EXPLORING ADOLESCENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE INFLUENCE OF SUBSTANCE ABUSE ON COMMUNITY VIOLENCE WITHIN A CAPE FLATS COMMUNITY.

BY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Community violence and substance abuse are equally omnipresent social problems that are characteristic of South African communities. The pervasive nature of these social ills is evident in the astonishingly high prevalence rates in South Africa, where substance-related violence affects the lives of many, especially youth, due to its deleterious effects. The aim of the study was to explore adolescents' perceptions of substance abuse as a contributing factor to community violence using Goldstein's tripartite conceptual framework of substance abuse and violence. A qualitative methodological framework was employed. Purposive sampling was used to select the participants, 16 grade ten learners (male and female) attending a high school within an impoverished Cape Flats community. Two focus groups with eight participants each were conducted. Theoretical thematic analysis was used to analyse and interpret information. Four thematic categories were identified from the data namely: *adolescents' perspective on the dynamics of community violence, perceptions of the psychopharmacological influence of substances and violent tendencies, satisfying their needs: substance abusers' criminality, and substance distribution and violent patterns of interaction and trade.* The findings indicate that substance intoxication induces changes in behaviour and psychological processes, making individuals aggressive and violent. Participants believed that substance abusers frequently commit property and violent interpersonal crimes such as theft, robbery, assault, murder and prostitution to obtain substances. Substance distribution was linked to gang violence as a profession for gang members. Furthermore, findings show that systemic violence stems primarily from gang involvement as well as sharing the markets in the substance industry, resulting in rivalry for territory and clients. The current study broadens our understanding of 'substance abuse-violence' nexus by providing qualitative information on Goldstein's (1985) tripartite

conceptual framework in a South African context. As such, the findings could inform prevention and intervention strategies for both violence exposure and substance abuse. It is especially important because it explores the different dimensions of substance-related violence perceived by a group of adolescents within a Cape Flats community.

DECLARATION

I declare that "Exploring adolescents' perceptions of the influence of substance abuse on community violence within a Cape Flats community." is my own work. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university and all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Gadija Khan

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To my parents Zubayda Khan and the late Abu Bakr Khan.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background and rationale

South Africa faces a pervasive burden of harm associated with violence. Violence is the leading cause of injury in South Africa, and homicide rates are over seven times the global average (Ward et al., 2012). Violence is particularly problematic within communities in Cape Town (Shields, Nadasen, & Pierce, 2008). Several factors have been identified as risk factors for violence in communities; these include concentrated poverty (Dahlberg, 1998; Maldonado-Molina, Jennings, & Komro 2010) community disorganisation (Fagan & Catalano, 2012; Maldonado-Molina et al., 2010) availability and use of weapons and substances (Fagan & Catalano, 2012; Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewekes, Saffla, & Ratele, 2009), frequent exposure to violence and normalisation of violent behaviour (Hawkins et al., 2000; Humphreys & Campbell, 2010). In particular, substance abuse is a major social problem that is strongly associated with violence in the South African context (Morojele & Brook, 2006; Seedat et al., 2009; Seeking & Thaler, 2011).

Earlier research (see Affinnih 2005; Godlaski & Giancola 2009; Lennings, Copeland, & Howard 2003; Mulvey et al. 2006; Pihl & Sutton 2009; Thomas et al. 2009; Workowski 2003) has investigated the dynamics between substance abuse and violence. Firstly, due to their chemical composition substances reduce inhibitions and individuals' ability to control their actions, hence heightening the risk of violent behaviour (Brunelle, Brochu, & Cousineau, 2000). Secondly, people continuously exposed to violence are more likely to abuse substances as a coping strategy and this results in the increased possibility of violent behaviour. Thirdly, poly-substance abusers are more likely to engage in violent behaviour as compared to single substance abusers (Workowski, 2003). Finally, substance abusers are more likely to be involved in violent and

criminal activities to obtain substances (Mulvey et al., 2006). Therefore, it would be axiomatic to conclude that substance abuse and violence are closely related, resulting in both direct and indirect links between the two behaviours (Mulvey et al., 2006). As such, Goldstein (1985) proposed an integrative conceptual framework for examining linkages between substance abuse and violence, by relating different forms of violence to different effects of substances (Erikson, Macdonald, & Hathaway, 2009). The framework comprises three theoretical models (i.e. psychopharmacological, economic-compulsive, and systemic) which elucidate the primary associations between substances and violence. Moreover, the conceptual framework provides a basis for the 'substance abuse-violence' nexus to be analysed at an individual and societal level (Alberta Health Services, AHS, 2009).Therefore, the context in which substance-related violence occurs becomes critical.

Statistics for South Africa indicate that contact crimes (violent acts whereby victims are exposed to their perpetrators) constitute approximately a third (30.8 %) of all crimes. These criminal acts include assault with the intent to cause grievous bodily harm (GBH), common assault, robbery, murder, and sexual offences (South African Police Service [SAPS], 2011). "The experience of being violently victimised in South Africa has almost become a statistically normal feature of everyday life in many urban and rural settings" (Hamber, 2000, p.8). It has been argued that the political, economic and social structures within South Africa make the country more vulnerable to substances (Peltzer, Ramlagan, Johnson, & Phaswana-Mafuya, 2010; Wechsberg, et al., 2008). Along with crime and violence, the abuse of substances has become an accepted part of South African communities (Wechsberg et al., 2008). As a result, substance abuse is perpetuated and has major adverse effects on individuals, families and communities (Peltzer et al., 2010; Wechsberg,

et al., 2008). In the Western Cape in particular, alcohol is a frequently abused substance (see Dada, Pluddemann, Parry, Bhana, & Vawda, 2011; Harker et al., 2008). Compounding the problem of excessive alcohol consumption is the widespread use of cannabis. Methamphetamine remains the primary substance of abuse (Harker, et al., 2008; Wechsberg et al., 2008).

Violence and substance abuse are equally omnipresent social problems with severe health, social, and behavioural consequences, especially for children and young people because the deleterious effects of violent exposure pose a threat to their well-being. Previous studies associated exposure to violence with a range of psychiatric and behavioural problems such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, substance abuse, and aggression (Bingenheimer, Brennan, & Earls, 2005; Gorman-Smith, Henry, & Tolan, 2004; Kliewer et al., 2006; Shields, Nadasen, & Pierce, 2008; Ward, Flisher, Zissis, Muller, & Lombard, 2001). Furthermore, the harmful and socially disruptive effects of substance abuse often leave children vulnerable. Inadvertently, they become victims of these consequences. The burden of harm associated with substance abuse is twofold. Firstly, adults' use of substances predisposes children to maltreatment i.e. physical, emotional and sexual abuse and neglect (September & Savahl, 2009; World Health Organization, WHO, 2006). Secondly, adolescents' substance use is strongly associated with delinquency, risky sexual behaviour, aggression and unintentional injuries (Coker & Borders, 2001).Given the above-mentioned effects of community violence and substance abuse on adolescents, the current study sought to explore adolescents' perceptions of the influence of substance abuse on community violence.

The research site for the study was located within the Cape Flats district. This district constitutes

large housing projects in Cape Town built previously under apartheid for so-called 'Coloured'[1]

communities (Loots, 2005). This neighbourhood, like many Cape Flats communities is

impoverished and has limited social services. It is characterised by concentrated poverty, and high

levels of substance abuse, violence, crime, and gangsterism (Loots, 2005; Okecha, 2011). Further,

the low socio-economic status of the community members increases opportunities for crime and

substance abuse. An additional concern is the high levels of violence that gangsterism brings to

the community as gang activity is estimated to constitute 70% of all violence in the Cape Flats

(Loots, 2005).

Most of the research regarding community violence and adolescents is international studies

focusing on the prevalence and impact of community violence on adolescent development (see

Kliewer et al., 2006; Ozer & Weinstein, 2004; Schwartz & Proctor, 2000; Sweatt, Harding,

Knight-Lynn, Rasheed, & Carter, 2002). In addition, research studies pertaining to the relationship

between substance abuse and community violence are international, thus there is a paucity of

literature on the 'substance abuse-violence' nexus within a South African context. The

characteristics of the research site and community factors (namely poverty, unemployment,

gangsterism) give rise to escalated levels of violence. Further, considering the prevalence of

substance abuse in the Western Cape, there is a need to understand the extent of this relationship

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[1]During apartheid, the South African law (the Population Registration Act of 1950 in particular) divided the population into four racially classified social groups namely Black, White, Coloured, and Indian/Asian (Wegner, Flisher, Chikobvu, Lombard, & King, 2008).The term Coloured legally constituted a racial category designated to individuals who were neither White nor Black (de la Ray & Duncan, 2003; Peltzer et al., 2010). In present-day South Africa, Coloured and Indian/Asian race groups are subsumed under the Black race group, this definition derived from the Black Consciousness Movement in late 1960's (Ratele & Shefer, 2003). The use of the term Coloured is merely for descriptive purposes, and does not imply acknowledgement of the term by the author.

as substance abuse accounts for increased risks of violence. In this regard, Goldstein's (1985) tripartite conceptual framework serves as an appropriate theoretical framework. In addition, the study employed a qualitative methodological framework to aid in identifying ways in which substance abuse contributes to community violence.

1.2.   Aim and objectives of the study

The aim of the study was to explore adolescents' perceptions of substance abuse as a contributing factor to community violence using Goldstein's tripartite conceptual framework of substance abuse and violence.

Objectives of the study

- To explore adolescents' perceptions of the psychopharmacological influence of substance abuse on violent behaviour within communities.

- To explore adolescents' perceptions of the economic-compulsive influence of substance abuse on violent behaviour within communities.

- To explore adolescents' perceptions of the systemic influence of substance abuse on violent behaviour within communities.

1.3.   Chapter organisation

Chapter one provides the reader with a detailed background, orientation, and context of the study. In addition, the aims of the study are discussed as well as the significance this study holds.

Chapter two highlights the relevant themes pertaining to the research topic such as adolescents' exposure to community violence, the 'substance abuse-violence' nexus, the pharmacological

effects of substances, substance abuse, violence and criminal behaviour, and the link between substance use and gang violence. Further, it introduces the theoretical framework.

Chapter three details the method used to conduct the current study. In order to achieve this, a perusal of the methodological framework, research context, participants and sampling, data collection, procedure, data analysis, validity, and ethical guidelines are surveyed.

Chapter four documents the key findings of focus groups conducted, and provides an analysis and interpretation of the data. The goal of this chapter is to present the thematic patterns that have emerged during data analysis. Essentially, it highlights adolescents' perceptions of how substance abuse contributes to community violence.

Chapter five concludes the dissertation with a brief summary of the findings. In addition, the limitations of the study are discussed and future recommendations are made.

1.4. Conclusion

Frequent exposure to violence and substance abuse are typical of disadvantaged communities (Hawkins et al., 2000). Furthermore, the 'substance abuse-violence' nexus is perceived to be characteristic of South African communities. The prevalence of substance abuse exacerbates the negative consequences of the frequent exposure to violence. As such, trends in current research acknowledge and encourage the involvement of adolescents in the research process to gain understandings of pertinent issues such as exposure to violence (Parkes, 2007). Thus, the study will make a valuable contribution to a dearth of knowledge on the 'substance abuse-violence'

nexus for it specifically highlights the perceptions of adolescents. Further, it focuses on three

levels at which substance-related violence occurs by utilising Goldstein's tripartite conceptual

framework. Findings from the study will clarify the dynamics within each level of the framework,

understood by the adolescents. In this regard, findings could serve as a basis for various

prevention and intervention strategies for both violence exposure and substance abuse.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

The association between substance abuse and violence appears to be complex and multi-dimensional. Therefore, any discussion on the 'substance abuse - violence' nexus should start by defining what is meant by the two terms i.e. substance abuse and community violence. "Substance abuse refers to the improper, excessive, irresponsible, or self-damaging use of addictive substances" (Visser & Routledge, 2007, p. 596). The term includes both the misuse and abuse of legal substances as well as illicit substances. Community violence is narrowly defined as violence inflicted on others, either by acquaintances or by strangers, generally occurring outside the sphere of family (Steinbrenner, 2010). It is distinguished from domestic violence, which was previously included in the definition of community violence (Vera & Polanin, 2012).

Given the above, the subsequent sections of this chapter present literature within the fields of community violence and substance abuse by: highlighting adolescents' exposure to community violence; exploring a number of associations between substance abuse and violence (i.e. the 'substance abuse - violence' nexus, the pharmacological effects of substances, substance abuse, violence and criminal behaviour, and substance distribution and gang violence); concluding with the theoretical framework used to align the study.

2.2. Adolescents' exposure to community violence

Children and adolescents comprise a segment of the population that continues to experience high levels of community violence, as they are two times more likely to become victims of violence and crime (Burton, 2006; Burton, Leoschut & Bonora, 2009). There has been a proliferation of

research documenting the rates and consequences of exposure to community violence (see Kliewer et al., 2006; Shields et al., 2008). Research findings by Sweatt et al. (2002) suggest that young people are aware of the high degree of violence in their neighbourhood. Sweatt et al. (2002) report that adolescents may feel comfortable in their home environments, but simultaneously feel unsafe within their neighbourhoods. Further, adolescents experience violence in three broad ways namely; they know victims of violence; they witness violence; and they are victims of violence (Sweatt et al., 2002).

