Youth Representations of Community Challenges and Resources in a Low-Income, Violence-Prone Community

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Abstract

Research on youth risk and victimisation often adopts both an adult-centred and a 'deficit' model, using standardised structured scales to identify factors that may render youth vulnerable to harm. Such approaches neglect youth voices as well as community resources and assets that may be protective for youth. This study investigated how youth represent both community challenges and community strengths in a high violence area of Cape Town. Photovoice methodology was used to elicit images from eight Grade 10 and 11 students of things they are proud of and things they would like to change in their community. Participants were then interviewed about their favourite eight photographs using photo elicitation interviews (PEIs). Thematic analysis of interview transcripts yielded themes regarding safe versus dangerous spaces within the community, role models, caring for the community, and the image of the community. Findings suggest that including youth voices in research on risk and victimisation may be a useful supplement to more traditional approaches.

Young people in South Africa face multiple risks including violence victimisation, violence and crime perpetration and substance abuse. Given the high prevalence of these adverse outcomes among young South Africans, research has sought to identify the individual, familial, and social factors which predispose young people to these risks, as well as the factors that protect young people by promoting resilience. However, there has been a lack of exploration into risk and protective factors from the perspectives of young people. Through supplementing adult-centred approaches to research on risk and protective factors with participatory youth-centred approaches, understandings of how these factors operate are likely to be advanced.

Risk for South African Youth

Violence victimisation. According to South African research, children and adolescents are at a particularly high risk for being victimised by violence. The National Youth Victimisation Study which was carried out between September 2004 and September 2005 with 12-22 year olds revealed that "young people are twice as likely to be victims of at least one crime than adults" (Burton, 2006*a*, p. 2). According to this study, 4.3 million young people, or 42% of this group, were victimised by crime or violence during this period.

This violence often occurs in multiple spheres of young people's lives, that is, at home, at school, and in the community. In 2005, 26% of assaults on youth occurred at school, 21% in the neighbourhood, and 20% at home (Burton, 2006*b*).

However, studies conducted with youth affected by violence suggest that not all youth are at equal risk (Burton, 2006*a*; Fincham, Altes, Stein, & Seedat, 2009) It appears that violence continues to more severely affect those communities marginalised by apartheid, which continue to be characterised by unemployment and poverty. A study carried out with Grade 6 children in a coloured[1] Cape Town community characterised by poverty, unemployment and high rates of violent crime found an extremely high rate of exposure to violence, with 68.4% of these young people reporting exposure to violence (Ward, Martin, Theron, & Distiller, 2007). Burton (2006*a*) identified young people living in eThekwini, Nelson Mandela, Tshwane, Johannesburg, and the city of Cape Town as being most at risk, while Fincham et al. (2009), in a study conducted among white, black African and coloured secondary school students in Cape Town, found that black African and coloured students were exposed to significantly higher levels of trauma and community violence than white

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[1] The terms 'coloured', black African and white were racial categories used under apartheid in South Africa to classify people according to their race. Residential areas in Cape Town remain highly segregated along racial lines, largely due to ongoing socioeconomic disparities between racial groups.

students.

Findings suggest that violence exposure, both in the form of witnessing and being victimised, has negative psychological consequences for young people. Symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, anxiety and conduct disorder have been found in adolescents exposed to violence, with greater levels of exposure being associated with greater symptom severity (Fincham et al., 2009; Suliman et al., 2009; Ward et al., 2007).

Perpetration of violence and crime. South African research also suggests that young people are at high risk for becoming perpetrators of violence and crime. Results of the National Youth Victimisation Study reveal that almost a million young South Africans reported committing violent criminal acts (Leoschut & Burton, 2006). Furthermore, 22% of 15-17 year olds and 18-20 year olds and 34% of 12-14 year olds who were assaulted in 2005 reported that the perpetrators were their school peers. A study conducted with 16-25 year old men found that 16.3% had raped a non-partner, with the mean age at the time of the rape being 17 years, and 8.4% had raped a partner, with the mean age at the time of the rape being 16 years (Jewkes, Dunkle, Koss, Levin, Nduna, Jama, & Sikweyiya, 2006).

According to the National Crime Prevention Strategy (1996), youth who live in situations of poverty are more likely to engage in criminal activity. School drop out, which has been found to be highest amongst youth living in contexts of poverty, is a strong risk factor for violence perpetration and criminality, as youth who drop out of school are more likely to engage in criminal activity (Human Sciences Research Council, 2000).

Substance abuse. Recent studies that have been conducted on substance use in South Africa suggest that substance abuse among under 20s is extremely high relative to other countries. Plüdderman et al. (2010) noted that between 18% and 33% (depending on the area) of patients in drug treatment centres or programmes in 2010 were younger than 20. Research has identified alcohol, cannabis, and methamphetamine ('tik') as the substances most frequently used by South African youth (Flisher, Parry, Evans, Muller, & Lombard, 2003; Parry, Morojele, Saban, & Flisher, 2004; Pluddemann et al.,2010)

Alcohol appears to be the primary substance abuse problem among adolescents in South Africa, with prevalence rates of between 25% and 40% for lifetime use, and 24% among males and 27% among females for hazardous use (for males five or more drinks per day and for females three or more drinks per day) (Department of Health, 1999, Parry, Morojele, Saban, & Flisher, 2004). A study conducted with students in 39 schools in Cape Town found that 3% of grade 8 and 16% of grade 11s were currently using cannabis (Flisher et al., 2003). Plüdderman et al. (2010) found that the mean age of methamphetamine patients

in the Western Cape in 2004 was 19.

Findings suggest that black African and coloured youth appear to be at particularly high risk for substance abuse, possibly due to growing up in contexts of socioeconomic disempowerment. The Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE, 2002) found that coloured and black respondents were more likely than white respondents to report alcohol use as being a problem in their community. Current cannabis use was also found to be highest among coloured youth, and 87% of patients admitted to treatment centres in the Western Cape for tik use in 2010 were coloured (Peltzer & Ramlagan, 2008; Plüdderman et al., 2010). Hamdulay and Mash (2011), in a study conducted with adolescents in a community affected by crime, gangsterism, unemployment, overcrowding, and poverty in Cape Town found that substance use was high for all substances, with 34% of students having consumed alcohol, 14% having used cannabis, and 10% having used tik in the past month.

