher, translator and the participants.

Following this, the process of capturing the data on a descriptive level began. This was done to facilitate a better understanding and more holistic view of the data. Case studies of each participant were formed through the following process: Each participant's transcripts were read individually, and then together, to look for similarities and differences across the participants. Risk factors and barriers to education arising in the transcripts were identified, summarised and coded according to themes identified in the literature (Boyatzis, 1998). The themes were: contextual factors; the school institution; financial issues; family circumstances and the youth's individual experiences of these themes. These risk factors and themes were then further condensed and summarised to create participant case studies. Whilst the case studies can be critiqued as representing a particular interpretation of the researchers interactions with the youth, they were a useful as they were one way to

integrate and process the data from the interactions on a descriptive level (see Appendix 1 for participant case studies).

The case studies also formed the basis on which the thematic analysis through Bronfenbrenner's (1979) socio-ecological theory could begin. A reading guide method was used for this (Mergendollar, 1989). The researcher read each case study for specific risk factors with systemic layers in mind. This reading and analysis process was repeated several times looking for similarities and differences in experiences and risk factors. The case studies were able to facilitate detailed descriptions of the context within which the participants resided, the experiences of exclusion that the youth faced, as well as a detailed articulation of the barriers to education. Once macrosystemic ideologies, and the exosystemic concrete manifestations of these ideologies were identified, each participant's case studies was read for unique microsystemic factors. Extracts from the semi-structured interview and the photo interview were then used to validate the identified risk factors and experiences within Bronfenbrenner's systems.

Chapter 4: Results

Understanding experiences of exclusion from schooling is layered and multifaceted. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological theory is able to facilitate an understanding of the complexity of risk factors in context, whilst still highlighting the unique experiences of the individual. It is for these reasons that Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory was used to analyse the data.

The participants in this research study reside within similar ecological spaces and thus, to a large extent, share many aspects of their macrosystems and exosystems. A broad description of the macrosystemic and exosystemic factors that impact upon the participants will follow, using the theoretical framework provided by Bronfenbrenner (1979). After this, each participant's micro and mesosystems will be analysed to show the uniqueness of each participant and their experiences of school exclusion.

The Macrosystem and Exosystem

Generally, at the macrosystemic level, particular ideologies and cultural and institutional patterns play out in economic, social, educational, legal and political systems. In the context of this study, it is evident that there are several damaging ideologies that prevail at the macrosystemic level.

These macrosystemic ideologies can be broadly classified as apartheid policies and the roles and rights of female children, each of which will be discussed in greater detail. Through this discussion, the concrete manifestations of these ideologies that are evident in the exosystemic layer will become apparent. The exosystemic factors in this study are poverty and lack of infrastructure, inferior schooling systems, fragmented families and female children's disadvantaged access to schools. These exosystemic factors will be elaborated on by referencing each participant's interviews, interviewer field notes and the participants' case studies.

Macrosystemic ideologies

Apartheid

A macrosystemic ideology evident in this study is the political system of apartheid. Apartheid eroded many aspects of society and, although it legally ended in 1994, its damaging effects are still to be found in the daily lives of the individuals in this study, and

their families and communities. Within the geographical area in which this study took place, which is largely populated with black people, the effects of apartheid policies, such as oppression and exploitation, were experienced. As this area was a political hotbed with much faction fighting, the children in this study were exposed to extreme violence until recent years.

The effect of apartheid policies in the form of poor infrastructure was evident in this study. Apartheid policies resulted in deprivation through living in segregated areas where there was poor infrastructure, such as no or extremely limited access to water, electricity, sanitation, transport and health care services. This is illustrated in the following extracts which have been taken from the participants' case studies. (Note, E denotes a participant extract, followed by the number of the extract i.e. E1: denotes extract 1. This system will be used to illustrate different extracts throughout the results section).

E1: Mpume lives in a rural area. All homes have pit latrines, central water pumps – few of which work – and limited electricity supply. People in the area must travel far to collect firewood.

E2: [Nonhlanhla] Water is collected from communal pumps in the area and firewood from nearby forests. Homes have pit latrines and limited resources in terms of building structure.

E3: [Tholla] This area is an informal settlement, where homes are made from raw materials such as mud, concrete bricks, tin and plastic. Water can be found at communal pumps and firewood for cooking is collected from surrounding areas. Access to this area is via main roads, but further access to homes must be negotiated down narrow foot-paths.

The effect of apartheid policies regarding poor infrastructure can also be extended to the inferior schooling systems to which these youth are exposed. In the areas in which these youth live, all the schools are very poorly resourced. Typical schools within these areas are characterised by few classrooms and inadequate space for learners to learn. Classroom windows are often broken or non-existent and, due to overcrowding, there are many broken desks and chairs. Learners seldom have access to stationery and books. Thus, poor infrastructure and inferior schooling systems are also concrete manifestations of apartheid policies.

Lack of employment in these areas can also be linked to previous apartheid policies. During these times there were few employment opportunities in the homelands. Families, like those of the youth in this study, struggled to make ends meet. Sindisiwe explains how her mother

cannot pay for her school fees as “she does not earn enough money”. In Nondomiso’s following extracts the issue of not having money to attend school is elaborated on:

E4: Nondomiso explained that there is no money for her to go to school. She explains that she doesn’t have money for school fees and that the school in the area is withholding her report card for not paying these fees.....In addition, she explains that not having money for schooling means that she does not have money for food at school. Nondomiso has also had to borrow a school uniform and shoes from a friend.

Londeka further describes how she has to borrow other people’s school uniforms in order to attend school because “if you don’t have shoes, you don’t go to school”.

Lack of employment opportunities and no money resulted in the need for people to commute for work opportunities. This resulted in the fragmentation of families where caregivers and providers could only be intermittently present. When caregivers are not present, the risk of youth not attending school is greater. This is both from a financial point of view where there may not be enough money to send the youth to school and because the youth may have added responsibilities around the home when adults are away that result in them being unable to attend school. Zama describes in the following extract (from the semi-structured interview) why she does not always attend school:

E5: Zama: She made me look after the children, and do the big laundry.

Interviewer: Did you go to school?

Zama: Mmm, mmmmmh sometime I did not go.

Interviewer: Did she say why were you supposed to stay at home?

Zama: She was saying I should stay at home and clean the house.

Parents relocating to find employment also results in fragmented families. In some instances, as is the case with Mpume, this fragmentation has resulted in her not attending school. Mpume describes missing her father, along with a sister that she has not seen since her mother and father separated, when her father began working in another area. Other examples of the effects of relocating to find employment can be seen in Thuli’s next extract, where Thuli now has to live with extended family because her mother has relocated for employment:

E6: Thuli has moved into the area in the past six months from the north coast of KwaZulu Natal to live with her grandmother.... Thuli could not live with her mother as her mother works in another area of KwaZulu Natal. Thuli's mother was worried for her safety and decided to relocate Thuli to her grandmother's home in the small town in the former homeland in KwaZulu Natal.

In addition, the opposition to apartheid policies resulted in violence and upheaval in these areas. Turmoil of this nature results in the risk of further fragmenting and disrupting family units. A number of these youth have lost family members and relatives during this time. Zama has lost her mother and Tholla has lost her grandmother during these times.

In these times of hardship youth may relocate to extended family systems. Whilst this relocation of children is common practice in an African cultural system, it becomes complicated by poverty in these setting as there is not always enough money to sufficiently provide for everyone. This can be seen in Sindisiwe's and Zama's case studies. Sindisiwe lives with her extended family, comprising of her mother, grandmother, older brothers, sisters, and a younger brother. Her uncles and aunts also reside on the property that belongs to her grandmother. Ever since Sindisiwe's father no longer provides for them, the family is living off the grandmother's small pension. The home that Zama lives in consists of one large room, where six people live. Zama sleeps on the floor, with a single blanket. Zama's aunt's children, three young boys who live in the house, share two beds in the lounge.

From the youth's extracts, we see that apartheid policies at the macrosystemic level have affected the experiences of the youth at the exosystemic level in the form of poverty and lack of infrastructure, inferior schooling systems and fragmented families. The youth in this sample and their families expend large amounts of time and energy seeing to basic living needs, like collecting water and firewood. These youth live in fragmented families where caregivers are not always present and where they draw on the minimal resources of extended families. Thus, we can see that the youth in this sample are possibly experiencing the concrete manifestations of apartheid policies. Each of these concrete manifestations that the youth experience are risk factors for school attendance.

Roles and rights of female children

Other factors at the macrosystemic level that impact exosystemically on the day-to-day functioning of the participants include: (i) the cultural beliefs and traditions pertaining to the role of females, (ii) the understandings and beliefs that dictate children's place in society with particular reference to the schooling system and, (iii) the policies and strategies that

legally define and prioritise the treatment of children with specific reference to access of the child care grant. Each shall be briefly discussed.

The cultural beliefs and traditions pertaining to the role of females within the macrosystem manifest concretely (or take effect) in the exosystem. Females are expected to be primarily involved in domestic chores and home based care. Young girls, particularly adolescents, are expected to be actively involved in these activities. It is these prescribed roles that become risk factors that function as barriers to these girls attending school. These prescribed roles were evident among all the participants in this study.

E7: Thuli used to live with her father and four brothers who would beat her if she didn't cook food and complete other home chores.

E8: Zama's stepmother did not allow Zama to attend school regularly because of the chores she needed to complete and to look after the younger children in the home.

E9: Londeka is the youngest in the family and is responsible for collecting water and firewood. She also is responsible for washing the families' clothes, sweeping the floors, cleaning the home and making the beds.

E10: Sindisiwe is responsible for many chores around the home. Twice a day, Sindisiwe collects water for the family from a nearby pump. She also washes the dishes, cleans the home and collects firewood.

Other factors within the macrosystem are the beliefs that dictate children's place in society with particular reference to the schooling system. Educators, themselves affected by the inferior apartheid educational system, often try to exert their authority through corporal punishment, intimidation and the bullying of learners. This in turn results in the risk of learners becoming fearful or disillusioned and dropping out of school. Londeka describes difficult interaction with the educators. She explains that the educators embarrassed her because they said she "doesn't know how to study". Other difficult interactions experienced by Nonhlanhla are demonstrated in the following extract:

E11: Nonhlanhla describes how she and the educators at the school "didn't get along very well because of my pregnancy".

Mpume dropped out of Grade 5 at the age of 13. She had not been to school in the last 18 months and explains that this is because of the poor relations between her and the educators.

She says the educators “made examples of us” and “sometimes tease us” because, as she explains, she is the eldest one in the class. Mpume also spoke about the educators being “unsupportive”. It is these interactions that indicated that learners are unable to seek support from educators concerning difficulties that they may be experiencing.

It has also been reported that the educators chase these youth away from school if they have not paid their school fees. This is despite schooling being for free for all at these schools. This can be said to be reflective of educators at the exosystemic level either not having the power or ability to effectively implement this policy, and in turn resorting back to the beliefs that dictate a child’s place in society; to obey adults’ authority even if their rights are being infringed upon. Or, this could be reflective of educators at the exosystemic level not wanting to effectively implement this policy, and therefore having lots of power over these learners. Extract 4, and the following extracts, demonstrate how the educators are chasing these youth from the schools:

E12: At present social workers are trying to help Zama to access her school report from her previous school, where she left in Grade 4, in order to help her to return to school. However, this school is withholding her school report because of unpaid school fees.

E13: Londeka describes a range of reasons why she does not go to school. She describes how she borrows others school uniforms in order to attend school because “if you don’t have shoes, you don’t go to school”.

Other factors within the macrosystem are policies and strategies related to the treatment of children. For example, the policy of providing parents with a child care grant for children and dependants up until the children are 14 years of age. This limit on the age of obtaining the grant has implications for these youth when trying to attend schooling. This is illustrated in the following extracts.

E14: Tholla’s mother explains that Tholla is now too old to receive the child care grant. Tholla’s younger brother is still attending a local primary school, because, as described by their mother, “there is only money for one”.... Tholla relays the story that when her sister-in-law accesses the money for her new-born child’s grant, she will share it with Tholla, so that she can return to school.

E15: Sindisiwe does not attend school because the person that used to pay for her school fees passed away. She explains how her mother cannot pay for her school fees as “she does not earn enough money” and that she is now too old to access a child care grant.

It became evident from the results pertaining to the role and rights of female children that the youth in this sample are challenged by sets of beliefs and traditions that act as barriers for them to attend school. These girl children are expected to assist with chores in the home. Their ability to attend school is subject to accessing child care grants or attaining money for school fees from other relatives and as children, they have learnt to be submissive to authoritative educators at school. Thus, it becomes evident how these concrete experiences of the youth within the exosystem are possibly illustrative of the beliefs and traditions of the roles and rights of female children within the macrosystem.

The Microsystem and Mesosystem

From the preceding extracts, it is evident that the macrosystemic ideologies that impact on these youth are similar and they manifest in similar ways within the exosystem that impact on the day-to-day functioning of the youth. However, whilst the youth are exposed to macrosystemic and exosystemic forces that are similar, it is the youth's perceptions of these factors that have weighted value in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) socio-ecological theory. Ultimately, it is the perception of the environment and the individual participant's subjective experience that impact on their day-to-day functioning and their development. Thus, the youth's perceptions of the daily interactions in which they are involved (the process dimension) ultimately affect their individual development (the person dimension). It is for these reasons that each participant's microsystem (and where present mesosystems) will now be discussed separately to understand the unique experiences that shape the youth in this sample.

Mpume:

Mpume is 14 years old and lives in a rural area in the district where this study took place (see case study for further details about Mpume). Mpume's day-to-day interactions involve multiple microsystems. There are four microsystems that form her day-to-day interactions. These microsystems are as follows: (i) Mpume and her mother; (ii) Mpume and her extended family; (iii) Mpume and school; and (iv) Mpume and her peers.