Savahl, Isaacs, Adams, Carels and September (2013) established that violence carries multiple meanings; and children make sense of violence in multiple ways. The violence that children are exposed to has profound implications on their well-being. For example different types of exposure (i.e. witnessing or being a victim of) to the various types of violence may have different sequelea of psychopathology in children (Ward et al., 2001). More importantly, exposure to all forms of violence results in psychological distress. Of course, the overriding emotions are fear and anxiety (Parkes, 2007; Shields et al., 2008). Additionally, adolescents are exposed to violence at a young age; they are exposed to immense levels of violence that makes them vulnerable to developing a sense of hopelessness and helplessness (Burton, 2006). Further, violence appears to be a constant threat to safety that undermines the well-being of youth (Parkes, 2007; Savahl et al., 2013; September & Savahl, 2009). As a result, young people living within violent contexts are more likely to be trapped in cycles of violence as victims and may be at an increased risked of externalising violent behaviour i.e. using violence within their own lives and social relationships (Burton, 2006; Parkes, 2007).

2.3.   The 'substance abuse-violence' nexus

The prevalence of substance use and violence among adolescents has been an area of concern especially when exploring the relationship between violence and aggression among substance-using adolescents (Reid, Garcia-Reid, Klien, & McDougall, 2008). A progressive relationship between substance abuse and physical aggression was found to exist when Maldonado-Molina et al. (2010) explored the effects of alcohol and other substances on trajectories of physical aggression in children. The following trajectories were identified at age 11 years and over time (i.e. 12- 14 years): The Non-Aggressive trajectory (16%) reported no aggressive behaviour across three periods; Desistors (9%) reported high on zero-aggression at age 12 and low levels of aggression at age 13; Escalators (20 %) initially reported low levels of aggression but presented with a rapid increase in physical aggression; the Chronic-Aggressive trajectory (55%) reported high levels of aggression and remained constant throughout. Alcohol use was found to be an important risk factor in the trajectories of physical aggression among urban adolescents. Further, alcohol users were two times more likely to fall within the ''Escalators'' and ''Chronic-Aggressive'' groups.

Wei et al. (2004) found dissimilar longitudinal associations between alcohol abuse and violence. They examined trends in alcohol and cannabis abuse and violence as well as how it co-varied concurrently and across time. In addition, Wei et al. (2004) assessed whether frequent substance abuse was a predictor of violence. Findings show that substance abuse was more prevalent than violence across time. Concurrently, alcohol and cannabis abuse were significantly associated with violence. Longitudinal associations of frequent alcohol abuse and violence were weak, while frequent marijuana abuse was more consistent. However, the relationship between cannabis abuse

and violence was spurious when factors such as race or ethnicity and hard substances were considered. As such, the findings concluded that the association between cannabis abuse and violence is due to effects of behaviours that co-occur, rather than cannabis use causing violence or vice versa (Wei et al., 2004).

Similarly, Reid et al. (2008) investigated the influence of alcohol and cannabis abuse and its association with violence-related behaviours among Dominican adolescents. Findings suggested that an early onset of alcohol and substance abuse was linked to greater involvement in violence-related behaviours or being a victim of violence. Alcohol abuse, victimisation, and being physically hurt increased the likelihood of violent acts such as fighting or weapon carrying behaviour. Alcohol and cannabis abuse in the school setting resulted in increased effects of violent behaviour. Students who felt unsafe within their school were more likely to act violently. Further, a strong positive correlation was found between the amount of alcohol consumed and violent behaviour. Thus, as the use of alcohol increased so did physical abuse toward a girlfriend or boyfriend. In addition, alcohol also contributed to forced or coerced sex (Reid et al., 2008).

Substance abuse has been associated with violence in individuals with mental disorders; the comorbidity of substance abuse and other psychiatric disorders increase the risk of violent and aggressive behaviour (Tolfrey, Fox, & Jeffcote, 2011). Mulvey et al. (2006) investigated substance abuse and violence on a daily level with a sample of mentally ill patients; and corroborated this association. Findings indicated that the abuse of alcohol and other substances co-occurred with violence. Those patients who consumed alcohol or used other substances were more often involved in violent activities. At a daily level, patients' substance-abusing days were

characterised as violent days, similarly violent days coincided with substance-abusing days. In addition, Sacks et al. (2009) investigated the relationship between substance abuse, mental health problems and violence in a sample of offenders released from prison. Their findings suggest that the degree of alcohol consumption and frequency of substance abuse were associated with a greater probability of self-reported violence amongst offenders with substance use problems.

2.4.   The pharmacological effects of substances

Alcohol in particular has been linked to violence for many decades and continued attention is directed to the relationship between alcohol and violence (Lennings et al., 2003; Lightowlers, 2011; Pihl & Sutton, 2009; Saatcioglu & Erim, 2009). Studies conducted by McClelland and Teplin (2001); Parker (2004); Steadman et al. (1998); Weizmann-Heneliu, Putkonen, Naukkarinen and Eronen, (2009) as well as a systematic review by Boles and Miotto (2003) show the most prominent link between alcohol and aggression to be alcohol intoxication, owing to the pharmacological properties of alcohol as a substance. Alcohol alters the chemical composition of the brain, heightens aggressive tendencies and tempers the frontal lobe functioning that enables people to interact adequately with unforeseen circumstances. Consequently, it lowers inhibitions and blurs social cues that contribute toward the tendency for misunderstandings in interpersonal interactions (Belenko & Peugh, 1998; Pernanen et al. 2002).

Badawy (2003) highlights a specific pharmacological effect (i.e. the depletion or dysfunction of the brain serotonin) that is closely associated with alcohol consumption. By means of a meta-analysis of the literature, he emphasises and provides empirical evidence for the alcohol-serotonin-aggression relationship to which little attention has been paid. When exploring this

relationship it requires one to answer the question "How does alcohol influence serotonin metabolism or functioning and in turn how that perpetuates aggression?" Badawy (2003) found that there are four sources of empirical evidence that attempt to answer this question namely: experimental studies with animals (see Higley & Bennett, 1999; Saudou et al., 1994); studies of real-life situations involving violence (see Tuinier , Verhoeven & van Praag 1995); human physiological studies, those studies focused on using hormone challenge and receptor function tests (see Moeller et al., 1994; Pine et al. 1997); and other human studies on experimentally induced aggressive behaviour (see Badawy, 2002; Cleare & Bond, 1995). To summarise the findings from the abovementioned studies, acute alcohol consumption was found to cause major disturbances in the functioning or depletion of serotonin in normal (non-alcohol dependent) individuals and aggression was associated with the depletion of serotonin. Therefore, alcohol consumption may induce aggression by promoting the depletion of serotonin (Badawy, 2003).

A number of studies, for example Macdonald, Wells, and Lothian (1998); Macdonald, Wells, Giesbrecht and Cherpitel (1999); Macdonald et al. (2003) show the involvement of alcohol use in violent incidents. Matilla et al. (2005) investigated the occurrence, nature and severity of violence and injuries, and alcohol-related violence among Finnish adolescents. Most participants (67%), experienced at least one violent event, 18% encountered two incidents of violence, and 15% experienced three or more incidents of violence. Alcohol-related violence accounted for 45% of all violent incidents. Adolescents who consumed alcohol had higher rates of alcohol-related injuries compared to their alcohol-free counterparts.

A similar association was established from a study conducted by Macdonald et al. (1999) who identified substance use factors associated with violent injuries, accidental injuries and medical conditions or illnesses. Data was examined from emergency rooms at two Canadian hospitals. The participants were interviewed and were required to provide urine samples to detect the presence of substance use such as alcohol, barbiturates, benzodiazepines, morphine and codeine. An important finding was that 42% of those with violent injuries had a blood alcohol level (BAL) over 80 mg/percentage. Those participants with violent injuries were significantly more likely to report experiencing negative effects and consequences of alcohol at the time of the injuries. Further, results show that approximately 37% of these violent injuries occurred at bars and restaurants (Macdonald et al., 1999).

Further, it is widely accepted that the pattern of alcohol consumption is more likely associated with violent behaviour than the frequency of consumption (Lightowlers, 2011). Wells et al. (2011) found three ways in which alcohol drinking patterns (drinking frequently, heavy episodic drinking HED, hazardous drinking) can be linked to aggression. Firstly, drinking patterns can be linked to alcohol involvement in aggression (no aggression, aggression with no alcohol and aggression involving alcohol); all three drinking patterns were found to be associated with aggression involving alcohol. Secondly, drinking patterns can be linked to levels of aggression (no aggression, verbal aggression, and physical aggression); heavy episodic drinking and hazardous drinking patterns were linked to physical aggression. Thirdly, the association between alcohol involvement (no aggression, aggression with no alcohol and aggression involving alcohol) and the levels of aggression (no aggression, verbal aggression, and physical aggression); alcohol involvement in aggression was linked to physical aggression. Above all, heavy episodic drinking

and hazardous drinking increased the risk of aggression. However, the increased risk only applies to alcohol related aggression (Wells et al., 2011).

Seeking and Thaler (2011) conducted a study in Cape Town, specifically Delft and Khayelitsha, with panel of males and females between the ages of 21 and 54 years. Seventy per cent of the respondents acknowledged that alcohol abuse by men in the community was an important source of violence. Alcohol was believed to increase aggression and provoke violent behaviour. Alcohol serving establishments, shebeens, were recognised as places with frequent alcohol-related violent incidences due to the high levels of intoxication. Respondents explained that intoxicated people fight over small matters, just spilling beer on someone could lead to a brawl.

Aggressive acts following alcohol consumption are more frequent than aggressive acts following cannabis consumption in long-time alcohol and cannabis abusers (Denson & Earleywine, 2008). Alcohol consumption is significantly related to aggression while marijuana does not lead to aggressive behaviour in long-time abusers. Moreover, no significant relationship exists between cannabis and aggression once alcohol is considered (Denson & Earleywine, 2008). However, Kouri, Pope and Lukas (1999) found that cannabis abuse and aggression are more likely to co-exist during periods of abstinence, also referred to as the cannabis-withdrawal syndrome. Findings from their study showed that long-term cannabis users were significantly more aggressive on the third and seventh day into abstinence in comparison to their pre-abstinence behaviour (Kouri et al., 1999).

In addition to alcohol, investigators such as Hamilton and Goeders (2010), Macdonald, Erickson, Wells, Hathaway and Pakula (2008); Plüddemann et al. (2010); and Vaughn, Fu, Perron, Bohnert & Howard (2010) found significant relationships between violence and other substances. Specifically, methamphetamine, ecstasy and cocaine were found to have the strongest associations with violence compared to other substance use variables (Pinhey & Ree Wells, 2007).

A considerable amount of research explored possible links between amphetamines and violence (Hamilton & Goeders, 2010; Pinhey & Ree Wells, 2007; Plüddemann et al. 2010; Reid, Reid, & Sterk, 2007; Wright & Klee, 2001). For example, Pinhey and Ree Wells (2007) conducted a study examining the outcomes of methamphetamine use on aggressive behaviour and risky sexual activities. Results of the study show that both males and females who used methamphetamine were significantly likely to act violently and participate in risky sexual activities. Likewise, Hamilton and Goeders (2010) explored females as perpetrators of violence among women from a residential treatment centre for methamphetamine dependence. Approximately half of the participants (57%) reported to perpetrate violence. The women ascribed violent behaviour to the abuse of methamphetamine and expressed that they would not have acted violently if they were not using methamphetamine. A significant finding from the study was that most participants described being violent when experiencing withdrawal symptoms of methamphetamine (Hamilton & Goeders, 2010).

Previous studies focusing on the relationship between substance abuse and violent behaviour assumed that ecstasy was not linked to violent behaviour. However, this assumption was not empirically grounded, as research on violence and aggression related to ecstasy use was limited.

Reid, Elifson and Sterk (2007) found significantly higher levels of hostility and violence among ecstasy users than in non-ecstasy users. Participants with higher lifetime prevalence rates of ecstasy use exhibited higher levels of violence and aggression. Additionally, the effect of lifetime ecstasy use differed by the levels of low self-control as a measure of propensity of aggression. Therefore, in terms of aggression, participants who exhibited low self-control were affected more by ecstasy than those who did not.

Regardless of the form of cocaine used, cocaine is closely associated with violent behaviour (Vaughn et al., 2010). The violence associated with crack cocaine use is greater than powdered cocaine use. However, the differences between the forms of cocaine are not statistically significant (Vaughn et al., 2010). Additionally, Vaughn et al. (2010) noted that the relationship between crack cocaine and violence was influenced by socio-demographic characteristics and psychiatric variables. This suggests that the above-mentioned factors are responsible for an increased level of violence among crack cocaine users, rather than crack cocaine itself (Vaughn et al., 2010).

2.5.   Substance abuse, violence and criminal behaviour

Currently, there is a growing body of literature depicting a strong correlation between substance abuse and violent crimes   (see Boles & Miotto, 2003; Cartier, Farabee, & Prendengast, 2008; Friedman, 1998). Weizmann-Henelius et al. (2009) found violent female offenders to comprise two distinct subgroups namely intoxicated and non-intoxicated female offenders. The majority (80%) of the offenders were intoxicated at the time of their crime and over 75% of the offenders were substance abusers. Additionally, most offenders had been intoxicated by alcohol or alcohol

combined with other drugs. Workowski (2003) investigated the relationship between criminal violence amongst severely dependent substance users. From the total percentage of crime committed, 13% was violence-related and 57 % was substance related. A strong correlation was found between poly-substance use and poly-criminality. Further findings illustrated that violence stemmed from lifestyle characteristics, for example the propensity towards deviant behaviour rather than substance use or drug dealing itself. Hence, the specific association between illicit substances and criminal violence predominantly manifests in the context of drug marketing (Boles & Miotto, 2003).

