

# THE VALUES FORMATION OF CHILDREN GROWING UP IN AN INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

by

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## **DEDICATION**

This research is dedicated to the pre-adolescent participants engaged in this research who were a central driving force and motivation, and to all young people engaged in the ongoing search for their true selves on their personal journey of life.

May you live from what is best in you.



*'Each one of us needs all of us.*

*I cannot separate my humanity from the humanity of those around me because none of us is greater than all of us. We cannot succeed on our own.*

*We need each other – there is an eternal bond of reciprocity between us.'*

*(Mbigi, 2005:69).*

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*'To God be the glory, great things He has done....'*



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## ABSTRACT

This study explored the phenomena of pre-adolescents growing up in an informal settlement and explored how needs and wants influenced their value and moral formation. The research was located within the specific context of a qualitative interpretivist study. A phenomenological research design was used to highlight how these young people construct their personal identities rooted in their unique value and moral structures.

The criteria used to choose the participants included pre-adolescents between the ages of 10 and 14 who lived alone without parental care or who were left alone for long periods during the day. The selected participants were young people who were daily exposed to adverse conditions and who had to make real life choices. Data on how these pre-adolescents viewed their situation were collected using stick figures, collages, drawings and observations, followed by in-depth individual and focus group interviews and discussions on moral dilemmas. The aim of interviewing the young people personally was to explore their own views of the realities of their lived experiences and how they perceived the world around them.

From the empirical evidence and the theories studied a number of significant themes emerged that indicated a strong need for emotional and social support, besides their obvious material needs. The major themes were (1) family and community, (2) emotional needs, (3) financial and material needs, (4) protection and security, (5) moral choices and needs, (6) education and (7) religion.

The findings of the study revealed that individuals progress through various stages of moral growth and development as they grow from childhood to adulthood, and that children are not born with an innate moral or value system. These have to be taught through the process of socialisation whereby they learn social values, morals, attitudes and expectations as these are communicated from one person to another. The findings

also showed that these young people are able to act in a caring, concerned, altruistic and resilient manner, just as much as they are able to act in a destructive manner. These young people are as able to do good just as they are able to do bad things. They have a strong sense of moral rightness and wrongness and the values that underpin morality. It showed that even when their basic human needs are unmet they can still make choices that reflect good moral values. They have the capacity to transcend themselves and to make radical change in their personal lives and in turn contribute to the well being of a better society.

Since this was an exploratory study of specific marginalised young people in a particular environment which focused more on pre-adolescents' espoused theory and how they would act if faced by moral dilemmas, it suggests the need for further exploration and research on the theory in action by studying the reasons why pre-adolescents engage in at-risk behaviour.

**KEY WORDS:**

Pre-adolescents, marginalised, informal settlement, African Ubuntu, needs/wants, human values, moral development, choices, behaviour, formation.

## ABSTRACT

### SENAGANWA ‘ TLOŠO

Thuto ye e hlohlomiša ponagalo e kgolô ya baswa bofalalelong bjo e sego bja tlwaelo, gomme ya hlohletša ka moo dinyakwa le dihlokwa di tutueditšego popego ya metheo le setho.

Nyakišišo ye e ile ya ela khwalithi ya seo se nyakišiswago tlhoko. Go somišitšwe moakanyetšo wa phatišišo ponagalo go tšweletša ka fao baswa ba bopago boitšhupo bjo bo letšego popegong ya mehola le boitshwaro bja bona. Kêlo ye e šomišitšwego e aparetše baswa gare ga mengwaga ye 10 go iša go 14; bao ba phelago ba le tee, go se na tlhokomelo ya batswadi goba bao ba tlogelwago ba le tee nako ye telele mosegare. Batšeakarolo be e le baswa bao ba bego ba lebanwe ke maemo a šoro gomme ba swanetse go ikethela tsela. Data ya ka moo baswa bao ba lebelelago maemo a bona, e ile ya kgoboketšwa go šomišwa diphata, dibopego tšeo di gomareditšwego, dithalwa le temogo ye e latelwago ke poledišano le mongwe le mongwe, goba sehlopha ka ga mathata a boitshwaro.

Maikemišetšo a poledisano le baswa ke go nyakišiša dikgopolo tša bona ka ga bonnete bja maitemogelo, le ka moo ba bonago lefase.

Go tšwa bohlatšeng bja boitekelo bjo, le go teori tše di nyakišitšwego, go bonagetše nyakego ya thekgo ya khuduego le leago, gape le tša dinyakwa tša bophelo. Dintlhakgolo di bile (1) lapa le tikologoleago (2) dinyakwa tša moya (3) dinyakwa tša tšhelele le didirišwa (4) tšhireletšo le potego (go lotega) (5) boitshwaro le dihlokwa (6) thuto (7) bodumedi.

Dikhwetšo tša thuto ye di utollotše gore mongwe le mongwe o tšwelela dikgatong tše mmalwa tša kgolô ya boitshwaro le tšweletšopele ge ba ntše ba gola go tšwa bjaneng go

ya bogolong; le gore bana ga ba belegwe ba na le mokgwa wa maitshwaro wa tlhago.

Tšeo di rutwa ka tsela ya phedišano; ka fao ba ithute kagišano, maitshwaro bjale ka ge di hlagiswa ke batho ba bangwe.

Khumano e laeditse gape gore baswa ba kgona go hlokomela, ba amege, ba be le phanô, gape ba itshware ka tsela ye e sa swanelago.

Baswa ba kgono dira botse, ba fetoge ba dire bobbe. Ba na le moya wa setho le moya wa tshenyo; gape le theô ye e laetšago maitshwaro a botse. E bontšhitse le gore, le ge dinyakwa tša bona di sa kgotšofatswe, ba kgono kgetha ba laetše maitshwaro a mabotse.

Ba na le maatla a go feta mathateng, ba fetole maphelo a bona gomme ba be le kabelo go kaonafatša tikologoleago.

Ka ge se e bego e le fela thutotlhotlhomišo ya baswa bao ba lego mellwaneng ya bophelo tikologong e itšego, gomme ya ikamanya fela go teori ya baswa le ka moo bat la itshwarago, ge ba lebanwe le mathata a setho, e laetša nyako ya tlhotlhomišo e tseneletšego, e tšwelago pele ka nyakišišo ya teori ye ka go ithuta mabaka ao a dirago maitshwaro a.

## MANTŠUTAETŠI

Baswa, Dinyakwa, Kgolô ya maitshwaro, Boitshwaro, Bao ba lego mellwaneng ya bophelo, Theô ya setho, Popego' Popo, Botho bja seafrika, Ba ipei leago, Dikgetho.

## CHAPTER 1. ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

*‘The most beautiful thing at the informal settlement where I live is that people help each other against crime. We fight crime together. We also help each other with food when we are hungry.’ (Jonquille, aged 13, research participant)*

*‘My biggest challenge growing up in the informal settlement in the midst of so many challenges is to remain unharmed and out of all trouble. I stay indoors, concentrating on my school work and to stay away from drugs and alcohol.’ (Geranium, aged 13, research participant)*

### 1.1. INTRODUCTION

The South African historic achievement of the April 1994 elections and thereafter can be acknowledged as the victory over apartheid by workers, students, the unemployed, and township and squatter camp dwellers. People’s rights as South African citizens to move freely in the urban areas at one’s own liberty had been denied for too long and hence when the walls of apartheid collapsed people took rightful ownership of their own country and began the long journey towards the urban areas for employment.

The movement from the rural African homelands to the urban cities has been witnessed by a rapid increase in the number of informal settlements that are home not only to thousands of misplaced and desperate adults but to thousands of young children and youths. The swift resettlement included people from the north, east, south and west of southern Africa. This journey, in my opinion, does not remain only on the physical level but engages the whole life form of individuals, taking on a spiritual, ethical, emotional, psychological, cultural and ancestral connectedness with the wider cosmos.

It is as the great poet and philosopher, John O' Donohue (2002), says:

*'A journey of discovery into the heart of our post-modern world, a hungry, homeless world that suffers from a deep sense of isolation and fragmentation. With the thousand-year-old shelter of divine belonging now shattered, we seem to have lost our way in the magical, wondrous universe'*

The nature of journey portrayed by O' Donohue (2002) and the one made by other people in search of physical shelter, food, work and belonging is at the heart of every human journey because it is each one's search to find meaning in our lives. Until we find belonging and meaning to put the pieces of our lives together we will remain restless, isolated and uprooted.

A typical example of this phenomenon is the establishment of 'No Resource,'<sup>1</sup> an informal settlement that has mushroomed north of the city of Tshwane. In an effort to secure a dwelling for themselves and their families, the adults erect makeshift shelters of cardboard and plastic salvaged from the surrounding dumping areas. In most of the international literature, the term 'squatter settlement' is used to describe all forms of informal housing (Emmett, 1992), but within the South African context, preference is given to the term 'informal settlement.' To physically describe an informal settlement Knight (2004) says it comprises, 'Rows and rows of shacks built of rusted metal and corrugated iron fixed together to form the shape of a housing structure. Plastic and cardboard are also used to reinforce these structures with an organic town planning of sorts giving it shape.'

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1 'No Resource' is a pseudonym used to protect the participants in this research.

From my observation, 'No Resource' appears more of an ad hoc establishment with mkukhus<sup>2</sup> erected randomly. Example of such dwellings can be seen in the photographs below:



**Figure 1.1 Mkukhus in No Resource settlement (source: author's own)**

In the search for new hope and prosperity within and across the borders of South Africa many of the children have been separated from their families. Because they are too young to be absorbed in the formal economy and often do not have the required documents to apply for social grants they become not only physically marginalised but also emotionally, spiritually and psychologically marginalised.

Being marginalised forces these children into a situation where they have to engage in at-risk behaviour to survive. They become victims of crime, alcohol abuse, gambling,

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<sup>2</sup> A mkhuku is a dwelling erected from corrugated iron sheets attached to wooden planks.



drug abuse, sexual exploitation, vulgar language, stealing, telling lies and violence. None of these children chose to be up-rooted but they belong to parents who need to search for work to provide for their families, mothers who seek shelter from abusive husbands, and to find meaning in life in order to maintain their integrity, and hence the children have to follow their parents.

This untimely and sudden uprooting of people from the rural areas to the frontiers of the major cities has given birth to the mushrooming of informal settlements. This phenomenon is one of the unforeseen consequences of the post-apartheid era and presents mammoth challenges to the government to provide adequate services and infrastructure. The consequences of living and growing up in such an overcrowded, under-resourced, malevolent and poverty stricken environment begs the question to the very essence of what it means to be human. Where, after all, do universal human rights begin?



**Figure 1.2 Mkhuku used as the after school care centre (source: author's own)**

*'In small places, close to home - so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person; the*

*neighbourhood he/she lives in; the school or college he attends; the factory, farm, or office where he/she works.*

*Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerted citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world' (Roosevelt, 2009).*

As an initiative to offer assistance, food, preliminary education and basic care for the children living in 'No Resource', the 'Paschal Mystery'<sup>3</sup> Sisters from a nearby Catholic Church within the Tshwane area have opened a morning crèche and after-school care centre. Daily, approximately 100-250 children can be seen at the centre. In the morning the sisters run a crèche for the small children and then in the afternoon the doors are open to the older children from eight years to 14. After two o'clock, when the official schooling is over, the children come to the centre, which is yet another makeshift arrangement, to be helped with their homework in a more conducive learning environment, have a meal, and then go home at five o'clock.

A dilemma that the children face daily is the absence of parents once they return to their makeshift home. The norm at the informal settlement is that everybody leaves their shacks early in the morning. The adults go in search of work, youths and women go to gather firewood, children to go school, others rummage through the dumps for what they deem valuable or go about the streets selling fruit, cigarettes and bread. Children are left to fend for themselves most of the day and at weekends.

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<sup>3</sup> The name 'Paschal Mystery' is a pseudonym used to protect the name of the religious congregation.

I have observed these children and from what I have seen I wonder what the values are of these children and how their values are influenced and altered by their marginalised situation.

I question what constitutes their moral development and how they learn morals. I wonder what lies deep in their hearts, minds and conscience as they question their own existence and purpose in life. I wonder how a child reasons why he/she has to share a small area with so many others who live in a shack and eat the leftover food dehydrated by the heat of the day with no water to moisten it.

I wonder on what fundamental principles these children make choices. I wonder who has taught them the foundational values of 'Ubuntu' and who cares how they live. Speculating upon my own wonderings and questions with regard to these children I feel deeply saddened that young lives have to be subjected to such harsh and actually inhumane conditions. It makes me question what it means to be human. What is the purpose of life? What is the destiny of these children? Who do they perceive themselves to be? What do they believe in?

I believe that the purpose of life is about living life to the fullest (John 10:10) and engaging in the passionate adventure of self-discovery and exploration in search of meaning, love, belonging and truth. In the light of my own beliefs I question what life means for these children. What options have they to make real, informed decisions for their future, and more pertinently, what options do have they to make any informed decisions for the present reality in the face of survival? In the course of this study, in this particular environment, I have to consider that we are engaging with people in a real situation. I am engaging with people who are human with an inner being made in the image and likeness of a Supreme Being, who live, think, act and reflect a reality deeper than the outer core of a physical form (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:14).

## 1.2. RATIONALE

In the light of the above observations, I embark on this study because my experience in working with young people (pre-adolescence) between the ages of eight and 14 years old throughout South Africa, Botswana and Swaziland has taught me that there is a rapid decline in the moral and ethical value formation of our country's young people which presents itself in non-acceptable social behaviour.

This is reflected when young people tell the stories of their lives and openly share their involvement in drugs and alcohol usage at parties; their engagement in voluntary sexual behaviour for sexual favours (often with older men and women, sugar-daddies/sugar-mommies); their part-taking in criminal activities such as stealing, vandalism, rape, robbery; and in general how telling lies and displaying dishonesty, disrespect, a lack of responsibility, and a lack of accountability.

While sharing their realities, in trusted small community groups, often what is overlooked are the deep needs and demanding wants that drive their behaviour. Actions are only manifestations of much deeper realities that are usually ignored. The cry for understanding and help to escape the net of enslavement and addiction goes unheard, and as a consequence, behaviour perpetuates itself in a vicious continuous cycle of misinformed choices. Our young people are thus sunk deeper in moral and ethical value degeneration.

For example, in July this year at the crèche, a four year old boy stabbed a small dog to death with a knife he was carrying<sup>4</sup>. One might wonder how a child could engage in

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<sup>4</sup> This incident took place at informal settlement crèche in July 2009 as reported by the child's grandmother to the crèche teacher.

such an activity. Through subsequent discussions with the child it was reported that he had witnessed his father stab his mother to death. Hence, it makes me wonder if the child will grow up with a skewed understanding of life.

When adults talk about moral development, they are referring to their conduct and attitude towards other people in society.

Two noteworthy individuals, Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg, studied the moral development of children. Piaget (1932; 1965) looked at how children develop moral reasoning. He found that young people make moral judgments based on consequences, and determined that younger children judge bad behaviour by the amount of damage caused by a person's behaviour (Huxley, 2002). Piaget (1932; 1965) deduced this finding by engaging children in moral dilemmas.

Kohlberg carried Piaget's work into adolescence and adulthood. He also told moral dilemma stories to these adolescents but he would ask them what they thought would be the right thing to do. Their answers led him to the discovery of three levels of moral development with two stages; namely the pre-conventional, conventional and post-conventional stages of moral development (as cited in Crain, 1985:118).

The whole question of how young people develop moral values has always been of interest to parents and teachers, but has, in recent years, received increased attention from psychologists and educators. Theoreticians and researchers have investigated the process by which children acquire values; among others, Piaget and Kohlberg are two significant researchers in this field (ERIC, 1976:3).

### **1.3. STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM**

The migration from the rural African homelands to the urban cities has been witnessed by a rapid increase in the number of informal settlements that are home not only to

thousands of misplaced and desperate adults, but to thousands of young children and youths. Being marginalised, young people are forced to live in conditions that expose them daily to violence, deprivation, starvation, isolation and lack of belonging and rootedness. Within the confines of their situation, young people, like all other people, struggle to meet their basic needs. The most basic need underlying all other needs is the need to survive and to exist (Glasser, 1993a:25) and therefore individuals will strive by all means to fulfil their survival need.

This raises the argument that, in the process of becoming an adult, our values and morals are influenced and tempered by our needs and wants and that the interplay between these forces shapes values formation and the moral being we become. It also raises the question as to whether young people are driven in their judgement by their needs and wants, or do they at least have some understanding of moral right and wrong and the values that underpin morality? The challenge I faced in this research is that children in their pre-adolescent years can seldom clearly articulate their values and therefore it must be inferred from those things that they regard as positive or negative influences in their daily lives. Children in their pre-adolescent years are still searching to understand what are morally 'right' behaviours and the reasons for them being good. As yet they have not developed their unique identity. They behave in a way that they think will please other significant people, for example parents or teachers (Lickona, 1983a:11).

As a consequence of not having internalised or crystallised fundamental principles and values that direct their behaviour, they often engage in risky and undesirable behaviour. The question that needs to be explored is whether 'values' and 'morals' are influenced by 'wants' and 'needs' in the process of making moral judgements and value-based decisions.

## 1.4. EXPLORATORY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To guide this research I explored the following question.

**What are the morals and values of children in their pre-adolescent years living in the adverse conditions of an informal settlement?**

This question is located at the abstract level of internalised values and morals and needs to be explored at a more concrete level when dealing with pre-adolescent children. For this reason a number of sub-questions guided the study from which the abstract concepts internalised by the children will be inferred by me.

### 1.4.1 *Sub-questions*

- What are the good/positive influences that impact on their lives? Why are these good/positive influences?
- What are the bad/negative influences that impact on their lives? Why are these bad/negative influences?
- How do these positive/negative influences direct the pre-adolescent behaviour?
- To what extent are these behaviours consistent with the possible values that maybe inferred in this research?
- How do pre-adolescents construct a personal identity rooted in their unique value and moral structure?
- What needs and wants dominate pre-adolescents lives in such adverse situations?
- How do these needs and wants interact with emerging values and influence their moral behaviour?

## **1.5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH**

From my 20 years of experience working with an abstinence and behaviour change programme called Education For Life that focuses on values, attitudes and character formation among adolescents, I realise that very little research has been done in South Africa with regard to values and morals of pre-adolescents, and even less so among adolescents growing up in informal settlements. Hence I believe this research will make a positive contribution to our understanding of value and moral formation in adverse circumstances and the impact of ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ on the decisions young people make daily. The research will also contribute to our knowledge and understanding of what it means to be marginalised in pre-adolescence and its impact on value and moral formation.

This understanding and knowledge will be significant to teachers, parents and other relevant stakeholders who may wonder why young people engage in at-risk behaviour and act contrary to what they believe in. I also believe this research will add to the life skills orientation and development of programmes in value and moral formation to assist young people in general, and those with a specific focus on youth living in informal settlements. It will benefit society at large in understating the character formation of our youth, and with commitment and dedication it will engage the whole of society from the cradle to the grave to engage in a better formation of citizenship.

## **1.6. RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS**

For the purpose of this study, I assumed that the pre-adolescents interviewed would, from their personal perspectives, describe the reality of growing up in an informal settlement and what it means to be marginalised upon reflection of their experiences.

In the process I assumed that young people living in adverse situations are just as able to act in a caring, concerned, altruistic and resilient manner as they are able to act in a



destructive manner. I assumed that these young people are as able to do good as they are to do bad things. The question is, how do they decide what is good and what is bad and what role do values and needs play in making that decision? In the research I aimed to seek an understanding as to why young people behave the way they do, keeping in mind that they are constantly growing, changing and struggling to become themselves (Quinn, 1990:2; Donceel, 1967).

## **1.7. CLARIFICATION OF TERMS USED IN THIS STUDY**

This study will focus on understanding the value formation of pre-adolescents growing up in the adverse circumstances of an informal settlement and how they construct their personal values and moral system, since at this early stage of moral development pre-adolescents have yet to internalise and personalise their values and morals.

This research is located within the theoretical framework of noteworthy individuals such as Piaget and Kohlberg who studied the moral development of children; Lickona (1983a) who postulates the need for sound character formation; and Abraham Maslow (1971) and Glasser (1993a, 1999) who postulate how each individual has specific needs and wants that drive behaviour. I have given the broad context of these theories and then filtered them down to the local context of South Africa to show how morals, values, needs and wants continue to form part of the bigger human picture in our present worldview. Against this background, it is important to clarify some of the concepts that form the basis of this study.

### **1.7.1 *Human values***

The scientific study of human values has a long tradition in the fields of psychology, sociology, philosophy, and particularly moral philosophy (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:9). Originally, values were conceived of as philosophical concepts which were insolubly tied to virtuous living and morality (Perry, 1926).

Allport, Veron and Lindzey (1961) were among the first social scientists who gave the value concept a more concrete, terrestrial meaning by linking values to ordinary activities such as reading newspapers, watching movies or voting. These authors designed a typology of values in which a person's stable preferences for all kinds of private and societal behaviours were categorised.

Since literature on values is commonly tied to specific intervention programmes such as values education, character education, moral education, personal, social education and so forth, it creates the impression that value-related concepts are interchangeable or synonymous (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:9). The three concepts that are often used to describe what we may call 'values', are ethics, morals and values (Nieuwenhuis, 2006:31). However, they are not the same and they are not equivalent forms, but they do share certain common elements. It is therefore important to clearly distinguish these concepts (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:9).

The word ethics comes from the Greek word *ethos*, meaning 'character' or 'custom.' In Greek 'ethika' refers to 'principles' or 'standards of human conduct.' In Latin 'principles' or 'standards of human conduct' are called morals. The study of 'principles' or 'standards of human conduct' is called moral philosophy (Nieuwenhuis, 2006:31). Considering the root or origin of the word 'value' in its Latin (*valere*) and French (*valior*) contexts, it is clear that the concept 'value' first and foremost refers to that which is worth striving for or worth living for (Nieuwenhuis, 2006:31).

### ***1.7.2 Moral development***

In order to gain an understanding of how children develop morally it is important to refer to the works and findings of Piaget (1932; 1965) and Kohlberg (1958) (as cited in Crain, 1985:118) and Lickona (1983a).

In addition, cognisance must be taken of the theories of Abraham Maslow (1971) and William Glasser (1993a, 1999) regarding basic human needs, and the relationship with needs and wants. The main argument of the study is that values and morals alone do not determine behaviour, but that behaviour is co-determined by the needs and wants that people want to satisfy. It will be argued that the strength of a specific need may cause a person to sacrifice his/her own set of values in order to satisfy a dominant need. It will be within the framework of these theorists that I will place my research.

There is a broad agreement that interest in moral development among psychologists was kindled by Kohlberg's (1984) work on moral judgment. Kohlberg (1984) sought to synthesise insights from liberal philosophers such as Rawls (1971) with the cognitive-developmental psychology of Piaget (1932; 1965) and Baldwin (1902) (as cited by Hart & Carlo, 2005). After researching the findings of Piaget (1932; 1965), Kohlberg (1984) postulated the idea that people progress in their moral reasoning through a series of six identifiable stages that could be more generally classified into three levels. Broadly speaking he presents his six stages as, level 1: The pre-conventional morality, (up to 9 years old); level 2 and the conventional stage (10 years to adolescence).

This level embraces stages three and four, namely (3) interpersonal accord and conformity, the good boy/girl attitude, and (4) authority and social order maintaining orientation, law and order morality. The last level, the post-conventional morality, continues moral development into the adulthood (as cited by Crain, 1985:118).

### ***1.7.3 African Ubuntu***

In the African context, although there is not a written heritage with regard to the concept of values, it does not mean that there is no philosophical underpinning to values in African cultures (Ramose, 1999). On the contrary, Africa has a strong philosophical basis regarding its views on values and it can be linked to the African philosophical concept of 'Ubuntu' (Broodryk, 2005).

The African philosophical concept ‘Ubuntu’ expresses an understanding of what it means to be human from the African paradigm and what fundamental values guides people’s lives and choices.

According to Mokgoro (1998), the philosophical concept of ‘Ubuntu’ is not easily definable but a good attempt to define it was made by Archbishop Emeritus Desmond (1995) who said;

*‘Africans have a thing called ‘Ubuntu’; it is about the essence of being human, it is part of the gift that Africa is going to give to the world. It embraces hospitality, caring about others, being willing to go that extra mile for the sake of another. Africans believe that a person is a person through other persons or expressed in the Sesotho idiom, ‘Motho ke motho ka batho babangwe’<sup>5</sup>; that my humanity is caught up and bound up in yours. When I dehumanise you, I inexorably dehumanise myself.*

*The solitary human being is a contradiction in terms, and therefore you seek to work for the common good because your humanity comes into its own in community, in belonging.*

When I juxtapose Lickona (1983a) and Kohlberg’s (1984) stages of moral development and the urban African understanding of ‘Ubuntu’, I can assume that children who grow up in relatively good societies with a supportive moral environment proceed through stages of moral development as they grow in years. Reflection on this gives the picture that moral development is a free flowing natural process.

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<sup>5</sup> A Sesotho idiom to mean a person is a person because of other people.

Although such a claim may hold true in conventional situations, it may not be true for children growing up in adverse situations, and thus requires further exploration of just how they deal with values and morals.

The gap in these theories is that not all children grow up in supportive moral environments; children have different needs and wants that influence their behaviour and this inadvertently impacts on their value systems.

#### **1.7.4 Needs**

With reference to Maslow's (1971) hierarchy of needs, he suggests five interdependent levels of basic human needs (motivators) that must be satisfied in a strict sequence starting with the lowest level. Maslow's basic needs appear in two categories. The first category consists of deficiency needs, namely physiological needs (oxygen, water, protein, salt, sugar, calcium, and other minerals and vitamins), safety and security needs (security, job, adequate housing, etc), social needs (loved, affection, acceptance, belonging etc) and self esteem needs (recognition, achievement, freedom, status, importance etc).

The second category consists of the growth need, which is self-actualisation (the desire to become everything one is capable of becoming) (as cited in Quinn, 1990:200; Sprinthall & Sprinthall, 1900:524; Jordann & Jordann, 1984:581; Mathes, 1981).

Maslow (1971) argues that physiological needs are the most basic needs and have the strongest influence on the motivation of behaviour and therefore they have to be satisfied first. Once the physiological needs are satisfied, the next category of needs in the hierarchy emerges and becomes the strongest needs to be fulfilled (Huizinga, 1970).

Similar to Maslow's (1971) hierarchy of needs theory, Glasser (1993a:7) details five needs and postulates a view of human nature that assumes people are born 'genetically

programmed' to have five basic needs, namely, survival, love and belonging, power, freedom, and fun' (as cited in Corey, 2001:231). These are built into our genetic structure, and from birth we must devote all our behaviour to attempt to satisfy those (Glasser, 1993a; 1999).

Glasser (1993a; 1999) believes that all behaviour represents the individual's constant attempt to satisfy one or more of the five basic inborn needs. He bases his belief on the assumption that people or events outside of us never stimulate us to do anything. Rather, our behaviour always represents the choice to do what we believe most satisfies our needs at the time. Glasser (1993a; 1999) believes that all human beings do from birth to death is behave. All our significant conscious behaviours, that is, all behaviours that have anything directly to do with satisfying basic needs, are chosen.

He further suggests that not only are we always behaving, but we are also always trying to choose to behave in a way that gives us the most effective control over our lives. When the needs and wants are not satisfied then we choose certain behaviours to get what we want (Glasser, 1993a:71). Unlike Maslow's (1971) hierarchy of needs that operate building one need on the other, Glasser's (1993a; 1999) needs are operative in a person at all times and will come into play when situations arise, and at any given point more than one need could be satisfied (as cited in Quinn, 1990:200; Sprinthall & Sprinthall, 1990:524; Jordann & Jordann, 1984:581; Mathes, 1981).

The difference between fulfilment of needs, according to Maslow (1971) and Glasser (1993a; 1999), is the emphasis on the most basic needs or the need to be fulfilled first before the other needs could be satisfied. While Maslow (1971) proposes that the physiological need is the most prominent need, Glasser (1993a; 1999) emphasises the psychosocial needs, and further explains that some needs may suppress others depending on the individual's circumstances. For example, the need for love and belonging may suppress the need for power.

For the purpose of this study I will use Glasser's (1993a; 1999) understanding of needs because human nature is a complex matter and individual needs and their fulfilment of these needs are not automatic or linear, but rather, as Glasser (1993a; 1999) states, operative at any given time. The fulfilment of one does not depend on the fulfilment of another. He further suggests that not only are we always behaving, but we are also always trying to choose to behave in a way that gives us the most effective control over our lives (Glasser, 1999:71).

Within the understanding of needs, as postulated by Glasser (1993a; 1999), I will explore how young people growing up in an informal settlement perceive what the positive and negative influences are that impact on their lives, and why they perceive them to be good or negative influences. I will also explore how these positive and negative influences guide and direct their behaviour, and to what extent these behaviours are consistent with the possible values that maybe inferred in this research. My question is, how do pre-adolescence who have not yet internalised or crystallised a sound moral system (Crain, 1985:118) construct their own identity and form guiding life principles? This is particularly pertinent for those who grow up in adverse circumstances.

The youth in this research are growing up in an informal settlement without parental guidance, good schooling, a protective neighbourhood or the presence of any church. Who will instil values in these young people? Against what criteria will they make decisions and act out their behaviours? Hence, I suggest that we are rational beings and can make choices that transcend our needs, yet I do not overlook the reality that unmet basic needs may force a person into a situation where they may engage in activities out of their normal mode of behaviour.

### ***1.7.5 Marginalised youth***

MacLean (2007) carried out a qualitative research on how marginalised young people

increasingly draw on global, as well as local, images in their constructions of individual selfhood. This research provides a narrative analysis of stories of inhalant use-induced hallucination, drawn from interviews conducted with young people in Melbourne, Australia. Young people's stories of the hallucinations they experience while using inhalants frequently reference the narratives, images and ontological preoccupations of contemporary popular culture; in particular, interactive electronic games.

MacLean (2007) argues that drug use provides a means by which some marginalised young people are able to integrate their constructions of selfhood within wider networks of power expressed through global popular culture, through mobilising an 'aesthetic' form of reflexivity. This occurs when they construct and narrate their hallucinations through four practices identified as central skills for engaging with contemporary texts: immersion, viewing the world as a hybrid technological self, re-imagining place, and play on the borders of story worlds.

The research highlights the need to develop drug-treatment interventions that will enable marginalised young people to fulfil, in less harmful ways, the imperative to be part of the globalising world. The lives of even the most marginalised urban Australians are saturated with images and stories from global popular culture.

In line with my research and how young people integrate their constructions of selfhood, in terms of values and morals MacLean's (2007) study shows how marginalised youth live in some sort of a dichotomous world between reality and a desired or imagined world. It might suggest that one reason why youth in the informal settlements engage in drugs is to dull the pain of an entrapped reality. It makes sense, then, that the gap between local lives and the globalising world, represented through popular culture, is felt most keenly by those with the fewest resources to bridge it (MacLean, 2007).



Drug use is only one of the many ways that young people try to escape reality but I suspect that there is a deep underlying, sense of unfilled needs, as postulated by Glasser (1993a:19) in his Choice Theory. Glasser (1993a; 1999) postulates that there are five always present needs that influence people's behaviour, namely the need for belonging, sex and love, fun, power, freedom and survival. This theory and that of Maslow (1971) will be further explored at a later stage, but for now it is important to refer to the claim made by Glasser (1960) that:

*'Reality may be painful, it may be harsh, it may be dangerous, but it changes slowly. All anyone can hope to do is to struggle with it in a responsible way by doing right and enjoying the pleasure or suffering the pain that may follow' (as cited in Schaeffer, 1981).*

## **1.8. LITERATURE REVIEW**

Much has been written on the importance of moral and value education in Northern Hemisphere countries (Taylor, 2003:1-66). According to Hart and Carlo (2005:223) moral development in adolescence, as an area of research, has reached maturity and there are hundreds of research papers related to moral development in adolescence appearing each year. However, very little research into values and morals in education has been conducted in developing countries in sub-Saharan Africa, including South Africa.

The overall quality of life of people living in informal settlements has received little attention by South African researchers (Richard 2007) and hence the need to explore this phenomena more deeply.

Swartz (2008) conducted a qualitative research study with the purpose of exploring the moral lives of South Africa's township youth. Over 15 months, 37 young people, aged between 15 and 19 who live in the Langa-Khayelitsha corridor of Cape Town, told the

stories of their lives and spoke openly in a sophisticated way of their understanding of morality. They were given high quality digital cameras and asked to produce photographic essays of the right and wrong, good and bad influences in their lives. Their inferred values were recorded as they narrated their life stories.

The findings of this study provide valuable insight in that they show youth engagement in conventional values in areas such as substance use, violence and crime, while questioning conservative values around sex, money and respect. These youths identified much of their behaviour as ‘wrong’ and yet located themselves as overwhelmingly ‘good’ while positioning others in categories as either protected ‘mommy’s babies’, ‘right ones,’ or ‘kasi boy/girl.’ Besides the categorisations of self and others, these young people spoke highly of their mothers, younger siblings, friends and romantic partners as providing the motivation to be ‘right ones’ (Swartz, 2008).

While these youth seldom blamed their external environment for their behaviour they clearly portrayed the link between employment, success, and moral goodness. For these township youths, completing school and securing employment were the keys to leaving behind substance use and crime, and to providing a better life for mothers and younger siblings (Swartz, 2008). Most of the photographs that they took showed people working. When they interpreted these photographs to portray what was the right and wrong, good and bad influences in their lives, the most commonly cited answers explained employment as a deterrent to crime. They all shared how having a job and working was a ‘good’ moral influence (Swartz, 2008).

One explained that when one has a job they can provide for themselves and hence the need to steal is limited. They all appreciated those who tried to make a living instead of doing crime as a moral good. From their photographs they could show the fact that people (friends, peers, adults) who were working had enough to provide good role models, even when in one picture a friend who was working was holding a knife and drinking brandy – still, because he was working, it qualified him to be accepted as a good role model.

One girl summed up people's association between morality and work most profoundly when she concludes that 'education should be free....so that young people can study and then become good people where they have got their own jobs,' instead of 'ending up staying in the street – doing all those things' (Swartz, 2008:7-8).

The study also showed the impact of poverty on morality. Sadly, in impoverished contexts, adult supervision, both at home and at school, is in short supply and youths go unsupervised without parental guidance, and left to their own devices they engage in misbehaviour. Furthermore, poverty results in a multitude of physical and psychological events, many of which make it difficult to make moral judgments and act on them (Swartz, 2008).

It would appear from the research mentioned that marginalised youth between the ages of 15-19 have a deep sense of what is right and wrong but their world view is so degraded or impoverished that the values and morals that they hold about life are overshadowed by their need to survive, and to have food, shelter, a sense of belonging and love (Swartz, 2008). This might infer that in the face of survival or need to be loved, they would abandon their values and fulfil their needs. For example, a young girl's need for money might lead her into prostitution, even if she does not agree with exploiting her body.

Richard (2007) conducted a quantitative study to measure the quality of life in informal settlements in South Africa. He conducted his research in Alexandra, Durban and Buffalo City. The purpose of this research was to determine how to improve the lives of people living in informal settlements, as well as the main obstacles to a better quality of life.

By means of predictors, the study looked at the residents' quality of life in pertinent areas of life; i.e. housing and basic services, public facilities and amenities, water from street taps, sanitation, electricity, transport and infrastructures.

The findings appear to be supported by the open-ended responses concerning reasons for satisfaction and dissatisfaction with life. The major contributing positive factors to life satisfaction identified were employment, access to basic services such as flush toilets, standard of living, social connectivity issues, access to entertainment facilities, personal esteem issues such as achieving one's dreams and being successful. The respondents identified the following factors that depressed quality of life: crime, violence, disease, unemployment, poverty, hunger and HIV/AIDS (Richard, 2007). .

From the findings of the sample conducted in Alexandra, it shows that residents in this area were more satisfied with life than in Durban and Buffalo City. This was due to the reason that residents were proud to live there. Alexandra was considered to be a good location to access nearby work opportunities and there was a sense of community cohesion as a result of people working together to reduce crime (Richard, 2007).

It is interesting to note that the sense of community experienced by the local people in Alexandra gave them a sense of greater satisfaction in life despite the poverty of the situation (Richard, 2007). This reflects what Glasser (1993a; 1999) states in his Choice Theory that the need to love and to belong is the primary need. Glasser's (1993a; 1999) belief resonates with the Celtic poet, scholar, and philosopher, O' Donohue (2002:3), who says;

*'To be human is to belong. Belonging is a circle that embraces everything; if we reject it, we damage our nature. The word 'belonging' holds together the two fundamental aspects of life: Being and Longing, the longing of our Being and the being of our Longing.'*

The idea of needs and wants as understood by Glasser (1993a; 1999) will be a focus during the course of this study as I explore how children in their pre-adolescent years living in the adverse conditions of an informal settlement construct a personal identity rooted in their unique value and moral structure.

However, it has not always been the case that poverty and low morality go together as we have living examples of people who have lived in adverse, harsh and unjust circumstances and have transcended them to uphold high moral lifestyles, permeated by principles of forgiveness, equity, solidarity, truthfulness and integrity. An example in our own history is Nelson Mandela.

In the light of my research, namely, pre-adolescents growing up in an informal settlement, Mbigi and Maree (1995) note a very important aspect on the concept of 'Ubuntu' when they say it describes the importance of group solidarity on issues that are pivotal to the survival of the African communities, who as a consequence of poverty and deprivation have to survive through group care and not only individual reliance. The idea of 'Bonngwe ke Matla'<sup>6</sup> gives expression to the thought that in unity there is strength, or we might adopt the cliché, 'alone we fall but together we stand.'

The idea of communal support would positively contribute to the formation of a moral character and may be manifested in how children are taught right from wrong, caring, hospitality, respect, sharing and solidarity. These important manifestations can be further linked to the six qualities for instilling democratic values in young South Africans in the learning environment, as outlined in the Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy; namely, equity, tolerance, multilingualism, openness, accountability and social honour (Asmal, 2001).

Of interest to the focus of my research is the notion of values, postulated by Hult (2001:3) who says,

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<sup>6</sup> Bonngwe ke Matla is the Sesotho term to mean 'unity is strength.'

*‘...understanding values requires us to understand their relationship to needs. Animals act on instinct, pre-programmed how to respond by nature; people act on free will, choosing for themselves how to respond. Our choices are based on values, which are beliefs about what is important in life.’*

Hult (2001) goes on to say that a primary function of values is to meet needs.

My own reflection on this line of thought is that values do not exist to meet needs but rather values inform our conscience and are reflected in our behaviour, and as a result we will act accordingly to get what we perceive as a need or fulfil a need in line with what gives most meaning to one’s life. I am of the opinion that values are of a higher form than our needs. For example, I may feel the need to take revenge on someone who has hurt me and I might feel justified, but there is no positive value in seeking revenge. Needs may be value-driven or instinctive.

## **1.9. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### ***1.9.1 Research design***

The exploration of this research will be located within a specific context of a qualitative interpretivist study. I will use a hermeneutic, phenomenological research design to explore the phenomena of pre-adolescence in their daily living experiences and how they construct their personal identities rooted in their unique value and moral structures.

The purpose of the phenomenological approach is to highlight the specific values and moral constructs by which these children live (Wilson & Hutchinson, 1991) and to identify phenomena through which they are perceived by the actors in a situation. In the human sphere this normally translates into gathering ‘deep’ information and perceptions through inductive, qualitative methods such as interviews, discussions and participant observation, and representing it from the perspective of the research participants.

In my continued search for understanding and meaning with regard to what the morals and values of children in their pre-adolescent years living in the adverse conditions of an informal settlement are, I will use the following methods to collect my data; namely, stick figures, group collages, individual drawings and narration, individual interviews, focus group interviews, use of moral dilemmas and unstructured observation.

These methods of data collection will be the focus of Chapter 3.

## **1.10. OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION**

### ***1.10.1 Chapter one***

In this chapter I gave an overview of the phenomena to be explored in this research, namely the reality of pre-adolescents growing up in an informal settlement and how adverse circumstances have an effect on their value and moral formation. I motivated my reasons for deciding to do this research and why I am interested in the moral and value development in young people.

I then continued to present the problem and the circumstances in which this problem is lived out. I have stated the significance of my research as a contribution to the already existing body of established knowledge. My research questions will give direction to the puzzle feature that is to be explored. I have conducted a review of pertinent literature regarding human values, moral development, Ubuntu, needs and marginalised youth, as well as outlining the theoretical framework of this study and the research methodology.

### ***1.10.2 Chapter two***

In Chapter two I outline the location of my research within the theoretical framework of

noteworthy individuals such as Piaget (1932; 1965) and Kohlberg (1958) who studied the moral development of children, Lickona (1983b) who postulates the need for sound character formation, and Maslow (1971) and Glasser (1993a; 1999) who postulate how each individual has specific needs and wants that drive behaviour. I give the broad context of these theories and then filter it down to the local context of South Africa and show how morals, values, wants and needs continue to form part of the bigger human picture in our present worldview.

### *1.10.3 Chapter three*

In Chapter three I discuss this research as located within the specific context of a qualitative interpretivist study. I show why used a hermeneutic phenomenological research design to explore the phenomena of pre-adolescence in their daily living experiences and how they construct their personal identities rooted in their unique value and moral structures.

The purpose of the phenomenological approach is to highlight the specific values and moral constructs by which these children live (Wilson & Hutchinson, 1991) and to identify phenomena through which they are perceived by the actors in a situation. I show how, in the human sphere, this normally translates into gathering ‘deep’ information and perceptions through inductive, qualitative methods such as interviews, discussions and participant observation, and representing it from the perspective of the research participants. Further, I detail how and why I chose my participants and my research site, as well as discussing the data analysis and interpretation.

In the same chapter I outline how I guarded the trustworthiness and authenticity of the research to ensure its credibility. I note the delimiters setting the boundaries that are relevant to my research, given the specific context in which the study will take place.



Within the confines of my research I provide a number of key ethical principles respected and show how I observed these principles in the real world in which the research took place. Four general criteria to assess the trustworthiness of qualitative research, namely, credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability are discussed. In concluding, I discuss the delimitations of the research and the ethical considerations.

#### ***1.10.4 Chapter four***

In Chapter four I outline the methodology, linking it to my main research question and the data gathering techniques employed.

Following on from this I show how I conducted the data analysis and the reflection on essential themes and meanings that characterise the phenomena of exploration.

#### ***1.10.5 Chapter five***

In Chapter five I discuss my findings and offer recommendations for further research in the field of value and moral formation of adolescents growing up in adverse circumstances of an informal settlement. The purpose of this chapter is to recap the purpose and intention of the research and to synthesise the whole research body, linking it to the original research questions.

