On the Impact Of Safe Spaces in After-School Programs
Toni-Lee Williams, Laura Singh and Heidi Segal
Outliers, Cape Town, South Africa

INTRODUCTION

At the end of each school day, there are many young people in the Western Cape who enter unsafe, violent neighbourhoods and homes with no adult supervision.[1] The hours after school have become prime time for risk-taking behaviour among unsupervised teens.[5] It is also during these critical after-school hours that young people are most at risk of participating in juvenile crime, including serious and violent crimes such as murder, rape, robberies and aggravated assaults.[5]

In addition, there is a huge gap between academic results from learners coming from fee paying schools and those that come from low to no fee paying schools. Currently, less than half of South Africa's youth ever receive their matric certificate and those that fall behind tend to be poor, rural, and black.[15] What's more is that many who do pass matric do not receive the adequate mathematics and science training they need to successfully enter the labour market.[15] According to Lucy Friedman from the ExpandED Schools program in New York, the difference in academic achievement between socio economic groups is referred to as an "opportunity gap".[2] Unequal access to opportunities is the obstacle that needs to

be overcome if we are to bridge this gap. Ramon Gonzalez, a principal of a poor school in New York, stated that 6th graders from poorer communities have 6000 less hours of learning than advantaged students. Therefore, Gonzalez believes that because society tends to value middle class experiences and not those of the poor, that there is an "experience gap" that needs to be addressed.[2] Disadvantaged students from poorer backgrounds therefore do not have equal opportunities and experiences as their more advantaged counterparts to succeed academically in life.

Together, lack of adult supervision, safety, security, and unequal access to opportunities and experiences have prevented many young people in the Western Cape from excelling academically and in life. These foundational issues are all barriers to success and need to be addressed if young people are to face a better life today and in the future.

The implicit value of creating safe spaces in after-school programs provides an alternative to being alone at home or hanging out unsupervised, which, in turn, benefits young people and their communities.[5] These after-school programs reduce juvenile crime and

violence, reduce risky behaviour such as smoking, drinking alcohol, teen sex and pregnancies, drug use and addiction, and boosts academic success and high school graduation. In addition, access to these spaces improves self-esteem and self-awareness, and provides a sense of belonging and enhances important life and socio-emotional skills.[5,3] Public opinion is that after-school programs should focus on the goals of providing young people with a safe place to go, adult supervision, a structured environment, and opportunities to learn how to resolve conflicts with other children, and then tutoring and help with homework.[6]

At Outliers, our vision is to see young people with agency, making informed decisions about their futures so that they may live sustainable lives and positively contribute to their communities. Our mission is therefore to create safe spaces where young people can go after they leave school, where they can get help with homework, access resources, tutoring and learning, and be mentored in their career development. The initial step in this journey is the setting up of a safe space, which we then grow into a space where learners may access free, quality academic support. There is value in creating this safe space and below, we discuss the benefits to young people that can be gained from being in such a space.

BEHAVIORAL BENEFITS OF SAFE SPACES

A survey of substance abuse, risk-taking behaviour and mental health of Grade 8, 9 and 10 learners in the Western Cape showed that 28% are regular smokers, 22% are daily drinkers, 10% are regular cannabis users and 2.5% are hard drug users, with 2.5% using hard drugs, and up to 44% of Grade 10 learners are sexually active[1]. It is also during these critical after-school hours that young people are most at risk for participating in juvenile crime. The types of crimes that occur are serious and violent crimes such as murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assaults.[5]
It is during these hours after school that learners are more likely to engage in sexual intercourse and become pregnant, experiment with drugs or become victims of violence and crimes. This is largely due to the lack of adult supervision[5].