Two years ago, Mpume lived in a nuclear family with her mother, father and sister. Alcohol abuse by both her mother and father led to the fragmentation of Mpume's family unit, resulting in her mother and father separating. When Mpume's mother and father separated, her sister also moved away from the nuclear family. This separation shows the dimension of

time, and change over time, across Mpume's development, where she once lived with her complete nuclear family and now lives alone with her mother. The effect of her family's fragmentation has resulted in Mpume longing for her father and sister. Mpume is now an "only child" with a single caregiver.

Continual alcohol abuse in the home has resulted in destructive and negative interactions between Mpume and her mother. When her mother's drinking causes the situation at home to become unbearable, Mpume seeks refuge at her maternal grandmother's home, which has become a pattern of behaviour. This behaviour may signify a prior connection between her previous nuclear family and her grandmother, indicating a mesosystemic interaction that she still relies on when the interactions in her primary microsystem are problematic.

However, at her grandmother's home she is also confronted with difficult interactions. For example, Mpume explains that sometimes she goes to bed hungry because her older cousins do not leave her any food to eat. Mpume also explains that her older cousin gets her into trouble by telling her grandmother that she has boyfriends. Extract 16 is illustrative of the relationships and interaction between Mpume and her cousin and Mpume and her grandmother:

E16: Mpume: Yes, (laughing). Tana is the one that tells my grandmother that I have a boyfriend

Interviewer: Do you have a boyfriend?

Mpume: No, Tana just makes up these lies so that my grandmother will beat me.

Interviewer: Why does she beat you?

Mpume: My grandmother says that I must not see boys.

Interviewer: When do you see these boyfriends?

Mpume: They are not my boyfriends. Tana is the one with boyfriends. She tells my grandmother that I have boyfriends, just so that she does not get into trouble.

The difficult interactions and relations at her grandmother's home are extended to the issue of Mpume not attending school. Mpume's grandmother speaks of Mpume in an angry tone, of how Mpume is "mad" for not going to school. Her grandmother explains that "there are resources to send her but she will not go".

Mpume engages in very few household activities. She laughs while explaining that when she must do a chore at one house, she simply goes to the other house and waits until someone else completes her chores. Perhaps, as a result of the problematic processes between Mpume

and her mother, and Mpume and her grandmother, she engages in very few household activities. Alternatively, by not helping with any household chores, this may worsen the relationships between her and her significant others.

The third microsystem for Mpume is her previous school. Mpume's day-to-day interactions at her previous school were characterised by frustration and embarrassment, resulting in her leaving school. Mpume dropped out of Grade 5 at the age of 13 and has not been to school in the last year and a half. In extract 17, Mpume explains that the reason she does not want to go to school is "because I (don't) like to go and study with children". She explained that the other children in the class are very young in relation to her.

E17: Interviewer: What is the biggest reason, out of everything that makes you not want to go to school?

Mpume: Because I (don't) like to go and study with children.

Interviewer: How old are you Mpume?

Mpume: I am fourteen years old.

Interviewer: How old are these children?

Mpume: They are very young, because just think even this one [pointing at a child in her photographs] would be in the same class as me, this one.

Interviewer: How old is the child?

Mpume: They are usually eleven years old or nine years old. They are still young.

Mpume explained that it is the educators' reactions to her age in relation to the rest of the class that makes her feel uncomfortable. In extract 18 she speaks about the educators teasing her:

E18: Mpume: The thing is that in class the teacher sometimes teases us and even when there is a meeting she will make an example of us, when there are meetings she will make examples of us and I decided not to continue going to school if there is a person who is going to talk about me all the time.

Mmmmh, or even when my pen is lost... when I point out that the other child took it, the children will say it is not mine. They will just tease me in class. (Pause) So, the teacher sees other children as people who are doing right things and I am doing the wrong things because I am old enough, older than these children who are in class.

Mpume discussed that she has complained about this unfair treatment, but the principal and other educators have not been supportive of her. When Mpume's life experiences make it impossible for her to accept this prescribed role, her situation is then further worsened in her primary microsystems, as her grandmother is not supportive of her experiences with the

educators. Mpume's grandmother does not understand or sympathise with the difficulties that she is facing.

A fourth microsystem that Mpume is involved in is socialising with her friends. Mpume braids hair for money, which she spends with her friends at the local tuck shop. Mpume spoke fondly of her friends and described these day-to-day interactions as positive and supportive.

Thuli:

Thuli is 15 years old and lives in the same rural area as Mpume (see case study for further details about Thuli). Like Mpume, Thuli's daily interactions involve multiple microsystems: (i) Thuli and her nuclear family; (ii) Thuli and her extended family; (iii) Thuli and school; and (iv) Thuli and her peers. The ways in which Thuli's microsystems function differ markedly from the way in which Mpume's impact on her life.

Six months ago, when this study took place, Thuli lived on the north coast of KwaZulu-Natal with her nuclear family consisting of her mother, father and four older brothers. The need to find employment resulted in the disintegration of this family unit, as Thuli's mother had to relocate to find work. This resulted in her having to change roles in the family and assume greater responsibility by doing more domestic chores, including cooking. This change brought about difficult interactions between Thuli and her brothers. Thuli explains of these interactions is captured in extract 19:

E19: Interviewer: Why did you not go to school this year?

Thuli: It is because at home, my older brother used to beat me when I did not feel like cooking and I told my mom. That's when we decided to move in here in May.

Interviewer: He used to beat you?

Thuli: Yes.

Thuli explained that because of this abuse, her mother to decide to relocate Thuli to the small rural town in which this study took place. Thuli now lives with her maternal grandmother. This relocation, rather than staying with her brothers, may have (in some ways) been positive for Thuli, however, she is now out of school.

Thuli reported daily positive interactions with her grandmother and enjoys living in this new area. This now represents Thuli's second primary microsystem. Thuli is now also

geographically closer to her mother and sees her twice a month. Thuli identifies her mother as a person that she could go to if she needed help. Thus, whilst Thuli was in a particularly destructive primary microsystem, she has successfully sought refuge in a more supportive and caring microsystem, with the help of her mother. During the day, at her grandmother's home, Thuli is responsible for many chores such as cleaning, washing clothes, cooking and collecting firewood.

Thuli's third microsystem is her previous school. Because of the relocation, Thuli stopped attending her previous school. She is now waiting to begin the new year in Grade 8 at the nearest high school. Thuli has had productive relationships with her previous educators, commenting that "The teachers were nice and I did enjoy learning and there was nothing I didn't like about school". She seems to be looking forward to the new school she will attend.

Thuli is clearly in a supportive mesosystemic relationship, where her mother is able to encourage and support her interactions with the schooling system. This is illustrated by her mothers purchasing of a school uniform. This supportive mesosystem can successfully link two microsystems.

A fourth microsystem that Thuli is involved in is socialising with her new friends. Thuli has made friends with other youth in the area and sees these youth when they come home from school.

Zama:

Zama is 12 years old and lives in an urban area in the district in which this study took place (see case study for further details about Zama). Unlike Mpume and Thuli, Zama's daily interactions are characterised by numerous disruptions and relocations and thus involve six microsystems of significance in the last five years. These systems are: (i) Zama and her nuclear family; (ii) Zama and her "new nuclear family" i.e. stepmother; (iii) Zama and her aunt; (iv) Zama and the social workers; (v) Zama and school; and (vi) Zama and her peers.

Zama explained that when she was a toddler, her mother died in a car accident. Zama is unsure of exactly how old she was, but explains her age by indicating with her hand how tall she was (indicating a small child/toddler). To initiate discussion with Zama, we asked her to draw all the people in her life whom she loved and Zama drew a flower to represent her absent mother, indicating that she felt that her mother was still part of her life. Zama's

mothers' passing was to be the start of many changes and ecological transitions in her life. Following her mothers death, Zama left her father and was moved to her aunt's home.

Zama lived with her aunt for approximately a year when her father returned to take her back to his new home. Zama's father had remarried. The transition to her father's new home could have meant a "new nuclear family" for Zama and a potentially safe and stable space. However, the interactions within this microsystem (the third microsystem) were harsh and destructive. Whilst at that time, Zama was attending a school in the area, she explains that her attendance was intermittent, as she had to care for her younger step-siblings and attend to many chores at the home. Extract 20 illustrates the type of relationship Zama had with her father:

E20: Interviewer: Mmmmm and this one? Who is this person then?

Zama: It is not a right person.

Interviewer: Could you tell us about him?

Zama: He is not right 'cause he does not stay here, he stays with his other wife and he does not support me

Translator: Is he your father?

Zama: Yes

Zama explained that her father is "not a right person" and explained in the following extract that her father beats her and that this, along with the treatment she received from her stepmother (see extract 8) resulted in her returning to her aunt's home.

E21: Interviewer: So when you first went to your dad's house, were you happy to go there?

Zama: I was not happy in the beginning.

Translator: Why, because you didn't know yet? You didn't know what your stepmother is like?

Zama: I just did not like it.

Interviewer: You didn't like it, why? What did you think was going to happen to you?

Zama: That he was going to beat me.

Translator: Your dad? Why was he going to beat you? How could he hurt his child?

Zama: [Silence]

Within two of Zama's primary microsystems, she was confronted with abusive and destructive day-to-day interactions that are potentially detrimental for her personal development.

After the abuse at her father's home, Zama ran away. She returned to the only safe microsystem that she knew, her aunt's home. However, her stay at her aunt's home was curtailed when her father sent two girls to take her back to his house. As Zama's aunt was aware of the consequences of returning to her father's home, she came one night to steal Zama away. Zama's aunt was aware that it would only be a matter of time until her father would come looking for her, and so sent Zama to social workers in the area.

Zama's move to the social workers signifies her fourth microsystem. She comments that her interactions with the social workers were positive and that they helped her. It was at this point that Zama was able to return to her previous school, for a short period, and complete Grade 4. However, after completing Grade 4 at the age of 11, the school no longer allowed Zama to return, as she had not paid her school fees. Zama's father refused to pay her school fees since she was not living with him. The difficulty that Zama experiences with the school fees can be seen in extract 22:

E22: Interviewer: Zama can you please tell us a little bit about why you do not go to school?

Zama: It's because my father doesn't give me money for school fees and my report, I do not have my report.

Interviewer: Didn't you get it when the school closed?

Zama: No. I had not paid my fees.

Interviewer: So your report hasn't come and your father does not give money for school fees?

Zama: Yes he doesn't.

After some time, Zama decided that she would return to her father's home. This may have been on the basis that she needed to be supported financially to be able to attend school. When she returned she was faced with the same destructive interactions with her step-mother and father. It was only a matter of time before Zama decided to run away again. Zama's memories of this are illustrated in the following extract:

E23: Zama: I just remember that when I came back it was Monday morning. I took my bag and it was raining and I came here (to my aunt's home). It was just raining and raining and I came here.

Zama's day-to-day interactions with her aunt are positive and reinforcing. She calls her aunt "my mother" and speaks fondly of her. This is one of the few positive interactions that Zama has experienced in her life.

At the time of the interview, Zama was living with her aunt. She was not attending school as her father no longer supports her financially and the school is withholding her report card.

Social workers are trying to help Zama enrol into other schools in the area however, not having a report card from Grade 2 is slowing this process down (see extract 12).

However, the social workers' assistance signifies a rare mesosystemic intervention in Zama's life, where others are trying to help her in her difficult microsystems.

Zama's day-to-day life at her aunt's home is characterised by many chores. She is responsible for cleaning the home, cooking and washing clothes. The home where she lives is shared with six people so she sleeps on the floor with a single blanket. Zama's aunt has three young boys who share two beds in the lounge. These children attend school on the child care grant that the aunt is able to access for them.

Zama is also involved in a sixth microsystem with her peers. Zama has two friends whom she speaks especially fondly of. She sees these girls in the afternoons when they return home from school to play games in the neighbourhood. Zama values these friendships because "they help me because they tell me that they will never tell anyone my secrets, and they don't tell anyone", and "because she (Zama's friend) never looks down on me, even when we are playing. She doesn't tease me about the things that I have been telling her about".

Tholla:

Tholla is 15 years old and lives in a peri-urban area in the district (see case study for further details about Tholla). Tholla's day-to-day interactions involve four microsystems, all of which are characterised by significant daily struggles, much like the other participants: (i) Tholla and her grandmother; (ii) Tholla and her mother; (iii) Tholla and school; and (iv) Tholla and her sister-in-law.

Tholla lived with her grandmother, until a year and a half ago, when her grandmother died. Up until this point, Tholla was supported both financially and emotionally by her grandmother. Tholla spoke of a positive and reinforcing relationship with her grandmother. She explained that she misses her grandmother who "used to stick up" for her and helped her fit in. Tholla worries that there is no one else who she can go to for help. Tholla now lives with her mother and extended family. This change has also signified the end of Tholla's education, as Tholla's grandmother was supporting her financially to attend school. Tholla explains that not having money for school extends beyond paying school fees in the following extract:

E24: Interviewer: Why do you not go to school?

Tholla: There is no money.

Interviewer: There is no money for what?

Tholla: There is no money for the school fees. And now I do not have a school uniform or anything for school.

Approximately a year prior to our meeting, Tholla had stopped attending school. At the time she was in Grade 4. Tholla's mother explained that Tholla is now too old to receive the child care grant and that she does not have money to pay her school fees. Tholla's daily interactions at her school were characterised by the frustration of being turned away from the school premises for not being able to pay school fees. Tholla's mother further explained that the younger brother, who attends a local primary school, is able to because "there is only money for one".

The interactions between Tholla and her mother, and her extended family, are problematic. Tholla feels that she doesn't fit in and explains that her mother beats her when she is naughty. This is illustrated in extract 25:

E25: Interviewer: Do you always come home late?

Tholla: Sometimes.

Interviewer: What happens then?

Tholla: My mother will shout and beat me because I am naughty. She does not want us to come home late.

However, Tholla has formed a strong relationship with her sister-in-law. Tholla's sister-in-law is of a similar age and helps Tholla with her chores around the home. She has also promised Tholla that when she is able to access the child care grant for her new baby, she will give some of this money to Tholla so that she can return to school.