### **1.11. SUMMARY**

In this chapter I gave an overview of the phenomena to be explored in this research, namely the reality of pre-adolescents growing up in an informal settlement and how adverse circumstances have an effect on their value and moral formation.

I motivated my reasons for deciding to do this research and why I am interested in the moral and value development in young people.

I then continued to outline the research problem and the circumstances in which this problem is lived out. I have stated the significance of my research as a contribution to the already existing body of established knowledge. My research questions will give direction to the puzzle feature that is to be explored. I have conducted a review of pertinent literature regarding human values, moral development, Ubuntu, needs and marginalised youth, as well as providing the theoretical framework of this study and the research methodology.

## CHAPTER 2. VALUES & VALUE FORMATION

*‘Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it.’*

*(Proverbs 22:6)*

### 2.1. INTRODUCTION

For this research I explored various perspectives on what it means to be human because values find a home in the hearts, minds and conscience of human beings. Values are not formed in a vacuum but take shape in the course of a lived experience of unique individuals. Values are also reflective of a particular culture and world view of any community. At the outset of my research I hoped to embark on a journey that required constant reflection on personal values, morals and philosophy of life, as it would lead deeper into the inquiry of what makes one human.

To engage in the inquiry of what makes a being ‘human’ as an entry point to understand how people see the development of humankind, values and morals, I used the lens of philosophy, psychology, sociology, theology and education. There are innumerable other lenses that could be explored but they are beyond the scope of this research. Writers write primarily from the standpoint of their own interest; for example, Aquinas could perhaps be classified as primarily as theologian, Darwin a biologist, Marx a political economist, and Freud a psychologist (Trigg, 1988:3). It was not my intention to cover all perspectives but to trace some important contributions made by significant historical figures and to highlight those aspects that are of importance to this study.

A central argument in this study is that in the process of becoming an adult, our values and morals are influenced and tempered by our needs and wants, and that the interplay between these forces shapes our values formation and the moral being we become.

Also in this chapter I explore the traditional cognitive and moral development theories of Piaget (1896-1980), Kohlberg (1927-1987), Turiel (born 1939) and Lickona (born 1943) and what they postulate as the norm of cognitive and moral development of adolescents growing up in a supportive environment with good parental guidance, taking into consideration that adversities may alter a person's perspective. I then juxtapose what these theorists propose and what Glasser (1993a; 1999) portrays in his theory of choice, exploring how needs and wants could play a role in how the young people in this research make decisions, even in the face of knowing what is right and wrong behaviour.

## **2.2. WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE HUMAN?**

An experimental series of seminars was held in 1976 in the Psychology Department by David Holbrook, and people from all disciplines came together to pursue their perspectives on 'What is it to be Human?' In his opening address Holbrook (1990) referred to the views expressed by such figures as Viktor Frankl (1905-1997), and Gabriel Marcel (1889-1973) philosopher, dramatist, and critic, usually regarded as the first French existential philosopher on the ways in which a predominant philosophy had taken hold of people's minds at large, in which they tended to see themselves in terms of their 'functions.' This kind of view is implicitly conveyed to children and students by their education, and the implicit determinism places a limit on potentially.

The seminars looked at various disciplines, such as philosophical anthropology and the post-Kantian philosophy of Cassirer (1874-1945) and Langer (1895-1985) who find man as the symbolising animal. There is also the post-critical philosophy of Polanyi (1891-1976) and Grene (1910-2009). There is psychoanalysis, whose great fundamental achievement is to pursue the meanings of dreams, fantasies, body-signs and all such symbols. It has opened up the fundamental processes by which, in infancy and after, the human person finds and sustains him or herself and relates to the world.

Without the dynamic of the ‘I-Thou’ encounter, and without love and ‘liebende Wirheit’, we would not be creative and intentional beings (Holbrook, 1990:5).

One could cite further the idea of images by Lovejoy (1961) and Jaspers (1967), who were convinced those great periods of intellectual achievement could be distinguished from one another by referring to the characterisations, or images, of the human nature they fashion. They believe that images have the power to shape the thought and conduct, not merely of individuals but of whole peoples (as cited in Chaney, 1990:3). Both Lovejoy (1961) and Jaspers (1967) point to the significant role images play in helping us define ourselves, and in giving us a sense of what it means to be human. When Lovejoy (1961) and Jaspers (1967) speak of images they are not raising deep philosophical questions of what human nature is as a thing in itself, but how human beings think they are (as cited in Chaney, 1990:5).

In all these disciplines there develops a new and creative sense of living in time. We are not doomed to an inauthentic existence, inevitably trying to find meaning in futile attempts to define ourselves. Existence is not absurd. There does seem to be a need to recognise a ‘formative principle’ in the universe and the emergence of life, since no explanations which reject the idea can explain the original emergence of life, its evolution, or the development of consciousness.

Man’s culture, in the pursuit of meaning, comes to the front of the stage, so that symbolising pursuit appears as a primary necessity to human beings, from the cradle to the grave. And all investigations move towards the recognition and fostering of man’s conscience – the existential conscience in Dr Ledermann’s sense (a conference delegate), of finding what we have in us to become that which is authentic to us – so that we find again man’s moral being and his creativity in the search for meaning (as cited in Holbrook, 1990:5). It is my claim that we find meaning in the values that we have internalised and that are manifested in our moral behaviour, and this process is intimately linked to our own cultural understanding of these concepts.

### 2.3. WHAT ARE VALUES?

It is perhaps quite ironic that in the area of value and moral development, there has been a major disagreement between professional educators and psychologists. On the one hand, from the very beginnings of the public or common school system, educators have insisted that a pupil's character and values should be the proper object of teaching. On the other hand, psychologists had maintained, at least over the last 50 years, that attempting to inculcate traits and virtues was almost totally ineffectual. In other words, while educators were stoutly maintaining that schools mould character, psychologists were busily refuting all claims that values could be taught (Sprinthall & Sprinthall, 1990:171).

Considering the root or origin of the word 'value' in its Latin (valere) and French (valior) contexts, it is clear that the concept 'value' first and foremost refers to that which is worth striving for or worth living for (Nieuwenhuis, 2006:31). According to Bittle (1945:359):

*'Every good is a value. Value is that which is 'perfect' or 'perfective.' Value, considered as something which is 'perfect' coincides with the absolute good, because it is identical with the reality, substantial and accidental, which a being possesses. Considered as something perfective, it coincides with the relative good, because its perfection is a good for another being. Everything, therefore, has 'value' in so far as it is a good for itself or for another.'*

Huitt (2003) defines values as 'everything from eternal ideas to behavioural actions.' Ignacimuthu (2001:13) refers to values as something of worth and means to be strong, and Rokeach (as cited in Wilson, 1973) defines the value concept as 'an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence.'

Articulated differently, values are abstract internalised conceptions of what is important and they direct one's choices in how you will behave in a certain situation (Nieuwenhuis, 2006:31). To quote Anita Shetty (as cited by Geol, 2005:16), 'Value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristics which influence the selection, from available modes and ends of action.'

When we say that a person has 'values', we imply that he/she has certain fundamental beliefs about what is desirable or good, and that he/she attempts to use these in directing his/her life. Values are formed as a result of reflection and judgment; in this they are different from desires. Values are those standards or codes of conduct conditioned by one's cultural tenets, guided by conscience, according to which one is supposed to conduct one's self and shape one's life pattern by integrating benefits, ideas and attitudes to realise the cherished ideals and aims of life. By 'values' we mean the criterion or basis for choosing between alternative courses of action (Goel, 2005:16). In general, values may be regarded as long-term principles that we use to judge the worth of an idea or action. They provide criteria by which we decide whether something is good or bad, right or wrong (Nieuwenhuis, 2006:31).

At the 2001 July International Ministerial Conference, held in Tokyo, 'Dialogue among civilizations quest for new perspectives,' the concept of values was elaborated as:

*'...those desirable ideals and goals which are intrinsic in themselves and which, when achieved or attempted to be achieved, evoke a deep sense of fulfilment to one or many or all parts of what we consider to be the highest elements of our nature. Values are norms, which hold and sustain life and society and establish a symbiotic and interdependent relationship between humankind and ecosystems. Values denote a fundamental category; in a common understanding they correspond to what we mean when it is said that Truth, Beauty and Goodness are the Supreme values of life. They occur to us whenever we try to conceive all those states of our being or becoming in which we are likely to find some kind of ultimate fulfilment.'*

There are, indeed, values of physical life, values of emotional life, values of mental life, but these values constantly point towards certain basic and ultimate values, which are moral and spiritual in character' (Goel, 2005:13). We assume that values are firstly personal, secondly shared by others that establishes principles for conduct (customs and ethics), thirdly public in terms of what is regarded as right or wrong based on underlying principles and are capable of being appreciated, if not adopted, by people in general, not just by one person alone (Halstead, 1996:3).

The publicity of values, their intrinsically shared nature is of immense importance. The belief that values are of a shared nature leads to the fundamental belief that humans are in many important respects alike. And yet one might say if this was the case then the teaching of values would be simple, universal and uncontroversial. But the reality is that children are not born with moral understanding. They are born capable of affection, but not without teaching of an awareness of other people as of equal importance with themselves (Halstead, 1996:3). From this premise one might perceive that if a value is something worth living for, then it follows that to implement values, moral and ethical principles need to be taught (Sprinthall, 1990:171).

It is important also to consider that every culture or nation is shaped to the extent that it develops its own value system and its own accepted code of behaviour. In this way people learn what acceptable behaviour is and what is not acceptable. This embodies a moral code in their society that in turn reflects a unique value system known to the people of that particular culture and in most cases it is adhered to.

I will now develop this argument regarding the formation of values leading to the establishment of morality, taking into account the differences between African society and Western society, as illustrated by the African sense of communalism and the Western philosophical emphasis on the individual. The theories of Piaget (1932; 1965) and Kohlberg (1958) as a theoretical framework will be used to illustrate how individuals develop morally, although these perspectives are given through a Western lens.



## 2.4. VALUES FORMATION

In exploring the human being from a psychological perspective, I do so with the aim of seeking to understand why people behave the way they do, yet keeping in mind that people are constantly growing, changing and struggling to become (Quinn, 1990:2; Donceel, 1967). Moral learning refers to the acquisition of ethical behavioural codes which are accepted either universally or in a particular community or culture, and according to which people's behaviour is assessed by themselves and/or others as morally justified or unjustified. In conjunction with these codes, people learn self-control, which is doing the right thing in terms of an ethical code and refraining from behaviour that is condemned by such a code (Jordann & Jordann, 1984:89).

In the human search for meaning and answers to real life, questions around identity, purpose, destiny and direction, what is right and what is wrong, and what is moral or immoral, it may be said that each individual is one's own best psychologist. Every child is actually or potentially a child psychologist (Lugo, 1974:4; Jordann & Jordann, 1984:490). From an early age, without being deliberate about it, (s)he acquires ideas and attitudes about him/herself and others. These are woven into the patterns of his/her life. They may be true or false, healthy or morbid (Lugo, 1974:4). Kohlberg (1958, 1969, 1973, 1986) describes children as 'moral philosophers' in the sense that they make moral judgments that they formulate themselves, without any direct influence from their parents, teachers or peers (as cited in Jordann & Jordann, 1984:490).

To try to comprehend the moral and value formation of human beings and how needs and wants influence behaviour, it is necessary to look at what motivates or drives individuals to do the things they do. Even in explaining why people do the things they do, it cannot always be taken at face value, since human beings themselves do not often understand their own behaviour. Psychologists interested in motivation examine factors that cause behaviour. These may include thinking, feeling, acting or any possible combination of the three.

Behaviour can also be an inner drive to achieve and succeed. It can stem from a need to be loved and accepted, or a need to fulfil a craving or unsatisfied goal (Quinn, 1990:185). Freudian psychologists believe that much human behaviour is caused by unconscious motivation. As a result, most people are not conscious or aware of what causes their behaviour (Quinn, 1990:186; Baller, 1965:243). But in most situations that we find ourselves in, we choose our behaviour.

In choosing our behaviour we are influenced by numerous factors. Boeree (1998) quotes Snygg and Combs (1976) regarding their theory of the phenomenal field,

*'If we wish to understand and predict people's behaviour, we need to get at their phenomenal field. Since we can't observe it directly, we need to infer it from the things we can observe. If we have a variety of observers, we will eventually come to understand the person's phenomenal field.'*

This has relevance to my research in that to understand young people growing up in an informal settlement they must firstly be understood within a specific environment or context.

First, 'All behaviour, without exception, is completely determined by and pertinent to the phenomenal field of the behaving organism' (Boeree, 1998: n.p.). The phenomenal field is our subjective reality, the world we are aware of, including physical objects, people, behaviours, thoughts, images, fantasies, feelings, and ideas like justice, freedom, equality, and so on (Boeree, 1998; Lugo, 1974:181).

This leads us to Snygg and Combs' (1976) understanding of motivation, 'The basic need of everyone is to preserve and enhance the phenomenal self, and the characteristics of all parts of the field are governed by this need.' The phenomenal self is the person's own view of him or herself. This view is developed over a lifetime, and is based on the person's physical characteristics (as he or she sees them), cultural upbringing (as he or

she experiences it) and other, more personal experiences. It is the phenomenal self we try to maintain and enhance. This is more than mere physical survival or the satisfaction of basic needs; what they are describing is not only about maintaining but about enhancing the self. As human beings we don't just want to be what we are, we often want to be more (Lugo, 1974:181).

The important point, if we accept that our choices are influenced by a plethora of factors, is that these factors are part of our own upbringing and development.

It is socio-culturally determined, just as much as it is a matter of personal choice. Human infants are born without any culture. The general process of acquiring culture is referred to as socialisation. During socialisation, children learn the language of the culture they are born into, as well as the roles they are to play in life. They also learn social values, morals, attitudes and expectations as these are communicated from one person to another. For instance, girls learn how to be daughters, sisters, friends, wives, and mothers. In addition, they learn about the occupational roles that their society has in store for them. They also learn and usually adopt the culture's norms through the socialisation process (O'Neil, 2002-2009).

Adolescence is often viewed as a stormy period; a time of critical change that have lasting effects on young people (Quinn, 1990:172-173). It will be important to consider that adolescents are human beings who are doing the best they can to become fully functioning individuals (Lugo, 1974:509) under the influence of many external and internal forces. They struggle to integrate their whole emotional world, bodily changes and the new found desires to move beyond the boundaries of family to explore wider fields. They also have to struggle with external forces of opinions of friends, the media, pressure of school, the need to compete and achieve, and to be accepted and belong to a group. Life for the adolescent can be turbulent.

According to Erikson (as cited in Santrock, 1999), the socialisation process consists of eight phases - the 'eight stages of person.' Each stage is regarded as a 'psychosocial crisis' which arises and demands resolution before the next stage can be satisfactorily negotiated. These stages are conceived in an almost architectural sense; satisfactory learning and resolution of each crisis is necessary if the child is to manage the next and subsequent ones satisfactorily. The stages outlined are trust versus mistrust, autonomy versus shame and doubt, initiative versus guilt, industry versus inferiority, identity versus identity confusion, intimacy versus isolation, generativity versus stagnation, and lastly integrity versus despair (as cited in Santrock, 1999:34-36).

For the purpose of my study I concentrate on Stage Five of Erikson's (1950) theory, namely, learning identity versus identity diffusion (fidelity) as that stage looks at the social development of adolescences (as cited in Santrock, 1999:36). During the fifth psychosocial crisis (adolescence, from about 13 or 14 to about 20) the child, now an adolescent, learns how to answer satisfactorily and happily questions such as, 'Who am I?' 'What is my destiny?' 'How will I get there?' 'Who will help me get there?' 'How can I connect my self-explorations with the opportunities and demands of society?' and 'What do I believe in?' All these issues involve the basic question of identity that is the sense in young peoples understanding of who they are in relation to others in society (as cited in Lugo, 1974:507; Santrock, 1999:36).

But even the best adjusted adolescents experience some role identity diffusion; most boys and probably most girls experiment with minor delinquency; rebellion flourishes; as self-doubts flood the youngster. Erikson (1950) (as cited in Santrock, 1999:36) believes that during successful early adolescence, mature time perspective is developed; and the young person acquires self-certainty as opposed to self-consciousness and self-doubt. He/she comes to experiment with different - usually constructive - roles rather than adopting a 'negative identity' (such as delinquency). He/she actually anticipates achievement, and achieves, rather than being 'paralysed' by feelings of inferiority or by an inadequate time perspective.

In later adolescence, clear sexual identity - manhood or womanhood - is established. The adolescent seeks leadership (someone to inspire him/her), and gradually develops a set of ideals (socially congruent and desirable, in the case of the successful adolescent). Erikson (xx) believes that in our culture, adolescence affords a 'psychosocial moratorium.' Teenagers do not yet have to 'play for keeps,' but can experiment, trying various roles, and thus hopefully find the one most suitable for them. If the adolescent explores such roles in a healthy manner and arrives at a positive path to follow in life, then a positive identity will be achieved. If an identity is pushed on the adolescent by parents, if the adolescent does not adequately explore many roles, and if a positive future path is not defined, then identity confusion reigns (as cited in Santrock, 1999:36).

In adolescence, the principal persons involved in the socialisation process are the peers, teachers and parents. Initially, the family as a unique, safe and familiar environment provides the young person with the security he/she needs to explore his/her surroundings. He/she does this in relation to parents, grandparents, siblings and relatives (Lugo, 1974:503). Eventually and gradually the young person becomes independent and moves beyond the boundaries of family to explore other uncharted lands.

As young people continue to grow they tend to be highly conforming of the styles, behaviour and attitudes of their peers. Much of this conformity results from an important need of the adolescent to be accepted and to belong to a social group, resulting from their decreasing reliance on the family (Hart & Carlo, 2005:230; Lugo, 1974:503-504; Quinn, 1990:172). The teenage peer group is a very important social group and is central to the young person's ongoing socialisation process. It represents a microcosm of society. Within this small group there are leaders and followers; there are 'in-groups' and 'out-groups'; and there are power struggles, emotional supports, affection and tasks to be accomplished. In this small group teenagers learn to value integrity and to respect the desires of others, and they also learn some basic lessons about affection and intimate caring for another person (Lugo, 1974:504; Quinn, 1990:172).

This search for understanding and meaning in the lives of young people leads us to the perception that all human beings are relational beings; that they are not solitary, isolated beings (Bittle, 1945:599). People cannot exist without human interaction. We construct an understanding of who we are through our interaction with others. It would be a grave mistake to consider man as an individual in isolation. According to the Cartesian tradition, carried on by the empiricism of Locke (1632-1704) and Hume (1711-1776) and by the idealism of Kant (1724-1804) and his followers, man's mind is forever chained within the prison of its own ideas and subjective states (as cited in Bittle, 1945:597). It is the fundamental error of modern philosophy and psychology that it attempts to derive the existence of the world from subjective ideas instead of deriving ideas of the world from the objective things and objectives existing in the world (Bittle, 1945:597).

No thinker has seen more clearly than Confucius (551-479 BC) that human beings are not simply born with a nature complete, endowed at birth with certain attributes that make him/her the kind of creature he/she is, but that they acquire the fullness of their nature through the dynamic process of interacting with other humans (as cited in Chaney, 1990:36).

The Confucian ideal of society asks for a sense of selflessness, as opposed to individualism. It promises that this sense of selflessness will be rewarded by a healthful society in which the individual can flourish and realise the fullness of his or her nature. A society in which individuals do not place the common good before their private interests would disintegrate, for it would lack that very spirit required to bind it together (as cited in Chaney, 1990:37).

The Confucian final test for any society is whether it produces individuals who behave with dignity and self-respect and are eager to do well in relation to others. But if a society doesn't meet this test, we might ask if it's unhealthy in the sense that those qualities of human nature are generally wanting; then is there any hope for realising them?

Confucius' answer – the health of a society rests in the hands of those individuals, almost certainly in the minorities, who perceive the Way or the Good and are bound together by a common loyalty to the Good – furnishes the key to much of his philosophical message (as cited in Chaney, 1990:37).

## **2.5. MORALITY**

Williams (1970:10) in his book, *The Moral Development of Children*, defines the meaning of what it means to be 'moral' as evaluative and descriptive. By 'evaluative' it carries the implication of an action being judged as good or bad, right or wrong. In a 'descriptive' usage, the term 'moral' is referred to as a moral problem that one is faced with (William, 1970:10). Straughan (1989:46) defines morality as a practical business, in that it is concerned with what ought to be done and what it is right to do.

He continues to say that 'morality' must refer to how a person both thinks and behaves (1989:46). According to Duska and Whelan (1975:1), all individuals have a system of values, and if they take these values seriously, they expect others to follow them. Santrock (1999:251) states, 'Moral development concerns rules and conventions about what people should do in their interactions with other people.'

People are born not only into the physical and social order, but also into the moral order where human conduct is characterised by the quality of right or wrong (Bittle, 1945:605). Bittle (1945:606) understands 'human conduct' as those actions of the human person which are controlled by free will; these are qualified by the attribute of morality, in so far as they conform or do not conform to the norms and principles governing right living. Hence, moral learning refers to the acquisition of ethical behavioural codes which are accepted, either universally or in a particular community or culture, and according to which people's behaviour is assessed by themselves and others as morally justified or unjustified (Johaun, 1984:489).

Bittle (1945:606) continues to say that morality is a law imposed on man by his own rational nature; he is distinguished by the rationale of his intellect and the morality of his free will.

Hence, without over simplifying the idea of what it means to be moral, one can look at it from the perspective of a person having the ability to make a rational judgement in the face of a moral dilemma where the outcome will be for the betterment of all people involved. The question now arises as to whether morality is a purely personal matter or whether it is something that should be attributed to society.

## **2.6. INDIVIDUALISM VS COMMUNALISM**

The quest to explore what it means to be human has been the life project of the humanities since the earliest times of philosophy. In today's world, no question needs to be addressed more urgently than what it means to be human, especially in our culture of death, with the dramatic effect of HIV/AIDS on communities, added to which our fellow human brothers and sisters are being murdered in blatant crimes against humanity like murder, rape, abortion and euthanasia. Further, crimes against humanity include children being subjected to growing up in informal settlements where exposure to alcohol, drugs, premature sex, family break-ups, incest, poverty, insecurity, lack of quality education are startling realities, and where the physiological basic needs of food, clothing, water and shelter are missing.

Human nature is a complex matter. Ventegodt, Andersen, Kromann and Merrick (2003), with their interest in medicine, believe that human beings have to try to understand life and get a grip on the many facets of life because it can be of great value to humanity to learn to recognise the fundamental principles of how life is lived to its fullest. They say,



*'To be human is to balance between hundreds of extremes. The secret of the heart is when reason and feelings meet and individuals become whole. Where reason is balanced perfectly by feelings and where mind and body come together in perfect unity, a whole new quality emerges, a quality that is deeper and more complete' (Ventegodt et al., 2003:1176-85).*

For many thousands of years, the human being has had the ability to recognise him/herself as somehow standing apart from, yet being related to, all other creatures. The notion that differences, not merely in degree but in kind, exist between humans and other creatures has been handed down from the time of Greek antiquity under the rubric of human nature (Chaney, 1990:3). How we view being human is therefore closely linked to the worldview and view of life of the philosopher, keeping in mind that most perspectives on life and what makes a person human emerge from a social and cultural lived experience.

Western philosophy began with Aristotle (384 BC - March 7, 322 BC) and his pupil Plato (427 BC– c.347 BC), and by tracing the development of philosophical theories, for example Descartes (1591-1650), Hobbes (1588-1679), Locke (1632-1704), Kant (1724-1804), and the fathers of existentialism, Kierkegaard (1813-1855) and Nietzsche (1844-1900) and their perspective on the human being, one could say that the term 'individualism' is a key note or fundamental aspect of Western philosophy. What is a person, viewed from a Western cultural paradigm?

The best known answer to this question is given by the French philosopher and scientist, René Descartes (1591-1650). He states that a person is matter, with a mind characterised by abstract thinking and which is a reduction of a person to the static qualities of rationality and will. This creates confusion between concept and entity and makes it difficult to incorporate the spiritual dimension of a human being. Therefore, in Western philosophy, the starting point for an account of personhood is epistemological (theory of knowledge) and psychological, and is possessed by an individual and rooted in individualism (Mbigi, 2005:69).

Deep-rooted individualism has been inherent in Western civilization ever since the days of the Greek city states.

This same focus on the individual also underpins the psychological theories of the human person, as developed by psychoanalytical psychologists following Freud (1856-1939), and the psychosocial development theories of Erikson (1902-1994) and psychologists such as Maslow (1908-1970). Psychologists in general focus on the individual, his inner needs, his potential for growth and self actualisation (Santrock, 1999).

If we argue that individualism is a key feature of the Western perspective on the human person, we have to now look at its polarity, communalism, from the African perspective. Although we speak of individualism and communalism as polarities, it is not the intention here to set them apart as separate elements unique to one or the other worldview. This would undermine the reality created by a diverse context such as South Africa. We have to argue that from a humanity perspective, individualism and communalism form a continuum of life, and both are necessary for any individual to grow to wholeness. It is the challenge of any diverse nation to maintain the good in each worldview and use it to benefit the whole of society.

However, since it will be within the African context and the African mindset that this research will take place, it is necessary to understand some of the fundamental principles of what lies closest to the African heart. I keep in mind that this area warrants a research on its own, but I will briefly touch on its important elements.

Perhaps the distinctive cultural glory of the African culture lies in the African philosophical concept of Ubuntu. Ubuntu permeates all areas of African life, particularly in the way personal relationships are managed. Mbigi (2005:68) quotes Okumu (2002) to say, 'The value that a person learns from their relationships give content to a person's understanding of proper behaviour towards others.'

Africa's strength still lies in those areas where the wealthy West is weakest.' This thinking suggests that it is not through solitude that people discover who they are, but through relationships with one another. It is in the courageous encounter with others that people discover their personal path and purpose in life, the mystery of human existence, and their personal destiny.

According to Mbigi (2005),

*'Each one of us needs all of us. I cannot separate my humanity from the humanity of those around me because none of us is greater than all of us. We cannot succeed on our own. We need each other – there is an eternal bond of reciprocity between us.'*

The African philosophical concept of 'Ubuntu' expresses an understanding of what it means to be human from the African paradigm, and what fundamental values guide people's lives and choices. According to Mokgoro (1998), the philosophical concept of 'Ubuntu' is not easily definable, but a good attempt to define it was made by Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu (1995) who said;

*'Africans have a thing called 'Ubuntu'; it is about the essence of being human, it is part of the gift that Africa is going to give to the world. It embraces hospitality, caring about others, being willing to go that extra mile for the sake of another.'*

*Africans believe that a person is a person through other persons or expressed in the Sesotho idiom, 'Motho ke motho ka batho babangwe'<sup>7</sup>; that my humanity*

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<sup>7</sup> A person is a person because of other people.

*is caught up and bound up in yours. When I dehumanize you, I inexorably dehumanize myself. The solitary human being is a contradiction in terms, and therefore you seek to work for the common good because your humanity comes into its own in community, in belonging (as cited in Mokgoro, 1998 and Mbigi, 2005:69).*

Another helpful understanding of ‘Ubuntu’ is that it is ‘about individual behaviour, group behaviour and community values, and is the cultural bedrock from which our common humanity springs’ - not just black people, but all of us (Magadlela, 2008). The social order of African societies manifests features of both communalism and individualism. However, there can be no doubt that the foundations of African society are primarily communal. But this is often misunderstood or misconceived by many observers. Communalism does offer room for individualism, it does not submerge individualism and it is not antithetical to individualism. In African thinking, selfhood is viewed and accounted for from a collective, relational perspective.

Mbigi (2005) quotes Handy (1996) saying,

*‘We have to find a personal security in our relationship too. We are not meant to stand alone. We need a sense of connection. We have to feel that it matters to other people that we are there. Because if it makes no difference whether you are there or not then you really begin to feel like a meaningless person. If you have no connection to anybody, you have no responsibility and therefore no purpose.’*

The common worldview, values and institutions which pervade the cultural systems of different African peoples is best understood in terms of:

- Metaphysics
- Paranormal cognition

- Morality - both religious and non-religious
- Communalism.

As far as metaphysics is concerned, African ontology is hierarchical, with the Supreme Being at the apex and the world of natural objects, and phenomena at the bottom. African ontology is essentially spiritualistic, although this does not mean a denial of the non-spiritual, empirical world. In this regard, ancestors and their influence over, and connectedness to, the living are accepted (Mazrui, 1986).

In respect of African morality, African people tend to be intensely religious and each peoples or group have their own religious system with a set of beliefs and practices. Although Christianity has gained tremendous ground during the era of colonisation, traditional African religion, or parts of it that have been subsumed into Christianity, remain. As such, religion permeates all areas of life and it is thus not possible to isolate it. Morality is inextricably linked with religion, and thus African systems of morality are founded upon religion. The main determining force in morality is harmony. At a psychological level this finds expression in a sense of a 'reciprocal we-ness' and emotional care for other, and at a volitional level, through an expression of helping others (Metz, 2008).

Metaphysics, paranormal cognition, and African morality manifest in a specific kind of communalism. There is no doubt that the community is the cradle of the individual and of his or her achievements.

Mbigi (2005:73) cites Gbadegesin (1991) to say:

*'Persons are what they are in virtue of what they are destined to be, their character and the communal influence on them...A person whose influence and personality is dependent on the community is expected in turn to contribute to the continued existence of the community.....the meaning of one's life is*

*therefore measured by one's commitment to social ideals and communal existence.*

A great deal of the upbringing of children in Africa is devoted not only to developing skills, but also to teaching 'how to be' in the context of Ubuntu. As Africans, children are born into Ubuntu, but they have to acquire its philosophical values and practices in the social context. Ubuntu has to be learnt, shared and collectively affirmed. All this takes place within the context of the local community which is the foundation of African life and philosophical being (Mbigi, 2005:70). According to Raditlhalo (1996, as cited by Mbigi, 2005:70), 'A child is held to be the property of the community who are going to see to it that the individual child becomes a significant member of the community, an asset to all.'

Pre-adolescent African children are taught by their elders, and the community at large, the meaning of 'right' from 'wrong', and from that premise meaningfully develop their value system in accordance with the expectations of their local culture. This teaching is done in an informal way, whereby children would learn how to share by dissecting an orange - each child get a piece. Children learn the value of generosity by sharing their home with other children who live with them because their own parents had passed away. There was not a time when parents did not use every living moment to teach their children good, socially acceptable values and morals.

Even when severe poverty is a reality and conditions are harsh, with the aid of good parental guidance children normally develop morally in accordance with the expectations of their society.

In the light of my research, namely, pre-adolescents growing up in an informal settlement, Mbigi and Maree (1995) shed a very important aspect on the concept of 'Ubuntu' when they say it describes the importance of group solidarity on issues that are pivotal to the survival of the African communities, who as a consequence of poverty

and deprivation have to survive through group care, and not only on individual resilience. The idea of ‘Bonngwe ke Matla’<sup>8</sup> gives expression to the thought that in unity there is strength, or we might adopt the cliché; ‘alone we fall but together we stand.’ The idea of communal support would positively contribute to the formation of a moral character and may be manifested in how children are taught right from wrong, caring, hospitality, respect, sharing and solidarity.

All this considered, we should not be blinded to new emerging trends apparent in the modern African society. The concept, and indeed the reality, of community have changed and individualism slowly creeps in and raises questions around issues that which would have been frowned upon in the past. For example, the value of sharing and caring among neighbours and even families is not as strong, in that the emergence of the nuclear family among young African couples leads them to take on the modern trends of an urban culture as they move towards the cities for work and leave the security and familiar setting of their rural homestead.

The worldview of children growing up in culturally diverse neighbourhoods, attending multi-cultural schools, and engaging in diverse social activities is influenced and formed differently than those who never leave their rural setting. Interaction on this front inevitably forms new values and creates its own system for judging what is morally right and wrong.

## **2.7. SOCIO-MORAL DEVELOPMENT**

In order to gain an understanding of how children develop morally, it is important to

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<sup>8</sup> Bonngwe ke Matla is the Sesotho term to mean ‘unity is strength.’

refer to the work and findings of Piaget and Kohlberg (as cited in Crain, 1985:118), Lickona (1983a) and Turiel (1974:14-29).

The central argument of this study is that value formation is intimately linked to the ever present needs and wants of a person, and how a person mediates his/her choices based on his/her needs and the imperatives of the values formed. Cognisance must therefore also be taken of the theories of Maslow (1971) and Glasser (1993a, 1999) regarding basic human needs, and the relationship between moral development and needs and wants.

According to DeVries and Zan (1994:1), the theoretical foundation for socio-moral development rests on three parallels in Piaget's (1932; 1965) theory of socio-moral and cognitive development. The first parallel is that just as knowledge of the objective world is constructed by the child, so too must psychosocial knowledge be constructed. That is, socio-moral thought and socio-understanding in action undergo qualitative transformations. The second parallel is that just as 'affect' is an in-dissociable motivational element in intellectual development, socio-affective bonds (or the lack of them) motivate social and moral development. The third parallel is that an equilibration (or self regulating) process can be described for social and moral development, as for cognitive development (Downey & Kelly, 1978:16; DeVries & Zan, 1994:2).

What De Vries and Zan (1994) are claiming is that conditions for socio-moral development are the same conditions for intellectual development, and this process confirms how children develop through various moral reasoning stages as they interact with their world and other people and come to construct their own set of morals, and consequently their own internalised value system. The question we can ask in the light of this awareness is, what is the contribution of education then to the moral development of the young person?



Although Piaget (1932; 1965) studied many aspects of moral judgment, his findings can fit into a two-stage theory (as cited in DeVries & Zan, 1994:46). Piaget (1932; 1965) asked children questions about ethical rules – theft, lies, punishment, and justice, and concluded that children think in two distinctly different ways about morality, depending on their developmental maturity. He defines these as heteronomous morality and autonomous morality (as cited in DeVries & Zan, 1994:46).

Heteronomous is the first stage of moral development in Piaget’s (1932; 1965) theory and is known as the morality of obedience. Children younger than 10 or 11 years think about moral dilemmas one way and older children consider them differently (as cited in DeVries & Zan, 1994:46).

For the young child, rules are fixed and absolute (Santrock, 1999:252; Crain, 1985:118; Piaget, 1932:137). All rules are similar to the young child, so the process of developing respect for moral rules will be identical to that of game rules, and there will be a period when moral rules are seen as sacred and untouchable and the practice of them is egocentric; that is, merely an imitation of what has been observed (Duska & Whelan, 1975:15; William & William, 1970:75). Piaget (1932; 1965) called this period in the understanding of moral rules the period of moral realism, which he defines as, ‘The tendency to regard duty and the value attaching to it as self-subsistent and independent of the mind, as imposing itself regardless of the circumstances in which the individual finds himself’ (1965:122). The child at this stage of development sees any task done in obedience to adults is good and right because it emanates from the adult (Duska & Whelan, 1975:15).

Autonomous morality is the second stage of moral development in Piaget’s (1932; 1965) theory, displayed by older children about the ages of 10 years of age and older (as cited in Santrock, 1999:252). This is an egalitarian and democratic morality, based on mutual respect and co-operation. It is rational and arises from interaction with peers (William & William, 1970:75). These children understand that it is permissible to change rules if everyone agrees.

For them, rules are not sacred and absolute, but are devices which humans use to get along cooperatively.

At the age of 10 or 11, children's moral thinking undergoes other shifts. They begin to base their moral judgments on intentions and motives underlying behaviour. It is these intentions and motives that may be located within the field of predominant needs rather than values that could influence their choices (Crain, 1985:118; Duska & Whelan, 1975:15). At this stage the child acts independently of adult influences and it 'requires nothing more for its development than the mutual respect and solidarity which holds amongst children themselves' (William & William, 1970:75; Lugo, 1974:476).

According to Piaget (1932; 1965) the individual who is autonomously moral follows moral rules of the self. Such rules are self-constructed, self-regulating principles (as cited in DeVries & Zan, 1994:46). The two opposed terms, heteronomous and autonomous are significant to this research because they show how young people make decisions. Heteronomous shows how moral rules and guidance originate outside the individual; they are imposed from the environment. On the other hand, autonomous gives the understanding that rules are not so imposed from the outside but rather the individual's moral standards are independent and emanate from the core of a person's being – this is as true for young children as for any other person (as cited in William & William, 1970:76; Lugo, 1974:474; (DeVries & Zan, 1994:46).

Taking into consideration Piaget's (1932; 1965) two stage moral development of heteronomous and autonomous, the teacher plays a major role in shaping the child's moral development. The generally heteronomous, or coercive, adult orientates the child to a morality of obedience that keeps the child preoccupied with rules and regulations external to the child's self-regulation by means of self-constructed principles (as cited in DeVries & Zan, 1994:56). Educators (or parents) who have not fully matured in these two areas themselves run the risk of stunting the child's moral development.

Inability on behalf of the adults to allow the child to explore moral issues, and even risk mistakes, will produce a rule-abiding adult, but will such a person be morally mature? The rule can apply also to an over-liberal approach that allows children to question every aspect of life and hence produces a controversial adult.

This is an important insight when exploring how young people make decisions; moral or otherwise. For the significance of this study, despite children growing up in an informal settlement, it may be true that the negative and positives influences in their reality may not be determined by environment as much as the individual stage of moral development and that those decisions are determined by inner convictions of what children already perceive as right or wrong. Then the question remains as, how do need and wants influence behaviour?

Another important point needs to be made about the social learning view of moral development - what children do in one situation is often only weakly related to what they do in other situations. It was found after intensive observations of thousands of children in many different situations that a totally honest child was virtually non-existent; so was a child who cheated in all situations (Hartshorne & May, 1928-1930). According to Santrock (1999:254), another point of importance is that the ability to resist temptation is closely tied to the development of self-control. Children must overcome their impulses toward something they want that is prohibited. To achieve this self-control, they must learn to be patient and to delay gratification (Santrock, 1999:524).

Another highly influential cognitive view of moral development is that of Kohlberg (1927-1987). Kohlberg is well-known theorist of modern psychology. He outlined the theory that he is now quite well-known for, i.e. Kohlberg's (1958) stages of moral development, and was influenced by the work of Piaget (1932; 1965). Like the stage theorists who came before them, Piaget (1932), and as a result, Kohlberg (1958) believed that each stage of development must be completed before an individual could move on to the next.

In other words, children can't skip the cognitive lessons learned as in toddlers or preschoolers; they need to pass through those stages before they can enter each successive cognitive state (as cited in Duska & Whelan, 1975:47; Swan, n.d.).

**Table 2-1 Kohlberg's stages of moral development (source: adapted from Kohlberg, 1958)**

Level	Stage	Description
Level 1: Pre-conventional Morality	Stage 1: Obedience and Punishment	The earliest stage of moral development is especially common in young children, but adults are also capable of expressing this type of reasoning. At this stage, children see rules as fixed and absolute. Obeying the rules is important because it is a means to avoid punishment.
	Stage 2: Individualism and Exchange	At this stage of moral development, children account for individual points of view and judge actions based on how they serve individual needs. In the Heinz dilemma, children argued that the best course of action was the choice that best-served Heinz's needs. Reciprocity is possible, but only if it serves one's own interests.
Level 2. Conventional Morality	Stage 3: Interpersonal Relationships	Often referred to as the "good boy-good girl" orientation, this stage of moral development is focused on living up to social expectations and roles. There is an emphasis on conformity, being "nice," and consideration of how choices influence relationships.
	Stage 4: Maintaining Social Order	At this stage of moral development, people begin to consider society as a whole when making judgments. The focus is on maintaining law and order by following the rules, doing one's duty and respecting authority.
Level 3. Post-conventional Morality	Stage 5: Social Contract and Individual Rights	At this stage, people begin to account for the differing values, opinions and beliefs of other people. Rules of law are important for maintaining a society, but members of the society should agree upon these standards.

Level	Stage	Description
	Stage 6: Universal Principles	Kohlberg's final level of moral reasoning is based upon universal ethical principles and abstract reasoning. At this stage, people follow these internalized principles of justice, even if they conflict with laws and rules.

The stage theory developed by Kohlberg (1958) was somewhat different to other theories for a couple of reasons. First, Kohlberg (1958) did not assign specific age spans to each stage; in fact, he hypothesised that many people never reach the final stage, no matter how long they live. Second, Kohlberg (1958) didn't deal with psychological or cognitive development, as previous stage theorists had; instead, he focused his theory on the development of moral reasoning in children and adults (as cited in Swan, n.d.).

Kohlberg (1958) stressed that moral development is based primarily on moral reasoning and unfolds in stages. He believed that moral thinking progressed through a series of six stages, two stages occurring at three distinct levels, namely, the pre-conventional, the conventional and the post conventional (as cited in Duska & Whelan, 1975:45; Crain, 1985:118; Santrock, 1999:321; William & William, 1970:82-83; Lugo, 1974:476). He described three main levels of moral development with two stages in each level.

The first level is called pre-conventional. In this stage (stage one), moral reasoning starts out as being totally based on the notion of punishment and reward, and progresses toward a realisation, (stage two), that acting according to the laws of punishment and reward benefits oneself. This stage of moral reasoning is found in young children.

According to Kohlberg (1958), the next level of moral reasoning is called the conventional reasoning level. In this stage, (stage three), the individual's focus is no longer trained solely on oneself, but on oneself as a part of society.

At this level, the individual's internalisation is intermediate. He/she abides by certain standards (internal), but they are the standards of others (external), such as parents or the laws of society. Therefore, the first half of this stage is marked by an understanding of 'right' and 'wrong'- what will gain approval or censure from others. In stage four, the individual moves beyond the quest for approval from one's peers, and judges right and wrong by the laws of the society, justice and duty. He/she conforms to avoid censure by authorities and resulting guilt (as cited in Santrock, 1999:324; William & William, 1970:83; Duska & Whelan, 1975:45-46; Crain, 1985:118; Lugo, 1974:476; Swan, n.d.).

The third level of Kohlberg's (1958) theory of moral development is known as post-conventional reasoning. Unlike the first two stages, in which right and wrong are determined by self-interest or in relation to others, the post-conventional stage or moral reasoning is governed by ideals of right and wrong. The first half of this stage (stage five) is marked by a genuine concern for others. The person recognises that values and laws are relative and that standards may vary from one person to another. They also believe that some values, such as liberty, are more important than the law.

The second half (stage six) is governed by universal principles of right and wrong, and the need to satisfy one's conscience. When faced with a conflict between law and conscience, the person will follow conscience, even though the decision might involve personal risk (as cited in Santrock, 1999:322; William & William, 1970:83; Duska & Whelan, 1975:75).