2.5.1. Interpersonal crimes

Alcohol precedes many extreme forms of violent crimes such as assault, rape, and murder compared to any other substance (Miller, Levy, Cohen, & Cox 2006). Abbey (2002) examined the involvement of alcohol in sexual assault experienced by college students during social interactions. Findings revealed that almost half of sexual assault incidents involved alcohol consumption of both the perpetrator and the victim (Abbey, 2002). The mere presence of alcohol made forced sex more acceptable. It was found that men who were intoxicated and sexually attracted to women were more likely to misinterpret friendly cues as sexual interest. As a result, the anticipated aggression associated with alcohol justified forced sexual behaviour (Abbey, 2002). Further, the consumption of alcohol particularly influenced women's ability to either resist or assess the potentially risky situations, consequently decreasing the likelihood of them escaping forced sexual activities (Abbey, 2002).

Darke, Torok, Kaye, Ross and McKetin (2009) established that violent offences were linked to a specific kind of substance when considering methamphetamine and heroin. More than three-quarters of (82%) regular methamphetamine and heroin abusers reported a lifetime history of committing offences (such as assault, armed robbery, sexual assault, and homicide) and 41% reported committing violent offences in the past twelve months. The methamphetamine group was significantly more likely to have committed violent offences in the past 12 months than the heroin group.

In addition, methamphetamine was found to be a significant predictor of self-reported criminal violence and general recidivism (Cartier et al., 2008). However, methamphetamine use was not a predictor of returning to custody for violent offences. When exploring the relationship between methamphetamine and the involvement in drug distribution, findings yielded that the involvement in drug distribution was statistically significant for self-reported violent crime and general recidivism (Cartier et al., 2008).

2.5.2.   Acquisitive crimes

Findings from a study conducted by Brunelle et al. (2000) suggest that individuals who committed crimes had prior intentions to commit crime; as a result, crime was not a by-product of intoxication. Moreover, findings indicate that adolescents were involved in criminal activities in order to generate an income to obtain their substances owing to the lack of economic resources. French et al. (2000) explored the relationship between chronic substance abuse and criminal activity. The criminal activity measure used in the study consisted of two components, namely property and predatory crimes. Property crimes included stealing from stores, damaging property,

stealing cars, or breaking into houses or buildings. Predatory crimes included physical fights, armed robbery, using force to get money or personal belongings, and hurting someone to the extent that the person requires medical attention. The results confirmed a positive correlation between chronic substance abuse and crime as well as a linear relationship between the frequency of substance abuse and criminal activity. More importantly, the severity of substance abuse was significantly related to the probability of committing predatory and property crimes (French et al., 2000).

Lennings et al. (2003) confirm that substance abuse variables do in fact predict involvement in criminal activities among detainees. A number of substance abuse variables namely alcohol abuse, amphetamine abuse, cocaine abuse, ecstasy abuse, hallucinogen abuse and cannabis abuse were explored. In particular, alcohol abuse seemed to be significantly related to violent crimes (Lennings et al., 2003). As a partial test, Goldstein's (1985) economic-compulsive hypothesis (i.e. the need to commit crime to acquire substances) was considered. Detainees were asked if they had committed crime that was linked to their substance use. Results revealed that violent crimes committed by detainees were not motivated by their need to acquire substances. Similarly, Wright and Klee (2001) found that violent crimes were not significantly associated with acquisitive crimes; nevertheless, some reports showed that contact crimes such as street thefts were in fact motivated by economic compulsions. Violence was linked to the consequences of committing crimes whereby perpetrators would resort to violence if antagonized. Although violent acts served as a benefit for crimes committed, violence served as a mechanism to maintain a fearful reputation for substance users (Wright & Klee, 2001).

In the United States of America, the Bureau of Justice (2006) revealed that a quarter of property and drug offenders were imprisoned for committing crimes motivated by their need to obtain money for substances. Further, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (2008) established similar statistics regarding acquisitive crimes. Among state prisoners, 26% were substance offenders, 30% committed property crimes, and 11% committed crimes to obtain money for their substances. In federal prisons, 25% of drug users committed crimes to acquire money for their substance. Further, during 2007 approximately 14 831 homicides were coded as drug related (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2008).

2.5.3. Organised crime

Violent criminal behaviour was found to be associated with manufacturing, distributing and selling substances, as substance distribution is specifically linked to organised crime (Cartier et al., 2008; Zaluar, 2001). For example, theft is a way of paying debt between substance abusers and dealers, syndicates use robberies to silence possible witnesses, and homicides are usually forms of conflict resolution. Alternatively, crime may be a result of competing for markets, territory and clients (Bjerregaard, 2010). Since weapons offer protection and money buys defence for substance traders it serves as a motivation to commit a great deal of crimes (Zaluar, 2001).

2.6. Violence associated with gang involvement and drug distribution

Swahn and colleagues (2010) explored alcohol and substance abuse related exposures (alcohol-related physical fighting, peer drinking, substance abuse, selling substances, peers selling substances, and witnessing the sale of substances in their neighbourhood) among a sample of high school learners who were gang members. Almost 10% of the learners reported that they were

gang members. Gang members were more likely to report significantly higher prevalence rates of alcohol abuse, alcohol related physical fighting, substance abuse, selling substances, peers selling substances, and having witnessed the sale of substances in their neighbourhood compared to non-gang members (Swahn et al., 2010). Similarly, Valdez, Kaplan and Cepeda (2006) established causal associations between substance abuse and violence among Mexican-American adolescent male gang members. Findings suggest that substance abuse interacted with gang members' risk for violence and affecting violent behaviour outcomes. Additionally, a situational variable (the abuse of substances by rival gangs to the extent of intoxication) accounted for violent outcomes between gang members. As such, substance abuse had a mediating effect on violence that was conditioned by individual and situational levels among members of street gangs (Valdez, Kaplan, & Cepeda, 2006).

Research on illegal substance distribution has been a central focus of gang research as gangs provide a subculture that is conducive to substance abuse and substance distribution (Bjerregaard, 2010). In addition, researchers have noted that gang members are frequently and more heavily involved in substance distribution, which often leads to increases in violent behaviours (Bjerregaard, 2010). Bjerregaard (2010) conducted a longitudinal study to explore potential causal relationships between gang membership, substance abuse, selling substances and violence as well as examining the relationship between gang membership and drug involvement. Findings from the study demonstrated that gang membership was negligibly associated with substance abuse, selling substances and violent behaviour, which disproves the notion that gang membership facilitates substance abuse. Substance involvement even in gang members was not related to assaults but was associated with gun carrying behaviours (Bjerregaard, 2010). However, a study

by Bellair and Mcnulty (2009) disputes the above findings by Bjerregaard (2010). The findings suggest that selling substances augmented the levels of violence. Gang members who reported selling substances engaged in violence at significantly higher rates than non-selling gang members and non-gang drug sellers. In addition, substance dealers who did not belong to gangs and gang members who did not sell substances engaged in comparable levels of violence. More importantly, neighbourhood disadvantage was found to intensify the levels of violence among gang members who sold substances.

2.7.   Summary of the literature

Many researchers explored the relationship between substance abuse and violence. Yet, results on the relationship between substance abuse and violence in general are less clear. Literature in general indicates that substance-induced pharmacological violence is uncommon. This could be explained by the fact that the possibility and extent of a psychopharmacological reaction of aggressive and violent behaviour is dependent on several additional factors such as the substance (s) in question, and the purity level of the psychoactive ingredient; the dosage or frequency of consumption of the substance; the presence of other psychoactive ingredients that were either mixed with a primary substance and/or are consistently taken concurrently with the substance; and individual biological, social or psychological susceptibilities (Powell, 2011). Thus, the relationship between substance abuse and violent or aggressive behaviour is complex, mediated by individual and situational factors.

In addition, a potentially influential factor in the 'substance abuse-violence' nexus is co-occurrence of psychopathology, especially the comorbidity of substance abuse and mental health

disorders. Psychopathology is likely to have an important effect on this dynamic for two reasons. One, substance abuse and mental health disorders co-occur frequently (Swedsen et al., 2010). Two, the interaction between substance abuse and psychopathology appears to affect violence and criminality. Thus, the link between substance abuse, psychopathology, and violence raises questions such as '*Do persons with dual diagnoses commit more violent crimes than persons who abuse substances but are not mentally ill?* 'Are persons who suffer from certain combinations of substance use and psychopathology particularly prone to violent crime?'* (Abram & Teplin, 1990). It is important to understand patterns of comorbidity between substance abuse disorders and other mental disorders, because it may have implications for theories of aetiology, prevention, and treatment of mental health problems and social problems such as violence and crime (Brink et al., 2003, Degenhardt, Wayne, & Lynskey, 2003). Hence, there is a need for more research on the comorbidity of substance abuse and other mental health disorders in South Africa.

When considering the class of substances, a significant finding, in several studies, indicates that the level of violence increased when substances in question were alcohol and amphetamines (Saatcioglu & Erim, 2009). For example, Pihl and Sutton (2009) and Plüddemann et al. (2010) investigated the link between alcohol and methamphetamine respectively and in both instances, a positive relationship was confirmed. Furthermore, literature shows that cocaine has a pharmacological influence on violent behaviour.

The relationship between substances and violent crimes enjoys a long researched history, as substances are related to crime in two broad ways. Firstly, it is a crime to abuse, possess, manufacture, or distribute substances classified as having a potential for abuse (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994). These substances include cannabis , amphetamines, cocaine, and heroin.

Secondly, substances are related to crime due to their effect on the user's behaviour as well as engaging in violent or aggressive behaviour and other illegal activity in connection with substance distribution (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994). Substance distribution involvement is indirectly linked to violence through illegal activities to obtain money i.e. substance abusers commit predatory crimes and acquisitive crimes to maintain their substance-abusing lifestyle (Mulvey et al., 2006). Consequently, along with the economic compulsive violence, Goldstein's (1985) psychopharmacological violence may also be a relevant theory in explaining the substance-crime relationship.

Another significant type of violence associated with substance abuse is systemic violence as referred to by Goldstein (1985). Violence and crimes involving illicit substances are more likely to originate from trade transactions between substance dealers and substance abusers with substance-dealing lifestyles. Furthermore, there is evidence that gang members are frequently involved in a range of illegal behaviours including selling substances (Collins, 1999). Several factors are associated with gang lifestyle: most gang members abuse substances; gang members use violence as a form of conflict resolution, supporting themselves through various criminal enterprises as well as legal stratagems (Moon, Patton & Rao, 2010). Nevertheless, research on the violence within substance distribution settings is scarce and not much focus has been directed at investigating systematic links between substance abuse and violence (Workowski, 2007). With this in mind, it is worth mentioning that the relationship between substance abuse and violent behaviour has not been sufficiently explored.

From the literature, one gets the sense that children of all ages become victims to the violence occurring in their communities. This is also confirmed by the fact that children are participants in many studies exploring the different aspects of violence. Children exposed to various forms of violence are caught up in the complexities of the 'substance abuse-violence' nexus between adults or youth. More often than not they are endangered through their proximity; this is true within the Western Cape in particular (Parkes et al, 2007). It is clear from the literature that to date much less attention is focused on how children make sense of the violence surrounding them. For this reason, one could say that even less is known about how young people perceive and make sense of violence in relation to substance abuse.

2.8.   Theoretical framework

In 1985 Paul J. Goldstein developed a theoretical framework to explain and describe the relationship between substance abuse and violence. Goldstein proposed that substances and violence are possibly related in three ways. Hence, the model consists of three theories of violence namely: psychopharmacological, economic-compulsive, and systemic. The psychopharmacological theory of violence states that violence stems from the psychoactive properties and effects of ingesting substances (De La Rosa, Lambert & Gropper, 1990). The most relevant substances in this regard are alcohol, amphetamines and cocaine (Anderson, Harrison, & Freeman, 2003; De La Rosa, Lambert, & Gropper 1990; Parker &Auerhahn, 1998). The violence associated with cannabis abuse was an early example of this theory. However, this assumption has been discredited by numerous studies including Wei et al. (2004). Heroin is least likely to be associated with this type of violence. Furthermore, Goldstein's (1985) psychopharmacologic theory purports that some individuals may become irrational, excitable or exhibit violent

behaviour because of their short-term or long-term consumption of a specific substance. In other words, the consumption of substances reduces individuals' inhibitions resulting in adverse effects ranging from neurochemical changes within the body to impairment in cognitive functioning i.e. altering judgment (Powel, 2011). An example of this would be a victim who is intoxicated and is unable to defend himself against the attacker.

The second theory of violence states that economic-compulsive violence results from substance abusers' involvement in crimes such as robberies, burglary, shoplifting, and prostitution to procure substances. In other words, substance abusers commit crime that generates an income to get money for their next "high" (Powell, 2011). More specifically, heroin and cocaine are the substances Goldstein (1985) referred to, because they are expensive substances that are characterised by habitual and compulsive patterns of use (Collins, 1990; De La Rosa, Lambert, & Gropper 1990). Thus, consumption of substances does not necessarily result in violent behaviour but the primary motivation is to obtain money to purchase the substances. As such, Powell (2011) states when substance abusers require money to illegally purchase their substances they will commit economic crimes. Most of these criminals will not pursue violent crimes, but rather opt for non-violent solutions. Prostitution is an illicit economically motivated career that is especially common for the female substance abusers. Economic compulsive violence is generally a result of a social context factor e.g. during a robbery the victim's reaction may precipitate a violent incident (Goldstein, 1985).