Nonhlanhla:

Nonhlanhla is 15 years old and lives in the same rural area in the district where Mpume and Thuli live (see case study for further details about Nonhlanhla). Nonhlanhla interacts daily within five microsystems: (i) Nonhlanhla and her nuclear family; (ii) Nonhlanhla and her child; (iii) Nonhlanhla and the father of her baby, and her extended family; (iv) Nonhlanhla and school; and (v) Nonhlanhla and her peers.

At the time of meeting, Nonhlanhla was living with her mother, grandmother, sister, nephew and her newborn child. Nonhlanhla has never known her father and he does not play a role in her life. Nonhlanhla has supportive relationships within her nuclear family, especially with her mother and grandmother.

Nonhlanhla has a 3 month old baby girl whom she is currently breastfeeding. Nonhlanhla speaks of being tired from waking up often during the night to feed the child, but during the day she has the assistance of a younger cousin who lives in the area. Nonhlanhla comments that “there are many who love this child”.

The father of the baby works in another area and therefore Nonhlanhla only sees him once a month. At these monthly visits, he provides her with money to support the child. She describes the father as older than her and supportive of her.

Nonhlanhla takes her child to visit the father’s mother every alternative week. She describes a close relationship with her “mother-in-law” and enjoys going to visit her. In giving birth to her own child at a young age, Nonhlanhla has undergone an ecological transition. This transition into motherhood has been softened by the supportive relationships that Nonhlanhla has in her primary microsystems.

The fourth microsystem for Nonhlanhla is her previous school. During her pregnancy, Nonhlanhla’s day-to-day interactions at school were characterised by embarrassment. This happened when she was 14 years old and she was in the process of completing Grade 5 for the second time. At the time of the research process, Nonhlanhla had been out of school for approximately a year.

E26: Nonhlanhla: This year I was supposed to go and study at X Primary and then I got pregnant. I was pregnant with this child in standard 3. [X is the primary school that Nonhlanhla was attending].

Interviewer: How old were you in standard 3?

Nonhlanhla: I was 14.

Interviewer: So why did you stop going to school?

Nonhlanhla: Because I was pregnant. When my tummy got bigger we didn’t get along.

Interviewer: Who didn’t get along?

Nonhlanhla: The teachers did not like me when I got pregnant.

Nonhlanhla also interacts within a fifth microsystem with a close friend with whom she used to attend school. Nonhlanhla and her friend, who also no longer attends school, often spend

the day together, where they “talk about girl things”. In many ways, Nonhlanhla and her friend shared many similar negative experiences at school and are supportive of each other.

Nondomiso:

Nondomiso is 15 years old and lives in the same rural area as Nonhlanhla (see case study for further details about Nondomiso). Nondomiso is involved in four microsystems: (i) Nondomiso and her nuclear family; (ii) Nondomiso and her extended family; (iii) Nondomiso and her school and; (iv) Nondomiso and her peers.

Nondomiso used to live with her nuclear family which included her mother, father and brother. Alcohol abuse by both her parents led to the fragmentation of Nondomiso’s family unit. Thus, because of the alcohol abuse, she prefers to live with her grandmother, despite her parents both living in the area. Nondomiso explains that her mother frequents the local taverns and as illustrated in extract 27, she finds this very upsetting:

E27: Nondomiso: Sometimes I talk to mom when we are sitting together and she hasn’t gone anywhere.

Interviewer: Where does your mom go?

Nondomiso: My mom drinks a lot of alcohol and she goes around places that sell alcohol.

Interviewer: Where does she go?

Nondomiso: I don’t know where she usually goes to because she goes to drink alcohol. Sometimes with her friends and if she is not with her friends then I don’t know where she is.

Interviewer: And do you mind that your mom drinks?

Nondomiso: It makes me feel worried.

Nondomiso would like to bond with her mother, but explained that she is often absent due to her drinking. Nondomiso seeks refuge at her maternal grandmother’s home. However, at her grandmother’s home, she was also confronted with difficult interactions. Nondomiso had left the area by the time the researchers returned and she did not complete the research process. The following extract reflects the friend’s perspective on Nondomiso’s situation.

E28: Interviewer: Does her granny not pay for Nondomiso to go to school?

Nonhlanhla: No, Nondomiso does not want to go to school. If Nondomiso can try to get closer to her granny she can go to school.

Interviewer: So Nonhlanhla, do you know why Nondomiso stopped in the middle of the year?

Nonhlanhla: Sometimes I think it is because of the school fees and uniform and sometimes during the winter she doesn’t have shoes to wear.

Interviewer: But do you think that if she can ask her granny to do all of this for her, she can go back to school?

Nonhlanhla: I don't think so because Nondomiso and her brother do not get along. They keep fighting about the granny's pension money. If the granny buys something new for Nondomiso, the brother will be jealous and they will end up fighting, so the granny decided to stop doing things for both of them. Now the granny will not pay for Nondomiso.

The third microsystem for Nondomiso is her previous school. Nondomiso's day-to-day interactions at her school were characterised by similar difficulties and struggles that she is facing within her other microsystems. Nondomiso stopped going to school when she was 14 years old. She explained that there was no money for her to go to school, and emphasises that there was no money to pay for school fees. Because she has been unable to pay these fees, the school was withholding her report card, and the educators would not allow her to access the feeding programmes at school. This is reflective of the discriminatory practices that are implemented by educators that only allow for those learners who are paying their school fees to access the school feeding programme.

E29: Interviewer: Have you ever been to school?

Nondomiso: Yes.

Translator: Up to which standard did you study?

Nondomiso: I finished at standard three.

Interviewer: Why did you stop going to school?

Nondomiso: My mother was not working so I didn't have the money to eat at school. If you have not paid you would not eat. And I didn't even pay some school fees and I did not even have money for uniform. The uniform I had was the one that my friends had lent me and they took it away so I decided to quit school.

Interviewer: Why did your friend take it away?

Nondomiso: We had a fight and she took it away. I was helped by other people who sold me their uniform. They sold me a skirt, and another person lent me shoes, and another lent me a shirt but we would fight and they would take their things back.

Interviewer: Were there any other reasons why you did not go back to school?

Nondomiso: My mother sometimes didn't even have the money for school fees and at school, they would say if you have not paid, you get expelled and then you didn't get the report because you have not paid.

Nondomiso also experienced difficult interactions with her peers. Nondomiso fought with her friends and as illustrated in the previous extract, no longer had a uniform to wear to school. This is representative of Nondomiso's fourth microsystem. As illustrated in the following extract, at the time of the interview, Nondomiso expressed resentful feelings towards other girls in her area:

E30: Nondomiso: Sometimes I just feel sad when I have to see my friend bath or wear something nice because they are going somewhere and I also want to wear nice clothes after taking a bath and then I feel sad.

Interviewer: Which friends? Are they friends that live here or are they people that you see like in town?

Nondomiso: Some of them live here.

Interviewer: What do they do?

Interviewer: They are studying.

Interviewer: Yes sometimes it is hard but at least you have your friend Nonhlanhla?

Nondomiso: Yes, she is my friend but still it doesn't mean anything because even Nonhlanhla, we sometimes talk and she also feels sad when other people are wearing something nice and they are happy.

Interviewer: Are you not happy?

Nondomiso: The situation that we are in makes the two of us sad. We are both in this situation.

Interviewer: What do you two do when you get sad like that?

Nondomiso: We just cry, just like sometimes when we are sad, we wash ourselves and wear our clothes and just take a walk until we feel better inside.

Despite Nondomiso having one friend that she has been able to bond with, these feelings of sadness and jealousy of other girls indicate how the negative process dimensions in her life have impacted negatively on her personal development.

Londeka:

Londeka is 12 years old and lives in a rural area in the district where this study took place (see case study for further details about Londeka). Londeka operates daily within three microsystems: (i) Londeka and her nuclear family; (ii) Londeka and her school and; (iii) Londeka and her peers.

Approximately a year and a half ago, Londeka lived in a nuclear family with her both her parents and her sisters. However, alcohol and physical abuse by her father led to the disintegration and fragmentation of Londeka's family unit. Londeka expressed disappointment about her parent's separation. She notes that after her parents separated her mother and sisters began to struggle financially.

E31: Interviewer: Londeka is there anything else you can tell me?

Londeka: Yes. I wanted to live in town with my mother and my mother was not working. My father was the one who was working and my father went to school and finished. He was studying to be a guard. He was waiting at the gate and registering all those cars that are coming and going. But he

was not giving us money. Sometimes my father used to beat us when he was drunk and they separated. Then we struggled.

Londeka now lives with her mother and two older sisters. As she is the youngest in the family, she is responsible for collecting water and firewood, washing the families' clothes, sweeping the floors, cleaning the home and making the beds.

E32: Interviewer: What do you do when you wake up?

Londeka: I collect water first, then I make the bedroom neat and clean the floor and then I wash dishes and then I go and collect the wood.

Londeka explained that there is nothing that she dislikes doing, but claims to enjoy all of these chores. Londeka came across as an obedient girl who is very submissive to adults. Her obedience is also apparent when she explains her relationship with her mother. Londeka's mother also drinks alcohol and becomes abusive towards Londeka. Londeka wavers between describing this abuse in a framework of acceptance and non-acceptance as illustrated in the following extract:

E33: Interviewer: Do you get along well with your mom?

Londeka: We get along very well but sometimes she used to beat me.

Interviewer: Why did she use to beat you?

Londeka: Sometimes when I visited a friend and never come back home on that day, and when she's drunk and says that I'm naughty.

Interviewer: Do you think that you have been naughty?

Londeka: Yes I am. Sometimes when my mom is drunk we don't sleep 'cause my mom says that they must take me away because I'm naughty.

Interviewer: Do you think that your mom is right when she beats you?

Londeka: Sometimes she's not right 'cause she just beat me for nothing and on another day she nearly hurt me and I have to run to sleep with a friend.

Interviewer: Does your mom drink a lot?

Londeka: Sometimes.

Thus, Londeka's day-to-day interactions within her primary microsystem are strained and destructive. These harsh interactions potentially impact negatively upon her self-esteem and self worth and could impact detrimentally on her personal development.

Londeka's third microsystem is her previous school. Londeka's interactions within the school environment were characterised by embarrassment and discrimination. Londeka explains that there are numerous reasons why she does not attend school. The first reason is because she

does not have money to buy a school uniform and must borrow from friends. She explains that it is because of this that she has decided not to return to school.

E34: Interviewer: What made you to stop going to school?

Londeka: I didn't have shoes. Mine were torn. I had no shoes at all, my mother was not working.

Translator: Mmmh, are you not allowed to wear stylish shoes or just...?

Londeka: I just didn't have any shoes. That is the reason I decided not to go to school.

Interviewer: When you used to go to school you used to have a uniform to wear and all the other things?

Londeka: Yes.

Translator: What happened to those things you used to wear before for school?

Londeka: Those that I used to wear?

Translator: Yes.

Londeka: Weee ma!!

Translator: (Laughing)

Londeka: I did have one but it was old and it didn't fit me at all.

In addition, the educators have chased her away from the school premises for being late and they have also embarrassed her because she "doesn't know how to study".

E35: Interviewer: Do you want to go back to school?

Londeka: Yes.

Interviewer: Do you want to go back to this school?

Londeka: No. I'll rather go to another school 'cause the teacher from that school embarrassed us in front of the other children.

Interviewer: What did they say to you?

Londeka: He said I don't know how to study.

Interviewer: Ok, so you are not scared to go back to school it's just that you don't want to go back to that school because of the horrible teacher?

Londeka: Yes and sometimes they chased you away if you come late from school.

Interviewer: Londeka is there another school in the area that you can go to?

Londeka: No.

Perhaps due to these negative interactions and mounting practical barriers Londeka dropped out of school at age 11.

Londeka is also involved in a fourth microsystem with her friends in the area. This microsystem is characterised by ambivalent interactions, some positive and some negative. Londeka has positive interactions with a group of friends that she seeks refuge with when her

mother beats her. However, there are other peers in the area whom Londeka fights with, resulting in her having to return her borrowed school uniform.

Sindisiwe:

Sindisiwe is 13 years old youth and lives in the same urban area of the district as Tholla (see case study for further details about Sindisiwe). Sindisiwe's day-to-day interactions involve multiple microsystems. Her microsystems are as follows: (i) Sindisiwe and her nuclear family; (ii) Sindisiwe and her extended family; and (iii) Sindisiwe and her school.

In the recent past, Sindisiwe's nuclear family has disintegrated. Sindisiwe explains that her parents were both unemployed and their family was struggling to survive. However, in the weeks prior to our research encounter, Sindisiwe's father had found employment in the area, following which he moved out of the home and, as Sindisiwe explained, he no longer wished to support them financially:

E36: Interviewer: Please tell us about you life?

Sindisiwe: For me is that my father is not working and my mom was, was, was also not working. And then my mother moved from there and came here to stay with my grandmother. My mother moved to here and when my mother arrived here she struggled, while my father was working he was not giving money to my mother.

Interviewer: Yes.

Sindisiwe: And we had not money to pay debts.

Interviewer: Oh your mother left your father and where did she go from there?

Sindisiwe: She she went to stay at grandmother's home and from my grandmother's home she went to iLovu to find a job. She found a job, then she worked, and things became better then.

Thus, Sindisiwe was currently in the process of an ecological transition. Her mother was seeking employment to support the family and in the meantime Sindisiwe and her mother left to go and live with her grandmother. This fragmentation has left Sindisiwe with a sense of ambivalence towards her father as illustrated in extract 37:

E37: Interviewer: Do you ever see your father?

Sindisiwe: Yes I do see him and ask for money and he will say he doesn't have any money, but he has it. Maybe he will say he does not have money.

Translator: Is the father still working or?

Sindisiwe: Yes he is still working, he is working at X, in the clinic. [X is the clinic where Sindisiwe's father works].

Interviewer: Do you go to clinic to see your dad or do you go to the clinic for other things?

Sindisiwe: Sometimes I just go there to see him, sometimes to ask for money and he will say he doesn't have the money he will give it to me when he comes to visit, but when he come to visit he will say he doesn't have any money.