Research on alcohol and drug use suggests that abuse of these substances is associated with a number of negative consequences such as increased likelihood of death, injury, perpetrating violence, as well as diminished psychological well-being. The Medical Research Council found that more than 50% of annual homicides and 44% of accidental deaths were alcohol-related, while 48% of people killed in road traffic accidents had blood-alcohol levels above the legal limit (Matzopoulos, Van Niekerk, Marais, & Donson, 2002). Hamdulay and Mash (2011) found that illicit substance use was significantly associated with carrying a knife, having attempted suicide, as well as engaging in risky sexual behaviour. Visser and Routledge (2007), in a study conducted with 12-19 year olds from schools in Tshwane, found that excessive alcohol and drug use was associated with significantly lower levels of psychological well-being. School drop out, which as already noted is highest amongst youth living in contexts of poverty, is a risk factors for substance abuse, with youth who drop out being more likely to abuse alcohol and drugs (Human Sciences Research Council, 2000; Lagana, 2004).

In South Africa today, youth living in areas characterised by poverty and unemployment, as well as historical oppression, face multiple risk as being exposed to one risk factor (for example substance abuse) may increase their likelihood of being exposed to other risk factors (for example victimisation or perpetration of crime and violence).

Research on Risk and Protective Factors

Given the high prevalence of violence victimisation, violence and crime perpetration and substance abuse among South African youth, as well as the negative consequences of these, researchers have investigated which specific factors predispose young people to these

risks (Barbarin, Richter, & DeWet, 2001; Bender & Emslie, 2010; Brook, Morojele, Pahl, & Brook, 2006; Collings & Magojo, 2003; Flisher et al., 2003; Leoschut, 2006; Masitsa, 2006; Morojele & Brook, 2006; Vogel, 2002). The factors that protect young people from negative risks and consequences have also come to be seen as important for informing effective intervention and prevention programs (Brook et al., 2006; Lynch, 2003; Masten, 2001) and, therefore, there has been an increasing interest in the factors that may protect youth from negative behaviour and outcomes (Blocker & Copeland, 1994; Fincham et al., 2009; Johnson & Lazarus, 2008b; Shields, Nadasen, & Pierce, 2008). However, the South African literature on protective factors remains limited.

Research on risk and protective factors can be seen to be situated within a community psychology framework. Through considering people in their contexts, community psychology aims to promote well-being through identifying social factors that place individuals and communities at risk, as well as those factors which protect them (Duncan, 2007). Community psychology proposes that mental health problems can be prevented and well-being can be enhanced by reducing environmental stressors and promoting resistance in the face of these stressors (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Within this framework these is also a recognition that risk and protective factors may occur at multiple levels, for example at the level of the individual, at the level of the family, and at the level of the community (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Rae Grant, 1994). While research on risk and protective factors for youth has tended to focus on individual and familial factors, there is an increasing recognition that the neighbourhoods and communities in which youth live may also place them at risk or protect them from negative outcomes (Mason, Cauce, Gonzales, Hiraga, & Grove, 1994)

Risk factors.. Research which has been conducted internationally has identified peer delinquency, neighbourhood disorganisation (which is defined in terms of factors such as the availability of drugs and the presence of neighbourhood adults involved in crime), exposure to violence, socioeconomic disadvantage (SED), and lack of sense of safety as neighbourhood or community risk factors for youth. Stevens-Watkins and Rostosky (2010) found that peer substance use was a significant predictor for alcohol abuse among American males. Herrenkohl et al. (2000), in a longitudinal study conducted with youth in Seattle, found that peer delinquency was a significant predictor for youth violence. Furthermore, community disorganisation was also found to predict adolescent engagement in violent behaviour. Youth who reported greater disorganisation in their neighbourhoods were also more likely to use substances than those who reported less neighbourhood disorganisation (Lambert, Brown, Phillips, & Ialongo, 2004). Fitzpatrick (1997) found that youth who had

been exposed to violence in the form of being threatened with either a knife or a gun were more likely to report being involved in physical fights. Socioeconomic disadvantage was found to significantly predict delinquency (including criminal and violent behaviour) among youth in Pittsburgh (Wikström & Loeber, 2000). Youth in the Netherlands who reported feeling physically unsafe at school were found to be less resilient than youth who reported a sense of physical safety at school (Enthoven, 2007).

In South Africa research has found that youth whose peers use alcohol and drugs are more likely to themselves use alcohol and drugs (Brook et al., 2006; Parry et al., 2004), as well as to be victimised by violence (Morojele & Brook, 2006), while youth who are exposed to community violence are more likely to be perpetrators of violence (Collings & Magojo, 2003). It has also been found that youth who report having been drunk are more likely to be exposed to public drunkenness and who live in communities where neighbourhood members fail to respond to youth drinking than youth who have never been drunk (Parry et al., 2004). These factors can be seen as examples of neighbourhood disorganisation. A qualitative study conducted in Durban also reported that youth identified feeling physically unsafe in their communities as an important stressor.

Protective factors. International literature has identified neighbourhood cohesion, youth relationships with non-familial adults, role models, collective efficacy, and involvement in after-school activities as protective community-level factors for youth. Neighbourhood cohesion was found to be negatively related to externalising symptoms (including aggressive and violent behaviour) in urban African American youth. Connectedness with non-familial adults was negatively associated with youth perpetration of violence (Resnick, Ireland, & Borowsky, 2004). Youth who perceived themselves as being supported by teachers were less likely to use both alcohol and illicit drugs than youth who perceived themselves to be unsupported by teachers (Lifrak, McKay, Rostain, Alterman, & O'Brien, 1997). Among youth in Detroit, Hayman, Sobeck, Abbey, and Jacques (2006) found that youth who were involved in after-school activities were less likely to use alcohol and drugs than youth who were not involved in these activities.

There is a severe paucity of South African research on community-level protective factors for youth. Protective factors identified in a small number of South African studies include religious involvement (Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Parry et al., 2004), support from teachers (Dass-Brailsford, 2005), and school involvement (Ward et al., 2007).