Kohlberg's (1958) method of research was unusual in that he looked for the process, not the product. In order to determine the moral stage a person was in, Kohlberg (1958) presented every participant with a classic moral dilemma. However, it was not the person's decision of what was right and what was wrong that Kohlberg (1958) was interested in; rather, it was the reasoning that got the person there that determined what moral stage one was currently in – i.e. how one determined right and wrong.

This process focus is at the heart of Kohlberg's (1958) theory and ultimately sets it apart from other theories (as cited in Santrock, 1999:320; Duska & Whelan, 1975:44-45; William & William, 1970:82; Swan, n.d.).

For the purposes of this study, which seeks to explore the salient values and morals of pre-adolescent children growing up in adverse situations, we can frame our focus within Kohlberg's (1958) second level, namely, the conventional morality stage, and look at how these children develop moral thinking. By this stage of development, according to Kohlberg (1958), the pre-adolescent bases his/her moral judgements on intentions (as cited in Crain, 1985:118). They question the intentions behind people acting or behaving in a particular way. This stage is characterised by a view that right behaviour means acting in one's best interests.

The second level (stage 3) of moral thinking is characterised by an attitude which seeks to gain the approval of others. It is orientated to abiding by the law and responding to the obligation of duty. It promotes good interpersonal relationships (Gibbs, 1977:36-42; Kohlberg, 1958). It is during stages 3 and 4 that young people think as members of the conventional society with its values, norms and expectations. At stage 3 they emphasise being a good person; which basically means having helpful motives toward people close to them. At stage 4 the concern shifts towards obeying laws to maintain society as a whole. Of course, Kohlberg's (1958) theory is framed within a 'normal' society, but the underpinning reasoning may still apply to marginalised communities. Conforming to the dysfunctional behaviour of other members of a marginalised community may be just as powerful in gaining approval and thus engaging in at-risk behaviour (as cited in Crain, 1985:118).

During this time in the life of a pre-adolescent pleasing and conforming to other people's expectations takes a very strong emphasis. This is often seen in how young people form cliques with their peers and spend less time with their parents (Hart & Carlo, 2005:230). As a consequence, they are probably more influenced by what their friends tend to say and do, and this tends to become more important than what any other

authority might say. They usually move with the dictates of their in-group. It is normal at this stage of development, physically, emotionally and morally that young people are faced with new challenges, opportunities, and influences (Hart & Carlo, 2005:231). For example, moving away from primary school to high school, entering into new relationships, and their whole biological transition from childhood to adolescence brings with it a whole new phase of life which can cause much disturbance and imbalance in mood, behaviour and even character.

Turiel (1974:14-29) hypothesised that the transition from one stage to the next involves a phase of conflict, or disequilibrium, during which the existing mode of thinking is re-evaluated and a new mode is constructed. While personal experience through self-reflection may reflect this reality to be true, because human beings are dynamic and complex, experiences might cause a regression in a child's development rather than a progression. In the course of this study Turiel's (1974) trend of thought will be observed when I explore the values and morals of children growing in an adverse situation to see if transition from one stage of moral development to another is a natural process or whether the situation and conditions of change has an impact on the child.

An adaptation of Kohlberg's (1958) moral developmental stages is presented Lickona (1983a). He suggests that stage 3, which he calls the interpersonal conformity stage, is when the child knows what is right, explicitly, to be nice and live up to the expectations of people who he/she knows and cares about. This rule of thought runs parallel to Kohlberg's (1958) stage 3, i.e. the conventional stage, and holds the same principle; namely that people who grow up in a supportive moral environment can be expected to reach a reasonable moral developmental growth pattern as they proceed through various ages (Lickona, 1983a). From this thinking it would appear that the normality of the supportive moral environment is the deciding factor in the growth of the child's moral reasoning because it is natural.



## **2.8. NEEDS AND WANTS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO VALUES FORMATION**

Thus far the intention of the chapter has been to explore the value formation of individuals. I have tried to place the concept of ‘value’ within the exploration of what it means to be human as viewed through different lenses. This has been a complex search and is limited to the moral development of individuals whereby I tried to see what constructs a ‘moral person’ using the theories of Piaget (1932; 1965), Kohlberg (1958) and other modern psychologist such as Turiel (1974) and Lickona (1983a).

My focus in this research is on the value formation of pre-adolescents growing up in an informal settlement; an environment deprived of many basic material facilities such as toilets, proper housing, running water, electricity, roads, clinics, schools to mention some. Alongside the lack of these material commodities is the reality of lack of social and psychological nurturing necessary for the growth of young individuals. This is due to the breakdown in the family structure, death of parents and ‘sibling headed’ households due to HIV/AIDS, unemployment, crime in all its forms, poor education and all the many hardships that are part and parcel of such a reality.

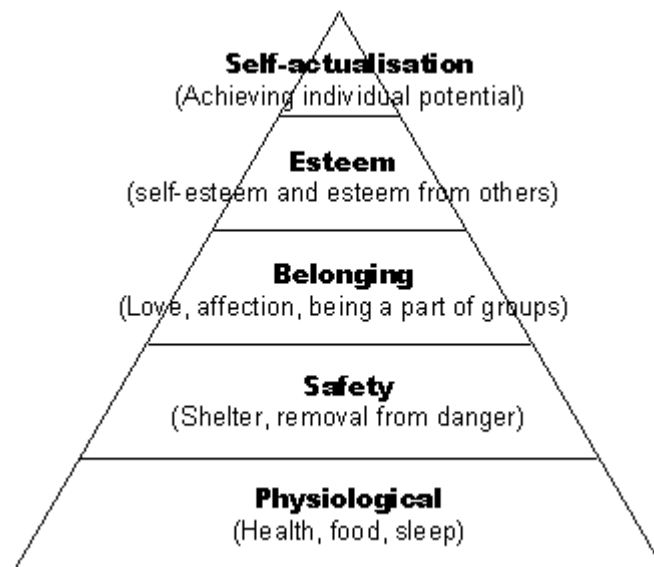
At the beginning of the chapter I explained that it would appear that values have a strong link with an individual’s capacity to make decisions based on his/her reasoning, and for the purpose of this research the emphasis is on moral reasoning. It is what a person perceives as good or bad or valuable for one’s self and others that becomes regarded as worthwhile and worth living for. It would also appear that, according to Piaget (1932; 1965) and Kohlberg (1958), that each stage of moral development must be completed before an individual can move on to the next (as cited in Duska & Whelan, 1975:47).

But moral reasoning cannot be viewed in isolation from other factors that could influence moral choices. In the literature, culture is one such factor and I have already

alluded to the African notion of communalism as a possible influence, but I would like to argue that needs and wants are also powerful determinants.

### 2.8.1 *Maslow's theory*

Previously I mentioned Maslow's (1971) hierarchy of needs, with the understanding that needs and wants may play an important role in the value formation of young people from an informal settlement because their basic needs and wants may be deprived. This may shed light on the reason why some children may engage in poor moral behaviour. This will be the central argument of this research. They may know what is right and wrong, good or bad, moral or immoral, but the severity and deprivation of basic needs and wants may cause them to go against their moral judgments.



**Figure 2.1 Maslow's hierarchy of needs (source: adapted from Maslow, 1971)**

With reference to Maslow's hierarchy of needs, Maslow suggests five interdependent levels of basic human needs (motivators) that must be satisfied in a strict sequence starting with the lowest level (as cited in Quinn, 1990:200; Sprinthall & Sprinthall,

1900:524; Jordann & Jordann, 1984:581; Mathes, 1981). I will outline each level of need to show what is the need underpinning each level.

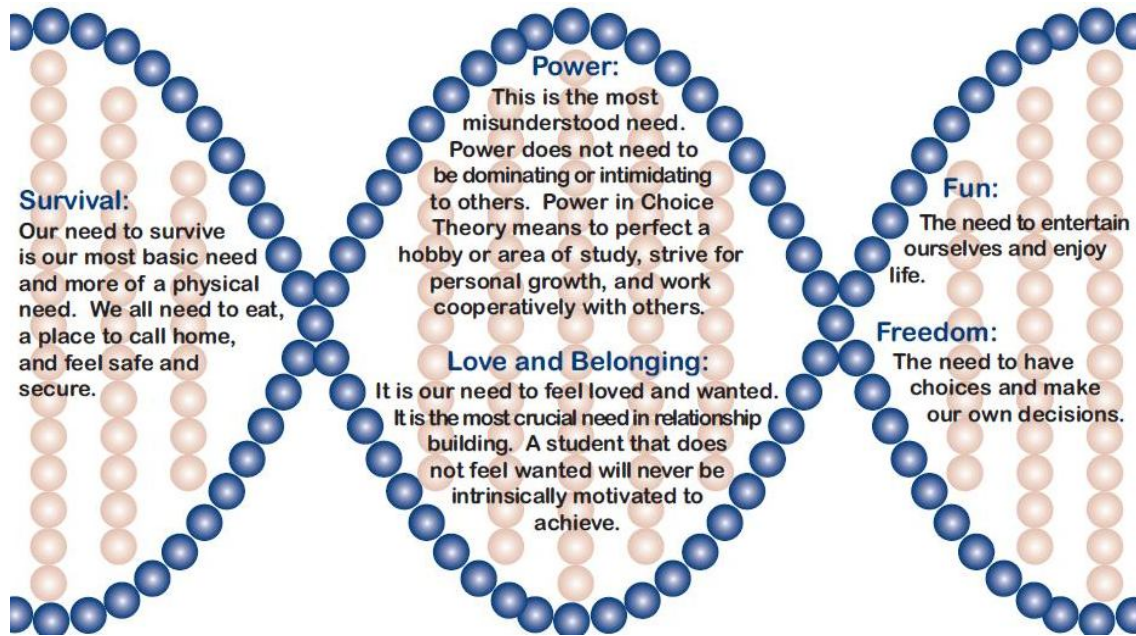
- **Physiological needs.** These include the need for oxygen, water, protein, salt, sugar, calcium, and other minerals and vitamins. They also include the need to maintain a pH balance (getting too acidic or base will kill you) and temperature (98.6 or near to it). Also, there's the needs to be active, to rest, to sleep, to get rid of wastes (CO<sup>2</sup>, sweat, urine, and faeces), to avoid pain, and to have sex. Maslow (1971) believed, and research supports him, that these are in fact individual needs (as cited in Boeree, 1998; 2006; Quinn, 1990:200; Jordann & Jordann, 1984:579-582).
- **Safety and security needs.** When the physiological needs are largely taken care of, this second layer of needs comes into play. An individual will become increasingly interested in finding safe circumstances, stability and protection. One might develop a need for structure, for order, some limits (as cited in Boeree, 1998).
- **Love and belonging needs.** When physiological needs and safety needs are, by and large, taken care of, a third layer is relevant. You begin to feel the need for friends, a sweetheart, children, affectionate relationships in general, even a sense of community. These needs will help us strive for right relationships until we acquire a sense of belonging and at-homeness (as cited in Boeree, 1998).
- **Esteem needs.** Next, we begin to look for a little self-esteem. Maslow noted two versions of esteem needs, a lower one and a higher one. The lower one is the need for the respect of others, the need for status, fame, glory, recognition, attention, reputation, appreciation, dignity, even dominance. The higher form involves the need for self-respect, including such feelings as confidence, competence, achievement, mastery, independence and freedom. Note that this is the 'higher' form because, unlike the respect of others, once you have self-respect, it's a lot harder to lose (as cited in Boeree, 1998; Jordann & Jordann, 1984:579).

For Maslow (1971), needs are hierarchical, implying that a lower order need must be satisfied before you could move to a higher order need. An alternative view is that needs are not hierarchical but that they co-exist and that more than one need may be at play at any given point in time in our interaction with others.

### **2.8.2 *Glasser's theory***

Similar to Maslow's (1971) hierarchy of needs theory we have the work of Glasser who postulates the theory known as 'Choice Theory' (1993:7). Glasser (1993a; 1999) details five needs that are quite similar to Maslow's (1971) hierarchal needs, but with some interesting twists.

Glasser's 'Choice Theory' (1993a; 1999) is an internal control psychology; it explains why and how people make the choices that determine the course of their lives (1993:7). This theory assumes that all behaviour comes from within. We choose our behaviour and we choose the best behaviour for our needs or wants (as cited in Ridgway, 2005). Often a gap exists between our needs and what we are getting or wanting, hence behaviour occurs to close this gap between needs and wants (Corey, 2001). Our needs make up our survival kit, while our wants are the desires we have.



**Figure 2.2 Glasser's theory of human nature (source: adapted from Glasser, 1993b; 1999)**

Glasser's (1993b; 1999) theory postulates a view of human nature that assumes people are born 'genetically programmed' to have five basic needs; namely, survival, love and belonging, power, freedom, and fun' (as cited in Corey 2001: 231). These are built into our genetic structure, and from birth we must devote all our behaviour to attempt to satisfy these (Glasser, 1993b; 1999). The underlying principles and fundamental beliefs of Glasser's (1993a; 1999) 'Choice Theory' is what he calls 'total behaviour' and 'quality world pictures.'

Firstly I will explore what he means by 'total behaviour.' By this Glasser (1993a; 1999) believes that all behaviour represents the individual's constant attempt to satisfy one or more of the five basic inborn needs; namely, survival, love and belonging, power, freedom, and fun. He bases his belief on the assumption that people or events outside of us never stimulate us to do anything. Rather, our behaviour always represents the choice to do what we believe most satisfies our need at the time.

From this perspective, people follow the rules of a game to achieve a meaningful outcome. Whenever there is a discrepancy between what one wants and what one has, the internal behavioural system is activated. As a consequence people behave in the most desired way to fulfil their needs or wants. If we examine this behaviour and what motivates us to behave as we do it would seem that there are four components of what is always a total behaviour. According to Glasser (1993a:70) these four components, which always occur synchronously are doing (e.g. walking, talking); thinking (e.g. reasoning, fantasizing); feeling (e.g. angering, depressing) and physiological (e.g. sweating, head-aching).

From this understanding stems the idea that we choose our behaviour – pre-adolescents also make choices. In choosing our behaviour we try to secure what we want (not necessarily need) in an attempt to satisfy our needs. As we look at Glasser's (1993a; 1999) view of total behaviour it becomes apparent that every atom of the person is at play in everything we do. As human beings each cell of our bodies is connected with the next and all this is played out constantly in our behaviour, whether we are thinking, feeling, doing or just being physiological, while we attempt to satisfy one or more of the five basic inborn needs; namely, survival, love and belonging, power, freedom, and fun.

Glasser believes that all human beings do from birth to death is behave. All our significant conscious behaviours, that is, all behaviours that have anything directly to do with satisfying basic needs, are chosen. He further suggests that not only are we always behaving, but we are also always trying to choose to behave in a way that gives us the most effective control over our lives (1999:71).

The second assumption postulated by Glasser (1993a; 1999) is the idea that individuals hold an image of how they would like things to be when all is going well. He refers to these images as our 'quality world pictures' (1993; 1999). Choice theory explains that the reason we perceive much of reality so differently from others has to do with how we perceive our real world which is not the same for all people.

Although much of what we actually see must be close to what others see or we couldn't get along at all (Glasser, 1998:44).

These quality world pictures are created in our memories shortly after birth and we continue to create and re-create them throughout life. And true to human nature, most of our time is spent behaving in a manner that will satisfy the needs that suggest how we would like our world to be like.

When the needs and wants are not satisfied then we choose certain behaviours to get what we want. According to Glasser (1999:45), what these pictures portray falls into three categories: (1) the people we most want to be with, (2) the things we most want to own or experience, and (3) the ideas or systems of belief that govern much of our behaviour. Anytime we feel very good, we are choosing to behave so that someone, something, or some belief in the real world has come close to matching a picture of that person, thing, or belief in our quality worlds (Glasser, 1999:45).

The pictures that we hold in our quality world are constantly in our thoughts and daily we drift backwards and forwards in our thoughts. To ignore these images is to deny the very energy that keeps us alive and striving for the future reality. We cannot be complacent about the knowledge we hold in our minds because this is what is most important to us. Failure to satisfy the picture we hold in our quality world brings much pain. This pain is a result of not having my needs met. Herein lies the pursuit of this research namely that adolescence may know what is 'right' or 'wrong' and create pictures in their quality world of how life should be lived by upholding morals and values but when problems and severe adversities knock on their door a real conflict takes place and they may engage in risk behaviour contrary to their convictions (Glasser (1999:45).

At this juncture it is significant to explore more deeply the five needs that Glasser portrays as the fundamental needs that drive all our behaviour and that all our energy is



about satisfying because only in understanding our needs will we be in a position to make a rational choice to follow them or renounce them rather than be driven by them (1999:25-43). Keeping this point in mind, let us also not be naive to think that knowledge of our needs alone will empower us to transcend them for the greater good.

Rather let us believe knowledge/awareness will enable us to make better informed decisions about fulfilling our needs or acting against them. This is the challenge for all people but greater it may be for adolescents who have yet to firmly crystallise their morals and values and maybe not have an internal gauge against which to make informed conscience decisions.

- **Survival:** From the moment a baby is born it behaves by crying, fussing, sucking and throwing its legs and arms around to force its mother to care for it and she normally does. This early crying is the baby's attempt to satisfy a genetic need to survive, introducing it to what will be a life long practice of trying to control others in his life and this is true of all individuals (Glasser, 1999:26). One of the differences between human survival and the survival of animals is that early in life, humans become aware of the need to survive, both now and in the future. We make an effort to live our lives in ways that lead to longevity (Glasser, 1999:32).
- In the face of danger or threat it is natural that we behave from a 'fight' or 'flight' reaction (Cannon, 1920). Children who grow up in informal setting where basic needs may be deprived will develop a strong sense of endurance which may even revert to the survival of the fittest scenario. The need to survive is not an all negative experience because without it when faced with hardship people would not have the will-power to persevere. Sometimes we witness this phenomenon when people commit suicide. Their lack of hope for the future disarms their ability to fight the present depressing situation.

A second aspect of survival is based on sexual pleasure, which from a genetic standpoint, and has been highly successful and necessary to keep the human race alive



(Glasser, 1999:31).

- **Love, loving sex, and belonging:** Glasser, (1993a:33) states in his Choice Theory that the need to love and to belong is the primary need, (as cited in Ridgway, 2005). Glasser's belief resonates with the Celtic poet, scholar, and philosopher, O' Donohue (2002:3) who says; 'to be human is to belong. Belonging is a circle that embraces everything; if we reject it, we damage our nature. The word 'belonging' holds together the two fundamental aspects of life: Being and Longing, the longing of our Being and the being of our Longing' (Ibid: 3).
- **Power:** Linked with the need to love and belong, and yet a very distinctive human need, is the need to exercise power. Power is a powerful emotion and often means even when we have enough of everything we still want the pleasure associated with getting more, even though getting more means others get less. Instinctively human beings want to win; to control events; to have it our way; and to tell others what to do, see them do it, and have them do it the way we know is best (Glasser, 1999:37).
- **Freedom.** Glasser (1999:39) believes that the need for freedom is evolution's attempt to provide the correct balance between people's need to try to force others to live their lives the way they want and the individual's need to be free of that force. This balance, he says, is best expressed by the golden rule: 'Do unto others as you would have others do unto you!'
- **Fun:** The remaining need that Glasser (1998:41) explores is the human need for fun. He says fun is the genetic reward for learning and is the easiest to satisfy. According to Glasser (1998:41) humans, with the possible exception of whales and porpoises, are the only creatures who play all our lives. And because we do we learn all our lives. In other words, it is good to keep the child alive in every human heart!

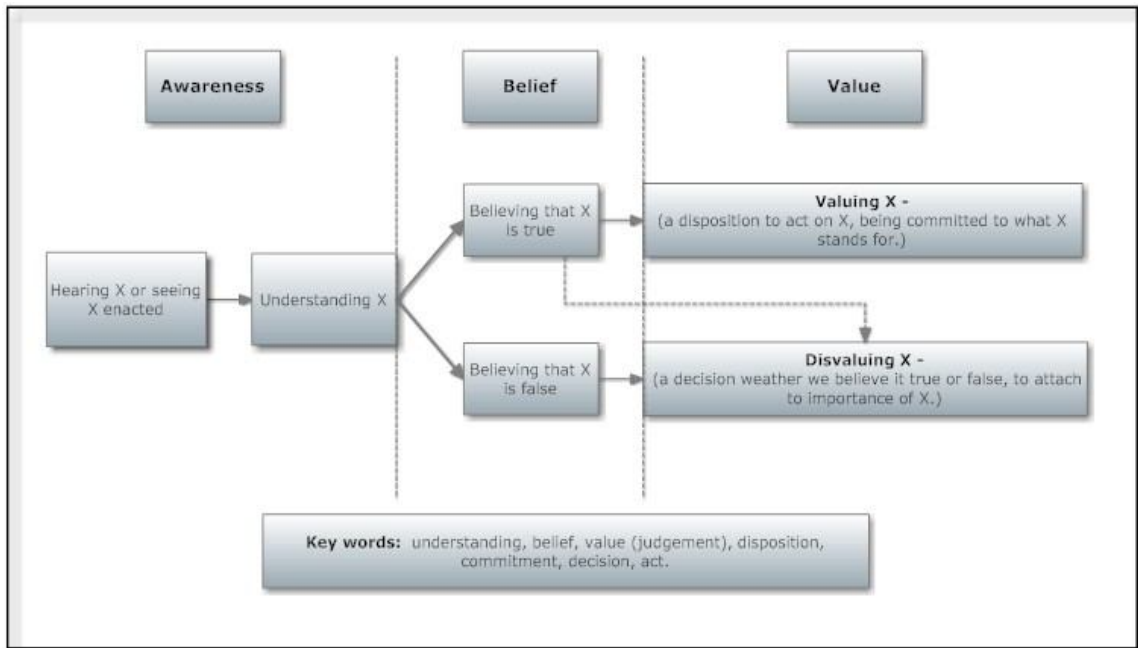
Unlike Maslow's (1971) hierarchy of needs that operate by building one need on the other, Glasser's (1993a; 1999) needs are operative in a person at all times and will come

into play when situations arise. At any given point more than one need could be satisfied. When sitting down to eat with friends we are satisfying our survival need, while simultaneously experiencing love and belonging, freedom, power and fun – not all to the same degree or consciously at work, but they are creating a sense of fulfilling our quality world picture.

If Glasser's (1993a; 1999) theory holds true, i.e. that we must devote all our behaviour to attempt to satisfy our needs, then the challenge is even greater to promote values and morals in a world enveloped by moral degeneration and adversity. If we consider the concept of 'value' as something that is worth striving for or worth living for, (Nieuwenhuis, 2006:30) then values would possibly add some order to human behaviour and esteem people to make choices and act upon them in a way that is reasonable and socially acceptable.

## **2.9. MAKING MORAL CHOICES**

At the heart of the study lies the question: how do pre-adolescents make moral choices? It seems that moral development stages may offer one part of the answer and this may be related to certain needs and wants dominating at any given point in time, but what possible process takes place in the mind of the pre-adolescent when he/she makes the decision? One possible answer may be found in the work of Brian Hill (2005).



**Figure 2.3 From hearing to valuing (source: Hill, 2005)**

If we look at the figure from Hill (2005) and the argument he presents, that when any area comes into the awareness field of a person he/she is then in a position to understand exactly what is going on, or at least what opinions are open to him/her. From the awareness and knowledge the individual now has acquired he/she has enough understanding to either believe what he/she perceives is true or false, and on this information is able to make a valid value judgement.

For example, one can apply this principle to service, or helping another. If a child hears that helping the elderly is good and sees others helping the elderly (awareness) he/she will come to believe (belief based on truth) that this belief is correct and hence will internalise the value of respect for the elderly. On the less positive spectrum we can apply it to love. It is possible that a child hears that God is love. The child hears that God is our Father. The child experiences that his/her earthly father abuses him/her.

When the child is hungry (a survival need and a need to feel that he/she belong) and want attention and food which is not forthcoming from a parent, the child concludes that his/her father/mother does not love him/her and since God is similar to father, God does not love the child. He/she may consequently reject the value (devaluing godly love) but also family love. From Hill's (2005) figure we could claim that through a process of see, judge and act, the individual goes through a moral reasoning process that leads to the acceptance or rejection of values as something worth striving for or worth living for (Nieuwenhuis, 2006:31).

## **2.10. CONCLUSION**

At the heart of this discussion I believe is the understanding of values and morals that are constructed by individuals to give meaning and direction to their life and behaviour. However, because the make-up of the human is complex, wholly influenced by wants, needs, motives and drives that result in various behavioural outcomes, the process of making a moral decision may or may not be consistent with one's values. To gain insight into the person who inculcates and internalises values I have used the lens of philosophy, psychology, sociology, theology and education.

I have also explored the traditional moral reasoning theories of Piaget (1932; 1965) and Kohlberg (1948), and more recent psychological viewpoints of Lickona (1983a) and Turiel (1974) to explain the cognitive and moral reasoning development stages of adolescents. It would seem that the transition from one stage of growth to another comes as a free flowing natural process, but at times under difficult circumstances

people may regress rather than progress in maturity (as cited in Boeree, 2003; Turiel, 1974:14-29).

When we juxtapose what these theorists propose and what Glasser (1993a, 1998) portrays in his theory of choice we see that we cannot be blind to the reality that needs and wants play a pivotal role in all peoples' lives, and that even in the face of knowing what is right and wrong behaviour, people may be inconsistent in how they choose to behave.

It will remain the pursuit of this research to explore the values and morals of adolescents growing up in adverse circumstances and to discover whether needs and wants impact on their moral decision making.

## **CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1. INTRODUCTION**

This chapter explains the rationale of using a hermeneutic phenomenological research design to explore the phenomena of pre-adolescents in their daily living experiences of growing up in the adverse circumstances of an informal settlement and how they construct their personal identities rooted in their unique value and moral structures. This research is located within a specific context of a qualitative interpretivist study and it seeks to gain an in-depth understanding of their value formation and how these are influenced by needs and wants. The qualitative researcher is the main instrument in the research process. Using a hermeneutic phenomenological research design supported my choice of the research site, the particular participants for the study, the data collection methods and the data analysis approach used.

### **3.2. A HERMENEUTIC PHENOMENOLOGICAL RESEARCH DESIGN**

The purpose of the phenomenological approach is to highlight the specific values and moral constructs by which the research participants (children) live (Wilson & Hutchinson, 1991). In the human sphere this normally translates into gathering ‘deep’ information and perceptions through inductive, qualitative methods such as interviews, discussions and participant observation, and representing it from the perspective of the research participants.

First let us consider the importance of phenomenology for this design. Phenomenology is concerned with the study of experience from the perspective of the individual, ‘bracketing’ taken-for-granted assumptions and usual ways of perceiving (Jones, 1975; Klein & Westcott, 1994; Osborne, 1994; Polkinghorne, 1983).

Epistemologically, phenomenological approaches are based in a paradigm of personal knowledge and subjectivity, and emphasise the importance of personal perspective and interpretation. As such they are powerful for understanding subjective experience, gaining insights into people's motivations and actions, and cutting through the clutter of taken-for-granted assumptions and conventional wisdom. Pure phenomenological research seeks essentially to describe rather than explain, and to start from a perspective free from hypotheses or preconceptions (Husserl, 1970). Phenomenological and associated approaches can be applied to single cases or to serendipitous or deliberately selected samples (Lester, 1999).

Phenomenology is essentially the study of lived experience or the life world (van Manen, 1997). Its emphasis is on the world as lived by a person, not the world or reality as something separate from the person (Valle, King & Halling, 1989). Polkinghorne (1983) identified this focus as trying to understand or comprehend meanings of human experience as it is lived. The 'life world' is understood as what we experience pre-reflectively, without resorting to categorisation or conceptualisation, and quite often includes what is taken for granted or those things that are common sense (Husserl, 1970). The attraction of the phenomenological method was, for Husserl (1970), its promise as a new science of being. Through this methodology, disclosure of a realm of being which presented itself with absolute certainty, arising from experience, seemed possible. Husserl (1970) saw this method as a way of reaching true meaning through penetrating deeper and deeper into reality.

Secondly, let us consider the importance of hermeneutics. Gadamer (1960;1998:295), saw the work of hermeneutics not as developing a procedure of understanding, but to clarify further the conditions in which understanding itself takes place, 'Hermeneutics must start from the position that a person seeking to understand something has a bond to the subject matter that comes into language through the traditionary text and has, or acquires, a connection with the tradition from which it speaks.' In agreement with Heidegger's (1962) view that language and understanding are inseparable structural aspects of human 'being-in-the world,' Gadamer stated that, 'Language is the universal

medium in which understanding occurs. Understanding occurs in interpreting' (1998: 389). Gadamer (1960) viewed interpretation as a fusion of horizons, a dialectical interaction between the expectations of the interpreter and the meaning of the text (as cited in Polkinghorne, 1983).

A 'horizon' is a range of vision that includes everything seen from a particular vantage point. A person with no horizon, in Gadamer's (1998) view, does not see far enough and overvalues what is nearest at hand, whereas to have a horizon means being able to see beyond what is close at hand. The concept of 'horizon' for the purpose of my research provided an important lens for the understanding of how pre-adolescents crystallise their value and moral systems because they too need a vision that extends beyond their reality to enable them to make well informed and consciously made decisions. Like phenomenology, hermeneutic phenomenology is concerned with the life world or human experience as it is lived. The focus is toward illuminating details and seemingly trivial aspects within experience that may be taken for granted in our lives, with a goal of creating meaning and achieving a sense of understanding (Wilson & Hutchinson, 1991). The way this exploration of lived experience proceeds is where Husserl (1970) and Heidegger (1962) disagreed.

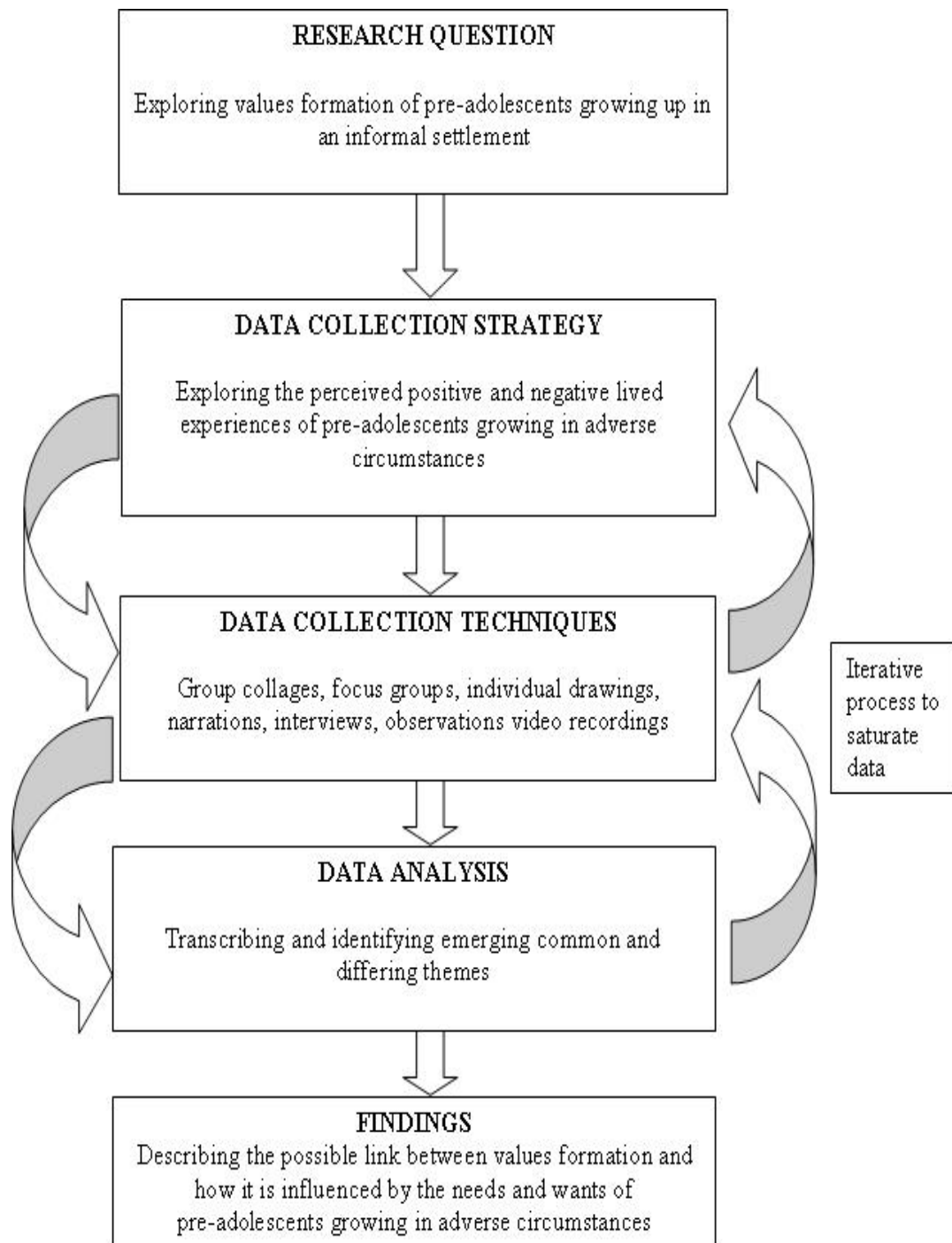
While Husserl (1970) focused on understanding beings or phenomena, Heidegger (1962) focused on 'Dasein', which is translated as 'the mode of being human' or 'the situated meaning of a human in the world.' Husserl (1970) was interested in acts of attending, perceiving, recalling, and thinking about the world, and human beings were understood primarily as 'knower's.' Heidegger (1962), in contrast, viewed humans as being primarily concerned creatures with an emphasis on their fate in an alien world (as cited in Annells, 1996; Jones, 1975).

For the purpose of my research I tend towards the view that the pre-adolescents who live in the informal settlement hold centre stage, as they are the people to give meaning to their lived experiences as the values and morals that are important for them emerge from what they know and treasure.



From a hermeneutic phenomenological paradigm it is important to understand and subsequently to interpret the values and morals constructed from the world view of the young people in this research based on their lived experiences. By using various research methods I will engage the respondents in reflection upon the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences in their lives and then by using moral dilemmas, seek to show the interplay between the formation of values and needs.

### 3.3. THE RESEARCH PROCESS



**Figure 3.1** The research process

### 3.4. RESEARCH DESIGN

#### 3.4.1 *Qualitative research approach*

To explore the research questions I chose a qualitative research approach because this afforded me the opportunity to explore the richness, depth, and complexity of the phenomena; namely, the 'value formation of pre-adolescents growing in the adverse circumstances of an informal settlement, and the interplay of needs and wants in making decisions by using flexible and varied methods suitable to the age and interest of the participants.

This approach enabled me to explore the lived experiences of the youth and how they attached meaning to their everyday events. In using a qualitative approach I was able to produce findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or any other means of quantification (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). It enabled me to collect descriptive data and details from the participants, such as their emotions, feelings and their thought processes. This provided me with the lens necessary to explore from the 'insider's' perspective (Ary, 1990:445).

*'The ultimate aim of qualitative research is to offer a perspective of a situation and provide well-written research reports that reflect the researcher's ability to illustrate or describe the corresponding phenomenon. One of the greatest strengths of the qualitative approach is the richness and depth of explorations and descriptions' (Myers, 2002).*

Another advantage of the qualitative approach is that the research was conducted in the participant's natural environment. In this case the research took place in an aftercare centre located in the informal settlement. This provided a holistic picture of the reality in which these young people grow up. It was reality based, and 'home' to the young people.

This view is an important argument in the mind of the qualitative inquirer who believes that human behaviour is always bound to the context in which it occurs (Ary, 1990:445). Since, I, as the researcher was the data-gathering instrument, I was able to engage with the participants in a very personal and interactive manner by listening, talking, observing and reading as they moved with the process. This approach provided me with the flexibility necessary to use methods of collecting data that engaged the participants in non threatening activities, such as making ‘stick figures’, group collages and individual drawings.

The limitation of this approach is the tendency to hold personal biasness which involved me in periodic debriefing with my peers and member checks (Ary, et al., 1990:449). To keep myself objectively engaging with the research and participants, I kept a reflective journal to record my thoughts, feelings, assumptions, motives and rationale for decision making.

### **3.5. DATA COLLECTION**

This study is the exploration of pre-adolescents growing up in an informal settlement who are exposed daily to adverse circumstances. The research site was selected and decided upon before the selection of participants.

#### ***3.5.1 Identification of the data collection site***

According to Heidegger (1927;1962), pre-understanding is a structure for being in the world. This pre-understanding is the meaning, or organisation, of a culture that is present before we understand and become part of our historicity of background. Pre-understanding is not something a person can step outside of or put aside, as it is understood as already being with us in the world. Heidegger (1927; 1962) went as far as to claim that nothing can be encountered without reference to a person’s background understanding.

Koch (1995) described this as an indissoluble unity between a person and the world. Meaning is found as we are constructed by the world, while at the same time we are constructing this world from our own background and experiences. There is a transaction between the individual and the world as they constitute and are constituted by each other (Munhall, 1989).

With the introduction of the new South African dispensation in 1994, all health institutions that were subsidised by the Government Department of Health, and as a means to sustaining their financial support, were obliged to do outreach community services, specifically to the marginalised and disadvantaged communities. The Paschal Mystery Frail-care and Hospice, run by a group of Religious Sisters, is located within the Tshwane municipal region and was allocated the areas around them, including an informal settlement called ‘Card-box Town’<sup>9</sup> opposite the ‘Never Greens.’ This informal settlement was later relocated. This meant people who had come to the area initially for work were now re-located even further away from the industrial area of Greater Tshwane, making their chances of getting employment even more formidable. As a consequence the people refused to move so far away and hence went to another informal settlement area known as ‘No Resources.’

‘No Resources,’ as the name suggests, is literally a place without resources such as running water, electricity, toilets or any form of municipal services. Once in the area the people erected make-shift dwellings out of plastic bin bags by attaching them to planks of wood at four corners. These were dug into the mud as foundations. Other dwellings were erected from cardboard boxes while some were erected from corrugated iron sheets and secured in the same style as the plastic bags. There is little shelter from the rain and storms that threaten the dwellings.

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<sup>9</sup> Pseudonyms used to protect the participants used in the research.

‘No Resources’ is surrounded by thorn bushes that expose its harshness, infertility and aridness. The area is served by municipal lorries that deliver water twice a week and distribute it at sporadic collection points. There is no electricity in the area.

They have pit toilets, if any toilets at all. The area is rife with gangsters and crime is a known source of income – usually from stolen goods. Hence, ‘No Resources’ is home to thousands of homeless people, many who have come to South Africa illegally. In search of greener pastures, parents leave their home countries and come with their children to South Africa. In the process many children are separated from their families and because they are too young to be absorbed in the formal economy or do not have the required documents to apply for social grants, they become not only physically marginalised, but also emotionally, spiritually and psychologically marginalised.

The presence of the Paschal Mystery Sisters within the Cardboard Box area was a welcoming breath of fresh air, and within a short period of time the people from the ‘No Resource’ area begged them to please come and help. The sisters, while deliberating their many needy options, tell the story of a child that passed away and how the parents were not able to give it a proper burial. As a result they just dug a hole and buried their child in a dignified way in front of their shack.

Another saga is told of a man who was dying a miserable death in a bathtub under a tree outside his shack. These accounts, among many others, were with little doubt deciding factors in the hearts, minds and conscience of the Paschal Mystery Sisters who then decided to enter ‘No Resources’ as a response to reach out to humanity, and not because of pressure put on them to sustain a subsidy from the Government Department of Health. The sisters knew that the Charism of the Paschal Mystery was again to give birth among the needy, hopeless and hungry that knock at their door!

They were not deterred in this call to reach out when on their first visit with food, their employees were held up at gun point and had their bakkie<sup>10</sup> stolen.

The Paschal Mystery Sisters continued their exploration of the ‘No Resources’ area. As they listened to the misery and heart-rendering accounts of real life experiences, saturated with hopelessness and desperation, the sisters decided to set up a small clinic, crèche and an after-school day care centre.

The site manager says:

*‘Our first visit in this informal settlement was like a coming home. People poured out their misery. They also expressed their hope as they begged us to do the same work among them as we did in Cardboard Box. The services were on demand at all levels. For us there was just no turning back. We started with the mobile clinic of its own kind, home based care and a crèche. Very soon we delivered meals on foot and then gave food parcels to those really destitute. The community stood behind us and have protected us to date. They voluntary assisted us with the provision of services. Eventually we set up our own shacks for a centre.’*

The Paschal Mystery centre is a human-made mkhuku<sup>11</sup>. Admittedly it is not the most conducive teaching environment.

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<sup>10</sup> Local collective name for a pickup truck.

<sup>11</sup> A ‘mkhuku’ is a small make-shift four room dwelling made of corrugated iron sheets supported by wooden planks at each corner and founded upon a mud floor. It is only 1,65 meters high and 10- 12 meters in circumference).

However, rudimentary it appears, it is home and school to all the children who attend there as it provides shelter, food, education, care, love and acceptance.

The day care centre came as a result of the need of the older children for care and support at different levels of literacy as illiteracy is still a reality in this settlement. The day care renders care to the orphaned and vulnerable children in this settlement and beyond its borders. This service has enabled children who would never have had a chance of education to access formal education. It is wonderful to witness transformation in humanity as I have witnessed in children who are disadvantaged in so many ways.

Being marginalised forces these children into a situation where they have to engage in at-risk behaviour to survive. They become victims of crime, alcohol abuse, gambling, drug abuse, sexual exploitation, vulgar language, stealing, telling lies and violence. The consequences of living and growing up in an overcrowded, under-resourced, malevolent and poverty-stricken environment begs the question as to what the values of these children are and how their values are influenced and altered by their marginalised situation. What constitutes their moral development and how do they learn morals?

From my contact with the Paschal Sister who minister at the informal settlement I became very interested in the children who grow up in such adverse situations. My interest grew out of my personal ministry, in the Catholic Church, having worked with teenagers for the past 20 years on a behaviour change programme. It has always interested me as to how young people make moral and value-based decisions. It has been my experience that they aspire to great heights but in the practical and daily living experiences they do not reach their goals.

Hence, from my experience and having the privilege to conduct research, I decided to choose 'No Resources' as my research site. I decided on the site because the Paschal Mystery Sisters work in the area and this would give me easy access to the children.



This is a privately operated mission within the community and does not fall under the jurisdiction of the department of Education or Health. Secondly, I chose the site because it is home to many children who are left alone for long periods during the day without parental care and supervision. In my opinion these children were ideal for me to collect data from regarding how they form their values and morals. My intention was to explore the question, What are the morals and values of children in their pre-adolescent years living in the adverse conditions of an informal settlement?