Regular participation in after-school programs can reduce risk-taking behaviour
Creating spaces where learners can engage in constructive activities after school greatly impacts their propensity to engage in risk-taking behaviour, which tends to increase significantly between 3pm and 6pm.[6] Participation in after-school activities can reduce risk-taking behaviour. Being supervised after school cuts in half the risk that middle school

students will smoke, drink, or abuse drugs by up to 50%.[5]

A study focusing on smoking behaviour in students showed that students usually smoked on their way to school and in the hours after school. Given that most adults who smoke regularly start smoking around age 13, a supervised after-school activity will not only reduce the risk that teenagers will start smoking, but it will also significantly reduce the number of long-term adult smokers.[5]
Another reason for success in reducing risk-taking behaviour is that both children and teens have voiced that they too want constructive activities outside of school.[6] They want safe spaces where they can go to learn and practice new skills, prepare for their future and spend quality time with caring adults and other kids.[6]

Participation in after-school programs can reduce juvenile crime
In 2018, Cape Town was ranked as one of the top 15 most violent cities in the world. A big portion of this violence is attributed to gangs. According to a speech given by Mrs. Angie Motshekga (Minister of Basic Education) quoting Major General Jeremy Vearey (South African Police Service Western Cape anti-gang strategy unit), explained that 'Gangs were most often formed by children seeking physical protection from threats in their communities.'[12] The recruitment process is simple. Current gang members seek out children who already have a gang connection – maybe through an older brother or uncle. This connection provides the children with a much-needed role model, a mentor which is often something they are lacking at home or school or in their community.[12] Children, especially teenagers, crave fun and exciting activities with their peers. If programs organized by responsible adults don't provide them with fun and exciting activities, they become far more likely to find it in gangs. In poorer neighborhoods, children without after-school safe havens are easy prey for gangs to recruit. Gangs can appear to offer status, protection, a sense of power and the security of belonging to a group.[5] Research shows that "youngsters generally begin hanging out with gangs at 12 or 13 years of age, join the gang at 13 or 14…and are first arrested at 14."The prime time for gang violence is in the hours just after school lets out i.e. between 2pm to 8pm when criminal behaviour is most rampant.[5,6]

For most young people, the adolescent years are marked by emotional volatility and strong needs for peer approval and respect. The parts of the brain responsible for good judgment and understanding consequences are still developing. Many struggle with impulse restraint and too often conflicts are seen through a lens of starkly one-sided subjectivity. For too many teens, but especially for those in low income, high-crime neighborhoods, this mixture may

be stoked by the widespread availability of drugs and alcohol to further cloud immature judgment, and of guns to make bad judgments lethal. In one study, 23% of inner-city male high school students said they carried guns occasionally, and 12% said they carried them most of the time.[5]

The Opportunities Industrialization Centers' Quantum Opportunities Program selected high school freshmen from welfare families in four cities in America to participate in an intensive after-school enrichment program. The program combined academics, personal development, community service, and monetary incentives to keep at-risk youngsters on a path to high school graduation and adult productivity. Boys randomly assigned to participate in this program were only one-sixth as likely to be convicted of a crime during their high school years as the boys left out of the program[5]

In another study, researchers compared five housing projects in which new Boys and Girls Clubs were set up to five housing projects without clubs, and to five others with previously established clubs. [5] Levels of drug use and vandalism were initially equal in the projects without clubs and those in which the new clubs were being established. The projects with existing clubs fared better. When the study ended, the projects with new clubs achieved results almost as good as the

projects with existing clubs. The projects without clubs had 50% more vandalized housing units and 30% more drug activity than those with new clubs.[5]

Therefore, quality after-school programs can reduce juvenile crime immediately and continue to reduce it into the future. This happens because of the 'Safe Haven and Control Effect'. Once an after-school program welcomes its first kid, it starts providing responsible adult supervision, constructive activities and insulation from potential destructive pressure from peers and older children during the high-risk hours (i.e. Control effect). On the day it opens, it also provides a "safe haven" where children are protected from becoming victims of crime.[5]

Participation in after-school programs can reduce drop-out rates
According to a US-based study Quantum Opportunities, boys and girls who were randomly assigned to participate in the after-school study were found to be half as likely to drop out of high school and one and a half times more likely to go on to further education after high school. [5] This shows that students who regularly participate in after-school programs improve their chances of success at school. Furthermore, in a study conducted by YMCA, teens who didn't participate in after-school programs are nearly three times more likely to skip

classes than teens who do participate.[9]

In particular, exposure to arts and culture both in and after school can also improve both school attendance and after-school program attendance. The after school pillar of arts and culture carries a diverse spectrum of activities which learners need exposure to. This exposure enables learners to develop their creativity, find new ways of seeing and imagining, as well as learning to express themselves and their culture. Music, dance, drama, and visual arts all offer opportunities for this. Another benefit is that often the arts provide a platform for building social cohesion and dialogue.[3] Creating this sense of belonging could be the reason for increased attendance and reduced dropout rates.