Mechanisms through which community-level factors protect or place youth at risk. There are a number of theories which have been proposed to explain the mechanisms

through which neighbourhood and community-level factors such as neighbourhood disadvantage and social cohesion protect youth or place them at risk for negative outcomes. According to Dahlberg (1998) neighbourhood disorganisation tends to be high in impoverished communities. Neighbourhood disorganisation is defined by McCulloch (2003) as "the inability of residents of an area to regulate the everyday public behaviours and physical conditions within the bounds of their community" (p. 1427). As a result of this disorganisation, community members, particularly youth, are more likely to engage in negative behaviour including violence and substance use (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000).

It has also been argued that impoverished neighbourhoods are also likely to be low in social cohesion (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). This is because resource deprivation results in community members being alienated from each other, and therefore, there is less likely to be solidarity and trust between them. Social cohesion may protect youth from engaging in negative outcome because communities in which cohesion is high, members are more likely to engage in the monitoring of children and youth, as well as to intervene in negative activities (Sampson et al., 1997b). Higher levels of social cohesion may also facilitate the formation of relationship with non-familial adults, which has also been shown to protect youth from negative outcomes (Resnick et al., 2004).

Adult-centred Versus Participatory Youth-centred Approaches

Research on risk factors and protective factors for South African youth has largely been conducted using adult-centred approaches. Existing research has largely been framed by the assumptions of researchers as to what the important risk and protective factors are for youth, and has tended to utilise structured instruments and measures, for example closed ended questionnaires (Barker & Weller, 2003; Hood, Kelley, & Mayall, 1996; Morrow, 2008). These types of measures are useful for conducting large-scale surveys, but may not be appropriate for young people to adequately express their opinions and feelings as they often require a high level of literacy, are devoid of context, and can be laborious to complete (Hood et al., 1996). Theron and Theron (2010) note that the majority of studies conducted on youth and resilience in South Africa between 1990 and 2008 have made use of closed ended, standardised or self-developed questionnaires.

There are few studies which have adopted a more participatory youth-centred approach to exploring risk and protective factors, to enable youth to have a voice in representing the factors that they feel place them at risk as well as those that protect them in their communities. Non-traditional methods may be needed to allow young people to participate in knowledge production regarding risk and resources without being confined by

the pre-existing assumptions and interests of researchers (Morrow, 2008). Participatory youth-centred approaches can be seen as a way to draw on community or local knowledge (N. Duncan, 2007a). By drawing on the knowledge of community members a "cultural and contextual understanding... of the issues of concern in the community" can be gained (Naidoo, Shabalala, & Bawa, 2003, p. 17).

Internationally participatory youth-centred approaches have been used to explore the issue of alcohol and drug use in the community, issues that youth want to be improved in the community, protective factors that promote resilience in the community, and issues of violence and safety in the community from the perspectives of youth (Hamilton & Flanagan, 2007; McIntyre, 2006; Smokowski, Reynolds, Bezruczko, & Winter, 1999). However, studies utilising youth-centred approaches to explore risk and protective factors have seldom been used in South Africa.

Dass-Bralisford's (2005) study which used ethnographic interviewing, case studies, and observation to explore the perspectives of disadvantaged youth on resiliency, and Theron's (2007) study which used focus group interviews to explore what township youth regard as risk and protective factors in their communities are both examples of youth-centred approaches to the issues of risk and protection for South African youth. However, both of these studies were conducted with black African youth, and therefore, the perspectives of other groups of South African youth who have been identified as being at high risk (for example coloured youth living in areas characterised by unemployment and poverty) have not been explored.

There is a need to supplement adult-centred research approaches to risk and protective factors among South African youth with more participatory youth-centred approaches, as an examination of the perspectives of young people, particularly those living in communities where violence, substance abuse, and school dropout rates are high, will allow for a better understanding of sources of risk and sources of protection for this group.

This research project aims to explore how adolescents living in a low-income, violence-prone community in Cape Town represent the challenges as well as the resources in their community. Through asking young people to photograph aspects of their community that they are proud of and aspects that they would like to change, this project aims to give a voice to the opinions and experiences of youth regarding the community challenges, as well as the community assets, that are most salient for them.   .

Method

Research Design

This research project used a Participatory Action Research (PAR) design. PAR is concerned with the development of practical knowledge about and solutions to concerns raised by individuals and communities (Reason & Bradbury, 2006). Knowledge is produced through collaboration between the researcher and the community of research interest and, therefore research is done *with* rather than *on* participants (Walter, 1998). In PAR participants are involved in all stages of the research process, including formulating the research question, collecting data, analysing data, and writing up the research paper. PAR also aims to produce positive change through empowering people to take action (Walter, 1998).

Photovoice, the methodology which was employed in this study can be seen to include participatory and action elements of a PAR research design. Photovoice is a methodology that has been used to empower people, as well as to promote social action. This methodology, designed by Wang and Burris (1997), uses photography as a medium through which people can represent the strengths and weaknesses of their communities. In this way participants are directly involved in the process of producing knowledge. They are recognised as having expertise and insight into the contexts in which they live. This methodology can also encourage social action, as it gives people an opportunity to prioritise their concerns, as well as to identify solutions (Wang & Burris, 1997).

Because this study included participants in the process of data collection, it can be seen to be participatory action research. However, as the research question was formulated by the researcher and the data was analysed by the researcher, rather than in collaboration with the participants, the participatory aspects of the research are limited.

Sample

Setting. The research was conducted in the community of Hanover Park. Hanover Park is a community on the Cape Flats which was developed as a 'coloured' area under the Population Registration Act. Hanover Park continues to reflect this profile, with 98.75% of the current population being coloured. Afrikaans is the predominant language spoken in Hanover Park, followed by English. The majority of people in Hanover Park live in blocks of council flats. Unemployment and school drop out are particularly high in this community, with 38% of the population being unemployed and only 13% having a Grade 12 education (Statistics South Africa, 2003). This community is also characterised by high levels of gang and community violence (Hartley, 2010).

Participants. Participants for the study were eight Grade 10 and 11 students at Mount

View Secondary School. However, one female participant dropped out during the course of the study and therefore only seven participants were involved in the process of data collection. The sample was obtained through the non-governmental organisation CASE. The school counsellor, who works for CASE, selected four female and four male students who she thought would be interested in taking part in the study.