To gain access to my data collection site, I asked permission from the Manager, who is the matron of the Paschal Mystery Frail-care and Hospice of which 'No Resources' is an outreach project. Once I received permission to enter the site I entered with the intention of getting to know the children and to build a relationship of trust. This I did a number of weeks before I began my data collection process. It was my intention to do voluntarily work in the kitchen with the Paschal Mystery Sisters but this did not engage me with the children at all, hence I then asked permission to work with the after-school day carers. They met with the children between the ages of 10 – 14 each day after they would arrive from formal school and help them with their homework. During this time the children were also provided with a warm meal.

### ***3.5.2 Identification of the of participants***

Prior to selecting my participants I visited the research site where the young people came each day after formal schooling for food and to get help with their homework. Here we engaged in various activities to get to know each other. We made paper mache footballs, played skittles by using empty plastic yogurt containers; we played snakes and ladders, and engaged in spelling competitions. Through our practical activities I observed that the children enjoyed what I did with them and therefore, looked forward to my coming. This deepened their trust in me. They showed their appreciation for my being with them when on one of my visits they asked to do some traditional dancing for me. They dressed up and then performed a number of intricate and graceful dances.

Through these events I came to know the young people personally and from my observation I could begin to identify the ones who would meet specific criteria needed in the research. The criteria were to include pre-adolescents between the ages of 10 and 14 who live alone without parental care, or who are left alone for long periods during the day. The selected participants would be pre-adolescents who are daily exposed to adverse conditions and who have to make real life choices. Simultaneously, the participants would need to have the capacity to provide substantial responses to the expectations of the research methods by engaging in reflection on what the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences are in their lives and be able to articulate them. This would require them to understand some English or Sesotho which are languages I can converse in. I explained to them that I would have two other people work with me to help me interpret and analyse what they shared with me.

On one of my visits I intentionally, with the help of my translator, explained to the children that I was a second year master’s student at the University of Pretoria and that for many years I had worked among young people between the ages of 10 and 14. I explained that I work developing programmes that engage young people in an exploration of what the important values are in their lives.

Here I basically explained that I engage young people in role playing, songs, drawings, art and various other group works to help them reflect on how they form their values; i.e. those worthwhile and important things in their lives. I told the young people that I was interested in working with them, and that should they agree, we would explore their values. I explained to the children that my reason for doing this was that through their reflections they would make a contribution to our knowledge and understanding of what it means to be a marginalised pre-adolescent and its impact on value and moral formation. I explained that this would be very helpful for educators, parents, church-workers, social workers and other stakeholders, so therefore they would be able to help other pre-adolescents who grow up in other informal settlements by identifying their needs.

I then explained that if they should agree to work with me they would have to sign a consent form to say officially that they agreed to engage in the research. I explained that even if they signed the form, and at any time felt they did not want to continue, then they had the freedom and right to withdraw without any further consequences.

I also explained that I would engage them in three exercises.

- A group exercise where they would make a group collage.
- An individual exercise where selected participants would draw their own individual picture of what the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences were in their lives.
- A discussion on dilemmas presented in story form.

I explained that because of the nature of the research I would choose fewer participants to share with us their individual pictures during an individual interview. After my interpreter explained a second time what the research entailed and what would be expected of them, 24 youths who fulfilled the criteria were identified. They agreed to engage in the research and each one signed a written consent form (Appendix E).

Since most of the children lived alone with other siblings, or stayed alone for long periods during the day, it was not possible for me to contact their parents or guardians to ask them to sign consent forms. In the absence of their parents and guardians I asked the after-school care centre manager to stand in as proxy of parents or guardians who could not be contacted. This she did and wrote a consent letter for each of the participants to engage in the research (Appendix D). When the consent of the children was given and the consent forms signed by the manager, I then arranged with the carers of the centre to meet with the participants to select the research group.

To gain background information on the participants that would enable me to select those most suited for the research, I decided to ask the participants to make a model that

would represent their family by using ‘Stick People.’

### 3.5.2.1 *The advantage of using ‘stick people’*

The use of ‘stick people’ gave the participants the opportunity to develop the language of how to describe what they wanted to say prior to their individual sharing. Being engaged in the activity enabled the participants to claim ownership of the project and creatively narrate the reality of his/her family from his/her personal perspective in as much depth as he/she wanted to share.

It distanced them emotionally and kept them objective, as many of these children had painful experience of loss and separation from significant people whom they loved.

It also encouraged the children to look at their family reality in a non-intimidating and less threatening way as they watched other children engage in the same activity. It kept the children actively engaged with hands-on activities. It kept them motivated and interested in the task at hand, as well as encouraging skills such as using scissors to cut the stick people’s clothes, using glue, and the use of colour kept emotions and inner spirits high even when the exercise of sharing the reality of home was painful. The exercise provided the opportunity for the children to engage in communication with each other about their families, which is an area they possible hide.

Each participant was given a number of stick figures with buttons for heads, of various sizes representing their different family members. They were also given scissors to cut out dresses to represent the females and trousers to represent the males. Bigger sticks represented the parents and shorter sticks represented siblings. Each child received a polystyrene base cut from the wrapping of a new printer I had recently purchased. This was the ideal base for the children to place their stick ‘families.’ The children enjoyed this activity as I observed the great care each took to construct their family.



**Figure 3.2 Stick figures made by the children (source: author's own)**

Once each child had constructed their family they were then given the opportunity to privately share with me, my interpreter and my research assistant, information about their families. The process took the form of an informal interview where I asked only one question, namely, 'Would you like to tell us about your family?'

The purpose of asking this one open-ended question was to give the child the freedom of expression to share as much or as little as he/she felt comfortable to do. It also afforded the child the freedom to respond from his/her own frame of reference without any expectation on the behalf of the researcher (Ary, 1990:418). Each interview was recorded by written notes. These notes were later translated and transcribed (see background to participants, section 3.5.4).

The individual interview took place in one of the 'mkhuku' classrooms. Only the individual children being interviewed, the interpreter and myself were present. I tried to create a relaxed environment by using the child's name and reassuring him/her that what he/she shared would be kept strictly confidential.

I reassured the child that when I wrote up the content I would not use her/his real name but that I would give another name so that nobody could identify him/her.

Although each child entered the interview with a well-constructed family consisting of mother, father and siblings, as they began to tell their stories they gradually removed their fathers, and in many incidents their mothers as well. Even their siblings were removed. This was a very emotional experience for most of the children. As they narrated the reality of their family experiences, many painfully cried. My research assistant, who is a professional counsellor, was at hand to comfort each child when needed.

### ***3.5.3 Selection of research participants:***

The selection of my participants was done by means of purposive sampling (Patton, 1990). The rationale for purposive sampling is to seek information-rich cases to provide in-depth understanding of a phenomenon (Patton, 2002). In qualitative research, the bias becomes purpose (Lancy, 1993). Hence, in using purposive sampling, I did so using it as a suitable strategy to quickly reach my objective. I believed that the participants from 'No Resource' informal settlement would yield maximum information regarding the specific area and purpose of my research.

Using purposive sampling was cost effective and convenient, and it was easy to reach participants at most times. Since I, as the researcher, was the main data collecting tool it was important for me to ask the Paschal Mystery Carers who work at the after-school care centre to assist me in choosing the participants as they know the children in a deeper and more personal way. This took into consideration the limitation of making the wrong choices in selecting participants (Neuman, 1997:206).

### ***3.5.4 Background information of the participants who were selected for this research***

On the basis of what the participants shared, I selected 10 young people from among the 24 interviewed who had the criteria that would serve the purpose of collecting relevant information for in-depth analysis related to the central issues being studied. The background of the participants and the reasons for choosing are reflected below:

The names of the children and other significant information pertinent to the location of the informal settlement have been changed in the profiles that follow to protect the identity of each child and to honour the confidentiality and anonymity promised to each participant.

#### **Family 1:**

Arum is a 13 year old girl. Arum said; ‘There are seven children in my family. My older sister is married and has her own house. I stay with my older sister and only come home during school holidays. We are five girls and two boys. I am the last born.

My parents are separated since my mother discovered that my father was unfaithful and is the father of another woman’s child. Despite my parent’s divorce, the son from the other woman is known and accepted at our home and he visits at weekends.’

Arum also shared that her father regularly abused her mother and once it was so bad that she had to be hospitalised. According to Arum, this was the reason why her mother took her children and ran away to ‘No Resource.’ Arum said that her mother works to gain a living but gets no support from her father. Arum said; ‘I am very angry with my father even though I still love him.’ She said she thinks that her brothers are old enough now and they must protect their mother against the abuse of their father. She believes her father is a sick person who needs help for his abusive behaviour.

In this light Arum shared that she never wishes to marry as she has seen her mother suffer too much.

Despite all these emotions, she said, her greatest wish is that her parents could get back together again and that they all live as one big happy family. She said; ‘It hurts me deeply when my father hurts my mother and humiliates her publicly.’ She said now her mother has a boyfriend who treats her children like his own and they do live happily together. ‘At home my mother and step-father treat us well; we always talk and laugh together. Sometimes I make them cross with my behaviour and then I ask for pardon.’

**Reason:** My reasons for choosing Arum is that she has been exposed to extreme violent abuse and humiliation of her mother by her father at home. Due to witnessing this abuse she has made a firm resolution never to marry. I wanted to interview her to learn more about how this experience shapes her values and decisions.

## **Family 2:**

Jonquille is a 13-year of boy. He told us that his father was shot dead when he was still a young boy. According to Jonquille, his mother came with him from the North West Province to the ‘No Resource’ informal settlement in the hope of getting work. He says she has a piece job as a domestic worker. Jonquille also said; ‘Since we arrived at the informal settlement my mother has met another man and they have two other children now. I am very sad and disappointed that my mother has AIDS.’

He also shared that his step father also has AIDS and that both of his parents are sick. Jonquille said when they drink alcohol they fight and he does not like their behaviour. He told us that he is doing very well at school but he does not attend often as his parents do not have the money for transport. Jonquille said this causes him stress because he likes school and he is very sad that he cannot go. He said he is grateful for the education that he gets at the centre and also for the food and clothes he receives.



**Reason:** I chose Jonquille because he is affected by the reality that his mother and stepfather are both living with AIDS. This means that he is daily faced with sickness and the possibility of a future without parents. I was interested to interview Jonquille to know whether the fear of the future without parents contributes towards how he makes value decisions.

### **Family 3:**

Yew is a thirteen year old boy. Yew told us that his mother died when he was a small child. He said; ‘After my mother died I lived with my father. I was happy until my father decided to move to another village and he decided to leave me with my grandmother and my cousins. My grandmother is a very good woman but I still miss my father and I feel he has rejected me.’

He said that his father does bring food from time to time. He shared with us that his grandmother is a domestic worker who leaves very early in the morning and only returns late in the evening. Yew said, ‘I miss my mother very much and I feel very sad when at school the other children make cards for their mothers but I have no real mother to give it to.’ He told us that one day he hopes to finish school, get a job, and buy his grandmother a real house.

**Reason:** I chose Yew because he shared how he feels great pain at the loss of his mother after her death. He also feels deeply the absence and rejection of his father who left him with his grandmother. I hoped to explore more how his feelings towards his father’s rejection affect his make daily choices.

### **Family 4:**

Rue is an 11-year old boy. He shared that his father does not live with them. He said he lives with his mother who is unemployed. Rue said, ‘I feel very unhappy that my

father is not at home to support my family and that he has a beautiful house somewhere else.’ Rue also said; ‘I am also very sad because my mother says she cannot care for us and she wants us to go and stay with our grandmother but I do not want to leave my mother even if she has no money to buy us food and clothes.’ He says that his grandmother brings them food when she can.

**Reason:** I chose Rue because he feels abandoned by his father who does not take responsibility for his family. The family are struggling with poverty. The children are faced with the fear that their mothers might also abandon them as they are unemployed and cannot care for them. I wished to explore with Rue how being exposed to poverty contributes to the choices he makes daily.

#### **Family 5:**

Balm is a 14-year old boy. He shared that he is the first born of two boys. Balm told us that his father is unemployed but he tries to get them food; sometimes he brings them apples or pears. He said his mother is a domestic worker and supports her family the best she can. Balm said; ‘When my father drinks too much he becomes violent and beats my mother with bricks. I try to stop him but he pushes me away and keeps on beating her.’

He told us that once he decided to open a case against his father because he had hurt his mother. He shared that he loves his father but hates his behaviour. He said ‘I hate when he abuses us verbally and when he beats me, my brother and my mother.’ Balm told us that the beatings usually happen at weekends. He said that sometimes when the police are called his mother defends his father as she loves him very much. He also shared that his father is abusive to the police and says he is not afraid of them or anybody in the community. Balm told us that he has run away from home on occasions but always returns as it is still his family and home. He said at home he washes the dishes, and when his parents are not at home he looks after his younger brother.

**Reason:** I chose Balm because he is exposed to violence and alcohol abuse and he sees himself caught in an impossible situation where he expresses hatred for the behaviour of his father yet he is a man he loves and respects. I wished to explore more deeply how Balm's love and respect for his father reflects the choices he makes daily and keeps him in the home situation.

**Family 6:**

Violet is a 14-year old girl. Violet told us that her family came to 'No Resources' from Limpopo as her mother needed work. She said that her father was burnt to death recently in their mkhuku as a result of witchcraft which was prophesied by a woman in the village. Violet believes that this woman was jealous of her family.

She also said that because of the woman her brother has moved away from home. She also shared that this same woman has prophesied that she will also be killed by a car and that she will give birth to crippled children. Violet said; 'I believe in God and every day I pray for His protection.' Violet told us that her mother has also met another man and he tries to support the family.

**Reason:** I chose Violet as I was interested in exploring how her experience of witchcraft forms her values and the choices she makes daily. She appeared very nervous and did not keep eye contact with us.

**Family 7:**

King's Spear is a 10-year old boy. King's Spear shared that his mother had been very sick and died in hospital when he was still young. He said after his mother's death he stayed with his father and siblings but his mother's sister came and fetched him and took him to the informal settlement. He said; 'I am very unhappy and I want to go back to my father and my siblings. My aunt drinks a lot and does not give me food.'

She leaves me alone in the house hungry, with my three cousins.’

King’s Spear said that his father had moved to another village and he never came to see him. He said when he first came to live with his aunt his father came to collect him but his aunt refused to let him go. King’s Spear said; ‘I am very sad, angry and hungry. My only hope of food is when I come to the centre.’

**Reason:** I chose King’s Spear because of his strong negative emotions towards his father, who he perceives as having abandoned him, and his anger towards his aunt who he feels ‘fetched him’ without his agreement and took him to a place he does not want be. I was interested in exploring how these negative emotions affect his behaviour and how they affect his values.

#### **Family 8:**

Snowdrop is a 10 year girl. Snowdrop shared that she was born to parents when they were still at school doing Grade 10, but by then her mother was 19. She said her mother told her that her father left home when Snowdrop was six months and went to stay with his mother. According to Snowdrop, her father refused to take her with him. She also said her parents separated when her mother discovered that her father had an affair with her aunt and that Snowdrop’s mother got custody of her. She said; ‘I never knew my dad as I was too small. Now he is dead.’

She told us that her mother is sick with HIV/AIDS and now lives with another man. They have another child. She said her stepfather supports their family, but she does not go to school as it is too far away and they cannot afford transport.

**Reason:** I chose Snowdrop because she lives with the reality of knowing her father rejected her when he left her mother, and because he is now dead she cannot reconcile with him. She also is exposed to sickness at home.

Due to the poverty of her circumstances she cannot go to school to be educated. This child came across as very vulnerable and fragile.

### **Family 9:**

Geranium is a 13-year old girl. She told us that she stays with her mother, her two brothers and her sister who is 15 and has a baby. Geranium said her father has left the family and only comes when he needs money and expects his wife to help him. She shared that her older brother died recently of HIV/AIDS. Geranium said, ‘My mother is also sick and we suffer because she is unemployed. My mother receives a grant for each of us and she sells acha<sup>12</sup> and sweets to get more money.’ Geranium also said, ‘I am very angry with my father for abandoning his family and leaving us all to starve.

**Reason:** I chose Geranium because of the suffering she has to bear at home because of the poverty she experiences as her mother is unemployed and they have to survive on the social grant. I wished to explore more deeply how the poverty of her situation contributes towards her values and the choices she makes. Geranium presented herself as a shy and withdrawn person.

### **Family 10:**

Bryony is a 13-year old girl. Bryony told us that she was born when her mother was 16 years old and still at school. She said that she has not seen her father since she was five years old when he left her mother. She also said that her mother is a domestic worker and she gets paid at the end of the month.

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<sup>12</sup> A type of chutney.

Bryony said; ‘I am very angry with my father for not taking care of his family.’ She said that she now has a step father who comes home at the weekends, and also shared that it is her grandmother who looks after her from the money she gets from recycling bottles. Her grandmother is the one who provides food, clothes, school fees and owns the house they live in. Bryony said she is the first of three children.

**Reason:** I chose Bryony because she feels strongly against her father who has rejected his family responsibilities, thus making them dependent on their grandmother who has to work to provide them with their basic needs. In the course of her sharing her experiences she projected herself as a person who is in control of her situation. I wished to explore how her suffering has shaped her values and her daily choices.

### **3.5.5** *Data collecting methods*

In order to achieve data saturation, I decided to employ a number of data gathering strategies. The range of strategies enabled me to explore values formation from different angles so that specific themes and their relation to needs and wants could emerge.

#### **3.5.5.1** *Group collages*

To collect my data I firstly engaged the original group of 24 children in group collages. According to Devine (2010), collages are a useful method of collecting data because by using a collection of different pictures, rather than just a single image, the researcher is able to capture a wider perspective on the participant’s reality.

I also used collages because it was a suitable and creative way to capture all of the feelings and thoughts surrounding the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences in the participants lives.

It allowed the participants freedom and scope to put in as many pictures as they wanted in order to help them express themselves. This method created a non-threatening atmosphere in which the participants were able to share the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences in their lives at a safe emotional distance. By using collages I was able to infer much about the inner ‘thinking’ and ‘feelings’ of the children without them having to put everything into words. This method also helped the participants take ownership of the task at hand and empowered them to own their own reality.

An off-shoot of this exercise proved beneficial in that the participants were communicating about real life issues affecting them that most of them had kept hidden within themselves and had never spoken about before. Engaging the participants in making collages also engaged them in group work which encouraged communication, use of cognitive skills, and the practical use of scissors and glue. I observed that the outcomes of this exercise made the participants feel good and proud as they displayed their colourful presentations around the mkhuku walls.

Later on, having the collages displayed in the classroom enabled the participants to return to what they had stuck there so that if they wished to say anything further they could refer back to the collage.

#### 3.5.5.2 *Individual drawings and narration*

Burns and Kaufman (1970) have developed conceptual frameworks to interpret children's drawings. Many investigators have demonstrated that children's drawings can reflect self-concept, attitudes, wishes, and concerns (Golomb, 1992). To enable me to explore more deeply the values formation of pre-adolescents growing in adverse circumstances, I used drawings and narration.

This was a method of collecting data that was appropriate for the age group of my participants and it helped me understand what was being shared as the interviews were

all conducted in Sotho. Firstly I invited each participant to draw how they perceived the ‘good’ influences in their lives, and on completion each participant had the opportunity to share what they drew. The following day each participant was invited to draw the ‘bad’ influences in their lives, and then each one had the opportunity to share what they drew. I used this method of drawing and narration to collect data because it enabled the participants to convey emotion, mood, narrative, ideas and messages as they narrated their story behind the picture.

This was a creative exercise for the children and it fully engaged them. It also allowed me to get first hand information about the life of the story-teller and to observe the present emotion behind the words. While the participants were drawing they were also taking time to think about the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences in their lives, and drawing gave them space to distance themselves emotionally when the reality was too painful to talk about without being able to refer to something outside themselves. Enabling participants to draw their perceptions of what the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influence are in their lives enabled me to infer underlying values and make notes of their needs and wants.

As the participants narrated and disclosed the meaning behind what they had drawn, they were able to articulate their reality in an objective way and it helped them keep control of their emotions where possible. At times the participants were overcome with emotion. When this happened we let them have the space they needed to regain control and then they decided to continue.

#### 3.5.5.3 *Individual interviews*

Babbie and Mouton (200:289) define a qualitative interview as,

*‘...an interaction between an interviewer and a respondent in which the interview has a general plan of inquiry but not a specific set of questions that must be asked in particular words and in a particular order. A qualitative*



*interview is essentially a conversation in which the interviewer establishes a general direction for the conversation and peruses specific topics raised by the respondents. Ideally the respondent does most of the talking, these interviews are semi-structured and open-ended, allowing the informant to speak for his or herself instead of responding to a set of predetermined hypothesis-based questions.'*

In this research four separate individual interviews took place. The first interview took place within the context of the participant sharing about his/her family by using 'stick people' to respond to one open-ended question, namely, 'Would you like to tell us about your family?' The content of the interviews were written down. The second interview took place further into the research when the individual participants narrated the content of their drawings. They shared with the researcher the drawings they had produced in response to the instruction: 'Draw the 'good' influences in your life.'

The third interview took place to enable the participants to respond to the instruction; 'Draw the 'bad' influences in your life.' The second and third interviews also asked very few questions and those that were asked were open-ended, basically, 'Can you tell us what are the 'good' and 'bad' influences in your life that you have drawn.' This open-ended questioning approach afforded the space for participants to say as much or as little as they wished to disclose. In a few interviews I probed a little to understand why the participants drew certain items.

The fourth interview took place during the dilemmas when participants were asked in the group and individually the questions that accompanied the story. These questions took the form of a 'should.' 'Should' questions keep the discussion centred on moral or values-based judgements and reasoning. Most participants feel comfortable sharing their thoughts on what someone else should do. What the participants shared was written down.

During the interviews in which the participants were asked to tell us the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences in their lives, some of the participants told personal stories related to an item they had drawn. On other occasions participants told stories and gave information about their families but they had not indicated anything in their drawing pertaining to what they were sharing. On one occasion the story told by one young participant brought to the surface deep, painful emotions about a past event that was not evident in her drawing. This was unanticipated, but it revealed the deep pain that the girl was carrying within her. A professional counsellor was close by to help the participants work with their present pain after the interviews were over.

At the end of each interview session I summarised the whole conversation and reflected it back to the participant in order to check whether my understanding tallied with what the participants had shared. The content of the first interviews was collected by writing notes. The second and third interviews were collected by using a video camera and writing notes. Each interview took approximately 10 minutes.

#### 3.5.5.4 *Focus group interviews*

According to Neuman (1997:253), in focus groups a researcher gathers together six or more people to discuss issues pertaining to any public concern, a product, a television programme, a political candidate or a policy. In this research I used a focus group approach to gather data from the feedback of the group collages reflecting the participants’ perspective on the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences in their lives.

When the different groups had completed their collages on the ‘good’ influences in their lives, then had the opportunity to tell me, the interpreter and my research assistant why they chose to put those pictures together. On the next day each group made a collage of the ‘bad’ influences in their lives, and on completion they again shared why they chose those pictures to form their collage. I also used focus groups to collect feedback from the participants when I did the dilemmas with them.

This enabled me to gather a large amount of information in a limited period of time.

It also provided direct evidence about similarities and differences in the participant's perspectives and experiences. Taking into consideration the sensitivity of the children I was working with, the focus groups provided a great activity to include all the children, even the shy ones who otherwise would not share when alone. For many of the children it broke down a communication barrier because others would help them share information about the pictures they chose. It was also a fun exercise for the participants who would normally not be engaged in such methods of working together. It generated excitement and provided the necessary motivation to keep the young interested in the task at hand.

Using the focus groups to collect data empowered leadership among the participants as they decided who would be their leader and what name they would give to their group. Engaging participants in this exercise had the additional benefit of indirectly making the young people aware that they were not alone in facing the adverse circumstances of their daily living experiences. I observed a great bonding among the children within the duration of the research data collection and I am of the opinion that it developed from the exposure of each other sharing their reality.

#### 3.5.5.5 *Use of moral dilemmas*

According to Nieuwenhuis (2010), using effective moral dilemmas in learning environments could develop moral reasoning skills in learners. It is claimed that if learners are taught how to take good values and moral decisions, when faced with real-life moral dilemmas situations, they will be able to make better decisions, but more importantly, be able to understand the consequences that their actions would have on others. They would have developed the confidence to determine and act upon what should or should not be done and to know their reasons why.

In this research I used two moral dilemma stories to establish the interplay between the inferred values and the needs presented in the data collected from the group collages and the participant's individual drawings.

Engaging participants in moral dilemma discussions increases understanding of values and moral dilemmas faced by all people and in developing the skill of ethical decision-making (Nieuwenhuis, 2010). It was a method used to observe how my participants would make real life decisions for, or against, their deepest values when faced with real needs. The needs in this research are basic to every individual and when unmet there is a high possibility that decisions to fulfil the needs would over-ride the upholding of real internalised values.

The stories were selected carefully for their content, relevance to the values and the age and maturity of the children. In telling the moral dilemma story, I created a mental picture of characters, situations, moral dilemmas and their resolutions. By so doing I created a context of the value and its operation, and at the same time sensitivity to societal norms, expectations, acceptable attitudes and standards of behaviour. The participants were divided into small groups. The first story narrated reflected the reality of a child growing up in adverse circumstances faced with the need to survive from hunger or to be honest.

The second faced the participants with the dilemma of respect and loyalty towards an abusive father who beat his wife. After each story I explored the value responses of the participants in an interactive way.

Each group interviewed was videoed to capture the emotions, thoughts and reasoning behind their responses. The content was also written down.

### 3.5.5.6 *Unstructured observations*

According to (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000:305) observational data are attractive as they afford the researcher the opportunity to gather ‘live’ data from ‘live’ situations. The researcher is given the opportunity to look at what is taking place in the situation, rather than second hand (Patton, 1990:203-5). This enables researchers to understand the context of programmes, to be open-ended and inductive, to see things that might otherwise be unconsciously missed, to discover things that participants might not freely talk about in interview situations, to move beyond perception-based data (e.g. opinions in interviews) and access personal knowledge.

During the observations I took an unstructured observation position (Cohen *et al.*, 2000:305). I entered the research site with no set expectations but took an open approach throughout the whole data collection process from the ‘stick people’, the group collages and group sharing, to the individual drawings and the narration of drawings. I was observing the body language, the tone of voice and facial expressions as the way the participants interacted with me, and in particular my research assistant who led the process of interviewing the participants as it took place in Sotho.

At the initial stage of having the participants share stories about their ‘stick families,’ I observed them to be tense and nervous and somewhat unsure of the process. I observed as we met more often and engaged in various activities of collecting data the participants became more relaxed and information seemed to flow from them. Despite the tears and painful emotions that were shared, the participants expressed a great willingness to tell us as much as they wanted. I observed that the girls offered more information than the boys. On all occasions I reassured the children that there were no right or wrong answers to anything that they wished to share, and that everything said would be treated as confidential.

Apart from the activities and what the participants shared during the interviews, I also observed their physical environment. The deprivation and harshness of the physical world were evidence of a real informal settlement. Devoid of grandeur, its sparseness was obvious and spoke of great vulnerability for those who lived there. The aftercare centre blended with the other mkukhus expect for the few pieces of play apparatus outside and the paintings on the walls.

Sharing the one fence with the centre was a shebeen<sup>13</sup>. During one interview, as the participant was sharing his ‘bad’ influences, I heard the adults next door relate a story of how someone who had stolen a cell phone was beaten with bricks. At one stage I felt uncomfortable when I noticed a mouse run between the books in the mkhuku. This had no effect on the participants and it appeared they were familiar with mice. I also observed the clothing of the children, and on a few occasions I noticed that the children had no socks, shoes or warm clothes for winter. Their legs were pale due to the harshness of winter as moisturisers and other skin treatments cannot be afforded.

While outside I observed how the participants engaged spontaneously in their home-made games and how they communicated and interacted freely with each other. It was obvious to me that the children who meet at this centre on a daily basis had become part of each other’s extended family. The observations also provided valuable data in terms of what these young people value and how these values are in operation in their day-to-day interactions with each other and adults.

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<sup>13</sup> An informal drinking establishment.

### 3.6. DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

To analyse qualitative data is an important act in the research process, to make sense of, interpret and theorise the data. Mouton (1996:168) adds another focus to qualitative analysis, emphasising the understanding, rather than the explaining, of social action and events within particular settings and contexts.

Thus, analysis also focuses on constructing with regard to the social world, stories, accounts and theories that retain the internal meaning and coherence of the social phenomenon, rather than breaking it up into constituent components. This emphasis is on the integrated, meaningful and contextual nature of social phenomenon.

According to Creswell (1994:1453), data analysis should not be left for last, therefore data analysis was an ongoing, iterative and emerging process throughout this study (see Figure 3.1).

Smit (2001) cites Tesch (1990) in identifying some principles appropriate for most types of qualitative research analysis. I have adopted some of his principles to analyse the data I collected. This was implemented as follows:

- Transcribing the content of all the group and individual interviews.
- Reading and re-reading the transcribed interviews and notes to make meaning of the data and then dividing the data into smaller meaningful units; i.e. listing the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences that occurred, inferred values and needs.
- Grouping similar data into categories.
- Grouping the categories into emerging themes.
- Crystallisation of the emerging themes.

### **3.6.1 *Crystallisation***

In order to check information gathered from the various data approaches discussed above, I used crystallisation as a tool to establish credibility and to look for emerging themes. This tool was to help me check for the correct understanding with the participants, keeping in mind that the role of the researcher is human, as well as the primary instrument of data gathering and data analysis.

## **3.7. TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE RESEARCH**

The exploration of this research was located within a specific context of a qualitative interpretivist study, and sought to highlight the specific ‘values’ and ‘moral’, ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ constructs of pre-adolescents growing up in adverse circumstances.

Krefting (1991) advocates the use of Guba’s (1981) model to describe four general criteria to assess the trustworthiness of qualitative research; namely, credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (as cited in Kuhn, 2003).

### **3.7.1 *Credibility***

Mertens (1998:181) maintains that ‘the credibility test asks if there is a correspondence between the way the participants actually perceive social constructs and the way the researcher portrays their viewpoints.’ To ensure credibility throughout the data collection process I summarised at the end of each interview what had been said and checked the correctness of my understanding with the participants. Continually throughout the research, and particularly during the transcribing of what were video recorded and translations of the written notes, I kept checking with the interpreter to ensure what I was reporting was what the participants had said and that it corresponded with what she also understood the participants to have said.



Eventually, when all data were collected, I formulated a story of what I believed the participants to have said during all of our interactions, from the time of the ‘stick people’ until the last interview had taken place, i.e. the dilemma story. I then constructed a generalised story of a pre-adolescent growing up in an informal settlement and read it to the participants. In this way I was checking to ensure that what I was reporting was credible and reflected the lived experience of the participants from their perspective.

I also continued my own reflexivity process and encouraged my research assistant to do the same with the data collected to identify further themes that could arise or those that may have been overlooked initially. This prolonged, ongoing reflection and discussion helped ensure the trustworthiness of the data. It also portrayed its credibility and authenticity when similar patterns or trends emerged.

### ***3.7.2 Transferability***

According to Merriam (1998:208), ‘in qualitative research, a single case or small non-random sample is selected precisely because the researcher wishes to understand the particular in depth, not to find out what is generally true of the many.’ Transferability is the responsibility of the reader, who determines the degree of similarity between the study site and the receiving context. The researcher is responsible for providing sufficient detail through extensive and careful description of the time, place, context and culture, to enable the reader to make his or her own judgement (Smit, 2003:131).

Since my research sought to understand a specific area of interest, located within a particular setting, it may not be appropriately transferable and generalisable to another context. Hence, one who wishes to transfer and generalise the findings to another context will then be responsible for making the judgment of how sensible the transfer is (Trochim, 2006).

### 3.7.3 *Dependability*

Dependability in qualitative research is viewed as the fit between what is recorded as data and what has actually occurred in the setting under study, rather than literal consistency in results of observations made by different researchers across different observations. It refers to the stability over time, the consistency through repetition, and the extent to which findings can be replicated or reproduced by another inquirer. According to (Merriam, 1998:205), ‘this logic relies on repetition for the establishment of truth; but... measurements, observation and people can be repeatedly wrong.’

In this research, to ensure dependability, I used various data collection methods. Firstly, the group collages reflecting the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences in the participants’ lives, and additionally the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences in the lives of the selected individuals. I also used group interviews on the dilemmas, and also individual interviews on the dilemmas. Throughout the data collection process I was making links between all the data collected from the interviews with the participants and how I eventually arrived at the emerging themes that arose. These links formed the audit trail reflecting how I categorised the data to arrive at the research findings. Mertens (1998:184) calls this a ‘chain of evidence’ or confirmability audit.

### 3.7.4 *Confirmability*

Mertens (1998:1880-181) describes confirmability with objectivity. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) (as cited in Kuhn, 2003), confirmability reflects that the analysis is grounded on the data and inferences based on the data are logical and of high utility. To ensure that as much confirmability was achieved throughout the research, various methods for collecting data were used. Since the very nature of the research bordered on personal experiences that were subjective and emotionally laden, I had to constantly keep my personal biasness in check.

The way to ensure that this was done was to use the video recorder so that outside the interviews objectivity was reached, especially when recording the content of conversations with the participants.

### **3.8. DELIMITATIONS**

This research was explored within a specific spacio-temporal setting of an informal settlement that engaged the researcher in the emotional, spiritual and intellectual realm of young people's lived experiences and how they construct their values and morals. Being exposed to the reality of the children subjected to adverse circumstances of growing up in an informal settlement was a challenge from the onset. Every child who attended the centre had a personal story to tell of hardship and denial of basic human needs being unfulfilled; else they would not need to come to the centre.

Therefore certain boundaries were necessary, which is natural given the nature of qualitative research from an empirical perspective, and since I am the central research tool with all my unique personal attributes.

The first important boundary to be taken into consideration was the vulnerability of the pre-adolescent engaging in the research because of its very personal and emotional nature. To overcome this challenge, I had a professional counsellor with us who was available to comfort and console the participants when this became a necessity. The counsellor had referral personnel in place in the event of participants needing further professional help.

Another boundary that was taken into consideration was the high degree of personal loyalty towards family and culture that may have prevented deep personal sharing and thus prevented the participants from sharing openly or even truthfully regarding the good or bad influences that impact on their lives. To ensure a trusting rapport between the participants and me took place, I spent time with the participants a number of weeks

ahead of the data collection process and together we engaged in a number of creative activities. This was done to develop trust among the participants.

Confidentiality was guaranteed throughout the research, reassuring the participants that nobody would be in a position to identify them as all their names, name places, locations and other important information had been changed.

### **3.9. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Within the confines of any research there are a number of key ethical principles that need to be respected. According to Piper (2001) and Simons (1989), ethical decisions are the result of the weighing up a myriad of factors in the specific complex social and political situations in which research is conducted. These principles include informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity, safety, privacy and trust. To ensure these principles were guaranteed in this research, I did the following:

- Obtained written consent from all the participants.
- Asked the manager of the after-school care centre to stand in proxy of their parents/guardians and give their consent to voluntarily participate in the research.
- Took all precautions to preserve the identity, anonymity and confidentiality of the participants in accordance with the ethical norms expected by the University of Pretoria. Each child was given a pseudonym name to conceal their identity. Participants were assured that any information shared remained for the use of this research only. Their names were not recorded on any documents and the audio recordings were destroyed after the final report and findings were compiled.

To ensure that trust was developed between the researcher and the participant, I gave feedback to the participants on what I transcribed from their narrations to ensure that I had recorded an accurate account of what they shared.

At all times I was transparent with them to avoid any acts of deception or betrayal in the research process or its published outcomes. If they did not wish any part of the research to be published then it was deleted.

### **3.10. CONCLUSION**

In this chapter a discussion was presented on how data were collected and analysed to identify emerging themes that provided insight into the values and morals of adolescents growing up in adverse circumstances and to discover whether needs and wants impact on their moral decision making. I used the research questions raised in chapter one, namely, what are the morals and values of children in their pre-adolescent years living in the adverse conditions of an informal settlement? Although this question was located at an abstract level of internalised values and morals, it was explored at a more concrete level as the research was conducted with pre-adolescent children. For that reason a number of concrete sub-questions guided the study from which the abstract internalised was inferred.

A hermeneutic phenomenological research design was used to explore the phenomena of pre-adolescence in their daily living experiences and how they construct their personal identities, rooted in their unique value and moral structures. This located the research within a specific context of a qualitative interpretivist study. This approach supported my choice of the research site, the particular participants for the study, the data collection methods, and the data analysis approach used. I also conferred the trustworthiness of the research while reflecting its limitations. I discussed the ethical considerations of such a research, and ultimately, the contribution this study can make to our understanding of value and moral formation in adverse circumstances.

In the next chapter the data and findings from the variety of data gathering techniques will be presented and analysed.

## CHAPTER 4. RESEARCH FINDINGS

### 4.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will present the data in terms of the methodology used to link my data to my main research question; namely, what are the values formation of pre-adolescents growing up in adverse circumstances of an informal settlement and how does the interplay of needs impact on their moral decision making? Although this question was located at an abstract level of internalised values and morals, it was explored at a more concrete level as the research was conducted with pre-adolescent children. For that reason a number of concrete sub-questions guided the study from which the abstract internalised values were inferred.

In what follows I will present and illustrate the results of data collected from interviews conducted with the groups who presented collages representing the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences in their lives and the data from interviews conducted with the 10 individually selected participants who also presented the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences in their lives in their individual drawings. In addition, my own observations over the time that I spent with them will be added to explain or corroborate what they shared with me. I will show how I tabulated their responses and show the specific themes that emerged. I will then explore the emerging themes in relation to the theories postulated by Piaget (1932; 1965), Kohlberg (1958), Glasser (1993a, 1999), and Lickona (1983a) and examine the relationship between needs/wants and value formation.

The participants were adolescents between the ages of 10 – 14 who live alone or who live with siblings for long periods at a time or who live with a single parent. They live in mkukhus and are daily subjected to harsh emotional, physical, social and economical conditions. To illustrate the process used to collect the data I will present how I interacted with the participants on a daily bases for the duration of the data gathering.

## 4.2. GROUP COLLAGES

To begin to collect my data I chose the collective stories of all 24 children between the ages of 10 and 14 who attend the centre to get a wide perspective and deeper insight into their lived reality as they experience life on a daily basis growing up in the adverse circumstances of an informal settlement.

The group was divided into four with six young people in each group. The groups were chosen ad hoc because at this stage all the children were engaged in the exercise. Each group decided on a name for themselves. Each group also chose a leader, a scribe and a presenter. Each group received an A3 page. They also received a number of old magazines with colourful pictures of all descriptions of people, clothes, gardens, sports, et cetera. The children, as a group, were asked to make a collage describing the good influences in their lives. The reason for engaging the children in group work was to slowly introduce them to very personal and communal influences that impact on their lives but in a way that was non-threatening and emotionally distanced, and to lessen any vulnerability before introducing the same exercise on a personal level.

Each group had the opportunity to present their collages (Appendix F). A brief summary of the narrations about their collages will now be presented per group.

### 4.2.1 *Good influences*

#### 4.2.1.1 *Group 1: Pretty Girls and Boys (we are beautiful)*

In this collage the children said they chose people acting and singing because these activities bring happiness and comfort. They shared that when they listen to music they get a good spirit ‘feeling’ and it makes them think of a good future. ‘We feel happy. Sometimes when we are sad and cry we sing and then we feel good again.’

This group also had a picture of a doctor. They said; ‘We need doctors because people who are sick must get well and live. Sickness is not a good thing – wellness is good.’

The children presented a picture portraying smiling policemen holding up a handcuff. They had a second picture of policemen and policewomen and used these pictures to say; ‘The police must help to bring peace and stop crime. People in our community want to live good lives without violence. When things are not ‘ok’ we do report it to the police and the people get arrested. This is to help curb crime.’ They had a large picture of a football player and the World Cup. They said; ‘Sports and playing football are very important because they engage young people in good behaviour keeping them away from crime and substance abuse.’

A picture of books and two other pictures of children in schools also featured in their collage and they shared how in their opinion education is very important. ‘Education is very important. It helps alleviate crime. The picture of books shows education offers a better future and good life. All children must be educated so that they are independent. We want to learn. We can also educate others at home.’ Well presented food was discussed. The group said; ‘Children in the informal settlement must get food to keep alive. At home we do not have food so we come to the centre to get some. We know we can come and be fed here.’

4.2.1.2 *Group 2: Hopeful (we think with each other and help each other to bring comfort)*

This group also presented a doctor. They reported; ‘Doctors are very important because people are sick with cancer, HIV/AIDS and other diseases and need good health. We must help others who are crying.’ A picture of food was the first on their page. They said; ‘Food is very important to make us strong and healthy. We also need to exercise to make our bodies well.’ Although they did not have a picture, they spoke of foreigners saying; ‘We are not xenophobic. We love other people and we want to be



one and help each other.’

One small boy said; ‘I put cars in the collage because I am a boy and I like cars.’ Another boy pasted a picture of a beautiful girl holding gifts. He said; ‘We learn that we can give gifts and make other people happy.’

This group also had two different pictures of the World Cup. They said; ‘Playing sports is important for us as these games encourage us to work together and support each other. It makes us fit and be exemplary.’ They also said; ‘Everybody must feel free to use our stadiums.’

#### 4.2.1.3 *Group 3: Blue boys and girls (they like the Blue Bulls as they are winners)*

A personal observation I made in listening to this group share thoughts is that everything in their picture is associated with sickness versus health. They had a picture of medicine and went on to say; ‘If you take your medicine you will get well.’ In this group there were children on medication for AIDS. These children are taught to faithfully adhere to their medicine. It is a question of life or death for them.

They had a big cell phone and shared; ‘If there are sick people at home we can call the ambulance quickly to get help and they can go to hospital to get well and healed.’ They also had a picture of money saying; ‘Money helps us get things, for example, to get to hospital when we are sick and to get help and buy food.’ They also presented food in the form of beautiful fresh fruit and reported; ‘Food is necessary for those who are sick and living with HIV/AIDS to help them get healthy.’

This group had a picture of very oriental houses. When I asked them to tell us about the houses they said; ‘We need houses for warmth and safety.’ This was interesting in that the children were not interested in the building per se but in the function of a house. There were also two bottles of perfume.

The children said; ‘We must wash and be clean. Not to be dirty so that people can smell us when we pass by.’ In this area there is no water except what is delivered by a lorry twice during the week.