Goldstein's (1985) systemic theory of violence encompasses all forms of violence intrinsic to the involvement of illicit substances. Specifically, it pertains to the traditional patterns of aggression associated with the distribution, dealing, or abuse of illicit substances. This theory accounts for

most of the violent substance-related criminal offences such as disputes over territory between rival substance dealers, assaults and murders committed within the dealing hierarchies occurring between substance bosses and dealers, robberies and murders of substances dealers, punishment for not paying debts or for selling phony substances (Affinnih, 2005). Essentially this violence is embedded in the social and economic networks of substance abuse and substance distribution that are part of the substance dealer lifestyle.

The relationship between substance abuse and violence is a complex one, and simplistic explanations of reducing inhibitions raise more questions than providing answers (Pihl & Sutton, 2009). According to Parker and Auerhahn (1998) and Valdez, Kaplan and Curtis (2007) identifying this relationship and interrelated factors influencing the relationship requires thorough investigation into the different levels, namely individual, situational and larger social setting, in which violence occurs. Hence, the application of Goldstein's tripartite conceptual framework to explore and understand the causes and consequences of the substance abuse-violence nexus. Additionally, Goldstein's tripartite conceptual framework provides a classification system into the nexus between substance abuse and violence. In this way, the findings from the current study can be evaluated to identify the most prominent level of substance related violence within this particular Cape Flats community.

2.9.   Conclusion

This chapter presented literature on research conducted in the fields of community violence and substance abuse by highlighting pertinent themes relating to the 'substance abuse-violence' nexus. Further, it outlined the theoretical framework used within the study. The following section,

Chapter Three, details the method of the study i.e. the methodological framework, research

context and the data collection and data analysis processes involved in the research study.

CHAPTER THREE: METHOD

3.1. Introduction

In recent years, approaches to research with children acknowledged the importance of listening to children and understanding them as active agents in their own development. In addition, these participatory approaches have begun to filter through to studies that seek adolescents' opinions on the violence they experience (Parkes, 2008; Savahl et al.,2013). South African children are exposed to vast levels of community violence and the desire for change is directed at research that engages children directly in order to reflect on the violence of their social worlds and inevitably begins to transform it (Parkes, 2008; Shields et al., 2008). Accordingly, the method utilised in this study resonates with the sentiment above, and is the focus of this chapter. This chapter presents the methodological framework, and provides descriptions of the participant selection, data collection, data analysis, the procedure employed, as well as the ethical considerations of the study.

3.2. Methodological framework

In accordance with the aim and objectives of the study, an exploratory qualitative methodological framework was followed. Qualitative research is often used to study phenomena that are not well understood or not extensively researched (Ritchie, 2003). It attempts to capture the individual's point of view and subjective experiences by investigating subject matters that are intangible, such as perceptions, as well as sensitive matters that may be emotive and distressing (Ritchie, 2003; Snape & Spencer, 2003). Additionally, qualitative research is aimed at gathering in-depth information by means of exploring perceptions, attitudes, and experiences (Boxill, Chambers & Wint, 1997).

3.3. Research Context

The research study was conducted in an impoverished community that forms part of the greater Cape Flats region. It is located approximately 20 kilometres from Cape Town's Central Business District. The total population of this community, during 2007, was 19 576; the majority of the residents were 'Coloured' (19 169), 111 were 'Black', 33 were 'Indian', and nine were 'White' (Okecha, 2011). The community can be categorised as a low- to middle-income area where the working-class earns an average of R2 800 (257.88 USD) per month and the unemployed population constitutes a third of the community (Okecha, 2011). The high levels of poverty, unemployment and overcrowding exacerbate social problems such as crime, violence and substance abuse in this community (Standing, 2003).

3.4. Participants and sampling

The sample consisted of 16 participants, 7 males and 9 females, aged 15-16 years. All the participants were grade 10 learners attending a secondary school within the community and residing in low income neighbourhoods within a three-kilometre radius of the school. Purposive sampling was used to select participants for the study, because it allows researchers to select sampling units based on their judgment of what participants may contribute to the study (Judd, Smith & Kidder, 1991). Accordingly, the participants were selected with the assistance of the life skills teacher; the selection criteria for the study were the grade of participants, knowledge of substance abuse and violence in the community as well as voluntary participation. Piaget's developmental framework states that adolescence is a developmental stage characterised by formal operational thinking in which individuals have the ability to think abstractly and logically

(Shefer, 2008). Consequently, adolescents in the study would have the capacity to apply reason to situations and make associations between substance and violence.

3.5. Data Collection

Data was collected by means of two focus group interviews. The focus group technique is a socially orientated research procedure that promotes self-disclosure. Children, in this instance, have the tendency to disclose sensitive issues about themselves (Krueger & Casey, 2000). A further motivation for utilising focus groups is that it generates multiple understandings and meanings owing to its unique element of interaction between participants as well as the interaction between the facilitator and participants (Halcomb, Gholizadeh, DiGiacomo, Phillips & Davidson, 2007). By creating a channel of free flowing communication, it allows participants with different experiences and views on a social phenomenon to make meaning collectively by interacting with each other (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Kubeka, 2008). Furthermore, focus groups represent the preferred data collection technique for elucidating information from children as they create a non-threatening environment where participants respond more easily (Savahl, 2010; Smithson, 2000) and enhance engagement between the researcher and the children (Krueger & Casey, 2000).

Two focus groups of approximately an hour each were conducted. The groups comprised eight participants each. Group one consisted of four males and four females; group two consisted of three males and five females. The size of the groups conforms to Barbour's (2007) suggestion i.e. eight participants per group for social research. Additionally, the research study employed a semi-structured interview format (see Appendix E), as the researcher was particularly interested in exploring and understanding themes from the participant's perspective in relation to substance-

related violence. The interview guide enabled the researcher to collect the necessary information such as participants' accounts of violence and substance abuse witnessed in the community (Willig, 2001). It comprised two focus areas namely community violence and the 'substance abuse-violence' nexus. The former contains six introductory questions pertaining to adolescents' perceptions of the violence in their community. The latter includes eight main questions to elucidate information on the three models of Goldstein's tripartite framework i.e. the pharmacological effects of substances and behaviour, the link between substance abuse and crimes, as well as the dynamics inherent in substance distribution within the community.

3.5.   Procedure

Once ethics clearance was obtained from the Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape, permission from the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) was obtained to conduct research in the school; and an initial appointment was made with the school. Upon contact with the school, the researcher was referred to the life-skills teacher for further arrangements. With the assistance of the life-skills teacher, the participants were purposively selected based on the selection criteria and voluntary participation. According to the Constitution of South Africa, participants in the study are considered minors; and the legislation guiding the participation of minors/children in research stipulates that minors may not independently consent to participate without active parental consent (see National Health Act 61of 2003, section 71). As such, parental consent forms and adolescent consent forms were distributed to participants and their parents/ guardians explaining the aims of the study, the participants' rights, as well as an invitation to participate in the study. On the day of the data collection, the facilitator and co-facilitator spent time with the participants to establish rapport before conducting the focus groups.

The focus groups were scheduled to be conducted during school hours; however, the focus groups were conducted after school to accommodate the participants. Both groups were conducted on the same day. In addition, with the permission of the participants the focus groups were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

3.6.   Data Analysis

A thematic analysis was performed to analyse the information gathered. More specifically, Braun and Clarke's (2006) theoretical thematic analysis techniques were used to align the research questions with the findings. Thematic analysis is a method of identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It is not merely organising and describing data, but it requires interpretation of various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis, 1998). Braun and Clarke (2006) recommend six phases of thematic analysis namely: data familiarisation, initial coding generation, searching for themes based on initial coding, review of themes, theme definition, and report writing.

Data familiarisation: During the familiarisation process, the researcher begins to think about what is happening in the data; for the researcher this commenced during the data collection phase. The process of transcribing audio- recordings interviews has been identified as an excellent way for researchers to start familiarising themselves with data (Riessman, 1993; & Gibbs, 2007). As such, the researcher opted to do the transcription of focus groups personally, so as to familiarise herself with the data. In addition, to become aware of the depth and breadth of the content of the data the researcher immersed herself completely in the data as recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006). Hence, repeatedly listening to the audio-recordings and reading through the transcripts several times was important for familiarisation (Howitt, 2010).

Generating initial codes: Once the researcher was familiar with the data, common ideas were identified and interesting patterns noted, the formal analysis commenced (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This phase involved identifying codes from the data. Braun and Clarke (2006) define a code as the most basic element of data that can be regarded as meaningful. As such, the process of coding is part of analysis, as the researcher begins to organise the data into meaningful groups. Already at this phase, the researcher was faced with deciding on the most appropriate approach to coding the data, which would ultimately determine whether the themes are more "data-driven" or "theory-driven". In keeping with aims and objectives of the study, the researcher decided on a theory-driven approach to initialise the coding process. As a result, the researcher coded the data to identify particular features of the data set that was informed by the researcher's theoretical position.

Searching for themes: This phase involves managing and sorting various codes into potential themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This may prove to be an arduous task as the researcher is faced with yet another decision as to what counts as a theme. Braun and Clarke (2006) state that "a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question" (p.10). With this in mind, the researcher relied on her judgement to determine what constitutes a theme. Once the initial codes were generated the researcher searched for themes by categorising codes into meaningful groups. During this process, codes were collated to generate themes, combined to form overarching themes, while other codes were discarded.

*Reviewing themes***:** After developing the tentative themes, they need to be refined. At this point, the researcher may come to realise that some themes are not necessarily themes because there is very little evidence in the data to support the theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Reviewing and refining themes is an iterative process (Howitt, 2010). The researcher constantly moved back

and forth between the selected extracts from the data and the entire dataset to assess the applicability of themes.

Defining and labelling themes: At this point, according to Braun and Clarke (2006), the researcher has gone through the process of developing tentative themes and refining them. Defining the themes requires that the label or definition capture the 'essence' of what each theme is about (i.e. determining what aspect of the data each theme captures as well as the themes in general). In addition, the labels speak to aspects of the data in relation to the research questions. Ultimately, the researcher is required to return to the collated data extracts pertaining to each theme and meticulously organise them into coherent and consistent narratives and accounts of the "story" each theme tells (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This phase concluded the refinement of themes. At the end of this phase, the researcher was able to ascertain what were worthy themes to be included and what were not. Once the themes were established, they were labelled in such a manner that they were conceptually distinguishable from each other. In addition, much thought was given to the names of themes in an attempt to give the reader a sense of what each theme was about.

Report writing: Final alterations in the analysis process were made before the researcher proceeded to the report-writing phase. It is important that the analysis (the write-up including data extracts) provides a coherent, non-repetitive and interesting account of the story the data tell within and across themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, the report should not merely provide data but rather go beyond description of the data, and build an argument in relation to the research question; this includes engaging with the literature to enhance data analysis by sensitising the researcher to nuances of the data (Tuckett, 2005). Since a wide range of factors were expected to be explored during the data collection phase of the focus groups, thematic analysis proved to be

best suited to summarise adolescents' perceptions on the ways in which substance use contributes to community violence.

3.7.   Validity

Validity refers to the accuracy of researchers' accounts of participants' realities or social phenomena. Therefore, it is not the data per se, but the inferences made by the researcher (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Maxwell (1996) offers a typology to understand validity within a qualitative methodological framework; it encompasses three main types of validity namely description, interpretation, and theoretical validity. Each of these types has distinct threats to validity. The main threat to valid description is presenting and describing observations made by researchers in such a manner that it results in inaccuracy or incompleteness of data. A major threat to interpretation validity is researchers imposing their own meaning or framework rather than understanding their participants' perspectives. The most common threat to theoretical validity is disregarding alternative perspectives and explanations of the phenomena under study i.e. neglecting the consideration of discrepant data (Maxwell, 1996).

Additionally, validity as a component of a research framework is the strategies employed throughout the research process to rule out validity threats (Maxwell, 1996). Typically, researchers use more than one strategy to validate their studies. The lens the researcher chooses to validate his /her study, and the researcher's paradigm assumptions, govern the choice of these strategies (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Authors such as Creswell and Miller (2000) and Maxwell (1996) suggest several strategies to help researchers establish the credibility of their studies. The

researcher employed several strategies to establish validation within the current study, and these are outlined below.

Memo writing refers to any writing that the researcher does other than actual field notes, transcription, or coding. It serves as a systematic and theoretical way of keeping track of all conceptualisations during the research process (Duchscher & Morgan, 2004; Maxwell, 1996). The researcher relied on writing memos as a way of recording ideas and thoughts while making sense of the topic, study setting, methodological and ethical issues. This served to be invaluable because it facilitated reflection and analytic insight.

Rich data and thick descriptions involve offering thick rich descriptions of the research settings, participants, and dominant themes within the data (Maxwell, 1996). Throughout this report, the researcher described aspects of the research in such detail as to give the reader a clearer understanding of the intricacies and process. The researcher utilized memos, the audio-recordings, focus group interviews, and transcripts of the data to enable thick descriptions.

Peer debriefing refers to the review of the research process and the data by others i.e. soliciting feedback from a variety of people, both those who are familiar with the phenomena under study as well as those who are strangers to the situation (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Maxwell, 1996). During the conceptualisation of the study, the researcher consulted with colleagues familiar with the substance abuse field to gain perspective and direction. At the data collection phase a co-facilitator assisted with the focus group interviews; after the interviews the researcher and co-

facilitator debriefed. Consequently, after transcription of the data the researcher had several consultations with the co-facilitator to aid in the analysis process.

