AN EXPLORATION OF THE SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL ANTECEDENTS OF YOUTH RESILIENCE: A VISUAL STUDY

by

ELAINE SNYMAN

13156748

Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Masters of Education

at the

North-West University

Vanderbijlpark

Supervisor: Prof. L.C. Theron

2012

DECLARATION

I Elaine Snyman hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work. This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Master of Education at the North-West University (Vaal Triangle Campus, Vanderbijlpark). The information within this dissertation has not been used for any other degree or assessment. The information acknowledges the sources used.

_____

Name

_____

Date

LETTER FROM EDITOR

Dr. J Vink
(Ph.D–Wits)

Language
Practitioner
|
Member
of
SATI
No: 1002356

PO Box 40051
The Village
Nelspruit
1218

Phone:
082-6773749
Fax:
08501377411154
E-mail:
jweddings@gmail.com

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I herewith confirm that I have language-edited the following components of Ms Elaine Snyman's M.Ed. Dissertation:

Chapter 1 - Introduction

Chapter 2 - The phenomenon of social-ecological resilience

Chapter 3 - Method

Chapter 4 - Findings

Chapter 5 - Conclusions

Addendum - Table 1: Summary of studies referenced in Chapter 2

DR J VINK
12/10/2011

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the following individuals for their love, support, guidance and understanding throughout the long hours to complete this dissertation:

- First of all I would like to thank **God** for the strength, ability and gifts He has given me to complete this dissertation.

- My **family** who supported me through the long hours of the night. Thank you Moeks for all your assistance, patience and love, without you I would not have had the strength to complete this mammoth task.

- My fiancé, **Riaan Nel** for always understanding if I did not have time to spend together.

- **Prof. Linda Theron**, for your guidance, support and meticulous attention to detail. Without you, this dissertation would not have been accomplished.

A special thank you to all my friends and everyone who assisted me throughout the past two years.

I THANK YOU ALL FROM THE BOTTOM OF MY HEART.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to identify and understand the social-ecological resources which encouraged resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province towards positive adjustment in the face of poverty and underdevelopment. Positive adjustment, or resilience, is the focus of the International Community-University Research Alliance (ICURA) and International Development Research Centre (IDRC) funded project, called Pathways to Resilience. My study forms part of this broader resilience study. Resilience, or positive adjustment to hardship, can be defined as the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to health-promoting resources that encourage positive adjustment, and the concomitant capacity of the individual's family, community and culture to provide these health resources and experiences in culturally meaningful ways. Recently, researchers have suggested that the socio-ecological resources that encourage positive adjustment might differ across ecologies. There is little understanding in South Africa of which resources, within specific ecologies, encourage such positive adjustment. My study seeks to address this gap, with specific reference to Basotho youth in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district in the Free State.

I used a qualitative phenomenological strategy of inquiry and participatory visual methods to determine the socio-ecological antecedents of the resilience of 130 resilient Basotho youth from rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district in the Free State province of South Africa. Using Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory (1979), Sameroff's Transactional Model of Development (2009) and Ungar's Social Ecology of Resilience (2011) as framework, I explored the resources underpinning the resilience of my participants.

The findings suggest that the resilient Basotho youth in this study were encouraged to adjust well to the risks of poverty and associated threats by making use of social-ecologically accessible resilience-promoting resources.

In other words the resilient Basotho youth found resilience-promoting resources in their microsystems (individual, family, school, peers and nature and pets), mesosystems (social interactions), exosystems (community resources like libraries and medical facilities, and role models) and macrosystems (religious beliefs and practices, pastors, and access to information through television, radio, cell phone, and inspirational publications).

The conclusion of my study lays emphasis on the interwovenness of socio-ecological systems in resilience processes: no one system could be singled out. The entire ecosystem was involved, reciprocally, in providing the participants with resilience-promoting resources. My findings emphasise the importance of mothers, grandmothers, school and educational resources, religious beliefs and practices, and access to information (through the use of television, radio, computer and inspirational literature) for Basotho youth in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district, but do not suggest that these are the sole pathways to their resilience. Continued research in other parts of South Africa, with additional groups of youth, is needed to reach a comprehensive understanding of the socio-ecological antecedents of resilience among South African youth.

Key words: ecosystemic protective antecedents, poverty, resilience, youth.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION..... ii

LETTER FROM EDITOR..... iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS..... iv

ABSTRACT..... v

TABLE OF CONTENTS..... vii

LIST OF TABLES..... xiii

LIST OF FIGURESCHAPTER ONE..... xiv

INTRODUCTION..... 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION..... 2

1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM..... 2

1.3 THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK 5

1.3.1 Resilience: An Ecological Transaction..... 5

1.4 RESEARCH AIM..... 11

1.5 CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY 11

1.6 RESEARCH METHOD..... 21

1.6.1 Research Paradigm..... 21

1.6.2 Research Design..... 22

1.7 ETHICAL PROCEDURE..... 23

1.8 STATING THE LIMITATIONS OF MY STUDY UPFRONT..... 23

1.9 DEFINING CENTRAL CONCEPTS..... 25

1.10 CHAPTER DIVISION..... 27

1.11 CONCLUSION..... 27

CHAPTER TWO

THE PHENOMENON OF SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL RESILIENCE..... 29

2.1 INTRODUCTION..... 30

2.2 RESILIENCE DEFINED 31

2.3 RESILIENCE-PROTECTIVE RESOURCES..... 36

2.3.1 Microsystemic Protective Resources..... 37

2.3.1.1 The individual..... 37

2.3.1.2 Family..... 54

2.3.1.3 Peers..... 62

2.3.1.4 School..... 65

2.3.1.5 Nature and animals..... 70

2.3.1.6 Summary of microsystemic protective resources..... 71

2.3.2 Exosystemic Protective Resources..... 73

2.3.2.1 Neighbours..... 73

2.3.2.2 Role models within the community..... 75

2.3.2.3 Parents' workplace (employment)..... 77

2.3.2.4 Educational district..... 78

2.3.2.5 Recreational resources..... 79

2.3.2.6 Community intervention programs..... 79

2.3.2.7 Service providers..... 81

2.3.2.8 Conclusion..... 83

2.3.3 Macrosystemic Protective Resources..... 84

2.3.3.1 Culture..... 85

2.3.3.2 Government..... 95

2.3.3.3 Economy..... 100

2.3.3.4 Conclusion..... 104

2.3.4 Chronosystemic Protective Resources..... 105

2.3.4.1 Conclusion.....119

2.3.5 Ecosystemic Resilience Protective Resources Summarised..... 120

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD..... 123

3.1 INTRODUCTION..... 123

3.2 RESEARCH AIM..... 123

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD..... 124

3.3.1 Literature Study..... 125

3.3.2 Empirical Study..... 127

3.3.2.1 Qualitative approach..... 127

3.3.2.2 Phenomenological strategy 128

3.3.2.3 Visual method: the draw-and-write technique..... 128

3.3.2.4 Participants 131

3.3.2.5 Data collection process..... 138

3.3.2.6 Data analysis.....142

3.3.3 Ethical procedure..... 150

3.3.4 Trustworthiness 154

3.4 CONCLUSION..... 157

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS..... 158

4.1 INTRODUCTION..... 159

4.2 FINDINGS..... 159

4.2.1 Microsystemic Resilience-promoting Resources..... 161

4.2.1.2 Protective resources rooted in the individual..... 161

4.2.1.2 Familial resilience-promoting resources..... 169

4.2.1.3 Attachment to pro-social friends as a source of resilience..... 179

4.2.1.4 Schools as resilience-promoting resources..... 181

4.2.1.5 Nature and pets..... 188

4.2.2 Mesosystemic Resilience-Promoting Resources.....189

4.2.2.1 Social interactions as a resilience-promoting resource..... 190

4.2.3 Exosystemic Resilience-Promoting Resources..... 192

4.2.3.1 Positive community-based role models..... 192

4.2.3.2 Employed caregivers as a resilience-promoting resource..... 193

4.2.3.3 The library as resilience-promoting resource..... 196

4.2.3.4 Service providers as resilience-promoting resources..... 197

4.2.4 Macrosystemic Resilience-Promoting Resources..... 198

4.2.4.1 Religious beliefs and practices..... 199

4.2.4.2 Access to information..... 203

4.3 DISCUSSION..... 208

4.3.1 Similarities..... 209

4.3.1.1 Similar individual resources..... 213

4.3.1.2 Similar family-based resources..... 215

4.3.1.3 Similar school-based resources..... 216

4.3.1.4 Similar mesosystemic resources..... 218

4.3.1.5 Similar exosystemic resources..... 218

4.3.1.6 Similar macrosystemic resources..... 219

4.3.2 Differences.....220

4.3.3 Silences.....222

4.3.4 Conclusion to Discussion..... 223

4.4 CONCLUSION..... 228

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION.....230

5.1 INTRODUCTION.....231

5.2 AIMS REVISITED..... 231

5.3 CONCLUSIONS FROM THE LITERATURE STUDY.....233

5.3.1 The Antecedents of Resilience.....233

5.4 CONCLUSIONS FROM THE EMPIRICAL STUDY.....236

5.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY..... 240

5.6 CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY THE STUDY..... 241

5.7 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....242

5.8 CONCLUSION..... 242

REFERENCES.....245

ADDENDUM A

SUMMARY OF STUDIES REFERENCED IN CHAPTER TWO.....271

ADDENDUM B

AP DEFINITION OF RESILIENCE..... 288

ADDENDUM C

PROMPT FOR PARTICIPANTS..... 290

ADDENDUM D

LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT..... 292

ADDENDUM E

AUDIT TRAIL..... 296

ADDENDUM F

INSTITUTIONAL CLEARANCE..... 315

ADDENDUM G

EDUCATIONAL CLEARANCE..... 316

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Some resilience-promoting resources that could encourage resilience within the communities of Maluti-a-Phofung and Dihlabeng (Theron, L'Etang & Strydom, 2011)..... 16

Table 3.1: Summary of participant information 133

Table 5.1: Summary of known resources compared to resources reported by the resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province..... 236

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Overview of Chapter One 1

Figure 1.2: Ecological and transactional understanding of resilience..... 9

Figure 1.3: World map indicating the location of South Africa 12

Figure 1.4: Map of South Africa indicating the location of Bethlehem and Phuthaditjhaba 12

Figure 1.5: Bird's-eye view of QwaQwa 13

Figure 1.6: Main road in QwaQwa 13

Figure 1.7: Typical house with thatched roof in QwaQwa..... 15

Figure 1.8: Typical shack in QwaQwa 15

Figure 1.9: Typical shack in Bethlehem 15

Figure 1.10: Township living in Bethlehem 15

Figure 1.11: School with sports field 20

Figure 1.12: School without sports field 20

Figure 1.13: Charles Mopeli Stadium 21

Figure 1.14: Community intervention program 21

Figure 1.15: Picture of me explaining my findings and winning the AP's trust 25

Figure 2.1: Overview of Chapter Two 29

Figure 2.2: Individual characteristics of resilience..... 32

Figure 2.3: Protective factors of resilience..... 33

Figure 2.4: Resilience as a reciprocal process..... 35

Figure 2.5: Summary of individual resilience-promoting resources as reported in 2.3.1.1 53

Figure 2.6: Summary of Familial resilient resources as reported in 2.3.1.2 62
Figure 2.7: Peer resilience-promoting resources as reported in 2.3.1.3 65
Figure 2.8: Summary of school resilience-promoting resources as reported in 2.3.1.4 70
Figure 2.9: Summary of microsystemic protective resources as reported in 2.3.1 72
Figure 2.10: Summary of exosystemic protective resources as reviewed in 2.3.2 84
Figure 2.11: Summary of macrosystemic protective resources reported in 2.3.3 104
Figure 2.12: Some resilience-promoting resources in an individual's development 116
Figure 2.13: Summary of chronosystemic resilience as reported in 2.3.4 120
Figure 2.14: Summary of protective resources in the ecosystem 122

Figure 3.1: Overview of Chapter Three 123
Figure 3.2: Key words used in each section of my literature study 126
Figure 3.3: Steps to reassure participants of visual data collection Process.....141
Figure 3.4: Creswell's linear figure used within my data analysis Process.....144
Figure 3.5: Axial coding..... 148

Figure 3.6: Grouping of categories under ecosystemic systems: deductive analysis 149
Figure 3.7: Ethical procedure during data analysis..... 153

Figure 4.1: Overview of Chapter Four 158
Figure 4.2: Categorisation of findings 160
Figure 4.3: Summary of resilience-promoting resources reported by resilient Basotho youth participants from the Thabo Mofutsanyana District in the Free State province of South Africa.....210
Figure 4.4: Summary of the interacting resilience-promoting resources of resilient Basotho youth participants from the Thabo Mofutsanyana District 227

Figure 5.1: Overview of Chapter Five 230
Figure:5.2: Aims central to my current study 232
Figure 5.3: Summary of resilience-promoting resources within the literature study 235
Figure 5.4: Visual summary of somewhat unique findings 239

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Overview of Chapter One

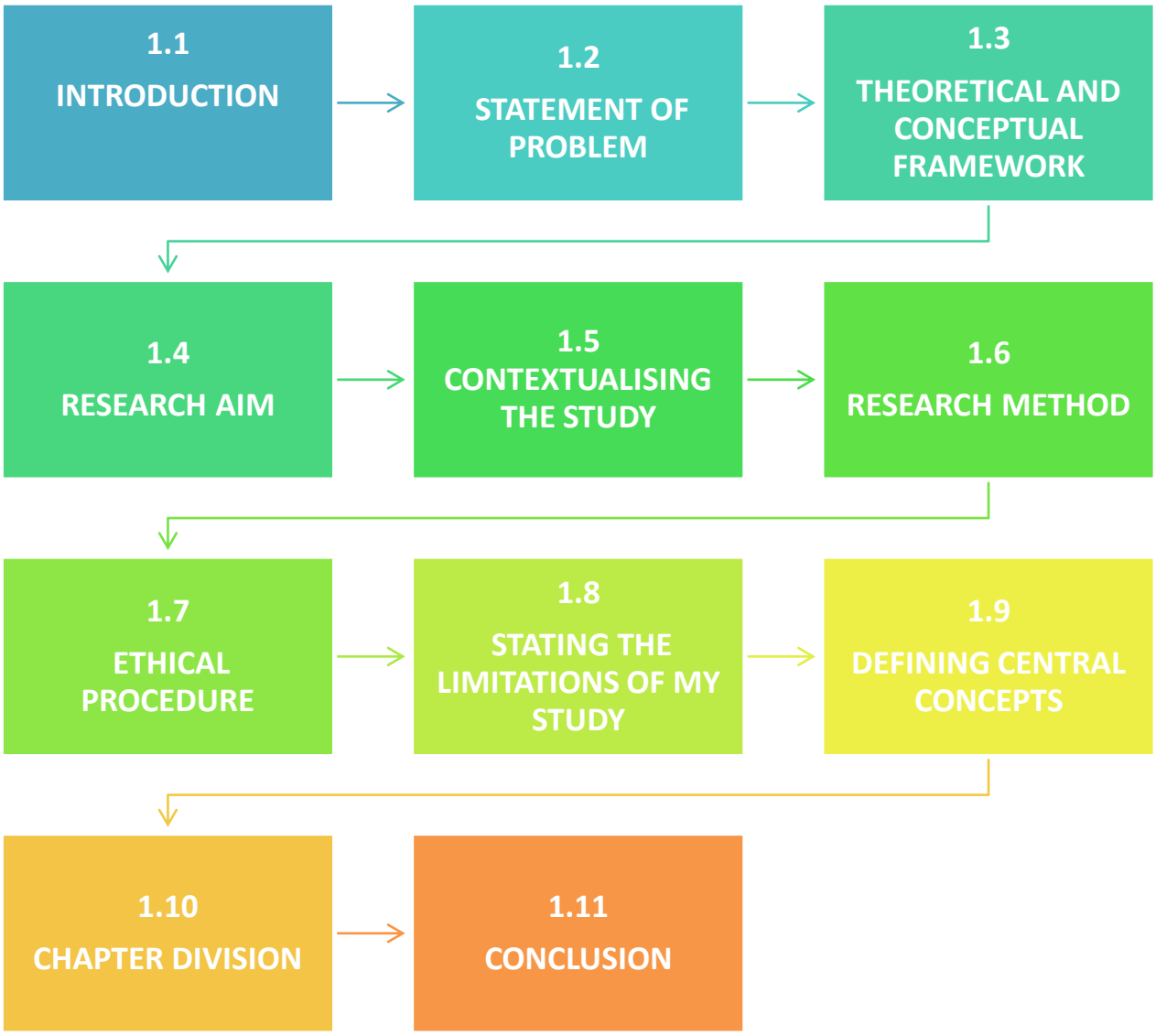


Figure 1.1: Overview of Chapter One

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of Chapter One is to provide the motivation for, and background to, my study which seeks to identify and understand the social-ecological resources which encourage positive adjustment to poverty and other risks among resilient Basotho youth in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district in the Free State province of South Africa. In this chapter I introduce the theoretical framework governing my study, briefly discuss the research method, the challenges which I faced and how I overcame them and lastly, provide a chapter division.

1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The problem that will be examined within this study concerns the identifying and understanding of the social-ecological resources which encourage resilience among resilient Basotho youth in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district in the Free State province. Recent literature warns against assuming that resilience-promoting resources are true for all cultures and contexts (Clauss-Ehlers, 2008:198; Masten & Wright, 2010:229; Ungar, 2008:225; Ungar, 2011:3; Veeran & Morgan, 2009:53), therefore I wished to ascertain what the resilience-promoting resources were that encouraged resilience among resilient Basotho youth in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district in the Free State province.

The ability to do well in life, in spite of demanding and difficult life situations, has often been displayed by youth in ever-changing, difficult environments (Dass-Brailsford, 2005:574; Masten, 2001:227). Carver (1998:253) suggested that personal growth is promoted when youth experience stress in their lives. Youth who adapt positively when life is demanding and difficult are called resilient (Ungar, 2008:220). According to Ungar, Brown, Liebenberg, Cheung and Levine (2008:2) and Clauss-Ehlers (2008:198) resilience research has recently become focused on how cultural and community-based resources play a role in youths' positive adjustment to hardship. Ungar *et al*. (2008:10) advanced the theory that resilience is a reciprocal process where individuals

find their way to health resources with the support of their social ecology. The social ecology includes systemic structures like families, community bodies, schools, cultural practices and religion. In other words, resilience is a process that is shared by individuals who actively navigate towards ecological resources, and by their social ecology that offers support in 'culturally and contextually significant ways' (Ungar, 2008:225; Ungar, 2011:13). Resilience is, therefore, believed to be an ecologically embedded phenomenon (Lerner, 2006:40).

However, the ecological resources that have been reported to promote resilience originated in predominantly Western-based contexts where most large-scale resilience studies occurred (Masten & Wright, 2010:229; Ungar, Brown, Liebenberg, Othman, Kwong, Armstrong & Gilgun, 2007:288; Werner, 2006:92-94). The large-scale longitudinal studies that have informed most resilience theories were conducted in the USA, Britain, New Zealand, Australia, Germany, Denmark and Sweden (Werner, 2006:92-94). Despite numerous international studies of resilience, Theron and Theron (2010) make the observation that South African studies of resilience between 1990 and 2008 paid little attention to how various South African ecologies influenced resilience in South African youth. They (Theron & Theron, 2010) state specifically: "Although some South African researchers do note that the antecedents of resilience (as evidenced in their findings) are context-bound, there is little robust discussion of how these antecedents are context specific." My personal experience as a South African has taught me that our country has a vast diversity of cultural backgrounds and beliefs. It is therefore possible that the ecological or contextually-embedded resources which encourage our youths' resilience, might be somewhat different from those reported in Eurocentric or American studies. If South African findings are distinctive from findings reported in Western contexts, it could contribute to a deeper understanding of how ecological resources encourage resilience among youth, which, in turn, can be used to shape policy and health-promoting practices. Even if they are not distinctive, until South African researchers explore how resilience-promoting resources are 'context-specific'

(Theron & Theron, 2010) or reflective of the broader ecologies (Masten & Wright, 2010:228; Ungar, 2011:3) of specific sub-groups, the South African literature on resilience will remain limited.

My study, therefore, proposes to focus on the ecological resources that encourage the resilience of a specific group of South African youth, namely Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Free State province. My interest is in the resources within the micro-, exo- and macrosystems (Swart & Pettipher, 2005:9) of resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Free State province. I must mention here that because my study is part of the International Community-University Research Alliance (ICURA) and International Development Research Centre (IDRC) funded project called Pathways to Resilience (Ungar, 2009:6), my focus on this specific group of youth flowed from this project. The site chosen by the greater research team to conduct the aforementioned research was the Thabo Mofutsanyana region within the Free State province of South Africa. This region was specifically chosen because of the multiple risks challenging its inhabitants, and because of the number of local youth who do well[1] despite these harsh circumstances. I discuss this further in the contextualisation of my study below (cf. 1.5).

As a result of the deficiency in South African studies of resilience (i.e. inadequate research on specific ecological resources that influence resilience – Theron & Theron, 2010), the question which my study sought to answer is:

> What are the social-ecological resources which encourage resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province towards positive adjustment in the face of poverty?

[1] 'Do well' is Ungar's term for resilience and the project's chosen synonym (Minutes of Project meeting, January 2010).

1.3 THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Given the above, the most suitable conceptual framework for my study incorporates the theories of the Social Ecology of Resilience (Ungar, 2011), Sameroff's Transactional Model of Development (2009) and Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory (1979).

1.3.1 Resilience: An Ecological Transaction

Resilience, or doing well in the face of significant adversity, has been the interest of many researchers for many decades (Garmezy, Masten & Tellegen, 1984:109; Masten & Powell, 2003:2; Rutter, 1990:209; Schoon & Brynner, 2003:22; Ungar *et al*., 2008:10). The most popular theories of resilience reflect ecological-transactional understandings (Cicchetti, 2010:148). Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) developed the Ecological Systems Theory to explain how everything in a child's environment affects how she[2] grows and develops. This theory also applies to resilience, which is believed to be a reciprocal process, influenced by a specific ecological system (Lerner, 2006:40; Ungar, 2008:219). According to Ungar (2011:4), when resilience is understood as a dynamic transaction that occurs between an individual and her ecology, more emphasis is placed on understanding resilience as a socially facilitated phenomenon, and less on the child or youth's responsibility to resile. By navigating towards and negotiating for resilience-promoting resources (also called protective resources), the individual transacts with others and the environment around her (Sameroff, 2009:6), and in so doing finds ways of overcoming adversities. But, as noted above, the ecology must also reciprocate and this response must ideally be in culturally relevant ways (Ungar, 2008: 225).

---

[2] In this report, I use the female pronoun for stylistic reasons only. Therefore female pronouns include males.

Sameroff's (2009:8) Transactional Model of Development suggests that in order to develop optimally, people need to interact actively with their environment. This applies to resilience as well. With the help of interpersonal resources located, for example, in families and communities (Bolger & Patterson, 2003:163) and intrapersonal strengths (Bolger & Patterson, 2003:156; Ungar, 2007:287), active transactions towards resilience occur. In other words resilience is informed by systemic resources found in the ecologies of youth and by their engagement with these.

To clarify the transactional nature of resilience, and how this is ecologically embedded, I summarise Sameroff's Transactional Model of Development (2009) and Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory (1979).

(i) The Transactional Model of Development

A transaction, according to Odendal, Schoonees, Swanepoel, Du Toit and Booysen (1988:1163), refers to a transfer or exchange between two individuals. This give and take is central to Sameroff's theory. He argues that behaviour and development cannot be divorced from the social context in which an individual matures and functions (Sameroff, 2010:13). Development is the result of continuous transactions between the individual and her social setting. The ways in which the environment interacts with a person shapes the development of an individual (Sameroff, 2009:6). For example, if a teacher treats a child harshly on an ongoing basis, it is possible that this child will dislike school, or teachers, will probably not contribute to a positive classroom environment and will not reach her full scholastic potential. Sameroff also points out that transactions between individuals and their ecologies are typically multi-level, meaning that transactions in the immediate environment (e.g. between teacher and child) will be informed by transactions in wider cultural practices (e.g. the values that a teacher has learnt influence how she treats children) (Sameroff, 2010:16). In addition, Sameroff (2009:3) points out that every individual is being affected, but is also affecting her ecology. Transactions, in other words, are bi-directional (Sameroff, 2010:16).

These bi-directional transactions are also dynamic over time (Sameroff, 2010:12). Applied to resilience theory, positive adjustment is shaped by the transactions that take place between the youth and her ecology. These interactions have the potential to encourage or discourage resilience (Felner, 2006:131), and need to be understood as situated in an immediate ecological environment or contextually-dependent, which introduces the need for Ecological Systems Theory in understanding resilience (Felner, 2006:139; Ungar, 2011:10).

(ii) The Ecological Systems Theory

Bronfenbrenner (1979:21) emphasised that children are embedded in multi-level, dynamic ecological settings. His conceptualisation of this embeddedness included multiple system levels, including the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and the macrosystem, which are discussed below:

- The Microsystem

According to Bronfenbrenner (1979:3) the microsystem of the child consists of the immediate environment or setting in which the child lives and matures. This system includes multiple contexts, including the individual herself, her family, school, peer groups, and other organisations that she interacts with on a daily basis. Donald *et al*. (2010:41) suggest that microsystems have a more direct, or proximal, effect on individuals.

- The Mesosystem

The mesosystem involves the 'interrelations' (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:25) within the microsystem that the child is actively involved in, such as those between the individual, family and friends. The different settings of the microsystem interact with each other and these relationships influence development. If a child has had a distressing day at school, when she returns home, her transactions in the school context may negatively influence her transactions in her family context. She may be short-tempered and tearful in her interactions with siblings and parents, which will have further implications for the family sub-system that may be either temporary or of longer duration depending on

multiple additional factors. Thus, the relationships between microsystems can be complex (Felner, 2006:140-141).

- The Exosystem

The exosystem includes systems in which a youth is not directly involved (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:25), but which may have a great influence on her resilience development. Included in the exosystem could be a parent's workplace, extended relatives, teacher unions, and the wider neighbourhood. For example, if a parent receives promotion, an at-risk child could receive better care which could encourage resilience. The settings in which the parent transacts have the potential to influence how the parent in turn transacts with the child (Felner, 2006:141). The exosystem also incorporates the community-environmental level, for instance medical facilities, the educational district, and recreational resources (Visser, 2007:25). The child has no direct influence over these, but these systems have the potential to impact on the child.

- The Macrosystem

The macrosystem is seen as the wider system of beliefs, social structures, and organisations of social information common to any particular social group, ethnic group or culture to which an individual belongs (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:26). Although individuals seldom have any direct influence on the macrosystem, what happens at macrosystemic level influences the micro- and exosystems, as well as the relationships between microsystems (Felner, 2006:140). For instance, if universities make the entrance requirements stricter, youth have no control over this decision. At the same time, this decision could influence how youth progress at school. They may decide that it is pointless to study, show less motivation and begin to interact negatively with the school system, or the opposite could occur.

- Summary

In summary, Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory (1979) conceptualises the setting in which a child lives as consisting of multiple, interactive systems that change over time (which is called the chronosystem – Donald *et al*., 2010:41). This implies a complex, dynamic setting (as

summarised in Figure 1.2 below) in which bi-directional transactions (Sameroff, 2009:7) take place.

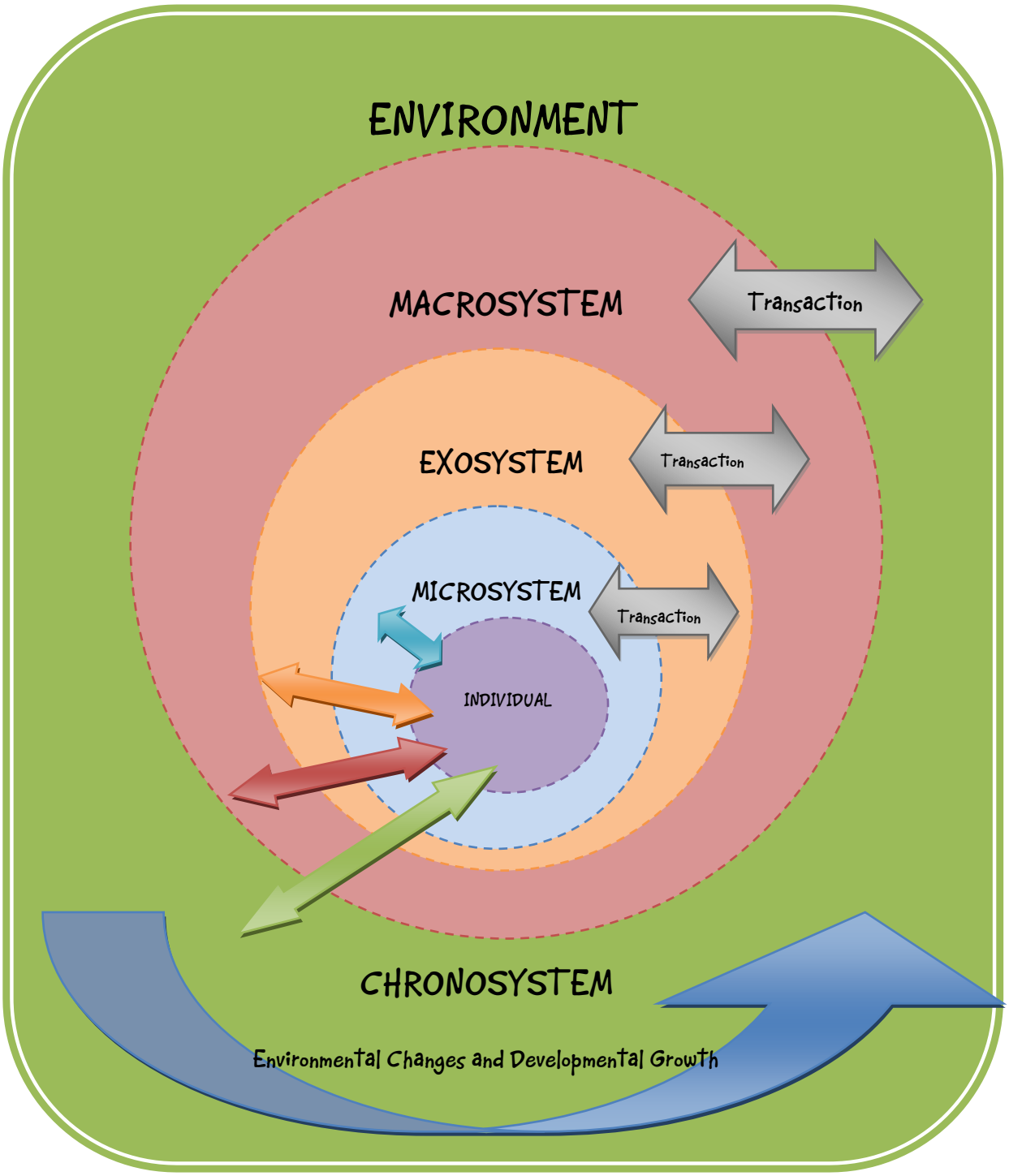


Figure 1.2: Ecological and transactional understanding of resilience (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:21; Donald *et al.*, 2010:41; Sameroff, 2009:5; Ungar, 2011:7)

(iii) The Social Ecology of Resilience

Ungar's conceptualisation of resilience as "the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to health-sustaining resources, including opportunities to experience feelings of well-being, and a condition of the individual's family, community and culture to provide these health resources and experiences in culturally meaningful ways" (2008:225) synthesises the notions of transactions (Sameroff, 2009:7) and multi-system ecologies as settings in which individuals develop (Bronfenbrenner 1979:35). Ungar's concept of navigation and negotiation imply individual transactional agency (Ungar, 2011:10). His reference to families, communities and culture's reciprocal provision of resources reflects Sameroff's emphasis on transactions as bi-directional interactions (Sameroff, 2009:7) as well as Bronfenbrenner's systemic understanding of any given ecology (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:35). Conceptualising resilience as a process that needs both individual agency and ecological support, takes the focus off the youth (meaning that youth cannot be blamed for not resiling) and emphasises that resilience is a complex, multifaceted process that will vary from context to context, and be influenced by the culture of a given ecology (Ungar, 2011:4-10). Thus, using this theory to frame my study, underscores the importance of exploring how transactions towards positive adjustment are influenced by a specific South African ecology.

Although some South African studies have paid attention to how specific ecologies influence the resilience of South African youth (e.g. Dass-Brailsford, 2005, Ebersöhn, 2008, Govender & Killian, 2001, Johnson & Lazarus, 2008; Phasha, 2010; Theron, 2007; Theron & Dunn, 2010; Theron & Malindi, 2010), none focused on understanding which ecological resources encourage resilience in resilient Basotho youth, living in the Thabo Mofutsanyana District in the Free State. A focus on this specific ecology should provide insight from a non-Western context that could broaden our understanding of how social ecologies encourage resilience among youth.

1.4 RESEARCH AIM

The aim of my study is to identify and understand the social-ecological resources which encourage resilience among resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province.

This aim consists of the following sub-aims:

- to conduct a literature study so as to understand the concept of resilience and its antecedents
- to explore the socio-ecological resources of resilience, in particular
  - the *microsystemic* resources that encourage resilience among resilient Basotho youth in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district.
  - the *mesosystemic* resources that encourage resilience among resilient Basotho youth in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district.
  - the *exosystemic* resources that encourage resilience among resilient Basotho youth in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district.
  - the *macrosystemic* resources that encourage resilience among resilient Basotho youth in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district.

1.5 CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY

As noted above, I was invited to be part of the ICURA and IDRC sponsored project called Pathways to Resilience (Ungar, 2009:6). The greater study includes multiple sites in Canada, China, Colombia, New Zealand and South Africa. In South Africa (see Figure 1.3) the research sites are situated in the town of Bethlehem and in the QwaQwa area (see Figure 1.4), both of which are located in the Thabo Mofutsanyana District Municipality in the Free State (see Figure 1.5 & 1.6). The Thabo Mofutsanyana District Municipality is made up of five local municipalities. QwaQwa and Bethlehem form part of the local municipalities (LM) of Maluti-a-Phofung and Dihlabeng, respectively. The Maluti-a-Phofung LM has a population of 360 787 and the Dihlabeng LM has a population of 128 929 people (Statistics South Africa, 2007). The black people in this area mostly speak Sesotho. For this reason a brief description of the Sotho culture is provided below.

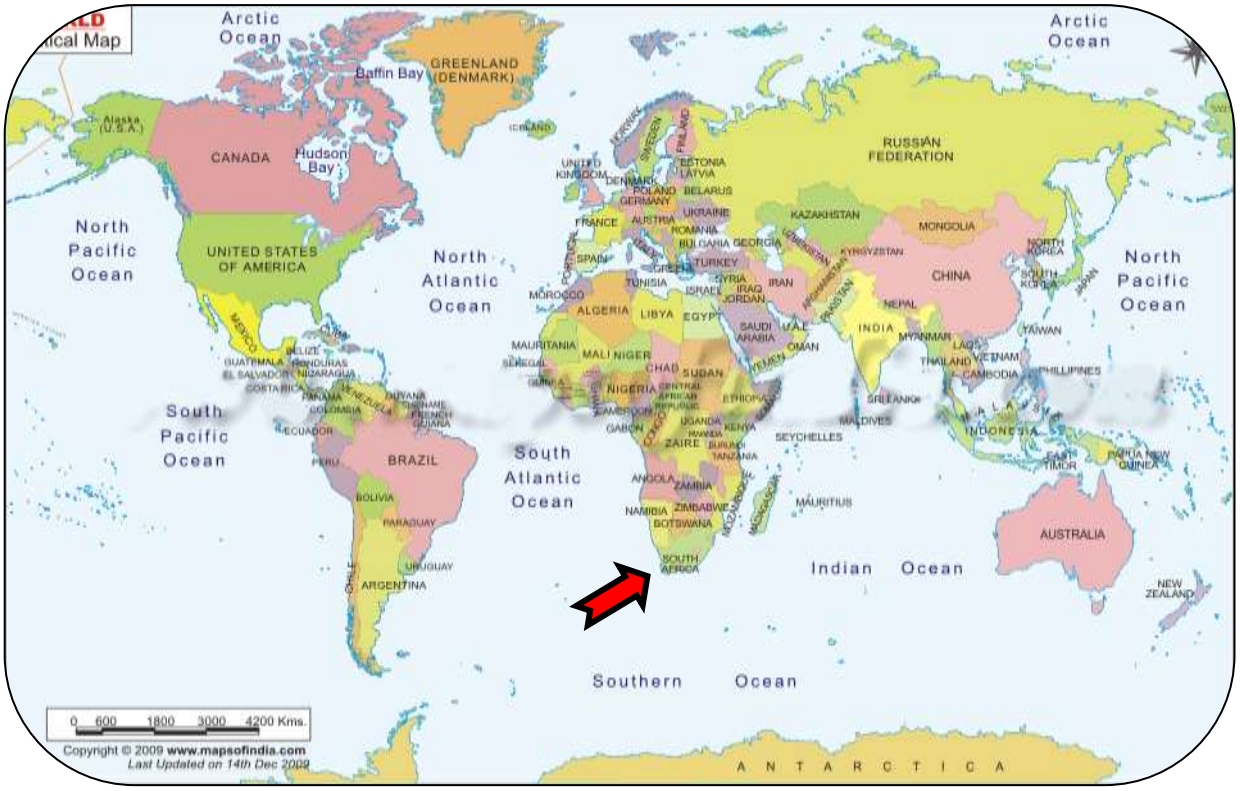


Figure 1.3: World map indicating the location of South Africa (http://commentisfreewatch.files.wordpress.com/2011/01/world-map.gif)

Figure 1.4: Map of South Africa indicating the location of Bethlehem and Phuthaditjhaba (http://i.infoplease.com/images/msafrica.gif)

The following photographs of QwaQwa (see Figures 1.5 & 1.6 below, and Figures 1.7 & 1.8 later) were taken by me personally when I visited the research site. The photographs of Bethlehem (which follow later, see Figures 1.9 & 1.10) were taken by another member of the study. I used them to contextualise the study site.

Figure 1.5:
Bird's-eye view of QwaQwa

Figure 1.6:
Main road in QwaQwa

There are many contextual risk factors within our study site to bear in mind especially in terms of family socio-economic status, type of family structure, overcrowdedness, and family mobility (Goduka & Poole, 1992:510). The infrastructure in this area is not optimal. Most people (71%) in the Free State province live in formal dwellings, but at least 7.9% of people in the Maluti-a-Phofung Local Municipality (LM) and 11.5% in the Dihlabeng LM live in informal dwellings (Statistics South Africa, 2007). Only 54.6% of households in the Free State have access to the basic commodity of electricity. In the Dihlabeng and Maluti-a-Phofung LM only 58.8% and 44.5% respectively, of residents have piped water in their homes (Statistics South Africa, 2007). Many, but not all, of the houses in these municipalities have thatched roofs (see Figure 1.7 for an example of QwaQwa), or are shacks made from materials that are found in the surrounding areas (see Figure 1.8 for an example of QwaQwa and Figure 1.9 for an example of Bethlehem). Many of the participants in my study still live in townships that are typically occupied by poorer and mostly black South Africans (see Figure 1.10). Townships are

often associated with multiple risks including violence, overcrowding, limited infrastructure, poverty and crime (Theron, 2007:358).

The two municipalities from which the participants for my study were drawn are characterised as impoverished (Theron & Malindi, 2010:720). Many young people are reported to be leaving the Free State because there are limited job opportunities and they have to seek employment elsewhere (Free State Youth Commission (FSYC), 2004). Only 22.6% of youth in the Maluti-a-Phofung LM are employed, compared to 33.7% of employed youth in the province as a whole. Between 1997 and 2010 the number of beneficiaries of welfare support grants in the Free State increased from 0.3 million to 0.8 million (Statistics South Africa, 2010). Most of the welfare budget of the Free State is spent on social security expenditure with many children being assisted by receiving a Child Support Grant (CSG) of R270 per child per month (Department of Social Development, 2005;2009). Theron and Malindi (2010:720) reported that the rural Eastern Free State (which includes Maluti-a-Phofung and Dihlabeng LM) has a high reliance on welfare support.

Although the Maluti-a-Phofung LM has increased its percentage of matriculants (Mehlomakulu, Mogoera & Lenka, 2011), the percentage of youth without any form of education in this district increased from 4.6% in 1996 to 6.7% in 2001. Black youths in particular are shown to have far lower levels of education in comparison to youth of other racial groups in the Free State (Department of Social Development, 2005). One barrier to the completion of schooling among young black girls is the incidence of teenage pregnancies and the burden of early motherhood (FSYC, 2004). Where this occurs it worsens the socio-economic situation of the person involved denying her a better quality of life (FSYC, 2004).

Youth in these municipalities are exposed to a multitude of additional ecological risk factors associated with chronic poverty, such as single-parent homes, and being moved from place to place to cope with poverty (Butt,

2009). Youth in this area are also confronted with the many challenges as a result of the HIV & AIDS pandemic (Theron & Malindi, 2010:720). One of the many negative consequences of HIV & AIDS is the large number of caregivers who die, leaving numerous households headed by children (Rosa & Lehnert, 2003:2). In South Africa many children are raised in homes without a father, which is also the case in homes of the municipalities of Maluti-a-Phofung and Dihlabeng (Theron, 2011a). This may be because, for a variety of social reasons, father absence is higher among black Africans compared to other racial groups (Richter, Chikovore & Makusha, 2010:361).

Figure 1.7:
House with thatched roof in QwaQwa

Figure 1.8:
Typical shack in QwaQwa

Figure 1.9:
Typical shack in Bethlehem

Figure 1.10:
Township living in Bethlehem

In the Maluti-a-Phofung and Dihlabeng municipalities, the local inhabitants are predominantly Basotho people who speak mainly Sesotho (64,4%) (Burger, 2009). The Basotho people are described as very religious (Renner, Peltzer, & Phaswana, 2003:302). The more traditional Basotho people respect the cultural value of *ubuntu*, which is "characterized by caring and compassion for

others, especially the most vulnerable; connectedness and ongoing fellowship with the ancestors; and commitment to the common good" (Lesejane, 2006:174). In general, the communities of Maluti-a-Phofung and Dihlabeng also value education and encourage youth to be devoted to their studies (Theron, 2011a). Valuing education has been described as typical of black South Africans, including Sesotho speakers (Phasha, 2010: 1249).

Within the community there are some resilience-promoting resources that could encourage resilience. These were summarised for the Pathways to Resilience project by Theron, L'Etang and Strydom (2011) and are replicated in Table 1.1 below:

Department and/or Municipality	Town	Type of youth project	Potential benefits
1. **Arts, Culture and Heritage Directorate**	QwaQwa	Educational program	Cultural awareness, indigenous knowledge
2. **Library , Archives and Technology**	QwaQwa	Children and Parents' libraries	Knowledge development
3. **Library , Archives and Technology**	QwaQwa	6 School-community libraries with computers	Computer literacy skills
4. **Department of Sport and Recreation; Maluti-a-Phofung LM**	QwaQwa	Sports development	None: Unutilised funds (R500 000)
5. **Department of Social Development**	QwaQwa	Groundbreakers	Leadership development, motivation, conflict management

6. **Department of Social Development; Department of Education**	QwaQwa	Addicted to Life clubs	Raise awareness on substance abuse
7. **Maluti-a-Phofung LM; FSYC**	QwaQwa	Literacy project	Promotes literacy
8. **Department of Health; Department of Agriculture; Thabo Mofutsanyana DM**	QwaQwa	Dithotaneng Combined (vegetable garden)	Skills development
9. **Department of Health; Department of Agriculture; Thabo Mofutsanyana DM**	Bethlehem	Phele-O-Phedise Gardening Project	Skills development
10. **Department of Health; Thabo Mofutsanyana DM**	QwaQwa	Phakisa Sewing	Skills development
11. **Department of Health; Department of Agriculture; Thabo Mofutsanyana DM**	QwaQwa	Tshwara Thebe Combined (vegetable garden)	Skills development
12. **Department of Public Works; Roads and Transport; Thabo Mofutsanyana DM**	QwaQwa	Renovation of the Itsoseng Centre for disabled children	Skills development, job creation
13. **Maluti-A-Phofung LM (planned for implementation)**	Not specified	Proposed Youth Brick-making project	Skills development, job creation

14. **Maluti-A-Phofung LM (planned for implementation)**	Not specified	Proposed Youth Piggery Project	Skills development, job creation
15. **Maluti-A-Phofung LM; Development Bank of Southern Africa**	Not specified	Proposed Leadership Programme of 24 Youth in motor mechanics	Leadership development
16. **Maluti-A-Phofung (planned for implementation)**	Not specified	Maluti Poultry	Skills development, job creation
17. **Maluti-A-Phofung (planned for implementation)**	QwaQwa	Sandstone Mining	Skills development, job creation
18. **Maluti-A-Phofung (planned for implementation)**	Not specified	Maluti Dairy Project	Skills development, job creation
19. **Maluti-A-Phofung (planned for implementation)**	Not specified	Morena WA Letlalo	Skills development, job creation
20. **Maluti-A-Phofung (planned for implementation)**	Not specified	Raohelang Bohahlaodi Project	Skills development, job creation

21. **Maluti-A-Phofung (planned for implementation)**	Not specified	Tswaranag Integrated Waste Management Project	Skills development, job creation
22. **Maluti-A-Phofung (planned for implementation)**	Not specified	Monontsha Wetland Project	Skills development, job creation
23. **Maluti-A-Phofung (planned for implementation)**	Not specified	Maluti Cave Route Project	Skills development, job creation
24. **Maluti-A-Phofung (planned for implementation)**	Not specified	Sentinel Car Park Access Tsheseng	Skills development, job creation
25. **Maluti-A-Phofung (planned for implementation)**	Not specified	Infrastructure Development Through Monontsha Pass	Skills development, job creation
26. **Maluti-A-Phofung (planned for implementation)**	Not specified	Wetsie's Cave Project (Community Tourism and Crafts Project)	Skills development, job creation
27. **Maluti-A-Phofung (planned for implementation)**	Not specified	Central Communication Centre	Skills development, job creation
28. **Maluti-A-Phofung (planned for implementation)**	Not specified	Greening Project	Skills development, job creation

29. **Maluti-A-Phofung (planned for implementation)**	Not specified	Black Water Fly Fishing and Trout	Skills development, job creation
30. **Maluti-A-Phofung (planned for implementation)**	Not specified	Maluti Thusa Batho Trail	Skills development, job creation

Table 1.1: Some resilience-promoting resources that could encourage resilience within the communities of Maluti-a-Phofung and Dihlabeng (Theron, L'Etang & Strydom, 2011)

Additional examples are shown in my photographs below: there are schools (see Figures 1.11 & 1.12), a stadium where individuals can engage in sport activities (see Figure 1.13) and community intervention programs like the ST KIZITO Childrens Programme (see Figure 1.14).

Figure 1.11:
School with sports field

Figure 1.12:
School without sports field

Figure 1.13:
Charles Mopeli Stadium

Figure 1.14:
Community intervention program

1.6 RESEARCH METHOD

The following is a summary of the research method that I used within my study. See Chapter Three for a full discussion of my research method.

1.6.1 Research Paradigm

Every individual views the world in her own significant way and this influences how she makes meaning of the world (Creswell, 2009:5). I view the world according to the perspectives of Bronfenbrenner's ecosystemic theory (1979) and Sameroff's Transactional Model of Development (2009) (cf. 1.3). Within this socio-ecological theory, as synthesised in Ungar's Social Ecology of Resilience (2011) a child develops according to the relationships she builds within the systems that form her environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:7; Oswalt, 2008). Her transactions with and within these systems (Sameroff, 2009:6), and her ecology's reciprocal provision of resilience-promoting resources (Ungar, 2010b:421), encourage positive adjustment. However, transactions and ecologies are not fixed. Different individuals will have different experiences and interpret these variably (Sameroff, 2010:16; Ungar, 2011:8). This understanding aligns well with an interpretive research paradigm (Maree & van der Westhuizen, 2007:32). An interpretive research paradigm means that a researcher has certain assumptions whereby she views the world and, in effect, views and interprets the research data. For this

reason it is well suited to my study, not only because it aligns with the theories I have chosen to frame my study, but because I believe that the systemic context in which people are situated will influence how they make meaning of their situation. In other words, I believe that meaning will differ from system to system (Maree & van der Westhuizen, 2007:31). With this in mind, I set out to discover how the participants interpreted what in their social-ecology encouraged their resilience. I was aware that I, in turn, would interpret their interpretations and that this would enable me to construct (or co-construct) the findings that I present in Chapter Four (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:10).

My interpretive paradigm influenced my choice of research design. I believe that youth grow up in multiple systems which imply multiple realities and different interpretations of these realities (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b:56-60). Furthermore, my study aimed to explore the ecosystemic resources that promote resilience among youth in a unique context not fully described to date, and to provide a deeper understanding of these resilience-promoting resources. I, therefore, selected a qualitative research design (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b:51), because a qualitative research design enables thorough descriptions in the context of exploratory studies.