Children in poorer communities often lack positive role models at home and school. In order to fulfill their desire to connect, they tend to seek out role models or mentors. In absence of safe spaces and after-school programs run by responsible adults, this may lead them connecting with gangs to provide that sense of belonging.[6] In a conference about after-school programs in the Western Cape, experiencing a lack of belonging was cited as part of the reason for falling behind academically [1]. After-school programs provide a way to overcome this lack of belonging and boost self-esteem due to positive role models and mentors that young people are exposed to.

Exposure to culturally relevant role models inspire learners to follow a path out of poverty
After-school programs may provide an opportunity for children and teenagers to relate to caring adults in a way that is different from their relationships with their parents or their teachers in a typical classroom environment. As mentioned previously, often missing in the lives of young people, particularly in disadvantaged neighborhoods, is exposure to culturally relevant adult role models. After-school activities can expose young people to a diverse group of positive role models such as teachers, mentors, coaches, religious leaders, employers, shop owners, service providers, and community leaders[6]

After-school programming can show learners that they can have choices beyond what is defined by their context, thus moving them towards a path of poverty. Angus Duffett, principal of Silikamva High School in Cape Town, related a story of one of his students who used to be a gangster. He noted that over time his student was able to see the possibility of a life beyond gangsterism by being exposed to relationships with school staff and service providers of after-school programs. Through these relationships he was able to change his life. He became deputy head boy and was an exchange student in Germany. The presence of positive role models in

after-school programs can inspire learners and models a way to be successful. For example, tutors from Ikamva Youth, known as "near peers", are slightly older in years but still relevant for teens. They are role models in that they come from the same communities as the learners and they have proved it is possible to succeed regardless of their circumstances. It is the relationship between learner and tutor that builds the social and emotional skills that learners need, not only to improve academics but to tackle life's challenges.[3]

According to Janet Jobson, from the DG Murray Trust, there are three factors which allow learners to thrive despite living in poverty. The first being a caring caregiver (someone to look after them), the second being one other caring adult, and lastly, a modest connection to opportunity at the right time. After-school programs can provide 2 out of 3 of these factors.[3]

Interactions in a diverse group helps young people develop skills to interact and communicate with other young people from diverse backgrounds
Part of development in young people is the need to establish clear sense of identity issues. A study conducted by The Institute of Medicine and National Research Council, cited ethnicity as being one of the more important identity issues dealt with by children and teenagers who are ethnic minorities.[6]

Those in the minority, showed a heightened awareness of race biases, and their status as an ethnic minority group. After-school programs provide a unique opportunity for individuals to interact in a diverse group and help them to positively interact with people who are different from them. After-school programs can also work to incorporate activities for young people of colour to successfully and confidently develop their own identity.[6]

According to a USA based study, both society and schools are largely separated by age. Children tend to spend most of their time with their same-age peers, separate from younger and older children and adults.[6] After-school programs can provide a unique opportunity for children of different ages to interact and learn from one another. To develop properly, children and adolescents need to be in environments in which they have the opportunity to feel confident, to master skills, and to acquire autonomy. Participation in after-school programs with young people of different ages can create opportunities for children and adolescents to master a range of different skills and abilities.[6]

Creating opportunities for free-play develops social skills, moral values, and leadership skills
There is great importance in providing children with time to play in an unstructured or semi-structured

environment with other children. [6] As mentioned before, many neighborhoods in the Western Cape are unsafe and violent and don't have safe settings where children to play unsupervised, and consequently, in many cases, playtime among children has become less spontaneous.[1,6] There is often a public perception that children and adolescents getting together and congregating in the neighborhood are going to cause trouble. Unstructured play is not a priority in schools, but it can and should be a priority in after-school programs. After-school programs can be a place where young people are encouraged to come up with fun activities of their own choice while learning social skills, moral values, and leadership skills.[6]

Educational leisure has an influential impact on the cognitive development of children and adolescents, especially among those from disadvantaged backgrounds
International organizations such as UNESCO and the OECD have conducted studies which have identified educational leisure as an influential factor in the cognitive development of children and adolescents, especially among those from disadvantaged backgrounds. The effects of educational leisure extend beyond academic performance to social skills and psycho-emotional competencies which was observed across all pupils. Interestingly, effects are especially noticeable among low-attaining pupils and those with a low socio-economic profile. This is true for artistic, sports and academic learning programs.[7]