Materials

Participants were each given two disposable cameras with a film containing twenty-seven photographs in each. One of these cameras was for taking pictures of "Things I am proud of in my community" and the other one was for taking pictures of "Things I would like to change in my community".

Data Collection

Two types of data were collected in this study. Firstly, participants took photographs of things they are proud of and things that they want to change in their community. Secondly, participants were interviewed in pairs about their photographs, using the photo-elicitation interview (PEI) technique.

Photographs. Photographs allow the researcher to see the world from the viewpoint of the participants (Wang & Burris, 1997). They also allow participants the freedom to express themselves beyond the limits of traditional forms of data collection (for example closed ended questionnaire items, or interviews that rely solely on skills of verbal articulation). Therefore, photographs help the participants to express their own perceptions of community strengths and challenges, as well as provide the researcher with insight into the life-worlds of the participants.

Photo-elicitation interviews. The photo-elicitation interview is a technique which "[uses] photographs to invoke comments, memory, and discussions in the course of a semi-structured interview" (Banks, 2001, p. 87). In this project the photographs used in the interview were ones taken by the participants, rather than photographs chosen by the researcher. Introducing photographs into the context of the interview has a number of benefits. It may help participants to be less nervous in the interview, as they are familiar with the photographs that will be discussed in the interview (Clark-IbáÑez, 2004). Using participants' photographs in the interview may also disrupt the traditional power relationship between researcher and participants, which is particularly accentuated when adult researchers interview youth, as the participants can here assume the role of experts (Epstein, Stevens, McKeever, & Baruchel, 2006). Both the process of taking photographs and the process of discussing their photographs in the interview allows participants to take an active and

participatory role in data collection. Photo-elicitation interviews may also allow participants the freedom to express their opinions as they are open ended (Langa, 2008). Because this research project hoped to include participants in the process of data collection, as well as encourage the participants to express their views on the challenges and resources in their community, photo-elicitation interviews was an appropriate method of collecting data.

Procedure

The researcher and a trained counsellor from CASE (co-facilitator) met with the participants for seven ninety minute weekly sessions. In the first sessions participants were introduced to the project. In the next session the participants were given with their cameras, as well as a workshop on basic photography skills. Participants were then given two weeks in which to take photographs. In the third session participants were given their photographs, which the researcher had developed. During this session participants were asked to select their favourite four 'change' and favourite four 'pride' photographs. In the fourth session participants were interview in pairs about their chosen photographs. The interviews were recorded and then transcribed by the researcher. In their pair interviews participants were asked the following questions:

> 1. Describe what is happening in the photograph.
>
> 2. Why did you choose to share this specific photograph?
>
> 3. How do you think this photograph relates to your life and the lives of people in your community?
>
> 4. What story do you think this photograph is telling?

In the fifth session participants presented their chosen photographs to the rest of the group and discussed common themes across the 'pride' and 'change' photographs. In the sixth session participants engaged in a focus group discussion about what youth in the community can do to change some of the negative factors that have been identified by the group, as well as how the resources which have been identified can be further strengthened. In the final session participants reflected on their involvement in the project.

Data Analysis

A thematic analysis was used to analyse the interview data. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying and analysing patterns in data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Data is coded according to themes which serve to describe, organise and interpret it (Boyatzis, 1998). In this research project the researcher generated themes inductively as this approach allowed for the development of themes based on the raw data, rather than on the preconceptions of the researcher or a pre-existing coding frame (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Because this research

study aimed to explore the community strengths and challenges as identified by youth, this approach was appropriate. The researcher coded and analysed the data according to the following steps:

1. Familiarising herself with the data (transcribe, read and record initial ideas)

2. Creating initial codes (identifying interesting features across all the data)

3. Generating themes (group codes together)

4. Reviewing themes (compare them to the coded extracts and the data set as a whole)

5. Refining and naming themes (according to their relevance to the research question)

6. Synthesise the report (bringing together rich extracts and analysis and relating these to the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Ethical Considerations

Permission to conduct this study was obtained from both the Western Cape Education Department and the principal of the school. Ethical approval from the Ethics Review Committee of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Cape Town was also granted.

Consent

Given that the participants are under 18 years of age, both informed consent from the participants' parents and informed assent from the participants themselves were obtained (see attached consent and assent forms).Parents and participants were informed that participation in the study was voluntary and that participants may withdraw at any time.   .

Confidentiality

Participants' responses both in the pair interviews and in the focus groups were kept confidential as far as possible. Pseudonyms were used in the writing up of this report to protect participants' identities and no identifying information was used.

Issues Regarding Secondary Participants

Participants were instructed to obtain verbal consent from people before photographing them. If participants wished to photograph children they must have obtained verbal consent from a parent. The faces of all the people appearing in the photograph were obscured in the research report and the names of people in the photograph were not referred to.

Results and Discussion

The thematic analysis of participants' interviews about their selected photographs yielded eleven categories which could be grouped into four broad themes related to

community resources and challenges. The four thematic areas were: spatial representations of safety, a sense of community, role models, and managing the image of the community. These themes, as well as their relationship to existing literature, are discussed below.

Spatial Representations of Safety

The issue of safety emerged in all but one of the participants' narratives of resources and challenges in their community. These participants represented and positioned certain physical spaces in the community as being safe and others as being dangerous. However, while all six of these participants used physical spaces within the community to represent the issue of safety, there were distinctions between how these spaces provided participants with a sense of safety, as well as why some spaces were considered dangerous by them.

The importance of and need for physically safe spaces within the community was highlighted by participants' discussions of spaces in the community which were physically dangerous. Five participants identified physically dangerous spaces as a challenge in their community. Fields in the community and parts of the community in which gangs operated were both identified as dangerous spaces within the community, each presenting a different form of risk.

Three participants discussed litter as being physically dangerous, especially for children playing on fields in the community. Litter on these fields was represented as being dangerous by the participants because it was unhygienic, as well as because it could cause physical harm to people.