1.6.2 Research Design

As stated above, I chose a qualitative design (Maree & van der Westhuizen, 2007:32) consisting of a phenomenological strategy of inquiry (Creswell, 2009:177) using participatory visual methods (Theron, 2008:33) (see Chapter Three). I did a literature study (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:64) that focused on resilience and socio-ecological antecedents to ground my empirical research (see Chapter Two). In my empirical study I wanted to understand the ecosystemic resources underpinning the resilience of South African resilient Basotho youth in the rural area of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district in the Free State province. I specifically focused on their perceptions of which ecosystemic resources informed their resilience, and my literature study supported my interpretation of their interpretations. As I wished to discover

what the ecological resources are which encouraged resilience among resilient Basotho youth in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district in the Free State province, I drew my participants from a cohort of 200 participants who were identified as resilient, despite living in impoverished circumstances. These participants were identified and nominated to the study by the local Advisory Panel to the greater study (see Chapter Three [cf. 3.3.2.4] for an extensive description of participant recruitment). My participants were, therefore, purposefully recruited (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:206). To generate data I used the draw-and-write method (Guillemin, 2004:274). The data obtained were analysed by means of inductive and deductive content analysis (Creswell, 2009:175; Ellingson, 2009:55; Merriam, 2008; Maree & van der Westhuizen, 2007:37) and led to a deeper understanding of the ecosystemic resources that encouraged my participants' resilience (see Chapter Four). I took care to conduct a trustworthy study (cf. 3.3.4) and I am confident in the emerged findings.

1.7 ETHICAL PROCEDURE

As part of the ICURA project, my study received ethical clearance from the Free State Department of Education (16/4/1/36-2009) (see Addendum G), as well as institutional ethical clearance from North-West University (NWU-00066-09-A2) (see Addendum F). In addition, I worked ethically as explained in Chapter Three (cf. 3.3.3).

1.8 STATING THE LIMITATIONS OF MY STUDY UPFRONT

Given that I am a young, white Afrikaans-speaking woman, I anticipated a number of challenges relating to language barriers, cultural differences, and trust issues. I took the following steps to address these:

I. Possible language barrier – Within my study I did not communicate directly with the participants. Although this was not my choice (cf. 3.3.2.5), it did limit the language barriers I had envisaged. The researchers who interacted with my participants to generate the visual data spoke Sesotho

fluently. They also helped me to translate the explanations of the participants that were not written in English.

II. Cultural differences – As noted above, I am an Afrikaans-speaking person and my participants are Sesotho-speaking youth. The resources which I used in my life to become resilient could be different from the participants' resources, which meant that I had to be very sensitive to the assumptions that I brought to the study. My cultural background socialised me to value education, achievement and Christian faith, and to draw on these resources in times of trouble. To overcome how this might bias my expectations of what encourages resilience, I interacted regularly with the greater study's Advisory Panel and other team researchers. I repeatedly asked them to comment on the meaning I was making of the participants' experiences and to point out where cultural differences might bias my interpretation or blind me to alternative interpretations. In this regard my literature study enabled me to guard against bias as it guided my understanding of the different cultural resilience-promoting resources the participants could have.

III. Trust issues – As I was not directly involved with the participants I did not need to win their trust. The Advisory Panel (AP) and researchers who interacted with the participants came from similar backgrounds and were Sesotho-speaking. These researchers and the participants trusted each other easily. I however, had to win the trust of the AP. I did this by meeting with them repeatedly as part of the larger South African team, appropriately dressed (Babbie, 2010:276), and taking great care to explain the purpose of my study, the rationale for using drawings to generate data, and later, my emerging findings, to them in detail (see Figure 1.15 below, where I am explaining my findings and winning the AP's trust).

Figure 1.15: Picture of me explaining my findings and winning the AP's trust

Finally, I was concerned, at the outset of my study, that working as a team might retard the progress of my study, as I usually work fast and independently. I was also worried that team members and/or the AP would contradict the conclusions I might suggest, however, I had the opposite experience. Working as a team helped me to cross-check my data analysis codes and refine my conclusions in culturally appropriate ways (Gibbs, 2007:104).

1.9 DEFINING CENTRAL CONCEPTS

In my study I repeatedly refer to the concepts of resilience, poverty, youth, and ecosystemic antecedents. For the purpose of my study these concepts are defined as follows:

☆ Poverty

Poverty is a persistent South African reality (Mosoetsa, 2011:1). According to the National Planning Commission of South Africa (South Africa, 2011), approximately 48% of South Africans live below a poverty line of $2 per day. They also typically then have limited access to health care, education and social infrastructure. In addition, poverty is associated with marginalisation, exclusion, degradation, stigmatisation, hopelessness and misery (Chireshe, 2010:193).

☆ Youth

Youth is synonymous to adolescence. Adolescence is the period in a person's life where she develops from a child into an adult (Thom, Louw, van Ede & Ferns, 2003:388). Adolescence typically refers to young people between the ages of 13 to 18 years. In this study the youth were between the ages of 13 to 19 years.

☆ Resilience

Resilience is the ability to adjust positively to severe hardship (Masten 2001:227). Resilience is a process that involves a young person navigating and negotiating towards resources in her socio-ecology that affirm and promote health, and at the same time needs this social ecology to reciprocate youth navigations and negotiations by making resources available to help her do well (Schoon, 2007:99; Ungar, 2010b:421).

☆ Ecosystemic antecedents

Ecological theory refers to the complex "interdependence between diverse organisms and their physical surroundings" (Donald, Lazarus & Lolwana, 2010:36). The systems theory developed by Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) emphasises the interdependence of different systems within a holistic view of an individual. Bronfenbrenner's theory specifies that the entire environment has an effect on the development of an individual, and vice versa (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:16). Thus ecosystemic antecedents of resilience combine ecological and systems theory concepts and refer to the resources

within the multiple systems of an ecology that promote resilience, with an understanding that these resources would typically be interdependent.

1.10 CHAPTER DIVISION

The content of my study is divided as follows:

Chapter 1: ***Overview of the study.*** This chapter includes a broad overview of the study and the theoretical framework on which the study is based.

Chapter 2: ***Literature study.*** The second chapter provides a definition of resilience and focuses on the socio-ecological resilience-promoting resources reported in other literature.

Chapter 3: ***Research design.*** This chapter contains an explanation of the qualitative methods used in this study.

Chapter 4: ***Findings of empirical research.*** The data that were gathered through the phenomenological design were analysed and presented in answer to my research question.

Chapter 5: ***Summary.*** In this final chapter, I provide a holistic summary of my study, note its limitations and make recommendations for follow-up studies.

1.11 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I provide a motivation for my study, namely that current literature does not provide a deep understanding of the social-ecological resources which encourage resilient, Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province, towards positive adjustment in the face of poverty (Theron & Theron, 2010). By using a qualitative visual methodology and inviting youth who adjusted well to poverty to help me understand the social-ecological resources underpinning their resilience, I hope not only to contribute to existing literature, but also to generate a deeper understanding that can be used in intervention and prevention strategies with less resilient youth. I trust that the findings of my

study will make a positive difference to the lives of other Basotho adolescents who may be less resilient when challenged by poverty. In the next chapter, I review what prior studies reported about the phenomenon of resilience.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PHENOMENON OF SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL RESILIENCE

Overview of Chapter Two

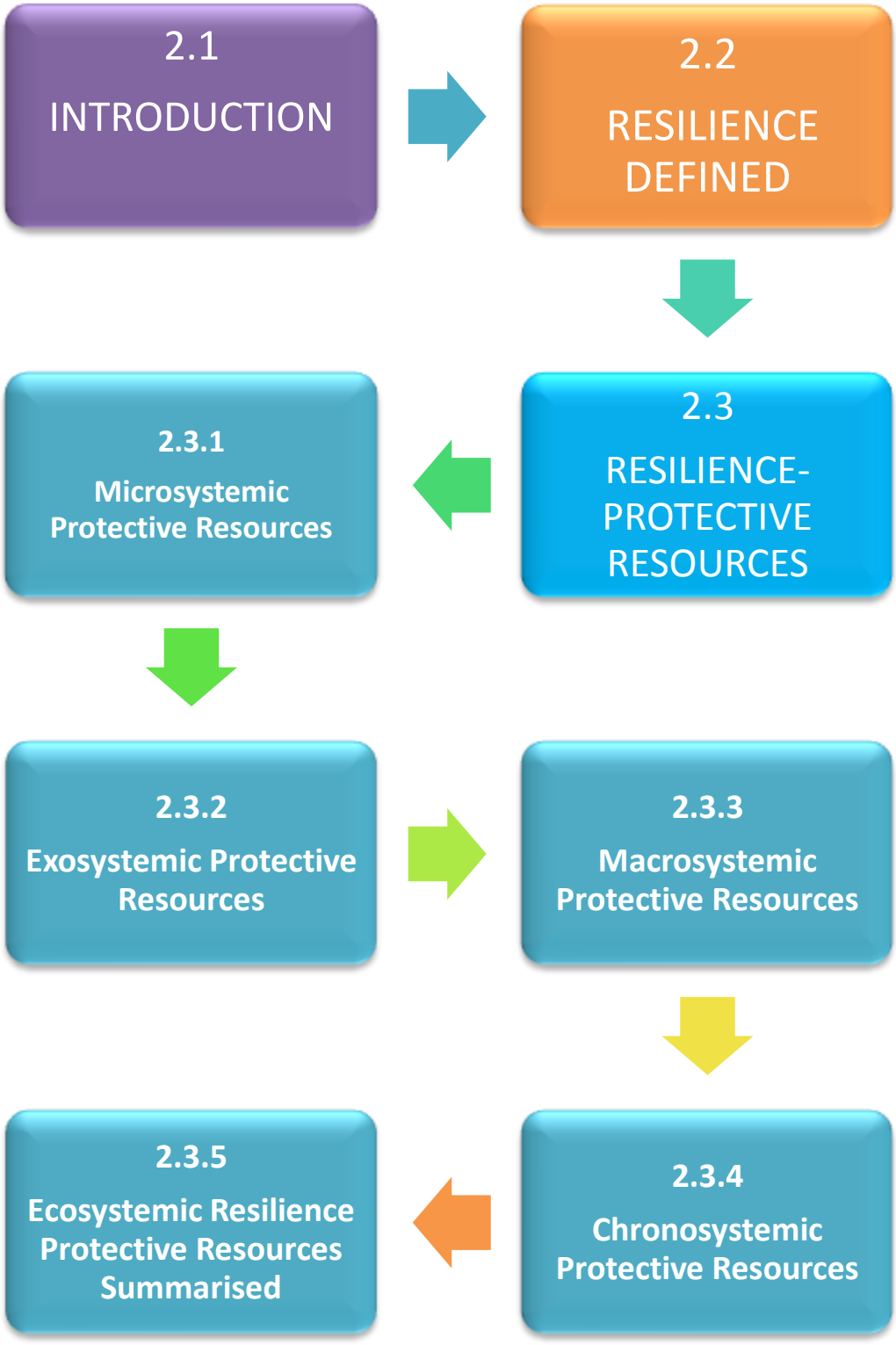


Figure 2.1: Overview of Chapter Two

2.1 INTRODUCTION

During Norman Garmezy's research to understand the nature and origins of schizophrenia in the 1940s and 1950s, he discovered an unusual trait in children: some children managed to adapt to their environment, even though they had mentally ill parents (Masten & Powell, 2003:1). Until then, the belief was that children with mentally ill parents were more inclined to become maladaptive delinquents in life (Masten & Powell, 2003:1). Researchers found that some children with mentally ill parents did not succumb to deprivation associated with their hazardous circumstances, but instead functioned adaptively (Garmezy, Masten & Tellegen, 1984:109; Masten & Powell, 2003:2). After this research of Garmezy *et al.* (1984:109) the ability to do well in life despite circumstances of adversity became the topic of great interest for researchers, motivating them to investigate the apparently rare phenomenon of resilient children. Years of investigations (Masten, 2001:227) led to the conclusion that resilience is actually not so rare in children and that many children cope adaptively, thereby overcoming the risk of maladaptive behaviour in their lives. In so doing they demonstrate resilience. However, what is less clearly understood is what contributes to resilience in young people.

In what follows in this chapter, the phenomenon of resilience and what is known about the resources that contribute to an individual's capacity to do well in life despite living a difficult life (Rutter, 1990:209; Schoon & Brynner, 2003:22; Ungar *et al*., 2008:10), will be discussed. As noted in Chapter One, I will use the ecosystemic model of Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) to frame my literature review of the factors that could contribute to an individual's resilience. I will therefore, report on resilience-promoting resources as they are found in the micro-, exo-, macro- and chrono-systems.

2.2 RESILIENCE DEFINED

Ungar *et al.* (2008:2) have summarised the ways in which years of resilience-focused research has contributed to the development of the theoretical framework and understanding of resilience. As resilience research expanded and more information regarding resilience was gathered, researchers had to change their view of the phenomenon of resilience.

Initially Garmezy e*t al.* (1984:98) said children were “stress resistant” meaning that they were competent despite stressful situations. According to Pines (quoted by Masten, 2001:227) academic work and collections of media publications implied that there was something important or distinct about a child that was identified as resilient. During this early research, resilience was defined as an unusual trait of a child (Kim-Cohen, 2007:272; Rutter, 1990:183; Ungar, 2008:220). After studying and evaluating these resilient children, they were classified as extraordinary individuals. Resilient children were seen as individuals who possessed astonishing assets such as autonomy, self-esteem, motivation, positive social orientation, and a sense of humour, as summarised in Figure 2.2 (Bolger & Patterson, 2003:156; Boyden & Mann, 2005:20; Garmezy *et al.,* 1984:101; Rutter, 1985:601; Rutter, 1990:182; Schoon & Bynner, 2003:24).

Figure 2.2: Individual characteristics of resilience (Kim-Cohen, 2007:272; Garmezy *et al.,* 1984:101; Masten, 2001:227; Rutter, 1990:183; Schoon & Bartley, 2008:24; Schoon & Bynner, 2003:24; Ungar, 2008:220)

However, this first understanding was altered by Rutter (1990:184) who indicated that resilience could not be perceived as a predetermined quality of the individual. Further studies revealed that resilience is the product of protective factors (such as family, peers, community) that contribute to a

person becoming resilient (Rutter, 1990:184; Unger *et al.,* 2008:2). Stable and supportive family environment, peers, the wider social context such as external support in the neighbourhood, teachers and a higher socioeconomic status, as indicated in Figure 2.3, were reported as examples of factors that could encourage resilience in contexts of adversity, in this next phase of resilience research (Garmezy, 1993: 391; Masten & O'Dougherty Wright, 2010:215; Rutter, 2006:8; Schoon, 2007:96; Schoon & Bynner, 2003:24).

Figure 2.3: Protective factors of resilience (Garmezy, 1993: 391; Rutter, 1990:184; 2006:8; Schoon, 2007:96; Schoon & Bynner, 2003:24; Unger *et al.,* 2008:2)

Following this understanding of resilience as the product of a number of protective factors found in the child, her family and her environment (as summarised in Figure 2.3.) researchers began to focus on the processes that

encouraged resilience. According to Lerner, (2006:41) resilience was not a quality of the individual or of the context. Instead, resilience was seen as a reciprocal process that facilitates the individual's access to and good use of health sustaining resources (Schoon, 2007:99; Ungar, 2010b:421). These reciprocal relationships (Lerner, 2006:41) are bi-directional and could be found in family, community, and environment contexts (Schoon, 2007:96; Ungar, 2010:b421).

The most recent understanding of resilience, however, noted that resilience is probably culturally and contextually relevant (Ungar, 2008:225; Ungar, 2010b:421). A culturally and contextually sensitive understanding of resilience respects the uniqueness of the resilience process (Ungar, *et al*., 2007:307). Therefore, resilience relates to an individual playing an active role in navigating towards and negotiating for resilience-promoting resources in culturally appropriate ways (Ungar, 2010b:421; Ungar *et al.,* 2007:307), and the ecology of the individual reciprocating these efforts in culturally relevant ways (Ungar 2008:225). By comparing resilience processes to a set of gears (Figure 2.4), one can conclude that they should all work together in culturally relevant ways in order to function as intended, resulting in an individual becoming resilient.

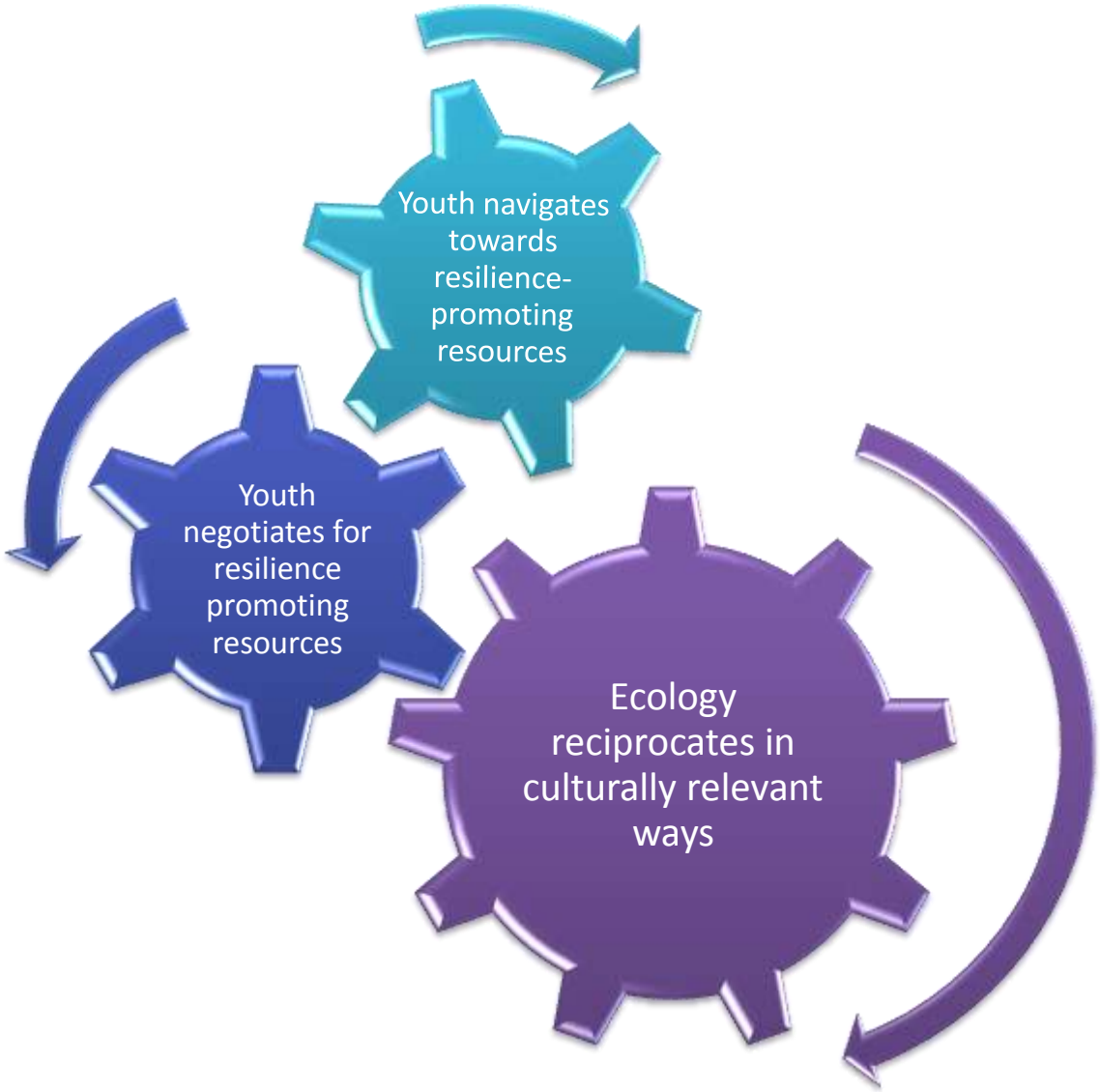


Figure 2.4: Resilience as a reciprocal process (Lerner, 2006:41; Rutter, 1990:185; Schoon, 2007:96, 99; Ungar, 2010b:421)

Irrespective of the definition of resilience as discussed above, one collective indicator the researchers all have in common is that resilience only occurs in the presence of considerable adversity (Rutter, 2005:243; Ungar, 2008:220). According to Harvey and Delfabbro (2004:5), resilience implies that a person experienced a difficult situation and found a way of overcoming the problem, rather than coping with the situation by avoiding the problem. One should also remember that a person might be resilient at one time of her life but not at a later stage (Rutter, 2006:4). The fact that an individual has overcome adversities in her adolescent years, does not guarantee her ability to

overcome them in her adult life and vice versa. Finally, regardless of which definition of resilience is adopted, it must be remembered that what may be considered resilient in one context, may not be so in another, (Dass-Brailsford, 2005:575; Rutter, 1990:185). For example, one society may consider strict discipline as an asset whereas another society may consider it as a risk factor.

In summary, researchers have found that resilience is a common phenomenon in which adaptive functioning is upheld in spite of a variety of risks (Masten 2001:227; Rutter, 1990:209; Schoon & Brynner, 2003:22; Ungar *et al*., 2008:10). Both the risks and resilience are germane to basic human adaptation systems (Masten 2001:227). If these systems are functioning in such a way that the needs of an individual are accommodated resilient development is assured in the face of severe adversity. However, how these systems define resilience and the ways in which these systems transact to encourage resilience cannot be assumed to be common. As noted in Chapter One, this provides the rationale for my study as it cannot be assumed that what has encouraged resilience in youth in other societies, is necessarily true for the resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Free State.

Nevertheless, for me to understand what shapes the resilience of the resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Free State it is important to review what the generic antecedents of resilience are reported to be. As indicated earlier, I will introduce the known resilience-protective resources, which encourage resilience per system (i.e. micro-, exo- and macro-systems) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:36).

2.3 RESILIENCE-PROTECTIVE RESOURCES

Protective resources (Anthony, 1987a:148; Masten & Reed, 2005:77; Rutter, 1985:600; Werner & Smith, 1982:2) are defined as the ability of an individual or context to encourage better outcomes in high-risk situations. They are therefore resources that inspire resilience when risk or adversity is elevated.

According to Anthony (1987a:149) the resources one acquires to become resilient depends on one's age when adversity occurs. He suggests that one uses different resources to become a capable baby, a proficient kindergarten child, or a knowledgeable schoolchild. The resilient child does not leave the resilience-facilitating resources, used at various stages of personal development, behind in progressing from stage to stage. As each new stage is encountered resources used in the past are integrated into this next period of the child's resilience development. The following social-ecosystemic resources could be protective resources depending on the age, gender, context, and culture of the individual.

2.3.1 Microsystemic Protective Resources

Bronfenbrenner (1979:3) describes the microsystem as the immediate surroundings of a child. These include the individual herself, her family, her school, and other organizations that she interacts with on a daily basis which encourage resilience-promoting resources (cf. 1.3.1).

2.3.1.1 The individual

The following intrapersonal resources, found within the individual, include valuable skills and traits a person needs to overcome risks in life. The ability to overcome adversities is strongly connected to intrapersonal strengths or the positive qualities that reside within the individual (Bolger & Patterson, 2003:156; Boyden & Mann, 2005:20; Rutter, 1985:601). Intrapersonal strengths are necessary in order for youth to mature into capable and dynamic adolescents and to maintain a sense of individual identity within society.

Some intrapersonal protective features/strengths found within an individual include the following:

(i) Self-esteem

Self-esteem refers to the level at which an individual values herself (Reber & Reber, 2001:661). Self-esteem promotes resilience because an individual who values herself would want to succeed in life. Self-esteem according to Laser (2008:330) and McCubbin and McCubbin (2005:40) is influenced by cultural identity and will help a person to maintain an optimistic attitude towards herself.

Ungar *et al.* (2007:288) found that elevated self-esteem helped 89 white middle-class heterosexual able-bodied youth, from 14 different sites, raised in Western societies, to build confidence, self-respect and have a sense of worth (see Addendum A). Confidence, self-respect and a sense of worth contributed to the individuals becoming resilient.

Similarly, researchers from the Circles of Care Project, in South Africa, from three Free State municipalities, Maluti-A-Fophong, Welkom, and Sasolburg, indicated that participation by youth in talks about human rights, poverty, and HIV & AIDS, led to increased self-esteem (Cook & Du Toit, 2005:261) (see Addendum A). Their findings suggest that appropriate degrees of communication skills are necessary to build self-esteem. Cook and Du Toit (2005:261) also suggest that self-esteem in adolescents and youths strengthens adult self-efficacy. A healthy sense of self-value when younger lays the foundation for a sense of self-worth throughout adulthood.

A fourth example of self-esteem is that of the black adult social work participants of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg in South Africa (see Addendum A). They indicated that past experiences of achievement helped them to build self-esteem (Smith & Drower, 2008:153). Other researchers throughout the decades also found self-esteem to be one of the most important individual traits that encouraged resilience (Anderson, 2008:64; Anthony, 1987b:21; Anthony, 1987a: 149; Besthorn, 2005:128; Felsman, 1989:74; O'Koon, 1997:479; Phasha, 2010:1249; Rutter, 1985:606; Schoon & Bynner, 2003:24).

(ii) Inner locus of control

An inner locus of control refers to an individual who tends to take responsibility for her own conduct and views herself as having power over her own future (Reber & Reber, 2001:401). Having an inner locus of control could be a resilience-promoting resource within the individual. A study by Anderson (2008:64) of 26 incest survivors from the U.S.A. Midwestern metropolitan area supports this thesis. Aged between 25-58 years, with the majority being Caucasian, these women overcame the trauma of having suffered incest during their youth (see Addendum A). They discovered that they could control their inner feelings to such an extent that they were able to change the way they felt about the experience they had, including acceptance of the past occurrence which they could not change. Internal locus of control was only one of the many resilience-promoting resources that helped the women accept their past and focus on the future.

Some resilience researchers in the South African context have indicated that resilient individuals felt a sense of power over the future which enabled them to create the nature of that future for themselves (Ebersöhn, 2008:14: Johnson & Lazarus, 2007:25; Theron & Dunn, 2010:238). For example, Ebersöhn (2008:14) (see Addendum A) noted during her research in South African child-friendly schools, in Limpopo, Kwa-Zulu Natal, and the Eastern Cape Province, that an inner locus of control is necessary for an individual to reflect critically, to think about her actions, and the consequences of those actions, in order to make resilience-promoting decisions.

Another example is that of 20 black street children featured in a study by Theron and Malindi (2010:728) (see Addendum A). Consisting of three girls and 17 boys aged between 10 and 17 years, these children, with access to systemic support structures, came from rural and urban areas of the Eastern Free State and Gauteng in South Africa. These participants had the mental stamina to overcome the emotional and physical difficulties they faced in

everyday life. They used their inner locus of control to overcome the hardship of street living, which enabled them to become resilient.

(iii) Cognitive competency

Cognition is a broad term, which is normally used to refer to actions such as thinking, considering, and interpreting (Reber & Reber, 2001:128). Competency is usually the capacity to carry out a task or achieve something (Reber & Reber, 2001:136). Together they refer to the ability to accomplish something by thinking and reasoning about a problem. Wolin and Wolin (1993:143) found that many of their research participants who overcame adversity, demonstrated cognitive competency throughout their childhood.

Rutter (1984:64) commented in his interview with Maya Pines that cognitive competency is an important resilience-enabling resource. Rutter also added that cognitive competency and scholastic success are not the same. A person can do very well at school (scholastic success) but can still not be competent enough to be resilient. When children are cognitively competent, they could learn from other individuals how to become resilient by looking at how those individuals solve a specific problem and then replicating what they have learnt in a similar situation (Wolin, 2003:19).

Cognitive competence was also indicated as a resilience-promoting resource for the street children from Cali (see Addendum A), who needed an array of survival strategies to ensure their continued existence on the streets of Colombia (Felsman, 1989:69). These resilient street children demonstrated the cognitive ability to know where to beg for money and how to survive on the minimal income they received in a day.

Cognitive competence incorporates many skills but one of the most important of these is the skill to solve problems. Problem-solving skills (Reber & Reber, 2001:566) can be defined as the process that involves the solution to a

problem. During the problem-solving process, the individual is active in finding a solution to overcome difficult situations and, in the process, becomes resilient (Anthony, 1987b:22; Govender & Killian, 2001:6; Johnson & Lazarus, 2007:26; Lee & Tay-Koay, 2008:258; Werner, 1995:82; Werner & Smith, 1982:120). According to Ungar *et al.* (2008:2) individuals who possess this intrinsic skill have the ability to identify and find a way to approach individuals who could assist them to solve a problem in a reciprocal way, thereby demonstrating growing resilience.

Rutter (1984:60) also discussed in his interview with Maya Pines how important it is to teach children social problem-solving. According to Rutter (1984:60) social problem-solving involves personally finding solutions to social problems, rather than involving other people in the solving of the problem. For example if two friends are fighting over the same toy, should they involve an adult to solve the problem or could they solve the problem themselves by playing together, or taking turns to play with the toy? Not involving adults teaches children to solve problems from an early age as they think of possible choices and their outcomes. Moreover, later in life they will have the ability to solve more difficult problems. Rutter also points out that there is a multitude of examples in children's lives from which they can learn to become avid social problem-solvers, such as parents, siblings, educators, role models, community members, and many more (Rutter, 1985:606).

Research done by MacDonald, Gillmer and Collings (1996:236) (see Addendum A) found that white English speaking resilient adolescents, living in residential children's homes in the Durban area of Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa, engaged in more active problem-solving methods than the non-resilient group. Likewise, a number of the resilient second-language learner participants in grades six and seven from a primary school in the Vaal Triangle South Africa (see Addendum A), indicated that problem-solving skills are a valuable asset in becoming resilient (Cronje, 2008:105).

(iv) Reflection

Reflection according to Reber and Reber (2001:401) is the ability to think about something; to reflect upon an earlier occurrence or event and its consequences. An individual needs reflection to sustain a resilient path. In the absence of such reflection it is not possible to understand how past circumstances may be helpful in coping with the future. Glicken (2006:4) found that people who have reflected on their lives in the context of self-help groups, used the wellness approach to be more hopeful about the future. The resilient focus group from the Alisos Institute in Santa Barbara California, USA, who had lost one of their family members (see Addendum A), is an example of this approach. The participants in this group grew in resilience by using reflection and talking to other individuals. In this way they could share their feelings and conquer the negative sentiment which they had harboured over a long period.

This is confirmed by Chinese learners from a secondary school in Hong Kong who participated in the Understanding the Adolescent Project (UAP) (see Addendum A). They were encouraged to look back on the activities they did during the course of the program that made them do well (Lee & Ng, 2008:348). The researchers pointed out that the learners were taught how to reflect on their actions from an early age in order to use reflection skills to overcome adversities in their futures. Similarly, the youth from the Youth Expedition Programming in Singapore (Lee & Tay-Koay, 2008:258), the underprivileged second-language participants (Cronje, 2008:112) (See Addendum A), and participants from the University of the Witwatersrand, of Johannesburg South Africa (Smith & Drower, 2008:155), all indicated that reflecting on their circumstances and setting goals helped them with personal, academic and civic awareness.

The advantage of reflection is also illustrated by the resilient participants from Dass-Brailsford's study (2005:581) (see Addendum A), who experienced poverty, but had the ability to reflect on their circumstances. The participants

made acceptable mental assessments of their poverty-stricken circumstances, assessed their personal ability for action, and predicted the outcome of the actions they wanted to take in order to overcome poverty and in effect become resilient. Dass-Brailsford (2005:581) reported that the participants, who reflected on their problems and predicted the outcomes, could set goals. This meant that they were goal–orientated, showed initiative, and aspired towards becoming more resilient in their lives.

As with the above, the black street children from the Free State province in South Africa (see Addendum A), reflected on their behaviour and found a more positive way of behaving which led them to resilience-promoting behaviour (Theron & Malindi, 2010:728). The participants from the South African Circles of Care Project (see Addendum A) also confirmed the value of reflection. They indicated that reflecting on their struggles in a protected atmosphere, assisted by compassionate and trustworthy adults was beneficial to them becoming resilient (Cook & Du Toit, 2005:261).

(v) Determination and motivation

Determination can be defined as a feature of personality characterised by an inclination to move forward towards one's goal in spite of barriers and adversity (Reber & Reber, 2001:194). Often determination is accompanied by motivation. Motivation is the inner state of a living being that pushes or drives it to act (Reber & Reber, 2001:194). Being a determined and motivated resilient individual, according to Anthony (1987b:22), allows a person to think about the crisis in sight, explore its parts, and set about actively and self-confidently resolving the problem.

In Dass-Brailsford's (2005:580) (see Addendum A) study, her participants, who all had disadvantaged backgrounds, reported tenacity. The resilient participants did not quit and were motivated in thinking about different approaches, ideas and dexterities to enable them to follow their educational ambitions.

Phasha (2010:1246) in her study of one male and twenty-one female participants from South Africa found varying levels of determination and motivation. The group consisted of eleven white participants, six from mixed race, and five from African ancestries aged between 16 and 23 years. They had all experienced sexual abuse in their youth, (see Addendum A). The black participants were more motivated than the white or mixed race participants to stay at school. Five of the white and coloured students dropped out of school when other students found out that they had been abused. One of Phasha's participants was motivated to finish school and said: "What was important was to have my school uniform and books." "My motto was; 'I am not a failure.' I can do it. I had to prove everyone wrong. Even if I can fail examinations five or ten times, I will never give up until I pass it." The comment made by the participant is a strong indication that the black participants in Phasha's study were more motivated to continue with, what they believed, would let them have a better future and ultimately enable them to do well in life.

Smith and Drower (2008:155) also conducted research with black adult social work participants (see Addendum A) in order to understand what encouraged the resilience of these participants. The participants reported that motivation and determination helped them to overcome past adverse experiences and enabled them to be resilient and therefore achieve success in their lives. The participants were not passive in the development of their resilience. They were committed to peaceful activism, determined and motivated to overcome their difficult circumstances. In doing so, they displayed resilience in their violence stricken contexts.

(vi) Responsibility

Hornby (2010:1259) defines responsibility as the ability to act or make a decision in a reasonable way that demonstrates one's ability to be reliable. In order to become resilient, one should be able to take responsibility for one's

own actions. Hewitt (2005:136-137) reported that in Western cultures, self-esteem is often linked to young people taking responsibility for achieving social acceptance and for finding and keeping friends. As noted earlier, positive self-esteem encourages resilience (Masten & Reed, 2005:83). Thus, when young people are conscientious and accept that they are accountable for their choices and actions (like making friends), resilience is encouraged.

Lee and Ng (2008:348) (see Addendum A) who reported that responsibility nurtures resilience suggest that programs should support individuals to reflect on the procedure of actions which lead to the specific choice rather than just recognising the outcomes. The researchers found that Understanding the Adolescent Project (UAP) program helped the applicants to take responsibility, formulating their own decisions concerning their personal lives which met their requirements.

In addition, the poor black African American girls from the inner city of Boston who participated in Stevens' study (2005:52) (see Addendum A), and the participants from Dass-Brailsford's (2005:581) study (see Addendum A), took responsibility for the direction of their lives and the choices they made in order to become resilient.

(vii) Social responsiveness

Social responsiveness/attitude can be defined as the tendency to behave in a socially appropriate fashion towards other persons (Reber & Reber, 2001:686). Social responsiveness needs to be developed and mastered by an individual to co-operate with society and become a resilient citizen (Rutter, 1984:60; Sumsion, 2003:143). Anthony, (1987a:149) describes a resilient individual as someone who treasures her independence but still knows when to seek assistance from her surrounding social group. If a child does not take other individuals into consideration the child's social skills cannot develop and resilience development will be hampered.

Social responsiveness helped the social work participants from The University of the Witwatersrand (see Addendum A), to interact more efficiently with other individuals to reciprocate resilience-promoting resources (Smith & Drower, 2008:155). In a similar way, the resilient white English-speaking adolescents in MacDonald's study (see Addendum A) (MacDonald *et al*., 1996:236) reported that they were more reliable, serious, trustworthy, and understanding of others, which made them more sociable. These characteristics were not common of the non-resilient group.

Glicken (2006:17), Johnson and Lazarus (2008:25), Rutter (1985:606) and Werner and Smith (1982:89) established that social responsiveness and empathy helps to secure social networks and social support, which act as buffers against social risk. An individual needs to have social skills in order to communicate with surrounding individuals and become socially responsive. Social skills according to Hornby (2010:1413) can be defined as the skill to communicate easily with other individuals and complete tasks as a group.

An example of seeking assistance in appropriate ways can be found in the research conducted with a young early childhood educator, Natalie, from Anglo-Australian background (Sumsion, 2003:143) (see Addendum A). She needed to communicate with peers, adults and other individuals to seek their assistance to adapt well and to form supportive, constructive relations (Sumsion, 2003:143).

(viii) Positive temperament

A positive temperament refers to a person's character as shown in the way she conducts herself or responds to conditions or people, mostly in an optimistic way (Hornby, 2010:1538). Rutter (1985:606) said that a positive temperament is an excellent quality to have because it is a powerful resource which has a positive impact on others. Youths with positive temperaments

attract other people and so enlarge their social networks and opportunities for support. Possessing a positive temperament enables a person to build on social relationships. Other researchers also noted a positive temperament to be a valuable resource within the individual (Berger, 2008:101; Ebersöhn, 2008:14).

Ungar *et al.* (2007:288) (see Addendum A) reported that when young people have a positive temperament, it helps them to form a logical, optimistic sense of self. Possessing a better sense of self enabled them to form more positive alliances with other people and sustain better constructive interactions. Their affirmative temperament supported self-liking which in turn supported positive interrelationships. Both affirmative temperament and positive interactions encouraged resilience.

The Japanese youth of the Sapporo area (see Addendum A) (Laser, 2008:322) and the participants from the University of the Witwatersrand (see Addendum A) (Smith & Drower, 2008:154) also expressed the importance of a positive temperament for successful outcomes for any youth in order to overcome adversities and enhance resilience.

(ix) Hope

Hope can be defined as wanting something to happen and believing that it is possible (Hornby, 2010:724). Hope encourages persons to anticipate the future in order to attempt to create that which they are hoping for. Wolin and Wolin (1993:101) reported that many of their participants who came from troubled families, were encouraged towards resilience by hopefulness. Their study showed that throughout the years, a sense of hope helped the resilient individuals because they believed that one day they would not be dependent on their troubled families anymore. They were hopeful that sometime in the future they would leave their negative situation behind.

Clauss-Ehlers and Wibrowski (2007:582) (see Addendum A) noted in their study with first- and second-generation college participants on the East Coast, that participants were hopeful of peer and administrative support they would receive during their college years. These participants were not used to having social and administrative support in high school as the school had no available funds. The participants were optimistic about the social bonds they would form in college to promote their resilience. This hopefulness helped them to persevere.

Studies like Dass-Brailsford's (2005:583) (see Addendum A) have reported that hope nurtured young people's resilience by encouraging them to anticipate a better future. The study done by Theron and Malindi (2010:725) (see Addendum A) with resilient street children confirms this. This study found that strangers offered encouragement to the participants, many of whom were vulnerable street children, and showed them empathy, by advising and comforting them. This encouragement from strangers helped these children to hope that their situation might change for the better in the future. The same researchers (Theron & Malindi, 2010:727) reported that seeing other people from the same poor community (some were former street children) who achieved in life, encouraged these street children to keep the hope alive in their hearts that someday they too would rise above their difficult life circumstances.

Phasha (2010:1242) confirms the vital role of hope in developing resilience in her reference to a South African girl named Portia. This participant was 16 years old (see Addendum A), and had been held hostage against her will and raped by two boys for a week during her youth. She was nevertheless hopeful of a brighter future despite the fact that this abuse had occurred. Her teachers and friends were always there if she needed to talk about her problems, especially the problem of her unsympathetic family. Portia adopted the attitude that what had happened to her was in her past. She needed to put it behind her and move on to a better future. All the black participants

from Phasha's (2010:1244) (see Addendum A) study took on an optimistic approach to life when they dealt with adverse circumstances which led to resilience.

(x) Autonomy

Autonomy is related to independence, and more specifically, to an individual being self-controlling (Reber & Reber, 2001:70). This means that the individual is not easily manipulated or influenced by judgements, beliefs or opinions of other individuals (Reber & Reber, 2001:347). Autonomy not only frees a person from being influenced by others' opinions, it also enables an individual to become a contributing citizen in the community. It has been reported in many resilience studies in this context (Anthony, 1987a:149; Besthorn, 2005:128; Blocker & Copeland, 1994:290; Felsman, 1989:74; Stevens, 2005:52; Ungar *et al.,* 2007:297; Wolin & Wolin, 1993:90). Werner and Smith (1982:90) (see Addendum A) identified especially resilient young girls as being more self-confident, assertive, and independent. They reported that this autonomy nurtured the resilience of the young girls because they were able to work independently, or as a group, solving problems at home or with their peers.

The study by Wolin and Wolin (1993:99) confirms autonomy as a resilience-encouraging element. They reported how independence can free an individual from the impact of an abusive family and encourage resilience. They documented how being independent helped many of their participants to go out and work for an income at an early age. Not only did earning their own money allow them to become independent from their abusive relationships, it also promoted the development of their resilience.

The black street children from Gauteng and the Free State area in South Africa (see Addendum A), reported autonomy in taking action to find service providers to support them emotionally, or with materials such as clothes, food and other essentials (Theron & Malindi, 2010:726). These street children

were independent enough to know that they needed to seek help for themselves to overcome their adverse situations. This independence encouraged their resilience to the multiple challenges that faced them by living on the streets.

(xi) Curiosity

Curiosity is a strong tendency to find out about something (Reber & Reber, 2001:171). Curiosity helps resilient individuals to explore new things in order to achieve positive outcomes. Blocker and Copeland (1994:291) (see Addendum A) reported that the resilient Anglo, Asian and Hispanic participants in their research project had more freedom to be curious about their environment. The participants who had more freedom in their childhood and adolescence were more curious than their non-resilient participants. The freedom to be curious motivated them to find resilience-promoting resources in their environments.

Theron and Malindi's (2010:726) research (see Addendum A) showed that the participants were interested in finding sources of support. They used this inquisitiveness to seek out individuals who could help them with their poverty-stricken lives, thereby discovering resources in the community willing to provide them with food and clothing. In going out and looking for help, the participants used their curiosity and evidenced resilience.

(xii) Physical and mental status

Physical status involves the body or physique (Reber & Reber, 2001:538) and mental status refers to the state of an individual's mind (Reber & Reber, 2001:430). If the physical and mental state of an individual is positive and healthy, the person is more likely to be resilient. Children on the Island of Kauai, with adequate physique were found to be more resilient than children with some physical or developmental impairment (Werner & Smith, 1982:120). The high-risk resilient boys and girls in Werner and Smith's (1982:154) study

had fewer illnesses and recovered quicker from an illness in the first twenty years of the study, than the non-resilient children.

Anthony (1987b:47) added an interesting notion that a number of persistent adversities, such as chronic diseases or physical impairments, could help direct a previously non-resilient individual towards more resilient behaviour. For instance, an individual who spent most of her days under the influence of alcohol and drugs would not be recognised as resilient. However, if she were to have an accident as a result of which she became a paraplegic, she could become a spokesperson for paraplegic individuals, if she changed her life, and became active in the community. In this example, the physical impairment was instrumental in changing her life from disorganised and vulnerable to a contributing resilient individual in society.

(xiii) Hobbies

Hornby (2010:713) defines a hobby as an activity that one performs for enjoyment when not occupied with work. Werner (1995:82) reported that hobbies facilitate resilience. Individual involvement in hobbies, like sports, facilitates the creation of peer support, encourages communication skills, and promotes the social acceptance of the individual. Access to hobbies, such as sports, requires a well-resourced community. Persons who do not live in well-resourced communities are often not able to access these resources and, consequently, may not be able to express themselves through sports. Wolin and Wolin (1993:167) found from their studies that many resilient people are undeclared artists. They do not seek recognition and sometimes avoid being noticed; the participants do it for enjoyment, not work. The hobbies resilient individuals take on are for their own pleasure and enables them to express themselves verbally, through painting, through music and dancing.

(xiv) Humour

Being pleasant, amusing or funny are all defining qualities of having humour (Reber & Reber, 2001:430). Humour is an important resource to have if one is to become resilient. Wolin and Wolin (1993:156) describe humour as the ability to use your adversities constructively rather than aggressively. Having a sense of humour enabled many of their participants to channel their aggression into constructive participation with others. They were able to laugh about difficulties or to see the lighter side, rather than reacting aggressively towards them.

The Japanese Youth of the Sapporo area in the Northern Island of Hokkaido (Laser, 2008:322) (see Addendum A) also expressed the importance of a humorous outlook on life as a pathway to resilience. Similarly, black South African adolescent participants (Malindi & Theron, 2010:322; Te Vaarwerk, 2009:104) (see Addendum A), indicated that just by laughing with their friends about their circumstances made the participants feel better about them and encouraged the participants to overcome their adverse situations.

Ebersöhn (2008:14) noted during her research (see Addendum A) that a sense of humour was a contributing factor to helping the participants overcome difficulties in their life circumstances. The participants used humour to forget about their troubles, and to focus on the aspects of life which they perceived as being positive. The use of humour therefore promoted their growth in resilience.

(xv) Conclusion

The intrapersonal resources as discussed above, and summarised below in Figure 2.5, are vital resources found within an individual. They contribute to the individual's ability to overcome adversities and do well in life. A resilient individual would typically be asset-rich within herself and make the most of

these resources (Bolger & Patterson, 2003:156; Boyden & Mann, 2005:20; Rutter, 1985:601; Werner, 1995:82).

Figure 2.5: Summary of individual resilience-promoting resources as reported in 2.3.1.1

However, as mentioned earlier, resilience-promoting resources are not limited to those found in an individual. There are other resources within the

microsystem of individuals that encourage resilience. I summarise these below:

2.3.1.2 Family

The family is a gathering of people consisting of one or two parents, their children and close relations (Hornby, 2010:532). The family could be seen as resilience-promoting (Friesen & Brennan, 2005:297; Ungar, 2010b:421) because the parents make resilient decisions for the child when she cannot. This is especially true in the early years of a child's life. According to Ungar (2010b:421) the family is responsible for finding and maintaining resilience-promoting resources in a culturally and contextually relevant way. The family should navigate towards the resources they need in order to overcome, and become resilient, in their demanding milieu.

The resilient family gathers information from society and determines if the specific information could support the family. If the information is valuable the family will use it. Irrelevant information will be discarded so as not to conflict with the family's expectations, culture and customs, viewpoint and goals (McCubbin & McCubbin, 2005:36). According to Benzies and Mychasiuk (2009:103) the family does not become resilient by avoiding difficult situations, but by using resilience-promoting resources to help it face these situations. Each individual member of the family plays a part in the whole family becoming resilient.

The following could be used as valuable resilience protective aspects in the family:

(i) Positive family function

Function refers to an activity or purpose of something (Hornby, 2010:608). In the case of the family, function refers to the role that the family plays. The positive function which the family plays is important because of the proximity of the individual to the family. A strong bond with family members and high

expectations derived from the family, help nurture resilience within the family situation (Masten & Reed, 2005:83). According to Wolin and Wolin (1993:28) the responsibility of the family is the provision of physical wellbeing and sustenance, as well as the provision of emotional support.

Smith and Drower's (2008:152) research with social work participants (see Addendum A) found that if family members interacted in a positive way with one another, it increased their resilience. Outwardly some families might look 'healthy' when in reality there are no positive resilience-promoting aspects within the family structure to facilitate resilience development in the child. When a child's interactions are not reciprocated resilience development is stunted. Typical examples of such non-reciprocation may be the absence of physical demonstrations of affection, such as hugs. It may be the absence of any form of meaningful mental stimulation to promote the child's cognitive development. It may also be the absence of well-socialised family members who can be role models to the children, teaching them by example how they should interact with other individuals in society (Smith & Drower, 2008:155).

Parents should teach their children strengths that could help them overcome adversities in their lives. Wolin (2003:19) points out that parents could teach their children how to overcome difficult situations in life by giving their children the opportunity to experience adverse situations in a controlled environment. The parents can then point out the strengths needed, or used by the children, to overcome the problem within the exercise.

Support from the entire family during an individual's school years is of significant importance for an individual's scholastic achievement (Schoon & Bynner, 2003:228). Equally important is the support the individual gives the family in return. For example, if the individual should take care of other siblings, or care for ill or handicapped family members, this would develop the individual's resilience-promoting resources (Werner, 1995:83). Supporting the family empowers the individual to know she has responsibilities within the

family and that she can accomplish them on her own. The sense of accomplishment arising from such activity promotes resilience development in the individual.

Another way in which a family can be a resilience-promoting resource for its members is when its members function as role models. Role models are defined as a benchmark or example worthy of duplicating or copying (Reber & Reber, 2001:440). Positive role models are those people you aspire to be like when you are grown up, whose accomplishments you would like to emulate. Research confirms the need of role models for individuals within the family, which they can aspire to be like (Anthony, 1987b:14; Bernard & Este, 2005:448; Cronje, 2008:112; Dass-Brailsford, 2005:582; Letourneau, Stewart, Reutter & Hungler, 2008:170; Rutter, 1985:607; Stevens, 2005:52; Ungar, 2007:296; Werner & Smith, 1982:2). The researchers who reported that role models nurture resilience also suggest that individuals imitate family members throughout their lives. Bernard and Este (2005:448) suggest that role models in the family could help an individual to become resilient because the individual wants to be like the person in the family who is resilient.