They cut out a television and reported that ‘Television is important as we get information about worldwide news and the weather.’ The girls said, ‘Sometimes we watch other programmes like Generations.’ The boys said, ‘We like to watch football.’

One little boy pasted a big clock. He said; ‘It is important to respect time to drink the medicine on time for HIV/AIDS. It is also important to get to school on time and to let us know when we must sleep.’ A small motorcar was pasted on the bottom of the page. It was almost insignificant but when asked the boys why they used a picture of a car, one boy said; ‘It helps us get to hospital quickly when we are sick.’

#### 4.2.1.4 *Group 4: Black Tigers*

This is the name of a local security group – ‘A tiger is a strong animal and we want to be strong.’ This group pasted a picture of a beautiful lady and of another woman working in the home of a white couple looking after their baby. One boy said; ‘This is my mother. She is someone who helped us when we were young. She is very important. She cooks for us and cleans. We love her. She now works with other people’s children to bring us money and to buy food.’

Another boy showed a picture of a family. He said; ‘These are my sisters and father.’ He also shared how he sees a good and happy family as very important. ‘We love our families.’ One girl showed a picture of a married couple. ‘These are like my parents, good and happy. I choose them because they are married.’ It was interesting to note that the parents in the picture were of two different cultures (a black man and white woman) the child did not see the colour difference in the parents. They were just good parents.

One boy in the group chose all animals to symbolise his friends and likened his friend's characters to the animals. For example, he likened one friend to a penguin and said, 'His friend likes water, he likes swimming.' When asked why he chose animals to symbolise his friends he said; 'I chose the animals because I love nature.'

I also asked him what he thought his friends might feel about him likening them to the animals, and he said, 'They accept this and like it and it makes them happy.' One girl shared, 'I put food because my brothers want to eat but there is no food.' She also put in books and when asked what she wanted to do with the books she said; 'I want to read. Education is very important and we want to be educated.' This girl also pasted a happy picture of a young couple and said; 'This is my mother and father. They are happy and married. I live with them.' This group also put pictures of a sports field and said, 'This is where we can play sports. Sport is a serious game.'

After each group had saturated what they saw as the 'good' influences they were asked to make a collage on the second A3 page of the 'bad' influences in their lives. On completion of this exercise each group had the opportunity to share their collages (Appendix G). The narrations per group will now be discussed.

#### **4.2.2 *Bad influences***

##### **4.2.2.1 *Group 1: Pretty Girls and Boys (we are beautiful)***

This group pasted a picture of an older man leaning over a little girl on a swing who is crying. The group went on to explain, 'In our village the children go missing. One girl went missing and when the police found her body different parts were missing.<sup>14</sup> They

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<sup>14</sup> We can only infer that this alludes to some form of muti killing where the parts of the body are then

killed her. The children here are not protected and safe.’

Another picture portrayed people being killed. ‘Here in our village people are being killed. I am talking of one person who was shot by a drunken man. People are being killed and they do not respect each other as human beings.’

The group also shared; ‘Around here there are people who steal the children and cut off parts of their bodies and sell the parts and then use the money for their own pleasure.’ It was explained that this is called child trafficking. She also said, ‘The families of those children who have been mutilated are left in sorrow while the culprit is enjoying the money.’ Another girl said, ‘The people who do these things are friends with rich people who have everything they need. So they do these things to get money and be rich like their friends. After doing all these bad things then they put the body on fire.’ A number of other pictures showed people shooting and killing each other. The children said, ‘People are hunting each other and killing each other.’

One picture showed a very hunger child crouched over without any clothes. In the background there was a vulture ready to eat should the child die. ‘I feel sorry for that family because they have no food and are hungry.’ One girl spoke of a volcano as a natural disaster. When asked if there were volcanoes in her village she said, ‘No – but there are other natural disasters like bad roads, too much rain which destroys our houses and our schools, when it comes, the lightning also comes and destroys our homes, these are our natural disasters that are like the volcanoes.’ The children said, ‘Sometimes all these bad things make us think of suicide and we know others who have actually committed suicide.’<sup>15</sup> ‘Fires are also the cause of disasters, especially in winter,

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used for purposes related to witchcraft.

<sup>15</sup> The whole informal settlement is surrounded by railway lines and this is the main cause of suicide.

because we have no electricity and we need to keep warm so we light fires but often something happens and the whole shack goes on fire.’

#### 4.2.2.2 *Group 2: Hopeful*

In this collage one girl showed a picture of different tablets. She said; ‘In my school there is drug abuse. The people get tablets from the doctor and then they take an overdose and kill themselves. Children are abusive towards substances example, nyaope,<sup>16</sup> glue, etc.’ They also pasted a picture of a woman smoking. They said, ‘At our school learners smoke glue and cigarettes. It is not good for you because you can get cancer.’

The group also showed pictures of alcohol and house parties. They said, ‘Sometimes we go to these house parties but it is dangerous as there is a lot of alcohol and drugs and there is too much drinking and driving. Then people get accidents and get killed.’

One picture showed two people kissing. One girl said; ‘You should not kiss because you can get different diseases from each other.’ When asked whether the children at school kiss each other they said, ‘They kiss in the corners and on the bus.’ They said, ‘To kiss in front of people it is a mistake but to kiss privately is not a mistake.’

They also pasted a picture of a woman smoking. They said, ‘At our school learners smoke glue and cigarettes. It is not good for you because you can get cancer.’ Another picture showed people being bullied. ‘Children are bullying each other.’ They also shared how most adults in their neighbourhood carry guns and they are not put in safe

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<sup>16</sup> A local drug that is smoked

places. ‘Once a boy took a gun and brought it to school. This is not good because everyone has the right to live but people are killed all around us.’ Other bad influences in their lives are teenage pregnancies. ‘At our school the girls have sex before marriage and they get pregnant all the time. Then they do not finish their schooling. We should avoid and abstain from sex before marriage.’ ‘We are warned against strangers. We have to be careful and not talk to them or do what they want of us.’ The group had a horrendous picture of mutilated bodies. Although they put the picture there they decided not to share about it. It was not pursued.

#### 4.2.2.3 *Group 3: Blue boys and girls*

This group also displayed a number of pictures showing violence. They said, ‘There is much violence in our community and a lot of unlicensed guns. These are used to rob shops. Sometimes the learners bring guns to schools. The people also fight.’ Other pictures showed alcohol. ‘Most of the time the adults are drinking and then when they are drunk they become violent and fight and the police are called in. Also when they are drunk they drive the cars and cause accidents. In our village there are lots of taverns. But people also drink at home and even at school.’

Another picture showed drug abuse. The group said, ‘Children are selling anything they have so that they can buy nyaope. They smoke glue and dagga at school.’ One picture showed the police chasing a group of people. A boy explained, ‘This is a strike because the people are paid little money. Not being paid enough money is exploitation.’ Another picture showed a woman wearing boxing gloves. ‘It is not right for women to box.’ When asked if the women fight on the streets in their village the children said, ‘Yes, and they treat each other roughly.’ But another child said, ‘Women are also abused and raped each day.’ Another picture showed two men drinking alcohol. The children said, ‘We put that picture there to show how men influence each other negatively.’

One picture showed a young girl who had tattooed her body. The group reported, ‘Such things are not good because the girl is destroying her body.’ They also reported that ‘Girls destroy their bodies by getting pregnant and engaging in early sex.’ There was a picture of a big crocodile in the water. The children said, ‘We like to swim but our waters are dirty. Our mothers also wash our clothes in dirty water. We only get clean water twice a week when the lorry comes to deliver.’ One boy said, ‘We do not take care of our environment. We do not care for the environment, for example killing cats.’ When asked why they kill cats, one boy said, ‘They are used for witchcraft.’

#### 4.2.2.4 *Group 4: Black Tigers*

This group showed a number of pictures with women who were partially dressed. One picture in particular showed two adults having sex on the beach in front of all the passers-by. The boys said, ‘This is not good because the adults should not undress in front of children and have sex in front of other people. Children should not have sex.’ When the group was questioned about people having sex and whether young people engage in sexual activities the group said, ‘We do not engage in sex. Sex is for big people.’

Other pictures showed people being killed. The children said, ‘People get killed for no reason.’ The group also had pictures of people who were sick. They said, ‘In our village people are sick. HIV/AIDS is rife in the community and in our families.’

There were also pictures of violence. The children reported that, ‘Domestic violence is a reality.’ They said, ‘The father can beat the mother in front of the children particularly when he is drunk.’ Another picture showed a mother and daughter shouting at each other. The group said, ‘Today there is a lack of respect. Adults and children do not respect each other. Children talk back to parents and parents shout at their children and beat them.’

After the group collages were all presented I placed all the collages portraying the ‘good’ influences on the mkukhus<sup>17</sup> walls. The participants were then asked to identify what was common in all the different group pictures. The participants mentioned health, education, sports (World Cup), time, food, people, children supporting each other, caring for children, work and being happy.

I also displayed the collages portraying the ‘bad’ influences and asked the group to name the common bad influences, namely the same things that appeared in the different groups. The children mentioned influences such as violence, alcohol, cigarettes, drugs, accidents, killings, kissing, smoking, hunger, bad roads and guns.

A table was drawn up to show the rate of recurrence of the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences as presented in the group collages. The table also reveals the diversity of the collective experiences in the daily life of these young people. There were four groups.

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<sup>17</sup> A dwelling made of corrugated iron sheets



**Table 4-1 Recurrence of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ images in group collages**

<b>GOOD INFLUENCES</b>	<b>FREQ.</b>	<b>BAD INFLUENCES</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>
Food	4	Violence	4
Health/wellness	4	Killings	3
Doctors	3	Drugs/smoking	4
Family/friends	3	Alcohol	4
Sports	3	Diseases	3
Books/education	3	Witchcraft	2
Happiness	3	Teenage pregnancies	2
Peace/harmony	2	Lack of respect	2
Cars	2	Fires	1
Money	2	Accidents	1
Houses	1	Human trafficking/kidnapping	1
Television	1	Kissing	1
Cell phone	1	Bullying	1
Police	1	Abuse/ rape	1
Music	1	Strangers	1
Foreigners	1	Pornography	1
		Crime / Guns	1
		Polluted water	1
		Hunger	1
		Bad roads	1

### 4.2.3 *Summary of information about group collages*

The outcomes of the participants sharing from the group collages, as reflected in Table 4-1) show the emergence of pertinent values and needs. Basic needs for food, security, health care and fun appear frequently in each group. Important values also emerge such as caring for others, friendship, loyalty, peace and harmony, education, wellness, belonging to family and happiness.

Glasser (1993a; 1999) makes an assumption that individuals hold an image of how they would like things to be when all is going well. He refers to these images as our ‘Quality World Pictures’ (ref. Chapter 2). These quality world pictures are created in our memories shortly after birth and we continue to create and re-create them throughout life. And true to human nature, most of our time is spent behaving in a manner that will satisfy the needs that suggest how we would like our world to be like.

The pictures that we hold in our quality world are constantly in our thoughts, and daily we drift backwards and forwards in our thoughts. This is reflected in the participants’ responses shown in the frequency of mentions of food, the need for shelter, the constant reference to the need for doctors and medicine which equates with the need for wellness and health, and also their need for a physical outlet in the reference to games and sports. Their quality world view also reflects the values they uphold as they shared about the importance of community and family, sharing and caring, belonging and helping each other to get the necessities to live, love and survive.

The importance of culture in values formation was also discussed in Chapter 2. The fact that these children grow up in an environment removed from their cultural roots may reduce the influence of culture on their value formation. Support for such an assumption could not be found in the data. An underlying theme that arises from the collages is witchcraft. This is reflected in the cutting of the mutilated bodies and the references to the cats.

The participants on various occasions spoke about their experiences of other children who disappeared and when they were found parts of their bodies were missing. I can only infer that it alludes to some form of muti killing where the parts of the body are then used for traditional purposes related to witchcraft, but the participants did not say what the parts of the bodies are used for. They were aware of the reality that such events were happening and they were to cautious about going near to strangers. They were also aware of the cultural significance of this, as is confirmed by their individual stories (see later).

### **4.3. INDIVIDUAL DRAWINGS – GOOD INFLUENCES**

On day two of the data collection I focused specifically on the 10 selected research participants. The participants were asked individually to draw the ‘good’ influences in their lives. I used drawings and narrations to gain an in-depth and rich understanding of how they as individuals form their ‘values’ and ‘morals’ and the interplay of ‘wants’ and ‘needs’ in making decisions.

Once they had completed their pictures I then listened to what they had to share about their pictures. The names of all the children and places mentioned in these stories have been changed to protect their identity and confidentiality. As the participants shared the content of their drawings notes were written and audio recorded.

#### **4.3.1 *Story 1- Arum***

Arum is a 13 year old girl. In her picture Arum drew a chalk board and chalk to reveal education as one of the ‘good’ influences in her life. She shared, ‘I want to get educated. At school I am an excellent learner and when the teacher asks questions I am always the first to raise my hand. I am in Grade 7. I am always eager to learn. I love to read. At school we have time to read stories and I always share my stories with other children. I love reading novels. I have only three friends at school. They all like

reading.’

I put the following question to her, ‘What about the other learners that you do not like – do you share your crayons with them?’ ‘Yes, I do like sharing with them even though they are not my friends.’ Arum is computer literate. ‘My favourite teacher and the one I liked the most has retired. Now we miss him so much because he was dangerously good. Our new teacher is so slow.’

Arum says she is a person who is community-minded. ‘I love the community and how they help each other. Whoever struggles is helped by the neighbours. If someone breaks into your house you blow the whistle then everybody comes to help you. We believe that a person is a person by other persons. I like to help the sick and naturally I like to share with others. I invite other children home and if there is food we share.’ She says, ‘Life is a gift given to me and I know that I am loved by my family.’ When asked about her behaviour at home or school Arum said, ‘I can be spiteful but yet I am compassionate and disciplined. I love to see people as equals.’

She also drew a picture of a house, her parents and three children. She said, ‘At home my mother and step-father are treating me well. Everything is alright and I am happy. My parents do get angry sometimes but not in a bad way.’

She drew a cell phone and said, ‘I have a cell phone. I like to use it in cases of emergencies as my mother is asthmatic. On the phone I have all the important numbers that I can call in emergencies.’ She also drew a picture of her family doctor and said; ‘Our family doctor is my aunt.’ When asked if she was a medical doctor or traditional healer, she said her aunt is a medical doctor who brings her brings her food and brings her mother medicine for her asthma. Arum said, ‘One day I want to become a doctor so that I can help the sick people. If parents die and leave babies behind I can take care of the babies also.’

In addition to the pictures she drew, Arum said she knows her culture and practices it. 'I know and understand many things that are done in my culture, all the songs and dances. I am called after my paternal grandmother.

I am a Christian who understands the scriptures and loves to read the bible. I like the gospel of Matthew. Everything has its own time in life. If you steal from me today and tomorrow you get arrested then it's your time.'

When asked about how she feels when all these good things happen in her life she said, 'I feel very happy.' Arum lives with her eldest sister during the school term and only comes home to her mother during the holidays. I observed this girl to be very intelligent and she projects a determination to surpass the obstacles she meets in her life.

#### **4.3.2 Story 2: Jonquille**

Jonquille is a 13-year old boy. In his picture Jonquille drew a geography map to reveal education as one of the 'good' influences in his life. Jonquille said that he loves to go to school. He enjoys doing homework and coming to the centre for help in the afternoon. Jonquille said, 'Education is a very important thing in my life. At school we are given much work to do and do not have time to fool around.' He does not want to fight with the teachers but wishes for a brighter future and to be a better person.

In his picture he drew a person, a house also food and clothes. Jonquille said, 'The most beautiful thing at the informal settlement [where he lives] is that people help each other against crime. They fight crime together. They also help each other with food when they are hungry.'

He wants to live in peace and harmony with other children. Jonquille said, 'I am a Christian and I want to be safe and I want other children to be safe too.' He says at church they are taught not to steal and not to fight but to live in harmony with each

other. He feels ‘sharp’ (good) about himself because he knows he is loved by his parents. He wants to help other children. He likes doing his chores at home. When he is out in the afternoon he said, ‘I must be home before dark.’ When asked what he sees as good in his culture he said, ‘I like the respect that my culture shows for the dead. They also show respect by bringing cows to the elders.’

My grandmother talks to our ancestors using snuff.’

### **4.3.3 Story 3: Balm**

Balm is a 14-year old boy. In his picture Balm drew a car and a bicycle to show the ‘good’ influences in his life. He says that he loves cars and bicycles. He said, ‘My father has a car in our yard but it does not move. I also had a bicycle but it was stolen.’ Balm says he likes to listen to his father and feels good when he is able to finish tasks. He said, ‘I like to make my father happy.’

He also said that his parents have taught him to be honest and always tell the truth. His parents buy him things and he looks after his younger brother. He lives with both parents. He feels ‘sharp’ when he gets support from home and the help he gets from the centre. He shared with us that his father does not work but his mother has a part-time job. Balm says he enjoys coming to the centre as he does not go to formal school. He said, ‘I like coming to the centre it makes me feel happy. I learn to read and write and I get food each day.’

He said, ‘What I like most in our community is that the people always try to make peace. When the people fight others try to separate them so that nobody gets hurt. When there is trouble and the neighbours blow their whistle the whole community comes out to help the person. They will catch them and when they catch them they will surround them and hold them captive until the police come. Sometimes they beat the intruders up.’

#### 4.3.4 *Story 4: Geranium*

**Geranium** is a 13-year old girl. In her picture Geranium drew a school child and education to reveal the ‘good’ influences in her life. She said, ‘I appreciate the opportunity to go to school. It makes me happy that my teachers are good to me and that they teach all the children. They look after us in class.

The teachers are like mothers to us. Education is very important in my life.’

Geranium also said that she likes travelling to school by bus and that at school they have a feeding scheme. She drew the sun and said it give gives her life warmth. She feels good about good things that are happening in her life. The centre is a very important place for Geranium and she shared that it was the only place her family could go to for refuge when they had nowhere else to go. She said, ‘The people at the centre provided food when we were hungry.’

Geranium drew food in her picture. She and her family are very hungry and she said, ‘I know the pain of going to bed hungry. We have no food except what we get at the centre. The people who run the centre give us food parcels. This is a place to call home.’ She also drew clothes as an important influence in her life because her family are poor and have no clothes except what they get at the centre. Geranium said, ‘My mother is looking for a job and is trying by all means to find food for us. Apart from food and clothes the most important thing and beautiful thing in my life is that I have a mother and a home. My mother holds the family together.’

Geranium also drew a house and said, ‘The beautiful thing that happened to us is that when we were struggling and homeless the local people came and helped us with corrugated iron to build a mkhuku.’ In her picture she drew a television and a wardrobe and said they have a television and wardrobe at home. When asked how she feels about all these good things in her life she says that she feels happy and appreciates the care

she gets at home, in the community and school.

#### **4.3.5 Story 5: King's Spear**

Kings' Spear is a 10-year old boy. In his picture he drew clothes and food to show that the 'good' influences in his life are when his aunt washes his clothes and cooks food for him. King's Spear said he has no clothes; 'What I have on today is what I had on yesterday and it will be what I will have on tomorrow.'

He drew a football and said he likes to play and have fun. He also likes coming to the centre for learning as he does not go to formal schooling. He said, 'My teacher at the centre teaches me well.'

He drew his father and a motor car. He judges himself to be happy that his father has a car. He says, 'My father does not live with me and this makes me very angry. I am very unhappy and I want to go back to go and stay with my father.' King's Spear was adopted by his aunt shortly after his mother died. He complained, saying, 'My aunt drinks a lot and does not give me food. She leaves me alone in the house hungry, me and three other children.' He says he is very sad and hungry. His only hope of food is when he comes to the centre. He said he is also very angry with his aunt.

He also drew a cell phone and said that when he needs to get help he can use it. He said his father gave it to him. He drew a television and says he likes watching TV and it makes him happy. He also drew a house and food and wishes one day to have a good house and good food. King's Spear says he comes to the centre as he learns good things here and he is taught to pray.

#### **4.3.6 Story 6: Rue**

Rue is an 11-year old boy. In his picture he drew a big house to show the 'good'



influences in his life and said that that it was his father's house. He said that his father lives in another area. Rue shared, 'Sometimes I go and visit my father. He buys me clothes and shoes.' He also drew a motor car which he said his father used to drive when he was working with the police. Rue said that when his father used to come and visit them he would come with the police car.

Rue talked about the centre as a 'good' influence in his life although he did not draw it. He said, 'The centre is an important place for me as I get food there otherwise I do not always have food and I am hungry. Sometimes my grandmother gives us food, bread or pap. Otherwise I sleep without food.' He drew himself kicking a football.

He says when he plays ball he is happy. He likes to play and be happy. He likes watching television, especially football matches. When asked how he feels about all the good things in his life, Rue said, 'At the moment I feel happy.' He also shared that he appreciates his mother and grandmother very much. He said that he feels love for his father even though he has abandoned them. Rue also drew a cell phone and said, 'My father gave me the cell phone so I can call him when I want to. I am very sad that my father has left us and I long to be with him. I love him. The most important thing in my life is Christmas time when my father comes to see me.' He also shared that he goes to school at Lesedi and says the beautiful thing about school is that they teach him English and Sepedi. He also gets homework and that sometimes he writes and sometimes he does not write. When asked about the good things in his culture he said, 'My family go to the graveyard and pray for my dead grandmother. They talk to her using snuff.'

#### **4.3.7 Story 7: Yew**

Yew is a 13-year old boy. In his picture Yew revealed the 'good' influences as his pride in being a South African, symbolised by his drawing of the South African flag. He drew himself playing soccer and shared, 'I love playing soccer and I play best in middle field.' He drew a concrete house known as an RDP house, which is basically a two

room reconstruction and developmental project house. Yew said, 'I love having a house to stay in, it is different from the mkhuku.'

He drew a motor car and said, 'I love cars. My dad has a car which he uses for transporting things.' When asked how he feels about all the good influences in his life he said, 'I am happy after all!' He said, 'The centre is an important part of my life and I feel happy to come here.' Yew drew a cell phone and says he can call his father when he wants. He did not draw a school or anything related to education, but he shared that he appreciates the opportunity to go to school and to get an education. He said he is in grade 5 and that there are many children in his class. When asked how many is many, he said, 'We are about 40 in each class.' He said that school is very good as he is taught to read and write English.

He also shared that he passed his examinations well in July and he is very happy about it. He concluded by saying, 'Our teachers give us a good education. When I see all good things happening around me I feel very happy.'

#### **4.3.8 Story 8: Violet**

Violet is a 14-year old girl. In her picture she drew books, a pencil case, chalk and a teacher to show education as the 'good' influences in her life. Violet said, 'I believe education is very important and I am lucky because we have now got free transport to school. We go by bus.' She said at school they do their work through computers. Although she did not draw any form of sports activities she said at school they also engage in sports. She said, 'I like playing netball at school.'

When asked how she feels about all the good things in her life she said, 'I am happy and I enjoy coming to the centre because I feel safe here and I learn a lot.' Violet drew food, a house, television, tables and a company car. She said, 'These are the things that will satisfy me when I am able to have them.'

When asked what her favourite colour was, she said, ‘Orange.’ We all laughed because the colour orange dominated her whole picture. Violet did not draw anything related to her culture but when asked about the good things in her culture she said, ‘I like my culture because it protects me. For example if some member of the family passes away they cut our hair with a razor blade so that the deceased’s ghost will not come back to haunt them. I also enjoy my traditional food, dancing and singing.’

#### **4.3.9 Story 9: Snowdrop**

Snowdrop is a 10-year girl. In her picture she drew a house with a table, a clock, curtains and a plant to show the ‘good’ influences in her life. She said recently her stepfather bought a new bed and that they have a new wardrobe. It was obvious from her tone of voice that these material goods brought much joy to her family. She also said that her step-father has another house in another village.

She drew her parents and said that they are happy at home and everything is well. Although she did not draw anything related to education, Snowdrop said, ‘Education is very important in my life. I enjoy coming to the centre to learn English and to learn how to write.’

She said one day she wants to be a teacher so she can buy a house for her mother to be safe. She does not go to formal schooling but attends the centre. She said at the centre she also gets food and clothes. She shared that she likes her teacher very much and she is happy there. She said, ‘At the centre they do nice things for us and on Fridays we learn the computers.’ Snowdrop also shared that she has a friend that she likes very much and this friend treats her well. She does not like it when other children hurt her friend. When asked about the good things in her culture, Snowdrop said, ‘I like my culture when my parents pour ‘Mqombothi’ (African beer) on the ground and ask our ancestors for good luck. Our parents tell us that our ancestors say when we sneeze we must say exactly what is on our minds and we will get a blessing. I also like our

traditional clothing, singing and dancing.’

#### **4.3.10 Story 10: Bryony**

Bryony is a 13-year old girl. In her picture Bryony drew a chalkboard with mathematics on it and a calculator to reveal education as one of the ‘good’ influences in her life. She said, ‘Education is very important.’ She says she appreciates the help she gets from the teacher at the centre. This teacher helps her with her homework. When she has finished her homework then she helps her sister with her homework. Bryony said, ‘I try to finish my school work at school because the teacher is willing to help when I do not understand’, and also said, ‘When I cannot get the help I want at school I then go to my uncle and he helps me with my home-work.’

She shared that she is a good learner and likes to answer questions in class. ‘This year I was elected as a prefect to help other students. As prefects we meet to discuss how to help the other learners who are in need. We also donate food for these children.

I like to educate myself by watching educational channels on television.’ She participates in charity work at school. One day she wants to be a pilot. Bryony sees herself as an active community member. ‘The community is very important as everybody helps one another. One day I want to start a food garden with my grandmother to help the community. One counsellor has promised us a plot for vegetables but as yet it has not materialised.’

She drew food and shared that at home she likes to clean and watch her mother cooking. She also cares for her siblings when her mother is working. She takes her little sister to the crèche and then she and her other sister goes to school.

Bryony said, ‘At home my family decided to provide food for the people depending on the food at the dump discarded by the nearby hotels because these people are very

hungry.’<sup>18</sup> Bryony also shared that at home they do cook extra food with the intention of sharing it with other neighbours who they know have nothing to eat. She said, ‘Some people come and others do not come because they are proud.’

Bryony drew flowers and a woman watering them. She said, ‘I like nature and care for my environment.’ She shared in general, with no reference to her picture, that sometimes they go to Johannesburg to visit their step father. When they are there they also visit the graveyard of the grandmother and put down flowers. When they come from the graveyard they also visit her aunt who is ill and they wash her and bring her food. After two days they return to the informal settlement. According to Bryony there is a close family bond at home and relationships at home with her parents are good. Bryony says she wants to respect her culture and stop teenage pregnancies.

She sees herself as proactive as she told the story of how she reported to the police the case of her friend who was sexually abused by her uncle. She comforted her friend and sought help for her at school. At school the principal brought the assaulted child to the police-station to give a statement. The assaulted child told the police that she had reported this to the mother but she did not believe her. After this the principal and the child’s teacher again went to the police and eventually the uncle was arrested. Bryony said, ‘This was a very poor child who had no food or clothes. The principal asked for help from other families and they provided food and clothes. The principal encouraged the other children to be extremely kind to this child so that she can feel ‘sharp’ alright!’ Bryony sees herself as a brave person who feels good about herself and believes she has been created by God for a purpose.

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<sup>18</sup> An observation made by one helper said that when she explored what can be found at the dumps she realised some people provided food ready for eating so that those who search there will find the food intact. They observed that rich people do this in order to reach out to the people at the informal settlement but they want to remain anonymous.

When all the interviews were complete I collected the drawings and told the participants that we would continue with the next stage of the process the following day.

#### **4.4. INDIVIDUAL DRAWINGS – BAD INFLUENCES**

On the third day of data collection each of the 10 participants were asked to draw the ‘bad’ influences in their lives. After each child had completed their drawings I then interviewed each individual child privately to share their pictures and explain what they had drawn. Since we presumed that this area of sharing might provoke negative emotions I prepared the mkhuku with cushions, a nice cloth, a candle and a bright pink African daisy plant. I wanted to create a friendly and homely environment to make the children feel at home. As the participants shared the content of their drawings notes were written and audio recorded.

##### ***4.4.1 Story 1: Arum***

Arum picture drew alcohol, drugs and cigarettes in her picture to reflect the ‘bad’ influences in her life. She said that she had witnessed men passing by her home drinking and that this happens often in her street. She said, ‘At home my family drink occasionally, like at special times of the year such as Christmas and New Year.’ She also told the story of how when she was going to church she saw some children taking drugs. She said she knew they were drugs because they come in a plastic bag and the children make a ‘zol.’<sup>19</sup> She told of an occasion when her friend had once taken drugs and got very sick. She said that her uncle warned her never to smoke as it would destroy her lungs. Therefore she says she stays away from such things.

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<sup>19</sup> A cigarette

Arum also drew a gun and told the incident of how her aunt was shot dead by some people who were sent by her uncle to kill her. This story came to light after the funeral of her aunt. She said when she is surrounded by all these bad things she runs away by praying and being obedient in life. She said, ‘My parents encourage me not to engage in all these things but to keep focused on my school work.’ She said that she believes in her own strength.

Arum says she feels great pain and sadness in her life because her parents are separated. Her pain is worse when her mother shares with her how her father abused her and beat her. Due to this abuse Arum has told herself that she will never marry. She said, however, that not all men are the same and if she gets a real good male friend she will remain friends but not get married to him.

When asked, ‘What is your biggest challenge in growing up in the informal settlement?’, she said, ‘My biggest challenge growing up in the informal settlement in the midst of so many challenges is to remain unharmed and out of all trouble. I stay indoors, concentrating on my school work and stay away from drugs and alcohol. From my experience of witnessing to my aunt getting drunk and falling into a deep sleep I prefer not to be engaged in this kind of lifestyle.’

#### **4.4.2 Story 2: Bryony**

Bryony drew in her picture smoking, drugs and cigarettes to reflect the ‘bad’ influences in her life and said, ‘I do not like it when adults smoke and then throw their cigarettes butts down for the children to pick them up and smoke the butts or when they throw them on the dry grass and eventually causes fires. To me this is carelessness and older people not being responsible.’ She said that she is aware that smoking is a health hazard.

She also told how foreigners come and sell drugs to people in her community and this includes selling drugs to teenagers. She shared, ‘One day I saw my friend smoking and I asked her what is that and she said it is a drug. So I grabbed them and took them to my mother and my mother called the police. When the police came they took the young people who were smoking to the shop to identify the person who sold the drugs. The man was arrested.’ That day she said the police taught them about the dangers of using drugs and about how children get kidnapped and these kidnappers sell the children to buy drugs. She said, ‘When people get addicted they sell everything they have in order to get the drugs. This is happening in our community.’

Bryony acknowledged that some of her friends drink and that drinking alcohol is a problem in their community. She said, ‘They do not listen when I tell them not to drink.’ She said her mother was an alcoholic but is now reformed. She recalled how when her mother was drunk she would verbally abuse her. ‘Now’, she says, ‘It is only my stepfather who drinks at home.’ Bryony says she sees how alcohol causes violence between her aunt and uncle when they are drunk. She told me that she had witnessed much violence due to the abuse of alcohol. She said, ‘When my uncle wants alcohol he steals money by force.’ She said, ‘I have seen my neighbours fighting and using beer bottles to stab each other until they have to go to hospital. Some do not survive because their veins have been cut and they die.’

Another ‘bad’ influence shared by Bryony is when her friends spike each other’s drinks at parties and this causes them to behave in a manner that they do not like afterwards. ‘Sometimes we do not know what we have even done because of the effects of the drink that was spiked. Sometimes we only go home in the morning and we do not remember what happened in the night. Eventually we discover we are pregnant. Peer pressure to engage in bad behaviour is very strong. The boys who are with us at the party laugh at us because they know what they have done and sometimes they even come to school carrying alcohol, especially when schools are closing.’ Bryony said, ‘These things affect the children in school because they think of going outside to do these things instead of concentrating on their school work.’



She also drew a gun and shared how she witnessed the possession of illegal firearms in the neighbourhood. She said, ‘Our parents have been advised to put their guns in a safe place so the children do not get a hold of it.’ She said, ‘The other terrible thing is when strangers come to our neighbourhood and kidnap the children for prostitution.’ She said that she has not personally experienced any form of sexual abuse in her life but she is aware of how male teachers physically and sexually abuse school children. She has personally experienced verbal and emotional abuse from her teacher. She said, ‘One day the teacher called me a dog. I told it to my mother. My mother then reported it to the principal and he reported it to the Education Department. The teacher was arrested and expelled because he had done other things in the school. Now the children feel comfortable again in the classroom.’ Bryony also said, ‘Some teachers promise learners good marks if they give in to the teachers’ demands to touch them – this is sexual harassment.’

When asked how she feels about all these bad influences around her she said she feels very sad. Bryony shared how she felt rejected and judged by her friends when she stands against all the bad influences in their lives. She does this because her home experiences when her mother was drinking was it was very painful. Now she is able to help other children who go through the same experience. She believes people (young and old) in her community engage in these bad things as an escape from reality because they cannot face their poverty. She also thinks it is because there is abuse at home.

She said, ‘Parents put pressure on children and they get stressed. The parents abuse them and then children want to run away from home and then when they are alone on the streets they end up doing crime to survive.’ She said, ‘Peers also put pressure on each other and because of all these bad influences some of my friends think of suicide.’

#### **4.4.3 Story 3: Jonquille**

Jonquille put alcohol in his picture to show the bad influences in his life. He said

mostly the adults' fight over alcohol. He witnesses his parents to fight when they get drunk and all he can do is try to come between them. His stepfather abuses his mother physically when he is drunk. When asked how he feels when all these 'bad' things are happening around him, he said, 'I feel bad and powerless because I cannot help my mother.'

Although he drew a gun he says that he has not seen guns in the community but only on televisions and in magazines. He says he drew cigarettes and drugs but that he personally does not smoke or use drugs and he does not want to use them. He said he knows of other children who smoke and take 'nyaope' which makes them do all kinds of bad things like drinking alcohol and smoking dagga<sup>20</sup>. Jonquille says the young people also go to the taverns and drink. When asked how he copes with all these challenges around him he said, 'I stay at home most of the time and read my books or watch television.' When asked whether he engages in any bad behaviour he said, 'I do when I hit other children and when with my friends we beat other boys.' He said he does not like friends who turn their backs on him and undermine what he says and does. He said, 'I feel bad when my friends do reject me or when they insult my parents. I am very sad when people shout at me.'

#### **4.4.4 Story 4: Balm**

Balm drew in his picture a gun, a knife and a hand grenade to symbolise crime in his community to reflect the bad influences. He said men use these weapons in the community to pick-pocket other people. 'I saw this once when I was sent somewhere in the evening around seven o'clock. I was frightened and told my parents. They said one

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<sup>20</sup> A drug that is smoked.

of them will go in future as it is dangerous in the evening for me.’

Balm also said, ‘I see guns most of the time.’ He shared that robbing people is very common in the community and that he once witnessed people being robbed. He drew cigarettes and drugs and shared how these, particularly drugs, are easily accessible in the shops and taverns in the informal settlement. He said that his peers do not steal or rob but his peers do have drugs. They buy them but he does not know where they buy them. He said that he was once forced by his peers to smoke dagga and today he does smoke cigarettes. ‘Many boys do not go to school but smoke cigarettes even though it is not good for us. Some of us carry cigarettes to school and smoke them in the toilets. The teachers often catch us for smoking and then we are punished.’

He said when his mother found out that he was smoking she promised him if he did not stop she would send him to a reformatory school. He said he was once burnt with a cigarette and he promised himself that he would never smoke again even if his peers should force him. ‘If I would come to my friends and they are smoking I would leave them. I decided to leave smoking because my friends neglect themselves hygienically.’ Balm said that many children leave school because of drugs and become criminals. He says that his father does smoke in the hose but he opens the windows.

Balm also drew alcohol and said, ‘When my father is drunk he abuses me verbally and physically. He sometimes chases me away. When my father is drunk and abusive I ask our neighbours to help us. This happens mostly on Fridays and Saturday up to Sunday. I think my father does bad things to please his friends. When my father is sober he is ‘sharp’ [meaning ok].’

Balm said that his father does not work and therefore he drinks alcohol, especially at the weekends. When asked how he copes with this situation Balm said, ‘I have reported my father to the police and the local social worker but nothing was done. Sometimes the police come to arrest him but he asks for a second chance. They let him go with a

warning.’ When asked how he feels when all these bad things are happening around him, Balm said, ‘I feel very hurt and not alright – not ‘sharp.’ He wishes that it would not happen. ‘I wish my family would live in peace and harmony.’ His greatest wish is for things to be better at home. When asked what makes him most sad in his life he said, ‘I feel so hurt when my father disrespects me by using foul language. It also fills me with fear and anger when my mother beats me with the chain from the gate. This makes me crazy and wild and I faint when blood comes from my nose. My mother tells me that one day she will commit suicide on the railway line and then I will find her dead.’ Balm cried painfully as he uttered these words.

#### **4.4.5 Story 5: *Geranium***

Geranium drew drugs in her picture to show the bad influences in her life. She said, ‘Children are using drugs at school but I do not know what kind.’ She reported how her friends think of suicide because of pressures put on them at home. She has not personally thought of suicide. She also drew alcohol and says there is a great abuse of alcohol in her community and at school. She says she sees this when she passes by the shebeen.

Geranium said, ‘At one time those who had been drinking chased me but they did me no harm.’ She reported this to her mother. She also drew smoking and reported that young people smoke because of curiosity, peer pressure, lack of respect, silliness and rudeness. She is of the opinion that they want to show off in front of their friends. She says at her home nobody drinks or smokes. Although she did not draw anything related to bullying she said, ‘At my school being bullied by friends is a current event. The boys come with knives and threaten to stab us [if we don’t] give them money.’ She shared how she was once a victim of being bullied when she was beaten up and had her books stolen by four boys. She said she was injured but not too badly.

She said, ‘This is a continuous experience at school where we are continuously threatened. Sometimes these actions make me feel like not going to school. ‘I do not feel comfortable. School is not a safe place.’

When asked how she copes with all these ‘bad’ influences around her she replied, ‘I stay in my own yard and read my books. I do not want to get engaged in trouble. I also advise other young people to stay away from these bad things by staying at home.’ When asked, ‘what is the biggest challenge for you growing up in the informal settlement?’, she said, ‘The biggest challenge I have as a young person growing up in this environment today is to remain safe and to survive on the food I get from the centre.’

#### **4.4.6 Story 6: King’s Spear**

King’s Spear drew cigarettes in his picture to show the bad influences in his life. He said his aunt smokes in front of the children and in the house. ‘I do not like the smell of cigarettes but when I try to tell my aunt to go outside and smoke she verbally abuses me and chases me out of the house saying ‘Voetsek’<sup>21</sup> as if I am a dog.’

‘I then get angry and I get so emotional. I hit the dog with a stone when I am angry because I cannot fight my aunt. The only thing I can do with my anger is hit the dog. My aunt smokes dagga. My uncle smokes dagga. My uncle beats me and swears at me. When they smoke dagga they send us to bed but the smell in the house is so bad we cannot sleep [and] we have to cover our noses. When we do not sleep my uncle hits my cousin and me. The name of the cigarette is called MC and YES names!!’

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<sup>21</sup> A swear word to mean ‘get lost.’

He also drew alcohol saying that when his aunt gets drunk she hits all the children. He said that before she goes out to drink with her friends she gives them ‘tripe’ for food and when she comes back drunk she demands the food back. ‘If we have eaten it she beats us. I hate it when my aunt drinks alcohol and returns home drunk.’

When asked how he feels when all these things are happening around him he replied, ‘It makes me angry and the only way to cope or escape is to run outside and hide myself behind the house. Even when it rains I still sit out in the rain with a jacket over my head.’ He associates all these bad things with bad smells. King’s Spear also drew a gun in his picture showing that there is violence in his community.

#### **4.4.7 *Story 7: Rue***

Rue drew in his picture a number of different dangerous weapons, namely, an axe, a knife, a saw, a gun and a pike to show the ‘bad’ influences in his life. He reported that in his community he experiences people hurting each other and sometimes strangers come and steal the children and take away different parts of their bodies. He said that one guy he knows was once shot in front of him.

Rue also drew alcohol as a bad influence and said, ‘I experience people getting drunk and being searched and robbed. This abuse in is our community. I was once nearly robbed but I hit the people with a brick to escape.’ He also said that smoking has a bad effect on people in his community. When asked how he feels about all these bad things that happen around him he said, ‘Not sharp.’ (Not alright). When asked what makes him most sad in his life he said, ‘When my father does not bring me food and I have to sleep with an empty stomach. It hurts me very much.’

#### **4.4.8 *Story 8: Yew***

Yew drew drugs and injections in his picture to show the bad influences in his life. He

says most children he knows use nyaope. They also go to the rubbish dump and take the needles that have been dumped from the local hospital and use the used needles to inject each other. Yew also drew a gun and a knife and shared how some people in the informal settlement use these weapons to rob other people. He drew alcohol and smoking saying that people drink alcohol over the festive season. He claims that fighting is also a reality in the local community. When asked how he feels about all these bad things that happen around him he said, 'I do not like it when people fight and tell lies. I wish that they would stop.'

#### **4.4.9 Story 9: Violet**

Violet also drew a gun in her picture to show the bad influences in her life and she said the learners at her school bring guns. She shared, 'One other time the learners came with a gun to school during the examination time. The gun was in a bag and the learners forgot to take the bag with them after they finished writing the examination. The other students found this bag and on lifting it they felt it was heavy. They opened the bag and found a gun. They brought it to the principal. So the principal brought it to the police. The police wanted to catch up with this child. He was a grade 12 learner.'

The gun also reminded her of a robbery that once happened at her home when three men came to their house while they were sitting around the fire. These robbers wanted money. Her father stood up and held one of these men. When her father blew the whistle the rest of the men ran away. (The whistle is the community's way of knowing someone is in trouble and is calling for help.) When the local people came to help them they caught the man and beat him until he had to go to hospital. When asked how she feels when all these dangerous things are happening around her she said, 'I feel afraid and insecure. I also feel very sad when I am accused of things I did not do.'

Violet also drew bottles of alcohol and related the incident when her father had money one month end he bought alcohol for the other men at the shebeen. During that evening

a fight broke out and he was hit on his forehead, he got sick and vomited and then he stopped drinking.