It [litter] *effects Hanover Park very much coz people could get diseases from this dirt. Children's babies' lives are in danger coz babies gets um ill very easily because of the dirt... the children play here around and it's dangerous because there could be glass cutted here or um the dirt it can give them some sort of illness.* (Kerry)

This is actually the the b- the soccer field um that um kids really play on... and some children got hurt also because of the glass that is laying around and that. (Taufique)

My cousin got hurt. He fell in the glass. He went for stitches. (James)

Gang activity in public spaces in the community was another factor identified by participants as contributing to a sense of physical danger. Four participants discussed this factor. There appeared to be two main ways in which gang activity and the presence of gangsters in public spaces in the community were dangerous. Firstly, participants represented

a sense of danger in these spaces as being linked to the threat of being caught up in gang violence. Participants spoke about the potential for gang violence to occur in the street, while one participant recalled an incident in which shooting had occurred right outside his house. The potential threat of gang violence was represented by participants' as limiting their ability to move freely around the community.

Outside my house, in front of it and it was like ja it was like twenty one shots. They didn't shoot just one or two, it's twenty one shots. (Alex)

So it has effect an effect on me and my family and on the other community people because we can't go shopping because of the shooting. (Kerry)

That's why if if it's like a war against two gangs and then they will come shoot like on that place there where the maybe the Americans or so and then they will like go and shoot there on that place because everyone there is like it's almost like they are like now a family. Then they will also get sore because maybe if they came from the shop and then like them walking home maybe this other gang come shoots maybe there... then they will also ma-they will also get injured because of that gang. (Safia)

A sense of danger also seemed to be linked to the issue of gang territory or 'turf'. Participants' discussed the existence of a connection between people who live in a certain area of the community and the gang which operates there. Therefore, going to another gangs' area became dangerous.

And if you staying ja in a other territory of gangsters... you mustn't like ja go show your face like many times to the other area because they will somma think they will somma think that you are from that from that side and you are from that gangs, you are going to come spying on them. Ja you can't just like like me I don't walk th-the whole Ha-Hanover Park. I'm just like in my house, come to school, go out. (Alex)

It makes you feel unsafe um knowing that this people [gangsters] *don't want you here, they don't ac-accept you or s-stuff like that.* (James)

Two participants identified physically safe spaces as being an important asset in their community. The participants' school (Mountview High School) and the community-based organisation, CASE, were given as examples of spaces in which participants felt physically

safe in their community.

A sense of physical safety in these spaces appeared to be linked to two specific factors. Firstly, the security measures which operated in these spaces were identified as promoting a sense of safety.

I feel safe at my school ... sometimes there will come other children but um ja there is bambananis [community volunteers who assist with crime prevention] *that also are there.* (Taufique)

They recently broke in here [at CASE] *so um they tried to um block that off so they built a fence around here because it wasn't actually safe.* (Taufique)

A sense of physical safety in these spaces was also connected to their being separated from other, more dangerous spaces in the community.

Um for me it's like coming to school is like escaping the problems at home. (Tahira*)

I like being with them... and it [the site where CASE's buildings are] *is away from everything else.* (Taufique)

Spaces which provide protection from involvement in negative activities were also identified by participants as providing a sense of safety in their community. Four participants identified these types of spaces as being important in their community. School, gardens created by people in the community, and CASE were all identified as examples of these kinds of spaces.

Participants discussed how these spaces distracted young people from engaging in negative activities such as gangsterism and substance use, thereby protecting them from the negative consequences of these activities, as well as how these spaces provided youth with more positive experiences or opportunities. This is reflected in discussions of CASE as 'fun' and school as providing opportunities to 'become something in life' and 'make a change in their life'.

School is very important because if here wasn't a school in Hanover Park and then people, all the children, they would turn to the wrong things. They would turn to drugs, to alcohol. They will become a nothing in life where you attend school you can become something in life. (Kerry)

There's a lot of gangsterism happening like at home but there's children that wants to make a change in their life that's like by coming to school and learning. (Safia)

It [school] *also keeps your mind it keeps your mind stable and off from the things happening outside of the school.* (Tahira)

And so they [the gardens] *can keep them busy everyday... here is actually something to keep them busy. Otherwise they going to go go out there use drugs, get involved in the wrong stuff.* (Kerry)

They [CASE] *are making a big change in the community, helping small children and giving them... the holiday programs and that. So it actually the it keeps the children out um off from the streets and um ja they made a big um change in my life. I like being with them, it's fun and it keeps me away from the gang things and that.* (Taufique)

The value and importance of these spaces also seemed to be strongly linked to their ability to attract or target young people. There appeared to be awareness among participants that engaging youth in positive activities was a powerful way to protect them against engaging in negative or harmful activities. One participant also noted that youth wanted to engage in positive rather than negative activities.

Children can keep can keep them busy with the wrong things but yet they tend on doing the positive... Although here's a lot of negative stuff happening in Hanover Park yet they still um want to learn and... then they want to become something better in life. (Kerry)

My School (Tahira)

CASE Offices (Taufique)

Hardworking Learners (Kerry)

Participants' narratives about dangerous spaces in their community suggest that a sense of physical danger and feeling unsafe is a major challenge for youth in the community of Hanover Park. As a result of dangerous forces in the community, including environmental dangers and gang activity, participants are required to be constantly vigilant when moving around their community. In light of this, it appears that physically safe spaces and spaces which provide protection from negative activities may be a particularly important asset for youth in this community. These safe spaces seem to represent 'islands of safety' in an

environment characterised by numerous forms of danger. These spaces offer youth an escape and relief from gang violence, environmental dangers as well as high-risk activities.

Participants' tendency to focus on spaces within the community when discussing safety and danger and their failure to represent their homes as places of safety implies that 'islands of safety' within the broader community are a particularly important resource for adolescent youth. While participants' failure to identify their homes as safe may reflect that they do not see their homes as safe spaces, it may also reflect that youth of this age spend more time away from home and are more likely to be engaging in activities in the community. In light of this, adolescent youth may be particularly in need of community-based 'islands of safety'.

Wikström and Loeber (2000) argue that because adolescents increasingly engaged in activities in more public settings, factors or spaces which may have previously played a protective role (for example home and school) may be overpowered by negative influences and conditions within the neighbourhood. Therefore, neighbourhood-based resources are more relevant for this group, than they may be for younger children (Duncan & Raudenbush, 1999).