(ii) Healthy supportive parents

According to Hornby (2010:1500) support can be defined as encouragement and assistance that one provides to someone because one approves of them and wants them to do well. Stable and healthy supportive parents are a fierce source of resilience (Rutter, 1985:601; Wolin & Wolin, 1993:112). Masten (2001:228) noted that competent parents usually create fewer stressful family life occasions. For instance, if parents have the financial resources to reside in a neighbourhood with a low crime rate and adequate community resources, this could contribute to the growth of resilience in family members. Werner and Smith (1982:109) found that most of the resilient youth in their longitudinal study (see Addendum A) had stable and supportive parents. Children on the Island of Hawaii with parents who had problems with depression, schizophrenia, or other mental illnesses were not so resilient.

(Werner & Smith, 1982:76) also found that mothers who had help to raise their children, or who had fewer children, interacted more positively with their infants from an early age, thereby strengthening the child's resilience for later life. Interestingly, positive interaction within the family does not only occur in good times but can also occur in times of crisis. If there appears to be disharmony, the family can interact with its members to find a positive solution to the problem (McCubbin & McCubbin, 2005:29). The crisis forces the family members to interact with one another to find a resilient solution to their problems.

Theron and Dunn (2010:238) (see Addendum A) reported that the ten white Afrikaans speaking adolescents, aged between 14 and 18 years (five male and five female), indicated that support is a resilience-promoting resource. The participants, living with their mothers and stepfathers, reported that not only biological parents but also step-parents offer support. Other examples of support are parents reading to their children from an early age, interacting with their children's teachers, and visiting their schools to show support (Schoon & Bynner, 2003:24). Parental interest in extra-curricular activities of their children is also a way of showing their support for their children. Such support increases the children's resilience.

The Circles of Care Project in South Africa (see Addendum A) taught parents basic support skills to be used to empower their children (Cook & Du Toit, 2005:260) as not all parents in the township area might have the educational background to support their children in everyday life. Schoon and Bynner (2003:24) also noted that fathers who helped mothers with household chores thereby facilitated a more supportive and stable family unit because the family interacted on more than one level with each other.

(iii) Extended family support

An extended family can be seen as a collection of people with close social or personal ties, even though there may not be a blood connection among them

(Reber & Reber, 2001:268). An extended family may be more resilience-promoting than a blood family.

Extended family, such as cousins, aunts, uncles or grandparents, can be a constructive influence (Bernard & Este, 2005:450; Cluver & Gardner, 2007:321; Dass-Brailsford, 2005:582; Rogoff, 2003:119; Theron, 2007:368; Theron, Cameron, Didkowsky, Lau, Liebenberg & Ungar, 2011:807; Werner, 1995:83; Wolin & Wolin, 1993:112). Extended families supply a social support system that provides a critical resource and furthers emotional or even material support (Clauss-Ehlers & Levi, 2002: 271; Masten & Reed, 2005:75; Smith & Drower, 2008:152). The study done by Theron *et al.* (2011:807) indicated how participants, who were orphaned adolescents, found support from extended families. Researchers (see Addendum A) followed two youth participants (one South African male orphan aged 14 and one South African female orphan aged 16) for a day, while filming approximately 12 hours of their day. The researchers found that extended family connections were an important aspect of the social support system needed by these youths. Other studies indicated support within the context of an affectionate family atmosphere to be one of the most important protective factors in the family structure (Barbarin, Richter & De Wet, 2001:24; Blocker & Copeland, 1994:290; Dass-Brailsford, 2005:579; Theron, 2007:368).

(iv) Parent-child relationships

A relationship can be defined as a long-lasting connection established upon well-built emotional attachment and a reciprocal sense of loyalty (Reber & Reber, 2001:620). A parent and child relationship is one of the most important resilience-promoting relationships for an individual because of the huge influence the parent has on the individual. Parent-child relationships in studies (see Addendum A) done by Anthony, (1987a:153); Benzies and Mychasiuk, (2009:107); Cronje, (2008:118); O'Koon, (1997:479); Rutter, (2005:234); Ungar (2008:218); and Werner and Smith (1982:103) revealed the particular importance of this relationship. Infants who experienced a close

relationship with their parents from birth were more resilient, and their developmental stages were more appropriate to their age, than infants whose parents were frequently absent because the mothers or fathers had to work or go away for long periods (Anthony, 1987b:32; Laser, 2008:322; Musick, Stott, Spencer, Goldman & Cohler, 1987:249; Werner & Smith, 1982:59).

(v) Siblings

Siblings are one of two or more genetic offspring in a family (Reber & Reber, 2001:678). Warm, nurturing and supportive siblings contribute significantly to positive adjustment (Dass-Brailsford, 2005:582; Ungar, 2008:218; Werner, 1995:83; Werner & Smith, 1982:97). Smith and Drower (2008:154) (see Addendum A) point out that a child's ability to do well may be attributed to the presence of older siblings who supported her while she was growing up. This could especially be the case if the parents of the participant did not have the time for meaningful input in her life because of work commitments or frequent other absences.

In a contradictory way, fewer siblings could also be a resilience-promoting resource. Werner and Smith (1982:69) noted in their longitudinal study of the Hawaiian participants (see Addendum A) that individuals who had fewer siblings were more resilient. This, however, was not always the case with the girls who participated in the study. The study shows that the girls were more prone to succeed in a more sociable group. Benzies and Mychasiuk (2009:104) revealed in their review of family resilience that smaller families could have less financial stringency resulting in fewer stressors on the family. The implication could be that fewer siblings meant that more financial support and greater individual attention could be provided to each sibling.

(vi) Family rules and structures

Within a family, planning and knowing what to do and what not to do in particular situations could be resilience-promoting. Rutter (1990:185)

indicated that consistently reinforcing rules, good supervision and a balanced discipline are protective resources which could promote resilience.

One should also consider that strict discipline might be seen as a protective factor in one society, but as a risk factor in another (Dass-Brailsford, 2005:575; Rutter, 1990:185). Werner and Smith (1982:98) found in their research of the Hawaiian participants (see Addendum A) that there was a greater presence of resilient individuals in families which had regularly enforced rules. One South African male participant (Theron *et al.,* 2011:810) (see Addendum A) indicated that he wanted to leave his home because his cousins disciplined him. The participant said that one of the cousins convinced him to stay and to consider the reprimanding as a positive action. The participant accepted this counsel, stayed with his cousins, and considered the reprimanding a positive resilience-promoting resource. This encouraged his resilience.

(vii) Family traditions

Family traditions can be positive or negative depending on the way the family executes the tradition. For instance, Wolin and Wolin (1993:131) indicate that studies of resilient individuals have shown that as they grow older they begin to value family traditions, such as those relating to holidays, birthdays and other family events, which they had not valued as adolescents. As adolescents their response to such traditions often ignited family conflict. As adults, however, they make an effort to establish family traditions, either within their families of origin or within family systems that they have created (e.g. by marrying and having children). In the process they create strong family bonds, as well as a sense of belonging through identification with a larger ethnicity, society or faith group.

Ungar (2010b:424) refers to the study done by Cheah and Chirkov (2008). These researchers found that participating families from Aboriginal origins, valued family and cultural traditions more than the participants did from

European ancestry. The context in which an individual is raised has a great impact on her cultural heritage. The family chooses the individual's school and church, and decides which social resources are appropriate for the child to use. For instance, if a specific church is not culturally relevant, the parents would not let their child go to that church, even if it could be resilience-promoting. Ungar (2010b:424) also indicates that parental and family traditions could enhance or reduce resilience. For instance if the parents are not in favour of their children talking to therapists, this could reduce resilience in adverse situations as the child could have shared her troubles with the therapist who could have helped her to become resilient.

(viii) Conclusion

In conclusion, families potentially offer many resilience-promoting resources. See Figure 2.6 below for a summary of the different resilience-promoting resources discussed above.

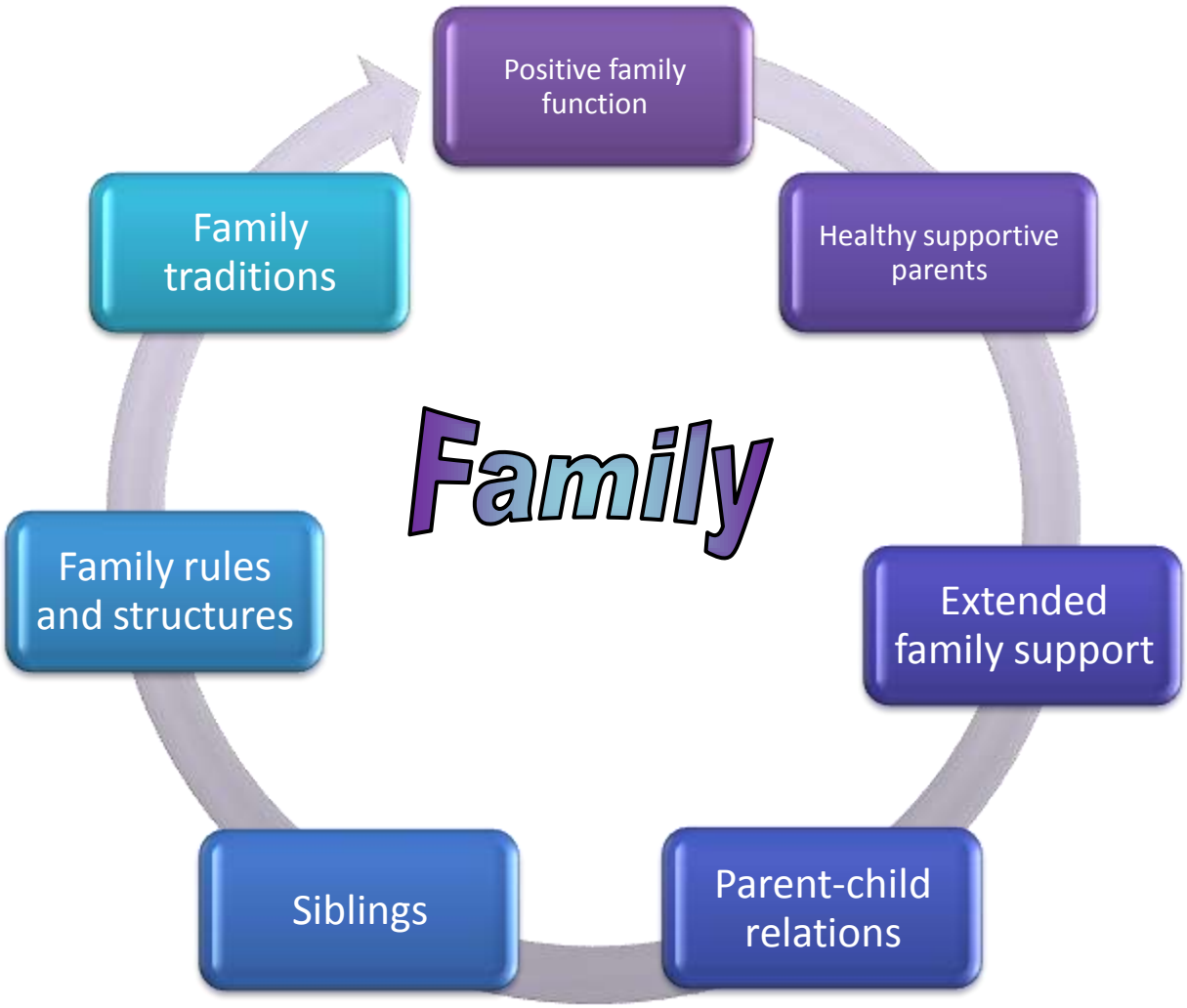


Figure 2.6: Summary of familial resilience-promoting resources as reported in 2.3.1.2

2.3.1.3 Peers

Peers are seen as individuals who are of same age and have similar social status (Hornby, 2010:1083). Peers could be one of the most influential resilience-promoting resources in an individual's experience (Dass-Brailsford, 2005:582; Laser, 2008:330; Smith & Drower, 2008:154; Masten & Wright, 2010:217; Te Vaarwerk, 2009:10; Werner & Smith, 1982:97).

(i) Attachment to pro-social peers

Attachment refers to an affectionate tie between individuals; individuals rely on each other for emotional fulfilment (Reber & Reber, 2001:61). Attachment to peers could provide a resilience-promoting resource in a risk environment (Ungar *et al.,* 2007:290; Werner & Smith, 1982:89). According to Clauss-Ehlers and Levi (2002:271), Dass-Brailsford (2005:579), O'Koon (1997:479) and Werner and Smith (1982:162) friends support one another by decreasing stressors especially when sharing their troubles. Supportive relationships of this nature are characterised by assistance, role modelling and peer counselling. In effect peers supply a social support system which furthers emotional support (Clauss-Ehlers & Levi, 2002:274; Dass-Brailsford, 2005:582; Laser, 2008:330; Smith & Drower, 2008:154; Stevens, 2005:52; Te Vaarwerk, 2009:10; Werner & Smith, 1982:97).

Letourneau *et al*. (2008:182) (see Addendum A) indicated that meeting new resilient peers increased homeless youths' collective skills. By working together as a team to support one another, and by communicating their troubles, they helped each other to avoid persons or situations which might have a negative influence on their lives. The new friends helped them to better their own lives as well as the lives of those around them.

Similarly, the white Afrikaans speaking adolescents from the Vaal-Triangle and Mpumalanga areas in South Africa, whose parents had divorced (see Addendum A), signified that their peers were a main source of support. The girls from the study found that emotional support from their friends was important whereas the boys were pleased just to know that their supportive friends were accessible (Theron & Dunn, 2010:238).

Theron *et al.* (2011:808) (see Addendum A) found that the participants of their study spent most of the day with their peers. This was true especially of their African boy participant who played with his friends, and who shared their

belongings. The pro-social attachments he made with his friends, when his family was absent, enabled him to become resilient.

(ii) Pro-social gang affiliations

A gang is defined as a group of individuals who associate with each other on a regular basis (Hornby, 2010:616). Anti-social gangs frequently cause problems by fighting with other gangs or groups of individuals. Positive pro-social gang affiliations could provide resources because individuals group together to meet the major physical and emotional requirements not being addressed elsewhere (Felsman, 1989:66; Ungar *et al.,* 2007:290). Felsman (1989:66) found in his research with street children (under 16 years of age) from Cali, Colombia (see Addendum A) that the positive peer support from gangs undoubtedly contributed to the children's survival. The children from the gangs worked together to ensure the survival of the gang. Every individual had a specific task to do. They would meet later in the day to share the earnings from begging, or whatever other means of raising finance was used in order to survive on the streets. The positive support these children received from the gang served to promote resilience. By learning how to solve problems they faced together, they became resilient.

(iii) Conclusion

Peers encourage resilience. See Figure 2.7 below for a summary of peer resilience-promoting resources.

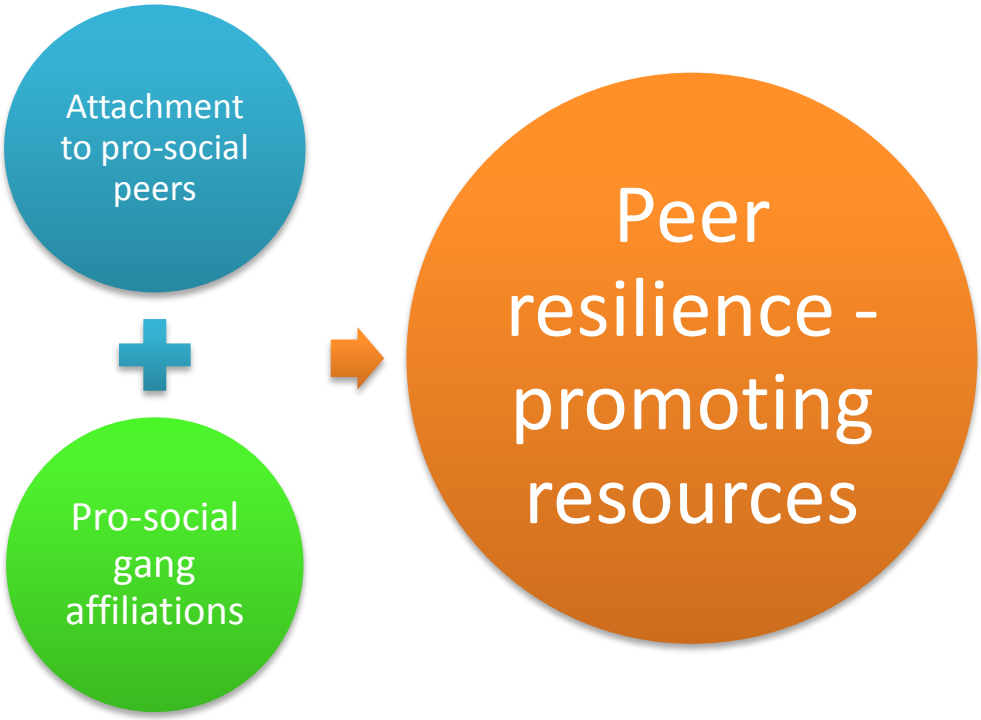


Figure 2.7: Peer resilience-promoting resources as reported in 2.3.1.3

2.3.1.4 School

School can be defined as an institution which individuals attend, to be educated in how to gain knowledge of particular subject matter, skill or ability (Hornby, 2010:1320). A school has the capacity to teach individuals the necessary skills and resources to become resilient (Johnson & Lazarus, 2008:19). The following aspects of a school career could be seen as resilience-promoting resources for individuals in their young and adolescent lives.

(i) Educators and friends

Many studies have suggested that teachers are seen as role models, mentors, a source of encouragement, and persons who help children with their daily lives (Barbarin *et al.,* 2001:24; Bernard & Este, 2005:451; Dass-Brailsford, 2005:583; Laser, 2008:330; Rutter, 1983:24; Te Vaarwerk, 2009:100; Werner & Smith, 1982:97). Through encouragement, individuals will strive to better their education and in effect better their circumstances and

spirit (Rutter, 1983:23). In Te Vaarwerk's study, it emerges that all the participants mentioned that educators helped them to create an environment in which they felt safe to talk about their problems. In so doing they created a resilience-promoting environment (Te Vaarwerk, 2009:92). Similarly, some white Afrikaans speaking adolescents from the Vaal-Triangle and Mpumalanga areas in South Africa (see Addendum A) indicated that educators were important in promoting their resilience (Theron & Dunn, 2010:242). The study by Theron & Malindi (2010:726) (see Addendum A) also reports that teachers were seen as an encouragement to some black street children in South Africa (Theron & Malindi, 2010:726) (see Addendum A). Teachers helped the street children by persuading other individuals to acknowledge them in school and to interact positively with them.

Supportive friends at school could help to buffer risk within the school environment, as was the case with the black youth in township areas in Durban (Dass-Brailsford, 2005:583), Limpopo (Ebersöhn, 2008:14) and Soweto (Barbarin *et al.,* 2001:24) in South Africa (see Addendum A). Supportive friends at school also helped adolescents cope with their parents' divorce (Te Vaarwerk, 2009:92).

(ii) Staying in school

Staying in the school system teaches an individual to build endurance for the future and to make decisions regarding the career they wish to embark upon someday. Confirming this, Ungar (2008:218) states that individuals who stay in this system, especially the typical mainstream school of the western-based populations, build social skills, problem solving-skills, peer and adult relationships, and acquire the resources needed to become resilient. Phasha (2010:1245) (see Addendum A) found that the black participants stayed in the school system, determined to rise above their circumstances by getting a better education, and this encouraged resilience. Such furthering of their education would also facilitate the possibility of getting a better occupation. In this way the entire process would prove to be a resilience-building one. One

of Phasha's participants indicated that she wanted to complete her education and then become someone else's role model. Phasha (2010:1250) also suggested that the participants were determined to stay at school because they did not want to disappoint the community by dropping out of school.

Theron's (2007:367) *Batsha* Life Orientation study with black South African grade 9 youth participants (466 boys and 456 girls) from eight black townships of Gauteng, North-West and the Free State provinces (see Addendum A), indicated that being encouraged not to leave school helped them to be resilient. One participant stated the following: "Nothing good can happen if I don't go to school". Theron and Malindi (2010:725) also found in their research with black street children in South Africa (see Addendum A) that participants associated pursuing a good education through continued school attendance with someday becoming financially independent. The participants voiced their observations of seeing other previously disadvantaged individuals do well as a result of a good education and expressed their determination to follow in their footsteps and achieve in life.

(iii) School performance

Performance refers to how well or poorly an individual does in a specific task (Hornby, 2010:1089). School performance therefore refers to how well or how poorly a person does in a school setting. Werner and Smith (1982:89) (see Addendum A) note that an individual does not need a high intelligence level to perform well at school, but that school performance is associated with resilience. Ungar *et al.* (2007:288) (see Addendum A) also suggest that school performance could be an indication of whether an individual is resilient or not: if a person achieves at school it is evident that the person has the ability to ask for help, and might know how to access the best resilience-promoting resources.

Similarly, Ebersöhn (2008:14) (see Addendum A) and Johnson and Lazarus (2007:25) (see Addendum A) found that acquiring knowledge at school and

performing as expected was a positive resource for the individuals. Likewise, school performance was an important aspect for the black participants of Phasha's (2010:1245) study (see Addendum A).

Bernard and Este's (2005:451) research (see Addendum A) with the young African Canadian men recognised the significance of education. The researchers found that the participants indicated that education is the key to overcoming adversities in their lives and developing resilience. So, valuing school performance is a pathway to resilience, as also noted by Phasha (2010:1245) and Theron and Dunn (2010:238).

(iv) Well-resourced schools

The socioeconomic status of a school could affect the level of its available resources. Schools in the upper socioeconomic echelon usually possess ample educational resources, emotional resources (e.g. therapists), and physical resources (adequate and well-maintained buildings). The support learners receive at such schools could be a factor in the increase of their resilience (Johnson & Lazarus, 2007:29; Rutter, 1983:23; Schoon, 2007:98). Performance of an individual could also be attributed to resources and materials provided by the school (Johnson & Lazarus, 2007:29).

It is also important that schools should encourage community and family involvement and offer extramural activities and life skills programs (Ebersöhn, 2007:14; Te Vaarwerk, 2009:103). The more resources and activities a school has, the better an individual's chances are of achieving resilience.

(v) Extramural activities

Extramural activities help individuals with the forming of friendships, communication skills, and socially acceptable behaviour (Werner, 1995:82). Extramural activities could also incorporate music, sculpting, drawing, and theatre performances (Berger, 2008:97). Most individuals who perform at

school and who are seen as resilient, participate in extramural activities (Blocker & Copeland, 1994:290; Ebersöhn, 2008:14; Werner and Smith, 1982:85). During Theron and Malindi's (2010:725) research with black street children (see Addendum A), researchers identified school sports as a protective resource.

(vi) Intervention programs

Many researchers, especially South Africans, have stressed the importance of life skills, guidance, and school programs to promote resilience within all individuals in the school and community (Barbarin *et al.,* 2001:24 625; Cook & Du Toit, 205:260; Ebersöhn, 2008:14; Theron, 2007:358). Schools can facilitate intervention programs. For example, a study done by Shortt, Toumbourou, Chapman and Power (2006:37) on the 'Parenting Adolescents: A Creative Experience' (PACE) program, revealed that most parents saw the resilience-promoting program as a positive experience. The group consisted of 81 parents with adolescent children in their seventh school year, at Catholic and government secondary schools in Melbourne and neighbouring regions. The parents indicated that they benefitted on a personal level through participation in the program. They acquired better parenting skills and the relationship to their adolescent children was enhanced by completing the program.

In addition, in Theron and Theron's (2010) review of some of the resilience studies done by South African researchers, they found that a need exists for intervention programs that will nurture resilience in young children and adolescents.

(vii) Conclusion

Schools are important to resilience. See Figure 2.8 below for a summary of school resilience-promoting resources.

Figure 2.8: Summary of school resilience-promoting resources as reported in 2.3.1.4

2.3.1.5 Nature and animals

For centuries man has taken pleasure in, and marvelled at the natural world. Human beings have found harmony and peace in nature's awesomeness (Besthorn, 2005:123). Besthorn (2005:123) has highlighted the fact that the research focus of the past decades has been the conceptualization of protective resources in and around an individual. Researchers have, however, paid less attention to the function of an individual's natural environment as a resilience-promoting resource. This is an oversight.

Just imagine a child playing with her dog or cat, the twinkle in her eye, the sound of her laughter and the love she shows her animal companion. Children and adults use nature and animals for comfort, safety, companionship, and even therapy to help them with their self-esteem and to cope with difficult challenges (Besthorn, 2005:123). Iwaniec, Larkin, and Higgins (2006:79) and Masten and Wright (2010:223) suggest that individuals, especially children in their early childhood, could form a lasting relationship with a pet. If a child does not receive the necessary love and affection from her family or community, she can always rely on her pet for companionship and emotional comfort.

2.3.1.6 Summary of microsystemic protective resources

It is clear from the preceding elaborate discussion that resilience has multiple microsystemic antecedents found in the individual and her everyday surroundings. Figure 2.9 below summarises these.

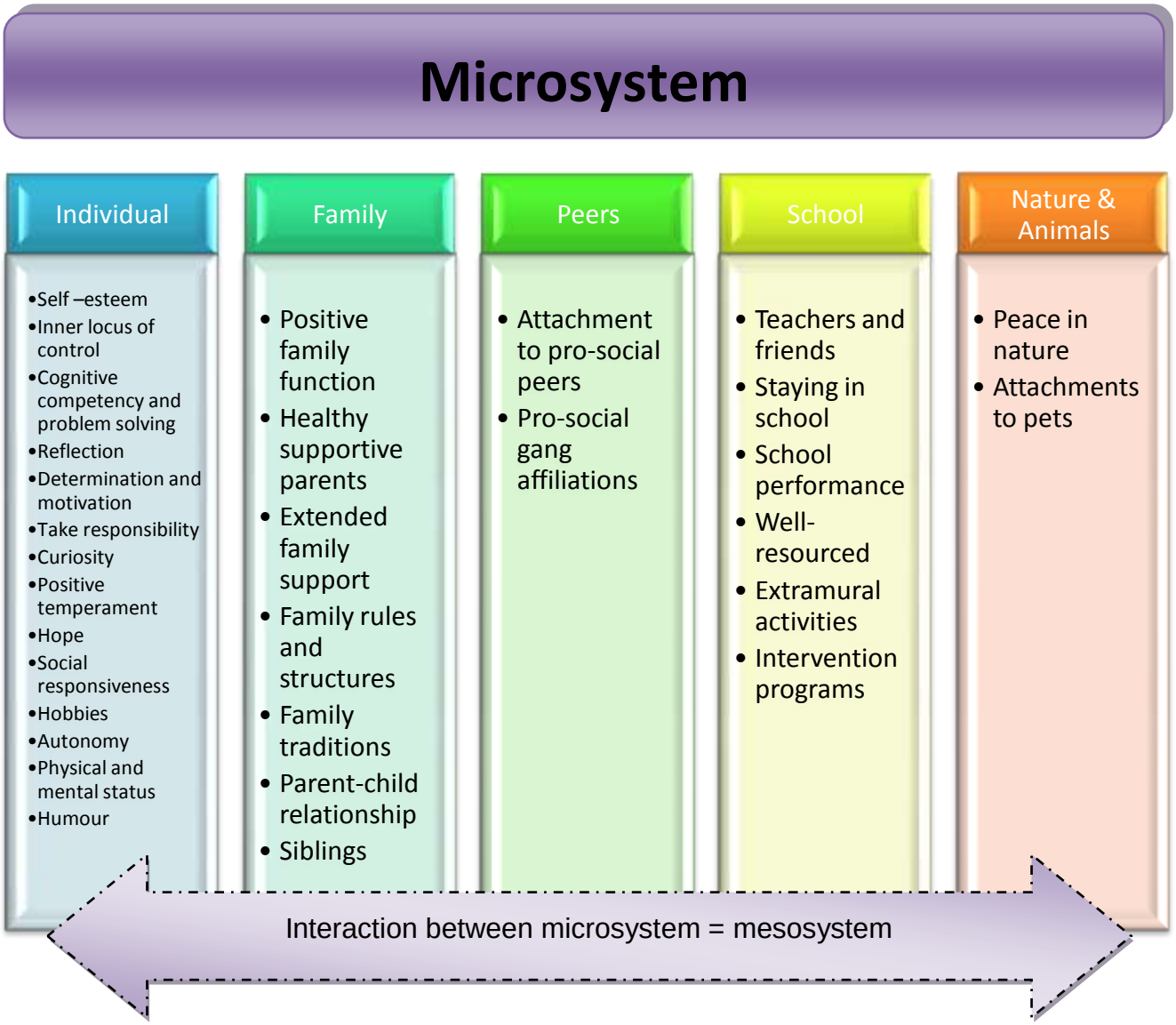


Figure 2.9: Summary of microsystemic protective resources as reported in 2.3.1

Although my literature review does not include a section on mesosystemic resources, the microsystemic protective resources summarised in Figure 2.9 are known to interact (Masten & Wright, 2010:215; Werner, 2006:95-96). For this reason Figure 2.9 includes an arrow that cuts across all the subsystems, symbolising their interrelatedness as a mesosystem.

2.3.2 Exosystemic Protective Resources

According to Bronfenbrenner (1979:25) and Donald *et al.* (2010:41) the exosystem includes systems the individual is not directly involved in. The exosystem could have an influence on the people around the individual, which in effect could have an influence on the individual's resilience development itself. For example, the parents' work place, the school of a sibling, parents' network of friends, and so forth. The following resources have been identified as resilience-promoting in the exosystem: neighbours, a parent's work place, local medical facilities, educational districts, recreational resources and welfare services (Swart & Pettipher 2005:11; Visser, 2007:25). Most of these are found in an individual's community. Masten and Reed (2005:84) indicated that the community provides opportunities to feel supported and valued. Clauss-Ehlers and Levi, (2002:272) suggested that the community should incorporate community-based support programs that unite the community, schools and health systems as a combined and focused resilience-promoting resource. The following are some of the exosystemic resilience-promoting resources within the community which could help an individual to become resilient:

2.3.2.1 Neighbours

Neighbours are people that stay next to or near an individual (Hornby, 2010:988). Neighbours can have a positive influence on individuals within the community (Dass-Brailsford, 2005:582), and as such can be an exosystemic resilience-promoting resource. Positive neighbours are persons recognised for the strength and positive qualities they possess, which cause individuals to look up to them. Neighbours could also supply emotional or material support to encourage resilience (Masten & Reed, 2005:75). If an individual does not receive the necessary resilience-promoting resources at home, she could look to a neighbour for advice or assistance with material support such as food, clothing, and other necessities. Werner and Smith's (1982:162) research in Hawaii (see Addendum A) indicated that there is a need for role models outside of the family environment for individuals and youth to look up to. The

researchers indicated that neighbours who function as role models provided participants with meaningful and valued support in the form of positive and sound advice. This was true of participants especially during early adolescence, when they looked for resources, other than their immediate family, to whom they could go for counselling.

The study by Wolin and Wolin (1993:112) confirms this. One of the participants in this study explained how her next-door neighbour helped her become resilient just by spending some time with her. He read her stories from the newspaper and walked with her through the neighbourhood; it was the most outstanding memory she had of her childhood.

Participants from the *Batsha* Life Orientation study (Theron, 2007:367) (see Addendum A) turned to neighbours to ask them for help with something that they did not have any knowledge. Neighbours also helped them with food, clothing and money for schooling. In a similar way, the black resilient street children who participated in Theron and Malindi's research (2010:726) (see Addendum A) acknowledged the fact that they went to neighbours to support them in times of trouble. The participants found emotional support by learning from their neighbours how to handle certain situations which they found themselves in. In the process their resilience was developed.

This principle is confirmed by Nyaumwe and Mkabela (2007), as quoted by Theron *et al.* (2011:802). They reported that neighbours in African communities in the South African context customarily watch over children, even if they are not related, and could approve or disapprove of the children's behaviour. The interwoven community alliance echoes the values of *ubuntu* within the African community. The male South African participant (Theron *et al.,* 2011:808) (see Addendum A) explained how "the lady next door" helped him with sustenance when he was in need of food. The act of helping others in need is one of the *ubuntu* ways in which community members could function as a resilience-promoting resource.

2.3.2.2 Role models within the community

According to Masten and Reed (2005:83), community structures such as schools, churches and sports clubs often provide an individual with mentors or role models to look up to. Clauss-Ehlers and Levi (2002:271) reflected that the '*respeto'* (respect) which a person has for a positive role model and adolescent mentor is a vital component in building healthy relationships. Respect, which is a vital element of the Latino society and family, does not only facilitate the recognition of positive role models. Its exercise advances the resilience of participants in the community. The Latino youth also indicated that the bonds formed by individuals in the community are cherished for the sake of the relationship between individuals, and not just to achieve some goal. The relationships formed between community members are meaningful as they indicate that positive role models develop strong positive attachments within the community and further individual resilience.

Bernard and Este's (2005:449) research (see Addendum A) confirms the need for positive role models. The young African Canadian male participants acknowledged the importance of having role models to look up to within the education structure, community, media and collective culture. Bernard and Este (2005:449) found that the African Canadian men realised that they too could someday become role models for the next generation and in this way give back to the community.

Letourneau et al. (2008:170) (see Addendum A), stress the same need. They had in-depth interviews with 18 service providers from community agencies. The service providers expressed the need for children, adolescents, and youth to have access to age appropriate and mature mentors from the community whom the participants could trust and confide in. By talking about and sharing their problems with mature mentors individuals could become resilient. The service providers also suggested that the support children received from such mentors should be considerate, focused on the particular child's personal situation, and should never be judgemental.

Werner and Smith (1982:104) indicated that their participants (see Addendum A) did not seek professional help when they were in need of support or just needed to express their feelings. Instead they went to their role models in their network of informal relationships to help them; these included reliable educators, ministers, peers and older friends.

Theron and Malindi (2010:722) found in their research, with 20 black South African street children (see Addendum A) that role models urged participants to become resilient. A number of participants acknowledged that knowing other individuals who had experienced difficult life circumstances similar to theirs, and had now achieved something in life, inspired them to overcome their difficult situations and become resilient. Likewise, the participants from Dass-Brailsford's (2005:582) study (see Addendum A) acknowledged the importance of role models within their families and education environment. The participants indicated that they wished to imitate the constructive qualities of their role models to help them become resilient.

A South African male participant in a study done by Theron *et al*. (2011:808) corroborates this principle (see Addendum A). The participant told of how his cousin was his role model: "He (his cousin) has his own family, but still, he gives us the support that we need here at home, and he is easy to talk to. I confide a lot in him and that is why I want to be like him." Other researchers also indicated community role models to be a resilience-promoting resource (Benzies & Mychasiuk, 2009:108; Shortt *et al.,* 2006:34).

Bandura (1969), as quoted by Rutter and Madge (1976:318), suggests that children and youth imitate the behaviour of adults as reflected in real life and in the public media. Today, in our technologically advanced era, the impact of role models on television or motion pictures is much greater than it was in the 60's. Parents should be aware of what their children view everyday, and

should exercise some form of control to protect their children from being adversely affected by the viewing of unsuitable media presentations.

2.3.2.3 Parents' workplace (employment)

Without employment an individual would not be able to provide for himself or others around him. Poverty and unemployment could be contributing factors to producing parental stress and depression, resulting in inadequate parenting practices such as lack of time for the children and parent-child conflict (Friesen & Brennan, 2005:306). Being employed could lead to an individual or a family having a higher socioeconomic status. Garmezy *et al.* (1984:99) measured the socioeconomic status of parents. In their study of mentally ill parents, they found that there is a correlation between the incidence of family stressors and the level of available family finance. Higher financial adequateness decreased the incidence of family stressors in most families.

Benzies and Mychasiuk (2009:108) found in their literature review that a correlation exists between a low socioeconomic status and early parenthood, substance abuse, amplified family stressors, school abandonment, child neglect, and child abuse. Likewise, Cluver and Gardner (2007:321), found in their study of HIV & AIDS affected black male African orphans, aged between eight and nineteen years, who resided in the Cape flats area of the Western Cape, South Africa, that poverty and a lower socioeconomic status was a risk factor for most of the participants. A lower socioeconomic status places stress on the orphan's behaviour and emotional actions. Some participants indicated that "enough food" could help them to do well in life. Having money would also improve the problems of insufficient and hazardous housing, lack of hygiene, inadequate clothing and school uniforms, and socialising with friends.

Adequate financial resources would mean that the parents have enough money to meet the fundamental needs of their children, such as going to school. Accessing community resources like the library, adequate medical

care and coping with various family needs, would no longer be unattainable (Benzies & Mychasiuk, 2009:108; Laser, 2008:330; Schoon, 2007:98; Schoon & Bynner, 2003:25). Benzies and Mychasiuk (2009:108) indicated in their review of protective resources that unwavering and sufficient income is a protective resource for low-income US females. By having a stable income women felt a sense of success, could access better social systems, and were positive role models for their children.

The study by Werner and Smith (1982:132) (see Addendum A) confirms the importance of adequate financial resources for resilience-development. The first-born boys in this study were seen as more resilient than the other siblings in their early years. Being the first-born child could have meant that, in the absence of the later siblings, the boys received all the resilience-promoting resources and financial support needed to become resilient.

2.3.2.4 Educational district

South Africa is divided into nine provinces and each province is sub-divided into several districts. Each district has an elected body consisting of members who supervise and manage the education in their specific district (Landsberg, 2005:63). Without districts, there could not be thorough supervision and support of all the school institutions in South Africa. Within a district there is a group of individuals who form the District Based Support Team. The main function of this team is to ensure that children with particular needs, educational or otherwise, obtain coordinated professional support from service providers in and around the community. According to the 'Conceptual and Operational guidelines for the implementation of inclusive education' (South Africa, 2005:8), the District Based Support Teams, teachers, and their organizations, need to acquire updated knowledge on a regular basis and need support systems that can provide information. Thus, the Department of Education's role is to supply the ongoing support through infrastructural and human resources.

Other studies (e.g. Bernard & Este, 2005; Johnson & Lazarus, 2008; Levine & Sutherland, 2008) also emphasise the importance of coordinated education programs to resilience. Clauss-Ehlers and Levi, (2002: 276) indicate in their study with homeless youth (see Addendum A) that School District motivated and assisted, coordinated education programs could facilitate job training for learners. Such training could result in the learners obtaining secure employment which, in turn could help them to earn money and become contributing citizens. By helping individuals to obtain employment the chances of their returning to their previously disadvantaged lifestyles decreases.

2.3.2.5 Recreational resources

The importance of extra-mural activities and hobbies as pathways to resilience have been noted in previous reports on resilience (Theron & Theron, 2010). For youth to have hobbies and engage in extra-mural activities, the microsystem and exosystem need to facilitate opportunities. The exosystemic environment should comprise of community structures, such as playing space for children where they can enjoy themselves when they are not at school or at home (Cook & Du Toit, 2005:254). By providing recreational resources, like sports clubs and community centres, the community provides opportunities for youth to feel emotionally supported and valued, (Masten & Reed, 2005:84). Participants in the *Batsha* Life Orientation study (Theron, 2007:367) (see Addendum A) expressed the view that community structures such as libraries, churches, quality schools and sports facilities were seen as resilience-promoting factors.

2.3.2.6 Community intervention programs

Community intervention programs not only help individuals, but also the entire community in becoming resilient. Clauss-Ehlers and Levi, (2002: 271) indicated that any community program being considered for implementation has to look at the ecosystemic perspectives of the community's culture and work accordingly. It should be noted that one community program may not

work for every type of community as there are too many different ecological factors to consider. For example, having a games café in a poor community may not be successful because community members might not have funds to spend at a games café. Moreover, not all individuals would use games to further their resilience. However, having a public library in the community could encourage better educational opportunities for the community members (Ebersöhn, 2007:14). Not only the children, but also adults who want to better their education would benefit from this.

The Circles of Care Project (see Addendum A), is an intervention that promoted resilience by having the children talk about their problems to community members. The researchers (Cook & Du Toit, 2005:261) reported that most participants who cooperatively discussed their problems in a protected environment and in the company of considerate, supportive adults, found it therapeutic. Most of the participants reported that the community project promoted development of their own self-esteem, self-efficacy and their understanding of the rights of children. They in effect found that participating in the project, and sharing their experiences with others, promoted their own resilience. After participating in the Circles of Care Project, the adults created and maintained vegetable gardens, taught parenting skills, worked with youth at risk, created an economical day-care centre, and initiated clubs to discuss cultural backgrounds (Cook & Du Toit, 2005:260). The participants raised awareness of child rights, encouraged the need for homes where orphans could be cared for, collected and distributed uniforms to children not attending school in order to encourage them to attend, and created culture clubs. By looking at the above actions, taken after the completion of the Circles of Care Project, it is clear that it was a valuable project for that specific community. The project is also an outstanding example of the value of an inexpensive, community focused, participatory research intervention program. It was a successful instrument in supporting children with HIV & AIDS and poverty, as well as any other problem which might arise in the community (Cook & Du Toit, 2005:260).

Barbarin *et al.* (2001:24) also indicated that the parents of the participants in the Birth to Ten project (see Addendum A) were supported emotionally and guided by the clinical outreach program. The parents of the participants could contribute to the well-being of the children in adverse situations.

2.3.2.7 Service providers

Service providers are organisations that offer support, guidance, and facilitate the meeting of other needs in the community. They are usually managed by private corporations or the government (Hornby, 2010: 1349). Service providers, in this context, refer to therapists, counsellors, welfare services, social workers and NGOs. Many researchers indicated that service providers helped individuals to achieve resilience in their lives (Carver, 1998:254; Clauss-Ehlers & Levi, 2002: 271; Clauss-Ehlers and Wibrowski, 2007:583; Johnson & Lazarus, 2008:25; Phasha, 2010:1242; Theron & Theron, 2010; Wolin & Wolin, 1993:55). The following could be incorporated as service providers:

(i) Local medical facilities

Access to medical facilities could improve physical health which, in turn, may help an individual adapt to life's adverse situations in order to become resilient. Benzies and Mychasiuk (2009:109) noted that when families do not make use of medical facilities the tension in the family is increased, resulting in the lowering of the family's health and resilience.

Werner and Smith (1982:96) found in their longitudinal study that most resilient children did not require as much medical attention as the non-resilient children. Nevertheless, the resilient children made use of medical facilities when they were growing up, in case of emergencies, or when they had severe or recurring childhood illnesses needing medical treatment.

Theron and Malindi (2010:725) found that black street children (see Addendum A) looked for service providers who offered support in the form of health care. In this regard one could conclude that the street children had the ability to acknowledge the fact that they needed help. Receiving it from the local medical facilities was a resilience-promoting experience.

(ii) Therapeutic services

Wolin (2003:19) suggested that youths and adolescents who have neither well-resourced schools and neighbourhoods, nor healthy supportive families, could benefit significantly from the support accessible through specialised services such as therapy, which could also be a resilience-promoting factor. Ungar (2010b:421) reported that family counsellors could help minimise families living in demanding contexts by encouraging skills within the family. The family therapists could help to make resources accessible and promote meaningful interventions by adapting the intervention methods to suit the cultural and contextual understanding of the clients' needs (Ungar, 2010b:433).

Similarly, the ten white Afrikaans speaking adolescents from South Africa (see Addendum A) reported that their experience of therapeutic space (mostly provided by psychologists) was a resilience-promoting factor for them (Thereon & Dunn, 2010:239).

Likewise, one of Glicken's (2006:18) (see Addendum A) participants, who was assisted by a therapist, said in the group discussions that "Its good to have a therapist and all ... It's good to be able to know that somebody's there, at least one person that you can really sit down with, and they'll listen, and hear you out, and give you knowledge". The participant indicated that just having someone professional listening helped to become resilient.

(iii) Welfare services

Welfare can be defined as practical or financial help that is supplied, often by the government, for individuals who require it (Hornby, 2010:1688). Welfare services are provided to individuals who are in need of support, usually by social workers in the employ of the government or NGOs. Black resilient street children from South Africa (Theron & Malindi, 2010:725) (see Addendum A) indicated that adult service providers made it possible for the them to become resilient. The adults, some of whom were part of service providers like NGOs and some of whom functioned as social workers, offered welfare support in the form of food, sanctuary, clothing and health care. Social workers helped the participants by encouraging them to better themselves.

2.3.2.8 Conclusion

By reviewing all the community resources discussed above one can understand how the exosystem could provide an individual with resilience-promoting resources (Blackstock & Trocmé, 2005:116). If the community has resources that could provide an individual with resilience-promoting resources such as supportive neighbours, caring role models, educational resources and service providers, the possibility for resilience is heightened. The following African proverb sums up the exosystem, “It takes a village to raise a child” (Berger, 2008:105). Figure 2.10 below summarises exosystemic antecedents of resilience.

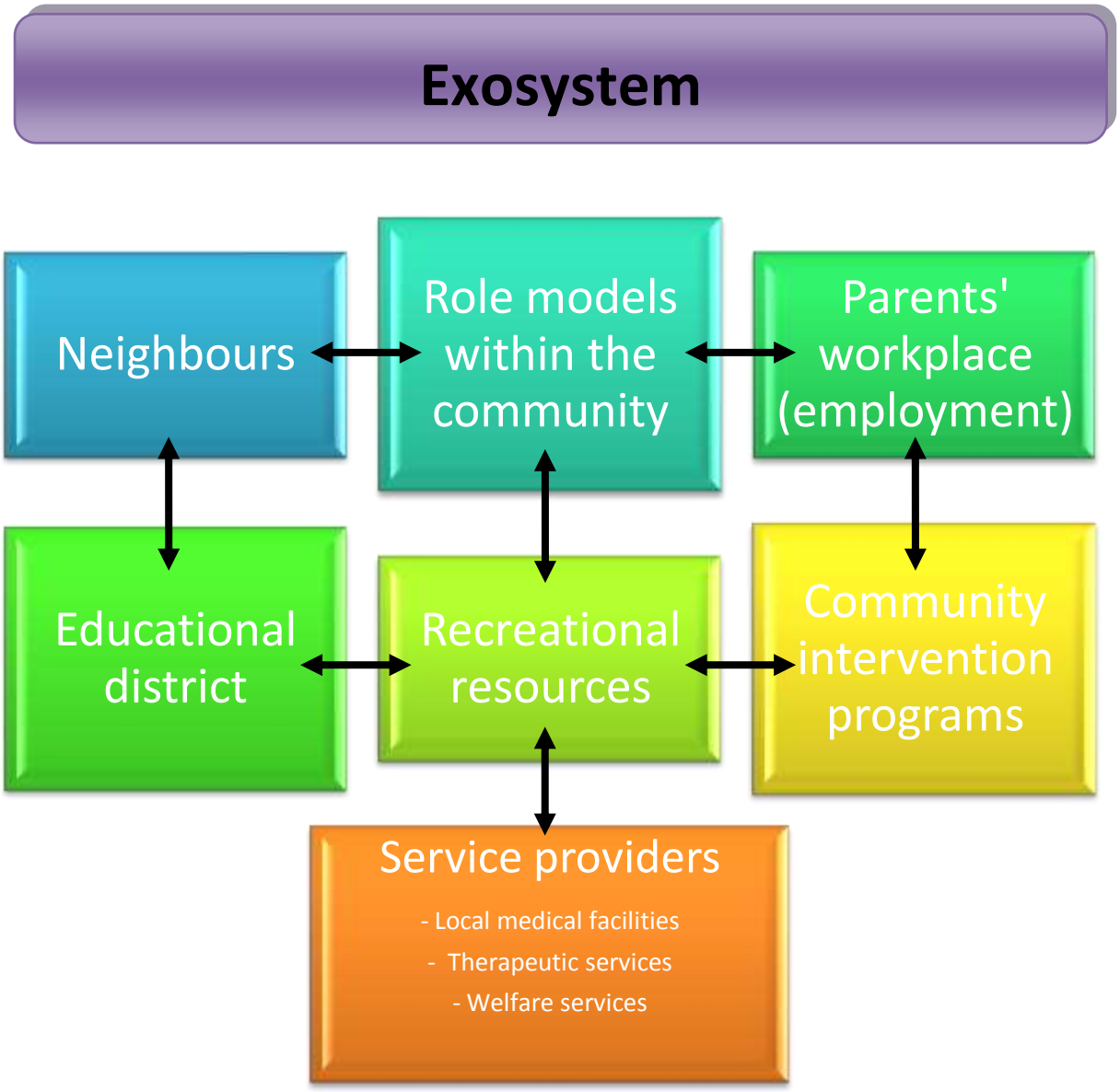


Figure 2.10: Summary of exosystemic protective resources reviewed in 2.3.2

2.3.6 Macrosystemic Protective Resources

Donald *et al.* (2010:41) described the macrosystem as a system involving a society's existing economic and social structures, culture and government. Together these constitute the broader socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-economic systems in which the individual functions. The macrosystem influences all the other systems in which the individual exists. Bronfenbrenner

(1979:26) suggests that the macrosystem is the dominant system that influences the microsystems and exosystems. For example, if the economic structure of a country cannot support schools and communities, and is not capable of implementing policies, individuals in the microsystem will be affected negatively.