Interviewer: Do you miss your dad or do you just get angry with your dad?

Sindisiwe: Sometimes I am angry at him and sometimes miss him because I will not abandon him.

Sindisiwe is now living with her extended family. The household is supported by the grandmother's pension, where at any given time at least six people are living. Within this microsystem, Sindisiwe has positive interactions with her grandmother and older sister. She is able to identify her grandmother and older sister as people whom she would be able to go to if she needed help. Within this microsystem, Sindisiwe performs many chores, she is responsible for collecting water and firewood, washing dishes and cleaning the home.

Sindisiwe's third microsystem is her previous school. The financial strains experienced in her nuclear family impacted upon her school attendance. Sinsidiwe's grandfather, who at the time of the interview recently passed away, paid for her school fees. Now that he is no longer present, her mother, who doesn't earn any money, cannot pay for her to continue going to school. In addition, her mother has explained that she is now too old to access the child care grant for Sindisiwe, further impeding her school attendance.

E38: Interviewer: Who is paying for him to go to school?

Sindisiwe: My Mom.

Interviewer: But your mom does not pay for you to go to school?

Sindisiwe: My mom is earning a child care grant for him.

Interviewer: So she doesn't get yours 'cause you are too old?

Sindisiwe: Yes. They say that if you are 13 and over that you don't get grant.

These financial strains that Sindisiwe describes as the basis for her non-attendance at school are further complicated and worsened within her primary microsystems. This is because Sindisiwe has missed some days of school because of an old and torn school uniform that she was embarrassed to wear. She does not have a new school uniform because her mother cannot afford one. However, her grandmother, who could potentially assist with her school fees, will not, because she cannot understand why Sindisiwe missed school when her grandfather was paying for her school fees:

E39: Interviewer: So tell me if you have to ask for one person here in the picture to send you to school who will it be? Have you ever ask them?

Sindisiwe: Yes I did ask my grandmother and she says she can't because sometimes I miss some of the days from school.

Interviewer: Could you tell us about the days that you missed?

Sindisiwe: It was because of the school uniform. I didn't have the nice uniform 'cause the one I had was torn and old. And my mom couldn't afford to buy a new one 'cause she was still paying for that old torn one.

Interviewer: That old uniform, was it a dress or a skirt and a shirt?

Sindisiwe: It was a dress and I was growing and it was getting smaller and smaller and my mom says that she can't buy new one 'cause she was still paying for the old one.

Discrimination in the school, combined with difficult interactions and misunderstandings within the home, have combined to act as substantial barriers that prevent Sindisiwe from attending school. These interactions and patterns of behaviour will impact negatively on her personal development.

Thus, in concluding the results section, it is evident that the macrosystemic ideologies that impact on the youth manifest in the exosystemic day to day experiences of the youth. However, despite living within similar ecological spaces and being impacted on by similar ideologies and beliefs, the influence of the youth's perceptions and subjective experiences of person and process interactions on their development is evident.

Chapter 5: Discussion

In this section the results from this study will be discussed and interpreted in relation to Bronfenbrenner's (1979; 1986) socio-ecological theory. This section aims to highlight what has been learnt about the experience and process of exclusion that results in youth being unable to attend school.

This study has researched a sample of youth who are no longer part of the schooling system. These youth, who are called out of school youth, a deceptively simple term which conceals the enormous hardships in the experiences of youth who share the common condition of being excluded. These youth spend their lives largely outside of the spheres of what is typically considered appropriate for children on this age. They are socially marginalized and usually have very limited access to basic resources (Burns et al, 2004). Out of school youth are more vulnerable and at-risk in comparison to those youth who attend formal school (*ibid*). This study aimed to understand rural youth's experiences of, and reasons for, school exclusion.

The evidence from this study shows that the reasons these youth are not attending school is the result of a variety of barriers and risk factors. This finding is supported by the body of literature addressing barriers to education (Department of Education, 2000; Giese et al, 2001; Giese et al, 2003; Huber & Gould, 2003; HSRC: Emerging voices report, 2005). The risk factors that the out of school youth in this study are exposed to are similar to those faced by many youth in South Africa (Berry & Guthrie, 2003). As outlined in the literature, significant risk factors currently facing children are poverty, HIV/AIDS, violence, alcohol abuse, child abuse, fragmentation of the family, the lack of a secure attachment to caregivers, the lack of stability and routine, loss of caregivers and a lack of access to services, and the lack of participation in available services (*ibid*). It is recognised that these risk factors are also psychosocial risks that have a particularly adverse effect on children (Killian, 2004).

However, the difference between the youth in this study, and other vulnerable youth in South Africa, is that these youth are caught up in a complex web of exclusion, which includes exclusion from the schooling system. It seems that the web of exclusion is a result of the accumulated impact of many contextual and social risk factors and the probability of an adverse outcome for these youth is increased drastically (Rutter, 1999). Once a child

becomes excluded from a system, risks begin to accumulate and the risk of greater adversity increases (Garmezy, 1994).

Some youth who are at-risk have protective factors that are associated with positive development (Baylis, 2002). These protective factors, such as a supportive family, school and community with access to basic resources, usually act as safety nets. Safety nets can prevent youth from slipping through yet another system (the school system) and prevent the youth from becoming caught in a web of exclusion. Safety nets or protective systems mitigate or moderate the effects of risk factors (*ibid*). On the other hand, the combination of risk factors often perpetuates the absence of safety nets (Garmezy, 1994; Rutter, 1999). It seems that these youth, who are no longer able to go to school, have minimal safety nets or protective systems to mitigate their risk factors. They therefore become tangled in a web of exclusion that further contributes towards their already present vulnerabilities.

The youth in this study have currently fallen under the radar. The nature of a web of exclusion is that it makes these youth hard to identify and access. It also makes it difficult to ascertain one particular problem, or risk, that these youth face. As a result, these youth slip below researchers, policy makers, the governments and the public's radar. This makes high-quality research, that is needed to inform interventions, guide social policy, and provide information for service providers, minimal. In contrast, there is much research carried out with learners in school. Such research aims to identify their experiences in the school system so as to inform and develop targeted interventions for these youth (Giese et al, 2003; Huber & Gould, 2003). However, there is a lack of research about those who have already fallen out of the school system.

Some studies give statistics of the reasons why youth are no longer at school (Giese et al, 2001; Huber & Gould, 2003; HSRC: Emerging voices report, 2005). However; the process of exclusion, and experience of exclusion, has not been researched in depth. Statistics are not able to give the detail of the youth's voiced reasons for not attending school. Research needs to be done in such a way that facilitates an understanding of the intricate nature of the web of exclusion. This may help in how to ask, and answer questions on how to get these youth back into the school system. This study contributes to making the experience of a group of children who are caught in the web of exclusion, explicit. It identifies, and gives a voice to youth who are 'hard to see'.

The use of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) socio-ecological systems theory in this research study has facilitated an understanding of how being out of school is a risk factor that has been created or caused by an already present web of risk factors. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory has also offered a useful framework for understanding the risk factors that these youth face in relation to their contexts, whilst simultaneously incorporating the individual risk factors experienced by each youth. The socio-ecological theory allows one to see how risks cannot be understood in a vacuum, but must rather be understood as dynamically interacting. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory has facilitated an understanding of how risk factors interact to essentially set these youth up to be more vulnerable or at a disadvantage in life's starting blocks (Case & Ardington, 2005).

The two most significant and striking risk factors that the youth in this study were exposed to are a) poverty and b) negative and strained interactions between themselves and others in their lives. Firstly, the ongoing poverty that impacts on people's lives in South Africa is critical in making sense of the reasons why youth are unable to attend school. Poverty, made explicit by the statement repeated by the youth, "we have no money" was given as a reason for non-attendance and experienced by the majority of the youth in this study. As defined by Marshall (2003), childhood poverty is understood as children growing up without access to different types of economic, social, cultural, physical, environmental and political resources that are important for their well being. Poverty in this study is understood as a risk factor in the macrosystemic and exosystemic systems in the youth's life that filters down, and impacts upon the youth's microsystems.

Secondly, the nature of the relationships youth experience with those in their most primary microsystems is fundamental to their self development. In this study, most of the youth's relationships were found to be strained and their experiences negative. Smollar (1999), who researched the developmental issues in homeless youth, found that youth who do not have the opportunity to engage in interactions that foster the development of a sense of competency often struggle with other interactions in life. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) person and process factors also contribute towards the understanding of why negative interactions in the child's microsystems will shape their development and future interactions. As outlined in the literature, person factors include the child's characteristics that influence subsequent development. Some characteristics are more consequential than others (Sontag, 1996). Person factors also include the characteristics of significant others in a child's life (Killian, 2004). If significant others are suffering from the strains and effects of poverty,

unemployment, alcohol abuse and spousal abuse, the chances are that these caregivers have also had strained interactions in their lives that have negatively affected them developmentally. In addition, process factors are those factors that include the interactions that take place between a child and significant others. If there are negative interactions between the youth and key family members, there is a possibility that these strained interactions are negatively affecting the youth's personal development. These negative engagements may manifest in subsequent interactions with educators and impact upon the educational experiences of the youth.

Each of these significant risk factors will now be discussed in greater detail.

Poverty

Poverty is an especially complex and insidious risk factor and is considered one of the most severe forms of psychosocial risks to which a child can be exposed (Marshall, 2003; Killian, 2004; Streak, 2004). It is for these reasons that understanding the impact of poverty on out of school youth is critical to making sense of why these youth are no longer attending school. In the literature it is documented that poverty compromises children's access to basic services that are vital for their well being and a successful developmental trajectory (Berry & Guthrie, 2003; Marshall, 2003). One of the ways that poverty compromises children's access to basic services, like schooling, was demonstrated in this study through the youths' repeated reference to the absence of the child care grant as the main reason that they are no longer attending school.

The South African child care grant is a grant from the government that is provided to assist in increasing opportunities to basic care and resources for at-risk youth, or in other terms, youth that live in poverty (South African Government Services, 2007). At 14 years of age the youth will no longer be eligible to receive the grant. As illustrated in this study, a direct result of no longer receiving this grant is that the child no longer attends school. Over and above having to pay for school fees and provide a school uniform, sending a child to school means that one has to pay for transport, supply food, provide materials such as books and pens and thus, when this grant is stopped there is no other means of supporting this child for what is deemed an additional expense over and above basic living i.e.: food, shelter etc. For these families, it seems that it is more useful to keep a child at home to assist with day-to-day living needs. It is important to consider that basic living in environments with limited infrastructure takes a lot more time and energy. For example, to cook a meal requires wood for fire and water that

must be carried from the nearest pump. It may be for these reasons that a child at home can assist with these tasks, which reduces time and energy. This is especially true when providing for extended families, which for these youth was up to eight people. Not having money to go to school is supported by other research findings as the most widely experienced barrier to schooling (Giese et al, 2001).

However, regardless of access to the child care grant, basic schooling is supposed to be free for all under the age of 15 years. This was not the reality in the rural and poorly resourced setting in which this study took place. Learners were turned away from the school premises if their school fees had not been paid. It also became evident from this research, that the youth and their caregivers are not aware, or able to act upon this right to free education. Some schools in the sampled area have subsequently been declared 'no fee schools', however it is clear from the youths comments that there are other socio-economic factors that act as barriers to education, for example school uniforms.

In addition, when a child turns 14 years old and no longer receives the grant, it is more likely that the girl child will no longer be able to attend school. It has been found that it is more useful to keep a girl-child at home compared to a boy-child. Girls are expected to spend more time assisting with domestic chores around the home, as well as caring for younger family members. The out of school youth in this study were spending the majority of their time assisting with chores around the home. Whilst this study specifically sampled girls who were out of school, there is a link between these findings and other studies where it has been found that girls are more likely to drop out of school, or never attend school because of gendered ideologies (Giese et al, 2001; Giese et al, 2003; Huber & Gould, 2003; HSRC: *Emerging voices* report, 2005). The presence of gendered ideologies was particularly apparent in one of the youth's homes where her caregiver explained that the reason the son still attends school is because "there is only money for one". The priority for schooling clearly lies with the boy-child as opposed to the girl-child.

Whilst the above demonstrates the practical dimensions of why poverty is a reason for non-attendance, there are also deep emotional dimensions to the experience of poverty that translate into reasons for dropping out of school. The youth in this study were focused on not having a new or presentable uniform in which to attend school. It became evident that there is a sense of pride that each of these youth has in their appearance in the school setting. The youth in this study expressed embarrassment in having to wear tattered and old school

uniforms that often did not fit them properly, and explained how they had to borrow school uniforms to come to school. It is evident that this demonstrates the stigmatisation and discrimination associated with poverty. The youth did not want to go to school and be the poor child who could not afford a better uniform. A school uniform translates into a tangible monetary indicator. When youth weigh up the better of two evils, they would rather forfeit going to school in an old school uniform, than attend school and be labelled as a poor person. The youth's response to this discrimination is that they will only go back to school if they have a school uniform that fits them and that they personally own this uniform.

Bronfenbrenner's theory (1979; 1986) facilitates an understanding of why the exclusionary factor of not having a school uniform originates from the macrosystemic level. Poverty is experienced in these areas because of the macrosystemic ideology of apartheid that resulted in rural areas, populated by black South Africans, becoming particularly under-resourced and poverty stricken. Bronfenbrenner's (1979; 1986) theory facilitates an understanding of how poverty is then concretely manifest on an exosystemic level, where a worn school uniform is seen as a sign of poverty within the school system. Youth's day-to-day experience of not having a school uniform, and being discriminated against because of this, translates into a reason to why they are not attending school.

The poverty that the youth in this study are exposed to is pervasive in their decision making to attend school. Poverty manifests in both concrete (not having money to pay for school fees) and emotional (discrimination) dimensions, both of which are experienced by these youth. This results in the youth withdrawing from systems that can provide them with care and support, making them more at-risk. This is just one of the steps in the exclusionary process; however, poverty is perhaps one of the most binding aspects in the web of exclusion which prevents youth from accessing a particular system that could provide them with support.