Violet recalled how when her father was drunk he would get violent and would beat her mother. 'When my father was drinking I did not feel safe and 'sharp.' At one time I even moved away from home to stay with my uncle because when my father was drunk he physically assaulted us. It was really lovely, peaceful and safe when my father stopped drinking. After my father stopped drinking I went back home.' When asked how she felt when her father stopped drinking alcohol she said; 'I was very happy when my father stopped drinking alcohol.' In the recent year Violet's father died as a result of what she believes was witchcraft when someone burnt down their mkhuku while her father was inside.

Violet also drew drugs saying, 'At our school some children do drugs. They stand in the corners and smoke these drugs. This was reported to the principal and these learners were dismissed. At the moment I do not see anybody taking drugs. Once I took drugs and I turned blind. After this time I went to stay with my uncle.'

She also drew cigarettes. She said, 'My uncle and his friends smoke cigarettes and the smoke chokes me and makes me choke in the night'. Her uncle usually smokes in front of the children when he is drunk. When asked whether she has a boyfriend, Violet said; 'No.' She sees herself as a shy girl and runs and hides from the boys. She refuses to come to them. She says she does not want to be involved with boys now and because of this they throw stones at her.

She said, 'When the boys ill treat me and bully me around I feel very sad.' When asked how she feels when all these bad things happen at school she said she does not feel 'sharp' (good). When asked how does she cope with all the 'bad' things around her she said, 'To cope with these challenges my mother makes me church tea every day. So when I feel stressed I drink the tea. It keeps me calm and I feel 'sharp.'



#### 4.4.10 *Story 10: Snowdrop*

Snowdrop drew a gun in her picture to show the ‘bad’ influences in her life. She said that her uncle was shot on his way to work when he tried to resist being robbed. She said he told the robbers that they would rather take his life than his money. Another time she said her aunt was killed by shock when she witnessed people being held up with guns. Seemingly from what she had heard at home her aunt died three days later from the impact of this.

Snowdrop also drew bottles of alcohol and said, ‘When my aunt and cousin get drunk they throw bottles at each other. They also break the empty bottles and they stab each other’. When asked how she feels when all these bad things are happening around her she replied, ‘When all these things are happening around me I feel nervous and afraid.’ She also drew cigarettes and said that she does not like smoke. She said, ‘At home my parents smoke and I cannot sleep.’ She says at home her mother tells her that she does not like her going out in the night and that she must be at home by five to help with house chores, for example washing dishes, etc. They only visit their neighbours and relatives. When she grows up she wants to be a teacher.

The following table captures the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences presented by the participants in their individual drawings. The numbers indicate how often the same topic reappears.

**Table 4-2 Frequency of good and bad influences shown in individual drawings**

POSITIVE THEMES	FREQ.	NEGATIVE THEMES	FREQUENCY
Education	10	Homelessness	10
Achievement	10	Alcohol	9
Centre	9	Drugs	9
Food	9	Guns	9
Parents	8	Violence	8
Home	7	Fear	8
Clothes	6	Sadness/pain	8
Praying	5	Abuse (father beating mother)	6
Community	5	Hunger	6
Fun	5	Crime	6
Car	5	Anger against fathers	5
Helping	4	Death/sickness	4
Culture	4	Separated parents (stepfathers)	5
Love/belonging	4	Suicide	3
Sharing	3	Spitefulness/vengeance	3
Peace and harmony	3	Bullying	2
Pride	2	Teenage pregnancy	1
Nature	2	Kidnapping	1
Compassion	2		
Life	1		
Doctor	1		
Honesty	1		

#### **4.5. SUMMARY OF INFORMATION REGARDING INDIVIDUAL DRAWINGS**

Similar to the outcomes from the participants sharing information on the collages, their individual drawings (see Table 4.2) show the emergence of pertinent values and needs. Basic needs for security, education (right), fun, food, house (shelter and protection), love and belonging, freedom from fear, pain and sadness appear frequently in each drawing. Important values also emerge such as communalism, Ubuntu, love and belonging, equality, altruism, culture (protection), religion and how beliefs in ancestral spirits intersect with Christianity, resilience, helping, caring, stability and education.

A number of participants shared how they feel strong negative emotions towards their fathers who abandoned their families and have failed to take responsibility to provide for their wives and children. I refer again to the quality world pictures that each individual holds as an ideal image of how we would like things to be when all is going well. It holds true for these young people who have their fathers strongly present in their quality world but when they perceive them as not living up to the ideal picture strong negative feelings arise and present a conflict between how they would want life to be and how it actually is in reality.

The participants also show by their drawings how individual wants also dominate their lives. One participant put it well when she drew food, a house, television, tables and a company car and said, 'These are the things that will satisfy me when I am able to have them.' It is interesting to note that this young person was aware of her wants but she also had the ability and self control to know that she cannot have them fulfilled now. She showed an attitude of being able to wait until the right time comes for her to get what she wants.

Another very important aspect that emerged from the individual drawings was the ability expressed by the participants to choose to act against the negative forces in their lives. One participant expressed this well when she said, ‘In the midst of so many challenges to remain unharmed and out of all trouble I stay indoors, concentrating on my school work. I prefer not to be engaged in this kind of lifestyle.’ This response shows the intention of the young person to act justly and in accordance with her personal integrity. The intention is very important even if when put to the reality test she may fail to act out of her personal conviction. It is a desired good.

#### **4.6. DILEMMAS**

From the summary of the participants’ responses to the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences in their lives I introduced two dilemmas to establish if there was any interplay between the emerging values and the emerging needs. The dilemmas were to engage the participants in a discussion that would enable them to project themselves into the story and indirectly indicate how their needs or values influence their choices. This exercise was to establish the central argument of this research; namely that in the process of becoming an adult, our values and morals are influenced and tempered by our needs and wants and that the relationship between these forces shapes values formation and the moral being we become.

To facilitate this process the participants were divided into their original working groups. The dilemma was read to them and I explained that each one could say whether the money should be returned or not. It was explained that there was no right or wrong answers but each one was to be free to express his or her personal belief.

##### **4.6.1 *Moral dilemma 1***

Mavimbela is the first-born son of eight children. He was always taught at home to be an honest boy. His father is unemployed. His mother is very sick. The family live in a

three-room corrugated shack. They are very poor. The children often go to bed hungry. One day Mavimbela was in town. He was really suffering because of his circumstances at home and wondered how he could help the situation. A rich lady passed by and her purse fell from her bag unnoticed.

Mavimbela was the only one who saw the purse fall and he picked it up. Inside there was R1000. Mavimbela kept the money and bought food for his family.

- Should Mavimbela have given the lady back her purse with the money? Why or why not?
- Should the fact that Mavimbela came from a poor and hungry family have made any difference? Why or why not?
- If Mavimbela was your cousin, would that make you decide any differently? Why or why not?

#### 4.6.1.1 *Responses to question one*

The groups were divided on whether the money should be returned or not. Half of the group felt it should be returned and the other half differed from this. The reasons given are listed in the table below.

**Table 4-3 Responses to question one, dilemma one**

<b>YES, Mavimbela should give the lady back her purse with the money</b>	<b>NO, Mavimbela should not give the lady back her purse with the money</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Because the lady when she gets home and discovers her purse missing is going to be terrified and scared.’</li> <li>• ‘Because the lady was going to see the honesty of Mavimble and was going to give him something to help his family.’</li> <li>• ‘Because Mavimble was brought up as an honest boy’</li> <li>•</li> <li>• ‘Because the lady was supposed to pay somebody else with the money.’</li> <li>• ‘Mavimble was only supposed to give her some money back but keep what he needed for himself first!’</li> <li>• ‘Because the lady didn’t see the purse falling and he was the only witness he should have told her.’</li> <li>• ‘What he needed to do was to go to the rich lady and give her the purse and explain his poverty to her and maybe the lady was going to understand his situation and acknowledge his honesty and help him financially and take his mother to the hospital.’</li> <li>• ‘Because he was supposed to have given the purse back to the rich lady. It was unfair of Mavimbela to have taken the money. He was wrong, Maybe the lady was going to be sympathetic towards his situation.’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Because at home they are in need of food and clothes and are struggling badly’</li> <li>• ‘Because Mavimbela’s family goes to bed hungry for days, they have no soap to wash and nothing to smear on their bodies.’</li> <li>• ‘Because at home they could not even pay school fee’</li> <li>• ‘Because he has to help at home with buying food and all the other things they do not have.’</li> <li>• ‘Because maybe the woman was not going to give him anything in return she was maybe going to say ‘Dankie fela’ (Thank you only).’</li> <li>• ‘He needed the money to buy food, clothes, and help his mother’</li> <li>• ‘To buy food, and what is left give it back to the lady’</li> <li>• ‘Bring the money home and share it at home with the family’</li> <li>• ‘He was to buy all the things they need at home and bank the rest so that it ‘gets full’ (gains interest).’</li> <li>• ‘Because Mavimbela is from a poor and starving family he was not stealing at all but had to take the money to help his family.’</li> <li>• ‘He was correct to keep the purse because he was so worried about how to help his family and now the purse fell and he was the only one</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Because, if he had given the lady back her purse she might have given him some money in return.’</li> </ul>	<p>who saw it.’</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘He was right to keep the money as they had nothing at home but when I really think he should have given it back and explain his situation to the woman and maybe she was going to help her.’</li> <li>• ‘The woman had already left so there was no need to call her but he must buy things for his family. It was Mavimbela’s lucky day. He was poor after all. The woman lost it but did not see it.’</li> <li>• ‘Mavimbela is a good boy but he must not take the purse back because they have no food at home and go to bed hungry for days - and they need to pay school fees to have an education.’</li> </ul>
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#### 4.6.1.2 Findings to question one, dilemma one

According to Piaget (1932; 1965), as outlined in Chapter 2, he concluded that at the age of 10 upwards children begin to base their moral judgments on intentions and motives underlying behaviour. It is these intentions and motives that may be located within the field of predominant needs rather than values that could influence their choices (as cited in Crain, 1985:118; Duska & Whelan, 1975:15). According to Piaget (1932; 1965) the individual who is autonomously moral follows moral rules of the self, and such rules are self-constructed, self-regulating principles (as cited in DeVries & Zan, 1994:46).

The pre-adolescents interviewed in this research were between the ages of 10 to 14 and therefore can be categorised within the stage of autonomous morality, which is the second stage of moral development in Piaget’s (1932; 1965) theory. From their responses they showed their intentions and motives for agreeing or disagreeing with the characters in the stories. Half the participants believed the money should be returned and the other half differed from this.

Those who differed were of the opinion that it was necessary for Mavimbela to steal the money for obvious reasons of survival. These children knew it was wrong to steal but Mavimbela needed food, clothes, a house, education and medicine for a very sick mother. Their intentions were morally based on relieving a desperate situation. The participants' decisions were determined by their inner convictions of what they already perceived as right or wrong.

In terms of my study this reveals that when driven by unmet needs, in this case the basic need to survive was at stake, pre-adolescents were prepared to act against their value of honesty. From my observation of the participants during the interviews I did not elicit that any of them believed it was right to steal for the sake of stealing alone, but at the heart of this discussion were the underlying unmet needs that had to be met for the purpose of continued existence.

#### **4.6.2 *Second question***

The second question posed was, should the fact that Mavimbela came from a poor and hungry family have made any difference?

##### **4.6.2.1 *Responses to question two***

This question was aimed at exploring how the survival needs of participants influence their choices when faced with a moral dilemma. Their responses are tabulated as follows.



**Table 4-4 Responses to question two, dilemma one**

<b>NO, the fact that Mavimbela came from a poor and hungry family did not make any difference</b>	<b>YES, the fact that Mavimbela came from a poor and hungry family did make a difference.</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Because by telling the truth this lady was going to feel sorry for Mavimbela and help him half way’</li> <li>• ‘Because if he had given the purse back the lady was going to help the family’</li> <li>• ‘Because that lady needed to pay her own debts with the money’</li> <li>• ‘Because he was reared to be innocent.</li> <li>• But, maybe the rich lady was going to acknowledge his honesty if he had brought the purse back and she was going to understand his situation.’</li> <li>• ‘Because he should not have kept the purse, he should have explained his situation to the rich lady and maybe she was going to share the money with him.’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘I do not see Mavimbela’s taking the money as theft at all because his family is poor, his mother was sick and his father unemployed!’</li> <li>• ‘Because they were struggling at home’</li> <li>• He was from a very poor family so by picking the purse up he saw an opportunity that would help alleviate his poverty at home.</li> <li>• ‘Because Mavimbela was struggling at home and it was going to help out to buy necessary things in the house’</li> <li>• ‘Because he was supposed to go to school and pay school fees and buy food with the money’</li> <li>• ‘Because he had to buy school uniforms’</li> </ul>
<b>NO, the fact that Mavimbela came from a poor and hungry family did not make any difference</b>	<b>YES, the fact that Mavimbela came from a poor and hungry family did make a difference.</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Because it was wrong of Mavimbela to have taken the money in the first place. The money might bring his family even more poverty and the woman might pray to God to avenge him.’</li> <li>• ‘He must take the money back to the woman and tell her his problem and maybe she can take him to a social worker to help him with everything he needs and take his mother to the hospital.’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Because Mavimbela was poor and the woman did not see the purse fall so Mavimbela had the right to take it’</li> <li>• ‘Because she was not going to give the boy anything in return’</li> <li>• ‘Because he needed to buy food’</li> <li>• ‘Because they are struggling at home’</li> <li>• ‘Mavimbela had no clothes and food, he needed</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘He should still have taken the money back to the woman because after he would spend the money he was going to remain poor.’</li> </ul>	<p>the money to buy clothing and food and share the rest among his family’</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘He needed to buy clothes, food, groceries, shoes and bank the rest’</li> <li>• ‘He had to share it with his mother’</li> <li>• ‘The woman did not miss it and it would be impossible for Mavimbela to run after the woman to give it to her’</li> <li>• ‘It was Mavimbela luck – God give it to him because he was poor and hungry’</li> <li>• ‘Because the lady had already passed’</li> <li>• ‘Because he had to help his sick mother and his unemployed father. His siblings were also hungry.’</li> <li>• ‘Because the rich lady passed by and her purse fell from her bag unnoticed. This as Mavimbela’s chance to help his sick mother and unemployed father.’</li> <li>• ‘Because they were poor at home and had nothing. His father was unemployed and his mother very sick.’</li> </ul>
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#### 4.6.2.2 Findings to question one

According to Glasser (1993a; 1999) all living creatures are genetically programmed to struggle to survive. Of interest to this study is the work of Argyris and Schon (1974) who have been concerned with examining conscious and unconscious reasoning processes (as cited in Dick & Dalmau, 1990). This has precedents in the work of Freud and Jung; in models such as the Johari Window (Luft & Ingham, as cited in Hanson, 1973:114), and in Rulla, Imoda and Rideck's Ideal Self and Actual Self (1978, as cited in Dick & Dalmau, 1990).

It is based on the belief that people are designers of action. They design action in order to achieve intended consequences and monitor to learn if their actions are effective.

Juxtaposed with this thinking is that of Glasser (1993a; 1999) who postulates that all human beings do from birth to death is behave or act. In other words, like Glasser's (1993a; 1999) assumption about the 'quality world pictures' we all hold and how these direct our actions, Argyris and Schon (1974) assert that people hold maps in their heads about how to plan, implement and review their actions. They further assert that few people are aware that the maps they use to take action are not the theories they explicitly espouse, and also, even fewer people are aware of the maps or theories they **do** use (as cited in Argyris, 1980).

To clarify, this is not merely the difference between what people say and do. Argyris and Schon (1974) suggest that there is a theory consistent with what people say and a theory consistent with what they do. Therefore the distinction is not between 'theory and action but between two different theories of action' (as cited in Argyris, Putnam & McLain Smith, 1985, p.82). Hence the concepts 'espoused theory' and 'theory-in-use'. 'Espoused theory' is the world view and values people believe their behaviour is based on, and theory-in-use pertains to the world view and values implied by their behaviour, or the maps they use to take action (as cited in Argyris, Putnam & McLain Smith, 1985, p.82). To reiterate, they are suggesting that people are unaware that their theories-in-use are often not the same as their espoused theories, and that people are often unaware of their theories-in-use.

Further, they assert that these theories of action determine all deliberate human behaviour (as cited in Argyris, Putnam & McLain Smith, 1985, p.82). An example from Argyris' (1987:93) research may serve to clarify this distinction. When asked about how he would deal with a disagreement with a client, a management consultant responded that he would first state his understanding of the disagreement, then negotiate what kind of data he and the client could agree would resolve it.

This represents his espoused theory (or the theory behind what he says), which is of joint control of the problem. A tape recording of the consultant in such a situation, however, revealed that he actually advocated his own point of view and dismissed the client's. This indicated his theory-in-use (or the theory behind what he did), which more closely approximates his unilateral control of the problem and a rejection of valid information exchange.

Argyris (1987:93) suggests that one reason for insisting that what people **do** is consistent with the theory that what people do is not accidental. People design the action that they take and are therefore responsible for the design. His assertion is that although they design the action, they are often unaware of the design and of its difference from their espoused design. This raises the question that if people are unaware of the theories that drive their action (theories-in-use), then how can they effectively manage their behaviour? Argyris (1980) suggests that effectiveness results from developing congruence between theory-in-use and espoused theory. From the participant's responses, the fact that some argued based on what they perceived as values may be indicative of the espoused theory that these pre-adolescents are in the process of developing and may not be a true reflection of their theory in action (i.e. how they would behave if confronted with such a situation). None the less, it reveals an important dimension in this study as it points to the unfolding process of values formation that underlies the purpose of this study.

### **4.6.3** *Question three*

The third question posed, namely, if Mavimbela was your cousin, would that make you decide any differently?

#### **4.6.3.1** *Responses to question three*

This question was aimed at exploring how significant relationships in the lives of the

participants influence their choices when faced with a moral dilemma. Their responses are tabulated as follows:

**Table 4-5 Responses to question three, dilemma one**

If Mavimbela was my cousin I would still have decided to give the purse back.	If Mavimbela was my cousin I would still have decided not to give the purse back.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Because in being honest and giving it back God was going to help you get other help.’</li> <li>• ‘Because in bringing it back as days go on surely someone was going to help his family.’</li> <li>• ‘Because if he does not bring it back it will bring bad luck on the whole family.’</li> <li>• ‘Because he was going to get help somewhere else.’</li> <li>• ‘Because the lady was going to be very sad to find her purse missing with the money.’</li> <li>• ‘Because I would feel sorry because the woman might have budgeted for something else and then only to find she had no purse and she would be shocked.’</li> <li>• ‘I was going to share everything that I had with him so that he must not always feel like he is alone because he is from a very poor family and he is hungry.’</li> <li>• ‘I was going to advise him to take it back. Maybe the woman would have supported our family financially.’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Because at home they had nothing and the father was unemployed.’</li> <li>• ‘Because they could buy the things they were short of at home and then pay school fees.’</li> <li>• ‘Not to bring it back but to bring it home and show it to the parents and let them decide.’</li> <li>• ‘It was not stealing but the good luck of Mavimbela.’</li> <li>• ‘The woman was rich and has everything so even when she discovered her purse missing it was not going to be bad for her.’</li> <li>• ‘Keep it because they are struggling at home without food and some days had to go to bed hungry.’</li> <li>• Bring it home and give it to my father to buy groceries and what is needed in the house.’</li> <li>• ‘Keep the money because that lady had long disappeared and he did not know her.’</li> <li>• ‘I was going to advise him not to take it back because at home they are poor and hungry.’</li> <li>•</li> </ul>

If Mavimbela was my cousin I would still have decided to give the purse back.	If Mavimbela was my cousin I would still have decided not to give the purse back.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘I was going to advise him to take the address and name of the woman and go and look for her place and bring her back the money.’</li> <li>• ‘I would have advised him to take the money back or I would have accompanied him to the police.’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Because he was from a poor family and they needed food as the children often go to bed hungry and do not have enough food to eat.’</li> <li>• ‘He was still right to take the money because the woman was not going to be grateful enough and she would only give Mavimbela a small amount in return.’</li> <li>• ‘I would advise Mavimbela to show the money to his mother and she will decide what to do with the purse.’</li> <li>• ‘I would advise him to buy food and paraffin to cook and to wash properly so he can go to school the next day and play like other children.’</li> </ul>

#### 4.6.3.2 Findings to question three

According to Piaget (1932; 1965) the autonomous morality stage of moral development is an egalitarian and democratic morality, based on mutual respect and co-operation. It is rational and arises from interaction with peers (as cited in William & William, 1970:75). These children understand that it is permissible to change rules if everyone agrees. For them rules are not sacred and absolute, but are devices which humans use to get along cooperatively. At this stage the child acts independently of adult influences and it ‘requires nothing more for its development than the mutual respect and solidarity which holds amongst children themselves’ (William & William, 1970:75; Lugo, 1974:476). According to Piaget (1932; 1965) the individual who is autonomously moral follows moral rules of the self. Such rules are self-constructed, self-regulating principles (DeVries & Zan, 1994:46).

The findings from the participants' responses reveal that despite children growing up in adverse circumstances, their maintaining their original choice to return or not return the money is not determined from external forces or relationships as much as the individual stage of moral development, and those decisions are determined by inner convictions of what children already perceive as right or wrong.

#### **4.6.4 Moral dilemma 2**

Palesa was by nature a peaceful girl. She was raised by her culture to respect her parents very much. One evening she witnessed her father come home drunk and violently beat her mother until she was unconscious and then left her lying outside the house. The neighbours found her and called the ambulance to take her to hospital. The hospital called the police and they requested that if there were any witnesses they should come forward and give a statement against Palesa's father. Palesa was the only witness.

- Should Palesa give a statement against her father? Why or why not?
- Should the fact that Palesa respected her father very much make a difference to whether she should give a statement or not? Why or why not?
- If it was the mother that beat up the father, should Palesa give a statement to the police?
- If Palesa was your cousin would that make you decide any differently? Why or why not?

##### **4.6.4.1 Question one**

Should Palesa give a statement against her father? Why or why not? Question one was aimed at exploring how the value of justice and equality (right and wrongness) in the lives of the participants influence their choices when faced with a moral dilemma.

4.6.4.2 *Responses to question one*

The majority of participants were in agreement that Palesa should give a statement against her father for beating her mother. Only two participants felt she should not give a statement. The reasons given are listed in the table below.

**Table 4-6 Responses to question one, dilemma two**

<b>YES, Palesa should give a statement against her father.</b>	<b>NO, Palesa should not give a statement against her father.</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Because maybe the mother was going to die.’</li> <li>• ‘Because the police were meant to arrest the father.’</li> <li>• ‘Because he could have killed the mother.’</li> <li>• ‘Because the father was ill treating the mother and he hurt her.’</li> <li>• ‘Because the father would have come home and assaulted them all.’</li> <li>• ‘Because the father could have gone further injuring other people.’</li> <li>• ‘Because it is not safe at home with her father.’</li> <li>• ‘Because the father could have beaten the mother to death and she would have no mother to care for her.’</li> <li>• ‘Because her father was a violent drunkard. Maybe he would have beaten Palesa like he had beaten her mother. She was also going to be afraid of her father after what he did to her mother.’</li> <li>• ‘Because she was supposed to tell. She was only telling the truth. Her mother was truly beaten.’</li> <li>• ‘Because Palesa loves her mother. Her father did wrong and she must report him. The mother is very important in the family and does everything at home. If the mother would die Palesa would be blamed by the family and the other children would be left alone.’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Because her father was so drunk and violent and maybe he would have beaten her like her mother and she was going to be afraid of her father and she would also think what he did to her mother.’</li> <li>• ‘No because she was the only witness. The neighbours found the mother outside.’</li> </ul>



<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Palesa’s love for her mother would drive her to tell the police. She also loved her father but would not lie on his behalf.’</li> <li>• ‘She must tell on her father because one day something might happen to Palesa and then the mother will not help her.’</li> <li>• ‘Palesa’s mother was sober, the father beat her for no apparent reason. As a girl Palesa was supposed to protect her mother by telling the truth.’</li> <li>• ‘The mother is a big thing (most important). The father comes second.’</li> <li>• ‘Palesa was the only witness and had to tell the police.’</li> <li>• ‘Because the father hit her mother in front of Palesa which he should not have done because Palesa respected them both.’</li> <li>• ‘Palesa had to tell the truth so that she could be free.’</li> </ul>	
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#### 4.6.4.3 Findings from question one

According to Kohlberg’s (1958) method of research he was interested in the reasoning that got a person to determine what was right and wrong. And from this premise he could determine at what stage of moral development the person was in. For the purposes of this study which seeks to explore the salient values and morals of pre-adolescents growing up in adverse situations, I can frame the focus within Kohlberg’s second level, namely, the **conventional morality stage**.

By this stage of development, according to Kohlberg (1958), the pre-adolescent bases his/her moral judgements on intentions (as cited in Crain, 1985:118). They question the intentions behind people acting or behaving in a particular way. This stage is characterised by a view that right behaviour means acting in one’s best interests.

The second level (stage 3) of moral thinking is characterised by an attitude which seeks to gain the approval of others. It is orientated to abiding by the law and responding to the obligation of duty. It promotes good interpersonal relationships (Gibbs, 1977:36-42; Kohlberg, 1958).

It is during these stages 3 and 4 that young people think as members of the conventional society with its values, norms and expectations.

At stage 3, they emphasise being a good person, which basically means having helpful motives towards people close to them.

At stage 4, the concern shifts toward obeying laws to maintain society as a whole (as cited in Crain, 1985:118). Findings from the discussion show that the majority of participants had a strong sense of justice and equality. They felt strongly that the father was wrong in beating Palesa's mother and that it was right for him to be reported to the legitimate authority. They voiced a desire to act in the best interests of conventional society, which meant acting against the love and need for belonging expected from their fathers.

There is realism in the participants' responses in that they were not going to side with their fathers out of any 'expected' affiliation but out of their strong value of justice towards the mother. It is possible that their responses may be influenced by their own lived experiences. As indicated earlier, many of the participants had poor father relationships and had experienced situations of family abuse by fathers. There is thus a strong possibility that we may have here a situation of 'theory in practice'.

#### 4.6.4.4 *Second question*

The second question posed, namely, should the fact that Palesa respected her parents very much make a difference to whether she should give a statement or not? This question was aimed at exploring how the value of respect for others would influence their choices when faced with a moral dilemma.

4.6.4.5 *Responses to question two*

Their responses are tabulated as follows:

**Table 4-7 Responses to question two, dilemma two**

<b>NO, the fact that Palesa respected her parents very much should not make a difference to whether she gives a statement or not.</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Although there is a respect the truth is needed.’</li> <li>• ‘Although Palesa loved both parents the truth was necessary.’</li> <li>• ‘Because she was going to give a statement but not in front of his father so that she could be free and tell the whole truth to the police. The father was supposed to be arrested so that Palesa and her mother could live happily ever after.’</li> <li>• ‘Respect and the truth go hand in hand.’</li> <li>• ‘You are not supposed to lie under any circumstances. If a person is wrong he must be punished.’</li> <li>• ‘Even though Palesa was respectful she was not supposed to lie. To not give the statement would be like Palesa agreed to what her father did to her mother.’</li> <li>• ‘Because respect for parents does not necessarily mean one has to lie.’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘The father is not supposed to beat the mother at all. He is supposed to talk to her. He was supposed to think about his actions and not just beat her up.’</li> <li>• ‘Because she respected her father she must see justice done and not tell a lie for him.’</li> <li>• ‘She should still give the statement because she would be un-free and worry every day at school and her studies would suffer.’</li> <li>• ‘She must still give the statement because her mother was helpless and the father would come and beat Palesa also.’</li> <li>• ‘Palesa must still give a statement against her father because if her mother should die and he father run away she would be left without any support.’</li> </ul>

4.6.4.6 *Findings to question two*

The African philosophical concept ‘Ubuntu’ expresses an understanding of what it

means to be human from the African paradigm, and what fundamental values guide people's lives and choices. Out of the values of 'Ubuntu' flow a number of practices, of which respect for others is held in high esteem. Emanating from the participants' responses it would seem that respect is an important value and disrespect is punishable, as in the case of Palesa's father. Respect in this case did not over-ride other important values such as honesty, justice and truth.

In terms of this study, and the central argument that in the process of becoming an adult our values and morals are influenced and tempered by our needs and wants and that the interplay between these forces shape values formation and the moral beings we become, we can see that underlying the value of respect is also the need for protection. A number of participants expressed fear of what harm the father would cause Palesa should her mother die and leave her alone with her father.

In the real life world of the participants growing up in an informal settlement in the absence of their fathers, their mothers take on multiple roles and earn tremendous respect. The need to defend and protect their mothers for the important role she plays as provider, carer and nurturer is evident as a number of participants expressed negative emotions towards their fathers in their individual drawings. Underlying the importance of the mother's role is also the unmet need in the participants for survival, belonging and love. In this case it would appear that the values of respect, honesty and truth could be determining factors as to why Palesa should report her father to the police. Morally speaking, the participants know what is right and are prepared to follow it up in their actions. Again, it is possible that their responses were influenced by their own lived experiences.

#### 4.6.4.7 *Question three*

To understand whether the need for love and belonging, protection and survival, personified in the mother figure, was the underlying reason for reporting the father to

the police, a further question was asked, namely, if Palesa’s mother had beaten her father would they tell the police? The children, in answering this question, made it personal.

#### 4.6.4.8 Responses to question three

Their responses are tabulated as follows:

**Table 4-8 Responses to question three, dilemma two**

<b>NO, they would not tell the police about the mother.</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Because we love our mother very much.’</li> <li>• ‘Because we do not want our mother to be taken by the police.’</li> <li>• ‘Because my mother is the one who does everything for me - helping, cooking, washing, etc.’</li> <li>• ‘Because if there would be no mother the father would cook raw food for them because he does not know how to care for them.’</li> <li>• ‘Because we could not live without our mothers.’</li> <li>• ‘Because my mother is looking after me very well.’</li> <li>• ‘Because our mother looks after us better than our father.’</li> <li>• ‘Because I love my mother too much and we stay together every day at home.’</li> </ul>

#### 4.6.4.9 Findings to question three

The responses to the question reveal that the participants do see the importance of their mothers and the necessity to protect them. However, it would also appear that she plays a role in caring and providing for the needs of the children and therefore ensuring her safety against the father is critical for the good of one’s own self. This thinking and way of behaving is in line with Glasser’s (1993a; 1999) theory that views human nature

as genetically born with five basic needs that need fulfilment and that human beings devote all their behaviour to attempt to satisfy them.

#### 4.6.4.10 *Question four*

The fourth question was, if Palesa was a cousin, would it make a difference or not as to whether a statement should be given? This question was aimed at exploring how the significant relationships in the lives of the participants influence their choices when faced with a moral dilemma.

#### 4.6.4.11 *Responses to question four*

The responses are tabulated as follows:

**Table 4-9 Responses to question four, dilemma two**

Even if Palesa was my cousin it would not make any difference	If Palesa was my cousin it would make a difference
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Because she must tell the truth.’</li> <li>• ‘Because she must tell the truth because the father would do the same to other people.’</li> <li>• ‘Because the father is troubling us.’</li> <li>• ‘She must tell the truth because the father was going to assault others and he would be beaten by others.’</li> <li>• ‘Tell the truth because what the father did was wrong.’</li> <li>• ‘Report because it was wrong and if not reported he will end up killing other people.’</li> <li>• ‘Tell the truth because the father will only repeat beaten her mother.’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘I would decide that she move away from the situation and stay with me. She must express herself to me to forget the whole experience.’</li> </ul>



<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• ‘Palesa must get away from this place because her father is forever drunk and dangerous.’</li><li>• ‘She must still report to the police. And then I was going to decide that she should come and stay at my place for a while so that I help her forget about the past.’</li><li>• ‘Because she was not supposed to keep the truth from the police. Even my cousin is supposed to tell the truth. I personally do not promote lies.’</li><li>• ‘Palesa was to report her father and then tell her father what she has done and explain to him that what he did was not alright.’</li><li>•</li></ul>	
<b>Even if Palesa was my cousin it would not make any difference</b>	<b>If Palesa was my cousin it would make a difference</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• ‘I would advise her to tell the police everything because if she does not her father will not stop. He would end up killing her mother, honestly!’</li><li>• ‘She was supposed to tell the truth. If Palesa’s father was jailed, then he would be getting what he deserved. Palesa would do it out of love for her mother.’</li><li>• ‘I would advise her to tell the police everything. If her father was responsible enough he would not have hit her mother. We must never lie. Lies will land us in deep trouble.’</li><li>• ‘She must still tell the truth. I believe you do not have to lie on anybody’s behalf.’</li><li>• ‘She must tell the police for her own protection. It is also cultural for her to respect her parents and she must decide what to do.’</li><li>• ‘She still must tell the truth. Her father was drunk and had no right to hit his wife.’</li></ul>	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Because I believe the truth is the right thing to do but on second thoughts if the father would end in jail the mother would suffer financially alone.’</li> </ul>	
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#### 4.6.4.12 Findings to question four

The responses to this question were similar to those of question three discussed under dilemma 1. The responses reveal that the group was of the opinion that generally such people should be reported to the police because they do these bad things deliberately and then deny it the next day when they are sober. These responses also reveal that the significance of the father figure is not held in as high esteem as those of the mother, for the reasons outlined in the participants’ responses to question one in dilemma one.

## 4.7. SUMMARY OF DATA ANALYSIS

From a hermeneutic phenomenological paradigm I sought to understand and subsequently to interpret the ‘values’ and ‘morals’ constructed from the world view of the young people in this research based on their lived experiences. By using various research methods I engaged the participants in reflection upon the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences in their lives, and then by use of moral dilemmas sought to show the interplay between the formation of ‘values’ and ‘needs.’

From the data collected certain important themes arose revealing how these young people have basic needs, like all other people they have certain values that they uphold as worth striving for as they are in the process of becoming morally mature. The adverse challenges that they face daily have a major impact on their behaviour and the need to fulfil their basic needs often forces them to act contrary to their desired values.

In what follows I will explore the emerging themes namely, (1) family and community, (2) emotional needs, (3) financial and material needs, (4) protection and security, (5)



moral choices and needs, (6) education and (7) religion.

#### **4.8. EMERGING THEMES**

The central argument in this study is that in the process of becoming an adult, our values and morals are influenced and tempered by our needs and wants, and that the interplay between these forces shape values formation and the moral beings we become.

To present the themes that I observed emerged from the data collected I will concomitantly outline Glasser's (1998) five basic needs and I will then insert the emerging themes by including verbatim quotations and information the summary of the collages and individual drawings to support the importance of the theme.

I will also present the values that have emerged and are identifiable with the values arising in the Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy (2002). I will use the Manifesto on Values to relate the emerging values from the participant's responses because these values are identified in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) as the guiding principles on which all good citizens are modelled.

With reference to the background to the Manifesto (2002), a number of important discussions preceded its formation. The content of the Manifesto (2002) is in line with the Bill of Rights (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996) which is the cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. It enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom. This document operates in the realm of values, ideas and philosophy and is still a work in progress. Underpinning the Manifesto (2002) the authors identified 10 important values, namely, democracy, social justice and equity, equality, non-racism and non-sexism, ubuntu, open society, accountability, the rule of law, respect and reconciliation.

Flowing from these values is the practice of compassion, kindness, altruism and respect,

loyalty, and unity. In the African context these are at the core of what it means to be human.

#### **4.9. THEME 1: FAMILY AND COMMUNITY**

Glasser (1993a:33) states in his Choice Theory that the need to love and to belong is the primary need. Without this experience in our lives we become isolated and lonely. According to O' Donohue (2002:3), 'Belonging is a circle that embraces everything; if we reject it, we damage our nature.' From the experiences shared by the participants and the theories held it becomes evident that the need to belong and to be loved are basic needs and basic for every human being, irrespective of social living conditions or social status. This need to belong and to be loved is intricately tied to an individual's identity and understanding of personhood. According to Mbigi (2005), in African thinking, selfhood is viewed and accounted for from a collective, relational perspective.

Maslow (1908-1970) also speaks of the need for love and belonging, and says that these needs help us to strive for right relationships until we acquire a sense of belonging and at-home-ness. The importance of family and community as an emerging theme arose from the frequent reference to family, parents and community that most of the participants shared in several different ways during the interviews. The participants talked about the good things in the community as the times when the neighbours came to help when they were in trouble. Arum said she is a person who is community minded:

*'I love the community and how they help each other. Whoever struggles is helped by the neighbours. If someone breaks into your house you blow the whistle then everybody comes to help you. We believe that a person is a person by other persons. I like to help the sick and naturally I like to share with others. I invite other children home and if there is food we share.'*

Another participant said,

*‘The community is very important as everybody helps one another. One day I want to start a food garden with my grandmother to help the community. One municipal councillor has promised us a plot for vegetables but as yet it has not materialised.’*

This thinking is in agreement with the thinking of Mbigi (2005) when he speaks of human existence and says, ‘Each one of us needs all of us. I cannot separate my humanity from the humanity of those around me because none of us is greater than all of us.’ Reflected in these experiences is the understanding encapsulated in the African philosophical concept of Ubuntu. Ubuntu expresses an understanding of what it means to be human from the African paradigm and what fundamental values guide people’s lives and choices. The social order of African societies manifests features of both communalism and individualism. However, there can be no doubt that the foundations of African society are primarily communal.

The community is the cradle of the individual and of his or her achievements. In the Manifesto on values (2002), the notion of Ubuntu is encapsulated in the value of human dignity. ‘I am human because you are human.’ Out of the values of Ubuntu and human dignity flow the practices of compassion, kindness, altruism and respect, which are at the core most African communities. These practices are evident from the participant’s responses to the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences in their lives. A good example of the practice of altruism was expressed when Arum said;

*‘One day I want to become a doctor so that I can help the sick people. If parents die and leave babies behind, I can take care of the babies also.’*

The need to belong and to be loved was also a positive feeling that arose when the participants shared their stories of being at home or in the community.

Geranium said,

*‘My mother is looking for a job and is trying by all means to find food for us. Apart from food and clothes the most important thing and beautiful thing in my life is that I have a mother and a home. My mother holds the family together.’ Geranium also drew a house and said; ‘The beautiful thing that happened to us is that when we were struggling and homeless the local people came and helped us with corrugated iron to build a mkhuku<sup>22</sup>.’*

Emanating from this premise follows the desire within the person to reach out beyond themselves to help, care and share with fellow human beings. These values arose from the interviews of the participants and are reflected in the words of Bryony who shared that she is a good learner and likes to answer questions in class.

*‘This year I was elected as a prefect to help other students. As prefects we met to discuss how to help the other learners who are in need. We also donate food for these children. ‘At home my family decided to provide food for the people depending on the food at the dump discarded by the nearby hotels because these people are very hungry.’*

This was also reiterated when on two different occasions the participants said,

*‘When there is trouble and the neighbours blow their whistle<sup>23</sup> the whole*

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<sup>22</sup> An informal dwelling, such as a shack.

<sup>23</sup> The whistle is a common method of people calling for help.

*community come out to help the person.'*

*'I love the community and how they help each other. Whoever struggles is helped by the neighbours. If someone breaks into your house you blow the whistle then everybody comes to help you.'*

When we juxtapose the literature of Glasser (1993a, 1999), Maslow (1971), Mbigi (2005) and The Manifesto (2002) with this research, a clear behavioural cycle becomes evident in the need for human beings to belong and to be loved and their need to express love. The need to belong to a circle of close people is basic to all people for the sanctity and emotional survival of individuals. The need to belong and to be loved and to love is as essential as is the air we breathe. When this circle ceases to exist then people's sense of dignity and worth are questioned, and as a means to fill the gap that isolation has created, people, including young people, engage in unacceptable social behaviour. This was well expressed by King's Spear when he said,

*'....my aunt abuses me and chases me out of the house saying 'Voetsek'<sup>24</sup> as if I am a dog. I then get angry and I get so emotional. I hit the dog with a stone when I am angry because I cannot fight my aunt. The only thing I can do with my anger is hit the dog. My aunt smokes dagga. My uncle smokes dagga. My uncle beats me and swears at me.'*

What this boy is inadvertently expressing is his need for closeness, belonging and love. In its absence at home he reverts to violent and cruel behaviour. He upholds the value of being close to his family and community but is forced to violate his values when his

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<sup>24</sup> A swear word meaning to get lost

need for love and affection are not met.

Another aspect that came out in the interviews is how the family is the cradle for support, no matter how little that support is. It is this need to identify with the people who are our own. Violet created this atmosphere despite the unfortunate event that took place when she shared how once when three men came to her house to rob them while they were sitting around the fire with their father. The picture of a family sitting around a fire creates all that can be said about togetherness, belonging and love.

In addition to the need to belong and to be loved and to love, flowed the practices of loyalty, human dignity and respect as strong qualities that influence the lives of the participants. These practices are in line with the Manifesto (2002) and bring out the best in each person.

This became evident in the number of young people who shared that they love their fathers even though they had abandoned them and mistreated them and their families.

Balm said,

*‘When my father is drunk he abuses me verbally and physically. He sometimes chases me away. When my father is drunk and abusive I ask our neighbours to help us. This happens mostly on Fridays and Saturday up to Sunday. I think my father does bad things to please his friends. When my father is sober he is ‘sharp’ (meaning ok!).’*

Rue drew a cell phone and said,

*‘My father gave me the cell phone so I can call him when I want to. I am very sad that my father has left us and I long to be with him. I love him. The most important thing in my life is Christmas time when my father comes to see me.’*

Arum said,

*'I am very angry with my father even though I still love him.'*

These realities resonates with the understanding postulated by Glasser (1993a; 1999) when he speaks about the quality world that we all carry within us. We all hold ideal images of people, things and our belief systems, and these govern our behaviour. In the hearts and lived experiences of the participants they also hold the ideal that 'fathers' are in their quality world without them consciously being put there, but the mere fact that a father parents a child is enough to gain respect and makes the relationship between them unique (Glasser 1993a:192).

From the paradoxical emotions expressed by the participants, it holds true that despite the abuse, abandonment, pain and suffering caused by the 'father's' irresponsibility children will not remove them out of their quality worlds because in most instances there is no one to replace them. The positive values of human dignity, respect and loyalty are all embraced in the Manifesto (2002) and because they are unique qualities to any African we see a real tension in the hearts and minds of these young people. This thinking supports the idea of Glasser (1993a; 1999) when he speaks about the discrepancy between the pictures we form in our heads and the real world.