Researcher reflexivity refers to the process whereby researchers report on their personal values, beliefs and biases that may shape the research (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Butler-Kisber (2010) highlights two key constituents of reflexivity; these are the researcher's subjectivity and the researcher's identity. Reflexive memos and identity memos are useful tools to do this (Butler-Kisber, 2010). Throughout the study, the researcher critically reflected on the research process and evaluated her understanding of various complex situations. Each phase of the research brought on new challenges that, inadvertently, changed her outlook. At one point in the conceptualisation phase, the researcher moved back and forth revisiting the literature in order to make sense of the 'substance abuse-violence' nexus. Logically new insights inform decisions on a theoretical and practical level. However, it was not that simple, because the researcher had to decide whether to modify or retain certain ideas, which proved to be a daunting task.

The researcher started conceptualising her study while an intern counsellor at Saartjie Baartman Centre for abused Women and Children. Since many of her clients at the centre were women subjected to domestic violence precipitated by substance abuse, it undoubtedly influenced her initial decision to focus on interpersonal violence i.e. domestic violence and substance abuse. However, after reviewing literature on violence and substance abuse, the researcher came across Goldstein's conceptualisation framework, and she decided to align her research aims closely to it. Consequently, the focus moved from interpersonal i.e. domestic violence to community violence.

The Saartjie Baartman Centre is located on the outskirts of Manenberg, a Cape Flats community similar to the research setting. This influenced the researcher's expectations and perceptions of the study setting and participants. Upon reflecting, she may have been too presumptuous about what would transpire from the research especially during data collection. Further, the researcher found it difficult to suspend her inclination to counsel the participants at distressing moments in the group sessions. However, during the study she remained cognisant of these possible factors influencing her interpretation of information and data.

3.8.   Ethical Considerations

The ethical considerations of the study were aligned to those stipulated by the Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape. Permission was obtained from the Western Cape Education Department to gain access to the school. In addition, permission was sought from the principal of the school. Informed consent was obtained from the parents or guardians as well as adolescents. Participants and their parents or guardians were provided with details of the study by means of written explanations regarding the nature and goal of the study and its possible advantages and disadvantages. Additionally, participants were informed of their rights in the research process; these rights include not being obligated to reply to any questions with which they were not comfortable. Participants were informed that their participation was entirely voluntary and participation could have been ceased if they so deemed necessary without consequence. Confidentiality was assured to the participants and it was maintained throughout the research process. In addition, participants were requested to not disclose any information and content of discussions outside the group. Within the thesis, participants' anonymity is maintained by utilisation of pseudonyms when referring to them. The data was privy to only the researcher

and supervisors. The audiotapes of the focus group discussions were securely stored. Counselling services were available if any emotional harm arose.

3.9.   Conclusion

This chapter presented the method of the study. The research context, characteristics of the participants, data collection and data analysis processes were described as well the procedure employed and ethical considerations of the study. The chapter described how the researcher ensured validity throughout the study. Chapter four of this thesis will report on the findings and interpretation of the data collected.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1.   Introduction

The aim of the study was to explore adolescents' perceptions of the influence of substance abuse on community violence. The following chapter presents the findings of the transcribed focus groups, utilising theoretical thematic analysis techniques proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). This form of thematic analysis provides a nuanced analysis of specific aspects of the data which is driven by the researcher's theoretical interests (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The discussion of thematic categories and themes was informed by the aims and objectives of the study as well as the literature and the theoretical framework in Chapter Two. The discussion comprises a range of responses among participants in each category. Excerpts of responses within the group discussions are presented to substantiate the thematic categories and themes. The participants' perceptions of substance abuse as a contributing factor to community violence pertained to a number of themes. Hence, the themes discussed are mutually inclusive as they often emerged in more than one category.

4.2.   Findings of the study

Four thematic categories were identified from the data. These categories were further divided into themes, which aided in the analysis process. In addition, the data is framed by Goldstein's tripartite conceptual framework (1985).

Thematic category one: Adolescents' perspective on the dynamics of community violence

   i) Violence prevalent in the community

   ii) Antecedents of violence

   iii) Adolescents' perspectives on the effects of exposure to violence

Thematic category two: Perceptions of the psychopharmacological influence of substances and violent tendencies

   i) Biological effects of consuming substances

   ii) Psychological effects of substances resulting in violent behavioural manifestations

   iii) Withdrawal and aggression

Thematic category three: Satisfying their needs: Substance abusers' criminality

   i) Property crimes

   ii) Interpersonal violence

Thematic category four: Substance distribution and violent patterns of interaction and trade

   i) Gangsterism and substance distribution

   ii) Drug dealing practices.

   iii) Unsettled debt

The following transcription convention was used to protect the identity and maintain anonymity of participants; within this dissertation, they are referred to as 'male participant' and 'female participant' respectively.

4.3.   Adolescents' perspective on the dynamics of community violence

Community violence is a ubiquitous source of vulnerability, stress, health risks, and adverse consequences for youth, because they frequently experience many forms of violence either as witnesses or as victims (Schiavone, 2011). Persistent exposure to violence in the everyday lives of adolescents is considered a major stressor that negatively affects their development and functioning (Schiavone, 2011). Adolescents' perception of their vulnerability and exposure to violence threatens their sense of security and well-being. Due to the effects of violent exposure,

understanding the concept of community violence from adolescents' perspective is imperative (Steinbrenner, 2010).

At the outset of the discussion, the researcher explored adolescents' understanding of violence. There was the sense that participants perceived their community to be *"a violent community"* and *"not a safe place"* with *"cruel people"*. It was apparent that the community had various manifestations of violence that attributed specific forms of violence occurring within their community and the adverse consequences for adolescents. These manifestations will be discussed below.

4.3.1. Violence prevalent in the community

Violence in South Africa manifests in various ways. As such, exposure to violence within a Cape Flats community is not uncommon. The participants expressed their experiences with various forms of violence. When exploring the term community violence participants responded by naming examples of violent acts such as:

Male Participant: *Ge-fightery, gun geskietery, mes gestiekery [fighting, shooting,*

                                  stabbing]

Female Participant: *Doodgemaakery [murder]*

Male Participant: *Rape…*

Male Participant: *Bullying...*

Female Participant: *Abuse*

Violent acts occurring in the community were easily identified and participants almost automatically referred to it. The instantaneous remarks made by the participants are an

indication of how these violent acts are familiar scenes within the community, further demonstrating that such violence is enmeshed in their daily lives due to its occurrence and proximity. Their understanding of violence typically prevailed as overt violence, which encompasses discernible physical or psychological violent acts (see Fudge, 2006).

Additionally, gangsterism, a more perpetual form of violence, was associated with community violence. Participants described how gangsterism exacerbates violence:

> *Female Participant: This gangsterism as well, this is community violence. Like they vandalise the walls or something and then that will be like their territory … And when they clash that will be like a big war.*

> *Female Participant: Like there's like … the 28s, 27s, 26s these are all numbers of the gangsterism group. The 26 they the roagies they go out looking for money or for something. They always got out looking for something. The 27 they only out for*

> *Male Participant: Your blood*

> *Male Participant: The 28s is looking out for your bum*

Participants discussed the infamous "Number gangs"[2]. The gang comprises   three gang formations (the 26s, 27s, 28s,) that originated from a prison in Johannesburg, South Africa.

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[2] The 'Numbers gang' take inspiration from a historical figure Nongoloza Mathebula. The 26s were responsible for accumulating wealth for all three gangs or camps; however it was not through violence but trickery. The leading role of the 28s was to fight on behalf of three camps for better conditions in prisons, and they were also permitted to have sex amongst themselves. The 27s were the guarantor of gang law; they would keep the peace between the three gangs and they would right the wrongs i.e. revenge and bloodshed (Steinberg 2004).

Each with their own banditry and signature undertakings (Steinberg 2004), they constitute a formidable force in prisons and communities across South Africa. Participants aptly described the modus operandi of these gangs which shows an astonishing familiarity with the gang culture. At a particular point in the discussion, gangsterism dominated participants' responses. It appeared to be omnipresent and formed part of participants' understanding of community violence. The discussion on gang violence depicts the depth of their knowledge and awareness of the complexities of gang culture on the Cape Flats. For example, participants explained how rivalry over territory between different gangs usually escalates, which is believed to be the root cause of gang wars.

4.3.2. Antecedents of violence

Participants were aware of the contextual factors perpetuating the levels of violence in the community. In the discussion, they identified motivations and contributory factors for violent behaviour:

Female Participant: *It's like also the way you grow up*

Female Participant: *A poor person working for a merchant…It also part of poverty, because he is poor, he is looking for a living… and now he don't have the qualifications to get a decent job or something*

Male Participant: *It is all drug-related*

Male Participant: *Media wise … they are seeing these things*

The participants had insight into the dynamics and causation of violence in their community, explicating how the community context gives rise to the violence. They perceived violence to be a

result of socialisation, and the motivation to use violence is shaped by prior social experiences. Violence is perceived to be deep-rooted in poverty and social disorganisation. One participant discussed how poverty-stricken individuals enter into illegal systems for employment opportunities such as substance distribution. Further, participants believed that violence in the community is frequently associated with substance abusing lifestyles. This resonates with similar findings by Lund (2009) who suggest that adolescents' accounts of violence implied substance abuse to be an antecedent of the violence experienced or witnessed in violent communities. Participants felt that media had an influence on the violent behaviour because adolescents, especially, emulate what they are exposed to. In summary, participants alluded to the fact that there is not a 'single' factor that explains the high levels of violence.

4.3.3. Adolescents' perspectives on the effects of exposure to violence

The perceived effects of exposure to violence are extensive; adolescents expressed several difficulties because of violence:

Female Participant: *You fear that someone else will do the exact same to you. So you don't interact with people as you should.*

Female Participant: *Struggle to move on with your life*

Female Participant: *When someone does something to you, now it works on your mind and you won't be able to concentrate or do things.*

Participants shared similar feelings of dread and anxiety owing to their experiences of violence. To them, violence evokes fear that hinders the well-being and functioning of adolescents, because they live in fear of being at further risk for violent exposure. Colder, Mott, Levy and Flay (2000)

suggest that exposure to violence that is perceived to be uncontrollable induces more fear than violence that is seen as controllable. Participants also mentioned that being subjected to violence results in post-traumatic stress symptoms, impaired psychological functioning, and maladjustment. Furthermore, concerns were raised for children living in the violence-ridden community:

> *Male Participant:*   *...I don't know what kind of effect that would have on me but for me to see that almost every day walking through here all of that has a negative impact on certain things and on certain people.*
>
> *Female Participant:*   *Ya like he said, the little ones, has a negative impact, and when they older one day they will…. think oh this was right we could do this we could to that why not do it now we did it in the past.*

The adolescents displayed empathy for the vulnerability of younger children, especially concern for the well-being and development of children. It appeared that participants themselves were attempting to make sense of the violence by referring to the frequency of violent exposure and how, inevitably, the behaviour is normalised. Garbarino, Kostelny and Dubrow (1991) suggest that children who are frequently exposed to community violence have to cope with the demands of chronic exposure to violence i.e. they must adjust developmentally, taking on a new reality with new approaches to safety. Sadly, exposure to violence or other forms of social adversity during childhood often has a lasting effect into adulthood (Seeking & Thaler, 2011).

4.4.   Perceptions of the psychopharmacological influence of substances and violent

       tendencies

The thematic category arose when participants discussed the effects of psychoactive substances used in the community, including alcohol, crystal methamphetamine, cannabis, ecstasy, cocaine, and unga. Psychoactive substances are chemicals that cause physical or psychological changes within the user (Visser, 2007). The influence of psychoactive substances was associated with various violent and aggressive acts. Further, participants believed that violence cannot only be attributed to the consumption of the substances, but also linked to substance cessation or abstinence from substances that manifests in withdrawal symptoms.

4.4.1.   Biological effects of consuming substances

The participants were familiar with the physiological effects of substances. Most of them reflected on what they witnessed and experienced when they were in the company of people abusing substances. They claimed, for example "*It was that noticeable*" because substance abusers "*Fidget die heel tyd! [Fidget all the time!]*" These descriptions were also characterised by the participants mimicking behaviours and habits observed. The following extracts depict participants' knowledge of the biological effects of substances:

    Male Participant: It "work" with their brain

    Male Participant: Make you sleep in the day and then you are awake at night

    Female Participant: Hulle make heel tyd daai met die tande…. tjie tjie tjie [they repeatedly

                      make chee chee chee]

    Female Participant: Hulle voete gat heel tyd soo [their feet spasm]

> *MP: Pupils are dilated and their jaws are for example … its twitching… it is cold*
>
> *as hell but they are sweating*

The participants were knowledgeable of major bodily changes experienced by substance abusers such as dilated pupils, limb spasms, teeth grinding and excessive sweating. Their level of awareness and familiarity is indicative of exposure to these occurrences. The responses by some of the participants further demonstrated that their explanations were not anecdotal but rather accounts of their first-hand experiences. In addition, participants commented on the neurological effect of substances, suggesting that it has harmful effects on the brain when consumed. This is consistent with Boles and Miotto (2003) who found that biological factors play a role in the etiology of violent behaviour; altered levels of neurotransmitters (serotonin, norepinephrine, and dopamine) are recognized biological factors. Further, they believed that substances lead to disturbances in biological patterns such as sleeping.