However, one needs to question why only some children exposed to poverty drop out of school. There is an increasing body of evidence that communities that are poverty stricken and disadvantaged are associated with poor child and family psychosocial outcomes (Barnes et al, 2005). Barnes et al (2005) argue that the ecological niche in which one resides will ultimately determine and impact upon the development and functioning of a child and the family. This study suggests that having poor family relations is another risk factor that further exacerbates poverty, and contributes to the web of exclusion. The second major risk

factor articulated by the youth in this study is the problematic interactions that they experience in their primary microsystems.

Negative and strained interactions

The socio-ecological theory (1979) allows one to simultaneously take into consideration the four interacting dimensions of child development: the person, process, contextual and time factors. As discussed in the literature, the way in which the youth's development is influenced by these dimensions depends on the interactions between these dimensions, and the way in which the youth will perceive these interactions (Killian, 2004). It is for these reasons that children who are brought up in an unsupportive environment are often unable to follow healthy developmental pathways (Bronfenbrenner, 1992; Killian, 2004). It is significant that most of the youth in this study had, to some degree, experienced negative and destructive interactions within their primary microsystems. Negative interactions were seen in two major relationships in the youth's lives. Firstly, negative interactions were seen between the youth and their family members, and secondly, between the youth and their educators.

Bronfenbrenner's (1992) theory demonstrates that it is the face-to-face interactions between the youth and others that are the most influential in shaping stable aspects of development. Day-to-day interactions in the microsystem shape the youth's way of interacting with others. As discussed by Killian (2004), this modality of interaction becomes habitual, so that each time the child interacts with, for example, the parent, the same pattern is likely to be reproduced. These same patterns of behaviour are then produced with others in the child's life.

A pattern of interaction for some of the youth in this study was created by abuse in the home. Some of the youth could relate this abuse to their caregiver's alcohol abuse, whilst others understood the abuse as related to being disobedient. Four of the youth in this study suffered from extensive abuse. As outlined in the results, Londeka suffered from abuse every time her mother drank alcohol. Interactional relationships of this nature will restrict development and adaptation (Killian, 2004). Londeka swayed between explaining that she deserved the abuse as she is "naughty" and suggesting that it was because her mother was drunk.

Bronfenbrenner (1986) emphasised that it is the way in which the youth perceives this relationship that is crucial. It seems that Londeka resides within a high-risk microsystem that

is characterised by the presence of destructive patterns of interaction. These destructive interactions that probably will impact negatively on her self esteem and potentially negatively shape her developmental trajectory. This example represents the situation for Mpume, Zama and Thuli, who all reside within high-risk microsystems where they suffer from abuse. It seems that these youth were particularly submissive, obedient and respectful, especially when interacting with adults. This may be because of ideologies of appropriate ways of how to interact with elders that have impacted upon the youth's microsystems and the processes, or interaction that take place in their microsystems. It may be for these reasons that the youth have particular difficulty in dealing with, and understanding the abuse. This may lead to further problems in their adaptive development.

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological theory also allows one to understand how the absence or loss of a caregiver may be a negative ecological transition that signifies a change of roles in the youth's lives which may lead to negative and strained interactions in their primary microsystems. Bronfenbrenner (1979) outlined that ecological transitions (like the death of a caregiver) serve as an impetus for developmental change that is a product of the environmental change. A child who is raised in a family unit where a caregiver is not present is going to experience a different form of childhood to the one who is raised with both caregivers present. Caregivers in this study were not present due to relocation, family separation or death. The death of a caregiver often results in a change in family structure. When Zama's mother passed away she moved in with her father and stepmother, which represented the breakdown of her nuclear family unit and marked the beginning of many negative relationships in her life. Like Zama, other youth in this study were pushed into negative family interactions when caregivers passed away. This can contribute towards a lack of reciprocal rewarding relationships and interactions that can positively shape development. For example, when Zama and Tholla's mothers passed away, their roles changed. Originally they were attending school and being cared for by an adult and following the death, they were pushed into another family unit where they became the caregiver to smaller children and were no longer able to go to school. It is also important to note that the death of a mother that has a huge negative impact on a child's schooling (Case & Ardington, 2005). It is for these reasons that the youth in this sample can be further classified as living within high-risk microsystem and are experiencing negative ecological transitions that impact on their development.

It is important to note that of the eight out of school youth sampled in this study there were very few differences between the experiences of the youth. Most of the youth shared similar hardships and difficulties, especially when taking into consideration their day-to-day interactions. However, there is one youth whose experiences did differ from the others in that she did have access to protective systems in her life. Thuli had experienced abuse within her nuclear family however, she differed from the other youth in that she experienced a positive ecological transition when her mother identified the abuse and relocated her to her grandmother's home. The impact of this safety net will moderate other risks in Thuli's life. Whilst she, at the time of the research, was not in school due to her relocation, her mother is supporting her return at the start of the new school year. This is indicative of the powerful effect of protective systems.

When applying Bronfenbrenner's (1992) understanding of the influence that the day-to-day interactions has on an individual's person development, one begins to understand why the high-risk microsystems outlined above may have a negative impact on the youth's interactions at school. Killian (2004) explained that the nature of the microsystem varies across developmental stages where the family and home is more likely to be significant in early childhood, while peers and school are more likely to be significant during middle childhood. Thus, the youth's interactions with educators signifies another microsystem in which the youth play a part. For the youth in this study, it signified yet another set of negative interactions. Negative interactions with educators are particularly problematic as the school environment could act as protective factor for youth by providing a form of psychosocial support (Interagency Network for Education Emergencies, 2005), as well as a stable routine in which the child feels secure and can grow in confidence. What is evident from the discussion above is that it is these youth that especially need, and would benefit from, this kind of safety net.

The socio-ecological systems theory suggests that whilst these negative interactions in the school environment may be a result of a whole host of interacting factors, they may also be linked to the poor person and process dimensions formed in the youths negative interactions with their caregivers. Negative and destructive interactions in the youth's most primary microsystems (their day-to-day interactions with their caregivers) may be further extended to the unsupportive interactions between these youth and their educators. As articulated in the report 'We Struggle to learn' (Van der Riet et al, 2006), learners within schools in a small town in KwaZulu Natal experienced educator's behaviour as a particular barrier. Learners

reported critical and often derogatory interactions with the educators and ranked corporal punishment as a significant barrier to schooling.

Youth in this study also reported critical and discriminatory interactions with the educators. Their experience of these interactions is that whilst they wish to return to school, (and the youth in this study often repeated this wish), they will never go back to their previous school because of the interactions with the educators. Thus, their experience of the exclusion from school is too difficult for them to be able to negotiate going back. This is particularly problematic as there are often no other schools in the area where the youth can go. Returning to another school would result in additional costs, for example, paying for transport.

When taking into account the role person and process factors play in a youth's development it is understandable why the youth in this study were not able to successfully negotiate this harsh, and discriminatory behaviour from educators. Youth who are currently in the school environment may also experience similar discrimination, however may be able to deal with it more effectively as they may have other supportive and validating microsystems that have fostered positive development. In contrast, the youth in this study appear not to have these validating microsystems.

In the absence of supportive microsystems between either the youth and their caregivers, or the youth and their educators, there also appear to be no mesosystemic systems that support the youth. As outlined in the literature, the mesosystem contains sets of associated microsystems and the interrelationships between them. As outlined by Killian (2004, p.5), "a facilitative mesosystem has a number of strong, positive connections that can even offset the negative influence of other facets in the child's life". Thus, abuse experienced by the youth at home is not offset by a caring relationship with a supportive educator. It seems that the youth in this study are at-risk for multiple reasons within their most primary microsystems. However, more importantly, they are even more at-risk than the average South African child as they are not able to access what the school system should provide; that is, access to support and care (Giese, Meintjies & Proudlock, 2001), and at the very least, a supportive microsystem to offset the risks to which they are already exposed. In addition, schools should be able to identify and refer vulnerable children like these to services that address their needs (Giese, 2003).

Through this study, it has become evident that the process of exclusion is complicated and multifaceted. A single event or experience does not lead to exclusion. Instead, it is the accumulation of risk factors that lead to the youth becoming “out of” school. Youth who are not able to attend school are excluded for reasons beyond their experiences at school. Whilst other research has outlined that the reason youth drop of school are because of poor relations with educators (Berry & Guthri, 2003; HSRC, 2005; Van der Riet et al, 2006), this research suggests that whilst these are exclusionary factor, it is just one layer in the process of exclusion. From this study, it can be assumed that exclusion has some of its roots within the home environment. These youth have not been able to develop the necessary skills, nor do they have access to the necessary protective systems, to counterbalance the difficulties to which they are exposed. In addition, these youth are also challenged by the most severe form of psychosocial risk, namely poverty. These youth lack safety nets in all systems in their lives and they become caught in a web of exclusion. Their experience of the process of exclusion means that these youth will not return to their former schools. This experience is one of discrimination and shame because of not having a school uniform, because of not being able to pay school fees, because of being the oldest learner in the class, and because of being unable to cope in these environments. These experiences are reinforced at home, where the youth live through hardships both emotionally and physically.

However, it is also interesting to note, that in contrast to some literature (Giese et al., 2001), barriers to schooling that were not raised by the youth in this sample were transport difficulties, long distances to school and physical disabilities. In addition, the youth in this sample also did not confirm the issue of safety whilst travelling to school as a barrier to education. As these were not issues raised by this sample of youth, it may be indicative of how the community as an exosystemic system is impacting positively upon the youth.

It also must be noted that the youth in this study were sampled from different geographic regions so as to assist an understanding of how an urban or rural locality may affect youth being out of school (Giese et al., 2003). However, in this study the geographic regions did not greatly impact on exclusion from schooling. Being located in a rural or urban area did not seem to have an impact as none of the youth reported transport difficulties as a barrier to school. In retrospect, the area where this study took place is so under resourced that the urban and rural locations were suffering from similar infrastructural and resource constraints. This may explain why different urban and rural localities were not expressed barriers to schooling in this study.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In conclusion, analysing the data in relation to Bronfenbrenner's (1979; 1986) ecological systems theory has successfully facilitated in fleshing out the factors that have resulted in youth not attending school. The theory has also allowed a fuller understanding of the youth's experiences of exclusion. It has facilitated a perspective on the child's experiences, captured in their stories of why they are not at school. The theory has also been able to help analyse the impact of the risks combined. Bronfenbrenner's (1979; 1986) theory has reinforced that risk has a cumulative effect and needs to be understood within context. The theory has allowed the research to take into account risks that are operating outside of the spheres of the youth's control.

This study has documented the adversity of out of school youths lives. Describing the adverse ecologies in which these youth reside can help us to better understand the discriminatory and damaging experiences of out of school youth. These negative interactions within the youth's lives are a cause for concern. The negative impacts of these interactions, both at home and within the school environment will have long lasting effects on the successful development of these at-risk youth. In addition, describing the adverse ecologies in which these youth reside can lead one to identify interventions that need to target these youth. It is clear that the ongoing effects of poverty on the communities, families and the youth in this study has implications for the ability of children to attend and remain in, school. A specific intervention would be to address the child care grant system. The age limit of accessing the grant can be said to contribute to exclusion from schooling of children in poorly resourced areas. The policy must be critiqued for the role it has played in the 16% of children between the ages of 6-14 years in rural areas who drop out of school (Giese et al., 2003, p.5).

An understanding of the social ecology of these youth leads to the argument that one should consider macrosystemic interventions that target policy change as opposed to microsystemic interventions which target individual children. This can be motivated based on the number of youth who are at-risk and the number of youth who are caught in the web of exclusion from school. Through focusing on macrosystemic interventions, it is likely that policies and services will reach a larger proportion of children. However, regardless of the type of intervention, there must be a common long-term goal to alleviate poverty in children and their families. Without this long-term goal, the impact of any intervention will be negligible.

The findings from this study suggest that the process of exclusion and the web that this exclusion creates might eventually limit a child's agency. These out of school youth are exposed to too much adversity and have minimal, if any, protective systems to mitigate these effects. Safety nets like a supportive family environment and a supportive schooling system are not in place. Such negative forces are too powerful and destructive for a child to act against alone. In the web of exclusion, a child is unable to make decisions to change, unable to break the cycle of abusive relationships, and is unable to act against discrimination.

A limitation to this research is the absence of resiliency data. Bronfenbrenner's (1979; 1986) theory takes into account the strengths and advantages that occur simultaneously within multiple layers or systems as the child develops. However, this study did not take these into account in the level of detail that is required to be incorporated in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) understanding of systems. Instead, this research focused on the risks and vulnerabilities of out of school youth. Hence, a limitation of this research is that it was not able to successfully identify and describe any forms of resiliency in the youth. At face value there were hardly any apparent protective systems in the youth's lives. However, as documented in the literature on risk research, it is noted that the child will have different vulnerabilities and different protective systems in place, that shift and adapt at any given time. Whilst questions around support systems and how youth would access help were asked, the youth were not able to articulate these systems in detail. To understand the youths' innate resiliency would have required a longer research period. Thus, it is important for further research to build upon these findings and include the understanding of resilience and its impact on the development of at-risk children.

The generalisability of the findings must also be mentioned in relation to the difficulty of accessing the youth in this study. Sampling via learners in school resulted in the risk of the research being perceived as coming from the school. This may have impacted on the type of out of school youth that were accessed, resulting in those that are slightly more marginalized (than those in this study) not being sampled. In addition, using the community volunteers as a means to access the youth also may have compromised the generalisability of the sample as the volunteers' accessed youth only in the areas where they reside. These two sampling challenges were combined with the fact that some of the youth were never located. Many of the people in the community initially viewed us with suspicion and the intention of our visits had to be explained multiple times in length. This was particularly so when asking people

directions to the youths' homes. Hence, it must be acknowledged, that despite this study taking specific measures to sufficiently sample and access marginalized and hard to reach youth, there is still the chance that the most marginalized and vulnerable youth were not reached.