Building a good self-esteem leads to a positive attitude towards learning
Change is the hallmark of middle childhood and early adolescence. Throughout these years of growth and development, children are faced with high expectations for learning. Not only are they required to learn key thinking and conceptual skills (e.g. literacy and numeracy) they are also expected to develop social skills, independent decision-making abilities, career aspirations, and a "sense of self". They experience major shifts in their social context too, they become more involved in extracurricular activities and spend more time with peers and adults outside their families. They move away from relating primarily to their families to relating to their peers, schools, and communities. Schools primarily focus on academics and very little time is given to develop these other proficiencies. After-school programs provide a great opportunity to support the holistic development of children and teenagers.[6]

Lack of self-esteem is a big foundational issue that stops learners achieving academically.[3] Self-esteem can either be positively or negatively affected depending on the learner and the environment that they are in. Learners need to be empowered and shifted away

from "a victim mentality." Thanda, an after-school program, focuses on validating learners' experiences and giving them value. Learners leave their programs with self-confidence and with the belief that they are capable of solving problems. Dealing with trauma and abuse is also an important part of this work. Success in this area depends on how well practitioners are trained to help learners on an emotional journey of healing.[3]

According to Charnre de Mink of Action Volunteers Africa, belief in one's self is an important starting point for learning life skills. Many learners grow up traumatised, stuck in survival mode, making it difficult for them to engage with the learning offered to them in after-school programs. For example, if a learner was neglected by his parents, they might develop a defensive behaviour around this and the belief that "I am not good enough". Belief is such a powerful tool, so powerful in fact, that the learner who holds it, looks for evidence to prove that it is true and behaves in ways that affirm the very same belief. Negative beliefs about one's self can stifle success. The real work of life skills is therefore in the space of belief. After-school programs can incorporate life skills programs to help learners let go of limiting beliefs and change their behaviour. Learners need to overcome this if they are ever to believe that they

can make choices beyond those defined by their context.[3]

Another example that confirms that after-school programs can boost self-esteem comes from The Coca Cola Valued Youth Development Program. This program places at-risk middle and high school students in positions of responsibility as tutors of younger students. Being trusted with this responsibility increases their self-esteem and success in school.[5]

ACADEMIC BENEFITS OF SAFE SPACES

An alarming number of students are at high-risk of school drop-out, evidenced in the up to 60% of students who originally enrolled in Grade 1 in 2007 not passing matric by 2018.[10] Based on data from the Department of Higher Education, the number of new graduates that registered at Higher Education Institutes (such as Universities, Universities of Technologies etc.) in 2013 showed that only 1 in 5 matriculants makes it to Higher Education Institutions (HEI) after school.[13] An analysis of the 2014 matric figures found that 67% of white South African learners qualified to study at university, while only 24% of black learners did.[15] Given that South Africa is a skills-hungry economy it is very alarming that many well performing matriculants aren't going on to further their studies.[14] Most of these students are black students or those that come from poor backgrounds. According

to a 2016 article about South African matric pass rates, those that did go to university were skewed in favour of wealthier matriculants, and particularly to whites.[14]

In an economy where around only 22% enter HEI this is a serious concern because the higher the level of education the greater the chance of being employed.[13.] The future of South Africa can be problematic because our education system is perpetuating social and economic inequality. Education is supposed to offer a way out of poverty for future generations and transforming existing patterns of inequality in South Africa. Instead, our school system intellectually deprives the black students who attend poor schools – worsening our legacy of educational injustice and inequality.[15]

Setting up after-school programs can combat these injustices by providing safe and nurturing environments, tutoring and learning, access to resources and mentoring.[2]

After-school program provide a safe and nurturing environment that can help overcome foundational issues that stop learners from achieving