#### **4.10. THEME 2: EMOTIONAL NEEDS**

Linked to the need to belong and to be loved emerged a second theme, namely, the emotional needs necessary for any individual to grow and become who they potentially are. From the interviews that reflected the 'bad' influences in the lives of the participants, it became evident that the need to belong and to be loved was often under threat as the young people shared their fears, anxieties and nervousness towards the very people that ought to care for them. Snowdrop also drew bottles of alcohol and said:

*‘When my aunt and cousin get drunk they throw bottles at each other. They also break the empty bottles and they stab each other.’*

When asked how she feels when all these bad things are happening around her she replied,

*‘When all these things are happening around me I feel nervous and afraid.’*

When King’s Spear was asked how he feels when all these things are happening around him he replied,

*‘It makes me angry and the only way to cope or escape is to run outside and hide myself behind the house. Even when it rains I still sit out in the rain with a jacket over my head.’*

He associates all these bad things with bad smells.

In the absence of parental care and love one might be led to think that pre-adolescents would engage in promiscuous behaviour or engage in sexual activities to fill the emotional gap. From the participants’ interviews only one group spoke specifically about sexual activities although teenage pregnancies were a concern among the girls. One group had a very explicit picture of a couple engaging in sexual activity overtly on the beach in the presence of others. When asked to explain this, the group leader said,

*‘This is not good because the adults should not undress in front of children and have sex in front of other people. Children should not have sex.’*

When the group was questioned about people having sex and whether young people engage in sexual activities the group said,



*‘We do not engage in sex. Sex is for big people.’*

When asked whether she has a boyfriend, Violet said no. She sees herself as a shy girl and runs and hides from the boys. She refuses to come to them. She says she does not want to be involved with boys now and because of this they throw stone at her. She said,

*‘When the boys ill treat me and bully me around I feel very sad.’*

In these reflections we see that despite the need for care, love, belonging and protection, which are basic needs, the young people had internalised a strong sense of personal dignity and integrity and they were not going to compromise.

When asked, ‘what is your biggest challenge in growing up in the informal settlement?’, Arum said,

*‘My biggest challenge growing up in the informal settlement in the midst of so many challenges is to remain unharmed and out of all trouble. I stay indoors, concentrating on my school work and to stay away from drugs and alcohol.’*

According to Piaget (1932; 1965) and Kohlberg (1958) at the age of 10 or 11 years children’s moral thinking is based on intentions and motives underlying behaviour. It is these intentions and motives that may be located within the field of predominant needs rather than values that could influence their choice (as cited in Crain, 1985:118). At this stage, pre-adolescents act independently of adult influences.

In the challenge of great adversities this young girl (Arum) is able to make a choice to act against what she knows will lead her away from her deep inner beliefs and values. Whether she would be strong enough to sustain her decision when faced with real life dilemmas can only remain to be seen, but of vital importance to this study is the fact

that she is aware of what is right and what is wrong and has the desire to follow her own moral reasoning.

Other participants also displayed a deep sense for the need to protect themselves and their coping mechanism was to engage in good behaviour. For example, one participant said,

*‘My parents encourage me not to engage in all these things but to keep focused on my school work.’*

She says that she believes in her own strength. When asked how she copes with all these ‘bad’ influences around her, Geranium replied,

*‘I stay in my own yard and read my books. I do not want to get engaged in trouble. I also advise other young people to stay away from these bad things by staying at home.’*

When asked; ‘What is the biggest challenge for you growing up in the informal settlement?’

Violet said,

*‘The biggest challenge I have as a young person growing up in this environment today is to remain safe and to survive on the food I get from the centre.’*

Kohlberg (1958) stressed that moral development is based primarily on moral reasoning and unfolds in stages. He believed that moral thinking progressed through a series of six stages (ref. Chapter 2) (as cited in Duska & Whelan, 1975:45; Crain, 1985:118; Santrock, 1999:321; William & William, 1970:82-83; Lugo, 1974:476). The first level is called pre-conventional.

In this stage (stage one), moral reasoning starts out as being totally based on the notion of punishment and reward, and progresses toward a realisation, (stage two), that acting according to the laws of punishment and reward benefits oneself. This stage of moral reasoning is found in young children.

From the interviews the majority of participants expressed that attending the 'No Resource' centre was a focal time in their daily lives. This is a place where emotional ties and needs are brought together. Apart from the basic education that the children get at the centre it became evident that they come to the centre for food to satisfy the need to physically survive. This is a positive response to satisfying a strong basic need, rather than stealing or engaging in other 'bad' behaviour which shows the integrity of the young people.

Balm said,

*'I like coming to the centre it makes me feel happy. I learn to read and write and I get food each day.'*

Geranium has drawn food in her picture. She and her family are very hungry and she said,

*'I know the pain of going to bed hungry. We have no food except what we get at the centre. The people who run the centre give us food parcels. This is a place to call home.'*

Rue said,

*'The centre is an important place for me as I get food there otherwise I do not always have food and I am hungry. Sometimes my grandmother gives us food, bread or pap. Otherwise I sleep without food'*

The participants feel safe at the centre and do not feel victimised. Snowdrop said,

*‘At the centre they do nice things for us and on Friday’s we learn the computers.’*

The group said,

*‘Children in the informal settlement must get food to keep alive. At home we do not have food so we come to the centre to get some. We know we can come and be fed here.’*

In this study Kohlberg’s (1958) theory of punishment and reward (as cited in Duska & Whelan, 1975:45; Crain, 1985:118; Santrock, 1999:321; William & William, 1970:82-83; Lugo, 1974:476) is significant as it raises the question as to whether the children come to the centre out of a desire to learn or to satisfy their basic need for food.

If the latter holds true then we see children regress in their moral development forced by the need to survive because failure to come to the centre and receive food would be a means of self-punishment.

#### **4.11. THEME 3: FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL NEEDS**

These needs were prominent in all the interviews that were conducted. The participants shared about the backgrounds to their families in the collages, in the drawings and in the moral dilemma stories, and financial and material needs cried out.

The reality of growing up in an informal settlement is often the result of being financially poor and materially deprived. High up on the scale of needs shared by the participants is that there is real hunger.

Rue said,

*'I am also very sad because my mother says she cannot care for us and she wants us to go and stay with our grandmother but I do not want to leave my mother even if she has no money to buy us food and clothes.'*

Geranium drew food in her picture. She and her family are very hungry and she said,

*'I know the pain of going to bed hungry. We have no food except what we get at the centre. The people who run the centre give us food parcels. This is a place to call home.'*

The feedback from the group collages and the individual drawings revealed a very important and interesting reality, namely that when the participants spoke of material possession, for example cell phones, cars and money, these pictures were pasted in for their function and not pleasure: A small motorcar was pasted on the bottom of one page. It was almost insignificant but when the boys were asked, 'Why the car?' One boy said,

*'It helps us get to hospital quickly when we are sick.'*

Another group had a big cell phone and shared,

*'If there are sick people at home we can call the ambulance quickly to get help and they can go to hospital to get well and healed.'*

Material possessions were a necessity, a need and not an immediate want! When we juxtapose the outcomes of these interviews regarding needs and wants we see that 'needs' are the dominant force. From the pictures and collages it becomes evident that many children in the informal settle 'survive.'

Glasser (1993a; 1999) says in our pre-historic past, survival was the single basic need, as it is with almost all animals today. He also states that human beings are the only power-driven species (1993:37). It is this need for power that very early displaces survival and governs the lives most people choose to live. Many humans admit that they have enough of everything a person could possibly want but still want the pleasure associated with getting more often means others get less.

In the light of the interviews that were conducted I make a link between power and survival. Neither of these concepts were ever used anywhere by any of the participants but both came to the fore on two levels. Firstly, I equate power with the practice of resilience in the participants to bounce back each time despite the pain they experienced of being rejected, especially by parents. Secondly, I equate power with survival which becomes evident in how the participants perceive adult behaviour. Balm said,

*‘I think my father does bad things to please his friends.’*

It is another aspect of the need even for adults to feel accepted and belonging. This is an interesting point in the light of this study because we see here that the adult community is also striving to become morally mature but are still on the journey. We asked the participants who teaches them the things in life that are important to them. They said their parents, teachers, community and older people.

One boy said,

*‘Even if our parents do bad things they can still teach us good things. When they are sober they teach us good behaviour.’*

Another boy said,

*‘We do not want to be bad like our parents.’*

According to Halstead (1996) the reality is that children are not born with moral understanding. They are born capable of affection, but not without teaching of an awareness of other people as of equal importance with themselves. From this premise one might perceive that if a value is ‘**something worth living**’ for then it follows that to implement values, morals and ethical principles need to be taught (Sprinthall, 1990:171).

This thinking is similar to that of Mbigi (2005:70) when he says a great deal of the upbringing of children in Africa is devoted not only to developing skills, but also to teaching ‘how to be’ in the context of Ubuntu. As Africans children are born into Ubuntu, but they have to acquire its philosophical values and practices in the social context. Ubuntu has to be learnt, shared and collectively affirmed. All this takes place within the context of the local community, which is the foundation of African life and philosophical being. Both Halstead (1996) and Mbigi (2005) agree that values and morals have to be learnt; they do not come naturally, and neither are children born ‘morally good’.

#### **4.12. THEME 4: PROTECTION AND SECURITY NEEDS**

If what Glasser (1993a; 1999) says is true of power, then one may be led to believe that when the participants shared about the violence at home, in the schools and in the community, it may have been the adults’ only hope of gaining respect by showing abusive power in beating the children and, on occasions, wives as well. Arum said,

*‘It hurts me deeply when my father hurts my mother and humiliates her publicly.’*

The same is true when Balm said,

*‘I feel so hurt when my father disrespects me by using foul language. It also fills*

*me with fear and anger when my mother beats me with the chain from the gate.*

Violet said,

*‘When the boys ill treat me and bully me around I feel very sad.’*

What has been shared on abusiveness contradicts and dichotomises the good values shared, especially in relation to the community. This begs the question as to whether the need to redeem one’s personal power overrides what one believes about respect for others, caring and sharing. The pictures presented by the participants showed by the frequency with which violence was spoken about that there is a real problem in the society at large. Is it that people use violence to regain control of a powerless situation ignited by the adverse circumstances in which they are forced to live? This need for power is not a reality unique to the adults only, because King’s Spear, who is only 10, drew cigarettes in his picture to show the bad influences in his life. He said his aunt smokes in front of the children and in the house, and also said,

*‘I do not like the smell of cigarettes but when I try to tell my aunt to go outside and smoke she verbally abuses me and chases me out of the house saying ‘Voetsek’ as if I am a dog. I then get angry and I get so emotional. I hit the dog with a stone when I am angry because I cannot fight my aunt. The only thing I can do with my anger is hit the dog.’*

In this exchange it becomes evident when in the face of powerlessness and pain that violence truly breeds violence. It is not natural for people to live so aggressively but perhaps circumstances provoke it.

A possible way of coping with the adverse forces is the joy that the participants take in playing sports (**fun**). I observed every day how they played football and other ball games among themselves.



There was always laughter and a sense of **freedom** that enabled the children to rise above the more serious needs of survival and protection. In this light Glasser (1993a; 1999) says escape from the domination of others so we could more easily survive; we need freedom. Thus, it too becomes a separate need and serves as a buffer against power. Fun, which is the genetic reward for learning, also becomes a separate need as we begin to learn many things unrelated to survival but closely related to how to gain more love, power, and freedom. This understanding finds agreement in the views of the participants because in the midst of severe poverty, King's Spear drew a football and said he likes to play and have fun. Yew, a boy who feels great loss after his mother died, said,

*'I love playing soccer and I play best in middle field.'*

Violet said,

*'I like playing netball at school.'*

Handy (1996) says,

*'We have to find a personal security in our relationship too. We are not meant to stand alone. We need a sense of connection. We have to feel that it matters to other people that we are there. Because if it makes no difference whether you are there or not then you really begin to feel like a meaningless person. If you have no connection to anybody you have no responsibility and therefore no purpose.'*

This understanding confirms the participants' need to remain connected with those they love despite abuse, physical and emotional rejection. We can then presuppose that security is central to people's need to survive and is at the core of what it means to exist.

When existence is threatened, then people are forced to defend themselves and hence maybe the high degree of violence in this particular environment! We cannot assume or rashly judge that people growing up in informal settlements are dangerous, violent or criminal. But what we can say is that underlying their dangerous, violent and criminal behaviour is the need to find security, belonging and love. This is a real issue for the participants in this research because living in a shack made of corrugated iron or a cardboard box does not provide security, let alone physical shelter from the weather. This was presented in the collages when the one girl spoke of a volcano as a natural disaster. When asked if there were volcanoes in her village she said,

*‘No – but there are other natural disasters like bad road, too much rain which destroys our houses and our schools, when it comes, the lighting also comes and destroys our homes, these are our natural disasters that are like the volcanoes. Fires are also the cause of disasters, especially in winter, because we have no electricity and we need to keep warm so we light fires but often something happens and the whole shack goes on fire.’*

#### **4.13. THEME 5: MORAL CHOICES AND NEEDS**

The central argument in this study is that in the process of becoming an adult, our values and morals are influenced and tempered by our needs and wants, and that the interplay between these forces shapes values formation and the moral beings we become.

According to Piaget (1932; 1965) and Kohlberg (1958), at the age of 10 or 11 years children’s moral thinking is based on intentions and motives underlying behaviour. It is these intentions and motives that may be located within the field of predominant needs rather than values that could influence their choice (as cited in Crain, 1985:118).

Glasser (1993a; 1999) explains that the reason we perceive much of reality so differently from others has to do with another important world, unique to each of us, called the quality world. This small, personal world is made up of a small group of specific pictures that portray, more than anything else we know, the best ways to satisfy one or more of our basic needs.

He says anytime we feel very good, we are choosing to behave so that someone, something, or some belief in the real world has come close to matching a picture of that person, thing, or belief in our quality worlds. Whenever there is a discrepancy between what one wants and what one has, the internal behavioural system is activated. As a consequence people behave in the most desired way to fulfil their needs or wants (Glasser, 1993a; 1999).

When we juxtapose the understanding of Piaget (1932; 1965), Kohlberg (1958) and Glasser (1993a,1999), we perceive a tension between moral development and the influence and strength of needs and wants all taking shape in the minds, hearts and consciences of unique individuals. In this light, and in view of the group collages and the individual drawings that the participants presented, we can infer that their 'good' influences projected on paper are how they would wish their real world to be but more often than not, the 'bad' influences overshadow and dichotomise their values.

This thinking is also in line with Argyris and Schon (1974) who postulate theories of action and explain that people do not always uphold the value on which they believe their behaviour is based. There is a dichotomy ever present in our moral reasoning, our intentions and our behaviour. The maps and pictures we hold in our heads seemingly do not get translated into life. This is coupled by the discrepancy between what we have and what we want. This could be a possible reason as to why good moral values are not grounded in reality.

This is reflected in the response of one girl: Snowdrop said,

*‘Education is very important in my life. I enjoy coming to the centre to learn English and to learn how to write. One day I want to be a teacher’*

The same child said she does not go to school as it is too far away and they cannot afford transport. In this light we see the aspired to, ideal world juxtaposed with the real world. This is how the child perceives her reality and therefore it is real for her.

According to Bittle (1945:605), people are born not only into the physical and social order, but also into the moral order where human conduct is characterised by the quality of right or wrong. Bittle understands ‘human conduct’ as those actions of the human person which are controlled by the free will; these are qualified by the attribute of morality, in so far as they conform or do not conform to the norms and principles governing right living (1945:606). Hence, moral learning refers to the acquisition of ethical behavioural codes which are accepted either universally or in a particular community or culture and according to which people’s behaviour is assessed by themselves and others as morally justified or unjustified (Johaana, 1984:489). The question could be asked in the light of this study, as how much free will the children growing up in the adverse circumstances of an informal settlement have. They are trying to survive, to protect themselves from harm and danger, and still aspire to a prospective future.

The interviews in response to the moral dilemma stories reveal that pre-adolescents know what is ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ and would want to make well informed and conscious decisions in line with what they perceive to be worth living for (values), but in the face of basic real unfulfilled needs their intentions and motives underlie their behaviour and many reason that it is acceptable to make a choice that is in their personal best interests. They are concerned not with their action at this stage but how they reason out their behaviour, hence justifying their response.

Most participants knew it was the correct thing for Mavimbela to return the purse, and some participants stood by their values of honesty and compassion for the lady who lost her purse, but many felt it was justified to keep the purse because Mavimbela came from a very poor family.

It really does present a dilemma, as one participants said,

*‘Mavimbela was right to keep the money as they had nothing at home but when I really think he should have given it back and explained his situation to the woman and maybe she was going to help her.’*

It leads us to ask the question as to whether when people have time to think thoroughly about their actions without the constraints of adversities, would they come back to their real principles of life and rethink their actions and make alternative decisions?

Hence, without over simplifying the idea of what it means to be moral, one can look at it from the perspective of a person having the ability to make a rational judgement in the face of a moral dilemma where the outcome will be for the betterment of all people involved. The question now arises as to whether morality is a purely personal matter or whether it is something that should be attributed to society.

#### **4.14. THEME 6: EDUCATION**

According to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Section 29 (1996), ‘Everyone has the right to basic education, including adult basic education ....’ In this sense everyone has the basic right to learn how to read, write and count. These are the rudimentary skills of basic education. But education has also an important social function to fulfil. We can say that education uses the values of society to teach learners to observe these values so that the existing social order is transmitted to the coming generation (Nieuwenhuis, 2006:21).

Education has always been part of the human experience. In traditional African villages children are, from an early age, socialised into the accepted norms and values of their society. Education is a tool to transmit and uphold sound values in society.

As the Constitution (1996) puts it so beautifully,

*‘Education has the core goal to ‘free the potential,’ of all young South Africans by imparting to them the knowledge, skills and values that will make them effective, productive and responsible citizens.’*

The participants’ interviews showed that education, at least in terms of school, is of high importance. It plays the role of fulfilling the participants’ need to achieve and succeed in life with the prospects of a brighter future. It appears that school is a creative alternative and deterrent against crime and other undesirable behaviours.

The Pretty Girls and Boys’ group, when presenting their collage said,

*‘Education is very important. It helps alleviate crime. The picture of books shows education offers a better future and good life. All children must be educated so that they are independent. We want to learn. We can also educate others at home.’*

Jonquille said,

*‘Education is a very important thing in my life. At school we are given much work to do and do not have time to fool around.’*

In general the opinion was presented that going to school is a positive experience and the participants enjoy learning. It is also a platform where justice is exercised and taken seriously, as was shared by Bryony who said that she had personally experienced verbal

and emotional abuse from her teacher. She said,

*‘One day the teacher called me a dog. I told it to my mother. My mother then reported it to the principal and he reported it to the Education Department. The teacher was arrested and expelled because he had done other things in the school. Now the children feel comfortable again in the classroom.’*

Bryony also said,

*‘Some teachers promise learners good marks if they give in to the teachers’ demands to touch them – this is sexual harassment.’*

The participants are correct to assume that education is a deterrent against crime in that education is part of most children’s socialisation process through which they acquire social and cultural values that are communicated from one person to another. The participants desire for education parallels with what Snygg and Combs (1959) speak about (see Chapter 2) in their theory of the phenomenal field, saying,

*‘All behaviour, without exception, is completely determined by and pertinent to the phenomenal field of the behaving organism.’*

Like Glasser (1993a, 1999) they say,

*‘The basic need of everyone is to preserve and enhance the phenomenal self, and the characteristics of all parts of the field are governed by this need.’*

This view is developed over a lifetime, and is based the person’s characteristics, cultural upbringing (as he or she experiences it) and other, more personal experiences. It is the phenomenal self we try to maintain and enhance. This is more than mere physical survival or the satisfaction of basic needs.

What they are describing is not only about maintaining but about enhancing the self. As human beings we don't just want to be what we are. We often want to be more (Lugo 1974:181). The children growing up in an informal settlement aspire to be more than what they are too. It would appear this is unique to all people, irrespective of social conditions.

In the informal settlement where most of the participants reside, there is no school in terms of institution and formalised education. Only those children whose parents can afford it travel to school. This leads to the problem of how the responsibility to educate has been taken away from the home and the parents. Does it create a perception in children's minds that education is about going to an established place called school? What about the role of value formation in the family and how school builds on this foundation rather than separates it? Educational departments may have created for themselves a dichotomy between the 'community' and 'school' by setting them apart. Educators were always respected members of community but now educators come into an environment, teach, and leave by car. They are strangers to the environment and children are taught not to trust strangers, hence another issue arises!

The question may be raised at this stage as to how we teach values in our schools. It is important that values are taught in such a manner that they are absorbed and lived by young South Africans, and are not merely an imposition. As an outcome of education we do not want learners to be obedient servers of rules; we want them to understand the values (process) that are needed for society to function as an orderly, humane environment. We want the learners to be able to make sound moral judgements needed to improve the overall morality of the country (Nieuwenhuis, 2006:218). This requires that children be given the opportunity to make sense of such concepts as outlined in the Manifesto (2002) such as equity, equality, justice, human dignity, 'Ubuntu', etc. This process relates back to the moral development as postulated by Kohlberg (1958), Lickona (1983a) and Piaget (1932; 1965) (see Chapter 2).



#### 4.15. THEME 7: RELIGION

In respect of **African morality**, African people tend to be intensely religious and each people or group has its own religious system with a set of beliefs and practices. Although Christianity has gained tremendous ground during the era of colonisation, traditional African religion, or parts of it that have been subsumed into Christianity, remain.

As such, religion permeates all areas of life and it is thus not possible to isolate it. Morality is inextricably linked with religion and thus African systems of morality are founded upon religion. The main determining force in morality is harmony. At a psychological level this finds expression in a sense of a ‘reciprocal we-ness’ and emotional care for other, and at a volitional level through an expression of helping others (Metz, 2008).

The participants captured this in their sharing. Snowdrop said,

*‘I like my culture when my parents pour ‘Mqombothi’ (African beer) on the ground and ask our ancestors for good luck. Our parents tell us that our ancestors say when we sneeze we must say exactly what is on our minds as we will get a blessing. I also like our traditional clothing, singing and dancing.’*

Violet said,

*‘I like my culture because it protects me.’*

Rue said,

*‘My family go to the graveyard and pray for my dead grandmother. They talk to her using snuff.’*

Jonquille said,

*'I like the respect that my culture shows for the dead. They also show respect by bringing cows to the elders. My grandmother talks to our ancestors using snuff.'*

The practices used by the families of the participants are a natural way of keeping contact with their loved ones. This is an important practice because the need to belong and to be loved does not end in death but continues throughout life in the hope that one day all people will be reunited in eternity. In this light, Metz (2008) is correct to show the strong link between morality and religion because they are inseparable. This thinking may not be unique to Africa, but is to be found in any culture where the practice is found of respecting and communicating with family members who have died.

#### **4.16. CONCLUSION**

The aim of this research was to explore the values formation of pre-adolescents growing up in an informal settlement. From the data collected, analysis and reflection on essential themes that have emerged from this phenomena of exploration, it would appear that pre-adolescents growing in this adverse environment progress like other children of their age, i.e. through the various stages of moral development as put forward by Piaget (1932; 1965) and Kohlberg (1958).

Most of the data gathered during the interviews indicate that many of the basic needs in the lives of the pre-adolescents are often not fulfilled or are only partially fulfilled. In an effort to fulfil the most basic needs pertinent to all human beings, as outlined by Glasser (1993a; 1999), namely, survival, to love and to belong, power, freedom and fun, these pre-adolescents, although they know what is 'right' and what is 'wrong', act in their own best interests at any given time and therefore the process of making a moral decision may or not be consistent with their values.

Like all other children the participants in this research are not born with an innate moral or value system; these have to be taught through the process of socialisation whereby they learn the social values, morals, attitudes and expectations as communicated from one person to another. From this research it has become evident that individuals progress through various stages of moral growth and development as they grow from childhood to adulthood.

According to Piaget (1932; 1965) and Kohlberg (1958), each stage of moral development must be completed before an individual can move on to the next (as cited in Duska & Whelan, 1975:47). However, this growth process is not an automatic one; several factors play an influential role in how individuals make moral choices and in the process integrate and develop a sound value system.

## **CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1. INTRODUCTION**

This research study has been a journey into the hearts, minds and consciences of pre-adolescents growing up in the adverse circumstances of an informal settlement. To provide an understanding of the realities being constructed, it was necessary to see the participants' world described from their perspective. This I did by exploring the lived experiences of the young people who attend the 'No Resource' after-school care centre by engaging them in collages, individual drawings and narrations reflecting the 'good' and 'bad' influences in their daily lives. Creating an appropriate environment and affording the participants the opportunity to share the content of their drawings through narrative interviews allowed them to express their views about their perceived reality, thus giving them an explanatory voice.

The exploration of this research was located within the specific context of a qualitative interpretivist study and sought to gain an in-depth understanding of their value formation and how these are influenced by 'needs' and 'wants'. This took place within the theoretical framework of Piaget (1932; 1965), Kohlberg (1958), Lickona (1983a) and Turiel (1974) in the light of their findings on how children develop morally. Cognisance was also taken of the theories of Maslow (1971) and Glasser (1993a, 1999) regarding basic human needs, and the relationship between moral development and 'needs' and 'wants'. This chapter presents the conclusion of the study.

### **5.2. THE AIMS OF THIS STUDY**

The aims of the study were as follows:

- To understand the perceptions of pre-adolescents aged 10 – 14 on what they hold as

‘worth living for’, which can be equated to inferred values deduced from interviews about the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences in their lives.

- To understand their value formation and how these are influenced by ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ and to understand whether ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ over-ride their moral judgment when faced with real life dilemmas of choosing between what is ‘right’ or ‘wrong’.

### **5.3. THE CENTRAL ARGUMENT OF THIS STUDY**

The central argument in this study is that, in the process of becoming an adult our values and morals are influenced and tempered by our needs and wants, and that the interplay between these forces shapes values formation and the moral being we become.

In the course of this study I assumed that young people living in adverse situations are just as able to act in a caring, concerned, altruistic and resilient manner as they are able to act in a destructive manner. I assumed that these young people are able to do good as much as they are able to do bad things. The question is, how do they decide what is good and what is bad and what role do values and needs play in taking that decision? In the research I sought an understanding as to why young people behave the way they do, keeping in mind that they are constantly growing, changing and struggling to become (Quinn, 1990:2; Donceel, 1967).

It also raised the question as to whether young people are driven in their judgement by their needs and wants, or do they at least have some understanding of moral right and wrong and the values that underpin morality? The question explored was whether ‘values’ and ‘morals’ are influenced by ‘wants’ and ‘needs’ in the process of making moral judgements and value based decisions.

From the empirical evidence and the theories studied a number of significant themes emerged; namely, (1) family and community, (2) emotional needs, (3) financial and

material needs, (4) protection and security, (5) moral choices and needs, (6) education and (7) religion. These various needs were discussed in Chapter 4.

Some of them bear mentioning in this concluding chapter as they lie deep in the heart and soul of what makes a person human.

#### **5.4. RESEARCH FINDINGS**

Since the exploration of this study engaged the world view of unique young individuals who are in the process of ‘becoming’ we cannot succumb to the temptation to compartmentalise needs, values and moral choices into neatly squared boxes. Rather, in the process of engaging the participants in reflection upon their experiences, it is evident that I engaged with the whole person; social, emotional, physical, psychological and spiritual. Therefore I am trying to define the interplay between values, moral decision making processes and needs, as these are played out in the real world of developing children growing up in an adverse circumstance of an informal settlement, keeping in mind that human nature is a complex matter (Dorell, 1967:446). Ventegodt, Andersen, Kromann and Merrick (2003: 1176-85) say,

*“To be human is to balance between hundreds of extremes. The secret of the heart is when reason and feelings meet and individuals become whole. Where reason is balanced perfectly by feelings and where mind and body come together in perfect unity, a whole new quality emerges, a quality that is deeper and more complete”*

#### **5.5. FINDINGS FROM RESPONSES TO OBJECTIVE ONE**

- To understand the perceptions of pre-adolescents aged 10 – 14 on what they hold as ‘**worth living for**’ which can be equated to inferred values deducted from interviews about the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences in their lives.

The outcomes of the participants sharing from the group collages and their individual drawings on the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ influences in their lives showed the emergence of pertinent **values** (Ubuntu, human dignity, compassion, kindness, altruism, justice, respect, caring, communalism and personal integrity) and **needs** (to be loved, to love and belonging, survival, power, fun and freedom).

These young people, like all other young people of their age, showed a preference for something better than what they have in reality. Their ‘good’ influences projected their yearning for sound values, and even if not yet realised, they showed their innate desires for goodness and rightness. This confirms the understanding of motivation postulated by Snygg and Combs’ (1976:7-8) that,

*‘The basic need of everyone is for self preservation of the phenomenal self and the characteristics of all parts of the field are governed by this need’.*

This self preservation is more than mere physical survival or the satisfaction of basic needs; it encompasses the need for self enhancement. As human beings we don’t just want to be what we are, but we often want to be more (Lugo 1974:181). This thinking is in line with the understanding of Glasser (1993a, 1999) and Maslow’s (1971) theories of needs and wants and how every individual strives to meet these needs to bring satisfaction and self actualisation into their lives.

The results of the research show pre-adolescents need emotional and social support as much as the fulfilment of material needs. This is evident from the theme of family and community that emerged prominently from the interviews with the young people (see Chapter 4). The physiological need to be loved, to love and belong appeared to be a strong underlying motivation for the participants to come to the ‘No Resource’ centre. The need for emotional closeness and physical proximity with other children was observable.

The absence, and lack of fulfilment, of the need to be loved, to love and belong presented itself in strong emotional feelings of anger and resent, especially towards absent fathers. From a Jungian perspective of attachment and detachment (as cited in Moore, 1992:87) these children can be perceived as very real and at a normal stage of development.

Glasser (1993a, 1999) makes an assumption that individuals hold an image of how they would like things to be when all is going well. He refers to these images as our **“quality world pictures”** (see Chapter 2).

These quality world pictures are created in our memories shortly after birth and we continue to create and re-create them throughout life. And true to human nature, most of our time is spent behaving in a manner that will satisfy the needs that suggest how we would like our world to be like. The pictures that we hold in our quality world are constantly in our thoughts, and daily we drift backwards and forwards in our thoughts. This understanding reflects well the concept of marginalised youth as explored by MacLean (2007) in how he explains that there is some sort of a dichotomous world between reality and the desired or imagined world (see Chapter 2).

From the participants’ personal perspectives, based on the shared stories of their lives and daily experiences, they constructed a picture of what it means to be marginalised. This picture plays a major role in how these young people perceive themselves and their identity, as well as their hopes for survival and a prosperous future. In this light, if we accept that choices are influenced by a plethora of factors and that these factors are part of all people’s upbringing, development and environment, then we can say that the choices the participants make are socio-culturally determined and altered by needs and wants.

Another factor that contributes to the dichotomous world view of these pre-adolescents is what Freudian psychologists believe; namely, that much human behaviour is caused



by unconscious motivation. As a result most people are not conscious or aware of what causes their behaviour (Quinn, 1990:186). But in most situations that we find ourselves in, we choose our behaviour. In choosing our behaviour we are influenced by numerous factors. Many times, and this is true for most people, we act from an inner force that pushes us to get what we want even when we know it is not right to have or at least not right to have it now.

This understanding juxtaposes the thinking of Argyris and Schon (1974) who were concerned with examining conscious and unconscious reasoning processes and assert that people hold maps in their heads about how to plan, implement and review their actions. They further assert that few people are aware that the maps they use to take action are not the theories they explicitly espouse, and even fewer people are aware of the maps or theories they do use (as cited in Argyris, 1980).

In this sense, and as an outcome of this study, we can assert that the pre-adolescents in this research also hold maps in their heads about how to plan, implement and review their actions, but this does not mean that they will act on what they plan or value. This phenomenon was observable from the discussion held with the participants regarding dilemma one, i.e. whether Mavimbela should return the purse to its owner or not. It was evident from the content of their discussion that many of the participants knew it was wrong to keep the money but their real need to survive, to get food and meet other essential needs forced them to act against their better planned actions. These young people clearly knew what was right and wrong in the given situation and the values of honesty, truth and personal integrity that underpinned their judgement. Many of them felt obliged to stand for the truth and were adamant that the money should be returned to the owner for all sorts of reasons. In the cases where children argued against returning the money, their intentions were based on basic unmet needs.

Here we see a relationship between what these children understand as morally right and morally wrong, but their choices are influenced and motivated by their needs for survival, security and self preservation.

Hence we can say that in the process of becoming an adult, values and morals unfold and the response made to any given situation can be tempered by immediate unmet wants and needs but people do have the capacity to make choices in line with their developed values and their beliefs about what they uphold as morally right and wrong.

The importance of culture in values formation was also discussed in Chapter 2. The fact that these children grow up in an environment removed from their cultural roots might reduce the influence of culture on their value formation.

Support for such an assumption could not be found in the data collected. To the contrary, we see very pertinent cultural values emerging from the data which can be juxtaposed with the philosophical understanding of Ubuntu and what it means to be human from an African paradigm, as discussed in Chapter 2. From the values of Ubuntu and human dignity flowed the practices of compassion, kindness, altruism, caring, sharing, respect, communalism and personal integrity.

Juxtaposed with thinking, a theme emerged around the need for protection and security in the lives of the young people. From their sharing they frequently referred to violence, manipulation, anger, destruction and abuse. These unwanted actions in the community stand in contrast to the African philosophical concept of Ubuntu and raise the question as to whether people are slowly losing the very essence of what it means to be human as viewed from the African paradigm. Mbigi (2005:68) quotes Okumu to say:

*‘The value that a person learns from their relationships gives content to a person’s understanding of proper behaviour towards others. This thinking suggests that it is not through solitude that people discover who they are but through relationships with one another. It is in the courageous encounter with others that people discover their personal path and purpose in life, the mystery of human existence and their personal destiny.’*

Mbigi (2005:69) says:

*“Each one of us needs all of us. I cannot separate my humanity from the humanity of those around me because none of us is greater than all of us. We cannot succeed on our own. We need each other – there is an eternal bond of reciprocity between us”*

Literature confirms that children are not born with moral understanding. They are born capable of affection but not without teaching of an awareness of other people as of equal importance with themselves (Halstead, 1996:3; Chapter 2).

In my exploration of how the participants in this research learn what is right and wrong I sought to understand their reasoning and motives by engaging them with moral dilemmas (see Chapter 4). Their responses to the dilemmas showed that they are taught what is morally right and wrong from parents, educators, elders and each other as they interact through play and living together. In the light of this finding we therefore cannot presume that all pre-adolescents growing up in an environment where little or no value or moral formation is seemingly witnessed that children do not know what constitutes morally acceptable behaviour. Somewhere in that environment a value system and an acceptable code of behaviour has been developed, and children growing up in the midst of it, irrespective of economical, emotional and physical deprivation, know what social and moral behaviour is expected of them.

## **5.6. FINDINGS FROM RESPONSES TO OBJECTIVE TWO**

- The question explored was: Do needs and wants play a role in how young people in an adverse environment make decisions even in the face of knowing what is right and wrong behaviour.

The question was posed to understand their value formation and how these are influenced by ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ and to understand whether ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ override their moral judgment when faced with real life dilemmas of choosing between what is ‘right’ or ‘wrong’.

Literature confirms that stages of moral development assume that children who grow up in relatively good societies with a supportive moral environment proceed through stages of moral development as they grow in years. Reflection on this gives the picture that moral development is a free-flowing, natural process. Although such a claim may hold true in conventional situations, it may not be true for children growing up in adverse situations.

Hence my further exploration of just how they deal with values and morals.

Piaget (1932; 1965) asked children questions about ethical rules – theft, lies, punishment, and justice. He concluded that children think in two distinctly different ways about morality, depending on their developmental maturity. He defines these as ‘heteronomous morality’ and ‘autonomous morality’ (see Chapter 2). Autonomous morality is the second stage of moral development in Piaget’s (1932; 1965) theory, displayed by older children about the ages of 10 years of age and older (as cited in Santrock, 1999:252). At this age children begin to base their moral judgments on intentions and motives underlying behaviour. It is these intentions and motives that may be located within the field of predominant needs rather than values that could influence their choices (as cited in Crain, 1985:118; Duska & Whelan, 1975:15).

At this stage the child acts independently of adult influences and it ‘requires nothing more for its development than the mutual respect and solidarity which holds amongst children themselves’ (William & William, 1970:75; Lugo, 1974:476). According to Piaget (1932; 1965) the individual who is autonomously moral follows moral rules of the self.

Such rules are self-constructed, self-regulating principles (DeVries & Zan, 1994:46).

The pre-adolescents interviewed in this research were between the ages of 10 to 14 and therefore can be categorised within the stage of autonomous morality, which is the second stage of moral development in Piaget's (1932; 1965) theory. At this stage pre-adolescents begin to base their moral judgments on intentions and motives underlying behaviour. It is these intentions and motives that may be located within the field of predominant needs rather than values that could influence their choices (as cited in Crain, 1985:118; Duska & Whelan, 1975:15). From the interviews conducted with the pre-adolescents during this research on the moral dilemmas discussed (see Chapter 4) their responses confirmed that their intentions and motives for agreeing or disagreeing with the characters in the stories were intention-based.

The participants were of the opinion that it was necessary to steal the money for obvious reasons of survival. These children knew it was wrong to steal but basic unmet needs forced them to act contrary to their value of truth, honesty and personal integrity. Their intentions were morally based on relieving a desperate situation.

Significantly, this study reveals that despite children growing up in the adverse circumstances of an informal settlement, the negative and positive influences in their reality are not solely determined by the environment and that their choices are in line with their individual stage of moral development. The participants' decisions were determined by their inner convictions of what they already perceived as right or wrong. This is reflected in how some participants said they do not want to engage in bad behaviour, therefore they stay at home and engage in their school work. This is an important point because these young people have the awareness of how they would want to see themselves act in a particular situation, and therefore based on their personal belief, they try to make choices for the good.

In relation to dilemma 2, aimed at exploring how the values of justice and equality (right and wrongness) in the lives of the participants influenced their choices, the participants showed a strong loyalty towards justice and equality which are practices that flow from their strong Ubuntu upbringing. Even when Ubuntu as a concept is not explained within the culture, the young people would be indirectly taught its values.

In that light, and in the light of the participants' responses to this dilemma, I see their moral judgement and decision-making as being based on what they believe to be right even when the decision is contrary to the value of respect for an elder. They still uphold the value of respect, but do not believe that protecting their father from legitimate corrective behaviour is greater than telling the truth and telling the truth in support of their mother. The unanimous response of the participants was a strong voice in favour of justice, especially in a society where the male would hold prominent positions of authority and power. This is important in the light of this research because it reveals that the value of justice is greater than their need for protection and security against a powerful figure.

The outcomes also showed that the mother figure is aligned with the need to be nurtured, to care for and protect, hence the response of the participants towards not reporting their mother even if she should beat her husband. This can be understood in the light of the participants striving for the good of their own selves.

Literature based on the theory of Maslow (1971) and Glasser (1993a; 1999) confirms that all people are born with a number of basic needs. In Chapter 2 I made reference to Maslow's (1971) hierarchy of needs (as cited in Quinn, 1990:200; Sprinthall & Sprinthall, 1900:524; Jordann & Jordann, 1984:581; Mathes, 1981) where he suggests five interdependent levels of basic human needs (motivators) that must be satisfied in a strict sequence starting with the lowest level; i.e. physiological, safety and security, love and belonging and esteem needs. For Maslow (1971) these needs are hierarchical, implying that a lower order need must be satisfied before one can move to the next need.

Glasser's theory (1998) postulates a view of human nature that assumes people are born "genetically programmed" to have five basic needs, namely, survival, love and belonging, power, freedom, and fun' (as cited in Corey 2001: 231). These are built into our genetic structure, and from birth we must devote all our behaviour to attempt to satisfy those needs (Glasser, 1998). Glasser (1993a; 1999) bases his belief on the assumption that people or events outside of us never stimulate us to do anything. Rather, our behaviour always represents the choice to do what we believe most satisfies our need at the time. From this perspective, people follow the rules of a game to achieve a meaningful outcome.

## **5.7. ASPECTS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

This study sought to explore the influence of needs and wants on the value and moral formation of pre-adolescents growing up in the adverse circumstances of an informal settlement. This was conducted in the light of theories on how children develop morally and how needs and wants play a decisive role in what motivates daily choices.

From the research the following aspects provide scope for further research pertinent to young people growing up in marginalised circumstances.

- This study focused more on pre-adolescents' espoused theory on how they would act if faced by a moral dilemma. Research is needed on the theory in action by studying the reasons why pre-adolescents engage in at-risk behaviour.
- This was an exploratory study in a particular environment, but more research is needed into marginalised youth and their values formation.
- This study attempted to come to an understanding of the influences that shape the values formation of pre-adolescents. Research is needed into the type of intervention programmes that could assist learners living in adverse situations in order to develop positive value systems.

## 5.8. CONCLUSION

This study has shown that in the process of becoming mature human beings, our values and morals are influenced and tempered by our needs and wants, and that the interplay between these forces shape values formation and the moral being we become. According to Frankl (2004:105), the human search for meaning is the primary motivation in life and not a 'secondary rationalisation' of instinctual drives.

This meaning is unique and specific in that it must, and can, be fulfilled by each individual and this will satisfy his/her search for one's true self and a higher Being.

In the light of this understanding, values cannot remain on a theoretical level but need to be translated into daily living practices, choices and decision-making processes. It is this search for meaning that will motivate a person to live, and even die, for the sake of his/her ideals and values. And it is in response to this search that growth and freedom take place and self transcendence becomes a reality.

When confronted with a hopeless situation where the external circumstances cannot be changed, the only hope of survival remains the resilience of heart and soul that lie deep within individuals who witness the unique human potential of transforming a personal tragedy into a triumph and an achievement. The participants of this research are confronted with formidable and adverse living conditions. They are challenged from childhood to grapple with dilemmas of what is 'right' and what is 'wrong' and are forced to make decisions that will best fulfil their basic needs that underlie their very existence for survival; love, belonging, power, freedom and fun.

Hence, I conclude that these young people are able to act in a caring, concerned, altruistic and resilient manner, just as they are able to act in a destructive manner. These young people are as able to do good as they are able to do bad things. They have a strong sense of moral rightness and wrongness and the values that underpin morality.



Even when their basic human needs are unmet they can still make choices that reflect good moral values. They have the capacity to transcend themselves and to make radical changes in their personal lives, and in turn contribute to the well-being of a better society.