Macrosystemic resilience resources support individuals to shape their own resilience. The macrosystem provides opportunities for individuals to build upon their resilience through cultural traditions and government policies, laws and support. For example, if a government provides funds for a school to have, amongst others, a library and sports facilities, this will benefit the individual. If a government endorses human rights, young people have a chance of experiencing social justice. Most typically, macrosystemic resilience-promoting resources include an individual's culture, the government and the economy of a country. These will be discussed in more detail below:

2.3.6.1 Culture

Culture is a difficult concept to define. However, for the purpose of this study culture, according to Hornby (2010:357), can be defined as the traditions, beliefs, art, lifestyle and social nature of a particular group of people or a country. According to Gunnestad (2006), culture is a source of resilience for some individuals. Holleran and Waller (2003:337) found that culture incorporates many different variables, such as shared values, norms, beliefs, methods of interaction and adaptive behaviour. These are passed on from generation to generation in a given society. Adhering to cultural traditions could contribute to an adolescent's sense of purpose, aspirations, beliefs and values, as well as his spiritual and religious identification (Ungar *et al.,* 2008:6). For example, respecting and abiding by authority may be a cultural value of a specific society, which could develop the individual's positive interactions within the individual's microsystem (Donald *et al.,* 2010:41).

Culture could also open the door to resources, thereby empowering resilience. As indicated by Masten and Wright (2010:228) spiritual relationships could also offer an opportunity for community interaction. If an individual goes to church or participates in church-based cultural activities, she could be exposed to cultural role models who could guide her to resilience-promoting resources available in the community, in times of need. This offers opportunity to experience care. Emotional, religious, and physical care which is culturally and community-based offers protection in times of stress which is resilience-promoting.

The culture of a community should be understood and respected, if an individual is to interact in a culturally meaningful way. When young people act in culturally appropriate ways they are more likely to find acceptance by peers and adults, and this acceptance and approval encourages resilience (Donald *et al*., 2010:164). One way of grasping culture, and gaining insight into the past by understanding where we come from, is through our parents or guardians. Parents and guardians are seen as custodians of culture. A custodian is a person who takes responsibility for the protection and caring of someone or something (in this instance, culture) (Hornby, 2010:361). Rogoff (2003:3) and Gunnestad (2006) indicate that our culture is defined by our caregivers. How the present generation interprets the rules, values and norms of their current culture and lifestyle could change depending on the way the generation is influenced by its society, and the way people live their lives (Donald *et al*., 2010:44). For example, if an American family adopts an African orphan, the orphan will learn the American family's culture, as they interpret culture at that point in time, because that is the example she is given. Individuals learn cultural languages and tools in order to interact with other individuals in their surrounding environment (Rogoff, 2003:3). In Theron *et al.* (2011:799) and, Theron and Malindi's (2010:726) study (see Addendum A) the researchers found that participants respected their cultural heritage and saw their parents and other older people as having the responsibility to teach adolescents the cultural traditions so that they in turn could pass it on to their children. One participant expressed the importance of circumcision as a

cultural tradition, symbolising the transition from boyhood to adulthood. According to this participant (and others), traditional circumcision ceremonies help adolescents to endure other difficult conditions in life and not to rely on their parents or caregivers. In other words, traditions, like traditional circumcision ceremonies, have the potential to build an individual's resilience (Theron & Malindi, 2010:726). Cultural traditions that promote resilience are passed on by adults to the youth and it is the youth's responsibility to learn these traditions so that they can teach them to the next generation. Thus, although this is not specified in the cultural resources discussed below, it is probable that a youth is encouraged towards resilience when adults or other custodians pass on resilience-promoting cultural practices and beliefs, or when they encourage youth to access these resources.

As already suggested above, one should remember that culture is not static. Although some aspects of culture stay the same, other aspects change and with that so do the resources that are available within the culture (Lee, 2008:273). It should be remembered that because culture is not static the resources found to date, that are discussed in the sections below, may change. For example, Masten and Wright (2010:228) and Gunnestad (2006) suggest that migrating individuals could acculturate by assimilating and living successfully in a different culture. The migrant individuals still believe in their own cultural values but learn how to live in and adapt to another culture. Integrating the two cultures could also be a possibility. In order for the migrant individuals to adapt to their new surroundings, they would have to adhere to their new country's culture and would have to find resilience-promoting resources relating to their current situations. Similarly, Rogoff (2003:3) and Gunnestad (2006) suggest that cultural practices are adjusted by each generation to adapt to the changing times as a result of continual social and technological innovations.

Culture does not only change, it can also be lost. Smith and Drower (2008:157) noted in their research (see Addendum A) that cultural traditions

which could promote resilience could be affected by the shift a community makes towards Western culture (they call this 'Primitivization' p.157). If individuals lose interest in their culture, their children's cultural heritage could be lost in generations to come, for example, many African rituals are not practised anymore (Donald *et al*., 2010:164). In addition, Rogoff (2003:328) noted that television offers a cultural model for individuals. Individuals try to emulate the examples seen on television and when these are not resilience-promoting this has the potential of creating a negative ripple of effects. Another example of primitivization is schooling, particularly when, as is the case in many countries, schooling adopts American or Eurocentric curricula. Where this is the case the increase of prescribed "Western" education makes children and families conform to cultural change (Rogoff, 2003:340). Children are forced to learn about the particular culture decided on by the education system and consequently many of their own cultural stories are not passed on through mainstream education. So for example, children in the 21st century are learning less about their heritage and more about different technological advances such as information technology and other forms of media communication. An example of this is seen in The National Curriculum Statement of South Africa for grade zero to nine where technology is one of the nine main learning areas (Department of Education, 2004). This is at the expense of the Bible, which is not taught at all, and cultural studies, which are dealt with very briefly.

In resilience studies to date, religious practices (Dass-Brailsford, 2005:583; Malindi & Theron, 2010:323; Phasha, 2010:1248; Smith & Drower, 2008:156; Ungar, 2007:300; Ungar, 2008:222) and traditional stories or story-telling (Cluver & Gardner, 2007:321; Schoon & Bynner, 2003:24) have been reported as cultural resilience-promoting resources. I will discuss each of these in more detail below:

(i) Religious practices

Religion is the certainty of the existence of a god or gods, and the activities that are associated with the worship of these gods (Hornby, 2010:1244). Many researchers also indicate that religious practices help to promote cultural resilience-promoting resources (Dass-Brailsford, 2005:583; Malindi & Theron, 2010:323; Phasha, 2010:1248; Smith & Drower, 2008:156; Ungar, 2007:300; Ungar, 2008:222). Masten and Wright (2010:228) indicate that religion encourages methods of conveying messages in age related ways so that children and adults can understand. For example, an adult can read the Bible and understand the difficult words and concepts. Children, however, may need a Bible story as a means of explaining the meaning to them so that they can understand the message of the scripture and find the message of resilience which could help them with their current problem. The following could be ways of conveying religious practices:

✞ Church attendance

One aspect of religious practice is attending a church or a place of worship. A church can be defined as a building where Christians meet out of devotion to God (Hornby, 2010:250). Many cultural resources are promoted by individuals who go to church to obtain strength to cope with their adversities. Werner and Smith (1982:105) (see Addendum A) found in their longitudinal study that participants who attended church acquired increased tolerance and perseverance. The impoverished individuals of Kauai found refuge in strong faith. Their faith, in which they were supported by ministers and church members of different associations, gave them a sense of routine and stability.

One of Glicken's participants (2006:16) (see Addendum A) said that a specific sermon he had heard in church helped him to cope with situations he faced within his gang environment. Instead of fighting with someone who had wronged him he indicated that he had forgiven the other person by shaking his hand as one of the biblical passages says he should do.

- Social networks within the church community

Within the church community, there are loving and caring adults and peers who can help an individual in accessing resilience-promoting resources. A person who goes to church interacts with likeminded individuals. The fact that they share the same culture presents the opportunity to make contact with loving and caring adults (Masten & Wright, 2010:228). Masten and Wright (2010:228) found that spiritual connections in church-based networks could help individuals to connect with the community. This connection to likeminded individuals could prove to be a vital resilience-promoting resource in times of adverse situations. Werner and Smith (1982:163) stressed the importance of pastoral and ministerial counselling in conjunction with other organizations for the benefit of the church community. The researchers indicated in their study that in many rural areas the priests and ministers were among the most influential individuals liaising between the families and community resilience-promoting resources available.

Clauss-Ehlers and Levi (2002:276) (see Addendum A), confirm the importance of cooperation between churches and community resources. They indicated in their study with homeless Latino and Mexican youth that intervention programs functioning in conjunction with churches and other neighbourhood centres could be used to generate resilience-promoting resources for youth who are difficult to make contact with. Some individuals go to church to seek help from other people because the church is known to be a place where individuals can build social networks which help them to become resilient (Masten & Wright, 2010:228).

Bernard and Este (2005:450) found the same to be true in their study. They reported that many of their black participants (see Addendum A), living in Halifax, said that the church and church-controlled associations were an influential resilience building resource. Although the original article does not comment on how the church helped these men, eighty-five percent of the

participants indicated that the church played an important role in their survival in Nova Scotia. Similarly, Haight (1998) as referenced by Phasha (2010:1238) indicated that the black children, who were affected by racial discrimination in schools, saw churches as places of sanctuary. The church provided them with a place that promoted social interaction and valued them for who they are.

In commenting on the role of the church in society, Phasha (2010:1238) noted that the church shapes individuals from a young age. The church exposes young persons to the loving, hopeful and liberating message of the Christian Gospel. The church helps a child to socialise with adults and to build constructive relationships with older individuals. Participants in Dass-Brailsford's (2005:583) study (see Addendum A) indicated that attending church was important in the developmental processes during their youth. Church attendance helped them to build positive relationships and they attributed the resilience which they had acquired to their church involvement.

Theron *et al.'s* study (2011:809) (see Addendum A) confirms the importance of the church as a resilience-promoting resource. One participant in the study indicated that her church and its congregation had helped her to become a well-behaved adolescent, despite the fact that her classmates thought she was 'weird'. She also indicated that her faith helped her to uphold good resilience-promoting principles which strengthened her to such an extent that she was able to share them with her Mormon friends. Both South African participants of Theron *et al.* (2011:809) indicated that they attended church and enjoyed worthwhile, strong relationships with the church community. Pamela, one of the South African participants, indicated that she is part of an adolescent group which makes proposals that are acceptable to the adults of the church community. This indicates that the church creates resources for adults and adolescents to communicate and reciprocate information in a meaningful way, thereby promoting resilience. This is also confirmed by participants from Malindi and Theron's (2010:323) study (see Addendum A).

They mentioned that going to church helped them with behavioural problems as it provided access to adults who could teach them better behaviour. The pastor, in particular, was a resource of good support.

- Praying

Another characteristic of religious worship is the tradition of praying. According to Hornby (2010:1149) the words that the worshipper speaks to God, thanking Him and asking Him for assistance, are known as prayers. Masten and Wright (2010:228) suggest that praying may strengthen feelings of self-direction and emotional protection in the knowledge that there is a spiritual figure who provides feelings of safety and comfort, as in a parent-child relationship. Theron *et al.* (2011:809) report that resilient participants within their study indicated that they prayed on a regular basis.

Participants from Malindi and Theron's (2010:323) (see Addendum A) study also indicated that prayer helped them overcome adversities in their lives. The participants prayed about their situations, believing in a Higher power to guide them to find resilience-promoting resources. Prayer helped the participants to feel that they were not alone and provided them with guidance that shaped their lives positively.

Adding to the above, many black South African participants reported that praying could also be used to communicate with their ancestors who had passed on. Most typically, black adolescents prayed to their ancestors when they longed for comfort or guidance (Theron, 2011a). Dass-Brailsford (2005:583) (see Addendum A) noted in her research that traditional ancestral worship shaped the participants into becoming positive community members. The participants indicated that ancestral worship and prayers to ancestors eased their uncertainty in challenging times. Similarly, Smith and Drower's (2008:157) participants (see Addendum A) indicated that cultural customs such as belief in and worship of ancestors, and access to traditional healers, played an essential role in promoting resilience in youth of the community.

(ii) Stories

One aspect of culture is the art of storytelling. A story is defined as a portrayal of actions or a portrayal of an individual that the writer or speaker has seen or imagined in order to entertain or educate people (Hornby, 2010:1472). Adler and McAdams (2007:97) indicated that stories incorporate human desires, needs and ambitions, and connect the past to the future. Many cultural happenings and beliefs are passed on through stories (or, more recently books) that enlighten an individual about the past and its cultural heritage. People have been telling stories about culture and religion for centuries (Brink, 2008). Telling stories is one of the most ancient ways of communicating with others (Kimoto, 2007:37) and is often a way of passing on cultural historical records and health treatments. Even when one considers the Bible, which was written somewhere between the fifth century B.C.E and the fourth century C.E., and is probably one of the oldest books extant C.E (Schniedewind, 2004:18), it contains multiple examples of stories and parables used to teach and encourage Christian believers.

Stories are also used in schools, often as an emphatic means to pass on cultural heritage. For example, Erkaya (2005:8) found that short stories are a good way to teach about diverse cultures and history to English first language students. By using cultural stories, students have the opportunity to learn about human differences and similarities. This has the potential to help them to socialise better with other individuals from different cultures. Being able to socialise with other people could help an individual build relationships, which could be a resilience-promoting resource (Rutter, 1984:60; Sumsion, 2003:143). Stories are also used in African families as a means to pass on and emphasise cultural heritage and beliefs. Gunnestad (2006) noted that telling stories is a very important part of black South African cultural traditions. Telling stories is a way black South Africans pass on culture, history, facts and moral beliefs. Many stories of African traditions are retold from one generation to the next and are traditional ways for family members to express

themselves and to convey important content. In addition, families use cultural stories to form close bonds amongst family members that creates a sense of togetherness and can contribute to developing constructive self-images (Gunnestad, 2006). When stories unify a family, a sense of companionship is created which in turn promotes a sense of belonging that encourages resilience.

Stories do not only have the potential to encourage resilience when they offer opportunities to learn about cultural traditions and to respect human diversity. In her book 'The Resilient Child', Joseph (1994:135) describes how stories can help a child to become resilient when they offer examples of resilient behaviour and resilient responses. Because parents use narratives from an early age to communicate with their children, stories offer an everyday opportunity to teach resilient reactions. Moreover, stories illustrate pathways to resilience by explaining resilient responses in simple age-appropriate ways. Parents and other family members (Joseph, 1994:135) can use stories as a springboard to teach problem-solving skills. For example they could draw children's attention to problem-solving by asking leading questions: "But how did she solve the problem in the story? Can you do the same in your situation?" Similarly, Schoon and Bynner (2003:24) reported that parents who read stories to their children help them become resilient. This is the case especially when the story offers an opportunity to learn about cultural values, attitudes, responsibilities, persistence and risk situations, which the children can use when they grow up to become resilient adolescents and adults. Likewise, in Smith and Drower's (2008:156) study (see Addendum A), the participants confirmed that stories and idioms told to them helped them to develop resilience.

Stories often incorporate fantasy and imagination. Anthony (1987a:154) explains how fantasy and imagination can develop a child's ability to become competent. The child can move from the rational or concrete real world to the hypothetical or imagined world, and in this world can exercise any response. This often helps the child resolve a predicament within herself, because within

this imagined world the child sees her situation differently and feels empowered (Brink, 2008). Anthony (1987b:37) uses the example of Hans Christian Anderson who externalised his fantasies and made creative productions that made him resilient in his later life and provided him with an income. Parents and other family members are in an ideal position to read stories that activate their children's imagination and in effect could promote resilience.

Cluver and Gardner (2007:321) (see Addendum A) reported that the caregivers who participated in their study commented that reading and stories helped in the process of caring for their children. They emphasised that this offered opportunities for children to feel cared for and improved parent-child relationships. Consequently, resilience was promoted through parent-child relationships.

Inspirational books can also function as a resource for resilience. Glicken (2006:18) reported that one of his participants, who was involved in a discussion group, resorted to books and gleaned information that helped as much as talking to another individual. The participant mentioned that answers to difficult questions could be found in books: "You can go to a book and find it. Any source that you get it's still the same information" (Glicken, 2006:18). The inspirational book helped the participant, as much as one of the other resources available in her community, to become resilient.

2.3.3.4 Government

A group of individuals, accountable for controlling a state or a country, is seen as its government (Hornby, 2010:649). The most fundamental service of a government is to supply the public with infrastructure such as road and rail networks, sewerage systems, running water, education, social support and welfare services (Functions of Government, 2011). According to Hartmann (2011) government organizations have the power to make choices in the interest of the general public with regard to policies that uphold law and order

and achieve the realisation of government goals. It should be taken into account that the resources available to a country to a large extent determine the nature of the policies the government is able to support. For example, if a country does not have the financial resources to provide free education for all learners, the policies of the country cannot state that education will be gratis.

An important function of a government is formulating policies that encourage the wellbeing of the citizens and ensures that all individuals are treated with the respect and dignity which is their human right. At a macrosystemic level a government has the power to put policies in place which respect basic human rights. These in turn have the potential to influence exo- and microsystems in ways that could encourage resilience (Furedi, 2008:659; Ungar, 2010b:425). Policies and human rights are discussed below.

(i) Policies

Policies are defined as a plan of action approved or chosen by a political group, an industry or school (Hornby, 2010:1131). In this section, I am focusing on government (the ruling political group) policy. Some researchers (Masten & Wright, 2010:214; Schoon & Bynner, 2003:26; Ungar, 2010b:425) have indicated that policies are a vital part of creating resilience-promoting resources. Ungar (2010b:425) found that resilience is promoted if the individuals who care for and support children can offer child support programs. Support programs become a reality when governments put policies in place that support children. As Schoon and Bynner (2003:27) noted, policies should be created with the macrosystem in mind, suggesting that an entire country could benefit from the policies put in place to promote resilience in individuals.

Masten and Wright (2010:214) found that policies that have integrated the promotion of resilience have resulted in the increase of the incidence of resilience. This is because systems focused more on the positive and less on the negative aspects of an individual's development. By focusing on the

positive aspects of life negative behaviours can be counteracted and the well-being of individuals can flourish.

Similarly, Schoon and Bynner (2003:26) noted that policies that encourage resilience should shift from 'crisis intervention to primary prevention.' This belief is motivated by the fact that, once an individual has fallen into a negative routine or situation it is difficult to intervene positively in that situation. For instance, if a school has introduced a feeding scheme policy for the learners, children could be encouraged to come to school for nutrition rather than beg on the streets for food. Such a policy would encourage resilience in that it forestalls survival behaviours that could put young people at risk. In the United States of America the government policy-makers support the value of resilience as a solution to adversities in health care, teaching and the community (Furedi, 2008:645). This has resulted in policy and scripted support programs that encourage resilience in health care, teaching and in the community.

There are similar developments in the UK. According to Walker (2008:17), the UK family structure has changed considerably in the 21st century and the UK government has scripted numerous policies to initiate help for the support of caregivers, thereby enhancing family life. The UK government believes that the family, parents and caregivers of children are the most important people in a child's life and have significant potential in promoting resilience in children and young people. Having recognised the importance of caregivers as resilience promoting-resources, the UK government put policy in place that makes support available to families and caregivers. This should in turn encourage resilience at microsystemic level.

State awareness of the importance of resilience-promoting resources is also true of other countries. de Roeper and Savelsberg (2009:209), found that in Australia many policies involving intervention programs are being implemented by the government especially for the underprivileged youth. Most of the policies being implemented deal with the basic needs of the

underprivileged youth, such as shelter, education and feeding. The policies focus primarily on young people because they are the future of any country. If they are cared for, they in return will care for the country when they are adults (de Roeper & Savelsberg, 2009:211). The researchers also expressed the opinion that it is important that policies should focus on the constructive characteristics of youths' lives and the potential prospects which could emerge as a result of the focus on the constructive characteristics. For example, policies promoting sports can encourage youth to participate in sports and develop skills they never thought they had, such as social skills, leadership skills and self-esteem. All of these skills are known to promote resilience (Ungar *et al.,* 2007:288). de Roeper and Savelsberg (2009:211) further stated that in order to promote resilience, a constructive and holistic policy formulation process, which gave attention to more than just basic needs, should be adopted in order for youth to achieve in life.

Resilience research to date has reported the benefits of policy development which aims to promote resilience. The social work participants in Smith and Drower's (2008:158) study (see Addendum A) reflected that the structural levels of a country have a significant impact on an individual's resilience. For this reason the participants argued that *ubuntu* principles should be incorporated in South Africa's legislations and policy documents. Likewise, the street youth participants in Theron and Malindi's study (2010:725) associated their resilience with social workers and shelters. Both of these were made possible by national policies which were government-funded.

(ii) Human rights

Human rights refer to the fundamental right of a person to be treated justly and not in a cruel or biased way, particularly by one's government (Hornby, 2010:734). Everyone is entitled to basic human rights regardless of gender, race, colour, belief, language, status, or opinion. According to the Bureau of African Affairs (2011) the right to a safe atmosphere, accommodation, education and health care is also included in the Bill of Rights (South African

Constitution, 1996). Even though the South African Bill of Rights is endorsed by many, there are still some individuals who discriminate against women and individuals with HIV & AIDS, and commit violence against women and children. Furedi (2008:659) stated that a government should support human rights by allowing citizens to freely express and exchange their opinions, visions and experiences. Such freedom could encourage resilience amongst youth.

Another example of how respect for human rights encourages resilience comes from the work of Cook and Du Toit (2005). In the Circles of Care Project (Cook & Du Toit, 2005:250) (see Addendum A), as a result of the high incidence of child abuse, one of the main objectives was to enlighten the community and government with regard to the right every individual has. The project integrated the children's rights and informed the community about them, urging the community to respect those rights. Having rights helped the participants to empower themselves to become resilient.

Understanding how respect for human rights can encourage resilience is not always straightforward. Some leaders of the community where the Circles of Care Project was implemented were concerned that an emphasis on children's rights would result in children forgetting about their traditional ways of life and their responsibilities towards parents and leaders of the community (Cook & Du Toit, 2005:259). One way of addressing this is to make youth and others understand that rights and responsibilities go hand in hand. The South African Council recently created a new document called the Bill of Responsibilities (Synapses, 2011). The Bill of Responsibilities is not an official policy document, but rather a guideline explaining how the ideals contained in the Bill of Rights can become a reality in daily living. In this sense it is a guideline for school pupils to become active and socially responsible citizens. This document states, amongst others, that with every right comes a responsibility which should be considered (Synapsis, 2011). For example, every child has the right to go to school, but they also have the

responsibility to use the information gathered to make the right choices in order to help either themselves or others. The implication of the document is that the value of being made aware of responsibilities that come with rights encourages young people to become contributing and responsible citizens. Many studies of resilience have linked youths' capacity for responsible behaviour to resilience (Dass-Brailsford, 2005:581; Hewitt, 2005:136-137; Lee & Ng, 2008:348).

2.3.3.5 Economy

According to Donald *et al.* (2010:41) and Ungar (2008:222) economic development influences the way the government distributes economic resources that could have an effect on how the microsystems and exosystems can function to provide resilience-promoting resources. The state of the economy plays an important role in how much funding can be made available to communities to ensure that there are sufficient resilience-promoting resources to sustain healthy development. A healthy economy, therefore, can support a healthy community with resilience-promoting resources such as good schools, welfare programs, and functioning families, as discussed earlier in the chapter in the section dealing with microsystemic resilience-promoting resources (see Microsystemic resilience-promoting resources 2.3.1). Many researchers (Iwaniec *et al.,* 2006:75; Lee, 2010:651; Schoon & Bartley, 2008:25) indicate that poverty is one of the most challenging adversities that place youth at risk for non-resilient outcomes. I will briefly discuss the phenomenon of macrosystemic support below, in the context of poverty and technology.

(i) Macrosystemic support in the context of poverty

Poverty is one of the most devastating adversities an individual can face in life. Felner (2006:127) noted that two families could receive the same income and one could be classified as poor and the other family not. The reason for this is that being poor could depend on many additional, or different variables such as, amongst others, the number of family members and the place of

residence. One breadwinner could be responsible for the support of a large family and only have sufficient money for sustenance and the basic needs, whereas another breadwinner with the same income, but a smaller family, could make better provision. It is commonly known that poverty places young people and their families at risk for maladaptive outcomes (Felner, 2006:125).

One way of overcoming poverty is by becoming an entrepreneur in the community. At macrosystemic level entrepreneurship is influenced by the availability of resources. For instance, Badola and Aitken (2010:16) proposed that the people of Sikkim in the Himalayans living in Indo-Burma, India could use their natural surroundings and biodiversity to overcome poverty. The researchers indicated that by promoting tourism in the seven wildlife sanctuaries, the inhabitants of this remote area could use the environment to earn money and, in so doing overcome poverty.

Another macrosystemic resource against poverty is social assistance. South Africa has implemented social assistance to help alleviate poverty. According to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (South Africa, 1996) every individual has the right to have access to social-support if they cannot support their dependants or themselves. The following basic grants are made available to vulnerable South Africans: Child Support Grant, Social Relief, Old Age Pension, Disability Grant, Foster Care Grant, Care Dependency Grant (Public Service Commission, 2007:18). Local government reports that by implementing the social grant policy, many children, disabled people, and the elderly have benefitted (Department of Social Development, 2006:2). Twine, Collinson, Polzer and Kahn (2007:118) are sceptical about the accessibility of the child-support grants for individuals seeking assistance. In their study the researchers found that only 1,886 households out of the 6,725 received social grants in the Bushbuckridge District in rural Limpopo province (see Addendum A). The other 4,839 households did not receive child-support because of documentation problems or poor access to the facilities of the Department of Social Development (For many of the people in this rural area transportation

to this department was too expensive and unaffordable). Therefore, at macrosystemic level, improved provision of identity documents and birth certificates, better access to government centres in rural areas, and enhanced communication regarding obtaining social support is needed (Twine *et al.,* 2007:118).

Many individuals living in poverty in South Africa do not have an adequate educational background and lack support networks. One of the ways in which government proposed to alleviate poverty is by providing a database where individuals can have access to corporations, big and small, that are looking for employees (Department of Social Development, 2006:5).

Similarly to South Africa, China has developed a Community Development Fund (Cheng & Li, 2009:38). The fund grants loans to poor communities which must be repaid in monthly instalments. The fund provides opportunities for the poor communities, especially in the central and western areas of China, to develop their economy. The reason why the Community Development Fund provides loans and not outright grants is because the government does not want the communities to become dependent on external support (Cheng & Li, 2009:38). The purpose of the fund is to provide the communities with a reason to make the most of their available resources and skilled abilities in order to improve their lives and sustain a healthy income after repaying the loan (Cheng & Li, 2009:40). This is a good example of protective macrosystemic support.

(ii) Technology

According to Hornby (2010:1534) technology can be defined as technical information used in a sensible manner in a civilization. Technology can incorporate a number of different developments, such as information technology, electronic technology, and communication technology, amongst others. In the 21st century technology has become an absorbing part of our daily lives. It raises the question whether televisions, computers, and cell

phones could be used as resilience-promoting resources? A person can view resilience-promoting programs and movies on television. Computers give a person access to the world of the internet with many resources where help can be accessed (Chittister & Haimes, 2011:1). Cell phones could be used to help individuals contact relevant service providers. All these instruments have the potential to provide individuals with useful information and access to attachment figures that live far away, thereby encouraging resilience. Masten and Obradovic (2008) indicated that technology makes it possible to communicate with family and friends to console them or talk to them about problems, even when one is separated from them by distance. It has become easy to communicate with significant others across the world. For example, my mother who lives near Johannesburg, in South Africa, regularly communicates with my uncle in Vancouver, Canada, by using the landline, cell phone, internet chat rooms, email or Skype. Masten and Obradovic (2008) also indicate that technology can be used to contact emergency personnel in case of a crisis.

Cluver and Gardner (2007:323) (see Addendum A) indicated that adult caregivers mentioned television as a positive activity for children. Children affected by HIV & AIDS found it comforting to watch television. It helped them to forget about their illness, even if only for a while.

Not everyone considers the viewing of television programs a positive activity for children. Burnham (2009:28) conducted studies of childhood fears and found that exposure to negative television was one of the factors contributing to childhood fears. She also added that the maturity of a child should be considered when decisions are made concerning what they may view on television. Generally a younger child will be affected more seriously than an older child by the viewing of negative television such as horrors or thrillers.

2.3.3.4 Conclusion

The macrosystem incorporates a multitude of cultural (Dass-Brailsford, 2005:583; Masten & Wright, 2010:228; Phasha, 2010:1248; Ungar *et al.,* 2008:6) and governmental (de Roeper & Savelsberg, 2009:209; Schoon & Bynner, 2003:26; Walker, 2008:17) resilience resources. Consideration of protective resources at macrosystemic level focuses attention on the resilience-promoting roles that a government could play, especially in the context of poverty (Cheng & Li, 2009:40; Twine *et al.,* 2007:118). Figure 2.11 below provides a summary of some of the resilience protective-resources found within the macrosystem.

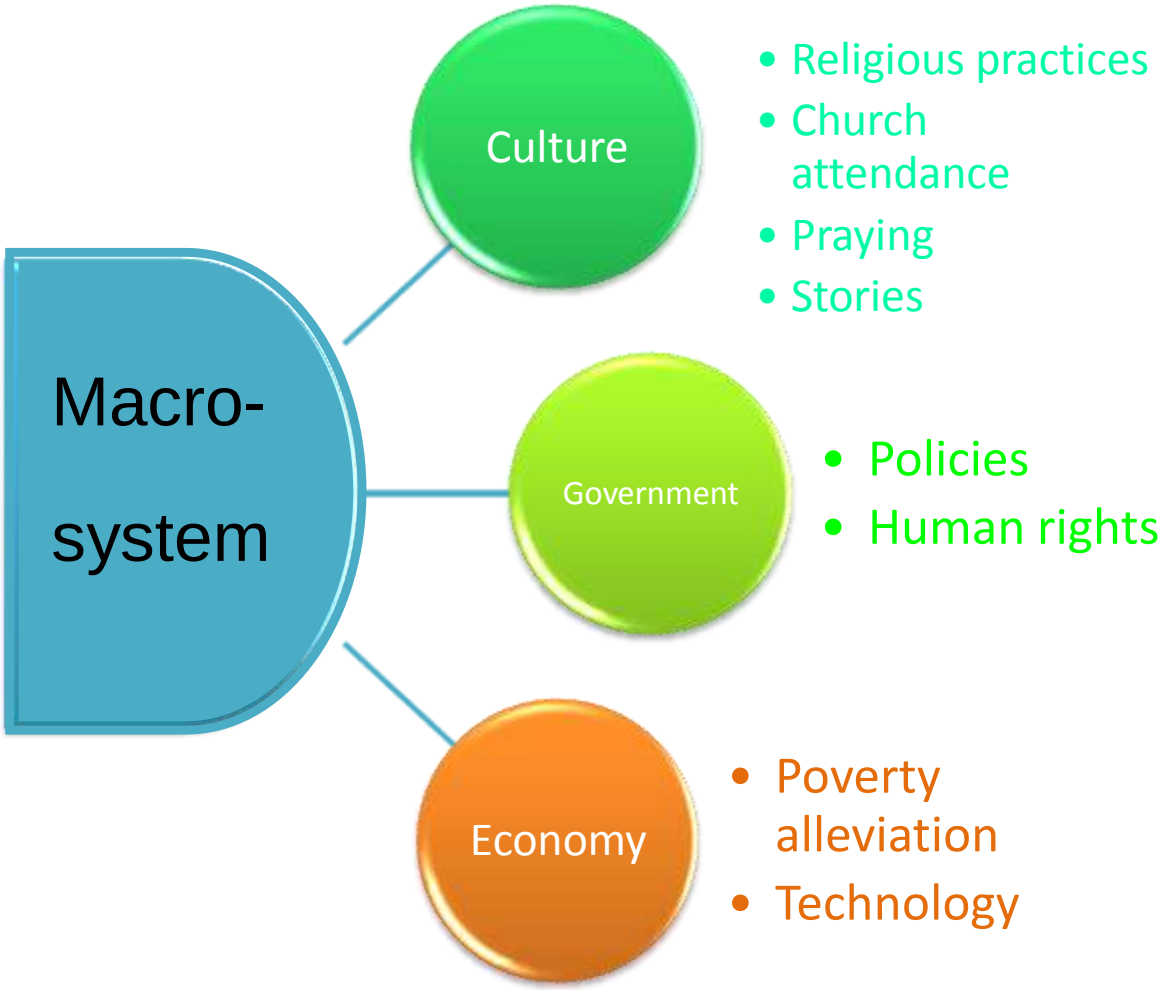


Figure 2.11: Summary of macrosystemic protective resources reported in 2.3.3

2.3.7 Chronosystemic Protective Resources

Chrono according to Hornby (2010:250) refers to the connectedness of the individual and the environment through time. For example, the chronosystem involves the time period of the ecology which incorporates environmental changes over time and the individual's development over time, and the effect they have on each other (i.e. individual-environment exchanges) (Kumpfer, 1999:183). Bronfenbrenner points to "ecological transition" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:26). Ecological transition occurs when an individual's situation in the ecological surroundings is changed as a result of change in the individual's development, responsibility, location, or all of the aforementioned. For example if an individual's parents pass away, her role in the family could change from sibling to caregiver.

Donald *et al*. (2010:41) suggest that time affects the connections between the micro-, exo- and macrosystems and the demands on individual development. The impact of all the interacting socio-ecological systems on a child change as the child herself develops, and as she progresses through the different life stages. Sameroff (2009:7) adds that researchers are now at the forefront of research into the reciprocal influence the environment and the individual have on each other.

When chronosystemic changes are considered, it becomes important to reflect on resilience as a dynamic, or changeable process (Knowles, 2011:60; Masten & Obradovic, 2008; Rutter, 2006:4; Ungar, 2010b:421). Two salient facets of the variability of resilience relate to the influence of developmental stages (Masten & Wright, 2010:220) and to environmental changes over time (Sameroff, 2009:9). In what follows, I will detail the dynamics of resilience and consider the impact of developmental stages and environmental changes over time on the phenomenon of resilience.

(i) The dynamic nature of resilience

Many researchers have indicated that resilience is dynamic (Knowles, 2011:60; Masten & Obradovic, 2008; Masten & Wright, 2010:22; Nuwayhida, Zurayka, Yamouta and Cortasb, 2011:517; Rutter, 2006:4; Ungar, 2010b:421).

Masten (1999:288) has indicated that resilience cannot come from predetermined features or the surroundings of an individual. Rather, resilience comes from the continual changing interaction between the individual and her ecosystem over time. Knowles (2011) indicated that resilience is "fluid on a continuum" (2011:60). By this he means that resilience is ever changing over time. This is what it means when researchers describe resilience as dynamic. In the next section I will focus on how developmental changes foreground resilience-promoting resources differently. This is part of what makes resilience a dynamic process. However, there are also more reasons for the changeable nature of resilience. These are summarised below:

Masten and Wright (2010:221) state that when people are confronted with adverse or traumatic events and when they respond resiliently to these, the length of time it takes before a resilient response is noted will vary from person to person. Similarly, if a person is resilient it is not necessarily the case that she will remain resilient, or if she is not resilient at one point that she cannot become resilient if her circumstances change for the better (Schoon & Bynner, 2003:28). As in the case of the longitudinal study of Werner and Smith (1982:134), some of the girls were seen as resilient in the first decade of their lives, but not in the second. Similarly, some of the boys were seen as not resilient in the first decade of their lives, but as resilient in the second. Knowles (2011:59) suggests that when a person is resilient she will flourish, but if that person is then faced with an adverse situation she could return to a state of "survival mode" (p.59). The individual may try to overcome the adverse situation and return to her resilient state or may stay in the survival mode until she finds the appropriate resilience-promoting resource to return to

a state of resilience. In some instances, resilience may not return at all. This confirms that part of what makes resilience a variable phenomenon is the interplay between the individual changing over time and the issue of the availability of resilience-promoting resources (Ungar, 2011:5).

It is also true that the developmental stage that the person is in when the adversity takes place, could also be a prominent influence in overcoming the adverse situation (Masten & Obradovic, 2008). For example, children may not experience a given situation as a risk, as adolescents or adults might, because they do not fully comprehend the gravity of the situation. This, for instance, has been noted in wartime with young children who were dependent on their caregivers to protect them. They might typically not have fully understood the consequences of war, particularly if their care giving remained stable (Masten & Obradovic, 2008). Another example relates to Japanese children (in utero to five years old) alive at the time of the 1945 bombing (see Addendum A) who were more prone to cancer and leukaemia after the bombing, whereas the older individuals were not. Many of these children who had to overcome the adversity of the bombing also had to overcome the after-effects of the radiation (Knowles, 2011:59). The time spent overcoming this adverse situation was extended. Firstly it was the tragedy of the bombing, and then the cancer or leukaemia that had to be overcome in order to become resilient. Therefore, another part of what makes the phenomenon of resilience variable is the occurrence of a risk, and the meaning that is made of the risk.

(ii) The influence of developmental stages on resilience

Development refers to the continuing growth of something or someone for it to become more sophisticated and perhaps even intricate. Individual development is the growth of an individual over a lifetime from infancy to maturity (Hornby 2010:400). Anthony (1987a:149) stresses that the competence of an individual depends on the developmental stage she is in. One cannot compare one competent infant, child or adolescent with another, each has their own unique resources they use to become resilient in the

particular developmental stage they are in. Similarly, Masten and Wright (2010:220) stress the importance of an individual's developmental stage in obtaining resilience-promoting resources. This implies that defining something as risk will vary across the spectrum of different developmental stages of an individual's life, a risk for a child may not be a risk for an adult. For example, to be admitted to a hospital could have a devastating emotional impact on a young child, but might not be as devastating for an adult. The latter has the rationalism to understand that admission to a hospital is equivalent to receiving treatment which usually results in health and wellbeing.

Many researchers found that one common resource for any developmental stage (Benzies & Mychasiuk, 2009:108; Friesen & Brennan, 2005:306; Garmezy *et al.,* 1984:99; Laser, 2008:330; Schoon, 2007:98; Schoon & Bynner, 2003:25) is a high socio-economic status. A higher socio-economic status facilitates progress through developmental stages. This is possibly because the more finances are available, the more resilience-promoting resources are accessible. Another resource that could help an individual through her developmental stages is a good value system. As noted by Denis (2007:47) the individual uses her value system which probably does not change much over time. She builds upon this system with new and improved resources at each developmental stage. The values internalised in one developmental stage are built upon to achieve resilience in another developmental stage of an individual's life.

However, not all resilience-promoting resources are stable indefinitely. Resilience-promoting resources could change as a result of the influence of culture, environmental setting and sometimes even the passing of time (Kumpfer, 1999:183; Lee, 2010:644). For example, positive attachment is a protective system across the lifespan, but typically, these attachments need to change as the individual develops (e.g. an infant would need attachment to a parent or primary caregiver whereas a young adult would need attachment to a life partner) (Masten & Wright, 2010:22-224). Some resilience-promoting resources are more influential in certain developmental stages than in others.

For example without the right nutrition as an infant, one might not develop as one should and that could have an impact on all the subsequent developmental stages. This situation may have less of a resilience-promoting effect on an adult.

In the sections below, I review what is known about resilience-promoting resources relevant to a given developmental phase.

- Infancy

According to Piaget's cognitive developmental stages, infancy is also known as the sensorimotor stage (discovering the world through senses) which is from birth to approximately two years (Donald *et al.,* 2010:50). Some researchers like Armstrong, Birnie-Lefcovitch and Ungar (2005), Musick *et al.* (1987) and Werner and Smith (1982) have indicated that infancy is a vital time for most individuals to commence building resilience resources. Musick *et al*., (1987:249) Anthony (1987b:31) and Werner and Smith (1982:120) (see Addendum A) found that a high-quality mother-child connection during the first year of an individual's life is a valuable resilience resource for individuals to become resilient in later life. The attachment bond formed with a primary caregiver (typically a parent and in classical resilience studies, more typically the mother), during infancy is a resource during adverse times in childhood and adolescence because parent-child trust has already been established.

In addition, Rutter, O'Connor, and the English and Romanian Adoptees (ERA) Study Team (2004:84) conducted research on 144 Romanian orphans who were adopted between the ages of six months and four years. Most of the Romanian orphans were adopted by middle class families in the UK between February 1990 and September 1992 (see Addendum A). The orphans, who had lived in extremely deprived conditions, through their adoption by the British families, were provided with a better environment (Rutter *et al.,* 2004:81). Rutter *et al.* (2004) compared the Romanian adopted orphans with UK adopted orphans to establish if there were any developmental differences.

Rutter *et al.* (2004:86) found that most of the Romanian orphans had a low body mass and a small head circumference because the institutions from which these orphans came had struggled to provide adequate nutrition and they therefore suffered from malnutrition. The Romanian orphans showed signs of severe impediments when they were first assessed, but after their adoptive families had provided sustenance, affection and love almost all the Romanian orphans' cognitive functions, at age six, were the same as the UK orphans (Rutter *et al.,* 2004:86). The study of Rutter *et al.* (2004) is a clear indication of the importance of adequate nutritious sustenance and affection during an infant's developmental stage in order to function resiliently, both as a young child and later on. The period that the Romanian orphans spent in adverse situations hampered their ability to bounce back earlier from the hardships they encountered as infants. They only caught up with the UK orphans at age six. Orphans adopted later in their developmental stage, at approximately three to four years of age had not caught up with the other orphans in terms of developmental requirements (Rutter *et al.,* 2004:86). Rutter *et al.* (2004:90) thus concluded that wellbeing and resilience are rooted in physical and psychological care in infancy. Similarly, Armstrong *et al.* (2005:277) found that regular nutrition during the first year of an individual's life is an important building block for resilience.

- Childhood

Piaget suggests that this phase of an individual's life is known as the preoperational and the concrete operational stage. This stage spans the ages from two years to approximately eleven years. In this stage verbal communication, problem solving, thoughts and imagination develops and increases (Donald *et al.,* 2010:51-52). Childhood is a critical chapter in one's life to build upon the resilience resources from infancy and to access others. Anthony (1987b:36) found that an individual's enrichment of resilience and attainment of different resources most commonly happens in the third year of life. During the third year of life the fundamental resilience abilities such as,

family interactions, solving problems and social interactions become evident and self-organisation is recognised (the child can solve simple problems).

Werner and Smith (1982:90) (see Addendum A) reported that female children were characteristically more resilient than male children. In particular they identified resilient girls to have more self-esteem than resilient boys. Self-esteem helped the girls to determine that their own performance in life led to either negative or positive feedback from other individuals. This could be the reasoning behind why it is suggested that young girls are less vulnerable to stress than young boys (Rutter, 1985:601). The fact that girls have better self-esteem helps them to make the right choices in life. This results in positive reinforcement from other individuals which is a resilience-building resource.

Another resilience-promoting resource which seems to be particularly significant in childhood is the opportunity for a child to be able to explore her surroundings. This is illustrated in a study by Chase-Lansdale and Gordon (1996:3341) (see Addendum A). They found that more than seventy-five percent of the 673 children, (292 African-American and 381 white children) from five to six years of age, attending preschool and first grade, who participated in the study, had the opportunity to interact with peers, adults and their environment. The study showed that children who had the opportunity to interact with peers, adults and their surroundings at a young age had more positive socio-emotional and intellectual outcomes, both of which encourage resilience (Chase-Lansdale & Gordon, 1996:3358). Similarly, the emotional support from siblings, cousins, and extended family members for children between the age of two and ten years, encouraged resilience among boys in the Hawaiian longitudinal study (Werner & Smith, 1982:97) (see Addendum A). The support they received encouraged them to explore their environment, which in turn enabled them to build resilience resources.

Children often form attachments to their teachers. These attachments (together with those to parents or primary caregivers) influence the quality of

attachments in subsequent developmental stages. When these attachments are positive they lay the foundation for later positive relationships, thereby promoting resilience (Masten & Wright, 2010: 223).

- Adolescence

The adolescent stage, from approximately eleven years of age upwards, in Piaget's cognitive developmental stages is seen as the formal operational stage (Donald *et al.,* 2010:52). Erikson's developmental stages suggest that adolescence is between approximately twelve to eighteen years (Donald *et al.,* 2010:63-64). Although the exact chronological boundaries of adolescence may also vary across cultures, it is generally considered to be the period between childhood and adulthood, or the attaining of independence (Donald *et al.,* 2010:3). During adolescence, most individuals learn to think in more sophisticated and abstract ways. For many adolescents, this developmental phase is a very stressful time. This is partly because sophisticated thinking makes them aware of complexities in their lifeworlds. It is also partly because adolescence ushers in physical and hormonal changes, and demands that youth achieve a number of complex developmental tasks (such as determining a personal identity) (Donald *et al.,* 2010:63-64).

Blocker and Copeland's (1994:291) research (see Addendum A) noted that resilient youth were freer to do as they pleased in their adolescent years than non-resilient individuals. This offered opportunities for their curiosity to be stimulated, which in turn enhanced their life experiences, extramural interests and social networks, which augmented their resilience resources.

Parenting has been reported to influence adolescent resilience. Anthony (1987b:16) noted that parents who were involved, but not controlling of their offspring, encouraged better adolescent resilience by not overwhelming the child in her adolescent years. Werner and Smith's longitudinal study (1982:124) suggested that the resilience-promoting influence of parents was often related to the same-sex parent (Werner & Smith, 1982:124) (see

Addendum A). Fathers were important to the boys, provided they were present in the household to assist the family with daily activities. Mothers were important to girls, especially in their adolescent years. The daughters who had a good relationship to their mothers were less likely to fall pregnant in their adolescent years.

Relationships to peers are a crucial resilience-promoting resource during adolescence and one that makes sense, given adolescents' gravitation towards peers (rather than adults) during this developmental phase (Masten & Wright, 2010:223). Clauss-Ehlers and Wibrowski (2007:582) (see Addendum A) noted in their study with college students that resilient participants looked forward to the support, relating to academic and social tasks, which they would receive from their peers. Even when participants were not resilient in their younger years, attachments to peers that provided them with academic and psychological support, encouraged resilience. Similarly, the girls in the Hawaiian longitudinal study indicated that their relationships with boyfriends were important support mechanisms to become resilient because they offered support in times of need (Werner & Smith, 1982:123). These are not reported in childhood.

Another interesting finding of Werner and Smith (1982:97) was that good qualities of life, such as sufficient money to meet their basic needs, helped the boys from the Hawaiian longitudinal study, especially during their adolescent years, to become resilient (see Addendum A). In contrast the girls were less resilient in their second decade of life as they had more risks to face, for instance teenage pregnancy (Werner & Smith, 1982:95).

Werner and Smith report that adolescents who had positive self-esteem and who had career aspirations coped more adaptively with risk (1992:199). Grills-Taquechela, Norton and Ollendick (2010) (see Addendum A) reported that positive self-concept is integral to peer acceptance in adolescent years (Grills-Taquechela *et al.,* 2010:507). For this reason, the researchers

suggested that supportive activities to build self-esteem should be implemented in elementary and high schools to help prevent an increase in anxiety for adolescents who have to make a transition from one school to another.

- Adulthood

When an individual is fully-grown and responsible for her own actions, then she is seen as an adult (Hornby, 2011:20). According to Erikson's stages of development (Donald *et al.,* 2010:61-65), an adult is a human being who is fully-grown and independent which typically occurs at approximately 18 to 21 years of age, depending on the social context. Werner and Smith (1982:83) (see Addendum A) indicated that even if individuals are not resilient in their childhood or their adolescent years, they can still become resilient in adulthood. Women are more likely to turn their lives around as young adults, than men (Werner & Smith, 1992:193). The researchers found that by providing opportunities and resilience-promoting resources for adults to cope with difficult situations, participants could become resilient and bounce back in their early thirties. Typical adult resilience-promoting opportunities would relate to graduating from high school, obtaining employment and establishing an attachment to a supportive partner or spouse (Werner, 2006:98) When adults had histories of parental abuse, their achieving resilience was often hampered by severed attachment to these parents (and even siblings), in spite of the fact that these attachments were stressful (Werner, 2006: 98). Wright and Masten (2006:28) also reported that when adults furthered their education or vocational skills, or found acceptance in a church, this offered resilience-enabling opportunities. Most researchers agree that, compared to other life stages, adulthood offers the most turning point opportunities towards resilience (Wright & Masten, 2006:29).

An excellent quote that could be used to summarise why adults can become resilient in their older years is:

"Life can only be understood backwards; but it must be lived forwards." (S. Kierkegaard)

In other words, in addition to the resilience-promoting opportunities for new attachments and vocational success that adulthood offers, it also offers opportunities to reflect critically on the experiences of the past. Wolin and Wolin (1993:207) reported reflexivity as resilience-promoting. By reflecting on the past, adults can learn from it, and plan ahead more competently. They have an opportunity to make the most of the protective system of intelligence, which includes effective processing of information, reflection and planning (Masten & Wright, 2010: 225). In studies of adult resilience, both Van Wormer, Sudduth, and Jackson (2011:418) as well as Knowles (2011:57) confirmed the value of reflection.