Quality after-school programs can help address the foundational issues that stop learners from achieving. It is the sophisticated neo-cortex of our brain that is responsible for academic learning and can only be engaged when the emotional brain is engaged. Gavin Keller, Principal of Sun Valley Primary School in Cape Town, emphasizes that in order for the emotional brain to engage, a feeling of safety and belonging is needed.[3] After-school programs can provide a place of safety, belonging and love for learners.[3] Thus, helping them successfully combat the foundational issues that prevent them from learning. The basic requirements needed for any kind of learning to take place is a feeling of being nurtured and feeling safe, helping young people heal from trauma, develop self-esteem, and learn socio-emotional skills.[2] This paves the way for them to achieve academically. The roll out of Gonzalez' school five day a week after-school programming attests to this claim of improved academic achievement. Within five years test scores doubled, suspension rates lessened and attendance rates increased. Furthermore, students who graduated from that school were now admitted to top courses at tertiary institutions.[2]

After-school programs can lead to improved academic results among disadvantaged students

There has been evidence to support that regular participation in after-school programs can lead to significant academic gains. The Promising Afterschool Programs Study found that regular participation in high-quality after-school programs is linked to significant gains in standardized test scores and

work habits as well as reductions in behavior problems among disadvantaged students.[9] Formal after-school programs have helped low income children develop social skills and learn to get along with their peers, attributes which are strongly associated with school achievement, adult success, and reduced risk of delinquency and crime.[5]

The Emagqabini Education Academy, a Khayelitsha based after-school program, helps high school pupils improve their school performance. After co-founder Cindy Mkaza witnessed her younger sister battle with her school results, she decided to start the academy to provide support for children struggling with homework. The program targets pupils from Grade 8 to 10 and provides mentors to learners who proceed to Grade 11 and Grade 12. Mkaza has indicated that the after-school support has seen individual school grades improve in the range of 5% to 20%.[16]

Schools in the US have high state education standards. After-school programs could supplement academic learning by providing hands-on interactive activities. According to presenters at a workshop in the US, after-school programs have the flexibility to offer tutoring assistance, lessons in problem solving, practice test taking, and fun skills-building activities in a range of subjects, including mathematics, reading, and science.[6] After-school programs

provide a great way to support schools, especially those that have overcrowded classrooms and access to one on one with a teacher is limited. All of these opportunities may enrich young people's academic curriculum and lead to greater success in school.[6]

After-school programs provide adolescents with an opportunity to mentor younger children which can in turn give them an opportunity to develop and exercise their competencies
In a paper written by The Institute of Medicine and National Research Council there was a case where a group of middle school students who were identified as being at high risk for dropping out of school (i.e. they were reading well below grade level, were skipping school, and were involved in other problem behaviors) were paired with elementary school students to teach them reading. Although the older children could not read at their own grade level, they could read at elementary school levels which served as a valuable resource to the younger children.[6]

An evaluation of the program confirmed that there was a significant increase in the older students' self-esteem and a decrease in disciplinary problems; dropout rates among high-risk middle school youth decreased from 45% to 2%. The success of this reading experiment simply required viewing young people as assets and giving them an opportunity to

develop and exercise their competencies. While these kinds of activities may be difficult to introduce in the classroom, they can easily be integrated into after-school programs, especially given that children of different ages participate in these programs and that after-school programs offer more flexibility.[6]

After-school programs can boost the results of learners from low income communities, link them to opportunities, and reduce the unemployment gap
Currently, the narrow unemployment rate among our youth under 25 stands at 52%.[1] More than half of our youth are unemployed. Ikamva Youth, an after-school academic program, has "peer tutors" for groups of five learners meeting four times a week. This approach has helped those learners achieve good results and an 89% matric pass rate. Surveys on Ikamva Youth alumni show that only 12% are not in further education or employment. In addition, when they do reach employment, they have almost closed the racial income gap.[3] Academic based programs like Ikamva Youth show that tutoring groups that meet regularly can boost the success rate at school and go on the influence the success of employment as well.