4.4.2.   Psychological effects of substances resulting in violent behavioural manifestations

Participants blamed substances for the changes observed in individuals *"they don't do it because they mean it … they do it because the drugs tell them to do it"* indicating that individuals may not usually behave in that manner all the time *"dan change hulle"[then they change]*. The changes in psychological processes induced by substance abuse were widely debated during the discussions. The following illustrates this contention:

> *Male Participant: Depends on what drug you using*
>
> *Male Participant: There is substances that mellows you*

Male Participant: *E also make you hyperactive like this*

Male Participant: *Sometimes the drugs also let you talk to yourself*

Participants suggested that psychoactive substances fall into categories based on their properties and psychological effects. They alluded to stimulants, depressants, and hallucinogens. They exclusively referred to alcohol and other illicit substances that fall within these three categories. Whelan (2004) elaborates that substances are categorised depending on the effect the substance has on the central nervous system. The participants accurately mentioned the major psychological effect of stimulants is to excite the central nervous system (Moleko, 2007). One participant remarked "*then you think you are strong*" ; this demonstrates the associated effects of stimulants namely increased levels of confidence, energy, and physical activity. Stimulants included methamphetamine, cocaine and ecstasy (Rickwood et al., 2005). Depressants on the other hand slow down the central nervous system that induces feelings of relaxation and delays reflexes (Rickwood et al., 2005). Alcohol was the most common depressant discussed in the groups and violence was repeatedly attributed to it "*but the one substance that causes violence is alcohol*", because it has a disinhibiting effect on behaviour. Hallucinogens distort the function of the central nervous system and disturb perceptions, which results in illusions and hallucinations (Moleko, 2007). Parker and Auerhahn (1998) note that stimulants and alcohol are most likely the categories of substances that are responsible for the pharmacological violence that Goldstein (1985) made reference to.

The participants also made reference to specific cognitive effects associated with substance abuse and intoxication; this is demonstrated by the following excerpts:

Female Participant:	*… You versin gesuip you don't know really…don't know what is going on…*
Male Participant:	*If the drugs pull out of them they will tell you also that they didn't know what they were doing*
Male Participant:	*What I'm trying to say is they give themselves up when they drunk..*
Female Participant:	*Ya like maybe clubs or something and then the guys will like take the level to the next step cos they are now tipsy*

Participants discussed how alcohol induces intoxication i.e. an altered state of mind, where perceptual and thought processes are affected. Participants realised that substance abusers have a diminished state of consciousness. They expressed that individuals become disorientated, are not cognisant of their surroundings, and it is during this altered state that physical and behavioural changes occur. Furthermore, participants believed that when individuals are intoxicated they are more vulnerable and become victims of violence. Similarly, Boles and Miotto (2003) found that the most direct link between substance abuse and psychopharmacological violence is intoxication. Goldstein's (1985) psychopharmacological theory of violence purports that certain substances typically make individuals act irrationally, affect their behaviour to such an extent that it provokes violence, or make individuals susceptible to victimisation. In this instance, public intoxication was an invitation for violent victimisation and sexual assault; alcohol affects individuals' ability to respond appropriately to sexual assault. Similar to the current findings from Davis, George and Norris (2004), the study showed that alcohol intoxication is negatively correlated to resistance to sexual assaults.

In addition, the participants revealed how consuming substances causes mood and personality changes:

Male Participant: *If they like take that substance it gives them that ....that (facial expression and fists clenched) feeling… and aggression… ya and then they take it out on other people and then you would be walking down the road and that guy just finished smoked or something and then he just attacked you*

Female Participant: *All of a sudden you just start speaking nonsense and anything that you feel that you don't approve of… it triggers you and you now wana sort that problem out until you sort that out you won't be relaxed man… and so that means fighting with that person…*

Female Participant: *At first at first is it not always a problem when you start drinking when you are drunk then it is just so a big thing.*

Participants believed that substances have an immediate effect on a person's mood and personality. The abuse of substances, presumably stimulants, induces hostility, uncontrollable rage or violent behaviour. They also highlighted that individuals become erratic, irritable, short-tempered, and belligerent. While intoxicated or *"when you are drunk then it is just so a big thing"* because alcohol reduce inhibitions and situations are most likely to be misinterpreted by substance abusers and others. One specific situation mentioned was sharing substances, to illustrate:

Female Participant: The two of us we Tik. Now I buy Tik and you smoke with me but then there is no more then I'm gona start fighting with you because you did put nothing with.

Female Participant: Dan begin die mense mes te siek [then they start stabbing each other]

Participants reported that violence occurs among substance abusers when they collectively use and share substances. The "owner" of the substance may feel that it is unfair that the other person did not contribute but is benefiting. Inevitably, the arguments escalate and lead to physical fighting and stabbing. Ryan (1997) points out that victims of psychopharmacological violence can be just about anyone including substances abusers, and the violence erupts anywhere from the home to the street. As such, the psychopharmacological violence extends to sharing between substance abusers.

Participants elaborated on the behavioural manifestations of substances especially overt forms of violence:

Female Participant: *She doesn't become violent as in physical violent as in hitting but she become violent as in verbal abuse*

Male Participant: *Having fights because of uhm alcohol. They are drunk pass their limits and whatever which causes ...uhm harm. And taking out large kitchen knives*

Female Participant: *It triggers you... and so that means fighting with that person...*

The above quotes reveal that situations involving substance abuse intensified violent behaviour. Participants explained how substance abusers threaten and intimidate others to get their way when intoxicated. Besides the verbal aggression, substance abusers cause a great deal of harm to others specifically with regard to the physical violence they commit against others. Further, participants

stressed that violent behaviour and physical fighting were quite serious since they involved using weapons to inflict harm.

4.4.3.   Withdrawal and aggression

When exploring violent behaviour participants expressed that aggression and violence were not only associated with the consumption of substances but with the abrupt abstinence from the substance as well, as indicated below:

Female Participant: *No, they are more violent when they don't have it ….*

Male Participant: *You are frustrated because you feel the need for that drug and immediately you walk around frustrated because you need to satisfy that need*

Female Participant: *No only when they took a hit like say now … then they only hyper*

There was some contention regarding the effects of abstaining from substances. Some participants believed that the negative effects of substances, as discussed previously, were closely associated with the abuse of substances rather than not abusing. While most agreed that after using a substance for an extended period, substance users become violent when they cannot consume the substance anymore. In addition, the participants implied that substance abusers experience discomfort *"Ert jy dadelik [Immediately you'll get seizures]"*, physical and psychological dependence. As a result, they exhibit withdrawal symptoms, to such an extent that they would take out their frustrations on others to cope with the symptoms. As Moleko (2007) suggests, withdrawal occurs when an individual develops physical symptoms, or experiences psychological disturbances such as dysphoria when the person takes less of the substance or abstains completely.

Hamilton and Goeders (2010) offer support to this aspect of psychopharmacologic violence. They found that violence would frequently take place during acute withdrawal from methamphetamine, particularly after days of heavy use and not sleeping. Further, the participants associated withdrawal symptoms with the desperate substance seeking behaviour that translates into crimes; this will be discussed in the next thematic category.

4.5.   Satisfying their needs: Substance abusers' criminality

The third thematic category focuses on crimes committed by substance abusers in pursuit of obtaining their substances. This thematic category emerged as many participants referred to property and interpersonal violent crimes. Participants theorised that substance abusers' criminality is based on the following premise "*the thing that I would say influence the violence is the need for drugs*" and "*it's all just to take your frustrations out, breaking into other people's houses and cars steal certain things and then sell it for your selfish need*". According to Goldstein's (1985) economic model of violence, income-generating motivations rather than the effects of substances underscore crimes committed by substance abusers. Substance abusers live from 'fix-to-fix' and may need several per day to appease their addiction. As a result, their substance seeking behaviour and desperation for currency is precipitated by criminal violence. Standing (2003) states that illegal income-generating activities such as prostitution and dealing in substances, arms and stolen property, represent a major sector of the local economy on the Cape Flats.

4.5.1. Property crimes

The crime statistics presented by Burger, Gould and Newham (2010) depict that the majority (97%) of the increase in total crimes in South Africa is driven by increases in five property-related crime categories namely shoplifting, commercial crime, residential and business burglaries, and theft from motor vehicles. Participants contended that attaining substances seem to be a primary motive for property crimes in the community:

> Male Participant: *People on this drugs... they have no money to… they... they commit crimes like breaking into cars, stealing cd-players speakers, whatever theycan get….*
>
> Male Participant: *They steal anything….*
>
> Female Participant: *Like valuable items … say ma now that's a phone… for example then I now Tik and I don't have a packet of Tiks money and now i see your phone and I'm gona take your phone then I'm gona go to the merchant… arrange something…So that he can give me a packet they normally call it "punt", they punt the things*

Participants believed that, generally, substance abusers are not financially capable of maintaining their habit. Therefore they resort to property crimes to indirectly fund their habit. Substance abusers do not consider the value or the amount of cash of the acquired goods; *"they steal anything".* Participants also emphasised that substance abusers have specified patterns of criminal activity where they steal unattended goods and sell or "punt" it to others. Substance abusers also exchange goods directly for supplies by drug dealers. The most common crimes are burglaries and theft from motor vehicles, as identified by the participants. In accordance with the current

findings, the Victims of Crime Survey conducted by Statistics South Africa (2011) indicates that more than half (53,0%) of the sample perceived housebreaking to be the most common type of crime, followed by home robbery (49,7%), street robbery (40,9%) and pick-pocketing (28,5%). In addition, the participants mentioned that among substance abusers "*stealing each other's stuff, selling it*" is a common practice. Ultimately, substance abusers purchase their next supply of drugs from proceeds of crime. Substance abusers' sole purpose in committing crimes is to secure money for substances and involvement in economic crime is not motivated to act out violently.

Further, one participant noted an underlying mechanism of Goldstein's (1985) theory of economic compulsive crimes:

> *Female Participant: Sê nou hulle is used to it…. dan gan hulle begin te steel. [When they becomeused to it then they start stealing]*

The above excerpt is a confirmation of how the pharmacological dimension, specifically substance dependence, is associated with substance abusers' profit-orientated criminal activity. Plüddemann, Parry, Louw and Burton (2002) found that nearly 20% of the arrestees reported that they were under the influence of alcohol at the time of the alleged offence, and 16% were in need of a drink. Goldstein (1985) suggests that high priced substances such as heroin and cocaine are most relevant to this type of crimes. Participants mentioned that methamphetamine is most prevalent and quite cheap "*hier is R15 pakkies [there are R15 packets]*". Due to its addictive nature, methamphetamine is primarily associated with the compulsive criminal patterns typical of the economic dimension of Goldstein's theory, as one participant remarks *"walk whole night around looking for something to steal for Tik for the next day"*. Faupel (1987) interprets this

finding consistent with the term "street junkie" which is characterised by very little life structure and minimal substance availability. In a community characterised by economic impoverishment and individuals who have few resources, committing property crime to procure substances might be seen as more apt (Erikson, Macdonald, & Hathaway, 2009). Further, participants emphasised that interpersonal violence may be a secondary outcome to property crimes committed by substance abusers.

4.5.2. Interpersonal violence

Initially, participants spoke about non-violent property crimes committed in pursuit of obtaining substances; as the discussion progressed participants regarded robbery and murder as leading consequences of economically driven substance-seeking behaviours:

Female Participant: Ya you get this people that like rob other people and they hurt

                        people

Female Participant: They rob someone for money and that person don't want to give in,

                        they will actually kill that person to get that money.

Participants believed that substance abusers will most likely attempt to obtain funds or goods by robbing victims before resorting to grievous crimes such as murder. In other words, failure to secure goods through property crimes results in violence. As evidenced above, economic compulsive violence depends on contextual factors; for example, the victim resists the perpetrator's demands and is reluctant to give the targeted goods. Additionally, Goldstein (1985) reasons that violent criminal behaviour is the "last resort" because it may be too dangerous for the

abuser, he or she may lack a basic orientation toward violent behaviour while intoxicated, and the possibility of imprisonment if apprehended is greater.

Like the pharmacological violence, victims can be anyone. Inadvertently, substance abusers expose themselves to criminal violence. Below is an adolescent's account of this:

> *Female Participant:* *Now I see you going to the merchant. I saw the merchant give you yourstuff. Then I soma come and I rob you but I don't take phone or anything I just take that. That drug that you bought now then I'm gana takes it cos I self wana use it.*
>
> *Female Participant:* *But now I'm gona stand up for myself and I'm gona stand up for my pakkie then I'm gana tell you "Kyk hiesa ek en jy moor mekaar dan kyk ons wie kry die pakkie" so a something [but I'm going to stand up for my packet(of drugs), then I'll tell you let us fight for it, something like that]*

Participants explained that substance abusers are involved in unlawful activities with acquaintances or strangers who buy substances in the community. Substance abusers will take their chances in obtaining their next 'fix' by robbing others from their supplies. At the same time, substance abusers will not merely hand over their substances even when they are threatened with violence "*they threaten you with the knife*". This results in them purposefully engaging in fights to get substances. As such, violent victimisation and perpetration of violence are frequently interwoven. Further, the findings are indicative of how violence is normalised as a means of resolving conflict.

Another key element identified as economic compulsive violence is prostitution:

Female Participant: Sometimes women become prostitutes… Then if they get that money

then they give it back to the merchants and that merchants can then

get their drugs

The participant's remark above indicates that it is not uncommon for female substance abusers to turn to prostitution as a form of income to purchase substances. Sterk and Elifson (1990) suggest that there are two main routes into the worlds of substance abuse and prostitution. Firstly, substance-abusing individuals who are substance-dependent enter into the commercial vice to support their habits. Secondly, prostitutes start experimenting with illegal substances due to the availability and affordability of substances or as a coping mechanism (Sterk & Elifson, 1990). Plüddemann et al.'s (2002) findings indicated that women were generally more likely to be arrested in the 'other' category, which includes offences such as prostitution. Further, Sterk and Elifson (1998) deduce that aggressive patterns inherent in the prostitution and illicit-substance market are similar largely because they are subsumed within a common realm on black markets.