- Conclusion

Figure 2.12 summarises resilience-promoting resources in each developmental stage. This summary shows how the resilience-promoting resources vary over time.

Figure 2.12: Some resilience-promoting resources in an individual's development

(iii) Environmental changes over time that influence resilience

The environment is known as the surroundings that influence the behaviour and development of an individual, the physical surroundings in which an individual exists in (Hornby, 2010:491). When physical surroundings change, individuals can be placed at risk and their resilience put to the test. Think, for example, of how natural disasters (e.g. hurricanes, earthquakes, drought, and floods) alter the physical environments of people and test their resilience. Lemieux, Piummer, Riciiardson, Simon and Ai (2010:399) reported on the mental health, substance abuse and coping abilities of 416 social work students after Hurricane Katrina and Hurricane Rita struck (See Addendum A). The researchers found that close to half the participants (51.4%) were overwhelmed by the experience of the hurricane in their environment. Some

(47%) also showed signs of depression and six percent showed signs of post traumatic stress after their environments were tremendously altered. These students had been leading functional lives prior to the changes to their physical environment, brought about by the hurricanes. Subsequent to these natural disasters they demonstrated behaviour that suggested vulnerability. Lemieux *et al.* (2010:391) stress the importance of providing individuals with information and supervision to support them in becoming resilient, or regaining resilience, after an environmental catastrophe occurs.

Not only natural disasters, but terrorist attacks could also have a grave impact on the environment. Think for example of the terrorist attacks on the 11th of September 2001 which left the New York landscape changed forever. Ai, Cascio, Santangelo and Evans-Campbell (2005:525) were interested in finding out what helped the survivors to cope resiliently with this trauma. The participants, 457 graduate and undergraduate students from three different universities (See Addendum A), reported that hope and religious beliefs helped them to overcome the traumatic event that happened to their surroundings. Nevertheless, some of the participants remained challenged and feared for their safety. A known, trusted environment had become a place that provoked anxiety and challenged resilience (Ai *et al.,* 2005:536). Correspondingly, Laufer and Solomon (2006:435) wanted to explore the effect terrorist attacks had on Israeli children after a period of repeated attacks lasting a few months. Their findings showed that some children (26.5%) had mild symptoms of post-traumatic stress and less than 1% showed signs of severe or very severe symptoms of post-traumatic stress. Laufer and Solomon (2006:440) suggested that the low levels of post-traumatic stress were accounted for by the fact that the daily routine of the children did not change much after the attacks took place. The children went to school and parents went to work. The researchers reported that by continuing with a routine, experiences of how the environment had changed were limited and this helped the individuals to function resiliently.

More recently, researchers have begun to report a phenomenon called post-traumatic growth, which refers to how people are enabled to grow personally as a result of experiences of trauma and/or disaster (Baumgardner & Crothers, 2010:66-67). This implies that changes to the environment over time can challenge and impede resilience (such as the negative effects reported by the survivors of the hurricane or the September 11 attack) or it can promote resilience. For example, even though the terrorist attack of September 11 had an immense impact on the environment and on local Americans, there were those who saw a positive element in this terrorist event. One participant said: "I personally don't want to forget the good that came from the tragedy". Others indicated that their spiritual connections increased as a result of the terrorist attack (Ai *et al.,* 2005:538) and that this increased their resilience.

In addition to environmental changes as a result of natural or manmade disasters, Sameroff (2009:9) indicates that the ever-changing technological and social advances also constantly change our environment. Edgerton (2008:1) noted that technological advances in the past century changed our environment irrevocably. From the 1900s to the 1940s electricity, motor vehicles and aviation are seen to be of the most important technological advances. The period after the Second World War was the time of nuclear power, computers, space missiles and the internet. Just think of how the internet has opened up the way in which the world of virtual technology can be accessed from a personal computer (Chittister & Haimes, 2011:1). Concomitant with internet advances, social media (like Facebook or Twitter) have become the order of the day. As with disasters and traumas, these advances can either challenge or promote resilience, depending on how they are interpreted and used. Masten and Obradovic (2008) noted that one should reflect on and benefit from the developmental changes of our times in order for these to be resilience-promoting in one's experience. For example, therapists and mental health workers have made good use of resilience-promoting stories in electronic form (e.g. DVDs) to encourage youth resilience (Brink, 2008), and researchers and activists have made use of visual media

(e.g. videos) and electronic media (e.g. blogs) to encourage meaning making and behaviours that promote resilience (Mitchell, Theron, Stuart & Smith, 2011:19).

2.3.4.1 Conclusion

If one looks at the study of resilience from the first resilience researchers, such as Garmezy, (1984), Werner and Smith, (1982) and Rutter (1976), to the present, the perspectives of resilience have changed considerably. Just as resilience research has changed over time, so too do individuals and their environments change, and these changes impact the resilience process. In summary, the chronosystem incorporates the environmental changes over time and the individual's developmental growth within a dynamic understanding of resilience. Viewing chronosystemic influences on resilience foregrounds recognition of the variability of resilience. If an individual is not resilient in childhood, it is not a foregone conclusion that she will not be able to become resilient when she is an adult and vice versa (Masten & Powell, 2003:4; Rutter, 2006:4). Figure 2.13 below, summarises the resilience-promoting resources in the chronosystem.

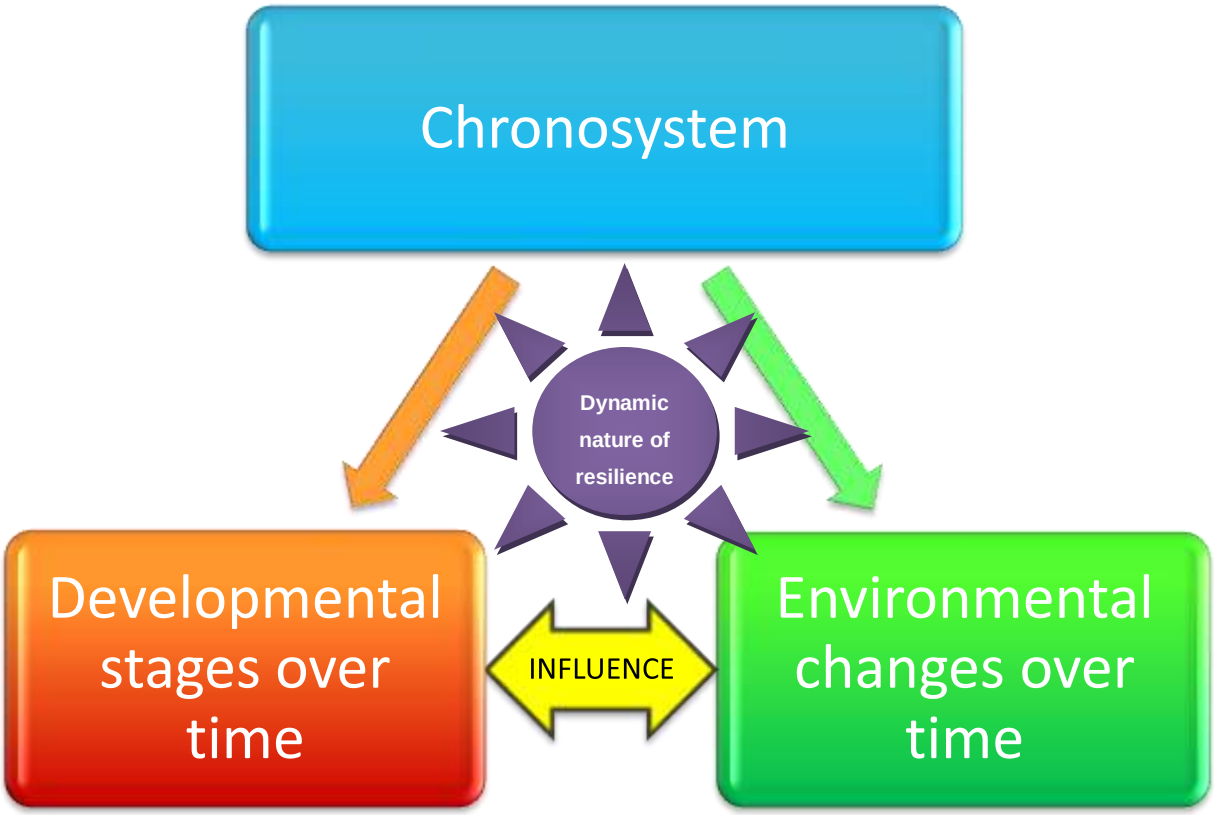


Figure 2.13: Summary of chronosystemic resilience as reported in 2.3.4

2.3.8 Ecosystemic Resilience Protective Resources Summarised

In conclusion, it is possible that several or all of the above-mentioned ecosystemic resilience-promoting resources in the micro-, exo- macro- and chronosystems could encourage resilience in individuals. However, as previous studies (Masten & Reed, 2005; Ungar *et al.,* 2008; Ungar, 2011) caution against assuming that resilience antecedents are true for all youth and at all ages, it is necessary to explore whether the above (or other) antecedents encourage youth resilience within the context and culture of my study. This means that the dynamic nature of resilience should be taken into account (Knowles, 2011:60; Masten & Obradovic, 2008; Masten & Wright, 2010:22; Rutter, 2006:4; Ungar, 2010b:421).

It is also important to remember that although the resilience-promoting resources above are discussed, each under their own subheadings, one can not work without the other. All the protective resources should work together

to promote resilience (Ungar, 2011:12). The micro-, meso-, exo-, macro- and chronosystem are all interwoven within the socio-ecology of a child, creating a holistic environment (Bolger & Patterson, 2003:163; Dass-Brailsford, 2005:582; Fergusson & Horwood, 2003:134; Harvey & Delfabbro, 2004:05; McCubbin & McCubbin, 2005:40; Theron *et al.,* 2011:803; Ungar *et al.,* 2007:288; Werner & Smith, 1982:90). The microsystemic resources reported in previous studies are interrelated. For example, high motivation, parental competence and supportive siblings (Werner, 2006:95-96) probably reinforce one another as resources of resilience (Masten & Wright, 2010:215). However, Masten and Wright (2010:228-229) caution that resilience is supported by more than microsystemic interrelations, or mesosystemic resources. Resilience relies on interacting resources found throughout the youth's ecosystem. Therefore, in my visual summary below (see Figure 2.14) I have used broken or dotted lines to draw attention to the interwoven, co-determining roles of resilience-promoting resources in the process of resilience.

The following figure (Figure 2.14) is a summary of the ecosystemic protective resources discussed above.

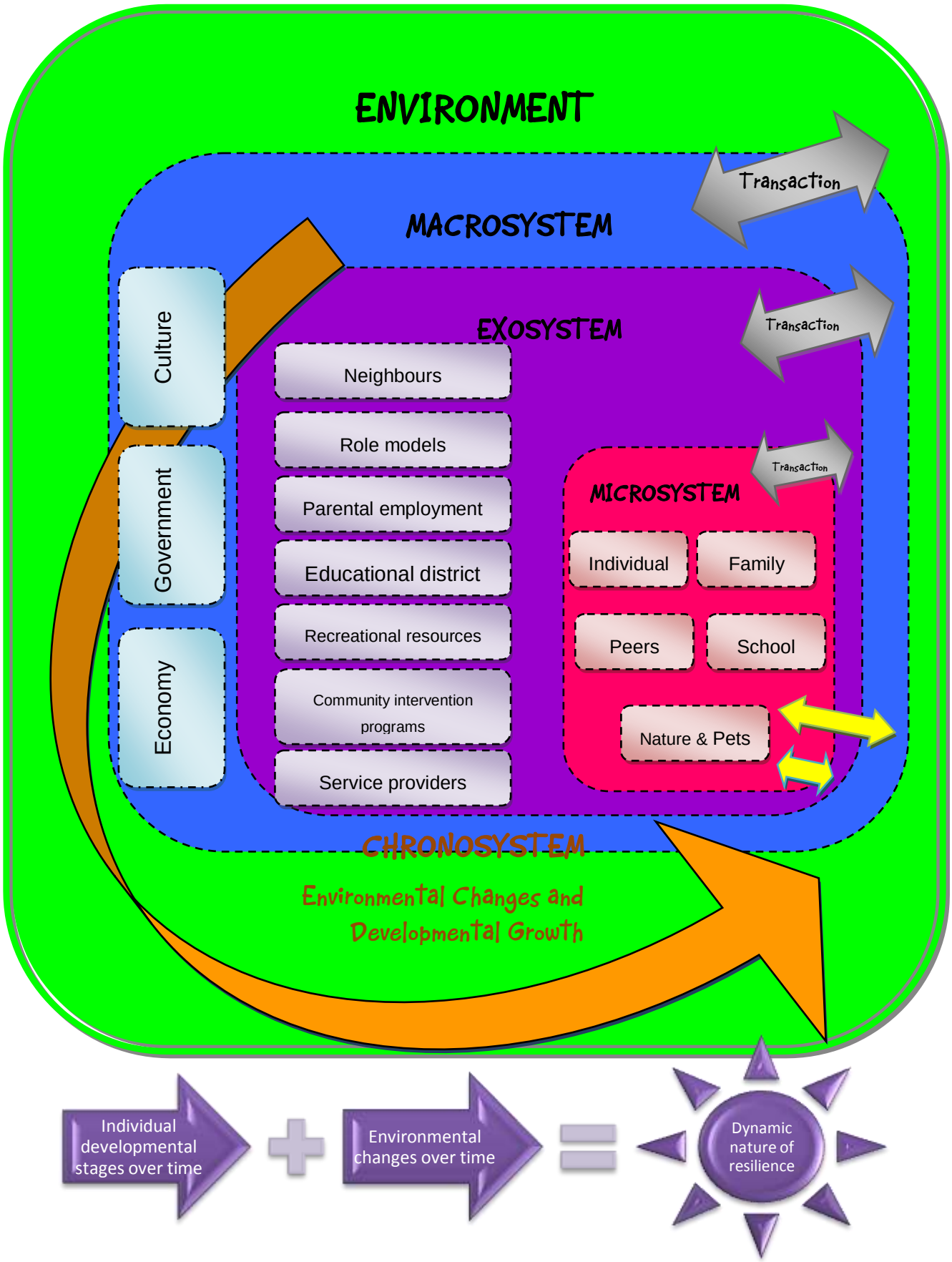


Figure 2.14: Summary of protective resources in the ecosystem

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD

Overview of Chapter Three

Figure 3.1: Overview of Chapter Three

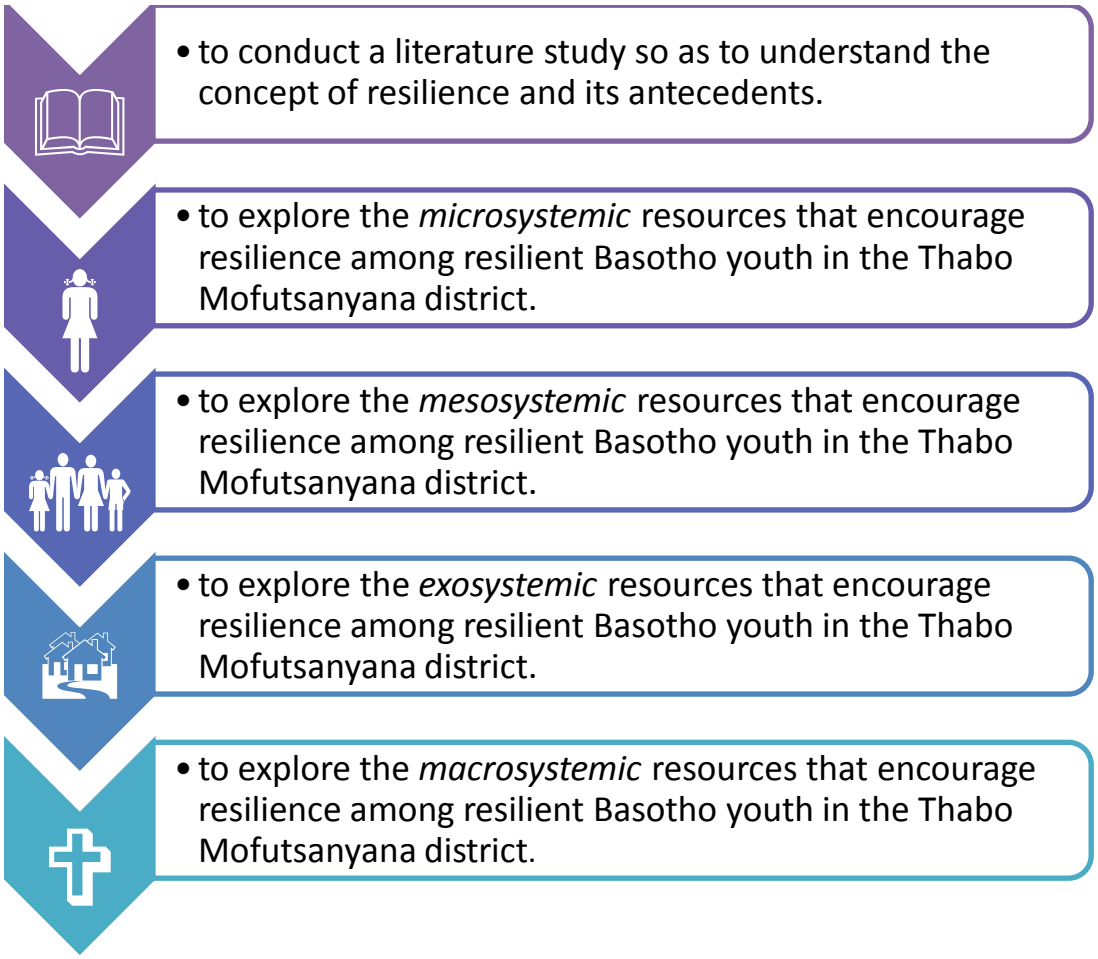
3.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Three includes information pertaining to my qualitative study. The chapter explains how I arrived at an understanding of the socio-ecological resilience-promoting antecedents of resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province, using a qualitative research design, with pictures and scripts as the research method.

3.2 RESEARCH AIM

My aim stemmed from the caution by international researchers against assuming that previously reported resilience-promoting resources are true for all youth across contexts and cultures (Masten & Wright, 2010:229). It also

stemmed from Theron and Theron's (2010) call for deeper studies of the indigenous roots of South African youth resilience. Therefore the aim of my study was to identify and understand the social-ecological resources which encourage resilience among resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province. This aim consists of the following sub-aims:



3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD

I used a qualitative research design in my study to investigate the socio-ecological antecedents of resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province (Maree & van der Westhuizen, 2007:32). This design consists of a phenomenological strategy of inquiry (Creswell, 2009:177) using participatory visual methods (Theron, 2008:33). I did a literature study (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:64) to ground my empirical research.

3.3.1 Literature Study

A literature study was conducted that focused on resilience and its background, and the antecedents of resilience, using Ungar's Socio-Ecological Perspective (2011). The literature review formed the foundation of my study, and influenced the meaning I made of the data. My literature research was structured according to Bronfenbrenner's ecosystemic theory (1979), and included a review of protective resources categorised as:

Microsystemic resources - Individual, family, peer, environmental resources

Exosystemic resources - Community, recreation, service providers

Macrosystemic resources - Culture, government, economy

Chronosystemic resources - Developmental stages over time, environmental changes over time

Literature was gathered from primary and secondary sources including academic journals, relevant textbooks, government publications, dictionaries, dissertations, interviews, newspaper articles, on-line resources and surveys concerning the ecosystemic resources needed to do well in life. Different search engines included JSTORE, EBSCOhost, Alphabetical List of Journals @ NWU (North-West University), Google and Google Scholar. The primary words that I used in conducting searches were - ecosystemic model, interpersonal resources, intrapersonal resources, protective resources, resilience, and social-ecology. These led to additional key-word searches. The following figure (Figure 3.2) summarises key words that were used in the systemic literature search:

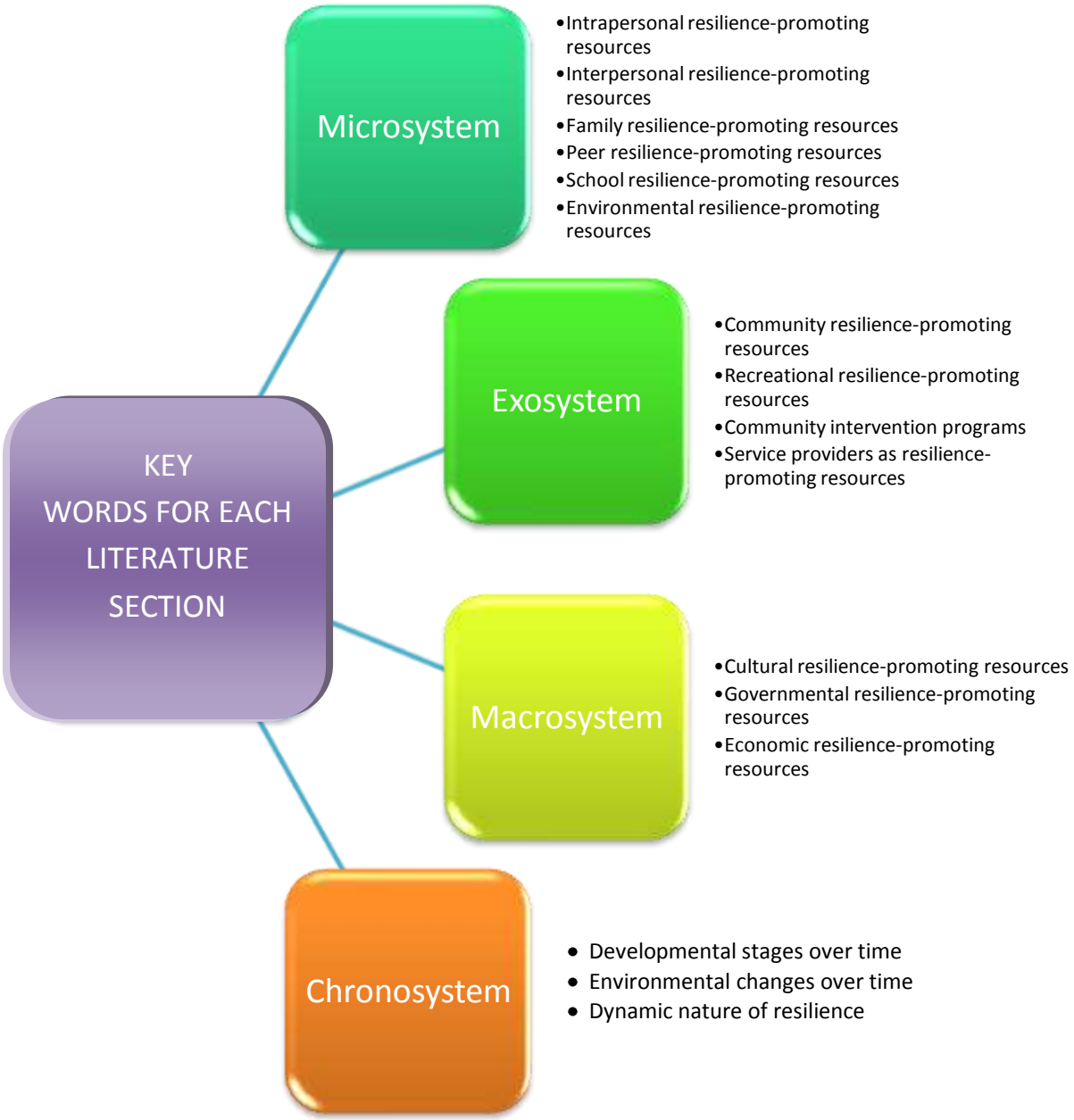


Figure 3.2: Key words used in each section of my literature study

These key words enabled me to identify the socio-ecological antecedents of resilience in previous studies done internationally and nationally. They also guided me to a better understanding of what might contribute to the resilience of resilient Basotho youth who were the focus of my study.

3.3.2 Empirical Study

In my study I wanted to understand the phenomenon of resilience among resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province. For this reason I used a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach. Using a qualitative approach (Maree & van der Westhuizen, 2007:32), allowed me to use non-numerical forms of data collection that would deepen my understanding of the phenomenon, rather than to quantify or predict it. I conducted a phenomenological study (Creswell, 2009:13) in which I used drawings and written explanations of the drawings (Mitchell, 2008:365; Theron, 2008:33) as method of data generation (Creswell 2009:178). I provide the details below.

3.3.2.1 Qualitative approach

Nieuwenhuis (2007b:50) indicates that qualitative data attempts to gather rich explanatory information on a certain phenomenon or circumstance in order to build upon an understanding of what is known. For the purpose of my study I wanted to understand the nature of the resilience-promoting resources resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province found helpful to do well in life, or be resilient. Such understanding would allow me to build on what is known about resilience-promoting resources for youth in general and South African youth in particular. The reason I chose a qualitative approach is because qualitative research focuses on how the participants see the world, and on their perspective of the experiences they have had (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:64; Nieuwenhuis, 2007b:50). This is exactly what I had wished to discover. My qualitative study focused on ascertaining which ecological resources, as experienced by participants, played a part in their resilience (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b:51). Instead of just asking participants to itemise what enabled them do well in life, or to complete a questionnaire relative to their resilience, I wanted to understand their perceptions of what, in their ecological systems, contributed to their resilience (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:133). I believed a qualitative

approach, and more specifically a phenomenological strategy, would facilitate this.

3.3.2.2 Phenomenological strategy

According to Leedy and Ormrod (2005:139) a phenomenological study is a study that tries to comprehend an individual's point of view, perceptions, and understanding of a specific phenomenon as experienced by that person. In other words, a phenomenological study relies on the participants' interpretation of the phenomenon, based on the participants' 'lived experiences' of that phenomenon (Creswell, 2007:57). However, the researcher's interpretation of the participants' interpretation of this experience is also a critical part in understanding the research (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b:59). This is why my study is rooted in an interpretive approach which flows from the interpretive paradigm as discussed in Chapter One. In addition, the meaning that researchers connect to certain data could be influenced by the researcher's own set of hypothesis, beliefs and values (Creswell, 2009:176; Nieuwenhuis, 2007b:47). For this reason, it is important for the researcher to position herself as the instrument of research (as done in Chapter One). Although a phenomenological strategy generally provides a deep understanding of the phenomenon in question, it can be challenging because it is not always easy to bracket or set aside one's assumptions. Furthermore, the researcher needs to find multiple individuals who have had experience of this phenomenon and this is not always an easy task (Creswell, 2007: 62).

3.3.2.3 Visual method: the draw-and-write technique

Within the context of my phenomenological study I made use of a visual method. A visual method or study can be defined as accumulating visual data such as drawings, pictures, photos, cinematic-text, video productions, and other forms to understand the expression of the participant's point of view (Mitchell, 2008:365). I limited the visual data to hand-made drawings, specifically drawings accompanied by written explanations (Guillemin,

2004:274), to generate data. This method has also been called the 'draw-and-write-method' (Guillemin, 2004:285).

Drawings are a form of projection that allows the participant to express perceptions of an experience/phenomenon onto a self-selected symbol (Theron, 2008:33). Progressively, qualitative research is including drawings to assist the study of a broader range of social, physical and psychological occurrences. Drawings offer a fairly simple method for participants to portray their experience or their perceptions of a phenomenon and this has encouraged increased use of this method in the social sciences (Mitchell *et al.,* 2011:31).

There are many advantages in using drawings and accompanying explanations to generate data. Theron, Stuart, Mitchell and Campbell (2011:51) comment that drawings can potentially be understood by everyone. Drawings in other South African studies (Theron, 2008:31) have been used to encourage participants to express the source of their resilience in a non-evasive, resourceful way. For example, Malindi and Theron (2011:106) used drawings to explore the resilience of street youth and Theron *et al.* (2011:55) used drawings to explore the resilience of teachers affected by HIV & AIDS. In both studies, this data collection method was described as efficacious. Another reason why I chose drawings was the inexpensive nature of this medium which was a familiar one to my adolescent participants. The suitability of this method was also confirmed by the Advisory Panel (cf. 3.3.2.4) of the larger Pathways to Resilience study. An additional strength of this method is that illustrations do not call for linguistic ability to express emotion, perception and experiences (Mitchell, 2008:368): in other words, the data are partly nonverbal data (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:96). The general idea was that the drawings would 'communicate' for the participants.

There are limitations to using drawings. Many researchers question the trustworthiness of how the content of a drawing is analysed. An important

way to obviate this limitation is to include participants in the analysis of the drawing (Mitchell *et al.,* 2011:20), as I did in my study (see below).

As noted above, I used a draw-and-write method (Guillemin, 2004:285). Based on their personal experiences, this method allowed participants to draw what they believed helped them to do well in life and then write an explanation of their own drawing. Using drawings awakened the imagination of the participants and did not limit them to the answering of specific questions. Liebenberg (2009:1) suggests that visual methods help the participants to feel that they are in control of the research procedure because there are no boundaries to what they may draw. Similarly, Sameroff (2009:11) indicated that symbols offer a dynamic or simplified understanding that is not easily expressed in words. Mitchell *et al*. (2011:21) refer to Participatory Visual Research Methodologies (PVRM) in which the participants are actively participating in the research and are respected as knowledge producers. By allowing the participants to choose what they would like to draw (i.e. by providing a general prompt) and then asking them to explain this, they were encouraged to make the knowledge, derived from their experience, visible. This potentiated a better understanding of their context and of the antecedents of their resilience, as experienced and perceived by them (Liebenberg, 2009:4).

Theron *et al.* (2011:52) expressed the importance of the competency of the researcher when drawings are used as research method. They indicate that the researcher conducting the study should be continuously expanding her knowledge of the understanding of visual research techniques. They also suggest that the researcher herself should do what is expected of the participants. For example, if participants are required to draw a picture of what helped them to do well in life, the researcher should first draw a picture of what helped her to achieve in life. This enables the researcher to evaluate the research prompt and the difficulty of the assignment, before asking the

participants to complete it. I applied Theron *et al.'s* (2011:52) advice: The following picture is my depiction of what made me resilient in my life.

My own picture

Through this exercise I determined that the prompt used was clear and I knew exactly what to do in order to answer the question. I found it quite enlightening to reflect on my past. Drawing my picture also created an expectation within me of how the participants would experience their involvement in my study and reminded me not to assume that their resources would be the same. I anticipated that the participants would also reflect on their own pictures and appreciate the resilience-promoting resources that contributed to their resilience up to this point in their lives. I also tested the prompt with the Advisory Panel: each member drew a picture of what had encouraged their resilience. After this exercise, the panel verified that the prompt was clear and user-friendly for youth in this rural context (Theron, 2010).

3.3.2.4 Participants

In South Africa, the Pathways to Resilience project recruited 1200 youth in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district (Bethlehem and Phuthaditjhaba regions) of the eastern Free State, to participate in the project. Within this overall group of participants, 800 were school going, 200 were service users and 200 were identified by an Advisory Panel as being resilient (Ungar, 2009:13).

As I wished to establish the nature of the ecological resources which encouraged resilience among resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province I worked only with the 200 participants that were identified as resilient. My participants were, therefore, purposefully chosen (Creswell, 2009:178; Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:206). Resilient participants were recruited for the Pathways to Resilience project by an Advisory Panel, consisting of 9 local professionals and elders from the Thabo Mofutsanyana district. This panel worked with South African researchers from the Pathways to Resilience project to formulate a working definition of resilience that reflected their local context of poverty (see Addendum B for this definition). Using this definition, the panel invited 200 youth who came from homes that were poverty-stricken, but fitted the profile of resilience, to participate in the Pathways to Resilience project (Theron, Malindi & Theron, forthcoming).

In the course of data generation, 130 of these 200 resilient youth were invited to draw pictures of, what they considered to be, the roots of their resilience. These 130 pictures, drawn by resilient participants, contributed to my exploration of what the ecological roots of their resilience were. The 130 participants were randomly selected by the research assistants who, in the process of collecting other data, invited them to draw a picture of what in their experience had encouraged their resilience. One hundred and thirty participants facilitated data saturation (Strydom & Delport, 2011:393); a point in the research where similar information is frequently being stated and no new information is presented. There was no need to extend the number of participants because data saturation had occurred.

The following table (Table 3.1) provides background information of the participants. In addition to this information, all of these participants come from families where there was either no source of income, or limited income (e.g. domestic worker wages, menial labourer wages).

Participant	Gender	Age	Highest grade completed at time of study	Languages spoken and understood	Area	Institution	Residing with	Number of meals per day[3]	Proud of cultural back-ground	Opinion of safety in the community
FR4	Female	15	8	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School A	Biological father	3	A lot	Very safe
FR87	Female	16	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological mother	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR88	Female	18	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological parents	4	A lot	Not safe at all
FR89	Female	16	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological parents	2	A lot	Not safe at all
FR90	Female	17	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological mother	3	A little bit	Somewhat safe
FR91	Female	18	5	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School C	Biological parents	3	Quite a bit	-
FR92	Male	19	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School C	Biological mother	2	A lot	Not safe at all
FR93	Female	16	9	ZULU, SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School C	Biological parents	1	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR94	Female	18	10	SESOTHO, ENGLISH	QwaQwa	School C	Biological mother	4	A lot	Not safe at all
FR95	Female	17	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School C	Biological father	3	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR96	Female	17	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School C	Biological parents	1	Somewhat	Not safe at all
FR97	Female	17	10	SESOTHO, ZULU	QwaQwa	School C	Biological parents	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR98	Female	16	10	ZULU, SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School C	Biological parents	2	Quite a bit	Somewhat safe
FR99	Female	19	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School C	Guardian	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR100	Female	18	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological mother	3	A little bit	Somewhat safe
FR101	Female	17	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological mother	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR102	Male	17	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological parents	4	Quite a bit	Not safe at all
FR103	Male	18	10	SESOTHO, ENGLISH	QwaQwa	School B	Biological parents	3	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR104	Female	17	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Guardian	4	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR105	Male	17	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological mother	3	A lot	Somewhat safe

[3] The advisory panel emphasized that more than 2 meals per day did not signify nutritious intake of food. In most instances, youth in this study ate maize-meal for all their meals.

Participant	Gender	Age	Highest grade completed at time of study	Languages spoken and understood	Area	Institution	Residing with	Number of meals per day	Proud of cultural back-ground	Opinion of safety in the community
FR106	Male	18	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological father	1	A lot	Not safe at all
FR107	Female	17	10	SESOTHO, XHOSA	QwaQwa	School B	Biological mother	1	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR108	Female	17	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Guardian	3	Quite a bit	Somewhat safe
FR109	Male	18	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological parents	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR110	Male	17	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological parents	3	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR111	Male	17	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological parents	2	A lot	Very safe
FR112	Female	17	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological mother	3	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR113	Male	18	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological mother	3	A little bit	Not safe at all
FR114	Male	18	10	ZULU, SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological parents	3	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR115	Male	16	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological parents		A little bit	Somewhat safe
FR116	Male	17	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Lives on own	3	A little bit	Somewhat safe
FR117	Male	16	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological parents	4	A little bit	Somewhat safe
FR118	Female	19	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological parents	3	Somewhat	Not safe at all
FR119	Male	19	10	SESOTHO, ISIXHOSA, ENGLISH	QwaQwa	School B	Biological father	2	Somewhat	Somewhat safe
FR120	Male	17	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Guardian	4	A lot	Very safe
FR121	Male	18	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological mother	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR122	-	18	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Child headed family	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR123	Male	17	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological mother	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR124	Female	18	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological mother	3	Quite a bit	Not safe at all
FR125	Female	16	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Guardian	4	Somewhat	Not safe at all
FR126	Female	18	10	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School B	Biological mother	2	A lot	Not safe at all
FR127	Female	15	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	Foster parents	4	A lot	Not safe at all
FR128	Female	16	9	SESOTHO, ENGLISH	QwaQwa	School D	Child headed family	3	Somewhat	Not safe at all

Participant	Gender	Age	Highest grade completed at time of study	Languages spoken and understood	Area	Institution	Residing with	Number of meals per day	Proud of cultural back-ground	Opinion of safety in the community
FR129	Female	16	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	Biological mother	2	A little bit	Not safe at all
FR130	Female	16	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	-	2	A little bit	Somewhat safe
FR131	Female	16	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	Biological father	3	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR132	Male	18	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	Lives on own	3	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR134	Male	16	9	TSWANA, SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	Biological parents	5	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR135	Female	16	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	Biological mother	3	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR136	Female	16	9	ZULU, ENGLISH, SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	Guardian	4	Somewhat	Somewhat safe
FR137	Female	16	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	Biological mother	2	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR138	Female	16	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	Biological mother	4	Somewhat	Somewhat safe
FR139	Female	15	9	SESOTHO, ZULU	QwaQwa	School D	Biological father	1	A lot	Very safe
FR140	Male	19	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	Biological parents	2	A lot	Not safe at all
FR141	Male	19	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	Biological parents	2	A little bit	Not safe at all
FR143	Female	17	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	Biological mother	2	Not at all	Not safe at all
FR144	Female	16	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	Biological mother	5	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR145	Female	18	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	Biological parents	8	A lot	Not safe at all
FR146	Male	19	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	Biological parents	2	A lot	Not safe at all
FR147	Female	14	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Guardian	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR148	Female	14	6	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Biological parents	1	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR149	Female	15	8	SESOTHO, ZULU	Bethlehem	School E	Biological parents	1	A little bit	Not safe at all
FR150	Female	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Biological parents	2	A lot	Not safe at all
FR151	Female	13	7	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Biological parents	1	A lot	Not safe at all
FR152	Female	14	6	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Child headed family	1	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR153	Female	13	6	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Guardian	3	A lot	Not safe at all

Participant	Gender	Age	Highest grade completed at time of study	Languages spoken and understood	Area	Institution	Residing with	Number of meals per day	Proud of cultural back-ground	Opinion of safety in the community
FR156	Male	14	3	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	-	3	-	Not safe at all
FR157	Male	15	6	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Guardian	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR158	Male	15	8	ZULU, SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Guardian	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR159	Male	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Guardian	5	Somewhat	Not safe at all
FR160	Male	18	10	ZULU, SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Guardian	4	A little bit	Not safe at all
FR161	Male	15	8	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School F	Biological mother	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR162	Female	16	8	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School F	Biological mother	2	A lot	Not safe at all
FR163	Male	15	8	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School F	Guardian	2	A lot	Not safe at all
FR164	Female	14	7	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School F	Biological parents	3	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR165	Male	17	7	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School F	Guardian	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR166	Female	14	7	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School F	Guardian	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR167	Male	17	9	SESOTHO, ZULU	QwaQwa	School D	Biological mother	3	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR168	Female	16	9	SESOTHO	QwaQwa	School D	Biological parents	3	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR171	Female	16	9	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Guardian	1	Quite a bit	Not safe at all
FR173	Female	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Guardian	3	Quite a bit	Not safe at all
FR174	Female	13	6	XHOSA, SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Biological father	3	Quite a bit	Not safe at all
FR175	Female	16	9	SEPEDI, SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Child headed family	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR176	Female	13	5	SESOTHO, XHOSA	Bethlehem	School E	Biological father	3	A lot	Very safe
FR177	Female	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Biological mother	4	A lot	Not safe at all
FR178	Female	14	7	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Biological mother	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR179	Female	14	7	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School E	Guardian	3	A lot	Very safe
FR180	Male	15	8	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School F	Guardian	3	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR181	Female	14	6	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School F	Biological mother	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR182	Male	13	6	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School F	Biological mother	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR183	Male	14	7	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School F	Biological mother	3	A lot	Not safe at all

Participant	Gender	Age	Highest grade completed at time of study	Languages spoken and understood	Area	Institution	Residing with	Number of meals per day	Proud of cultural back-ground	Opinion of safety in the community
FR184	Male	13	6	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School F	Biological parents	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR185	Male	15	8	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School F	Biological mother	2	A lot	Not safe at all
FR186	Female	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Biological parents	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR187	Male	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Foster parents	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR188	Female	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Biological parents	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR189	Female	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	-	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR190	Female	14	4	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	-	3	Quite a bit	Not safe at all
FR191	Female	14	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	-	3	Quite a bit	Not safe at all
FR192	Female	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Biological mother	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR193	Female	14	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Biological mother	2	A lot	Not safe at all
FR194	Male	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Guardian	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR195	Female	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Biological parents	3	A lot	Very safe
FR196	Female	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Biological parents	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR197	Female	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Guardian	4	A lot	Not safe at all
FR198	Female	13	4	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Guardian	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR199	Female	13	4	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Biological mother	3	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR200	Male	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Biological mother	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR201	Female	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Biological mother	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR202	Female	13	4	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Biological parents	3	Quite a bit	Not safe at all
FR203	Female	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Biological parents	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR204	Female	14	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Biological mother	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR205	Male	14	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Biological parents	2	A lot	Not safe at all
FR207	Male	13	5	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School G	Biological mother	3	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR401	Male	17	10	SESOTHO, ZULU, ENGLISH	Bethlehem	School H	Biological mother	3	Quite a bit	Somewhat safe
FR402	Female	19	10	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School H	Biological parents	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR403	Male	18	9	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School H	Guardian	3	A lot	Somewhat safe

Participant	Gender	Age	Highest grade completed at time of study	Languages spoken and understood	Area	Institution	Residing with	Number of meals per day	Proud of cultural back-ground	Opinion of safety in the community
FR404	Male	16	9	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School H	Biological mother	4	Quite a bit	Not safe at all
FR405	Female	16	9	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School H	Biological mother	5	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR406	Female	18	9	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School H	Guardian	3	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR408	Female	16	9	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School H	Guardian	4	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR409	Male	16	9	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School H	Biological parents	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR410	Female	17	9	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School H	Biological mother	2	A lot	Not safe at all
FR411	Female	16	9	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School H	Biological mother	3	Somewhat	Somewhat safe
FR412	Male	19	11	SESOTHO, ENGLISH	Bethlehem	School H	Biological mother	4	A lot	Somewhat safe
FR413	Male	19	10	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School H	Biological mother	3	Not at all	Somewhat safe
FR414	Male	19	10	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School H	Guardian	2	A lot	Not safe at all
FR415	Female	19	10	SESOTHO, ZULU	Bethlehem	School H	Biological mother	3	A lot	Not safe at all
FR416	Male	17	10	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School H	Biological parents	4	Not at all	Not safe at all
FR417	Female	17	10	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School H	Guardian	4	A lot	Not safe at all
FR419	Female	18	10	SESOTHO	Bethlehem	School H	Biological mother	3	A lot	Somewhat safe

Table 3.1: Summary of participant information

3.3.2.5 Data collection process

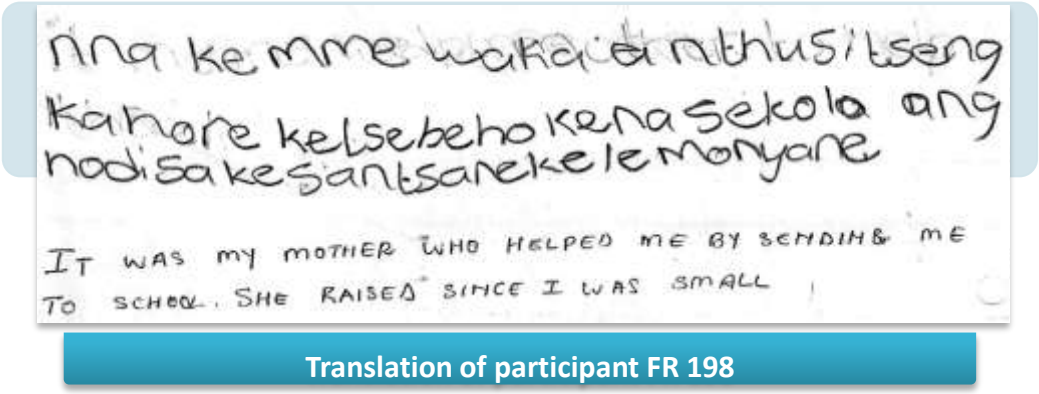
The project's research assistants (community members who are affiliated with the Pathways to Resilience project and who were trained as research assistants by the research team) collected the data from the participants at a time which was convenient to them. I was present when drawings, as a method of research, were demonstrated to the local team members and the Advisory Panel, and participated actively in this training (Theron, 2010). I was not present when the youth drew their pictures as the community liaison officer was concerned that my presence, as a white outsider to the local

community, might have embarrassed or inhibited the participants. I am aware that this posed limitations regarding my verification of the contents with the participants, but I was respectful of the local community's wishes (Theron *et al.,* 2011:55).

The way in which the drawings were generated is as follows (personal communication with Dr. M.J. Malindi, 2011). Each participant was invited to think of what they had experienced as resilience-promoting in their ecology and asked to draw this (Guillemin, 2004:274; Theron, 2008:31). The exact prompt was: "What has helped you to do well in your life so far? Please draw what has helped you to do well in your life so far. REMEMBER, IT IS NOT ABOUT HOW WELL YOU DRAW, BUT ABOUT WHAT YOU DRAW" (see Addendum C). Each participant was provided with a blank piece of paper (with only the question on it) and a grey HB pencil. It was important that the emphasis was on what the participants drew and not on how well they drew (Mitchell *et al.,* 2011:23). For this reason the research assistants reassured the youth that the quality of their drawings was not the focus of the exercise. After the participants had drawn their image/s they were requested to write a few sentences on the back of the page explaining their drawing. The following prompt was used to guide their explanation (it was also typed on their page): "Please help us to understand what your drawing means by writing a couple of sentences explaining what it means." (see Addendum C). If participants preferred, they could explain their drawing verbally and this would be recorded by the research assistants.

By involving community members as research assistants who could speak the participants' language, the participants had the freedom to speak in their mother tongue. The participants could choose to explain their pictures in English or in their mother tongue, Sesotho, as research assistants who speak Sesotho translated and back-translated the scripts into English (see translation below (FR-198)). Only four participants' pages were translated into

English by the advisory panel, as participants mainly wrote in English (although their spelling was poor, the explanations were understandable).



Mitchell *et al.* (2011:23) indicate that not all participants will be equally enthusiastic about drawing a picture and may feel threatened by what is expected of them. Consequently they suggest that participants be reassured, given a choice of drawing tools, not hurried and requested to share in the analysis. These guidelines (Mitchell *et al.,* 2011:23-27) were respected as summarised below (Figure 3.3).

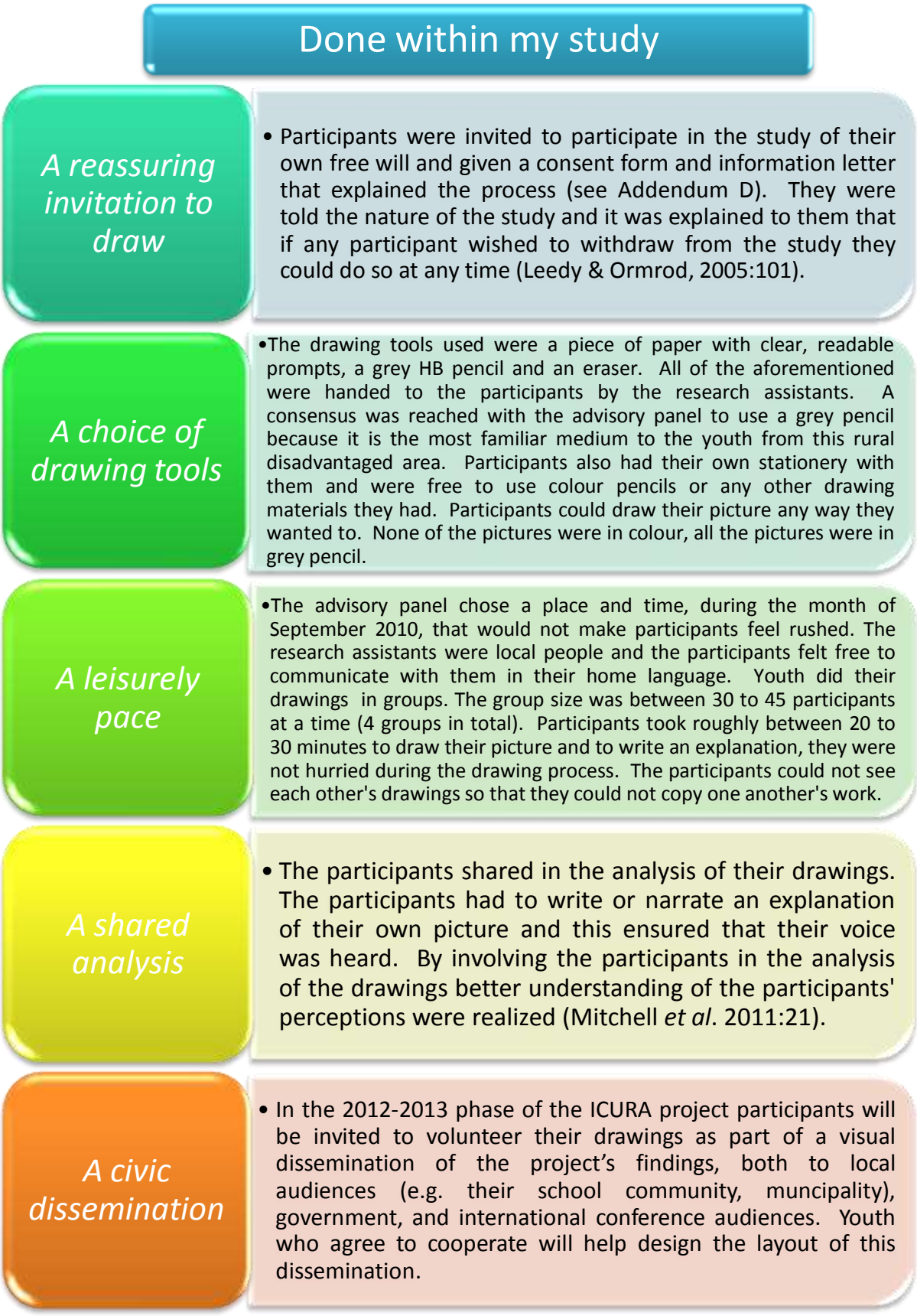


Figure 3.3: Steps to reassure participants of visual data collection process (Mitchell *et al.*, 2011:23-27)

3.3.2.6 Data analysis

According to Creswell (2009:183) data analysis is the process whereby a researcher tries to construct meaning from the visual or written data generated in the study. Through the data analysis I sought to acquire an understanding of the nature of the resilience-promoting resources of the participants (Creswell, 2009:4; Nieuwenhuis, 2007a:99). I endeavoured to make meaning of the phenomenon of resilience through the insight, experience, and opinions of the participants, in a qualitative way. The specific body of material used in my study, which was analysed, consisted of the drawings and written explanations of the participants.