Access to after-school programs can provide learners with an opportunity to become agents of their own learning
Learners want to expand their range of interests by being exposed to "...things we don't know". After-school programs should include arts and culture, sports and recreation, e-learning, life skills and academic programs. Being exposed to a variety of after-school activities can lead to learners becoming more knowledgeable and demanding about the kind of experiences that they want. In this way learners are given an opportunity to become agents of their own learning.[3]

OTHER BENEFITS OF SAFE SPACES

Access to safe spaces for young people from disadvantaged communities can positively transform the community
Ruth Daniel and Teresa Bean have seen firsthand how providing safe spaces in challenging communities for young people to learn and create can transform the communities that they live in. It connects young people to their communities and allows them to express themselves through the arts. They have identified two examples where communities have been transformed by giving people access to safe spaces.[8]

The first is in Caracas, Venezuela where recycled shipping containers situated between a military compound and a violent barrio, Tiuna El Fuerte provided a neutral space for the local community to experience a range of art practices from theatre to street dance. This space has allowed people from one of the world's poorest communities to use art as an

individual and community expression that provides both a cultural and educational role in their lives. Tiuna El Feurte now boasts 30 shipping containers housing orchestra, music studio, dance and library spaces and engage over five hundred young people every week.[8]

Another amazing example comes out of Medellin, Colombia, where the people have suffered consequences of conflict, arising from a mixture of violent actors, drug gangs, paramilitary groups and militia and until 2012, was the world leading producer of cocaine.[8] During this time disadvantaged young men grew up believing that they were 'born to die in Medellin'. Inspired by the politicised hip-hop movement in New York in the 1970s, young people in Medellin decided to make their own alternative to their daily reality of violence and death. They created their own 'safe spaces' on the street. Using cardboard boxes to practice breakdancing moves, young people began to transform streets consumed with violence. They started making and producing hip-hop across the different neighbourhoods, enabling them to have a clear alternative to being in drug cartels. Hip-hop became so popular that there are hip-hop spaces in almost every neighborhood across Medellin where children and young people can learn the five elements of hip-hop. This has significantly impacted the lives of those young people, providing an alternative to drug gangs and violence. The result is

that now there are 2,500 hip-hop artists in the city. Hip-hop has become a way of life in communities in Medellin. [8]

Participation in after-school programs has been associated with positive health outcomes, including reduced obesity After-school programs can play an important role in encouraging physical activity and good dietary habits, thus encouraging positive health outcomes, which could potentially lead to a reduction in obesity.[11] A US-based study, which focused on whether community-based after-school programs could lead to improved youth fitness and lower obesity rates, showed that of those students who participated in fitness-focused after-school programs there was a 10% increase in the probability of them being physically fit after 2 years. Interestingly, this result also included those who were initially unfit when they started the program. Furthermore, students who participated in the program for 2 years showed a 14.7% increased likelihood of future fitness compared to 8.8% for those who only participated for one year. [17] This shows that participation in fitness-focused after-school programs can lead to improved physical fitness over time.

CONCLUSION

In the absence of safe spaces and after-school programs many young people from disadvantaged communities in the

Western Cape are forced to accept the context in which they live. Violent and unsafe neighbourhoods, coupled with a lack of after-school adult supervision has led to an alarming level of risk-taking behaviour and juvenile crime among our youth.[1] Furthermore, given that our education system still perpetuates social and economic inequality, young people from poorer backgrounds lack equal opportunities and experiences which can lead to poor academic and school success, that go on to influence their success as adults. [15,2]

These foundational issues can be tackled by providing access to safe spaces and after-school programs. These after-school programs provide a safe and nurturing environment in which children can overcome issues of low self-esteem and a lack of belonging. [2,3,12] Creating this environment of safety and belonging allows them to engage with academics and have a better chance of success. [3] These after-school programs also serve to breach the gap of unequal opportunities. They provide access to mentoring, tutoring and learning, resources, sports, arts, career mentorship and many other opportunities. Overall, these after-school programs serve our young people by helping to reduce juvenile crime and violence and risky behaviour, boosting school success and high school graduation, as well as, developing important life and socio emotional skills, among other benefits [5,3]

All these benefits serve to undo the injustices brought on by our past and helps young people to carve a path out of poverty.[15]

Changing the trajectory of the lives of young people in the Western Cape simply hinges of providing access to safe spaces. Based on the current statistics of risk-taking behaviour, juvenile crime and poor academic results in the province it seems communities are in dire need of a safe haven where young people can have the opportunity to work towards a better day and a brighter future.

REFERENCES

1. Game Changer Road Map 2017. (2017). [PDF] Cape Town: Western Cape Government, pp. 4 - 12. Available at:http://www.saferspaces.org.za/uploads/files/After_School_Game_Changer_-_Roadmap_-_April_2017.pdf [Accessed 14 Jan. 2018].