*“When we are no longer able to change a situation -*

*We are challenged to change ourselves.”*

*(Frankl, 1905-1997)*

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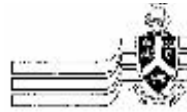
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## APPENDICES

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**APPENDIX A Ethical clearance**



UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
FACULTY OF EDUCATION  
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

**CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE**

**DEGREE AND PROJECT**

**INVESTIGATOR(S)**

**DEPARTMENT**

**DATE CONSIDERED**

**DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE**

**CLEARANCE NUMBER :**

EM10/03/03

MEd: Education Management and policy studies

The value formation of children growing up in an informal settlement

Bernadette Duffy

Department of Education Management and Policy Studies

10 August 2010

APPROVED

Please note:

*For Masters applications, ethical clearance is valid for 2 years*

*For PhD applications, ethical clearance is valid for 3 years.*

**CHAIRPERSON OF ETHICS COMMITTEE** Prof L Ebersohn

DATE

10 August 2010

CC

Prof J Nieuwenhuis

Ms Jeannie Beukes

This ethical clearance certificate is issued subject to the following conditions:

1. A signed personal declaration of responsibility
2. If the research question changes significantly so as to alter the nature of the study, a new application for ethical clearance must be submitted
3. It remains the students' responsibility to ensure that all the necessary forms for informed consent are kept for future queries.

Please quote the clearance number in all enquiries.

**APPENDIX B Request for permission to conduct research on site**



**Faculty of Education  
Education Management and Policy Studies**

Site Address

01 February 2010

Attention: Person responsible for the pre-adolescent after-care centre at 'No Resource' Informal Settlement.

Dear .....

I am second year researcher at the University of Pretoria and wish to engage in the exploration of values and morals of pre-adolescence growing up in adverse conditions of an informal settlement. I have observed 'No Resource' as one such environment knowing that the ..... manage an after care centre for vulnerable pre-teens.

To conduct this research I request your assistance in identifying approximately fifteen to twenty young people between the ages of 10 – 14 who live alone without parental care or who are left alone for long periods during the day. I decide to select these particular youth because they will serve the purpose of collecting relevant information for in-depth analysis related to the central issues being studied. That means that the selected participants will be pre-adolescents who are daily exposed to adverse conditions and who have to make real life choices. Simultaneously the participants will need to have the capacity to provide substantial responses to the expectations of the research methods by engaging in reflection on what are good and bad influences in their



lives and be able to articulate them. This will require them to understand some English or Sesotho. To ensure detailed understanding from the sharing of the young people I request your assistance as an interpreter for the duration of the research.

All participants will be ensured of confidentiality and anonymity. They will be requested to give their informed consent that will also enable them to withdraw from the research at any time they decide. The data collected in the course of my research becomes the property of the University of Pretoria.

In the process of research there is the likely event that sensitive issues may be revealed. To provide additional help where necessary I request your help to identify professionals to whom participants can be referred for further counselling after the research has been completed.

For the purposes of ethics in research and the wellbeing of participants may I request that you declare your agreement by consenting to sign this letter agreeing that you will assist me with:

The identification of participants for the research

The interpretation of what is exchanged during the interaction with the participants

The identification of professionals who if needed can assist the participants with further help after the research is completed.

Yours sincerely

Sr. Bernadette Duffy

Professor FJ Nieuwenhuis

Student Number: 24547787

Supervisor

**APPENDIX C Letter granting permission to conduct research on site**

I ..... agree to assist Bernadette Duffy with the with the above mentioned research by identifying participants for the research, interpreting the exchange that takes place during the research and to identify professionals who will help participants after the research has been done where necessary. I further agree to keep all information divulged by children during the research process confidential and not to discuss it with any third party so as to protect the trust and integrity of the children.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_



**APPENDIX D Letter requesting consent from children**

**Faculty of Education**

**Education Management and Policy Studies**

01 February 2010

Dear research participants: ‘No Resource’ Informal Settlement Aftercare Centre

I am a second year researcher at the University of Pretoria and wish to engage in the exploration of values and morals of pre-adolescence growing up in adverse conditions of an informal settlement. I have observed ‘No Resources’ as one such environment knowing that the ..... manage an after care centre for vulnerable pre-teens.

To conduct this research I request your permission to engage with you in reflection on what are good and bad influences in their lives and how these help you to make decisions that inform your behaviour.

To ensure that I understand what you share is what you really mean I will work with Ms .....as an interpreter for the duration of the research. At all times I will work to ensure your confidentiality and anonymity is protected.

To help me do this research I need you to agree to give me your informed consent (see attached form). Should you agree and then later do not want to continue you are free to withdraw from the research at any time. The data collected in the course of my research becomes the property of the University of Pretoria.

In the process of research you feel you need to talk to someone else about your personal issues you will be given additional help from a local social worker, counsellor, etc.

Yours sincerely

Sr Bernadette Duffy, Student number: 24547787

**APPENDIX E Informed consent form**

**INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS**

Research Title: The values formation of children growing up in an informal settlement.

Purpose of the study: To explore the salient values and morals of pre-adolescent children growing up in the adverse conditions of an informal settlement.

Procedures: I ..... as a learner at the ‘No Resource’ Informal Settlement Aftercare centre agree to engage in the above mention study to reflect on what are good and bad influences in my life and explore how these help me make decisions that inform my behaviour.

I understand that I will engage in answering questions asked by the researcher and that my answers may be tape recorded to provide accurate feedback.

I understand that I will take photographs or draw pictures to support my verbal responses and that these drawings will be reflected in the research report.

I understand that the researcher will take responsible steps to protect my confidentiality and she will not use my name or identify me in her research report or any publication related to this research.

I understand that I can withdraw at any time should I not want to continue with this research.

By signing this form I confirm that I have understood with the help of an interpreter the contents of what this study will expect of me.

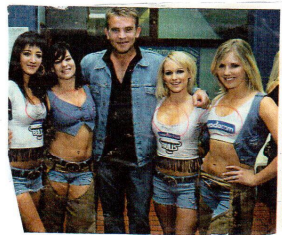
Participant’s signature:.....Date: .....

Researcher’s signature: .....Date: .....



APPENDIX F Collages representing good influences

# Black Tigars



# Books Food

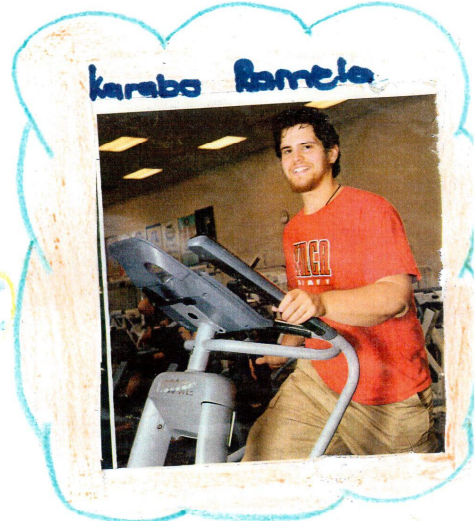
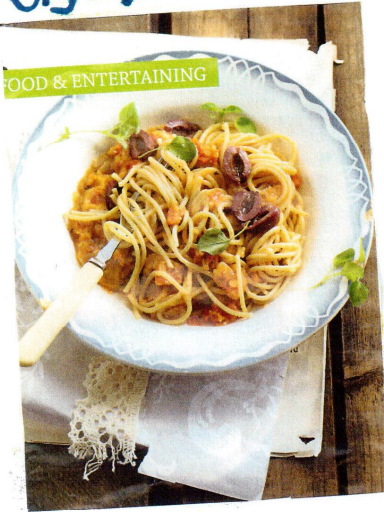






# HOPEFUL

Oiga Letsosalo .



Karabo Ramela



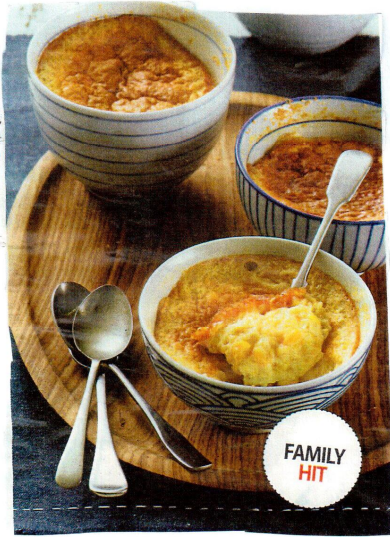
Zabz molo Kamele

Mabete Rasobane



Mzumane Willy

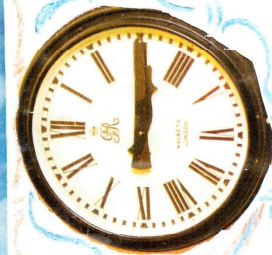
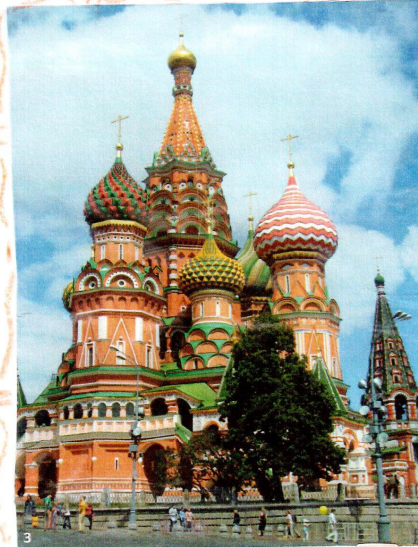
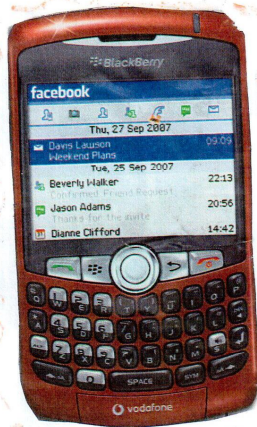
Robe tsi g...  
1998







# BLUE BOYS AND A GIRL?

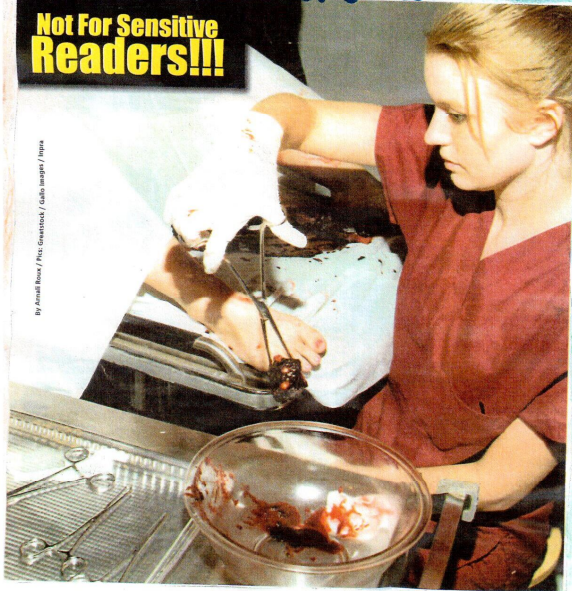






# HOPE F.W.I.

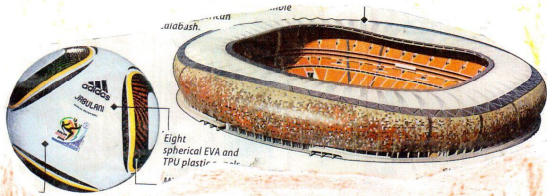
Pbongani Sengamzi



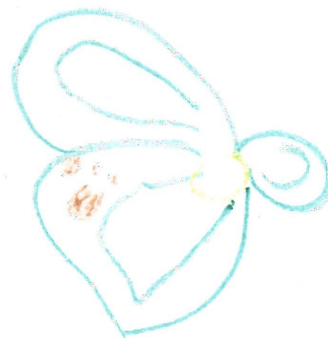
John



mothwaf



Willy Mtshali  
mandela Stadium

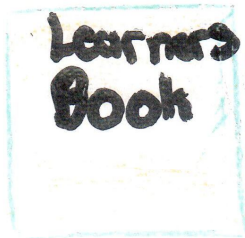




# Black tiger



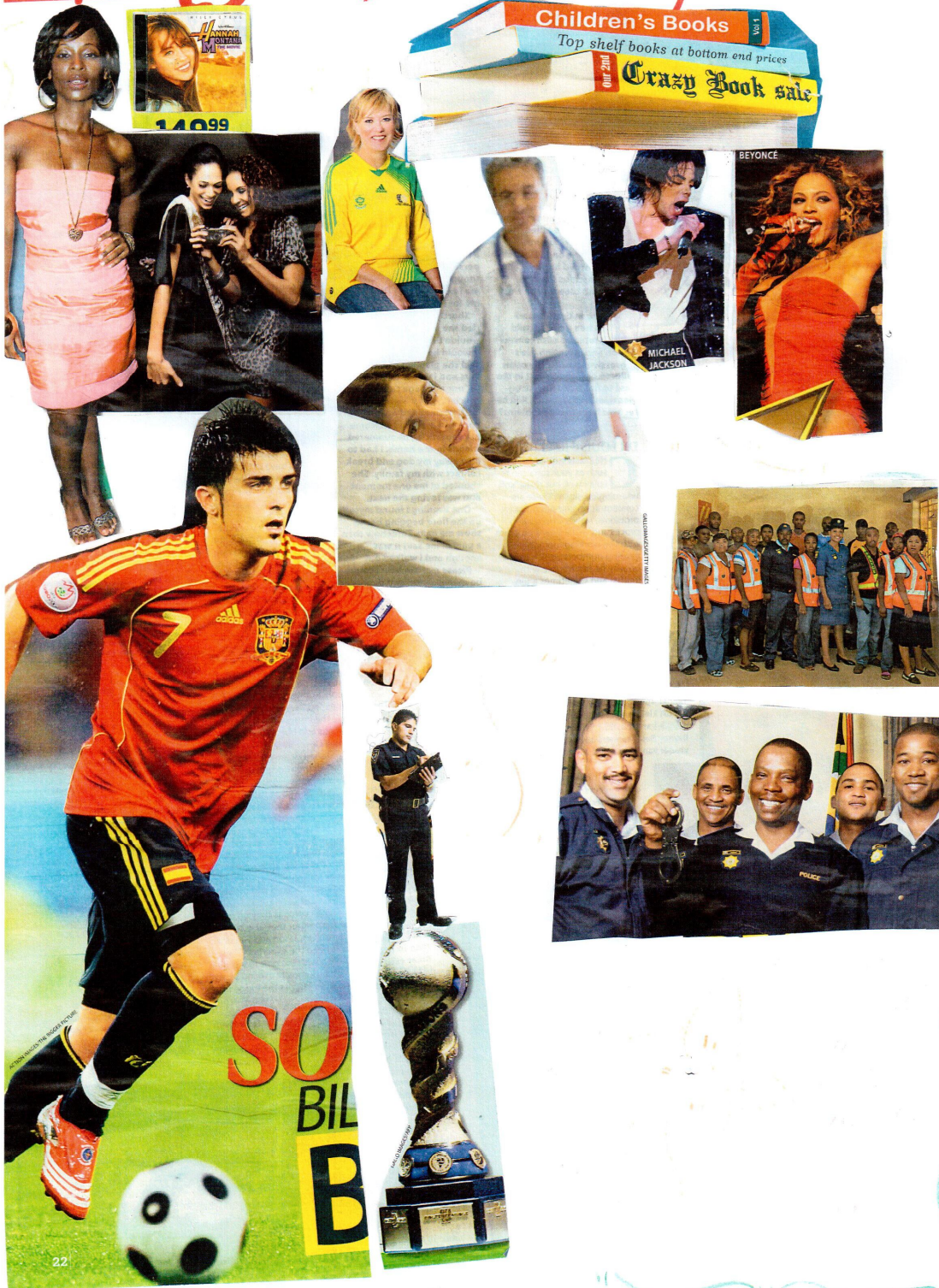
Books







# PRETTY GIRLS and BOYS.





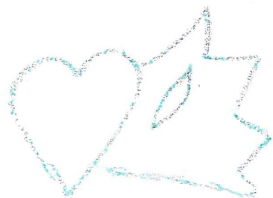
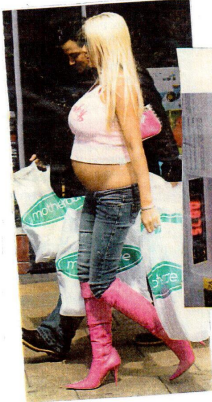
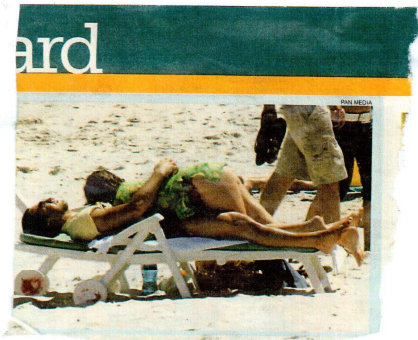






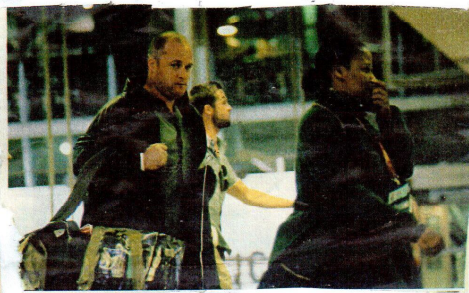
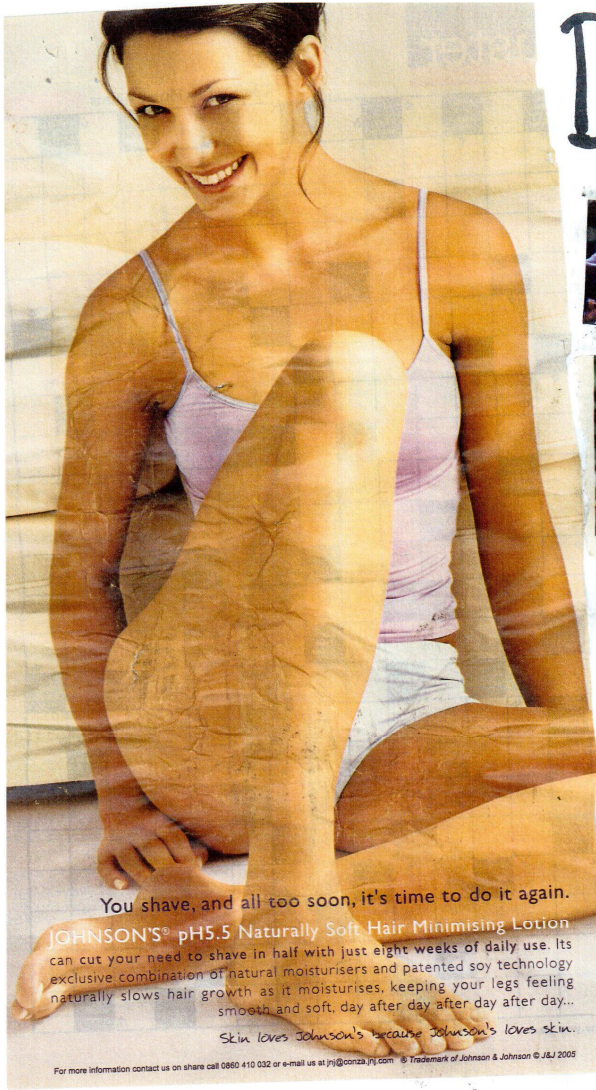
APPENDIX G Collages representing bad influences

# Black tigers





# BLACK Tiger



You shave, and all too soon, it's time to do it again.  
**JOHNSON'S® pH5.5 Naturally Soft Hair Minimising Lotion** can cut your need to shave in half with just eight weeks of daily use. Its exclusive combination of natural moisturisers and patented soy technology naturally slows hair growth as it moisturises, keeping your legs feeling smooth and soft, day after day after day...

*Skin loves Johnson's because Johnson's loves skin.*

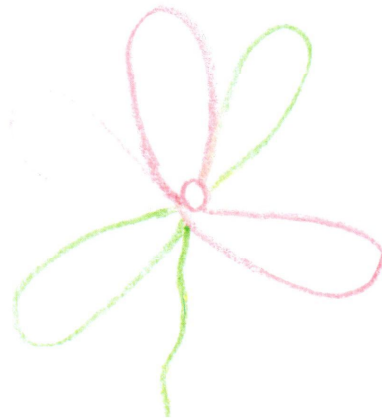
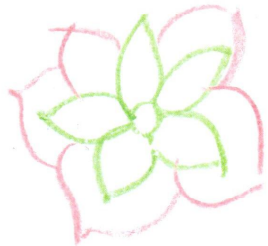
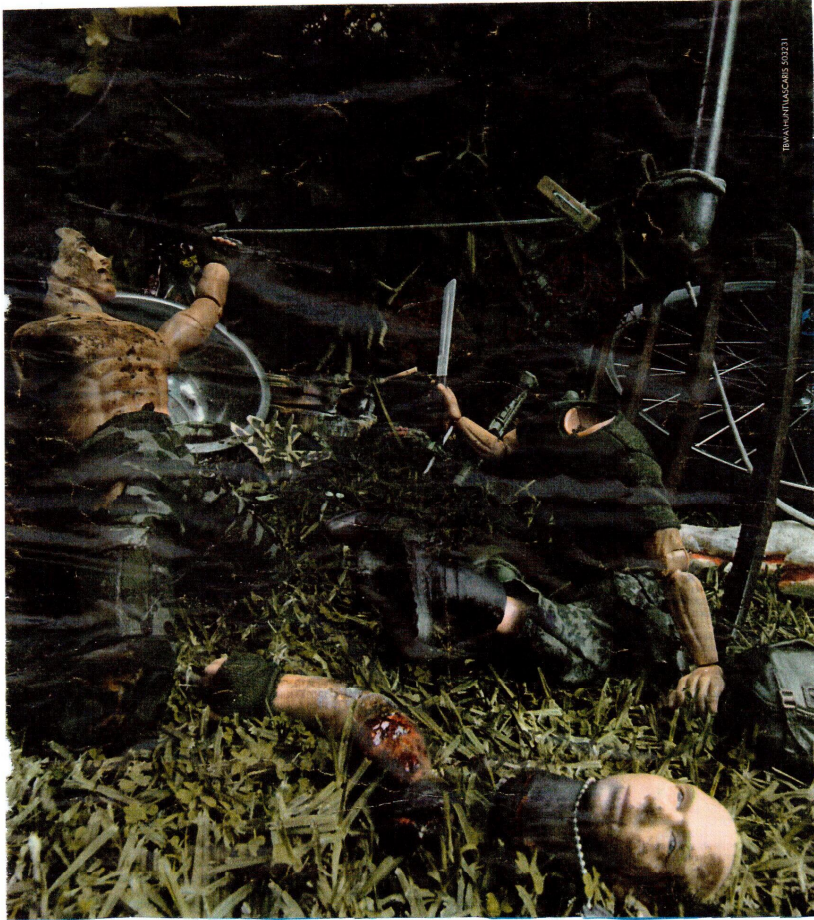
For more information contact us on share call 0860 410 032 or e-mail us at [jsj@conza.jj.com](mailto:jsj@conza.jj.com) © Trademark of Johnson & Johnson © J&J 2005





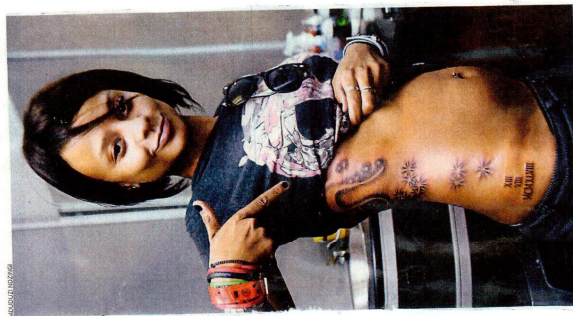
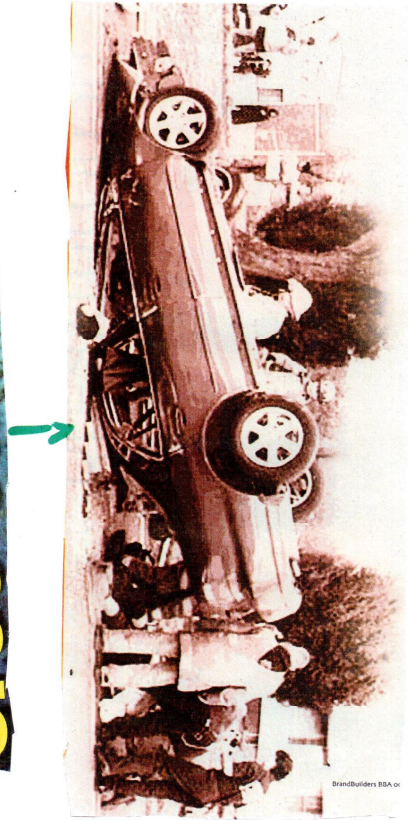


# WOLFE FUL





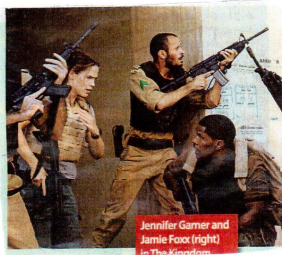
# Girl and Croc-catcher



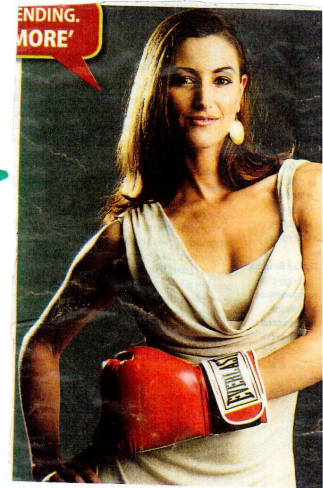
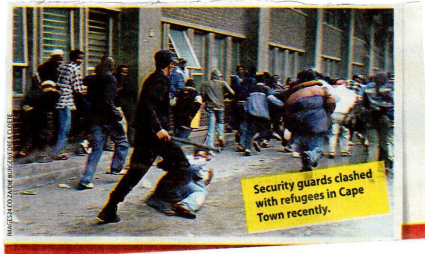
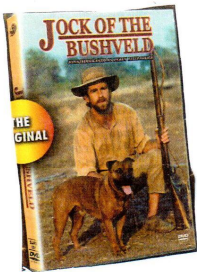
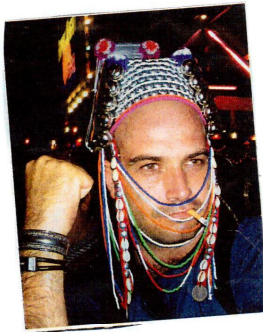
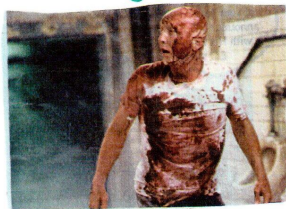
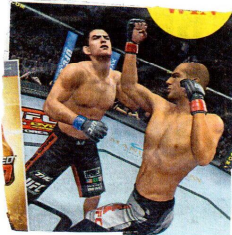




# BLUF Grl and

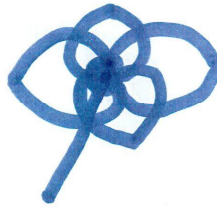
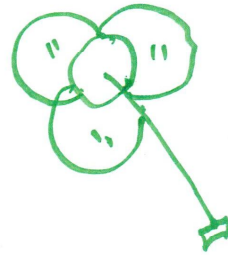


Jennifer Garner and Jamie Foxx (right) in *The Hitman's Bodyguard*





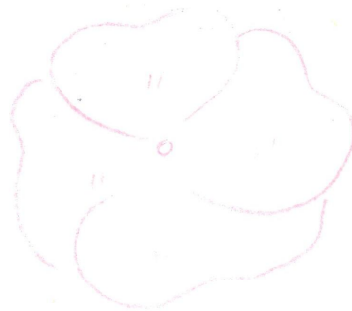
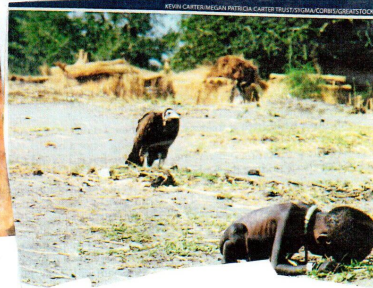
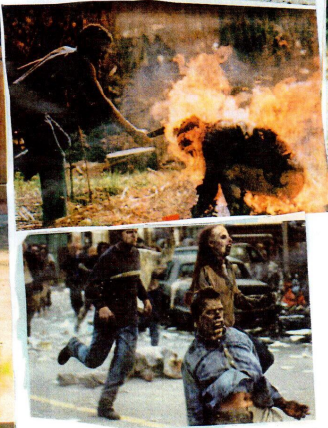
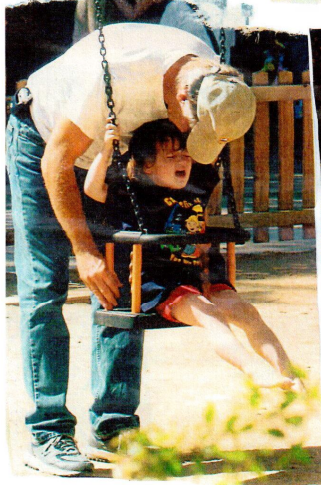
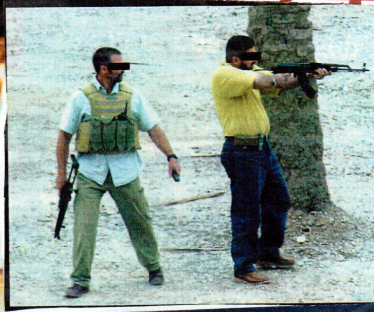
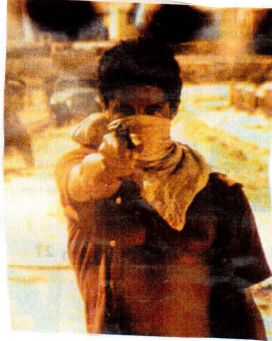
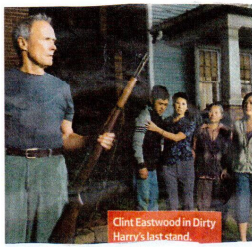
# PRETTY GIRLS & BOYS





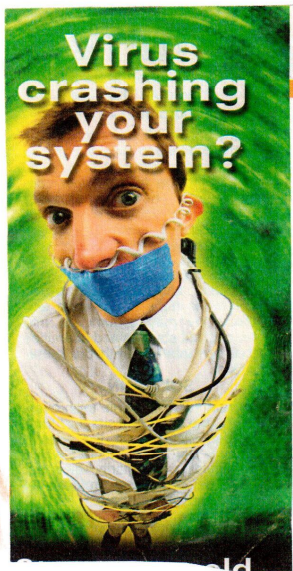
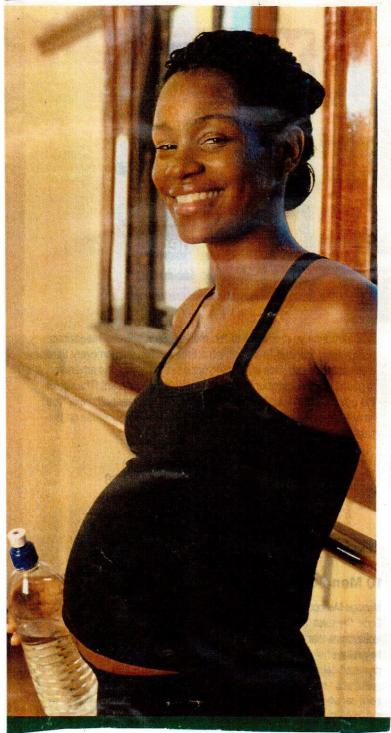


# PRETTY GIRLS & BOYS GROUP LEADER KHANYISA





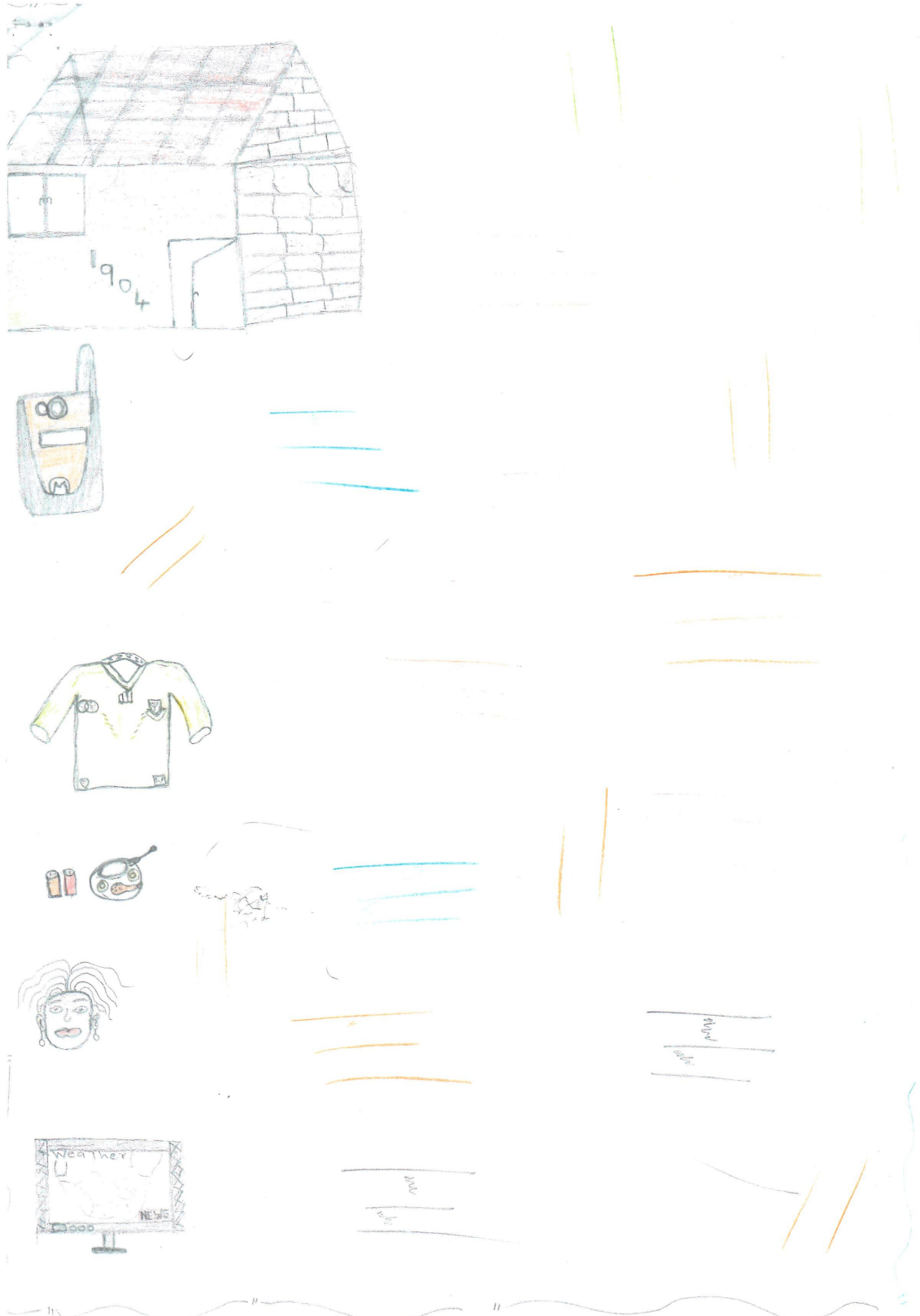
# HOPES FULL





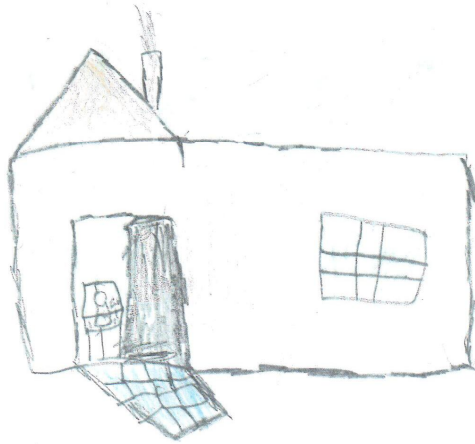
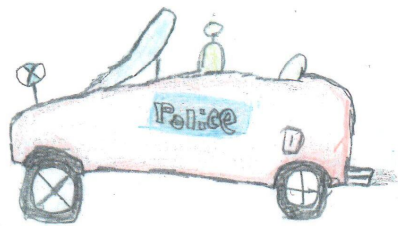
APPENDIX H Individual drawings representing good influences







2010









3

Good

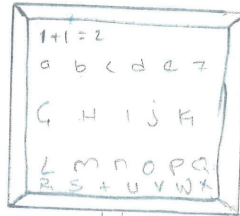




# Good things in my future



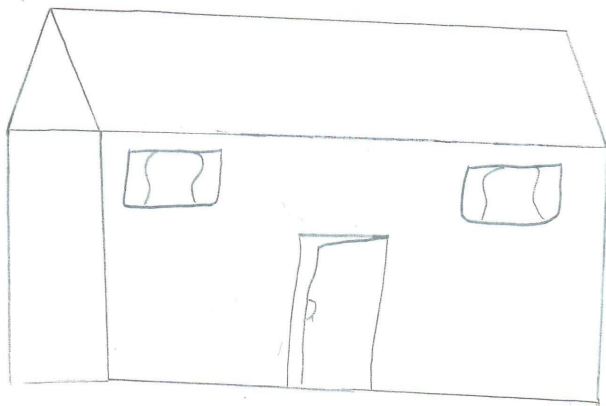
doctor



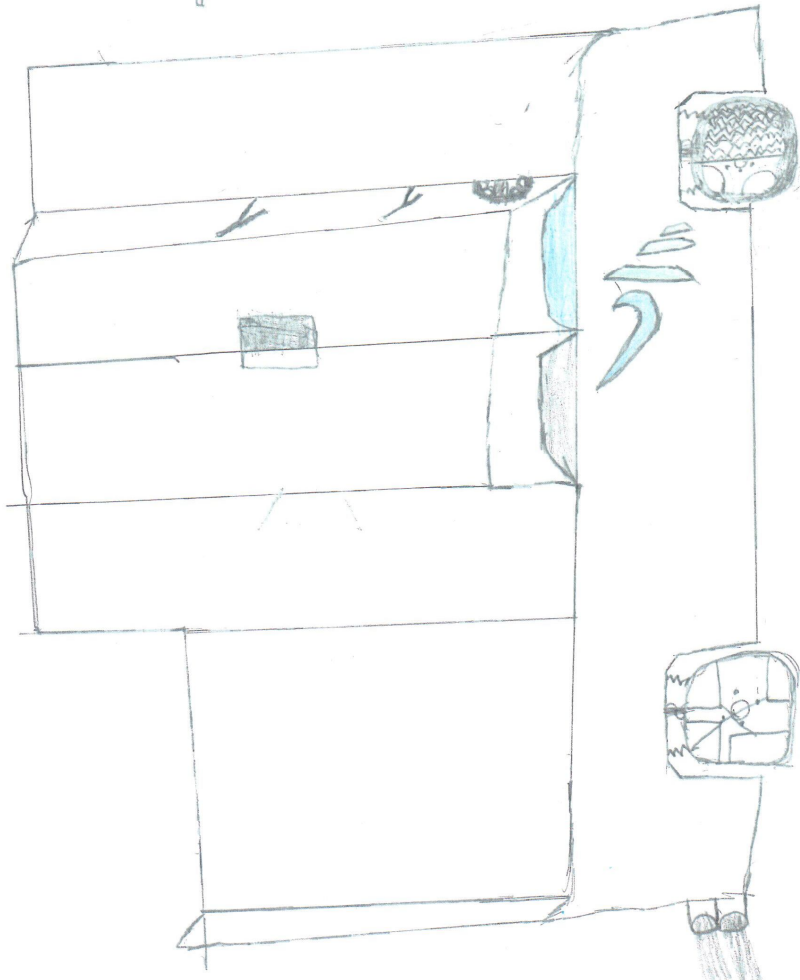
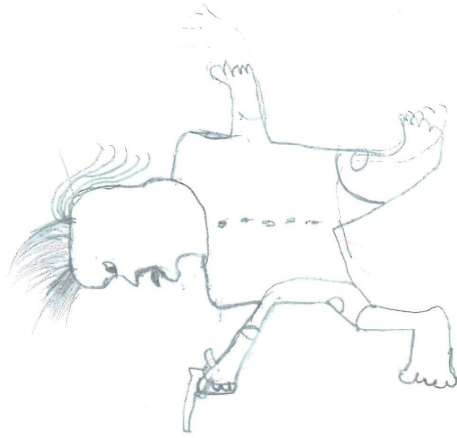
Education



Cell Phone

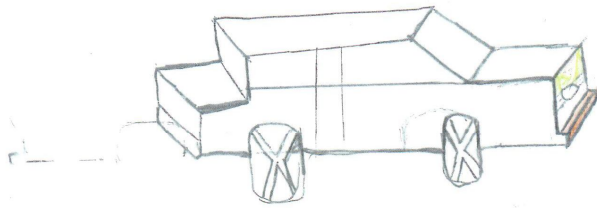
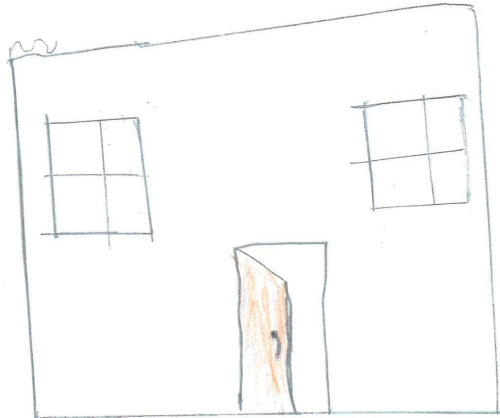
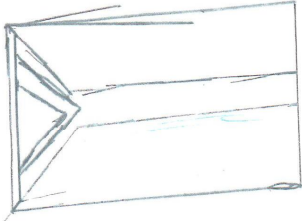














**APPENDIX I Individual drawings representing bad influences**









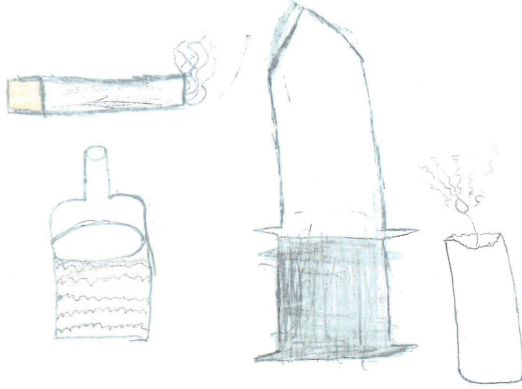
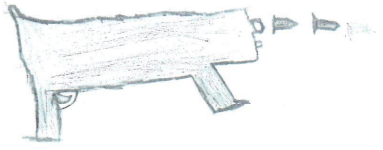




# Bad thing







Bongani