4.6.   Substance distribution and violent patterns of interaction and trade

The fourth thematic category to be discussed is the violence inherent in the substance abusing lifestyles and illegal substance trafficking and business methods. Participants commented on the channels of substance distribution in their community "*… drug dealers here... they buy by*

wholesalers" the dealers are those who directly distribute substances to substance abusers and the wholesalers are those responsible for supplying substances and making them available to distributors. Desroches (2001) explains that substance distribution systems are typically hierarchical, in which higher-level traffickers sell their goods to middlemen distributors who sell to other distributors or substance abusers.

4.6.1. Gangsterism and substance distribution.

Participants instinctively linked substance distribution to gangsterism. This is illustrated below:

> *Female Participant:*   *The Americans and the Varkies …hulle twee het a gang war hie in die Parkwood in. See cos it is drug-related… Die Americans raak kwaad omdat die Varkies meerder "werk" het … drugs nou neh…. En dan word die Americans kwaad en skiet hulle nou somme die Varkies. En dan kom die Varkies terug met a comeback …. En dan word daa innocent mense dood gemaak [The Americans and the Varkies have gang wars here in Parkwood. See, because it is drug-related. The Americans get angry when the Varkies have more "work" hey … drugs now….. And then the Americans get angry and they shoot at the Varkies. And then the Varkies come back with a comeback. And then innocent people get killed.]*

The above extract explicates that gangsterism *"is drug-related"*. More importantly, it reveals how substance-dealing practices are enmeshed in gang culture. Participants explained that the *"work"* of gang members is substance distribution. Hence, involvement with illegal substances is not for recreational (consumption) purposes, but rather occupationally orientated. Gang wars are a direct

result of one gang affiliation, *"Varkies,"* having *"more 'work'"* than the other *"Americans."*[3].

Although Esbensen and Huizinga (1991) found no evidence to support the claim that trading substances is an organised gang activity among all gang members, Loots (2001) states that gangs within the Western Cape region are sophisticated in their business operations and organised structures. "Drug use, drug sales, and violent offending are often considered the domains of gangs and their members" (Esbensen, Peterson, Freng, & Taylor, 2002, p. 37). Participants also mentioned that the gang affiliations make use of a series of pervasive violent acts to retaliate or to resolve conflict. Consequently, innocent people are caught in the crossfire.

Participants acknowledged that violence between gangs, substance dealers, and vigilantes have been precipitating factors to the community violence, as depicted below:

> *Female Participant:*   *And now the Parkwood is gona be more violent, because the PAGADs is here*

> *Female Participant:*   *They come marching down the streets and then they come to the merchants who sell the drugs ...sell the drugs… they just come…And then say ma now you the merchant neh …and we the PAGAD now... and then we come into your house and then we can come and search your place and that… And then when you find anything then they just slat you deuarmekaar [and when they something anything then they will beat you badly]*

---

[3] The *Americans* are considered to be one of the most prominent gangs on the Cape Flats (Paterson, 2003) while the *Varkies* are less popular.

Participants stated that gang violence and substance distribution were not the only sources contributing to the heightened levels of violence in the community. They conveyed that although a specific vigilante organisation, PAGAD (People Against Gangsterism and Drugs), aims to "*Make the world a better place",* it utilises violence when intervening, which sets the scene for new ascendancy battles. As a result, there are more incidents of violence within the community. Stated differently, participants implied that organisations aimed at regulating and eradicating gangsterism and substance distribution are counter-productive and contribute to community violence. Loots (2001) reports that the activities of vigilante groups have seen an increase in gang related violence. Substance distribution system violence can be seen as an economic phenomenon rooted in political and social contexts.

4.6.2.   Drug dealing practices

Communities are important for transmission and perpetuation of norms regarding substance abuse and substance distribution, especially in communities that are prime areas (Dunlap, Johnson, Kotarba, & Fackler, 2010). Typically, dealers originate from groups and places that are economically and socially disadvantaged, where dealing is perceived to be financially more rewarding despite the risks involved (Reuter, Macoun, & Murphy, 1990).

Participants believed that substance distribution is a lucrative business enterprise and those involved skilfully apply business principles in their ventures. Participants drew attention to the prevalence of drug marketing and how it constitutes a large part of the violence in the community "*...here's alota merchants here so there is always violence".* They sketched scenarios that give

rise to violence in the context of substance distribution. One participant expressed that violence

erupts when there are interferences with routine business operations:

> *Male Participant:*   *Messing with his business…. you walk in there start making a big*
>
>   *thing.. Customers or a buyer sees that they don't really wana go in*
>
>   *there because they wana keep a low profile …. So that merchant lost*
>
>   *… what …lost 2 buyers … that could have been what R 100 …R*
>
>   *200… also makes the merchant upset*

When outsiders impede on business opportunities, violence is believed to be the outcome.

Disturbances at a dealer's place of trade make customers hesitant to purchase "*because they wana*

keep a low profile" and this *"makes the merchant upset".* Substance distributors develop tactics

for reducing risk by adopting a tough street image and using retaliatory violence. Hence, violence

serves as a mechanism to control situations (Jacob &Wright, 2006).

Like all commercial ventures, substance distribution involves a great deal of competition. The

following excerpts depict how the competitive nature of substance distribution results in

violence:

> *Female Participant:*   *Ek het gesê oor die territory wat hulle oor baklei [I said that they*
>
>   *fight over the territory]*
>
> *Female Participant:*   *The one merchant now takes the other merchants customers*
>
>   *whatever.*
>
> *Male Participant:*   *Sê ma ek het nou by die merchant a drug gat koop en ek gaan na*
>
>   *daai merchant toe wat dieselfde drug verkoop… Dan gat hulle nou*

veroorsaak oorlog [Say for example I buy drugs from one merchant

and then I go to another merchant who sells the same drug… then

they will be at war with each other]

Participants mentioned that the competition mainly centres on clientele and distribution

territory. They discussed how substance dealing increases the incidence of violence due to the

competition of sharing market. These findings suggest that the notion of economic opportunity

is an underlying motivation in substance distribution systems (Collins, 1990). Participants

further explained that when customers purchase from different distributors selling the same

substance it translates into rivalry among distributors. A distributor will most likely retaliate

against others, for example *"another merchant he now just organises a drug bust"* and use

violence to keep his customers when they *"take"* his clients. When participants referred to

distribution territory, they described how substance dealers have allocated areas where they

usually do business and when others invade the space, it results in violence and wars. Leggett

(2002) believes that wars for territory and customers are major sources of violence, especially

in the Cape Flats. Jacques (2010) further explains that illegal substance markets are almost

entirely devoid of mediatory law and, as a result, the law is unavailable to substance market

participants, making retaliation a more likely consequence of conflicts. Impeding this problem

is that *"some of the cops are with the merchants"* and it is not unusual for dealers to bribe or

threaten law enforcement officials.

Although most responses echoed the aforementioned sentiment, one participant was of the opinion

that this was not the case in the community *"But hier is nie nog sukke conflict nie [but here's not*

that conflict]". Further this participant justified that **"***Bon en Jessie mert oorkant mekaar hoe*

lank [Bon and Jessie have been selling drugs across each other for a long time]" suggesting that

within the community some distributors operate in close proximity to each other without much

rivalry and may not necessarily resort to grievous violence like the many others.

4.6.3. Unsettled debt

The extract below elucidates how ruthless substance distributors become when customers owe

them money:

> FP: *Say ma now I'm the merchant neh and you the buyer now you buy by me.. But*
>
> *like you telling you'll pay me back in a certain period of time. Ok and I wait*
>
> *for that time ok I see you not pitching up. I appear in front of your door…or*
>
> *they use something… I hold you mother hostage I was like "where's my*
>
> *money?" don't give it … Ba! Ba! (Sound for gunshot) dead.*

The participant's account suggests that when substance abusers and customers fail to repay their

debt in time, dealers will track them down, at their homes for instance, and their lives are in

danger, "…*hulle haal jou af [Afrikaans expression for assassination]"*. Thus, shootings and

murders are consequences of not paying debt. Additionally, participants reported that victims of

this violence are also the family and friends of the customers who are used as leverage by dealers

to ensure payment (Ryan, 1997).

4.7.   Summary of findings

The findings from the study indicate that the participants' responses can be located within four

interrelated thematic categories, namely adolescents' perspective on the dynamics of community

violence, perceptions of the psychopharmacological influence of substances and violent tendencies, satisfying their needs: substance abusers' criminality, and substance distribution and violent patterns of interaction and trade. These categories align well with previous literature (see Affinnih, 2005; Boles & Miotto, 2003; Ryan, 1997).

The findings identify and explain violent acts in relation to substance abuse, as well as other forms of violence (gangsterism) that gained a certain amount of prominence in the community. Community violence is believed to have several antecedents, of which substance abuse is one. Further, there may be an additional risk of violence and criminal activity when other risk factors (e.g. gang involvement, unemployment or socialisation or media) for violence are combined. Violence is not simply a physical act, but a process in a broader context. The degree to which the participants were able to provide detailed accounts of violence clearly depicts their exposure to a wide variety of violence and criminal acts either as victims or witnesses in their community. The perceived effects of community violence concur with existing literature (Kliewer et al. 2006; Lambert, Ialongo, Boyd, & Cooley, 2005) explicating the adverse effects of frequent exposure to violence on children such as behavioural problems, psychological disorders, and the threat to safety and well-being. Further, children growing up in violent communities are at greater risk for both internalizing and externalizing problems (Luthar & Goldstein, 2008). Therefore, their perceptions of community violence and safety may influence their behaviour and the propensity to engage in risky, violent behaviour, or be in dangerous settings (Perez-Smith, Albus, & Weist, 2001).

Alcohol, methamphetamine, cannabis and cocaine were substances most commonly referred to by participants. Alcohol was perceived to be a major source of violence. Similarly, Seeking and Thaler (2011) found that excessive drinking was one of the leading causes of violence in Cape Town. Psychopharmacological violence appears to be interactional and differs according to substance categories. Therefore, understanding what substances make individuals more aggressive, at what doses and in what contexts, could possibly improve substance abuse treatment programmes, for example to better monitor withdrawal symptoms and reduce the harm associated with them. Further, **i**t is important to note that alcohol is not only a legal substance but also readily available in South African communities, highlighting the irony in legislation.

Casavant and Collins (2001) state that one should carefully interpret the suggestion that substances lead to violence because individual attributes (inherent violent tendencies, mental disorders) and societal factors (unemployment, social disorganisation, and impact of living conditions) might be ignored. Hence, exploration into the types and antecedents of violence proved to be useful for the application of Goldstein's tripartite model to analyse the effects of substance abuse at a micro and macro level in this community.

The psychopharmacological theory of violence aids in understanding the association between the effects of substance abuse and violence from a biological perspective. It considers the psychoactive properties of substances, typical effects on the human body, and acknowledges that each psychoactive substance category (stimulants, depressants, and hallucinogens) produces a distinct array of biological changes. In this case, stimulants are the most popular substance category, because they accelerate the central nervous system resulting in increased

levels of energy, aggression, and violence (Ryan, 1997). Substance abuse may also have a reverse psychopharmacological effect and ameliorate violent tendencies; depressants are known to inhibit aggression and violence when consumed in moderation. The underlying premise to understanding the 'substance abuse-violence' nexus from this point of view, is that substance abuse, whether long or short term, precedes violent outcomes either by triggering violence or by facilitating violent victimisation (Boles & Miotto 2003).

Further, in line with Goldstein's (1985) economic compulsive theory of violence, participants believed that both property crimes and interpersonal violence were primarily motivated by obtaining currency to purchase substances or failure to do so. The findings show that the three forms of violence proposed by Goldstein (1985), are interrelated. Property crimes precede violent interpersonal crimes where violence is a result of contextual factors. In many cases, violence stems from robbery that has gone wrong i.e. victims resist perpetrators. Substance abusers themselves are victims or perpetrators of economically orientated violence. Thus, it would be interesting to see how the economic compulsive model differs in the general population compared to substance abusers (with a greater likelihood of experiencing it). Further, substance abusers enter into prostitution to procure substances. A number of factors govern substance abusers' choice of criminal activity; these include the amount of money or value of the acquired good, the avoidance of apprehension, potential involvement of bystanders, and the urgency for currency. In essence, property crimes precede any other form of crime, as it is a direct measure for obtaining funds for supplies.

Additionally, findings suggest that substance dependence is an underlying mechanism for crimes committed by substance abusers for the procurement of substances. Goldstein's (1985) psychopharmacological theory of violence may be relevant in further explaining the economically compulsive violence on the 'substance abuse-crime' nexus, because substance abuse and the social contexts in which it occurs are etiological factors of criminal behaviour. Further, due to the nature of substance-related crime, the impact on law enforcement may be far-reaching and current measures may need to become more sophisticated to deal with the volume and complexity of cases.