2. LEARNING BRIEF 1: Breach the Gap with After School Programmes. (2017). In: Afterschool Game Changer Synopsium. [online] Cape Town: Western Cape Government, pp.1- 5. Available at: https://www.westerncape.gov.za/after-school-game-changer/files/atoms/files/Learning%20brief%201%20-%20The%20Why%20of%20After%20School%20Programmes_final%20hi%20res.pdf [Accessed 14 Jan. 2018].

3. LEARNING BRIEF 2: The five pillars of after school programmes. (2017). In: After School Game Changer Symposium. [online] Cape Town: Western Cape Government, pp.1 - 7. Available at: http://www.saferspaces.org.za/uploads/files/Learning_brief_2_-_The_five_pillars_of_after_school_programmes_final_hi_res.pdf [Accessed 14 Jan. 2018].

5. Fight Crime: Invest in Kids (2000). America's After-School Choice: The Prime Time for Juvenile Crime, Or Youth Enrichment and Achievement. [online] Washington, DC: Fight Crime: Invest in Kids, pp.2 - 27. Available at: http://www.fightcrime.org [Accessed 14 Jan. 2018].

6. Institute of Medicine and National Research Council (2000). After-School Programs that Promote Child and Adolescent Development [EBOOK] Summary of a Workshop. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, Chapter 2. Available at https://www.nap.edu/read/9944/chapter/2 [Accessed 14 Jan. 2018].

7. Motos, S. (2016). What works in Education? Using evidence to improve education. [PDF] http://www.ivalua.cat/documents/1/20_10_2016_07_43_20_afterschool_W

hatworks_04___ENG191016.pdf [Accessed 14 Jan. 2018].

8. Bean, T. and Daniel, R. (2016). How hip-hop and community safe-spaces are transforming young lives. [online] Virgin. Available at: https://www.virgin.com/virgin-unite/how-hip-hop-and-community-safe-spaces-are-transforming-young-lives [Accessed 14 Jan. 2018].

9. Afterschoolallstars.org. (n.d.). Need For After-School – ASAS National. [online] Available at: http://www.afterschoolallstars.org/programs/need-for-after-school/ [Accessed 14 Jan. 2018].

10. Spaull, N, 2019. Available at: https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/matric-results-where-are-the-missing-400-000-pupils-who-started-grade-1-in-2007-20190105

11. Youth.gov. (n.d.). Benefits for Youth, Families, & Communities | Youth.gov. [online] Available at: http://youth.gov/youth-topics/afterschool-programs/benefits-youth-families-and-communities [Accessed 14 Jan. 2018].

12. Queru, E. (n.d.). Recruiting Young Gangsters - Cape Chameleon. [online] Cape Chameleon. Available at: https://capechameleon.co.za/recruiting-young-gangsters/ [Accessed 14 Jan. 2018].

13. South African Market Insights. (2017). Education Statistics. [online] Available at: https://www.southafricanmi.com/education-statistics.html [Accessed 14 Jan. 2018].

14. Wolhuter, B. (2016). Only 37% of SA pupils pass matric - study | IOL News. [online] Iol.co.za. Available at: https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/kwazulu-natal/only-37-of-sa-pupils-pass-matric-study-2085363 [Accessed 14 Jan. 2018].

15. Mukorombindo, Y. and Nahmias, G. (2016). What do the matric results mean?. [online] Groundup.org.za. Available at: https://www.groundup.org.za/article/what-do-matric-results-mean/ [Accessed 14 Jan. 2018].

16. Cape Talk. (2017). After-school programme helps Khayelitsha pupils soar. [online] Available at: http://www.capetalk.co.za\Articles/278456/after-school-programme-helps-khayelitsha-pupils-soar [Accessed 14 Jan. 2018].

17. London, R. and Gurantz, O. (2013). Afterschool Program Participation, Youth Physical Fitness, and Overweight. American Journal of Preventive Medicine, [online] 44(3), pp.S200-S207. Available at: https://ac.els-cdn.com/S0749379712008689/1-s2.0-S0749379712008689-main.pdf?_tid=b9e569d6-e479-47ed-8660-8b640cdf8a7e&acdnat=1544037445_ef0e7257a8f024517df61c02d29b0c4a [Accessed 5 Dec. 2018].