Nieuwenhuis, (2007a:99) mentioned that by using only deductive analysis the possibility exists of there being a pre-constructed perception which could influence the trustworthiness of the qualitative findings. Therefore the data obtained were analysed by means of inductive and deductive content analysis (Creswell, 2009:175; Ellingson, 2009:55; Merriam, 2008; Maree & van der Westhuizen, 2007:37).

Inductive content analysis (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:142; Nieuwenhuis, 2007a:99) is an in-depth and organized, bottom-up assessment of the content of a particular body of material in order to determine patterns, themes, or biases in the data (Creswell, 2009:184; Ellingson, 2009:55). Inductive content analysis starts with the raw data and looks for emerging themes within this data. Within my study the raw data came from the content of the drawings done by each participant, and the explanations given by them. The identification of the themes and categories which I report in Chapter Four is based on the content of this raw data (Nieuwenhuis 2007a:107). This means that the findings emerged from the raw data and that I did not match data to a specific, pre-determined theme. My content was analysed from the bottom upwards (Creswell, 2009:175).

On the other hand, deductive coding refers to a process where the themes or categories are perceived beforehand. This is also known as *a priori* coding (Nieuwenhuis, 2007a:99). Because of my research question, I wished to determine which socio-ecological resources are resilience-promoting for my participants. This implied a pre-determined set of categories flowing from the theoretical framework of Bronfenbrenner's Ecology of Human Development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Therefore, although I coded my raw data inductively, I organised the emerging themes according to my theoretical perspective of micro-, exo-, macro, and chronosystems (Donald *et al*., 2010:40). I, therefore, analysed my data inductively to discover the resilience-promoting resources of the participants, but I also used deductive analysis because I categorised the emerging findings according to Bronfenbrenner's systems.

Creswell (2009:184) suggests that researchers should use certain steps in analysing qualitative data inductively. He mentions that a researcher could use a linear approach, as seen in Figure 3.4. The figure below shows how qualitative data could be analysed from the bottom upwards. I used Creswell's (2009:185) figure to help with my data analysis process.

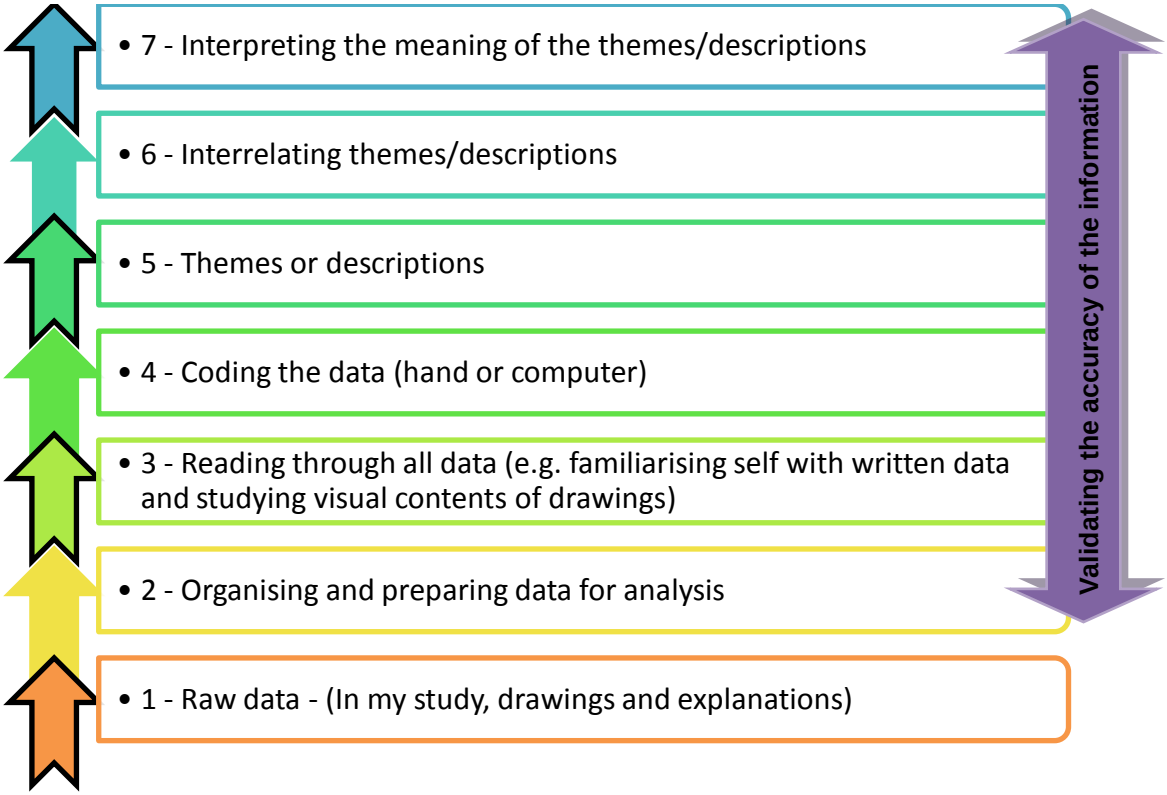
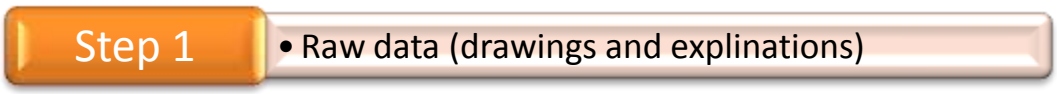


Figure 3.4: Creswell's linear figure used within my data analysis process (Creswell, 2009:185)

Each of these steps is explained below:



A team member, in liaison with the advisory panel, collected the drawings and explanations from the research assistants and provided me with the original drawings and explanations. I copied these in order to use them in the data analysis process.

After obtaining and copying the raw data, I organised the data by checking the pictures and explanations to make sure that they were legible and understandable. Words that were not in English were translated by a team member who reads and understands Sesotho. I scanned each drawing into

the computer with the participant's number as the picture name. I also transcribed the explanations.

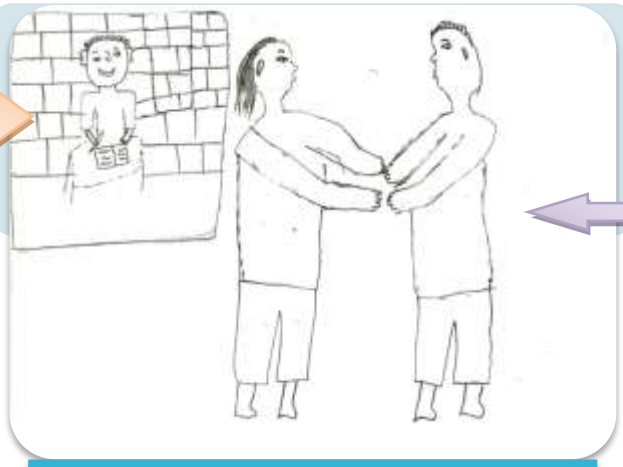
I examined and scrutinised each drawing and written explanation (Guillemin, 2004:287) in order to gain an understanding of what protective resources the participants indicated as having helped them to become resilient. I worked with one drawing and explanation at a time to identify all the resilience-promoting resources of each participant.

By examining and reading through the data I began to understand the general perceptions of the participants and made notes on the computer for later analysis (Creswell, 2009:185). I also constructed a document to record each resilience-promoting resource indicated by the participants (see Addendum E).

The coding process is an important step in the data analysis. I used open coding (dividing data into segments) to analyse the raw data (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:141). My coding reflected the visual image as well as the written explanation by the participant (Theron, 2007:33).

I divided the pictures according to my open codes. In other words, I grouped separate resilience-promoting resources. All drawings and explanations reporting mothers as resilience-promoting were grouped together, all drawings and explanations reporting teachers as resilience-promoting were placed in another pile, and so forth. Following this procedure facilitated the construction of the various sub-themes. The drawings and explanations included below present an example of how I conducted my open codes:

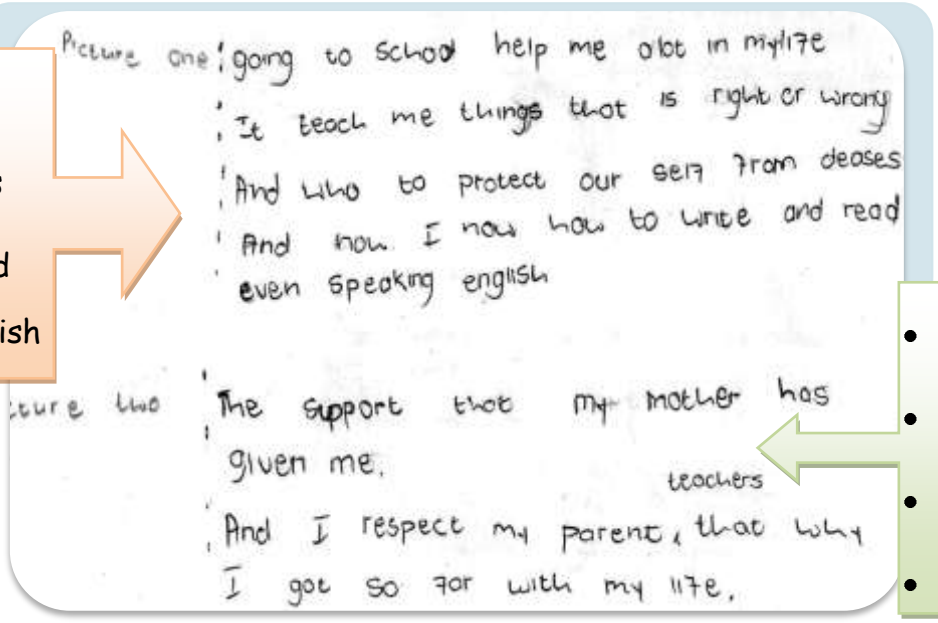
- School
- Books



- Affection
- Support

FR 88

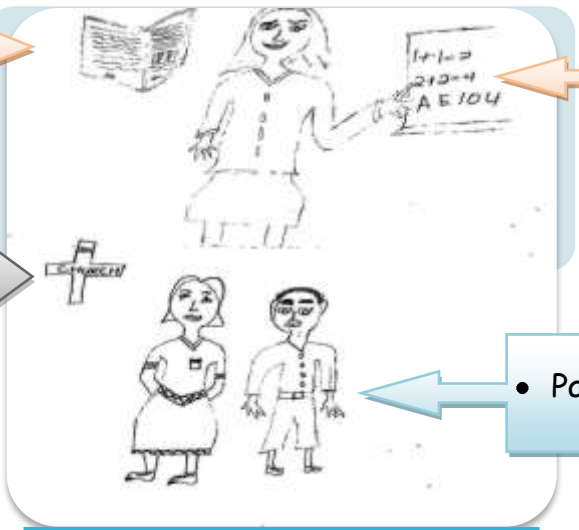
- School
- Life skills
- Write and read English



- Support
- Mother
- Respect
- Teacher

FR 88

- Book

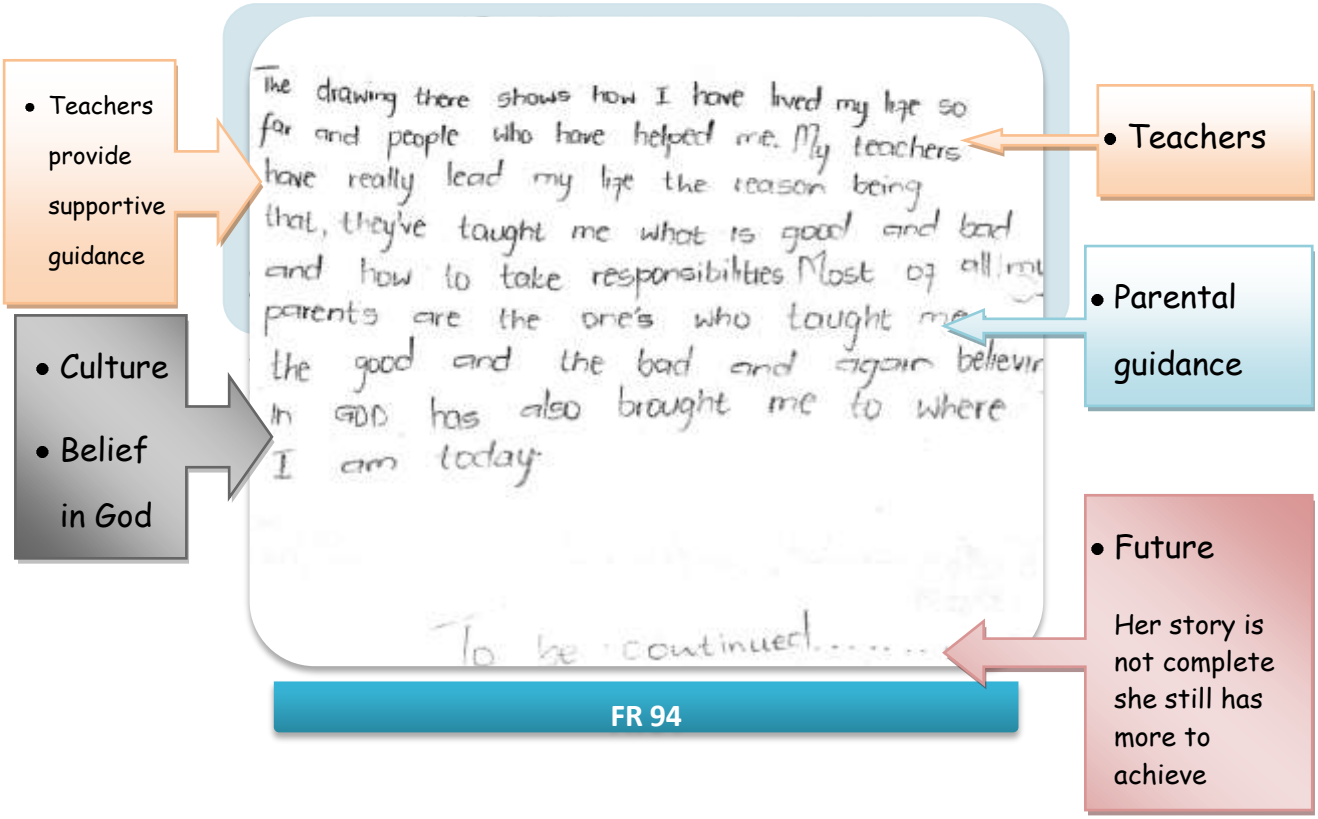


- Teacher

- Culture
- Church

- Parents/guardians

FR 94



Step 5 • Themes or Descriptions

Axial coding (identifying interconnections between similar data segments) was used in step four to combine the different resources into different themes (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:141). After resources were identified using open coding, I grouped the resources that were related to one another into sub-themes (as explained above) and then I grouped the sub-themes into themes, for example supportive mothers, fathers, grandparents and so forth were all classified under the theme *family as resilience-promoting resource*. My axial coding showed the interrelations of the different sub-themes (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:141). To complete axial coding I moved back and forth between the data, reviewing my open coding and emerging axial coding continuously, thereby constantly refining my coding (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:141). Figure 3.5 is an example of how I conducted axial coding:

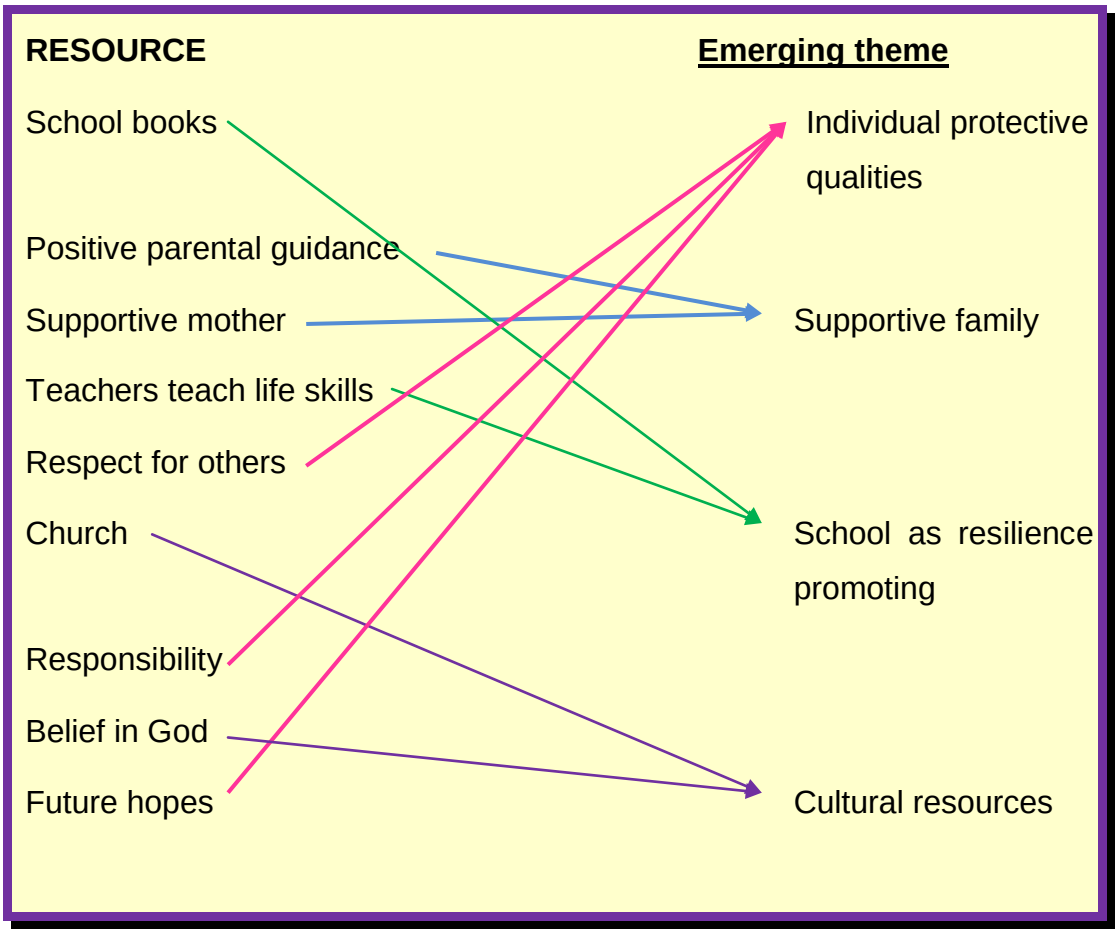


Figure 3.5: Axial coding (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:141)

Step 6 • Interrelating themes/descriptions

In step six, informed by my theoretical framework (Bronfenbrenner 1979), each theme was deductively (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:31) slotted into pre-existing ecosystemic categories. For example, the themes of individual, family and school were grouped together to form the category microsystemic resilience-promoting resources (see Figure 3.6 below).

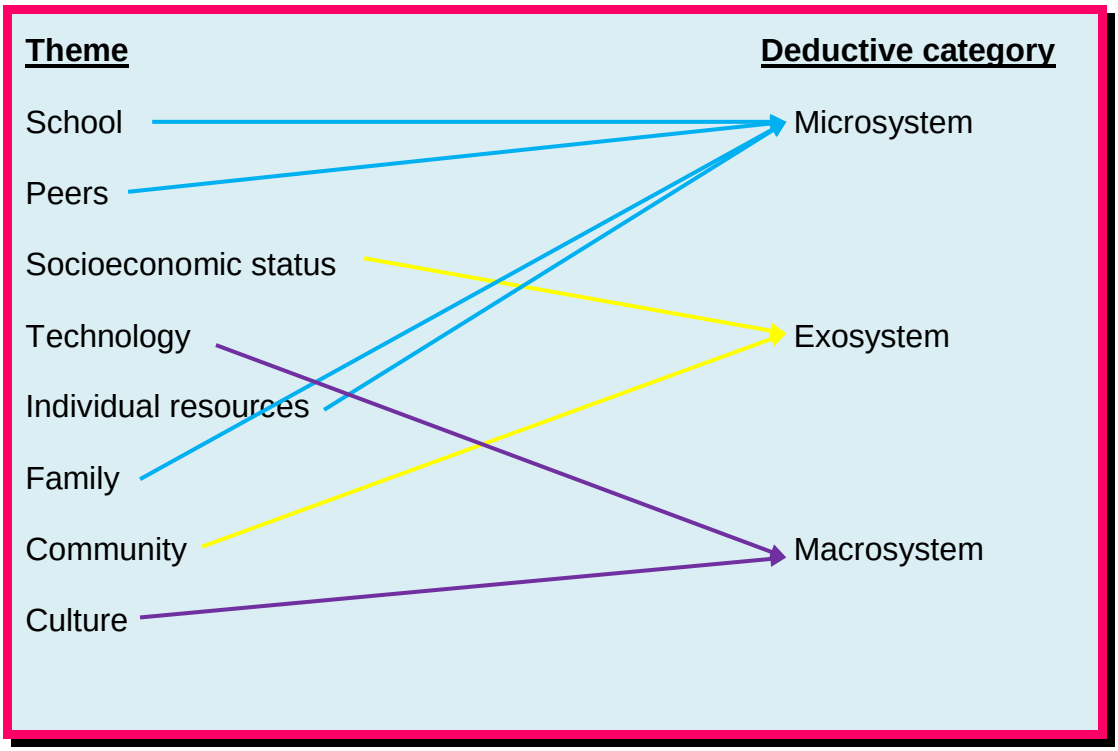


Figure 3.6: Grouping of categories under ecosystemic systems: deductive analysis (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:31; Maree & van der Westhuizen, 2007:37; Nieuwenhuis, 2007a:99)

Finally I used the literature review to assist me in interpreting the different categories. I discussed the different themes and sub-themes as reported by the participants themselves, by comparing these to existing literature on resources promoting youth resilience (see Chapter 4). I considered the findings critically in order to comment on what aligned with or confirmed what is already known in the resilience literature, on what conflicted with what is known, and on silences in the data (i.e. resilience-promoting resources noted in literature, but not reported in this data) (Loots, 2010: 305).

A fellow researcher (i.e. another masters student affiliated with the Pathways to Resilience project) conducted her own independent data analysis with the same raw data. The fellow researcher categorised the pictures according to her perspective of resilience and conducted her own open coding and axial coding. After examining her analysis I went back and forth to compare our findings. Her different perspective sensitised me to resources I had overlooked.

Nieuwenhuis (2007b:47) mentions that each word in a sentence (and in this case each drawing/symbol) has its own meaning which is sometimes specific to the setting, culture or nationality of participants. For this reason the findings should always be referred back to the participant to see whether what the researcher understands is what the participant intended to be understood. In addition Mitchell *et al*. (2011:31) suggest that although a third party has evaluated the content and analysed it, the conclusions should still be taken to the participants to verify the findings. Theron *et al.* (2011:56) indicate that by analysing the data and then showing the analysis to the participant, or to representatives from the participant's community, researchers can heighten the trustworthiness of the findings. In my study I took the analysis to the project's Advisory Panel and they scrutinised the interpretation. They were satisfied that the interpretation was trustworthy (Theron, 2011b). I did not take the analysis to the participants themselves as I had not had any direct interaction with them, which I acknowledge to be a limitation. Nevertheless, their explanations of the drawings guided my analysis and I am confident that my interpretation is embedded in their original interpretation.

3.3.3 Ethical procedure

An ethical procedure within a study is an important aspect (Flick, 2007:123; Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:101; Theron *et al.,* 2011:50). In order to ensure that

the research participants, humans in most studies, are not harmed in any way certain steps need to be taken. As mentioned earlier, my study is part of the larger Pathways to Resilience study. This study received institutional clearance (see Addendum F), Free State Department of Education clearance (see Addendum G) and clearance from the local Advisory Panel (Theron, 2009). Basic ethical principles were observed by all parties involved as the research assistants and advisory panel were trained by an experienced researcher to always comply with ethical principles.

Although I did not implement the following ethical steps, as I did not personally do the data collection, they were implemented by the data collectors (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:101-104):

Protection from harm

Researchers should take care not to subject participants to either physical or psychological impairments. Gibbs (2007:101) adds that researchers should reduce harm and capitalise on the benefits of research. The participants were not harmed in any way because the research focus was on the positive resources used to achieve resilience in the participant's community. The study encouraged the participants to think of positive rather than negative aspects of life.

Informed consent

Informed consent means that a participant is provided with the necessary information needed to decide whether she wishes to participate in a study or not (Gibbs, 2007:101). The participant should receive clear and understandable information, so as not to be confused about the proposed study and her possible involvement in it. If the participant does not understand any question or statement she should feel free to discuss such a query with the researchers. The informed consent should incorporate some fundamental information such as the description of the study, explanation of activities and length, the choice to withdraw at any time, list of possible risks, and the assurance that information will remain confidential (Leedy & Ormrod,

2005:101-102). The participants in this study participated in an informed consent procedure as part of the Pathways to Resilience Project (see Addendum D for letter of information and consent form).

Right to privacy

Every researcher should respect the privacy of the participants and therefore not reveal any personal information about any participant, unless given consent (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:102). I did not use the participant's names in my research or disclose their identity in any way. Each participant was assigned a number which I referred to in conducting and reporting my data analysis and discussions (cf. 3.3.2.4). All the numbers were prefaced by FR for Functionally Resilient, which is the terminology used in the overall Pathways to Resilience study.

I complied with the following ethical steps:

Honesty with professional colleagues

All conclusions of the research need to be valid and not fictitious (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:102). My report was honest and I did not plagiarise. To help me analyse my data credibly I regularly met with my study leader, a fellow student researcher and Advisory Panel members of this project who acted as my peer debriefers.

Ethical data analysis

Researchers should respect and use ethical principles when they analyse their research. Gibbs (2007:101) states that practising ethics during the analysis enhances the quality of a researcher's analysis. The following figure (Figure 3.7) shows some of the ethical principles I respected when I conducted data analysis (Gibbs, 2007:101-103) (see guideline for which ethics were required and application of how I respected them):

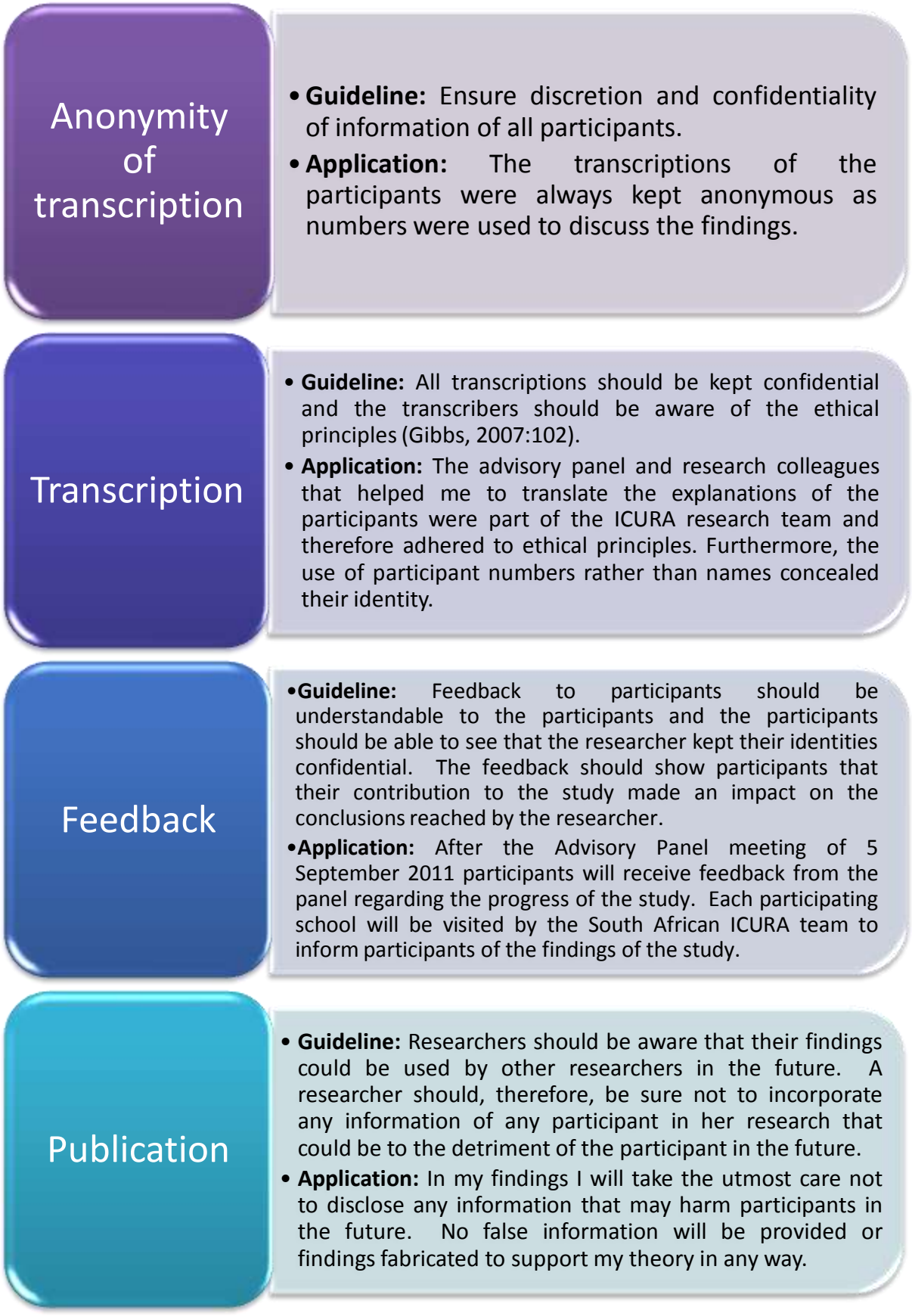


Figure 3.7: Ethical procedure during data analysis (Gibbs, 2007:101-103)

3.3.4 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is of the greatest significance in qualitative research (Nieuwenhuis 2007a:113) and should always be kept in mind when conducting research and data analysis. Babbie and Mouton (2001:276) refer to the influential work of Lincoln and Guba (1985) in which they stress how credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability of research enhance the trustworthiness of a study. In addition to the comments made earlier with regard to the process of validation of my data analysis, I aimed to enhance the trustworthiness of my research by using the four guidelines of Lincoln and Guba (1985) as quoted by Babbie and Mouton (2001:276):

(i) Credibility

Credibility relates to how believable the findings of a study are and requires that the findings should flow from the data. The researcher needs to give a detailed description of the research site, the participants and the research process so that it can be understood that the findings emerging from the data are true to the realities of the participants (Schurink, Fouché & de Vos, 2011:419). The following credibility checks were used in my study:

- Prolonged engagement – although I did not interact directly with the participants of the study, during the course of a full year I interacted with the Advisory Panel at team meetings. This allowed me to engage regularly with the panel and research team members to increase the credibility of my findings.
- Referential adequacy – all 130 original drawings served as references for the findings that emerged in my study. In addition these were explained by the participants themselves, in their own handwriting (cf. 3.3.2.6).
- An audit trail of my analysis of participants' resilience-promoting resources found within the drawings and written explanations was documented (see Addendum E).
- Peer debriefing – a research assistant in the project (not working with the visual data) helped me by coding the raw data (the pictures and

explanations) independently. After the pictures were coded independently by both of us, we compared the coding and engaged in a long consensus discussion. Our coding was mainly the same, but this exercise added to the credibility of my findings. Asking her to code the data independently, and our agreement on the codes, offered inter-coder consistency (Nieuwenhuis 2007a:113).

- Member checks - verifying the findings by asking members of the research site / team to check the emerging findings is important for the trustworthiness of a study (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:277). Within my study I verified the drawings with the written explanations of the participants. Comparing the drawings to the participants' explanations helped to verify the findings (Theron *et al*., 2011:56). The participants' explanations were clear and concise. The drawings that were not clear were excluded from the study because data saturation occurred with the remaining participants' drawings (Strydom & Delport, 2011:393). During the Advisory Panel meeting, held on the 5th of September 2010, the stakeholders present (i.e. Advisory Panel members, other post-graduate students participating in the project, researchers) checked the data and confirmed the findings (Theron, 2011b). No data were found to be false or irrelevant and the stakeholders approved of the information given.

(ii) Transferability

Qualitative research implies an understanding from the participant's point of view and consequently findings should not be considered capable of general application. However, findings may be transferable to similar research contexts (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:277), but then enough information must be available regarding the participants and the research site. To achieve this, the following prerequisites are important:

- Think description - I described my participants in detail (cf. 3.3.2.4) so that other scholars can decide whether my findings are applicable to other populations of youth at risk.

- Purposive sampling - my participants were purposefully chosen (Creswell, 2009:178; Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:206) as I endeavoured to establish what resilience-promoting resources encouraged resilience, in particular among resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province. For this reason I worked only with 130 of the 200 participants that were identified as resilient by the Advisory Panel of the Pathways to Resilience project, despite being placed at risk by poverty.

(iii) Dependability

Dependability is closely related to credibility. If a study is dependable, then the findings of the study should be the same if the study were to be redone with the same participants in the same context (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:278). I did the following to assure that my study is dependable:

- I made sure that I did not use participants' words out of context in order to align them with my perceptions. I included brief audit trails of open and axial coding within Chapter Three (cf. 3.3.2.6) and in Addendum E to make my coding process transparent and to prove dependability.
- I quoted enough of the participants' original text to enable the reader to come to the conclusion that what I tried to convey is the participants' interpretation and not my perceptions.
- The quotes used in my findings are literal quotes of the participants' own explanations and not my interpretations of their words. Most explanations were short, to the point and easy to understand.

(iv) Confirmability

Confirmability refers to the way in which a researcher ensures that the findings are those of the participants. When findings show limited researcher bias they can typically be confirmed by the participants and other stakeholders in the research process (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:278). In order to confirm that

my study conveys the message of the participants, and not my bias, the following was done:

- As noted above, I included brief audit trail excerpts to confirm my coding process. I also included multiple original drawings when I reported my findings in Chapter Four, as visual evidence of the findings being reported. I added verbatim excerpts from the participants' explanations as verification of the findings I reported.

- As also reported previously, the participants were asked to interpret their drawings. These explanations guided my interpretation and categorisation of the raw data. Their written explanations confirmed my interpretation.

- Finally, the Advisory Panel confirmed the meaningfulness and accuracy of the emerging findings.

3.4 CONCLUSION

The literature study conducted in Chapter Two gave me an overview of the different research methods used in previous studies and opened the door to a better understanding of resilience-promoting resources. It also allowed me to learn that qualitative studies, particularly visual ones, have not been widely used in South Africa and that this methodological gap needs to be addressed (Theron & Theron, 2010). In order to gain a better understanding of the socio-ecological antecedents among resilient Basotho youth, in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province, I used a qualitative phenomenological research study (Creswell, 2009:13). I collected data with the use of drawings and written explanations of the drawings (Creswell 2009:178; Guillemin, 2004:274; Mitchell, 2008:365). The drawings also enabled me to overcome the language barrier between the participants and myself. Because the participants wrote explanations of their drawings a better understanding was formed of their youth resilience. The following chapter (Chapter Four) contains the findings of my study.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

Overview of Chapter Four

Figure 4.1: Overview of Chapter Four

4.3 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Four reports the findings of my study. The findings indicate which resilience-promoting resources the rural resilient Basotho youth participants in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district in the Free State province of South Africa reported as promoting their resilience.

When referring to the number of participants that reported a resource, I use the following guideline:

A lot of / many / most / a large number of participants – more than 30 participants

Some / several participants – more than 10 but fewer than 30 participants

A few / not many / a small number of participants – Fewer than 10 participants

4.4 FINDINGS

The findings have been divided into categories, themes and sub-themes according to my theoretical perspective. The categories are structured according to Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems (1979) and include resources pertaining to the micro-, exo-, macro-, and chronosystems. Within each category I cluster the resources into themes and sub-themes, as these emerged from the raw data.

The following figure (Figure 4.2) shows how the findings were categorised and clustered:

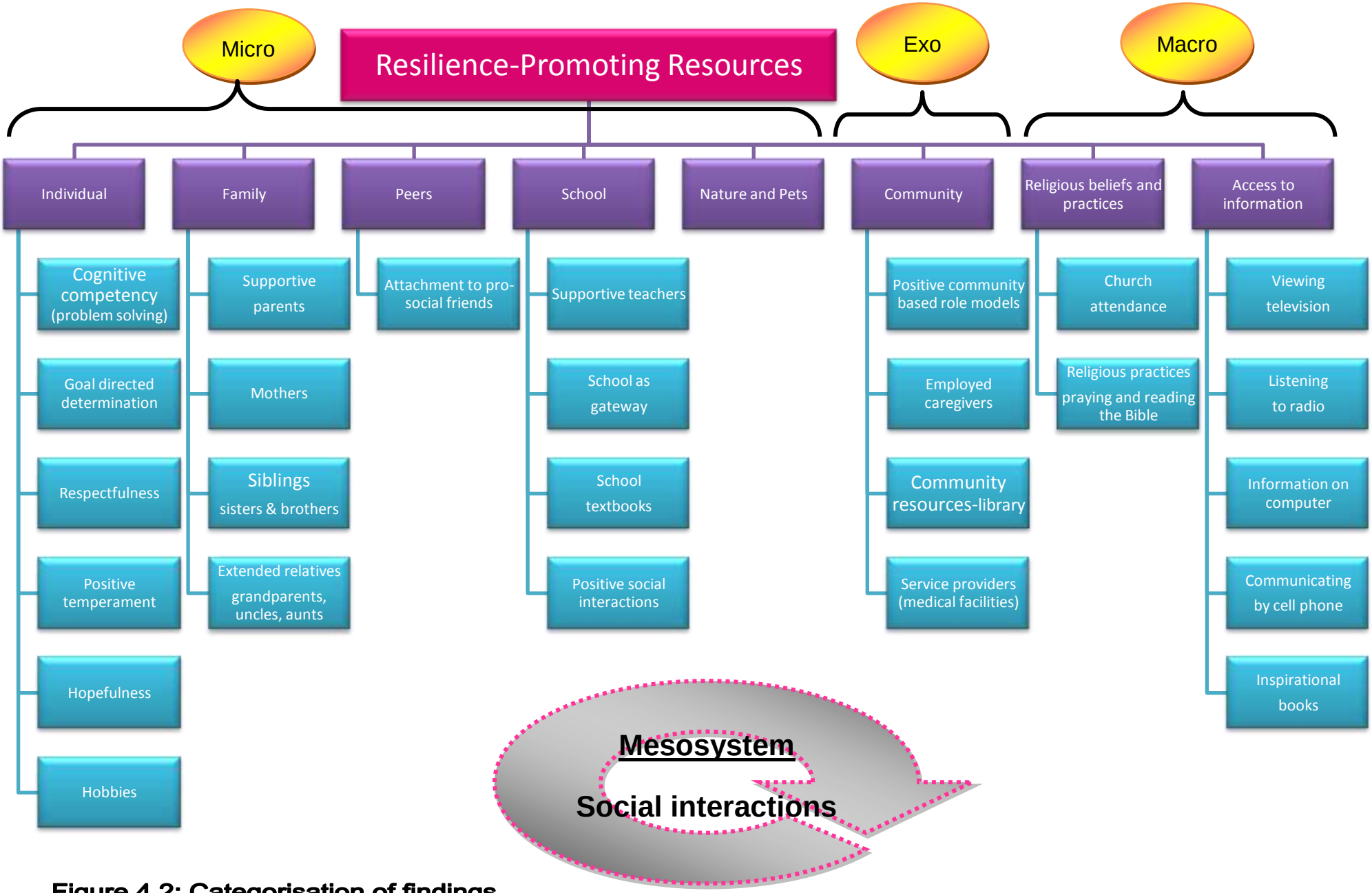


Figure 4.2: Categorisation of findings

4.2.1 Microsystemic Resilience-promoting Resources

This category refers to the microsystem which constitutes the immediate surroundings of a child and includes the individual herself, her family, school and organizations that she interacts with on a daily basis (cf. 2.3.1; Bronfenbrenner, 1979:3). Themes emerging from microsystemic protective resources include the individual, the family, friends, school, nature and pets. Each of these themes will be discussed below by detailing the sub-themes that make up the theme.

4.2.1.2 Protective resources rooted in the individual

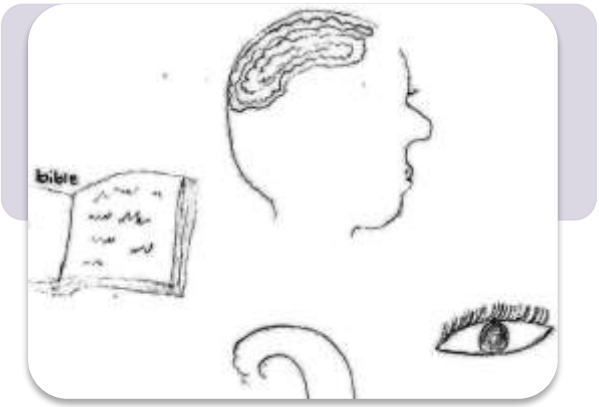
The theme of individual protective resources refers to the positive qualities and skills that reside within the individual. These resources within the individual, or intrapersonal strengths, give the individual the ability to overcome adversities in her life and to adjust positively to life's challenges (cf. 2.3.1.1). The theme of individual protective resources includes the sub-themes of individual cognitive competency, goal-directed determination, respectfulness, hopefulness, and recreational activities like hobbies, which will be discussed below:

(i) Individual cognitive competency used as a resilience-promoting resource

Cognitive competency, as a sub-theme, refers to the ability to accomplish something by thinking and/or reasoning about the problem effectively, in ways that lead to a solution of the problem (cf. 2.3.1.1). This sub-theme was represented in the drawings of a few participants. One of them drew, for example, a picture of her mind (see Drawing One). Another participant drew a picture illustrating how he succeeded in solving his problems (see Drawing Two).

In the written explanations of their drawings, these two participants elaborated on the sub-theme of cognitive competency. One participant wrote *"I have drawn my mind because it stores all the information that I know."* (FR-91). She

implied that she uses her intellect to overcome the challenges she faces each day.



Drawing 1: FR 91

Participant FR-414 drew a picture of himself taking a video of someone. Initially, when I only looked at the picture, I thought that it represented his occupational dreams but when I read his explanation I realised that his drawing depicted the plan he devised to overcome poverty. After his father had lost his employment he started selling sweets at school to pay for his school requirements. His entrepreneurial endeavour paid off and his business grew. He managed to buy a digital camera and then a video camera. He is now making money by selling photographs. He wrote: *"Three past ye* [sic] *my father lost his job while I'm at school, I didn't dumped my studies, but I manage to start selling sweets at school in order to have money for school equipment that was needed ..."* (FR-414). The participant identified the problem and came up with a solution. The drawing below (see Drawing Two) depicts the participant taking a video of another individual and he indicates that an A4 photograph costs R100.

Drawing 2: FR 414

(ii) Goal-directed determination

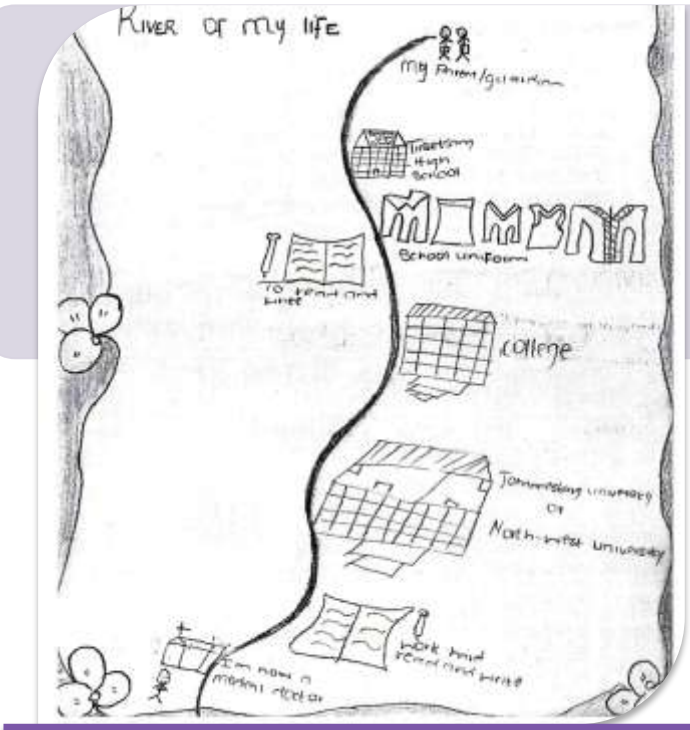
The sub-theme, goal-directed determination, is characterised by an inclination to move forward towards one's goal in spite of hindrances and adversity (cf. 3.2.1.1). Within my study goal-directed determination was identified by several participants as a resilience-promoting resource. A few of these participants drew pictures depicting themselves in the future, having achieved their goals in life, such as becoming a medical doctor (see Drawing Three). Another participant drew a large picture of himself on the page and indicated that the picture reflected him in the future. The large size of his drawing implies his confidence that he will succeed in life (see Drawing Four below). A few other participants drew pictures of themselves working hard at a table, reflecting their determination to complete school and achieve their goals with the help of education (see Drawing Five). Some participants drew pictures of schools, colleges and universities, stating that education is their objective and the key to achieving their goals someday.

The picture below (see Drawing Three) is a depiction of how Participant FR-175 set goals for herself in life. She drew pictures of a school, then a college, then a university and finally a hospital where she hopes to practise as a doctor. The participant is determined to finish school, go to college and university, and finally become a medical doctor. She wrote: *"... see myself in the hospital becoming a medical doctor."* The same participant also wrote in big capital

letters: *"Finishing school and achiving* [sic] *my goal is the thing in my mind. See your self* [sic] *in the happy future."* This participant is determined to have a successful future and to achieve her goals.

Another participant wrote: *"What has helped me is putting my determination on getting educated. The fact is, if I did not know the importance of education mybe* [sic] *I would have already been addicted to drugs or alcohol."* (FR-117). This participant is determined to further his education in order to reach his goals in life someday.

In their explanations a small number of the participants expressed belief in themselves and in their expectations of the future. For example, one participant wrote: "*I see a plan of being a doctor*" (FR-187) and another participant wrote: *"I am brilliant at what I do in life and I know I am going to achieve"* (FR-184). Participant FR-184 showed self-esteem in that he recognised that he is good at what he does and he believes that if he continues in this way, he will succeed in life. His self-esteem and his goal-directedness are intertwined.



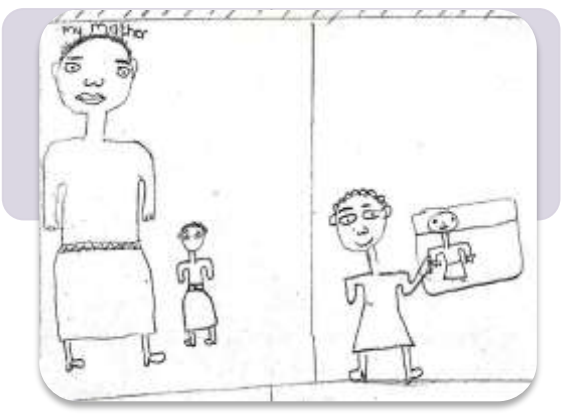
Drawing 3: FR 175

Drawing 4 : FR 91

Drawing 5: FR 98

(iii) Respectfulness as an individual resilience-promoting resource

Respect can be defined as a sense of admiration for someone, often because of their excellent qualities or accomplishments (Hornby, 2010:1258). Within my study the sub-theme of a respectful attitude, especially towards older individuals like parents and teachers, is reflected in the participants' drawings. They drew pictures of their parents and teachers with great care. They paid attention to detail in their drawings and mainly drew their parents and teachers bigger than themselves, (for example, see Drawings Six and Seven below).