In addition, the difficulty in the translation process may have impacted upon the reliability and validity of the findings. However, it is hoped that the participatory techniques used maximised the youth's participation in the research process, and stimulated and included the youth. It is especially through the enjoyment of the photo interview activity that they may have been assisted in the genuine expression of their experiences and thus has added to the reliability and validity of the findings.

Whilst it has been argued that the variables selected for analysis, and the means to measure these variables, within the contextual systems in Bronfenbrenner's theory (1979) may be suboptimal and irrelevant in non western cultures (Liddell, 2002), the theory does provide a useful way to organise the diversity of risk and protective influences on human development. Bronfenbrenner's (1979; 1986) socio-ecological systems theory has allowed for a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the youths' development in relation to their socio-cultural and environmental influences. It has offered a useful framework for understanding the risks that these out of school youth face in relation to their context. The socio-ecological theory (1979; 1986) is able to assist with this understanding because it is different from many other theories of development. Unlike other theories, it understands the child as an active agent. Previous theories have restricted the understanding of development by limiting the child to a passive recipient and a product of their environmental influences.

In concluding, Bronfenbrenner's (1979; 1986) theory allows one to understand the systems surrounding the child as interlinked and connected. Killian (2004) comments that Bronfenbrenner's model can be understood as an environmental model of ecology. She uses the example that each part of river life supports and maintains each other part of life in a river, so that the ecological system, can be mutually beneficial, or one could kill off the entire system by tampering with one aspect of river life (*ibid*). For out of school youth in this study, there are too many risk factors affecting differing aspects of their lives to allow them to successfully negotiate remaining in, or returning to school. Out of school youth are a particularly at-risk and marginalized group of youth that are in desperate need of any support.

References

- Atkinson, R. & Flint, J. (2001). *Accessing Hidden and Hard to reach Populations: Snowball Research Strategies*. Retrieved 3rd March, 2005, from University of Surrey, Social research update web site: <http://www.soc.surrey.ac.uk/sru/SRU12.html>
- Barlow, D. H. & Durand, V. M. (2002). *Abnormal psychology: An integrative approach* (3rd ed.). Australia: Wadsworth, Thompson Learning.
- Barnes, J., Belsky, J., Broomfield, K.A., Dave, S., Frost, M., Melhuish, E. (2005). Disadvantaged but different: Variation among deprived communities in relation to child and family well-being. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 46(9), 952-962.
- Baylis, P. J. (2002). *Promoting Resilience: a Review of the literature*. Prepared for the Alberta Mental Health Board: Children's Mental Health.
- Berry, L. & Guthrie, T. (2003). *Rapid Assessment: The situation of children in South Africa* (Chapter 5). Retrieved 16th March, 2005, from University of Cape Town, Children's Institute Web site: <http://web.uct.za/depts/ci/pubs/htmldocs/rapidass.htm>
- Bickman, L. & Rog, D. (1998). *Handbook of Social Science Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1986). Recent advances in research on human development. In R. K. Silbereisen, K. Eyferth, & G. Rudinger (Eds.), *Development as action in context: Problem behavior and normal youth development* (pp. 287-309). Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag.

- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1992). Ecological systems theory. In R. Vasta (Ed.), *Annals of child development. Six theories of child development: Revised formulations and current issues* (pp. 187-249). London: Jessica Kingsley.
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Crouter, A. C. (1983). The evolution of environmental models in development research. In P. H. Mussen (Series Ed.) & W. Kessen (Vol. Ed.), *Handbook of Child Psychology: Vol. 1. History, Theory and Methods*. (4th ed., pp.357-414). New York: Wiley.
- Burns, A., Ruland, C. D., Finger, W., Murphy-Graham, E., McCarney, R., & Schueller, J. (2004). *Reaching OOSY with reproductive health and HIV/AIDS information and services* [Electronic version]. Family Health International, Youthnet program. Retrieved March 3rd 2005, <http://64.233.179.104/search?q=cache:ouaf8K5r6PwJ:www.fhi.org/NR/rdonlyres/egkwwx7wo3ry3o5vwgn6bhxcbir5fxzr2f23ke7r2dmnts2koqs6isgvbsydljlyuh5i33gmunfbh/YI4final.pdf+%22reaching+out+of+school+youth%22&hl=en>
- Case, A. & Ardington, C. (2005). Handicapped in the starting blocks. *The Natal Witness*. Thursday, June 2, 2005.
- Carrim, N. (2002). Inclusion/exclusion in South African Education. Paper presented at the Kenton Conference. Muldersdrift. 1st-4th November 2002. Retrieved 18th March, 2005, www.ids.ac.uk/ids/pvty/Inex/discpaper2.pdf
- Department of Education. (2000). *Education for All: The South African Assessment Report*. Pretoria: Department of Education, South Africa.
- Durrheim, K. (1999). Research design. In M . Terre Blanche & K. Durrheim (Eds.), *Research in Practice: Applied methods for the social sciences* (pp. 29-53). Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Fraser, M. (1997). *Risk and Resilience in childhood: An ecological perspective*. Washington DC: NASW Press.
- Garnezy, N. (1994). Reflections and commentary on risk, resilience and, development. In R. J., Haggerty, L. R. Sherrod, N. Garnezy, & M. Rutter, (1994). *Stress, Risk and Resilience*

in Children and Adolescents: Processes, mechanisms and interventions. (pp.1-18). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Giese, S. (2003). Looking for signs of vulnerability. *Children First*, 50, pp. 5. Retrieved 18th March, 2005,

<http://www.childrenfirst.org.za/shownews?mode=content&id=17597&refto=2685>

Giese, S., Meintjies, H. & Proudlock, P. (2001). *The national children's forum on HIV/AIDS: a workshop report*. Retrieved 3rd March, 2005, from the University of Cape Town,

Children's Institute web site: <http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/ci/pubs/htmdocs/ncfonhiv.htm>

Giese, S., Meintjies, H., Croke, R. & Chamberlain, R. (2003). *The role of schools in addressing the needs of children made vulnerable in the context of HIV/AIDS*. Document distributed in preparation of the Education Policy Round Table, University of Cape Town. Retrieved 5th March, 2005,

<http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/ci/pubs/pdf/hiv/discuss/schoolrole.pdf>

Haggerty, R. J., Sherrod, L. R., Garmezy, N. & Rutter, M. (1994). *Stress, Risk and Resilience in Children and Adolescents: Processes, mechanisms and interventions*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hazel, N. (1995). *Elicitation techniques with young people*. Retrieved March 10th, 2005, from University of Surrey, Social research update web site:

<http://www.soc.surrey.ac.uk/sru/SRU12.html>

HSRC (2005). *Emerging Voices. A report on Education in Rural South African communities*. Cape Town, Houghton: HSRC Press.

Huber, U. & Gould, B. (2003). *Reasons for non-attendance of orphans, children from disjointed families who live with both parents: Evidence from questionnaires and children's drawings*. HIV/AIDS impact on education clearinghouse. Retrieved 3rd April, 2005, <http://iiep.tomoye.com/ev.php>

Interagency Network for Education in Emergencies. (2005). *Assessment, Monitoring and Evaluation*. Retrieved 18th March, 2005, <http://www.ineesite.org/assess/monitor.asp>

- John, V. & Rule, P. (2006). Shifting ground: making sense of context in examining HIV/AIDS and schooling. *Journal of Education*, 38, 165-186.
- Johnson, H. & Mayoux, L. (1998). Investigation as empowerment: Using participatory methods. In A. Thomas; J. Chataway & M. Wayts (Eds.), *Finding out fast*. (pp.147-171). London: Sage. Open University Press.
- Jones, L. & Allebone, B. (1999). Researching hard to reach groups: The crucial role of the research associate. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 3(4), 353-362.
- Killian, B. (2004). Risk and Resilience. In R. Pharoah (Ed.), *A Generation at Risk* (pp. 33-63). Pretoria, South Africa: ISS Monograph Series.
- Kelly, K. & Van der Riet, M. (2001). Participatory research in community settings: Processes, methods and challenges. In M. Seedat, N. Duncan & S. Lazarus. *Community Psychology: Theory method and practice, South African and other perspectives* (pp. 159-188). Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Kvale, S. (1996). Postmodern thought, Hermeneutics, Phenomenology, and Dialectics. In *Interviews* (pp. 39-58). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Liddell, J. (2002). Emic Perspectives on Risk in African Childhood. *Developmental Review*, 22, 97-116.
- Lloyd, C.B. & Hewett, P. C. (2003). Primary Schooling in sub-Saharan Africa: Recent trends and current challenges. *Policy Research Division: Population Council*, 176. Retrieved 18th March, 2005, <http://www.popconcil.org/pdfs/wp/176.pdf>
- Marshall, J. (2003). Children and poverty - Some questions answered. Retrieved November 20th, 2006, from the Childhood Poverty Research and Policy Centre. Web Site: <http://www.childhoodpoverty.org/index.php?action=publications>
- Masten, A. S. (1997). *Research and Practice: resilience in Children at Risk*. Retrieved April 12th, 2005, from University of Minnesota, Center for Applied Research and Educational

Improvement Web site:

<http://education.umn.edu/CAREI/Reports/Rpractice/Spring97/resilience.htm>

Masten, A. S. (2000). *Children who overcome adversity to succeed in life*. Retrieved April 12th, 2005, from University of Minnesota, Center for Applied Research and Educational

Improvement Web site:

http://www.extension.umn.edu/distribution/familydevelopment/components/7565_06.htm

!

Masten, A. S. (2001). Ordinary Magic: Resilience processes in development. *American Psychologist*, 56 (3), 227-238.

Masten, A. S., Best, K. N. & Garmezy, N. (1991). Resilience and development:

Contributions from the study of children who overcome adversity. *Development and Psychopathology*, 2, 425-444.

Mergendollar, J.R. (1989). Good and ill will: War resistance as a context for the study of moral action. In M.J. Packer & R.B. Addison (Eds.), *Entering the circle: hermeneutic investigation in psychology* (pp. 119-138). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Muthukrishna, N., (Ed.), (2006). Mapping barriers to basic education in the context of HIV and AIDS. A report on research conducted in the Richmond District, KwaZulu Natal. School of Education and Development, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus.

O'Kane, C. (2000). The development of participatory techniques: facilitating children's views about decisions which affect them. In P. Christensen & A. James (Eds.). *Research with Children: perspectives and practices* (pp. 136-159). London: Routledge Flamer

Pharoah, R. (2004). Introduction. In R. Pharoah. (Eds.), *A Generation at Risk: HIV/AIDS, vulnerable children and security in Southern Africa*. (pp.1-8). South Africa: Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

Rak, C. F., & Patterson, L. E. (1996). Promoting resilience in at-risk children. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 74, 368-373.

- Rutter, M. (1999). Resilience concepts and findings: implications for family therapy. *The Association for family therapy and systemic practice*, 21, 119-144.
- Simeonsson, R. J. (1994). *Risk Resilience and Prevention: Promoting the Well-being of All-Children*. Baltimore, Maryland: Paul. H. Brookes Publishing Co.
- South African Government Services. (2007). Child Support Grant. Retrieved June 10th, 2007 from the South African Government Services. Web Site: <http://www.services.gov.za/en-za/childsupportgrant.htm>
- Smollar, J. "Homeless Youth in the United States: Description and Developmental Issues" in Raffaelli, M. and Larson, R.W. (1999) *Homeless and Working Youth Around the World: Exploring Developmental Issues* (pp. 47-59). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Statistics South Africa. (2001). Census 2001 Online. Retrieved July 12th, 2006 from Statistics South Africa. Website : www.statssa.gov.za
- Streak, J. "Child poverty in South Africa and implications for policy: Using indicators and children's views to gain perspective" in Coetzee, E. and Streak, J. (2004a) *Monitoring child socio-economic rights in South Africa: Achievements and Challenges*. Forthcoming, Cape Town, IDASA.
- Sontag, J. C. (1996). Toward a comprehensive theoretical framework for disability research: Bronfenbrenner revisited. *The journal of special education*, 30 (3), 319-344.
- Theis, J. & Grady, H. M. (1991). *Participatory rapid appraisal for community development: A training manual based on experiences in the Middle East and North Africa*. London: Save the Children Federation and IIED.
- UNESCO. (2000). *Thematic education for all 2000 Assessment: Education for All: Meeting our Collective commitments*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNICEF. (2005). *Protection and support for orphans and families affected by HIV/AIDS*. Retrieved July 10th, 2006 from UNICEF website: http://www.unicef.org/aids/index_orphans.html

UNICEF. (1989). *Conventions on the Rights of children*. Retrieved July 10th, 2006 from UNICEF website: <http://www.unicef.org/crc/>

Van der Riet, M., Hough, A., Killian, B., O'Neill, V. & Ram, A. (2006). We struggle to learn. In: *Mapping barriers to basic education in context of HIV and AIDS: A report on research conducted in the Richmond district, KwaZulu Natal*. Muthukrishna, N. 31 May 2006.

Wang, C. C. (1999). Photovoice: A participatory action research strategy applied to women's health. *Journal of Women's Health*. 8 (2), 185-192.

Wang, C. C., Yi, W. K., Tao, Z. W. & Carovano, K. (1998). Photovoice as a participatory health promotion strategy. *Health Promotion International* 13 (1), 75- 86.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Participant case studies

* All names are pseudonyms.

Mpume

Mpume is 14 years old and lives in a rural area in the Richmond District. All homes have pit latrines, central water pumps – few of which work - limited electricity supply. People in the area must travel far to collect firewood. The clinic is approximately 25 minutes away in the nearest urban town. There is a poorly resourced rural primary school in the area that Mpume used to attend. All learners and educators are mother tongue *isiZulu* speakers.

Mpume moves between two homes in the area, fluctuating between staying with her mother and her grandmother, uncles and cousins. Mpume's explains that her mother drinks, causing Mpume to relocate to her grandmother's home intermittently. Mpume's mother separated from her father two years ago based on accusations that "he drinks too much and has killed people". Mpume describes missing her father, along with a sister that she has not seen since her mother and father separated.