These findings surrounding spatial representations of safety are to some degree consistent with results of other studies that have been conducted on risk and protective factors for youth in South Africa, as well as internationally. Dass-Bralisford (2005) reported that feeling unsafe and the need for constant hyper-vigilance when moving around in the community was identified as a stressor by black African youth from a township outside of Durban. In the Netherlands, Enthoven (2007) found that resilient youth discussed examples of experiencing a sense of physical safety at school, while non-resilient youth discussed examples of lack of physical safety. Involvement in positive activities has also been found to be an important protective factor or resource for youth. Involvement in after-school activities was found to be associated with lower rates of substance abuse in both urban and suburban youth in Detroit (Hayman et al., 2006).

However, certain challenges and resources identified in this study have not been documented in either international or South African literature on youth. Specifically, the challenges of environmental danger (as a result of litter) and restricted freedom of movement have also not previously been identified as challenges or risk factors for youth. South African literature has also not emphasised the role of basic security infrastructure in enhancing a sense of safety for youth.

A Sense of Community

Five participants identified spaces which bring people together as being an important community asset. School and community gardens were both identified as examples of these kinds of spaces. The value of these spaces appeared to be linked to their providing a physical place in which a sense of cohesion could be facilitated between community members.

We have lots of memories in this school hall, like matrics perform um like they do performances... and they [the school] *give a lot of venues and stuff for the community, for people to come together, get to know each other, have a great time, dance and stuff.* (James)

The school likes um like tournaments and stuff for the boys... soccer tournaments so the whole school actually come watches the tournaments, in intervals they will come and watch the tournaments. (James)

I'm proud of our school for having such a great time in here – school hall (James)

The people here at school they so you know warm and loving and everyone knows each other. (Tahira)

I'm proud of the teachers because um most of the children is is kinda rude and that but the teachers they stick to them ne... they don't actually some of them do get fed up and leave the class but they try their best to stick with us through everything. (Taufique)

They'll be willing and eager to go help in the garden... A kind of team work, interact with other people. (Kerry)

They make also competition about the gardens, which ah which flat's garden is more beautiful than the other one. (Jarrod)

In addition, people who care for others in the community were identified by three participants as being something they were proud of. Women serving at a soup kitchen, Mountview High School's sports administrator, and the scholar patrol who help junior school children cross the road were all represented as examples of people who care for others in the community. Participants represented those who care for other as contributing to positive transformation in the community. Participants' representations of caring people also suggested that there were people in the community that needed to be cared for. These included the poor, as well as youth in the community.

This is two ladies dishing the food for the people standing in line. This people is actually wanting to make a change like and feed the needy. That is important also because you can't always think of yourself and then there's people that is in need...I think it's just like helping hands, people looking out for each other. (Safia)

So they [the scholar patrol] *actually helping the children to cross the road where, if there wasn't a scholar patrol, the children would just cross the road and there could be an accident...and this* [the scholar patrol] *is primary school children, eleven year old twelve year olds and they still care about the small children.* (Kerry)

Aunty Alia* [the sports administrator] *walks around in our community looking for kids who have talent... let me take control of it, let me take care of it and if you take care of something it will produce of it will you will see in the future it will produce beautiful, you know, and that is what it- she will sit back and look at us... a lot of people in the community comes from Aunty Alia*. Aunty Alia* has walked with them.* (Jarrod)

School Buddies (Tahira)

Ladies Helping the Disadvantaged (Safia)

Scholar Patrol (Kerry)

Participants' representations of people who care for the community and spaces which facilitate a sense of community as something they are proud of suggests that a sense of connectedness or cohesion between community members is an important community resource for youth in the community. Through a sense of cohesion community members may be able to develop important relationships and support systems. These relationships may be particularly important for youth in such a hostile environment, where opportunities to form these kinds of relationships and support systems may be rare.

The sense of community represented in participants' narratives also suggests that there are people who are investing in, as well as trying to bring about transformation in the community. This investment and transformation may be a particularly important asset in a historically oppressed and marginalised community such as Hanover Park. Sonn and Fisher (1998) argue that a sense of community and a sense of belonging may be particularly important in the context of marginalised communities. They argue that community activities facilitate the reformulation and reconstruction of devalued and denied social and cultural identities. Given the history of Hanover Park and its status as a 'Coloured' Group Area under apartheid, the sense of community as discussed by participants may represent a powerful process of growth, healing and transformation which has taken place in the community since 1994.

Participants' identification of a sense of community or social cohesion as an important

resource in their community is consistent with findings from international literature. The negative relationship found by Li et al. (2007) between high levels of neighbourhood cohesion and violent behaviour in African American adolescents, as well as finding by Lifrak, McKay, Rostain, Alterman, and O'Brien (1997) and Resnick et al. (2004) and that supportive relationships with non-familial adults were negatively associated with substance use in adolescents support the findings of this study.

However South African literature has seldom explored social cohesion or sense of community as being an important protective factor for youth. The local literature has also not recognised particular spaces (for example gardens) within communities which may facilitate social cohesion and sense of community.

Need for Role Models

The issue of role models in the community was discussed by four participants. Participants' representations of negative role models appear to suggest that there is a lack of positive adult role models in the community. However, two participants represented themselves as being positive role models in their community.

Participants represented people who drink, gangsters, and people who litter as negative role models in the community who model negative and high-risk behaviour for youth. Participants' also represented adults as having a responsibility to set a good example for young people in the community.

I chose to took-take this photo because this is like... a negative thing happening in our community, like people drinking and then there's youngsters also around, like there by the window there's a child standing there and watching what is happening. Then just now he's also gonna think that is like the right thing to do and follow also that footsteps which is wrong also because they should set the example to the youngsters. (Safia)

And the young kids running around on the streets they like looking at this gangsters and then they also want to be like that. (Tahira)

They [gangsters] *are famous like writing on the wall and now for a a for a small children it's like you ja you are big, you writing on the wall, you you wearing a certain kind of clothes and you your style is baggy and like the-they that are cool for them and now they are falling in the same in the same way and and and tomorrow it's smaller and smaller and smaller kids doing the same and and writing on a more walls and just they don't just write on the walls, they will write on their mother's kitchen table also*. (Alex)

Adults is supposed to set an example like for the youngsters but they are actually like throwing the dirt and then the children also sees they must do that and they think it's actually the right thing to do. (Safia)

So when they sit like this kids are sitting like this because of why... they don't know which direction they must go. So they need someone like an elder to go into their way, take a take them into their hands and tell them you know what, let's go. (Jarrod)

While participants' representations of negative role models seemed to suggest that adults in the community are not setting a good example for youth, participants positioned themselves as being positive role models in their community. This suggests that participants see themselves as having an important function to play in their community in terms of setting a positive example for others.