Drawing 6: FR 176

Drawing 7: FR 144

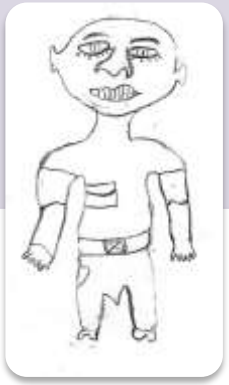
A small number of participants reported that respect for others had been a resilience-promoting resource (FR-203, FR-162, FR-140, FR-97, FR-88, FR-111). They highlighted respect for family (e.g. parents and other family members), and respect for authority figures (like teachers), as well as respect

for friends. A few participants mentioned that they respected their parents and schoolteachers for the things they taught them. These participants made it clear that respectfulness was valued in their community, earning the respect or admiration from others in return, or resulting in support from others. One participant wrote *"I'm a cool child that respect teachers..."* (FR-182). Another participant wrote *"Respect helped me"* (FR-401), and went on to explain that the respect he showed other people encouraged positive relationships with others, thus promoting his resilience.

(iv) Positive temperament promotes positive interactions

A positive temperament refers to a person's disposition, shown mainly in the optimistic ways she conducts herself, or responds to conditions or people (cf. 2.3.1.1). This often encourages social interactions that promote resilience. Within my study various participants indicated that positive behaviour towards, and positive interactions with others, helped them to become competent. When drawing pictures of other individuals almost all of the participants drew them with smiling faces (see Drawings Eight & Nine). The smiling faces suggest that the interactions with other individuals were positive experiences.

Drawing 8: FR 199



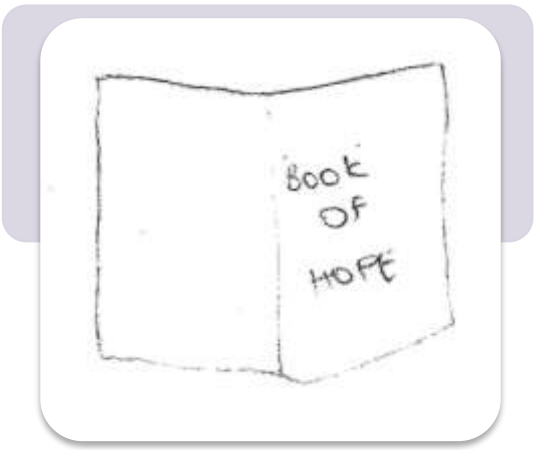
Drawing 9: FR 157

A few participants' explanations indicated that they were aware that a positive temperament helped them to interact more positively with other individuals and that this buoyed resilience. Participant FR-100 wrote that *"I collected* [corrected] *my attitude and behave positively and follow the school correctly."*

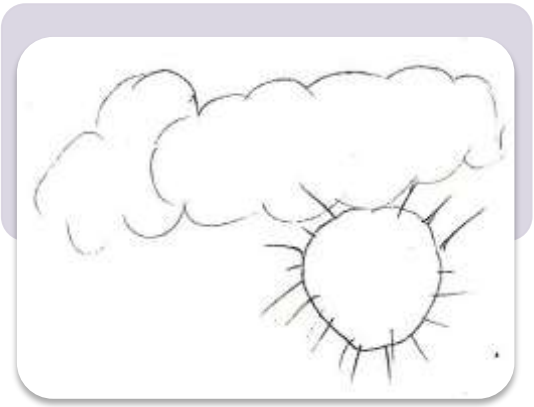
This participant realised that when he interacted positively at school he would receive positive feedback which promoted his resilience.

(v) Hopefulness as a resilience-promoting resource

The sub-theme of hope can be defined as wanting something to happen and believing that it is possible. Hope encourages an individual to look to the future in anticipation of a better tomorrow (cf. 2.3.1.1). A few of the participants in my study included symbols of hope in their drawings. Participant FR-100 symbolised hope by drawing a picture of a book and writing that it is the book of hope (see Drawing Ten). Participant FR-417 drew a picture of the sun coming out of the clouds and wrote that this symbolised the hope of a better tomorrow (see Drawing 11).



Drawing 10: FR 100



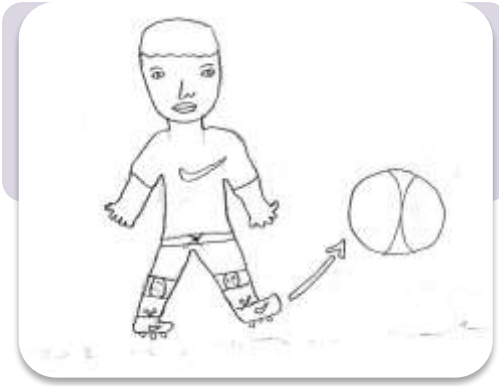
Drawing 11: FR 417

Most participants based their hope for a better future on the fact that they are being educated. One participant wrote in big letters at the bottom of the page: *"To be continued....."* (FR-94) This implied that her life's story has not ended and that she has hope for the future. Participant FR-122 wrote: *"The situation that we have is not the conclution* [sic]*."* Another participant explained: *"... hope is the thing that I was want to protect my life and my future"* (FR-126). Participant FR-417 drew a picture of the sun coming out of the clouds and wrote: *"... the next day when it* (the sun) *shines it will bring good memoris*

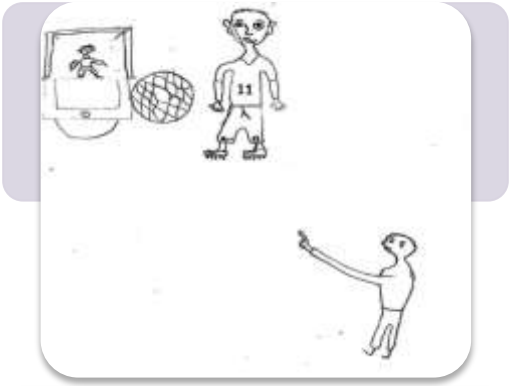
[sic]...*"* These participants believe that their present circumstances will improve in the future and hoping helps them to cope with life.

(vi) Hobbies as recreational opportunities

Recreation or hobbies are defined as doing something for pleasure when an individual is not busy with his occupation. When an individual is not working she can use her leisure time to do something that she enjoys (cf. 2.3.2.5). A few participants indicated that playing sport, especially soccer, helped them to do well in life (FR-401, FR-95, FR-185, FR-122). These participants drew creative pictures of themselves, their teammates and their coaches (see Drawing 12 & 13). Two drew pictures of only themselves playing soccer emphasising the importance of this recreational resource. The pictures were drawn large on the page and in great detail.



Drawing 12: FR 185



Drawing 13: FR 95

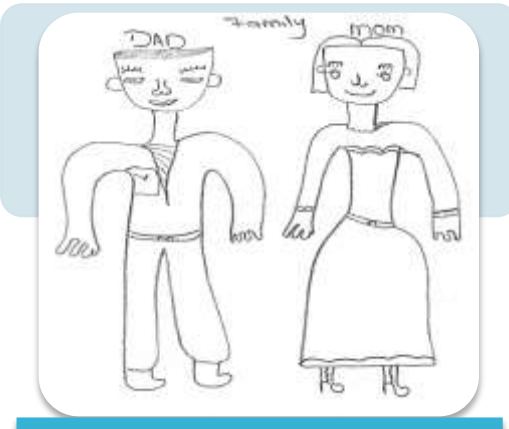
Participant FR-185 explained that: "*Soccer has teached* [sic] *me lot of things and I always dreaming about it. Soccer has helped me to see lot of player's."* Another participant wrote that soccer: "... *helps me to get out in bad things becauss* [sic] *when I am in soccer they will teach me positive behaviour …*" (FR-95). Both of these participants reported that playing soccer helped them to create positive interactions with other participants and enabled them to spend their time occupied with positive recreational activities.

4.2.1.2 Familial resilience-promoting resources

Family protective resources refer to the theme of family which is a gathering of people consisting of one or two parents (caregivers), their children and other close relatives. The family is seen as the most influential resilience-promoting resource because of the proximity and daily interactions between the family members within the microsystem (cf. 2.3.1.2). The theme of familial resilience-promoting resources, which will be discussed below, includes the sub-themes of healthy supportive parents, mothers, grandparents, siblings and extended relatives.

(i) Supportive parents

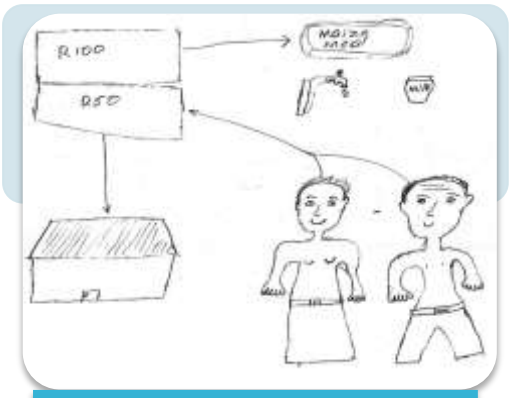
Supportive parents typically encourage resilience through their positive and motivating attitudes and actions (like encouragement and assistance) (cf. 2.3.1.2). Several participants drew pictures of their parents, depicting them as the source of their resilience. A few participants drew their parents large on their page, which emphasised the parents' importance in their lives (see Drawings 14 and 15). Several participants drew their parents with great care - they paid attention to detail such as decorating their clothes and drawing them with smiling faces. Although traditional African culture includes extended family members as parent-figures (Theron *et al.,* forthcoming), I use the word parents as this was the participants' word. Also many participants reported living with biological parents (see Table 3.1).



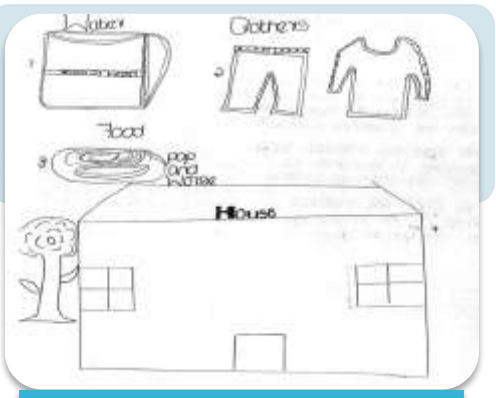
Drawing 14: FR 127

Drawing 15: FR 158

One participant (FR-406) depicted her parents as providing her with money for food, clothing and housing (see Drawing 16). A few other participants drew food, clothing, and housing (see Drawing 17), and wrote that their parents supported them by providing these basic necessities. Several participants also wrote that their parents provided for them financially by paying their school fees and providing school necessities, food, housing and clothing (FR-102, FR-90, FR-195, FR-174, FR-406, FR-134). They stated that this provision helped them adjust positively to hardship because it gave them a sense of protection and security. Participant FR-406 reported: *"They* (parents) *get money from their employers and get me food to eat to be strong and shelter to be save* [sic]..." It would seem that several participants who indicated that their parents were the source of their resilience did so because their parents provided them with the basic necessities needed to succeed in life.



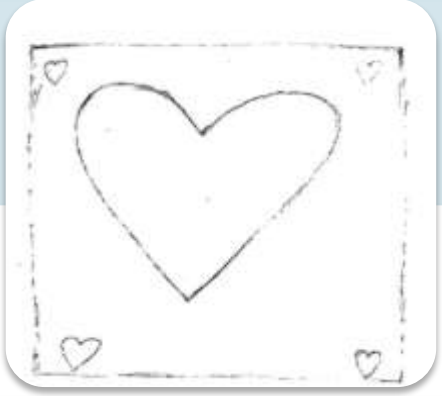
Drawing 16: FR 406



Drawing 17: FR 174

A few participants also reported that their parents provided them with love and support (FR-113, FR-89, FR-175, FR-158) and these positive experiences encouraged them to do well in life, despite poverty and other hardships. Participant FR-109 drew a picture of his mother and father in great detail (see Drawing 18), thereby implying his love and affection for them. Participant FR-119 drew a big heart and little hearts on his page and reported that these reflected the love his mother had shown him (see Drawing 19). This same participant also wrote *"I love my parents for helping me..."* Another participant wrote: *"Parents helps me for many things and they support me to everything.... they creat* [sic] *me here and wish me to succed* [sic]*"* (FR-128). Participant FR-127 wrote: *"Exspecial* [sic] *my parents mom and dad give me care, love and beautiful thing. My parents always advice* [sic] *me."*

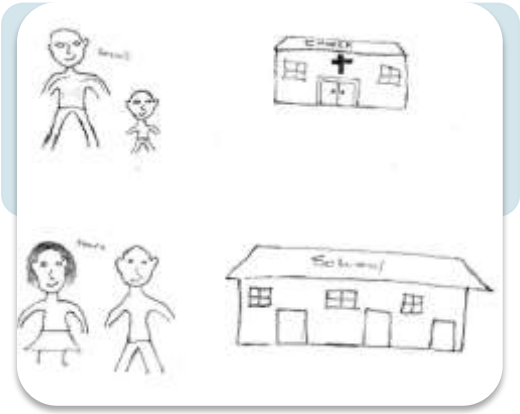
Drawing 18: FR 109



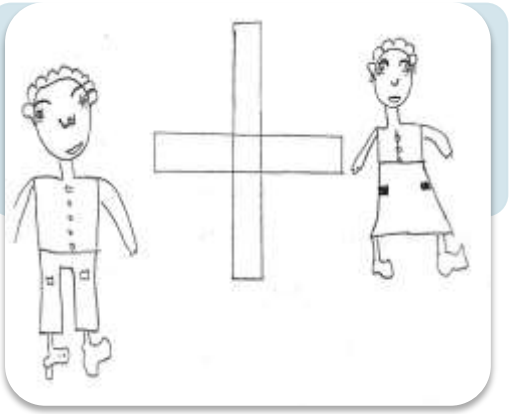
Drawing 19: FR 119

One participant wrote that his parents supported him even though he had not behaved in an appropriate way. This participant found it helpful that his parents had supported him unconditionally throughout a difficult time. He drew pictures of parental figures and labelled these 'family' then he wrote: "*My family was the best people I had ever have, they supported me in every step that I took in building my future. Even if I did wrong they was there"* (FR-110).

In addition to financial and emotional support highlighted above, a few participants also reported that their parents gave them spiritual support by teaching them about, and leading them to God. Several participants drew pictures of their parents and a cross or a church (see Drawing 20 & 21) and wrote that their parents led them to God. When scrutinising Drawing 21 (see below) I saw that the cross was drawn the same size as the parents and interpreted this to mean that religion is as important to this participant as his parents. A number of other participants drew pictures of a church or a Bible and, in their explanations, wrote that their parents took them to church and taught them about God. One participant explained that: *"... they (parents) say 'you must trust the god' and every time you must pray..."* (FR-197). These participants seemed grateful for the opportunity their parents had given them to learn about God.



Drawing 20: FR 110



Drawing 21: FR 197

(ii) Mothers as a resilience-promoting resource

Within my study it was apparent that mothers played an important resilience-promoting role in the lives of a large number of participants. This may relate to almost 40% of our participants reporting that they live with only their biological mother (see Table 3.1). Many participants drew a picture of only their mother on their page, emphasising the importance of a mother in their lives. The drawings of mothers were mainly large on the page and rich in detail (see, for example, Drawings 22 and 23). Many participants drew a picture of their mother and wrote that she had helped them in many different ways throughout their lives. This included providing their basic needs, giving them love and support, interacting with them, making their education possible, motivating them to become educated, as well as teaching them religious beliefs which helped them to feel secure.

Drawing 22: FR 191

Drawing 23: FR 190

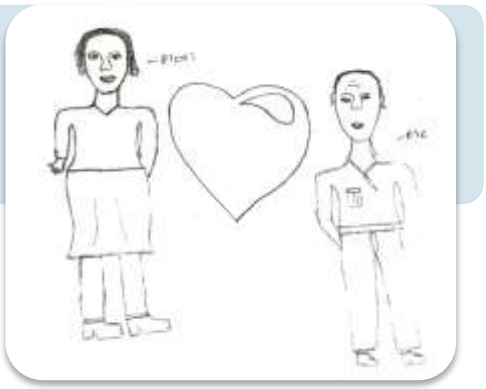
In the drawings and explanations that reflected the mothers as providers of life-sustaining needs, several participants (FR-124, FR-191, FR-204, FR-186, FR-176, FR-175, FR-173, FR-141, FR-140,) referred to their mothers as providing the financial support they needed to function effectively in life. For example, one participant wrote: *"My mother for give me the food, for give me the house,* [sic]*" (*FR-190). Another participant wrote: *"When i hungry my mother is cooked for me the healthy food that i can eat [sic]"* (FR-207).

Other participants indicated that their mothers gave them the opportunity to attend school and encouraged them to see this as an opportunity to create a better future (FR-192, FR-194, FR-195, FR-196, FR-191, FR-189, FR-188, FR-186, FR-140). One participant wrote: *"My mother makes me get to the school. Now i have lot of expiriens thats way i khow English* [sic]*"* (FR-194).

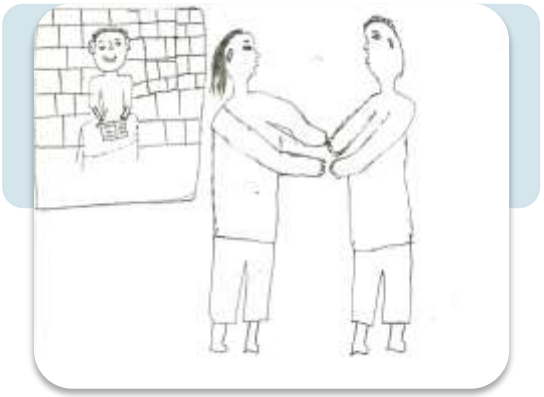
Participant FR-410 drew a picture of her mother and explained that she, sacrificially encouraged her to go to school. As a result the participant was determined to make her mother proud of her by putting her schooling to good use. She wrote: *"I wish that one day I was working for that my mother will really see what school has given me the skills..."* (FR-410). Other participants wrote that their mothers helped them with their homework and/or paid their school fees and found ways to provide them with school necessities, such as uniforms or stationery (FR-199, FR-207, FR-200). All of the above-mentioned participants were grateful for the opportunities their mothers gave them to attend school to further their education, which in return furthered their resilience. Participant FR-192 wrote: "*My mother helped me a lot by finding a school for me. I thank her."*

A few participants drew pictures of hearts (see Drawing 24) representing the love that their mothers had given them. One participant emphasised the support she had received from her mother enabling her to become resilient. She drew a picture of her mother and herself holding hands (see Drawing 25), thereby symbolising their close bond. The love of their mothers motivated and

anchored these participants. One participant wrote: *"She is loving me...it is that love makes me so dedicated to navigate through life. Thus I always think of my relationship with her. With that in my mind I conquer any obstacle."* (FR-119). Another participant wrote: *"Truly speaking I am where I am today because of the love that my mother has given me, the support that she has shown through rough and difficult times of my life."* (FR-87).



Drawing 24: FR 87



Drawing 25: FR 88

In addition to the benefits of a close, accepting relationship with their mothers, some participants wrote that their mothers were a good source of advice. Others noted that as a source of advice their mothers were readily accessible. Participant FR-412 wrote: *"When I have the problem I go to my mother and she can give me an advece* [sic] *how can i solve my problem."*

A small number of participants stated that their mothers encouraged their resilience because they promoted and modelled religious faith. These participants drew images of their mothers with crosses, churches or the Bible, see for example Drawing 26 and 27. Participant FR-203 reported: *"My mother told me to read BiBBle* [sic] *..."*. Another participant explained*: "... my mother said come to church to pray my lord to help me.."* (FR-196).

Drawing 26: FR 203

Drawing 27: FR 190

The explanations of how their mothers had motivated them to adjust well to hardship often included gratitude and thankfulness or admiration for the manner in which their mothers raised them. Participant FR-402 wrote: *"... I still respect her.... I admire her."* A few participants attributed their achievements in life to their mothers. Participant FR-129 wrote: *"I am what I am because of my mother."*

(iii) Siblings as a resilience-promoting resource

Siblings, or sisters and brothers who share parents, can potentially encourage resilience (cf. 3.2.1.2). Within my study not many participants indicated that their siblings helped them to become resilient. The few participants that did indicate siblings as a resilience-promoting resource drew pictures of their sisters and brothers. The sisters were not drawn very large on the page but were the only resource drawn (see Drawing 28 & 29), indicating their importance.

Drawing 28: FR 193

Drawing 29: FR 135

These few participants explained that their siblings interacted and helped them with various activities which enabled them to function resiliently. Sisters were described as supportive persons who mainly listened to the participants' problems and gave advice, provided them with care (for instance, cooking for them), or helped them to seek further assistance. One participant wrote: *"It is my sister who help me to cope in life because she is always there for me ... and she is the one who understand me very well."* (FR-135) Participant FR-164 wrote*: "My first sister encouraged and advised me all time."* Another participant reported: *"My sister helped me to go to talk to someone when I need something."* (FR-193)

One participant drew a picture of her brother (see Drawing 30) and another participant mentioned his brother as being the source of his resilience. Participant FR-207 explained that his brother mainly helped him by taking him to clinics or going with him to various events at school. He wrote: *"When I sick my brother take me to clinic or to the doctor. When it is the meeting at school my brother is go to the meeting."* The participant's brother seems to have assumed the role of a father-figure in his life. In reflecting on the participants' explanations it would seem that sisters gave advice and support (emotional support) whereas brothers helped more practically.

Drawing 30: FR 107

(iv) Extended relatives as resilience-promoting resources

Extended family can be seen as a group of people with close social or personal relational ties (cf. 2.3.1.2). A few participants highlighted the importance of extended relatives, especially grandparents (FR-171, FR-119 FR-136, FR-159). Of the few participants indicating grandparents as their source of resilience-promoting resources the majority singled out their grandmothers (see Drawing 31). Grandmothers were mainly illustrated with other resources (see Drawing 32).

Drawing 31: FR 187

Drawing 32: FR 125

A few participants wrote that when they did not live with their own parents, or if their parents are deceased, their grandparents usually assumed the role of guardians, supporting them financially, emotionally and spiritually. Their explanations often reflected gratitude for what their grandparents (and other extended family members) had done for them. Participant FR-108 reported

that: *"I never enjoy being with my bilogical* [sic] *parents ... my Granmother* [sic] *and my Aunt were there for me at all the times. So they make me to realise that even without having your parents by your side the* [sic] *are people that still care about you no matter what."* Another participant wrote: *"... she* (grandmother) *wipes every tear that I cry. She was the only one who was the whe* [sic] *I lost my parents. One day is one day that I am going to pay her for that"* (FR-125).

Grandparents also took care of their grandchildren when the latter's biological parents were not there to do so. One participant wrote: *"... my father he was work in gardadge [garage] in Qwaqwa* (in the Phuthaditjhaba district)*, my mother she was work Blomfanteni* (Bloemfontein)*. I was stay we've my grand mother...* [sic]*"* (FR-159).

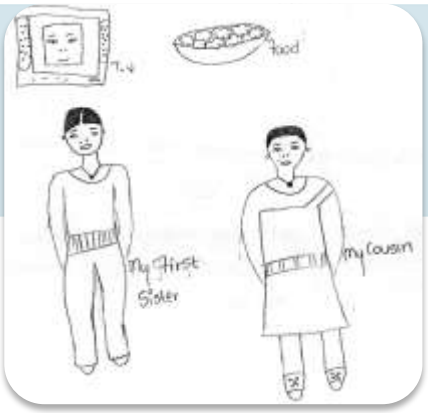
A few participants found their uncles and/or aunts to be resilience-promoting resources. These participants drew pictures of their uncles and/or aunts with other resources (see, for example, Drawing 33). The additional resources were often associated with what these family members made accessible to these participants. For example, Participant FR-181 drew a picture of her uncle and a big book (see Drawing 34) and explained that: *"The thing that makes me do well in my life so far is my uncle speak to me to read the book."* Her uncle motivated her when he encouraged her to read books and to study.

Drawing 33: FR 108

Drawing 34: FR 181

One participant mentioned her cousin as being a resilience-promoting resource. When I analysed her drawing (see Drawing 35), I saw that her cousin was

portrayed in great detail. This attention to detail was relative to her cousin's positive interaction and concern for her. She wrote: *"My cousin always makes me feel special even when I have douts* [sic] *about myself."* (FR-164).

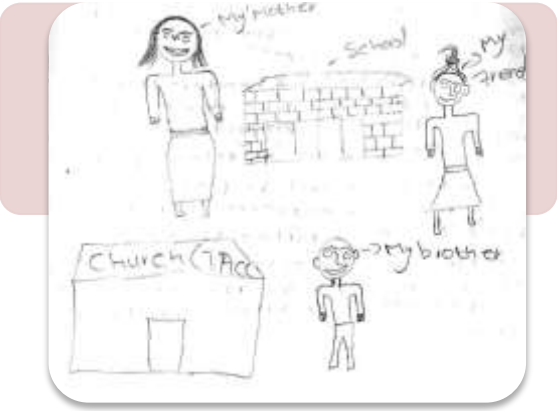


Drawing 35: FR 164

4.2.1.3 Attachment to pro-social friends as a source of resilience

The theme of peers as protective resources refers to individuals who are of the same age and have a similar social status to that of the participants (cf. 2.3.1.3). The theme of peers as a resilience-promoting resource also reflects attachment to pro-social peers, or the presence of friends, which will be discussed below:

Attachment to peers refers to an affectionate tie between individuals of the same age group and similar social status (cf. 2.3.1.3). Several participants indicated their friends to be one of many resilience-promoting resources (FR-401, FR-405, FR-408, FR-112, FR-123, FR-180) (see Drawing 36). A few participants drew a picture of only their peers on the page to emphasise their importance, as in Drawing 37. Peers, as friends, encouraged participants to adjust well to their difficult lives in a number of ways, including creating opportunities to talk freely, to listen, to give advice and motivation.



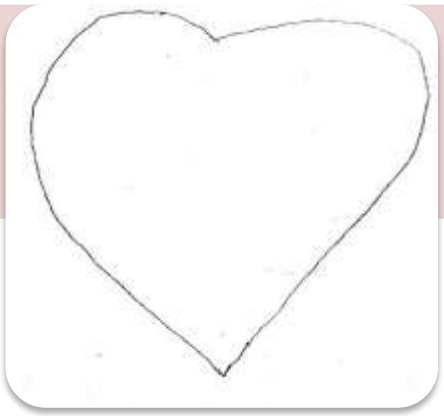
Drawing 36: FR 107

Drawing 37: FR 180

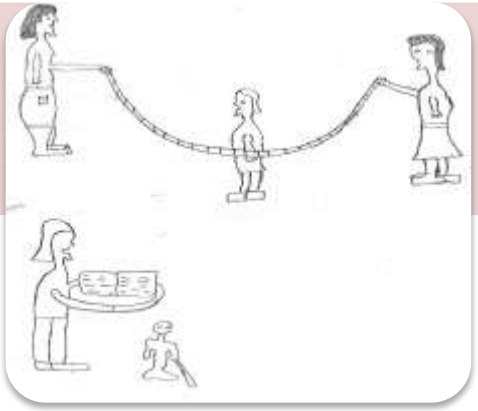
Friends were also a source of valuable information. Participant FR-107 explained: *"At home and at school my friends talk's with me about life, what the way we must take to have the bright future."* Another participant reported: *"So many problems chased away by .... my friends who understand my problems"* (FR-103). Participant FR-112 explained: *"Friends can also help because some of them may talk from experience. It's easy to understand when you get information from close people."* Another participant wrote: *"… chatting with my friends and they use to tell how they do to achieve what they want, deal with problems [sic]"* (FR-113).

A few other participants also mentioned that their friends supported them emotionally, by providing them with love and being there for them in any situation. One participant drew a picture of a big heart (see Drawing 38) and wrote: "*Through the love that I have got from my family and friends it helped me to cope very well in my life*" (FR-408). Participant FR-108 wrote: "*My friends are so supportive. They always give me a sholder* [sic] *to cry on when life goes tough. So my friends really play and important role in my life."* Another participant reported: *"... my supportive best friends they builded* [sic] *my self confident so that I can be confident in every thing I do."* (FR-110). It seems that being close to friends helped these participants to feel better about themselves. This resulted in increased self-confidence, which in turn promoted their resilience.

In addition, friends also helped participants by encouraging socially appropriate behaviour and positive interactions, which included keeping them from becoming involved in negative activities or focusing on hardship and losing control. For example, one participant drew a picture of her friends and herself skipping with a skipping-rope (see Drawing 39). Another participant wrote that: *"... going out with my friends to watch the movies on a girls day out."* (FR-405) kept her from interacting with the wrong crowd of peers. Another participant explained: *"… I am a child who likes to play … it help me to be busy not run out of controll.* [sic]*"* (FR-130).



Drawing 38: FR 408



Drawing 39: FR 130

4.2.1.4 Schools as resilience-promoting resources

Within the category of the microsystem, the theme of school was reported by more than half the participants as a resilience-promoting resource. School resilience-promoting resources include the sub-themes of supportive educators, regular school attendance, performing well at school, well-resourced schools, and school-facilitated social interactions, which will all be discussed below:

(i) Supportive teachers as a resilience-promoting resource

Teachers have often been reported as resilience-promoting (cf. 2.3.1.4). Some participants depicted teachers as supportive of their resilience, partly because teachers made a good education possible. These participants drew pictures of

teachers pointing to a board with written work on it (see, for example, Drawings 40 and 41). Many participants referred to other ways in which their teachers helped them adjust well to hardship.

Drawing 40: FR 96

Drawing 41: FR 94

In this context guidance featured prominently, with many participants, expressing gratitude for the guidance that the teachers of their school had given them (FR-126, FR-204, FR-202, FR-151, FR-109, FR-102). One participant wrote: *"My teachers are also the people who make me to be where I am today. By their guidance and their advice and one thing I appreciate about them is that they did'nt* [sic] *teach me about school education but also about life as general"* (FR-108). Another participant explained: "*I would like to thank my primary to the secondor* [sic] *teachers for taking me to the light. It was'nt* [sic] *about them I would have been a futureless child with no idea of what the world have for me"* (FR-125). In some instances teacher guidance was very practical and helped participants to survive destitution. As one participant explained: *"When my mother and father died I was ubsat* [sic] *I thinking of where Im* [sic] *going to live … she* (teacher) *help me to find social grant and I was so happy about that"* (FR-153).

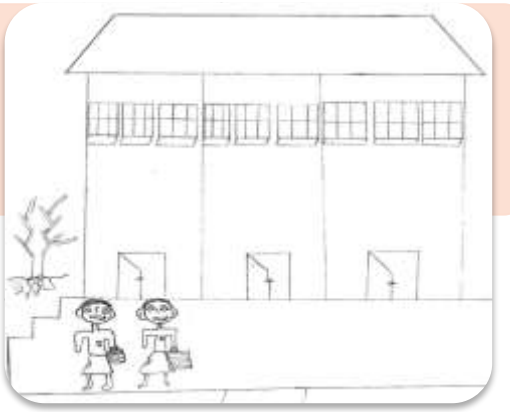
Teachers also offered a few participants support by listening to their problems and by creating a secure environment where participants could feel free to talk about their problems. Participant FR-122 wrote: *"We tell our teachers about*

our problem to help us and feel confortable [sic] *all the time…*" Thus, educators are seen as individuals who guide, protect, and care.

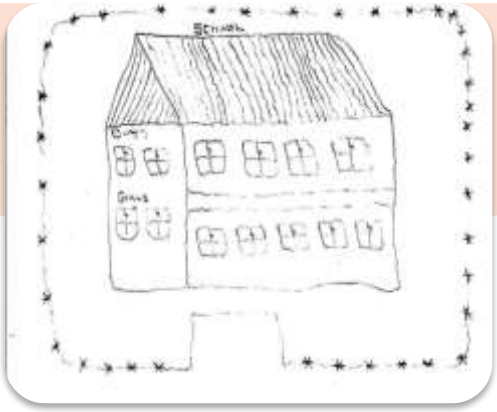
Other participants saw teachers as role models, partly because their teachers had improved the quality of their own lives, which was encouraging to several participants. Participant FR-101 reported: *"Teachers have been good example to me have helped me to fulfil my dream and has taught me how to make my life a success."*

(ii) School as a gateway to a better future

Schools provide a gateway for individuals to create a better future through education. By attending school regularly persons lay the foundation for their occupational ambitions. Individuals who attend school regularly can utilise the occupational skills taught by educators in the development of their own occupations. More than half the participants reported that this sub-theme was the most important resilience-promoting resource in their lives. Many participants depicted the importance of school by drawing pictures of their schools across their whole page (see Drawing 42 & 43). The large size of the school is an indication in itself of the importance many of the participants attached to the need to receive an education which would enable them to improve their future. The fact that the drawings of the schools contained great detail, with numerous classes, windows, doors, blackboards with writing on them and friends, amongst others, supports this.



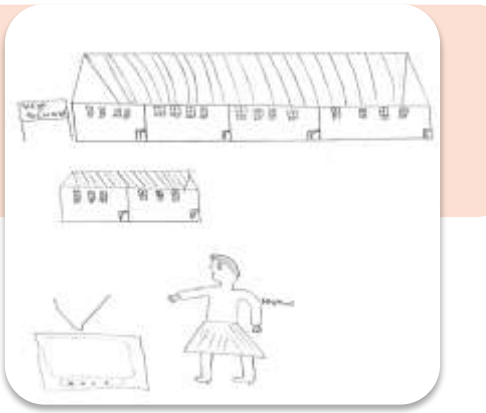
Drawing 42: FR 123



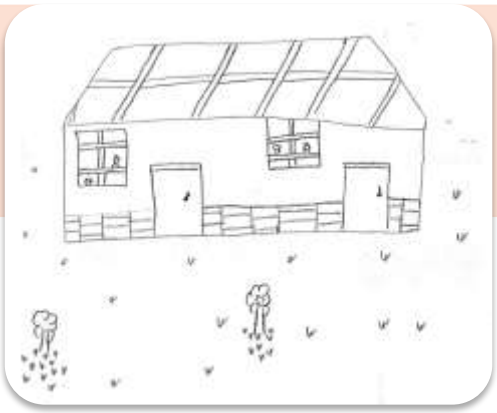
Drawing 43: FR 93

Participant FR-413 wrote: *"School had helped me to cope with my life because it makes me to be concent* [sic] *of myself and future, and it makes me to be happy about today, because problems of today are not for me to cry about but are my opportunities to create changes in the world I am living in today..."* It is clear from this participant's explanation that he realises the importance of school as a resilience-promoting resource. He is confident that he will achieve his goals someday and knows that he can change his future for the better.

Receiving an education and doing well at school impact upon having a better future. If an individual does not achieve at school the possibility of this person furthering her education is minimal. Without education an individual's chances of having a respectable profession one day are slim (FR-116, FR-178, FR-160, FR-147, FR-140, FR-121, FR-98, FR-90). Several participants drew pictures of their schools (see Drawings 44 & 45) and reported that their schools helped them to create an opportunity to improve their futures by achieving at school.



Drawing 44: FR 143



Drawing 45: FR 166

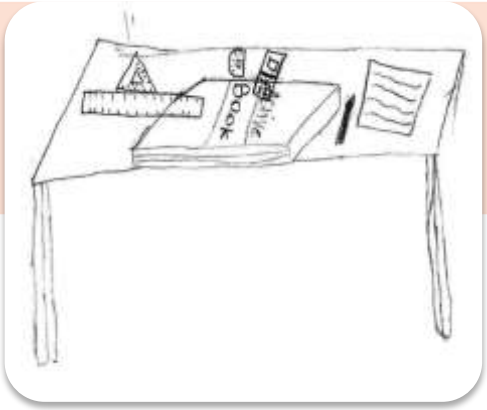
A few participants used the phrase *"... education is the key ..."* (FR-410, FR-160, FR-125, FR-106, FR-413). One participant wrote: *"... to going anywhere education is the key to any jobs that you want"* (FR-160). Many participants were of the opinion that the best way to overcome their adverse situations and achieve in life would be through continued education. Through education these participants saw an opportunity for a better future.

Many participants stated that school had helped them by teaching them life skills which would enable them to create a future for themselves. Several participants expressed gratitude that the school taught them the basic skills needed in life, such as the ability to read and write (FR-187, FR-186, FR-184, FR-162, FR-124, FR-122, FR-120, FR-118, FR-117, FR-107, FR-99, FR-96, FR-88). The participants were especially grateful for the opportunities enabling them to learn to speak and write English (FR-205, FR-88).

One participant indicated that being at school had helped her to differentiate between right and wrong behaviour. She attributed not stealing to the fact that she could attend school: "... *because of school I know the wrong thing and the right thing"* (FR-166). A few other participants wrote that by staying at school they did not become street children. School taught them valuable life skills which they could use in their daily lives to overcome adversities.

Several participants referred to working diligently at school, doing homework and studying as a resilience-promoting resource which would enable them to create better opportunities for their future (see Drawings 46 & 47) (FR-92, FR-111). One participant wrote: *"Studying help me a lot about focusing on my future rather than to be a thief or hijacker. Graduating is one of the thing that I am willing to do after studying in order to get my degree"* (FR-139).

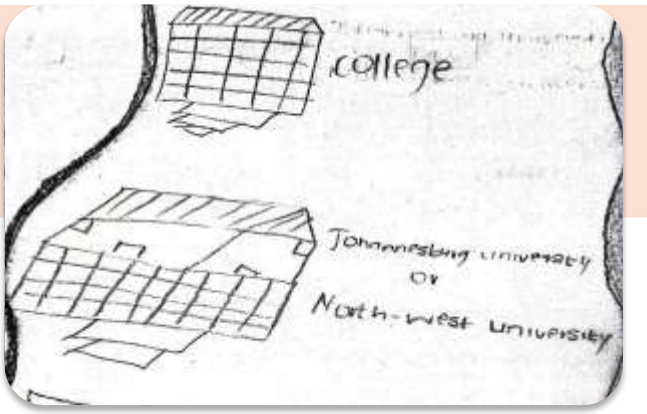
Drawing 46: FR 98



Drawing 47: FR 116

These participants mainly indicated that doing well at school helped them to do well in their lives. They seemed to realise that achieving at school could

influence the choices they would have to make concerning their futures. One participant drew a picture of a college (see Drawing 48) and wrote that, after completing school, she would like to attend college in order to study further so that she could follow a career. Other participants expressed the same determination. Participant FR-148 wrote: *"… to study and finish school and I go to university and then after I get job"*. The participants linked working diligently at school with being able to achieve their goals in the future.



Drawing 48: FR 175

(iii) School textbooks as a resilience-promoting resource

A resource, such as a book or other equipment, is something that can be utilised to assist in accomplishing an aim (cf. 2.3.1.4). A few participants drew pictures of their textbooks when they had to draw the resources that helped them to become resilient. Of these a few participants drew only their textbooks (see Drawing 49), others drew their textbooks with other resources (see Drawing 50). When drawing their textbooks, a small number of participants wrote the name of a subject, such as maths or life science, above or on the drawing of their book. This was to make sure that the book would not be mistaken for another type of book. This guaranteed that I knew exactly what they wanted to communicate in their drawing.

Drawing 49: FR 146

Drawing 50: FR 183

In addition, a few participants explained that the textbooks used in schools were an important resilience-promoting resource (FR-203, FR-179, FR-136, FR-134, FR-146, FR-183, FR-102). It seemed that the participants used books to further their education on their own. The books helped several participants with everyday problems and/or they found useful information that their teachers might not always have had the time to teach them.

A few of the participants noted that their respect for, and use of textbooks was encouraged by their schools. For example, one participant reported: "*A book have helped me because I have read so that I could pass my grades up to so far and I will also read books to be educated*" (FR-128). Participant FR-113 wrote: "*To have some information and archive [sic] some of my short term goal I used some text book...*" Another participant wrote: *"the book helped me to find the information that my teachers never tought* [sic] *me about. As they say "education is the key to success", with school I've found that key to open my book"* (FR-125).

(iv) School as an opportunity for positive social interactions

Social interaction can be defined as interacting with other individuals in a socially appropriate way (cf. 2.3.1.4). A few participants drew pictures of themselves at school engaged in social activities such as communicating with teachers in class (see Drawing 51), and/or with friends (FR-103, FR-108, FR-

110), and/or playing sport and games, (FR-95, FR-182, FR-185) and getting together with friends to work or study (see Drawings 39 & 46 above). The visual symbols of their friends mostly had smiling faces indicating that the interactions were positive.

Drawing 51: FR 98

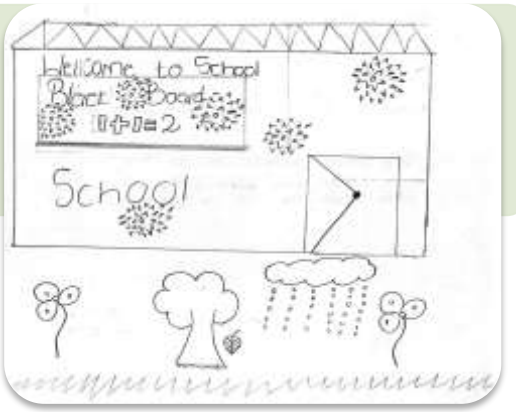
Participants emphasised in their explanations that there were benefits in school-facilitated opportunities to interact socially. Some of these benefits related to learning how to work cooperatively or in a team. Participant FR-98 wrote: *"Working as a team has helped me to do well in my life up to so far. And I think it will also be the best method of how to study until I finish my Matric, and not only my Matric but also when I go to the University, Technicon, College, et-cetera.* [sic]*"*. Other participants emphasised that opportunities to socialise helped to build communication and coping skills. Participant FR-120 explained *"… [it] teach me to working with the people and to communicate with the other people's"*. Participant FR-122 wrote: "*When a person is in school cope and communicate or sociolaz* [sic] *with other people."*

4.2.1.5 Nature and pets

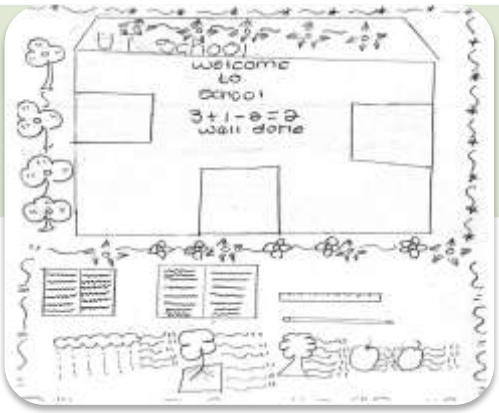
Nature can be defined as all the fauna, flora and things that exist in the universe that are not manmade (cf. 2.3.1.5). Within my study only a few participants drew pictures of trees, flowers and other natural phenomena (see Drawings 52 & 53). The participants did not necessarily refer to these in the description of their pictures. It seems that they used it for decorative purposes,

which still implies an appreciation of nature. Only two participants mentioned the natural world as helping them to become resilient. One participant wrote: *"Sometimes when I feel down I confort* [sic] *my self by remembering how beautiful* [sic] *our land is seeing flowers, trees blooming and I know that lofe* [sic] *has its good days and bad."* (FR-417)

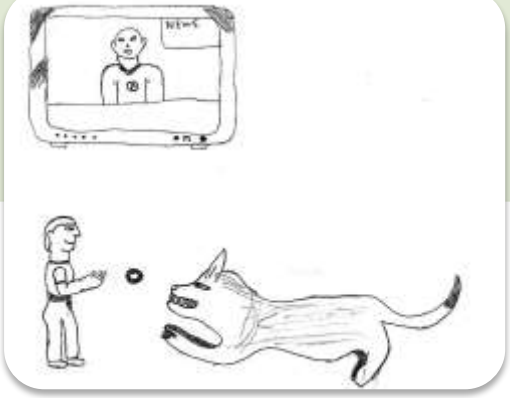
Only one participant referred to the value of a pet. He indicated that his dog helped him to adjust well to difficulties in life (see Drawing 54) because they ran, exercised and played together. His words also suggested an attachment to his pet: "*Playing with my dog helps me to gym, running, jumping and making my dog run with me (I call it my friend ...)"* (FR-167).



Drawing 52: FR 177



Drawing 53: FR 178



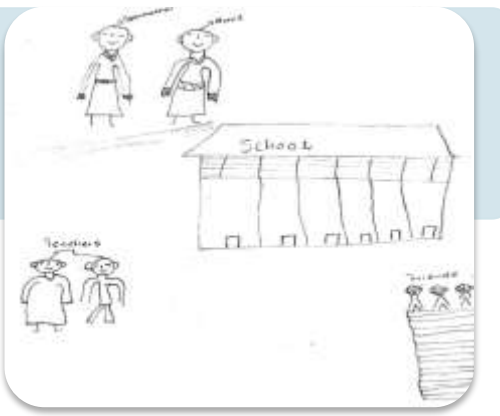
Drawing 54: FR 167

4.2.2 Mesosystemic Resilience-Promoting Resources

The mesosystem is the system involving the interactions of the different settings or microsystemic systems in which the developing individual is a lively contributor (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:209). Different sets of microsystems constantly interact with each other, for example, interaction between a teacher and a parent, or between family members and the individual. This category incorporates the interactions within the microsystem, such as social interactions between individuals and positive social interactions with other individuals. This will be discussed below:

4.2.2.1 Social interactions as a resilience-promoting resource

Social interactions are portrayed in the drawings of most of the participants and were referred to in many explanations. Most participants drew more than one resource which indicated that most participants realised that not only one resource, but an interaction or commingling of resources, facilitated their becoming resilient (see Drawing 55). In particular, the participants emphasised social interaction. A few of these participants drew pictures of individuals together with other resources, but did not specify who they were (see Drawing 56). These participants mainly wrote that they told other people whom they trusted about their problems so that they could help them (FR-105). One participant reported: "*I read books and ask people for the advices, so that I can go on with my life. I usually ask people whom I trust, those whom I think may help"* (FR-411).



Drawing 55: FR 107

Drawing 56: FR 138

However, in most instances, the participants singled out the persons with whom they wanted to interact. These interactions are noted as part of the following sub-themes of the preceding and subsequent sections of this chapter: interactions with team members (see sub-theme: Hobbies as recreational opportunities), interactions with family members like mothers and extended relatives (see sub-theme: Family), interactions with friends (see sub-theme: Attachment to pro-social friends), interaction with school teachers and school friends (see sub-theme: Supportive teachers, and sub-theme: School as an opportunity for positive social interactions), and interactions with pastors (see sub-theme: Church attendance).

It is clear that the value of interaction (e.g. participant-parent, participant-peer, participant-teacher, participant-elder, and participant-grandparent) is based on the emotional and practical support that these interactions offered. Participants wrote that if they had a problem, they would seek advice from other individuals to support them. It would seem that several participants knew that by asking for help they would receive it. These participants anticipated that their efforts to obtain support would be reciprocated systemically. This confidence stemmed from previous experiences of supportive interactions. For example, Participant FR-138 drew a picture of a woman (see Drawing 56) and wrote: "*The lady means that she stood by me while I was going through a tough time."* Another participant wrote: *"... to kill yourself it is not the solution, you have so many people who can help you ..."* (FR-412). Interaction was not limited to emotional support but included practical support and advice that could shape positive futures. For example, under the theme of 'Goal-directed determination' I included Participant 187's aspiration to become a doctor. This participant's goal had been shaped by interaction with his grandmother: *"I didint want to go to school, she* (Grandmother) *then want me to school"* (FR-187). Likewise, as noted earlier, interaction with educators helped participants solve their problems, Participant FR-122 wrote: *"We tell our teachers about our problem to help us and feel confortable* [sic] *all the time…*" Interaction with

friends also helped participants practically. Participant FR-180 wrote: *"My friends have helped me a lot since the first day we met. It is because of them that I don't do silly things like smoking and drinking. They also helped me throughout my sickness."*

4.2.3 Exosystemic Resilience-Promoting Resources

Another category in my research findings is resilience-promoting resources within the exosystem. The exosystem is defined as the system which the individual is not directly involved in. The exosystem could have an influence on the people around the individual, which in effect could have an influence on the individual's resilience development itself. Included in this could be the workplace of the parents, the school of a sibling, and the network of friends of the parents (cf. 2.3.2). Within the category of the exosystem the following themes were identified: positive community-based role models, employed parents, community recreational resources, and service providers. These will be discussed below.

4.2.3.1 Positive community-based role models

Role models are defined as a benchmark or example worthy of duplicating or copying (cf. 2.3.2.2). A few participants mentioned religious figures and elders as being role models for them to look up to and learn from (FR-166, FR-91, FR-111). One participant drew a picture of her priest with other resources on the page (see Drawing 57). These religious figures were referred to as resources that motivated the participants to achieve in life.

Drawing 57: FR 91

A small number of participants reported that they learnt from their religious figures and elders and that they listened to their advice and guidance because they respected them. One participant wrote that: *"... education from my parents, priest, and elders."* (FR-116) helped her to achieve in life. Another participant wrote that she used her eyes and ears to: *"... help me to see and hear what I being told by my elderies* [sic] *..."* (FR-91) – advice from her elders was something she did not want to miss because it provided her with valuable guidance. And Participant FR-111 explained that his picture signified: "*that the respect that I'm having is from elder's ... they encourage me with all living matters helping me how to respect older persons..."* His explanation highlighted the important role elders play in giving guidance to and teaching young people values that make it easier for them to relate well to older people.