Mpume dropped out of Grade 5 at the age of 13 because, as described by Mpume, the educators "make examples of us" and "sometimes tease us" because she is the older one in the class. Mpume has left the school because she "will not like to go and study with children" and because the educators have been unsupportive of her complaints of unfair treatment. Mpume has not been to school in the last year and a half. She explains that this is because of poor relations with the educators at the school and because of embarrassment of her age in relation to the other children in the Grade. Mpume's grandmother describes her as "mad" for not going to school, as there are resources to send her.

Mpume spends her time braiding hair for money, which she spends with her friends at the local tuck shop. She engages in very few household activities and laughs, while explaining, that when she must do a chore at one house, she simply goes to the other house and waits until someone else completes her chores.

Zama

Zama is 12 years old and lives in an urban area in the Richmond District with her aunt. In this urban area, she has access to electricity, water, numerous stores, a clinic, schools and other services. The school in the area is a former model C school and well resourced. The home that Zama lives in consists of one large room, where six people live. Zama sleeps on the floor, with a single blanket. Zama's aunt's children, three young boys who live in the house, share two beds in the lounge.

Zama does not attend school because of her frequent relocations since her mother passed away and her father remarried. Zama's stepmother did not allow Zama to attend school regularly because of the chores she needs to complete and to look after the younger children in the home. Both the stepmother and father used to beat Zama and at times, Zama was given no food. Zama describes running away from her father's home to the social workers in the area and her aunt's home where she now lives. Because Zama's father did not permit her to leave his home, he now refuses to finance her schooling. At present social workers are trying to help Zama to access her school report from her previous school, where she left in Grade 4, in order to help her to return to school. However, this school is withholding her school report because of unpaid school fees.

Zama speaks *isiZulu* and some broken English. Her broken English only became evident the more familiar she became with us. Zama spends her time doing chores around her aunt's home that involve washing the clothes, cleaning the home, cooking and cleaning the dishes and then waits to play with her friends coming home from the local school. Every time we visited Zama, whether it was arranged or unannounced, Zama was busy doing household chores like washing the floor and cleaning clothes. Whilst other OOSY changed their clothes when we arrived, Zama had very worn and old clothes that often exposed her chest.

Tholla

Tholla is 15 years old and lives with her mother, and extended family of eight in a peri-urban area in the Richmond District. This area is an informal settlement, where homes are made from raw materials such as mud, concrete bricks, tin and plastic. Water can be found at communal pumps and firewood for cooking is collected from surrounding areas. Access to this area is via main roads, but further access to homes must be negotiated down narrow foot-paths. There is a school in the area.

Tholla dropped out of school in Grade 4 approximately a year prior to our meeting. Tholla and her mother articulate that the reason why she no longer attends school is because there is not enough money for schooling, school uniforms and other school resources since Tholla's grandmother, who was financially supporting Tholla, passed away. In addition, Tholla's mother explains that Tholla is now too old to receive the child care grant. Tholla's younger brother is still attending a local primary school, because, as described by their mother, "there is only money for one".

Tholla has a close relationship with her sister-in-law who is of a similar age and who helps Tholla with her chores around the home. Tholla relays the story that when her sister-in-law accesses the money for her new-born daughters grant, she will share it with Tholla, so that she can return to school. Tholla is a shy and reserved girl. She speaks of missing her grandmother who "used to stick-up" for her and helped her fit in. Tholla now worries that there is no one she can go to for help.

Thuli

Thuli is 15 years old and lives in the same rural area of the small town as Mpume. Thuli has moved into the area in the past six months from the north coast of KwaZulu-Natal to live with her grandmother. Thuli relocated, leaving the school where she was studying mid-semester because of abuse at her home. Thuli used to live with her father and four brothers who would beat her if she didn't cook food and complete other home chores. Thuli could not live with her mother as her mother works in another area of KwaZulu Natal. Thuli's mother was worried for her safety and decided to relocate Thuli to her grandmother's home in the small town in the former homeland in KwaZulu Natal. Thuli is now waiting until next year where she will begin Grade 8 at the local school.

Thuli was very suspicious of the research process and asked many questions about what would happen with the tape-recorded material, before she agreed to participate in the research. She was also very concerned of using the camera and that she could not be able operate it.

Thuli's mother tongue is *isiZulu* but she can speak broken English. She has made friends in the area and has a supportive relationship with her grandmother. Thuli is involved in chores around the home that involve cleaning, washing clothes, cooking and collecting firewood.

Thuli often visits her friends to use their pit latrine as the one in her home is not working and she is afraid to use it at night.

Nonhlanhla

Nonhlanhla lives in a peri-rural area in the Richmond District where services are restricted. Water is collected from communal pumps in the area and firewood from nearby forests. Homes have pit latrines and limited resources in terms of building structure. Many young children who are orphans populate this area. There is a drop-in-centre in this area of the district where community volunteers take care of these children.

Nonhlanhla is 15 years old and lives with her mother and her grandmother. The father of the baby lives in another area, but supports Nonhlanhla financially because of the baby. Nonhlanhla has dropped out of school because of her pregnancy. She was 14 years old when she fell pregnant and was in Grade 5 for the second time. Her daughter was 3 months old at the time of our meeting and Nonhlanhla had been out of school for approximately a year. Nonhlanhla describes how she and the educators at the school “didn’t get along very well because of my pregnancy”. Nonhlanhla describes that even though she would like to return to school now, she more than likely won’t be able to, as she is still breast-feeding her baby. The school in the area that Nonhlanhla used to attend is poorly resourced.

Nonhlanhla describes how she does not participate in any chores around the home since her third trimester, other than caring for a younger cousin who lives with them. Nonhlanhla has a close friend in the area that she spends most of her day with.

Nondomiso

Nondomiso lives in the same peri-rural area in the Richmond District as Nonhlanhla. Nondomiso is 15 years old. She lives with her grandmother, although her mother and father live in the area. Nondomiso explains how her mother frequently drinks at the local tavern and how she finds this very upsetting.

Nondomiso explained that there is no money for her to go to school. She explains that she doesn’t have money for school fees and that the school in the area is withholding her report card for not paying these fees. The school that Nondomiso used to go to is very poorly resourced. In addition, she explains that not having money for schooling means that she does not have money for food at school. Nondomiso has also had to borrow a school uniform and shoes from a friend, who she has subsequently had a fight with and had to give the uniform back.

Nondomiso spoke about how other girls in the area had nicer things than her and her friend. These girls “wore rings” and thought that they were better than Nondomiso. When this happened, Nondomiso and her friend went for long walks to forget about this.

When returning to give the photographs to Nondomiso, it was reported that she had left the area. No neighbours, friends or the community workers who originally assisted in locating Nondomiso knew where she had gone or when she would return. Her grandmother said that she had gone to “visit someone in an area far away”.

Londeka

Londeka is 12 years old. She lives with her mother and two older sisters in a peri-rural area in the small town. Londeka is the youngest in the family and is responsible for collecting water and firewood. She also is responsible for washing the families' clothes, sweeping the floors, cleaning the home and making the beds. Londeka says that there is nothing that she hates doing and enjoys these chores.

Londeka describes a range of reasons why she does not go to school. She describes how she has to borrow other people's school uniform in order to attend school because "if you don't have shoes, you don't go to school". Londeka had borrowed a school uniform from a friend but explained that after a fight with this friend, she had to return it. Londeka also describes the difficult interactions with educators where she was chased away from the school premise for being late for school and educators embarrassing her because they said that she "doesn't know how to study".

Londeka speaks of nearby friends that let her stay the night when her mother has been drinking and beats her. When prompted about being beaten, Londeka explains that sometimes she is naughty and she understands why her mother beats her. A community volunteer at the drop-in-centre identified Londeka as an out of school youth. Londeka explains that she accompanies her friends to the centre when they need to eat, although she denies eating there.

Sindisiwe

Sindisiwe is 13 years old and lives in a peri-urban area in the small town. She lives with her extended family, comprising of her mother, grandmother, older brothers, sisters, and a younger brother. Her uncles and aunts also reside on the property that belongs to her grandmother. As explained by Sindisiwe, ever since her father no longer provides for them, the family is living off the grandmother's small pension,

Sindisiwe does not attend school because the person that used to pay for her school fees passed away. She explains how her mother cannot pay for her school fees as "she does not earn enough money" and that she is now too old to access a childcare grant. Sindisiwe has previously missed some school because the school uniform, which her mother was still paying off, was too small for her and was torn, and she was embarrassed to wear it. As a result of this, her grandmother refuses to pay for her to attend school. However, Sindisiwe's younger brother attends school, which is paid through a childcare grant that he qualifies for.

Sindisiwe is responsible for many chores around the home. She collects the water for the family from a near by pump, twice a day as well as washing the dishes, cleaning the home, and collecting the firewood. Over the course of visiting Sindisiwe, it became evident that she was always wearing the same clothes, even on warmer days when her jersey did not seem necessary. Sindisiwe's grandmother is a Sangoma and her mother has also had the calling. Sindisiwe explains that when they are sick they go to the local clinic and her grandmother for help.

Dear Learner

**Do you know of children and youth
who are out of school?**

We are from the University of KwaZulu Natal. We need your help, and we hope that you will be kind enough to help us.

We are trying to find all the children and youth in your area who are not in school and are not getting an education. These are children and youth who actually should be in school. The people we are looking for should be between age 6 to 25 years. They may be disabled, working part-time, unemployed, they may be married and have their own children, and they could be boys and girls.

We hope that you will ask people in your area if they can help you to find this information. In other words, you can ask your parents, grandmothers, aunts, uncles, brothers, sisters, neighbours and friends if they know of any children and youth who are not in school.

We need you to tell us their names, age, and describe where they live. Please fill out this information on the attached contact forms.

This is part of a project on Barriers to Learning that is going on in your area. This information is important and we plan to give it to the education department to see if anything can be done to help the children and youth.

We thank you for your help.

Appendix 3: Out of school youth contact form

Contact form for Out of School Youth

(Youth who are currently not attending school)

Date:	
Name of Student filling out form:	
School where it was filled out:	
How do you know about the out of school youth?	
Do you know why the child is not attending school?	
Out of school youth's name and surname	
Gender (Female/Male)	
Age	
Area in which the youth currently lives	
Information on how to locate this youth (Any contact information)	
Who does this youth live with? (Mother, Father, brothers, sisters, other relatives)	
Any other information?	

Appendix 4: Semi-structured interview schedule

Out of School Youth's Semi-Structured Interview Schedule *

*** This semi-structured interview schedule acted as a guide to questions/techniques during the interview process. Whilst the majority of these questions/techniques were covered, the interview schedule only acted as a guide and not a fixed format. At times, questions/techniques were posed in a different order due to the varying ages of the youth and the contexts that permitted/omitted certain questions/techniques. In addition, due to the probing nature of the semi-structured interview, additional questions were at times added to give a more in-depth understanding of the issues being discussed.**

1. Self-drawing or drawing of anything else:

I.e.: Would you like to draw a picture of your home? /Can you draw for me a picture of your home? You could show in your picture where you live, who you live with etc.

Aims: Interact playfully with the child, enthusiastically asking the child about the picture. Establish rapport.

Probing questions:

- Right, now lets talk about this picture.
- Compliment child on the picture and then you start "I can see and write down the name of each person, thing drawn in the picture.
- Avoid too many questions and try to get statements and interaction/conversation going between you and the child
- Is this everybody who lives in this house?
- Who is this? And what are they doing? Now here is an interesting person that you have drawn, who is this....
 - How old is this person?
 - What do you like about this person (I really like this persons smile....what do you like....)
 - What do you like about your family? (Your family looks really.... What do you like about this....)
- Would you change anything about this person in the picture?
- Would you change anything about your family?
- I know that there have been many change is your family over the last while, can you tell me about the biggest change in your family. Are there any other changes in your family that you would like to tell me about.

2. Participatory technique: Drawing or discussing a time line

Aim: To get an understanding of what the child does during their day, and if possible some sort of "order" i.e. time sequence. This will help us to understand what the child is doing instead of going to school. Perhaps they have other responsibilities etc.

Instruction: Could you draw for me all the things/ activities you do every day? Perhaps you could try putting these things in the way that you do them. You could start from the time when you get up in the morning, till the time you go to bed at night, and show me the things you do in between and the way in which you do them. If the participant does not want to draw, suggest that you could speak about these issues instead.

Probing questions:

- So these are all of your activities? (This question is aiming to start an initial discussion around the child's activities. From this discussion it may be possible to determine which activities are the child's responsibilities)
- So you get up in the morning and then... and then ... and then.....
- Who do you do all these things for?
- Do you do them with anybody?
- What do you like about these things?
 - What makes these things easy for you?
- What don't you like about these things?
 - What makes these things hard for you?
- What would you like to do instead?

3. Questions related to help seeking behaviour

Aim: To get an understanding of whether the child or anyone in their family is sick; whether there are any issues/problems; and if so what do they (the child or family) do about it. This may give us an idea about risk and resilience etc. Also help to understand other reasons why the child does not go to school.

Instruction: Now let's pretend that there is some sort of problem in this family, if they had a problem who do you think they could go to for help? (Parents, siblings, relatives (Grandparents, Uncle, Aunt, Cousins), neighbour, friends, social worker/volunteer?)

If there was a problem and you needed some food or money who do you think that you would ask? If you were to need material (food/money clothes) help, who are the people that you would ask? (Each of these material needs will be explored)

- Why would you ask these people?
- Have these people helped you before?

All children have many worries and I wonder if you could tell me about some of the things that worry you or that you think about a lot.

- Do you worry about anything?

If you were worried about something, who are the people that you would ask for help?

- That sounds like a good person to ask.. could you tell me why would you ask this people?
- Have these people helped you before?

Let's start to talk about the things that make you happy or that would make you happier. Have you ever been really happy?

- When?
- What made you happy?
- Who makes you happy?

Let's start to talk about the things that make you angry. Have you ever been really angry?

- When?
- What made you angry?
- Who makes you angry?

Let's talk about your friends. Who are your closest friends, the ones you most enjoying spending time with. (Names, ages, where do they live, estimate distance, Do you have any friends close to your home?)