I see myself hardworking and many people in in my community where I live they tend on doing the wrong stuff and I feel like I could be a role model to others in my community and they can look up to me. (Kerry)

It [school] *plays a big role in my life and to the other people because seeing me ok if I matriculate seeing me do something good it's like an achievement for the whole community because at least there's someone that's you know coming out of the shell, coming out of the*

badness here in the community. (Tahira)

Men Sitting and Drinking (Safia)

Young Gangsters (Tahira)

*Help Us Please (*Jarrod)

The lack of positive or appropriate role models appears to be an important challenge for youth in the community of Hanover Park. In a context where a large number of community members engage in negative and high-risk behaviours (such as substance abuse, gang activity and violence) these behaviours may become socially normalised. Therefore, it may be difficult for youth to conceptualise alternatives to these types of behaviours. Dahlberg (1998) argues that particularly in impoverished neighbourhoods, there may be a shortage of positive role models to challenge the negative influence of the environment on youth. In light

of this, it appears that positive role models are a necessary and important asset.

Participants' positioning themselves as role models in their community suggests that they see themselves as an important asset or resource. They may be recognising the capacity which young people have to challenge accepted or normalised patterns of behaviour in a community like Hannover Park.

The importance of role models as an asset for youth has been well documented in the literature. Both positive familial role models and teachers have been identified as facilitating resilience, while a lack of positive role models has been associated with negative youth outcomes. In a study conducted with African American adolescents it was found that male adolescents who had no role models exhibited the highest levels of involvement in gang activity, drug use, stealing, truancy, and fighting (Bryant & Zimmerman, 2003). Dass-Bralisford (2005) found that most participants in her study of academic resiliency among disadvantaged black African youth from Durban identified positive role models (parents and teachers) as a factor which facilitated their resilience. In another South African study it was found that youth who witness drinking in their communities are more likely than youth who do not to engage in drinking themselves (Parry et al., 2004).

However, neither the international literature nor the South African literature has identified youth seeing themselves as positive role models as being an important asset.

The Need to Challenge Negative Images of the Community

Three participants represented their community as being perceived negatively by outsiders. This negative image was connected to specific negative aspects of the community such as litter and gangsterism that may be seen by people visiting the community. Participants discussed how the community was defined by its negative image and that this resulted in positive aspects being overlooked.

Many times people degrades Hanover Park. They say um bad things about Hanover Park. Always think the negative but there is positive-positive stuff happening in Hanover Park, not only negative. (Kerry)

It [litter] *makes the place also look dirty because there come like people that also visits and then they think like this is this that happens in Hanover Park and they only the-some of them only look at the negative things that happens and not the positive.* (Safia)

Like some of them coming from ja that side like like like Grassy Park or stuff like that like ja from the ja fr-from the ja from a area like that there w- that like there is like safety, respect

and everybody like respect each other now we've come till here like ah here Hanover Park if they see kind of like ja here's writing on the wall like ah I must I must back away from it because that that side is gangsters. (Alex)

And they'll think that the people is dirty that lives in Hanover Park. They'll think ja look here maybe she's also so. (Kerry)

However, participants used examples of positive aspects in their community, such as gardens, to illustrate that the negative image of their community is not justified. Through identifying these examples participants appeared to be actively challenging the idea that everything and everyone in Hanover Park is unfavourable.

This is there like in the back road where my uncle lives and here before they actually started it was just like sand and dirt laying around and then they decided to um to make a garden like just to make the place look more prettier and stuff like that... because there's like people that in the community that wants to make a change and other than like the gangsterism and that that's happening in the place, there is like positive stuff that happens in the community. (Safia)

They just see the bad and they think the community's dirty, like they don't see this [gardens]. *You see if they see that it will change their whole mindset.* (Kerry)

Ja th-the green it's a it's a symbol of growth, a symbol of growth like like you see here ja she um starting her own garden. (Alex)

I just felt like I wanna like show the people that there is people that has positive effects in the community not only negative effects. (Kerry)

Another way in which participants appeared to actively challenge the negative image of their community was by separating themselves from negative aspects and connecting themselves to positive aspects in the community. Through separating themselves from negative aspects in the community participants appeared to be saying 'this is not me, I'm not like that', thereby attempting to distinguish their own identities from that of the negative identity of the community.

I don't really socialise with the people here in the area [gangsters]. *They all messed up in the brain.* (Tahira)

I don't actually feel unsafe because I don't take note of them even if they [gangsters] *must call and then I will just pass.* (Safia)

Graffiti Makes the Place Look Untidy (Safia)

Pollution (Kerry)

My Uncle's Garden (Safia)

Participants' representations of the negative image of the community suggest that an awareness of outsider perceptions of the community, and a sense of shame as a result of these perceptions, is a challenge for the participants. However, their attempts to challenge this image by identifying positive aspects of their community, as well as by separating themselves from negative aspects in the community, suggests that they may be attempting to forge a new, positive identity for their community rather than internalising a more 'damaged narrative about Hanover Park. This positive image and particularly examples of beauty in the community appear to be perceived of as a community asset.

Literature on risk and protective factors for youth has not previously highlighted community image as either a challenge or a resource for youth living in low-income, high-violence communities.

Conclusion

The results of this study suggest that findings from international research regarding challenges and resources identified by youth living in contexts of economic adversity and high levels of violence may be applicable in the South African context. Participants identified a number of factors which have been found in studies conducted elsewhere, including safe spaces, social cohesion or a sense of community and role models. However, an analysis of the results has also yielded a number of community-level challenges and resources which have not previously been identified. These include the challenges of environmental dangers, restricted movement and the negative image of the community, and potential assets such as security infrastructure, youth as role models or active attempts at cultivation of a positive community image. The findings suggest that participatory youth-centred approaches may be able to provide alternative perspectives, on and knowledges of, community-level challenges and resources.