In Goldstein's (1985) systemic model, violence is intrinsic in involvement with any illicit substances and is characterised by aggressive patterns of interaction within the system of substance distribution. Affinnih (2005) noted that systemic violence has two dimensions, the one is linked to the system of distribution and the other is linked to the system of substance abuse. Findings of the current study suggest that examples of both are readily available in the community. Systemic violence should not be viewed as simple substance transactions, as complex social and economic factors are involved (Moore, 1990). Substance distribution along with systemic violence occurs in contexts with high rates of interpersonal violence, economic disadvantage, and social disorganisation where there is an absence of or ineffective social control (formal or informal). Goldstein (1985) states that substance abusers become involved in substance distribution as their substance-abusing careers progress and, hence, an increased risk of becoming a victim or perpetrator of systemic violence. Systemic violence often goes beyond those involved in the system of distribution and it affects community members both directly through injury or death and indirectly by disrupting community life.

From the study, there is confirmation that the three dimensions of Goldstein's (1985) theory are not to be understood in isolation. The psychopharmacological dimension and substance dependence are closely associated with crimes characteristic of the economic compulsive dimension, and the substance-abusing dimension is embedded in the substance distribution dimension.

In a community plagued by substance abuse, violence reduction strategies should focus on reducing the psychoactive effects of substances and modify behavioural patterns. It is important to provide programmes to perpetrators of substance-related violence to circumvent the perpetuation of violence. This translates into provision of adequate substance abuse treatment services for abusing substances individuals (Moleko, 2007). An emphasis should be placed on primary prevention, particularly during adolescence and youth from initiating substance abusing behaviours (Moleko, 2007). Primary prevention interventions include school-based programmes and community interventions projects that seek to educate individuals on the risks and dangers of substance abuse and empower youth by reducing the risk factors and enhancing facilitating factors, life skills that enable youth to develop healthy coping mechanisms.

Facilities providing mental health care services to youth mitigate the impact of exposure to violence. Youth care facilities and programmes in community and school settings play a significant role in providing safe spaces for individuals exposed to and traumatised by the violence witnessed or experienced. These facilities may arguably provide support to those who may not receive any form of social support from their families or friends. In addition, these facilities are beneficial for youth when they seek to empower and foster resilience in youth. In this

community, therapeutic interventions should also aim to evaluate the health outcomes such as post-traumatic stress disorder, depression and anxiety for youth.

4.8. Conclusion

This chapter presented the findings of the study. Four thematic categories were identified from the data that were closely aligned with Goldstein's tripartite conceptual framework. The following section concludes the dissertation by highlighting the limitations to the study as well as making recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

5.1. Introduction

With escalating crime rates and high prevalence of substance abuse throughout South Africa there is no doubt that these phenomena are deeply entrenched in society and impact on social relationships and social systems. There has been an increased focus on the relationship between violence or crime and the abuse of various substances. Previously this relationship has been explored to predict trends for substance abuse and violent crime, and to provide quantitative data aimed at informing policy influencing both crime and the control of substances and substance abuse prevention programmes (Plüddemann et al., 2002). The current study aimed to qualitatively explore the 'substance abuse-violence' nexus by focusing on Goldstein's conceptual framework of violence. As such, the findings of the study may broaden previous research knowledge as it provides valuable information that helps one understand how community violence is precipitated by substance intoxication; the nature of substance-related crimes; and how violence and crime are associated with substance distribution and markets. More importantly, the study elucidated adolescents' perceptions of the influence of substance abuse on community violence.

Findings of the study show that this specific group of adolescents perceive their community to be violent and unsafe with various forms of violence directed at all members of the community. In line with the aims and objectives of the study i.e. exploring adolescents' perceptions of the 'substance abuse-violence' nexus, participants believed that the psychopharmacological effects of certain substances do in fact precipitate aggression and violent behaviour. Accordingly, during intoxication, individuals act impulsively and irrationally because they become irritable and

belligerent due to the effects of the substance. In addition, once substance abusers become substance-dependent they experience withdrawal symptoms during abrupt cessation that make them aggressive. Further, participants believed that property crimes are primarily the outcomes of substance-seeking behaviour and then it is followed by violent interpersonal crimes and prostitution in female substance abusers. Substance distribution was perceived to be concomitant with gang affiliation. Violence was further attributed to drug dealing practices constituting rivalry for clientele and territory, and substance abusers are subjected to violence inherent in substance dealing if/when they do not pay their debt. In summary, the findings of the study concur with and attest to the psychopharmacologic model of violence, economically-compulsive model of violence and the systemic model of violence as proposed by Goldstein in his conceptual framework.

Further, the findings from the study demonstrate how violence manifests from substance abuse. Therefore, it provides valuable information that can inform interventions aimed at reducing the different forms of violence and crime assisted with the abuse of substances and violence associated with substance dealing. The findings suggest that it is important to understand the contexts (e.g. an intoxicated state, the compulsive need to procure substances or retaliating against others for clientele) in which substance abuse becomes a precursor of violence as it may help address mechanisms of violence and crime. To illustrate, methamphetamine is associated with severe withdrawal symptoms; understanding the dynamic of this finding may help extend the focus of intervention programmes to include alleviating the symptoms of withdrawal more effectively.

The significance of Goldstein's tripartite conceptual framework of substance abuse and violence is twofold. One, it is a simplified framework that relates different types of violence to the different effects of substances. Two, Goldstein's framework is hypothesized to represent three primary relationships between violence and substance abuse i.e. psychopharmacological model, economic model, and systemic models; yet it acknowledges that these models interact with many other factors while still retaining their ability to explain violent behaviours in relation to substance abuse. However, Goldstein's framework lacks the ability to distinguish the types of substances that are most relevant to the three models.

5.2.   Limitations

The limitations of the study occurred during the search for relevant information for the literature review and analysis process. With regard to the search for relevant information within the South African context in relation to Goldstein's tripartite conceptual framework or the three dimensions independently, it was clear that very few studies have been conducted in this area. More specifically, finding relevant and empirical literature on the systemic dimension proved a difficult task, especially during the analysis phase when synthesising information and relating the findings to other studies conducted. This may be attributed to the fact it is difficult to conduct scientific investigation due to the gravity of the topic (Moore, 1990).

5.3.   Recommendations

It is important for interventions aimed at reducing substance abuse to focus on both the individual as well as the societal level. For example, alcohol intoxication is a leading cause of violence, hence improved efforts should be made to effectively treat the effects of alcohol

intoxication at an individual level. At a societal level, the availability of alcohol in the community exacerbates the alcohol abuse; therefore reducing alcohol availability would inevitably reduce the harm and violence associated with alcohol intoxication.

The participants strongly emphasised the prevalence of violence and crime and its impact on the well-being and development of younger children in their community. This speaks to the ubiquitous adverse effects of exposure to violence. It is recommended that there be safer spaces (secured school and leisure settings) provided for children and young people that foster optimal development. Further, participants believed that the police and law enforcement officials were not protecting the community. Further, more effective law enforcement strategies would safeguard and aid in creating safer spaces in the community. In addition, some of the concerns raised by participants are indicative of the need for therapeutic interventions directed at children exposed to the high levels of violence.

Future research should explore the etiological explanations of substances on violent behaviour by investigating separate linkages for violent behaviour preceded by intoxication, violent behaviour associated with the procurement of substances or funds to obtain them, and violence that stems from interpersonal interactions in drug selling activities.

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WESTERN CAPE

Title of Research Project: Exploring adolescents' perceptions of the influence of substance abuse on community violence within a Cape Flats community

What is this study about?

This is a research project being conducted by Gadija Khan, a masters student, at the University of the Western Cape. I am inviting you to participate in this research project because you are an individual between the ages 15 and 17 years residing in a specific Cape Flats community specified for the study. The purpose of this research project is to explore adolescents' perceptions of how substance use influences the violence in the community.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

You will be asked to participate in a focus group discussion with your fellow peers. The focus group discussion will ask questions regarding the influence of substance abuse on community violence. The focus group will take place in the afternoon school with the permission of your principal and teachers. The focus group will take no longer than 60 minutes. With your permission, the focus groups will be audio-recorded.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

I will do my best to keep your personal information confidential. To help protect your confidentiality, the information provided will be totally private. The audio recording will be kept securely where only the investigator has access to it. No names will be used so there is no way you can be identified for participating in this study. The information will be anonymous and treated confidentially. If I write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent. In accordance with legal requirements and/or professional standards, I will disclose to the appropriate individuals and/or authorities information that comes to my attention concerning child abuse or neglect or potential harm to you or others.

 What are the risks of this research?

There are no known risks associated with participating in this research project.

What are the benefits of this research?

This research is not designed to help you personally, but the results may help the investigator learn more about adolescents' views. I hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from

this study through improved understanding of adolescents perceptions of the influence of substance use and violence.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized. Participation in the research is not a course requirement.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

Every effort has been taken to protect you from the any harm in this study. If however, you may feel affected in any way by the questions asked during the focus group discussions you will be referred for counselling.

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by Gadija Khan, psychology department at the University of the Western Cape. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Ms. Gadija Khan at 073 9492 604, email: 2825149@uwc.ac.za.

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Head of Department: Prof K.Mwaba

Dean of the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences: Prof H. Klopper

University of the Western Cape

Private Bag X17

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This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee.

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What is this study about?

This is a research project being conducted by Gadija Khan, a masters student, at the University of the Western Cape. I am inviting your child to participate in this research project because he/she is a 15 to 17 year old residing in a specific Cape Flats community specified for the study. The purpose of this research project is to explore adolescents' perceptions of how substance use influences community violence.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

Your child will be asked to participate in a focus group discussion with fellow peers. The focus group discussion will ask questions regarding the influence of substance abuse on community violence. The focus group will take place in the afternoon after school at school with the permission of the principal and teacher. The focus group will take no longer than 60 minutes. In addition, the focus groups will be audio-recorded.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

I will do my best to keep your child's personal information confidential. To help protect your child's confidentiality, the information provided will be totally private. The audio recording will be kept securely where only the investigator has access to it. No names will be used so there is no way your child can be identified for participating in this study. The information will be anonymous and treated confidentially. If I write a report or article about this research project, your child's identity will be protected to the maximum extent. In accordance with legal requirements and/or professional standards, I will disclose to the appropriate individuals and/or authorities information that comes to my attention concerning child abuse or neglect or potential harm to you or others.

What are the risks of this research?

There are no known risks associated with participating in this research project.

What are the benefits of this research?

This research is not designed to help you or your child personally, but the results may help the investigator learn more about adolescents' views. I hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of adolescents perceptions of the influence of substance use and violence.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?

Your child's participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to grant permission for your child to take part at all. If you grant your child permission to participate in this research, he/she may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to, your child will not be penalized. Participation in the research is not a course requirement.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

Every effort has been taken to protect your child from any harm in this study. If however, he/ she may feel affected in any way by the questions asked during the focus group discussions counselling service will be made available.

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by Gadija Khan, psychology department at the University of the Western Cape. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Ms. Gadija Khan at 073 9492 604, email: 2825149@uwc.ac.za.

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Head of Department: Prof K. Mwaba

Dean of the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences: Prof H. Klopper

University of the Western Cape

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APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM (LEARNER/CHILD)

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Title of Research Project: Exploring adolescents' perceptions of the influence of substance abuse on community violence within a Cape Flats community.

The study has been described to me in language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and that I may withdraw from the study without giving a reason at any time and this will not negatively affect me in any way. I understand that I am required to keep information discussed during the focus groups confidential.

I confirm that I have read and understand the nature of the research study and agree to participate in my individual capacity.

Participant's name………………………..

Participant's signature……………………………….

Witness……………………………….

Date………………………

Should you have any questions regarding this study or wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Study Coordinator's Name: Ms. G. Khan   **Supervisor: Dr. S. Savahl**

Telephone: 073 9492 604   **Telephone: 021 959 2615**

Email:2825149@uwc.ac.za   **Email:ssavahl@uwc.ac.za**

Thank you for volunteering to participate

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Title of Research Project: Exploring adolescents' perceptions of the influence of substance abuse on community violence within a Cape Flats community.

The study has been described to me in language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand that my child's identity will not be disclosed and that he/she may withdraw from the study without giving a reason at any time and this will not negatively affect him/her in any way. I understand that my child is required to keep information discussed during the focus groups confidential.

I confirm that I have read and understand the nature of the research study and permit my son/daughter to participate in this study

Participant's name………………………..

Participant's signature……………………………….

Witness……………………………….

Date………………………

Should you have any questions regarding this study or wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Study Coordinator's Name: Ms. G. Khan   **Supervisor: Dr. S. Savahl**

Telephone: 073 9492 604   **Telephone: 021 959 2615**

Email:2825149@uwc.ac.za   **Email:ssavahl@uwc.ac.za**

**Thank you for volunteering to participate**

APPENDIX E: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

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Community violence

1. What do you think of when you hear the term violence?

2. What do you think community violence is?

3. How would you describe a violent community?

4. Have any of you ever experienced violent incidents before? Explain.

5. If you think of your own community, do you consider it violent? Can you give me reasons for why you say that?

6. How often do violent incidences like this happen?

Community violence and substance abuse

1. What do you think are some of the reasons for the violence in the community?

   - Probe:

     ➢ Psychosocial.

     ➢ substance abuse,

     ➢ criminal and gang activity,

     ➢ poverty

2. How does substance abuse affect people's behaviour in the community?

3. How does abusing substances influence violence occurring in your community?

4. How do you think abusing substances can be linked to violence in your community ?

- Probe:
    - substances induce violent tendencies
    - interpersonal crimes

5. How do you think substance abusers obtain their drugs?

    - Crime

6. How does the ways in which substance users obtain their drugs influence the violence experienced by other communities?

7. What do you know about drug dealing in your community?

8. In what ways do drug dealing influence violence?