- Can you tell me anything about your friends?
- How often do you play with your friends?
- Do you sometimes like to play by yourself?
- Are there any people who are not your friends?

4. Further questions related to risk

- Barriers to school
Show picture of a girl. This is Thandi. Thandi does not go to school. Could you tell me a story about why Thandi does not go to school? Could there be other reasons why Thandi did not go to school? What does Thandi feel like when she does not do to school?
- Health related risks These questions are a bit too vague and need to be more systematic, perhaps focused on psychosomatic complaints (you take form the Child Behaviour Questionnaire or some other standardized inventory, even if not standardized for SA rural children)
- Do you feel well?
- Do you ever get very tired?
- Do you often get sick?
- Can you remember the last time you where sick?
- What happened when you were sick? (This question is linking to the idea of help seeking behaviour and care.)
- What do you do when you get sick?
- Do you go to the clinic when you get sick? If you do, who takes you/ goes with you to the clinic?

I have a special interest in people who are sick. Has someone close to you been sick?

- Has someone close to you been sick?
- What happened when they were sick?
- Who did they go to for help?
- Do they go to the clinic when they get sick?

5. End of interview:

End of with what ever seems appropriate. I.e.: maybe playing ball game, maybe the youth would want to show us around her house, or things she does.

Appendix 5: Photovoice interview schedule

Out of School Youth Photo-interview Schedule

Explore the following two aspects of each picture with the participant (Each exploration must be done interactively and where possible, should be lead by the youth).

- 1) The content of the picture. Who or what is in the picture
- 2) Why the youth decided to take the picture.

The content of the picture: to be explored naturalistically by asking the youth about many different aspects of the picture. To pay attention to detail and the surroundings in the picture. Whilst people may often be the main subjects of each picture, it is important to also focus on the surroundings and settings.

Structured guidelines for potential photovoice questions:

- Pick out the pictures with the youth that look like they represent activities. Group these together and ask the youth to talk about these activities. Ask the youth to place these in an order to show that way in which she does the activities. Ask questions like why has she chosen to take this picture; what does this activity show? etc
- Talk about the topic “take pictures of things you like and things you don’t like. Things that are nice and not so nice” Ask her if she has taken any pictures of these sorts of things. Could she show us any pictures that show this? What are some of the activities in the pictures that she like/does not like. Are these particular people in the pictures that she likes/does not like.
- Pick out the pictures of people. Understand who they are and what they are doing. Are these the people that you see everyday? Talk about why she decided to take these particular pictures of these people. Could you tell me a story about this person? What were they doing when you took this picture?

Appendix 6: English informed consent form for the youth

University of KwaZulu Natal

Informed consent Form

This research is from the University of KwaZulu Natal. We are part of the NRF project that is mapping barriers to education in your area. This research wants to find out about children who are not in school. We are interested in the experiences of these children. We would also like to find out why these children do not go to school. The information we collect will be confidential. We will not use this information to report on you to the school or any other authority. This information will help us to understand the problems faced by children in this area.

This research will take place over 4 visits. During these visits the researcher and translator will be present at all times. Each of these visits will be about 1 hour. We will discuss the best time of day to come to you. The research process will involve the following steps:

1. First, I will have a brief discussion with you about your experiences as an out of school youth.
2. On the second meeting, I will show you how to use a camera. I will leave the camera with you for 1 week. I would like you to take pictures of your life.
3. I will come back after 1 week to collect the camera. I will get the film developed.
4. In the last meeting, I will give you the photographs. I will ask you to discuss some of the photographs with me.

To make a decision about the research, there are a few more things you should know.

- You do not have to participate in this study, only if you want to.
- If you decide yes, and then you do not want to anymore, you may withdraw.
- I would like you to choose a special name for yourself. In the research, I will refer to you by this name so that your own name will be kept confidential.
- We will not use this information to report on you to the school or any other authority.
- Unfortunately, we cannot give you material help or money. However, you will get a copy of all the photographs, and if we know of any services, that we can link you to, we will.

If you want to participate in this study, please sign your name below

I understand the research process and what will be required of me and I agree to participate

Name: _____ Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researchers contact information:

Silvia Maarschalk

School of Psychology

University of KwaZulu Natal

Contact number: (033) 260 6163

Supervisors contact information:

Mary Van der Riet
School of Psychology
University of KwaZulu Natal
Contact number: (033) 260 6163

Supervisors contact information:

Beverley Killian
School of Psychology
University of KwaZulu Natal
Contact number: (033) 260 6163

Appendix 7: isiZulu informed consent form for the youth

University of KwaZulu Natal

Isaziso ngevume yefomu

Lolucwaningo luvela eNyuvesi yaKwaZulu Natal. Siyengxenywe yeNational Research Foundation inhloso yethu ukuthi sibheka iziqinamba ekufundeni endaweni yangakini. Kuloluncwaningo sithanda ukwazi ngezizigane ezingayi esikoleni. Sinothando lokwazi ngalezo sizangane. Siyafisa ukuthola ulwazi ukuthi kungani lezizigane zingayi esikoleni. Ulwazi esizoluthola lapha luzoba imfihlo. Angeke sisebenzise lolulwazi esilutholile ukuniceba esikoleni noma sinike nasiphi isazi. Lolulwazi luzosiza ukuthi sikwazi ukuqonda izinkinga ezibhekene nezingane kulendawo.

Loluncwaningo luzothatha izigaba ezine sinifakashela. Ngesikhathi sinifakashela umncwaningi kanye nomhumushi uzobe ekhona ngaso sonke isikhathi. Ukuvakasha kwethi kusothatha isikhathi esingange hora elilodwa. Sizoxoxisana ukuthi isiphi isikhathi esingcono esingafika ngaso kunina. Uncwaningo luzoqhubeka ngokugaxa/faka lezinyathelo ezilandelayo:

- 1) Okokuqala, ngizoba nenxoxo emfushane nawe ngolwazi njengomuntu omusha ophume esikoleni .
- 2) Ukuhlangana kwethu kwesibili, ngizonikukhombisa ukuthi ikamera isetshenziswa kanjani. Ngizoyishiya ikamera kuwena isonto elilodwa. Ngizothanda ukuthi uthathe izithombe ngempilo yakho.
- 3) Ngizobuya emva kwesonto elilodwa ukuzolanda ikamera . Ngizokwazi ukukhulisa ifilimu.
- 4) Ekuhlanganeni kwethu kokucina, ngizokunikeza izithombe. Ngizocela ukuthi ungixoxele ngezinye zezithombe kumina

Ukuthatha isinqumo ngaloluncwaningo, kukhona izinto ezincane okufanele uzazi.

- Uvumelikile ukuthi ungabi ingxenywe yalokhu kufunda, ngaphandle uma uthanda .
- Uma ugqume ukuvuma, kodwa ungasathandi, unalo ilungelo lokuthi uyeke phansi.
- Nizothanda ungiphe igama engizokubiza ngalo wena. Kuloluncwaningo, Ngizodlulisela kuwena leligama ukuze igama lakho langampela lehlale liyimmfihlo.
- Angeke sisebenzise lolulwazi ukukuceba esikoleni sakho noma nasiphi isazi.
- Ngebhadi , angeke sikunike izinto ezingakusiza noma imali. Kepha , uzowathola amakhophi azo zonke izithombe, uma ngabe sazi noma iluphi usizo singakuxhumanisa nabo singakwenza lokho.

Uma ngabe uvuma ukuthi ingane yakho ukuthi ibe yingxenywe kulokhu okufundwayo/okwenziwayo, ngiyacela usayine igama lakho ngzansisi

Ngियाqonda ngalengqubo yaloluncwaningo nanokuthi yikuphi enikufunayo emntwaneni wami futhi ngiyavuma ukuthi umntwana wami abe ingxenywe kulokhu okwenziwayo

Igama: _____ Sayina: _____ Usuku: _____

Abancanengi lapho ongathola khona ulwazi:

Silvia Maarschalk

School of Psychology

University of KwaZulu Natal

Contact number: (033) 260 6163

Umphathi lapho ungathola khona ulwazi:

Mary Van der Riet

School of Psychology

University of KwaZulu Natal

Contact number: (033) 260 6163

Umphathi lapho ungathola khona ulwazi:

Beverley Killian

School of Psychology

University of KwaZulu Natal

Contact number: (033) 260 6163

Appendix 8: English informed consent form for the youth's caregiver

University of KwaZulu Natal

Informed consent Form

This research is from the University of KwaZulu Natal. We are part of the NRF project that is mapping barriers to education in your area. This research wants to find out about children who are not in school. We are interested in the experiences of these children. We would also like to find out why these children do not go to school. The information we collect will be confidential. We will not use this information to report on you or your child to the school or any other authority. This information will help us to understand the problems faced by children in this area.

This research will take place over 4 visits. During these visits the researcher and translator will be present at all times. Each of these visits will be about 1 hour. We will discuss the best time of day to come to you and your child. The research process will involve the following steps:

1. First, I will have a brief discussion with the child about their experiences as an out of school youth.
2. On the second meeting, I will show the child how to use a camera. I will leave the camera with the child for 1 week. I would like them to take pictures of their lives.
3. I will come back after 1 week to collect the camera. I will get the film developed.
4. In the last meeting, I will give the child the photographs. I will ask them to discuss some of the photographs with me.

To make a decision about the research, there are a few more things you should know.

- The child does not have to participate in this study. Only if they want to.
- If you decide yes, and then you do not want the child to participate anymore, the child may withdraw.
- The child will choose a special name for them self. In the research, I will refer to them by this name so that their own name will be kept confidential.
- We will not use this information to report on you or your child to the school or any other authority.
- Unfortunately, we cannot give you material help or money. However, the child will get a copy of all the photographs, and if we know of any services that we can link you or your child to, we will.

If you agree that your child can participate in this study, please sign your name below

I understand the research process and what will be required of my child and I agree to let my child participate in this process

Name: _____ Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researchers contact information:

Silvia Maarschalk

School of Psychology

University of KwaZulu Natal

Contact number: (033) 260 6163

Supervisors contact information:

Mary Van der Riet

School of Psychology

University of KwaZulu Natal

Contact number: (033) 260 6163

Supervisors contact information:

Beverley Killian

School of Psychology

University of KwaZulu Natal

Contact number: (033) 260 6163

Appendix 9: isiZulu informed consent form for the youth's caregiver

University of KwaZulu Natal

Isaziso ngevume yefomu

Lolucwaningo luvela eNyuvesi yaKwaZulu Natal. Siyengxenywe yeNational Research Foundation inhloso yethu ukuthi sibheka iziqinamba ekufundeni endaweni yangakini. Kuloluncwaningo sithanda ukwazi ngezizangane ezingayi esikoleni. Sinothando lokwazi ngalezo sizangane. Siyafisa ukuthola ulwazi ukuthi kungani lezizangane zingayi esikoleni. Ulwazi esizoluthola lapha luzoba imfihlo. Angeke sisebenzise lolulwazi esilutholile ukuniceba esikoleni noma sinike nasiphi isazi. Lolulwazi luzosiza ukuthi sikwazi ukuqonda izinkinga ezibhekene nezingane kulendawo.

Loluncwaningo luzothatha izigaba ezine sinifakashela. Ngesikhathi sinifakashela umncwaningi kanye nomhumushi uzobe ekhona ngaso sonke isikhathi. Ukuvakasha kwethi kusothatha isikhathi esingange hora elilodwa. Sizoxoxisana ukuthi isiphi isikhathi esingcono esingafika ngaso kunina. Uncwaningo luzoqhubeka ngokugaxa/faka lezinyathelo ezilandelayo:

- 1) Okokuqala, ngizoba nenxoxo emfushane nawe ngolwazi njengomuntu omusha ophume esikoleni
- 2) Ukuhlangana kwethu kwesibili, ngizonikukhombisa ukuthi ikamera isetshenziswa kanjani. Ngizoyishiya ikamera kuwena isonto elilodwa. Ngizothanda ukuthi uthathe izithombe ngempilo yakho.
- 3) Ngizobuya emva kwesonto elilodwa ukuzolanda ikamera. Ngizokwazi ukukhulisa ifilimu.
- 4) Ekuhlanganeni kwethu kokucina, ngizokunikeza izithombe. Ngizocela ukuthi ungixoxele ngezinye zezithombe kumina

Ukuthatha isinqumo ngaloluncwaningo, kukhona izinto ezincane okufanele uzazi.

- Uvumelikile ukuthi ungabi ingxenywe yalokhu kufunda, ngaphandle uma uthanda .
- Uma ugqume ukuvuma, kodwa ungasathandi, unalo ilungelo lokuthi uyeke phansi.
- Nizothanda ungiphe igama engizokubiza ngalo wena. Kuloluncwaningo, Ngizodlulisela kuwena leligama ukuze igama lakho langampela lehlale liyimmfihlo.
- Angeke sisebenzise lolulwazi ukukuceba esikoleni sakho noma nasiphi isazi.
- Ngebhadi, angeke sikunike izinto ezingakusiza noma imali. Kepha, uzowathola amakhophi azo zonke izithombe, uma ngabe sazi noma iluphi usizo singakuxhumanisa nabo singakwenza lokho.

Uma ngabe uthanda ukuba yingxenywe kulokhu okufundwayo, ngiyacela usayine igama lakho ngezansi

Ngayoqonda ngalenqubo yaloluncwaningo nokuthi yikuphi enikufunayo kumina futhi ngiyavuma ukuba yingxenywe yalokhu

Igama: _____ Sayina: _____ Usuku: _____

Abancanengi lapho ongathola khona ulwazi:

Silvia Maarschalk

School of Psychology

University of KwaZulu Natal

Contact number: (033) 260 6163

Umphathi lapho ungathola khona ulwazi:

Mary Van der Riet

School of Psychology

University of KwaZulu Natal

Contact number: (033) 260 6163

Umphathi lapho ungathola khona ulwazi:

Beverley Killian

School of Psychology

University of KwaZulu Natal

Contact number: (033) 260 6163