Limitations

This study has a number of limitations. Firstly, it used a very small sample which may have limited the number of themes which the researcher was able to draw from the data. Secondly, the study explored the representations of a very specific group of young people in the community. The participants were all quite far along in their high school education, making them among the minority in their community and, therefore, perhaps a more resilient and resourceful sub-group of youth. The resources and challenges which they identified may be different from the resources and challenges that other groups of youth in the community

(for example youth who have dropped out of school) may identify. Thirdly, as a result of time constraints the researcher was unable to present her findings to the participants. Therefore, the accuracy of the researcher's interpretations of participants' narratives has not been verified.

Reflexivity

As a white, middle-class female from a tertiary institution, the researcher was in many ways an outsider in the community of Hanover Park. The researcher's outsider status is likely to have limited the extent to which participants were willing to share with her. Participants, in the presence of an outsider, may have also attempted to portray themselves and their community in a more positive light.

Recommendations for Future Research

Given the small sample size, as well as the specificity of the sample, more research is necessary in order to determine whether the community-level challenges and resources identified by this group of participants are relevant for or identified by other youth in the community of Hanover Park and other similar contexts. This research should be carried out using participatory youth-centred approaches in order to allow young people to identify the community-level challenges and assets which are most salient for them.

This research can then be used to supplement large-scale studies in informing intervention and prevention programs for youth in the community of Hanover Park, by attempting to reduce challenges and enhance assets at a community level. The fact that youth identified themselves as assets to their community may have important implications for these kinds of programs. This asset could perhaps be enhanced by involving youth in leadership or mentoring programs. Youth could also be involved in reducing environmental dangers, for example by leading community clean up initiatives, thereby increasing safety in their community.

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Appendix A

Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Dear Parent

The University of Cape Town, in partnership with CASE (Community Action for a Safer Environment), is conducting a research study at your child's school. The aim of the study is to hear about how young people see their community, including things that they are proud of and things that they want to change. This information will help CASE to create community projects that will teach young people how to have a positive impact on their community.

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

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

1) Receive some training from the researchers about how to take photographs

2) Take some photographs of their neighbourhood with a free disposable camera (after school and on weekends / public holidays). They must have a friend or family member with them when they are taking photographs outside of home. The photographs will be printed and paid for by the researchers.

3) Attend 6 meetings with the researchers and the other learners involved in the study. The meetings will take place once a week during April and May 2011, and will last about one and a half hours each. Two of the meetings will be during school time and four of the meetings will be immediately after school. The meetings will take place in the CASE offices at Mount

View Secondary School. The meetings will be tape recorded. Snacks and coldrinks will be provided.

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

Permission to do this study has been given to us by the principal of Mount View and permission will also be requested from the Western Cape Education Department.

If you **agree** that your child can take part in this project, please fill in below and ask your child to return this form to **Ms Asa Grant (school counsellor)** at Mount View **before the last day of term (1ˢᵗ April)**.

Your child's name and surname:_____

Your name and surname: _____

Your signature: _____

Today's date: _____

If you have any questions please contact us:

Contact Details:

CASE: Errol Valentine or RosVeitch

Phone: (021) 6917066

OR

Research Supervisor: Dr D.Kaminer (University of Cape Town)

 Phone: (021) 650 3425

Appendix B

Assent Form

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

CASE (Community Action Towards a Safer Environment) and the University of Cape Town are doing a research project called:

MAKING MY VOICE HEARD - THINGS I AM PROUD OF AND THINGS I WOULD LIKE TO CHANGE IN MY COMMUNITY

What is this study about?

Teenagers don't often get a chance to tell adults what they really think about things! This project is interested in hearing what people your age think about their community. We are interested to hear about the things that you are proud of in Hanover Park, and also the things that you would like to change. We also want to hear your ideas about HOW to change things in Hanover Park that need changing, and HOW to make the things in Hanover Park that you are proud of become even stronger.

Do I have to take part?

You have been chosen from the Grade Ten class at Mount View Secondary School to take part in this study. But you do not have to take part in it if you do not want to. And if you decide to join, you can stop taking part at any time. You will not get into trouble if you do not want to be part of this project.

What do I have to do?

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

1) Meet six times with two researchers and a small group of other Grade 10 learners from Mount View. Two of the meetings will be in the morning during school (your Principal has given permission for this), and the rest will be after school at 2.30 pm. The meetings will be

at the CASE offices at Mount View school, and will be about 90 minutes long. There will be snacks and cool drinks at all the meetings.

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

3) Take some photographs of things you are proud of and things you would like to change in Hanover Park. You will get a free DISPOSABLE CAMERA (this is a camera that you throw away after you have finished using it). You will have 2 weeks to take photographs. You will take the photographs after school, on weekends or on public holidays. You must have a friend or an older family member with you when you go to take photographs. The researchers will pay for printing the photographs after you have taken them.

4) Tell the researchers and the small group of other learners involved with the project about the photographs you took. What you tell us about the photographs will be used by the researchers to help them understand how young people see their community.

5) If you want to, you can choose to show your photographs at a public event like the CASE Open Day later this year, so that everyone can see them. But you can choose NOT to show your photographs if you do not want to.

Will what I say be kept private?

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

Who will the photographs belong to?

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

Why should I take part in this study?

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

If you would like to be part of the research project, please sign this form below and return it to Asa Grant (school counsellor) before the end of term (1st April):

Name:………………………………………………………………….

Signature:………………………………………………………………..

Thank you!

PLAGIARISM
DECLARATION

1. I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and pretend that it is one's own.

2. I have used the *American Psychological Association (APA)* convention for citation and referencing. Each contribution to, and quotation in, this assignment from the work(s) of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

3. I acknowledge that copying someone else's assignment or essay, or part of it, is wrong and that this assignment is my own work.

4. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.

5. I acknowledge that copying someone else's assignment or essay, or any part of it, is wrong, and declare that this is my own work.

SIGNATURE _____