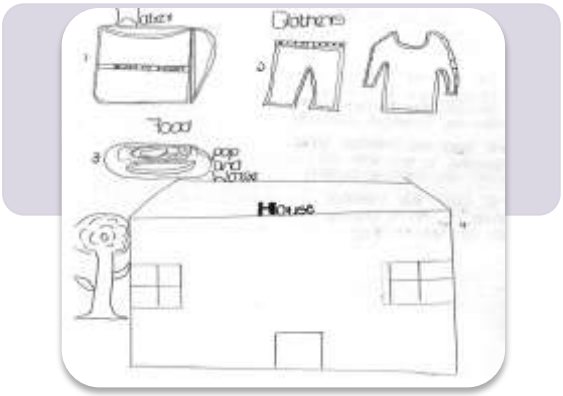
Two participants also explained that they found it helpful when they received advice from a role model who had encountered similar problems to the ones they were facing. The first participant wrote: *"Sometimes I may found that most of problems needs a person who travelled the way I'm travelling"* (FR-103). And Participant FR-101 explained: *"Most of the role models has went the same road as I'm travelling at the moment the road to a better future."*

4.2.3.2 Employed caregivers as a resilience-promoting resource

Several participants indicated that receiving basic necessities such as, food, clothing and shelter, helped them to become resilient. In this study all of the

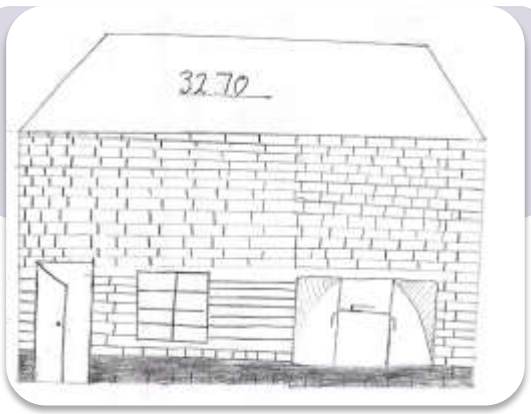
participants' caregivers were described as having low-paid employment or being unemployed (cf. 1.5 and 3.3.2.4). This meant that the caregivers had a lower socioeconomic status. Nevertheless caregivers managed with the little they had to provide the basic necessities for their children. Caregivers who were employed could provide their families with basic financial support needed. Most participants interpreted this as supportive of their resilience.

As previously indicated, one participant drew a picture of his parents receiving money and spending it on food and housing (see Drawing 16 included earlier) and wrote: *"They get money from their employees and get me food to eat to be strong and shelter to be safe..."* (FR-406). Participants mainly drew pictures of food in bowls, or alternatively their mothers holding food parcels. They also drew pictures of their houses, and clothing, like shirts and pants (see Drawings 58, 59 & 60). The pictures of the food were often drawn with other resources on the page (see Drawing 61).

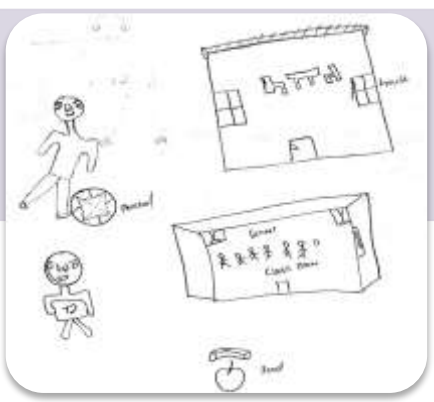


Drawing 58: FR 174

Drawing 59: FR 129



Drawing 60: FR 159

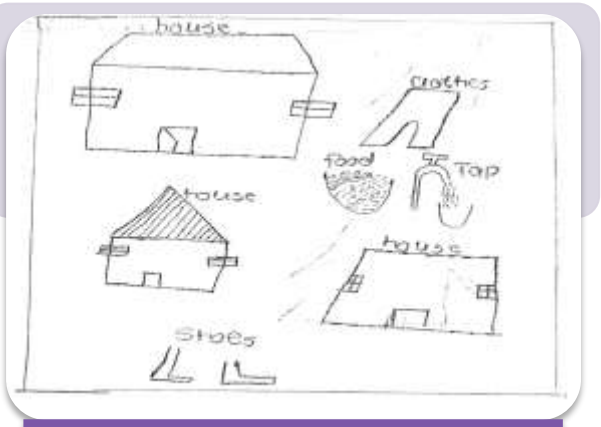


Drawing 61: FR 182

Several participants expressed the importance of food as giving them energy to face the challenges of each day (FR-164, FR-207, FR-190, FR-186, FR-174, FR-173, FR-132, FR-129, FR-124, FR-149). One participant reported: *"Food gave me energy that have today"* (FR-164). Participant FR-401 indicated that healthy food helped him to cope with adverse situations and wrote: *"Healthy food because it bringed* [sic] *I healthy mind to cope up until now."* Another participant wrote*: "Food make my body grow if it was no food where will Im* [sic] *be now..."* (FR-182). Several participants indicated that their mothers were the individuals who provided them with food (see Drawings 22 and 23 included earlier).

A few participants (FR-174, FR-173, FR-165, FR-190, FR-140) also wrote that having clothes helped them to be warm in winter. Participant FR-174 (see Drawing 58) wrote: *"We can't live without clothers* [sic] *Because you be cold outside you can still be sick …*" Another participant reported that the clothing her mother bought her identified her with her peers: "*She* (mother) *buying me a clothes to wear to look just like other children"* (FR-124). For this participant clothing was not only a way to survive the harsh winter cold that QwaQwa is known for, but also a means of resemblance to her peers.

Several participants reported that a safe, secure home helped them to adapt positively to the many challenges they faced (FR-190, FR186-, FR-174, FR-173, FR-171, FR-165, FR-159, FR-161, FR-152, FR-412). As noted previously, the participants in my study live in a poverty-stricken community and violence is a common occurrence in their area (Theron *et al*., 2011). By having a safe home participants were sheltered from the danger in their community. One participant in particular (FR-173) drew a picture of three houses and labelled all three as 'house' (see Drawing 62). His drawing seemed to stress the importance of having a shelter. Participants also stressed that without a home they would become street children and have to fend for themselves.

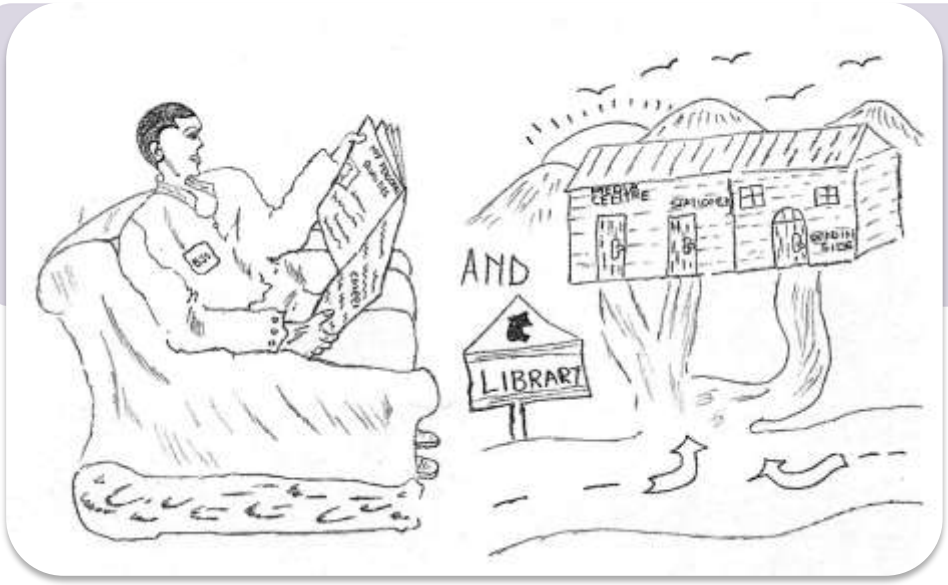


Drawing 62: FR 173

Participants described their homes as places where they knew they would find protection. Participant FR-125 drew a picture of her home and wrote: *"It has helped me up to so far because if it has'nt* [sic] *been about it I would have been a street kid by now. My home is a place where I can find peace and resting."* Another participant wrote: *"If I dint* [sic] *have the house to stay I was going to stay at street."* (FR-161). And Participant FR-412 explained that her home "*is where I get my self to be warm and safe with my family".*

4.2.3.3 The library as resilience-promoting resource

Two participants indicated that a library in their immediate community contributed to their resilience. Participant FR-163 drew a picture of a library with someone sitting and reading, in exceptional detail and large on the page, indicating that the library is a very important resource for this participant (see Drawing 63). Participant FR-101 also drew a picture of a library with other resources (see Drawing 64). Library access created opportunities to further the resilience of these participants and kept them involved in positive activities.



Drawing 63: FR 163

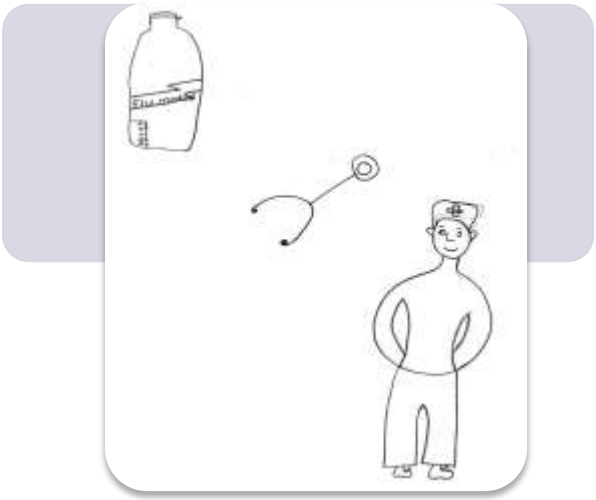
Drawing 64: FR 101

The library helped them to further their studies in that it provided valuable information as well as a place to study. Participant FR-163 wrote: *"... I was always attending afternoon study at the libraries and I was always reading"* and Participant FR-101 explained: *"Going to library reading hero's stories that teaches a lot has made me who I am."*

4.2.3.4 Service providers as resilience-promoting resources

Service providers are organisations that offer support, guidance, and other communal necessities. They are usually managed by private corporations,

NGOs or the government (cf. 2.3.2.7). A few participants indicated that they made use of service providers, especially medical facilities, in order to achieve resilience. One of these participants drew pictures of symbols portraying medical facilities, such as a nurse, medicine and a stethoscope (see Drawing 65), and wrote: *"The medical always help the people to feel well. Please use the medical all the time"* (FR-168). Another participant (FR-186) indicated that her mother took her to the clinic for medical assistance and Participant FR-207 explained that his brother took him to the clinic: *"When I sick my brother take me to clinic or to the doctor".*



Drawing 65: FR 168

Examples of service providers in the community of the participants are Soul Buddies and LoveLife. One participant wrote that she participated in Soul Buddies and LoveLife to learn more about life's challenges and how to overcome them: *"… parcitipating* [sic] *in soul-buddy's or Love-life so it was teaching more about the real life situations."* (FR-130).

4.2.4 Macrosystemic Resilience-Promoting Resources

The category, macrosystemic resilience-promoting resources requires an understanding of the macrosystem which is the system that involves a society's existing economic and social structures, culture, and government. Together these constitute the broader socio-political, socio-cultural, and socioeconomic

system in which the individual functions (cf. 2.3.3). Bronfenbrenner (1979:26) suggests that the macrosystem is the dominant system that influences the microsystem and the exosystem. The macrosystemic resilience-promoting resources reported by participants in my study incorporate the themes of religious beliefs and practices, inspirational stories and access to information. These and their sub-themes (if applicable) are discussed below:

4.2.4.1 Religious beliefs and practices

Religion implies certainty in the existence of a god or gods, and leads to activities that are associated with the worship of such a god or gods. An example of this would be church attendance, prayer and reading the Bible (cf. 2.3.3.1). Many participants indicated that their religious beliefs were important to their success in life. These participants also illustrated that they actively practised their faith, by going to church, reading their Bibles and praying. Pictures of church buildings, crosses and Bibles were drawn by several of these participants (see Drawings 66 & 67). Mothers were predominantly indicated as motivating these participants to engage in religious practices, such as going to church, praying and reading the Bible. The following sub-themes, church attendance and religious practices, will be discussed below:

Drawing 66: FR 138

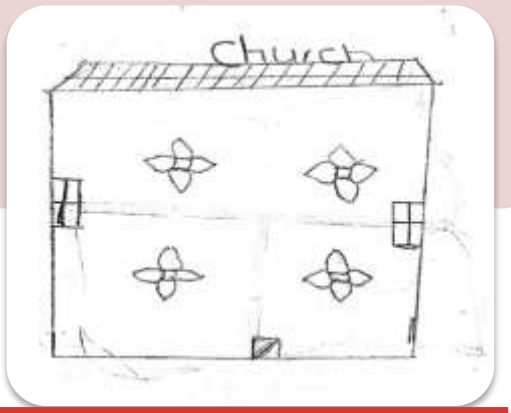
Drawing 67: FR 404

(i) Church attendance as a resilience-promoting resource

Several participants indicated that going to church provided them with resilience-promoting resources (FR-111, FR-404, FR-145, FR-140, FR-104,

FR-94). A few of these participants drew a large church on their page, indicating that the church was an important resource in their lives (see Drawings 68 & 69). Others drew a church together with other resources. The participants who drew a church with other resources did not draw the church much bigger than the other resources. This could be an indication that the church plays an important, although not the most important, part in the development of these participants' resilience.

Drawing 68: FR 104



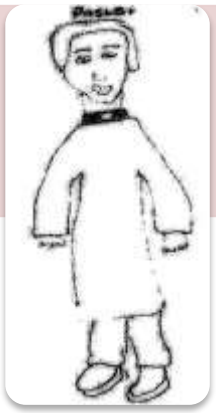
Drawing 69: FR 156

Several of the participants wrote that going to church and praying to God, as part of what they did at church, helped them to cope in life. Church attendance facilitated their resilience in that it helped them by either offering them a sense of comfort and/or guidance, or because it gave them access to a pastor who could help them in dealing with their problems. It seemed that these participants found strength in going to church and asking God to help them with their problems.

Confirming this Participant FR-113 wrote: "... *to deal with some problem I use to pray, attend church*." Another participant wrote: *"I go to church to pray to god to be with me in every step that I take and in every thing that I do."* (FR-107). And Participant FR-110 wrote: *"... I surrounded my life with church, simply god is everything without him I am nothing so he the one that helped me to overcome the problem I had."* These participants also indicated that in attending church they found guidance from God to become better individuals.

Participant FR-404 wrote that the "*Church is important to me, because god is my sharepart [shepherd], god create me to be a role model for my famely* [sic]".

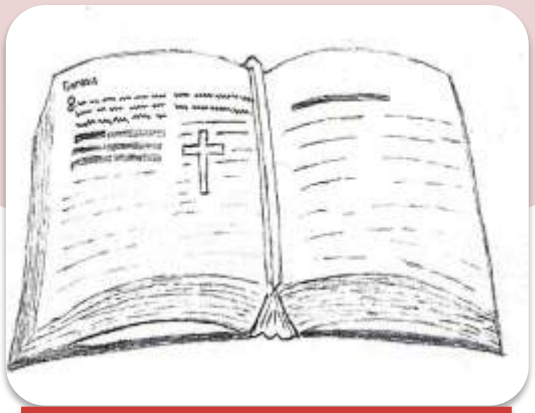
A few of these participants also indicated that going to church gave them access to the pastor of the church whose supportive interaction and advice enabled them to be resilient. Participant FR-91 drew a picture of her pastor (see Drawing 70) and explained that the pastor is respected and trusted as someone in whom she could confide in times of need (see also 4.2.3.1 Positive community-based role models). She wrote: "*I have drawn my pastor because he is the one who bring strength and hopes in my life in the name of God*." (FR-91). Another participant wrote: *"So many problems chased away by pastor at church....who understand my problems"* (FR-103).



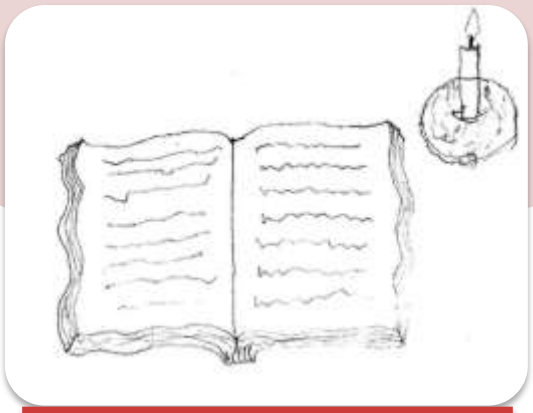
Drawing 70: FR 91

(ii) Religious practices that promote resilience

The religious practices illustrated in this study include reading the Bible and praying. The Bible was a recurring symbol in several participants' drawings and explanations (FR-138, FR-136, FR-115, FR-114, FR-401, FR-203, FR-130, FR-117, FR-104, FR-100, FR-91). Some participants reported that reading the Bible helped them to become resilient. Other participants drew a large Bible on the page in great detail, emphasising its importance to them (see Drawings 71 and 72). These participants explained that reading the Bible helped them to deal with problems in their lives.



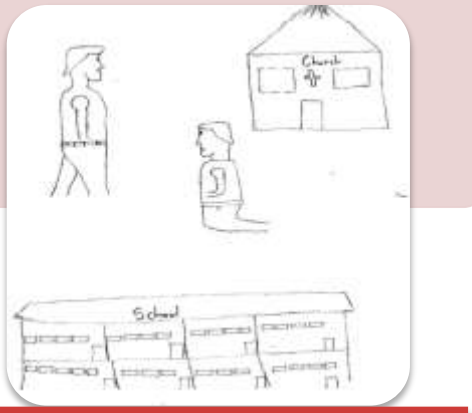
Drawing 71: FR 403



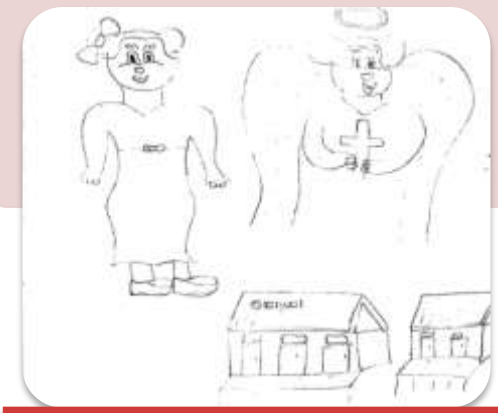
Drawing 72: FR 117

Some participants wrote that the Bible provided them with advice in times of need. These participants found guidance in the Bible, which they believed to be the Word of God. One participant wrote: *"I love to read bible, because I get advice from it."* (FR-404). Participant FR-103 wrote: *"I read bible when problems are in my life. Most problems need the word of god to be cancelled. Especcialy* [sic] *the emotional problems."* Another participant wrote that the Bible "*help me to go on with my life and show me the good way of living*" (FR-403).

Another characteristic of religious worship is the tradition of praying, whereby individuals speak to God, thanking Him and asking Him for assistance (cf. 2.3.3.1). A few participants drew pictures of individuals praying. One participant drew a picture of himself kneeling. Another participant drew a picture of herself with wings, a halo and holding a cross (see Drawings 73 and 74). She wrote that she prays to: *"... God the one who have done anything ... who i always thank for anything that he have done to me"* (FR-118). Praying to God for assistance or thanking Him for His help with "anything" was often featured in the content of the drawings.



Drawing 73: FR 111



Drawing 74: FR 118

A few participants reported that they pray to God to help them meet their needs. For example, one participant drew a large school on her page and wrote: *"Every day I must pray my god to help me."* (FR-147). Another participant wrote: *"… I pray for 10 minetes* [sic] *so that may god help me to achieve."* (FR-114). Participant FR-128 reported that she would pray to God for assistance for the rest of her life: *"... I always pray for him to succed* [sic] *in every thing I do. And I will until he realise* [sic] *me from earth".* She was determined that her devotion to God would continue for the rest of her life.

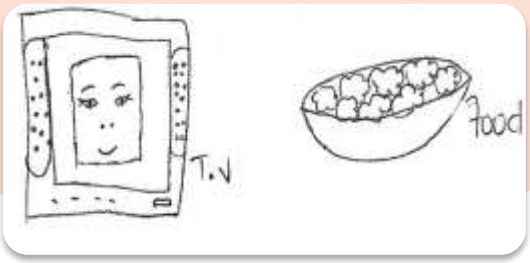
4.2.4.2 Access to information

Many participants reported that technology and books enabled them to access various types of information. Although technology and books were part of their immediate environment, access to both was mediated by their technology- and information-conscious macrosystem. Obtaining information through technology requires access to various technological devices. In this category some participants identified television, radio, computer, cell phone, and inspirational books. These will all be discussed below:

Within my study, a picture of a television was drawn and referenced as being a resilience-promoting resource where some participants could access information (FR-143, FR-97, FR-405, FR-113, FR-131, FR-92). One participant drew a picture of a television screen and wrote on it "good advice". Another

participant drew a picture of a television screen with a face on it (see Drawings 75 & 76). These participants see the television as a source of information where they can acquire advice or inspiration.

Drawing 75: FR 131



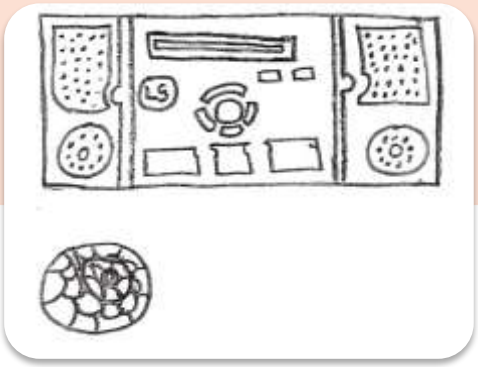
Drawing 76: FR 164

The participants stated that they viewed inspirational talks or programs that taught them life skills which they could incorporate into their own lives. One participant explained: *"It taught me many things i did not know about life."* (FR-164). Another participant wrote: *"Tv and books are the sources that i rely on mostly because there are some things that i cannot talk to my mother or anyone else about. ... from the reality shows i can be able to quote some useful information ... it helps me to know how to deal with my problems"* (FR-100).

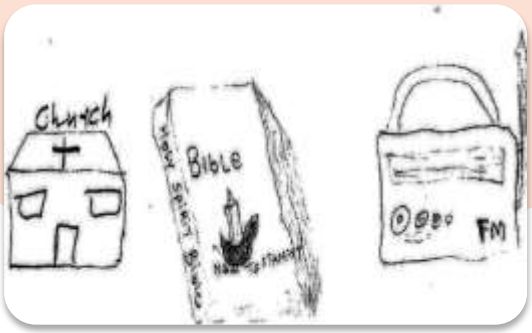
A few other participants wrote that by viewing television they learnt problem solving skills and saw how others achieved their goals. This gave these participants hope for the future. Participant FR-167 wrote: *"Watching television helps me to see life of other people and gives me hope that I can do anything I want."* Another participant wrote: *"Watching T.V. also helps because you can see people with problems and how they solve them. You can also see how people get in trouble and their punishments and that also helps to not get yourself in trouble"* (FR-112).

A few participants indicated that listening to the radio enabled them to become resilient. These participants drew pictures of radios on the page. The radios

were not drawn large, but were drawn in great detail (see Drawings 77 & 78). These few participants reported that they used the radio to listen to inspirational talks or information that could help them in real life. One participant explained: *"...I listen to radio to hear how other people deal with their problems, what they do to achieve what they want in life..."* (FR-113). Another participant wrote "…*there is a show called Education I listern* [sic] *to them when they give us an information."* (FR-114).



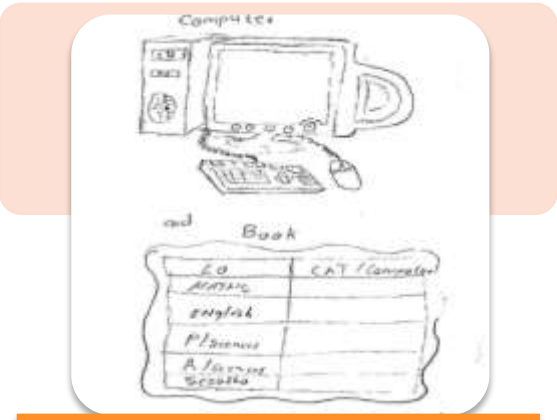
Drawing 77: FR 4



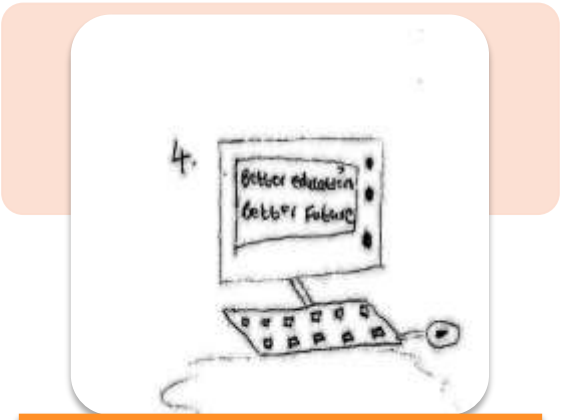
Drawing 78: FR 114

Participant FR-4 drew a picture of her radio (see Drawing 77) and explained: "*this drawings mean a lot to me, a lot* [sic]." Listening to the radio helped her to relax and enabled her to apply her mind to her situation. She wrote: *"When I'm feeling down or depressed, they help me connect with my mind and also makes me happy when I am sad."* I interpreted this to mean that listening to the radio gave her the opportunity to reflect and uplift her mood.

Only three participants indicated that access to computers helped them to do well in life and drew pictures of computers in great detail (see Drawing 79 & 80). These participants explained that computers helped them to source information that enabled them to become resilient (FR-101, FR-115, FR-132). Participant FR-101 wrote that: *"Visiting computers has helped me to be who I am today because searching for information that helps me a lot has changed my life as an individual."*



Drawing 79: FR 115



Drawing 80: FR 101

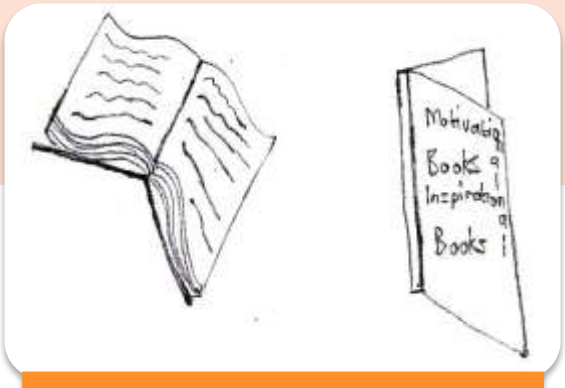
Participant FR-136 indicated that her cell phone helped her to become resilient. She drew a picture of her cell phone with other resources on the page (see Drawing 81). She reported that she used her cell phone to communicate with her friends and family. She used different services on her cell phone to communicate with individuals who, although they were not in close proximity, could provide comfort. She explained: *"My cellphone has helped me do well in my life because that's where I am able to communicate with my friends and family using services such as mxit, facebook and lots more* [sic]*."*

Drawing 81: FR 136

(i) Using inspirational publications to access information

Several participants indicated that they accessed inspirational stories from books, magazines and newspapers which encouraged them and enabled them to become resilient (FR-131, FR-419, FR-416, FR-181, FR-415, FR-113). One

of these participants drew a picture of a book and wrote on it *"motivational books and inspirational books."* Another participant drew a picture of a magazine and a newspaper (see Drawings 82 & 83). The books were drawn with other resources indicating that they, together with the other resources, played a part in promoting the resilience of these participants.



Drawing 82: FR 416

Drawing 83: FR 113

The participants mainly reported that the information gained from reading inspirational books gave them guidance in times of need. They also explained that sometimes it was difficult to talk to elders about their problems. They would then either read a book, magazine or newspaper for advice and to guide them towards resilience. One participant wrote that: *"reading books, teen related books or just real life stories about teenlive* [sic]*."* (FR-405) helped her to do well in life. Another participant explained that reading about role models enabled her to anticipate the future knowing that she could overcome the difficulties in her life, as her role models had overcome theirs. She wrote: *"Reading books helps to cope with chalanges* [sic] *because some of people write about their lives, how difficult their lives were and how they managed to pass through difficult times"* (FR-112).

Participant FR-100 wrote: *"when I am down I read a lot of books that I have it can either be a magazine or a bible I can be able to find the word of encouraugement* [sic] *there..."* Participant FR-134 wrote that he read: *"... other information books that gave me a guidance",* and Participant FR-101 wrote: *"… read lot of stories especially motivational book has help me a lot to be where I*

am today". Participant FR-117 indicated that he has the ability to handle peer pressure competently. He indicated that by reading books he learnt how to avoid negative situations that could have led to adverse consequences. He wrote: *"...from reading I experienced or acknowledged the importance of life. At my age peer pressure is tigh* [sic]*".*

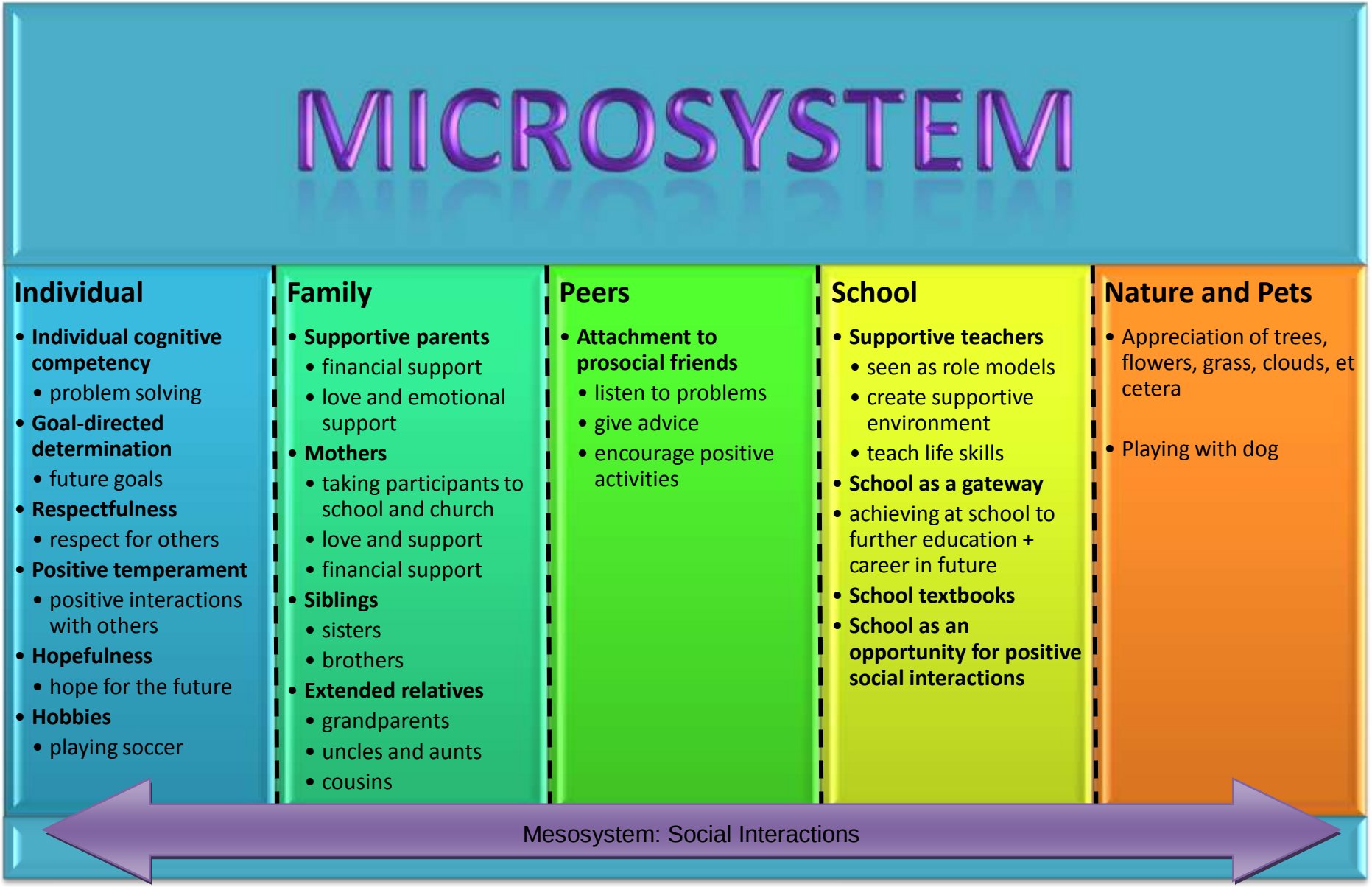
4.3 DISCUSSION

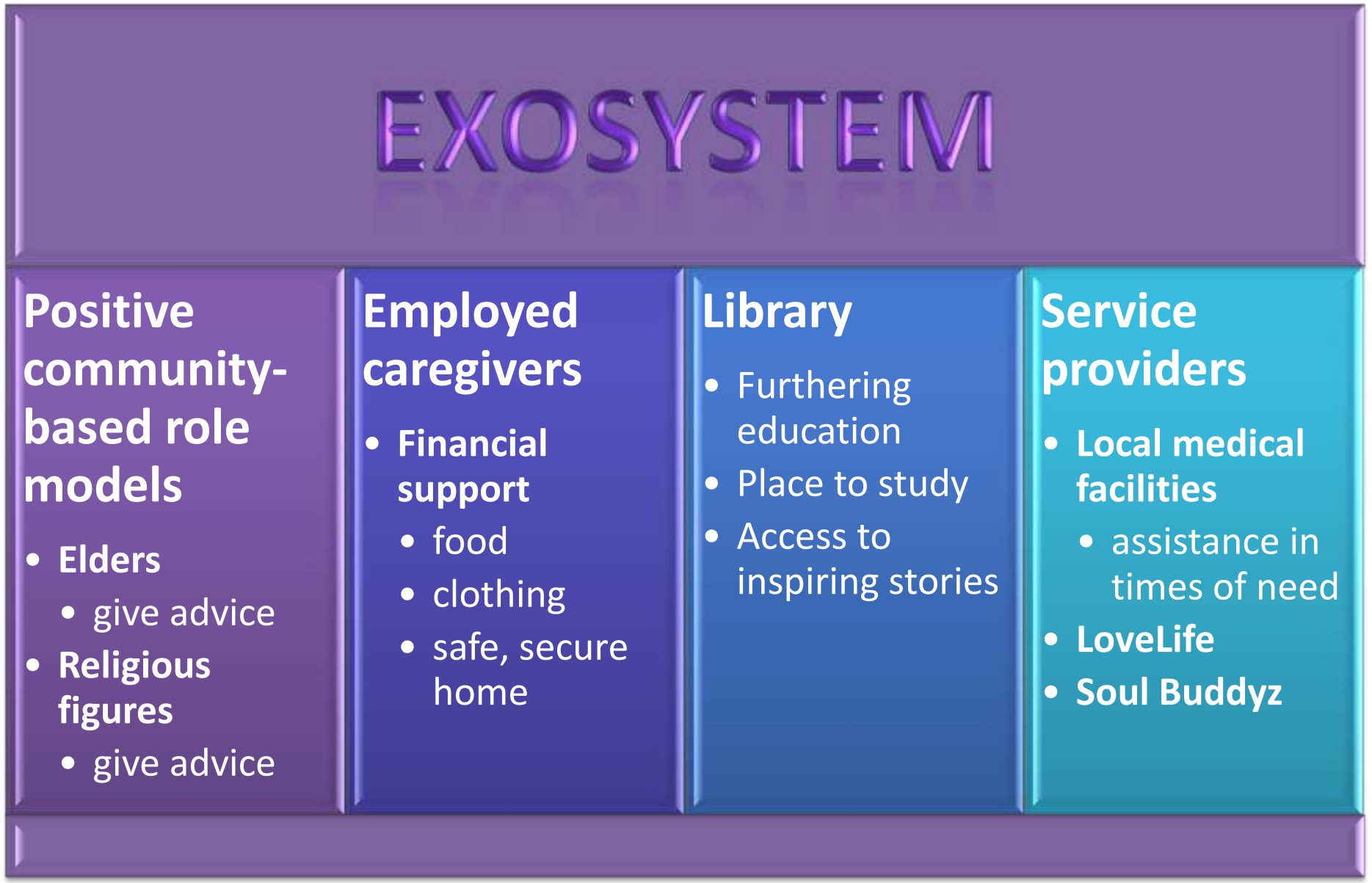
In the following section I will compare my findings concerning the resources that encourage youth resilience to the findings of resilience-related literature. In order for me to comprehend what shapes the resilience of resilient Basotho youth in the Thabo Mofutsanyana District in the Free State province of South Africa it was important to review what the generic antecedents of resilience were reported to be, as recorded in my literature review in Chapter Two. In the course of this review I noted that researchers warned against assuming that resilience-promoting resources would be the same in different contexts and cultures, since what may be regarded as resilient in one context, may not be so in another (Dass-Brailsford, 2005:575; Ungar *et al*., 2008:225).

I will use this comparison (i.e. the themes emerging from my research compared with those in current literature) to comment on how my participants' resilience-promoting resources are the same as those of youth in other studies (see Similarities below), how my participants' resilience-promoting resources differed (see Differences), and which resources were not mentioned by my participants (i.e. Silences in my data) (Loots, 2010: 305). This structure (similarities, differences and silences) is based on the PhD work of Mathilda Loots (2010: 305).

4.3.1 Similarities

In summary, my participants reported the following themes and sub-themes (see Table 4.3 below) when they reflected on the resources that promoted their resilience. Although Table 4.3 was too large to condense into a table that fitted on one page, these resources all form part of the same ecology.


MICROSYSTEM
Individual
• Individual cognitive competency
• problem solving
• Goal-directed determination
• future goals
• Respectfulness
• respect for others
• Positive temperament
• positive interactions with others
• Hopefulness
• hope for the future
• Hobbies
• playing soccer
Family
• Supportive parents
• financial support
• love and emotional support
• Mothers
• taking participants to school and church
• love and support
• financial support
• Siblings
• sisters
• brothers
• Extended relatives
• grandparents
• uncles and aunts
• cousins
Peers
• Attachment to prosocial friends
• listen to problems
• give advice
• encourage positive activities
School
• Supportive teachers
• seen as role models
• create supportive environment
• teach life skills
• School as a gateway
• achieving at school to further education + career in future
• School textbooks
• School as an opportunity for positive social interactions
Nature and Pets
• Appreciation of trees, flowers, grass, clouds, et cetera
• Playing with dog
Mesosystem: Social Interactions


EXOSYSTEM
Positive community-based role models
• Elders
• give advice
• Religious figures
• give advice
Employed caregivers
• Financial support
• food
• clothing
• safe, secure home
Library
• Furthering education
• Place to study
• Access to inspiring stories
Service providers
• Local medical facilities
• assistance in times of need
• LoveLife
• Soul Buddyz

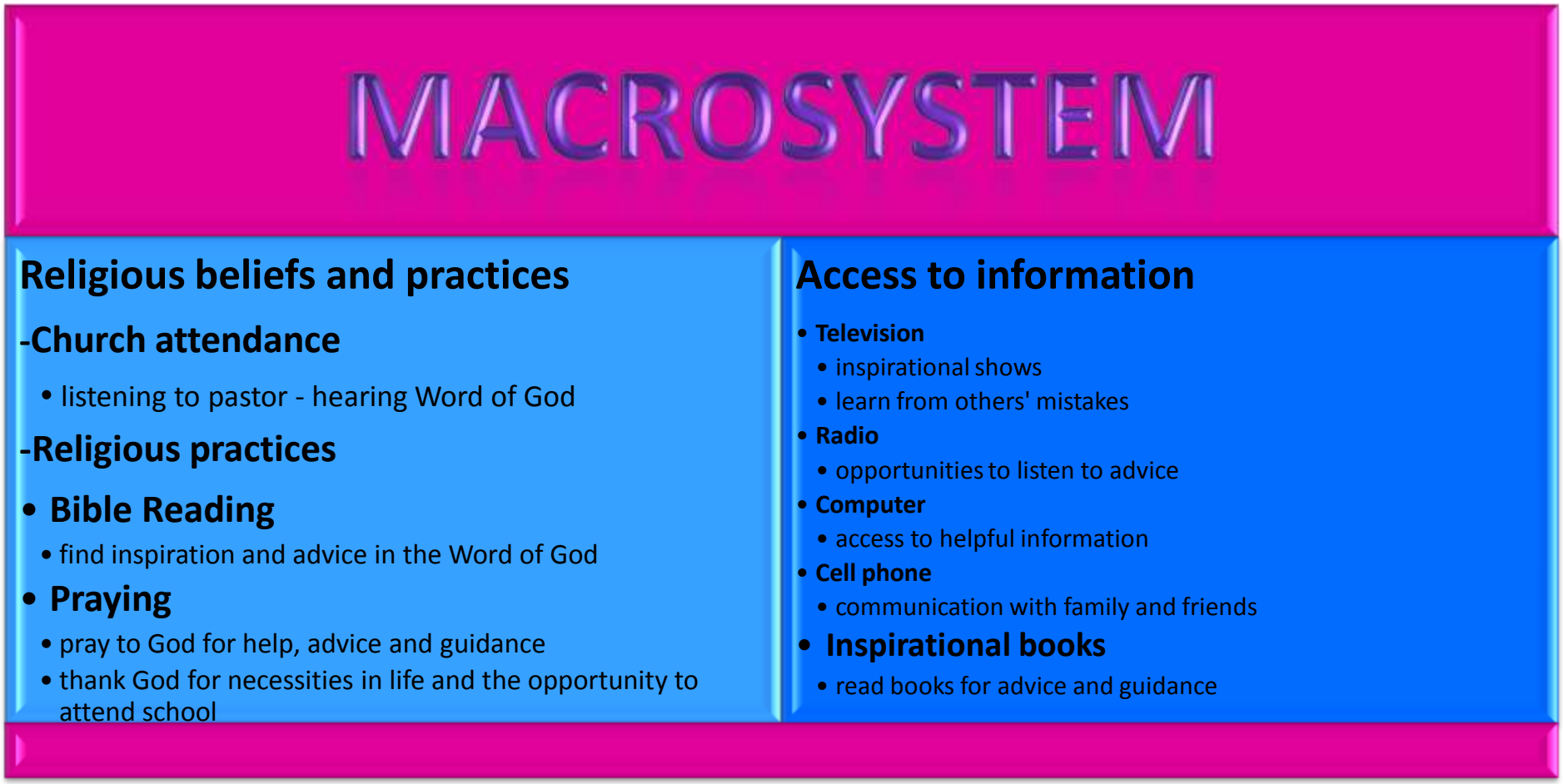


Figure 4.3: Summary of resilience-promoting resources reported by resilient Basotho youth participants from the Thabo Mofutsanyana District in the Free State province of South Africa

Literature on resilience to date has reported all of these themes: the individual, family, friends, extended relatives, nature and pets, relationships, role models, employed caregivers, medical facilities, religious beliefs and practices, and access to information, which will be discussed below:

4.3.1.1 Similar individual resources

The participants in my study reported that individual **cognitive competency** within the theme of individual resilience-promoting resources helped them to become resilient. Rutter (1984:64), Wolin and Wolin (1993:143), and Wolin (2003:19) all indicated that cognitive competency was an important resource in order to become resilient. Felsman (1989:69) also found that the street children of Colombia showed cognitive competency in their survival strategies whilst living on the streets. Part of being competent cognitively is the ability to **solve problems.** This is stated in studies by many other researchers (Anthony, 1987b:22; Lee & Tay-Koay, 2008:258; Werner, 1995:82; Werner & Smith, 1982:120), including South African studies of resilience (see for example, Cronje, 2008:105; Govender & Killian, 2001:6; Johnson & Lazarus, 2007:26; MacDonald *et al*., 1996:236).

Goal-directed **determination** is emphasised in South African literature and Western literature on resilience. Anthony (1987b:22), found that being determined and motivated enabled a person to think constructively about, and overcome, problem situations. Werner (2006:95) reported that Fergusson and Horwood (2003), Lösel and Bliesener (1990), Masten and Powell (2003), Radke-Yarrow and Brown (1993), Schoon (2001), and Werner and Smith (1992, 2001) all noted that “high-achievement motivation” was associated with positive adjustment in longitudinal studies of high-risk children. Many South African researchers like Dass-Brailsford (2005:580), Phasha (2010:1246), and Smith and Drower (2008:155) found that determination and motivation was an important individual resilience-promoting resource for many of their predominantly black participants.

Respect for others has been reported by Clauss-Ehlers and Levi (2002:271) as a pathway to resilience in U.S. Latino and Mexican adolescents and by Van Wormer *et al*. (2011:413) in older African-American women. The respect that their participants showed others correlates with the respect that the participants of my study show towards others in their community. Other black South African participants, like those of Theron *et al.* (2011:799), Phasha (2010:1248) and Theron and Malindi's (2010:726) study, showed respect for their cultural heritage. In a number of instances my participants indicated that respectfulness towards others was valued in their communities and taught explicitly by their elders. It is possible that their respectfulness was encouraged by traditional African belief systems, such as *Ubuntu* (Theron, 2007: 371). It is also possible that their respectfulness could be a product of policies in South Africa which were put in place to teach individuals respect through the implementation of basic human rights (South African Constitution, 1996).

The findings that a **positive temperament** promotes resilient interactions correlates with earlier Western studies (Rutter, 1985:606; Ungar *et al.,* 2007:288), as well as studies with Japanese youth of the Sapporo area (Laser, 2008:322). In South African studies participants from the University of the Witwatersrand (Smith & Drower, 2008:154), amongst others, expressed the importance of a positive temperament in enabling youth to overcome adversities and enhance their access to resilience-promoting resources (see for example Berger, 2008:101; Ebersöhn, 2008:14; Rak & Patterson, 1996:372).

Findings that **hope** facilitates resilience are parallel to previous studies such as those of Wolin and Wolin (1993:101), Clauss-Ehlers and Wibrowski (2007:582), and those reported by Wright and Masten (2006:24). Many South African researchers have also indicated that hope promotes resilience; the theme of hope for a better tomorrow occurs regularly in South African studies of resilience (see for example, Dass-Brailsford, 2005:583; Phasha, 2010:1242; Theron & Malindi, 2010:727).

In correlation with my current study, it was found by other researchers such as Werner (1995:82) and Wolin and Wolin (1993:167) that **hobbies** promote resilience. South African researchers also found hobbies and/or recreational activities as resilience-promoting, especially through community activities (Theron & Theron, 2010). Malindi and Theron (2011:113-114) report that resilient street youth in the Bethlehem area of the Free State actively engaged in hobbies, like soccer amongst others. As found in my study, participating in team sports (like soccer) cultivates a sense of belonging, helps young people forget their hardships for a while and encourages positive peer and adult relations.

4.3.1.2 Similar family-based resources

As in other resilience studies, my study also highlighted the importance of **parental support**. This has been reported not only among Western youth (Masten, 2001:228; Rutter, 1985:601; Werner & Smith, 1982:109; Wolin & Wolin, 1993:112) but also among South African youth (Cook & Du Toit, 2005:260; Schoon & Bynner, 2003:24; Theron & Dunn, 2010:238). Many of my participants highlighted only their **mother** as a resilience-promoting resource. Some researchers, like Liebenberg (2009:6) and Werner and Smith (1982:76), indicated the pivotal role mothers play in the lives of individuals.

Findings from my study that encouragement from warm, nurturing and supportive **siblings** contributes to the success of individuals are aligned with other Western studies (Ungar, 2008:218; Werner, 1995:83). Emotional support from siblings encouraged resilience, especially among Hawaiian boys aged two to ten (Werner & Smith, 1982:97). A few South African studies (see for example, Dass-Brailsford, 2005:582; Smith & Drower, 2008:154) substantiate the importance of sibling support to the development of resilience.

Existing literature validates the results of my study by referring to the significance of **extended relatives** as a resilience-promoting resource (Bernard & Este, 2005:450; Clauss-Ehlers & Levi, 2002: 271; Masten & Reed, 2005:75; Rogoff, 2003:119; Werner, 1995:83; Wolin & Wolin, 1993:112). Other South African studies also emphasise the importance of the connections between extended family members to the promotion of resilience (Cluver & Gardner, 2007:321; Dass-Brailsford, 2005:582; Smith & Drower, 2008:152; Theron, 2007:368). For example, the study done by Theron *et al.* (2011:807) indicated how participants, who were orphaned adolescents, received support from extended family members. Theron (2007:368) emphasizes the role of grandmothers.

4.3.1.3 Similar school-based resources

Attachment to **pro-social friends** as a source of resilience correlated with not only Western studies (Clauss-Ehlers & Levi, 2002:271; Laser, 2008:330; Letourneau *et al*., 2008:182; Masten & Wright, 2010:217; Stevens, 2005:52; Ungar *et al.,* 2007:290; Werner & Smith, 1982:97), but South African studies as well (Dass-Brailsford, 2005:582; Koon, 1997:479; Smith & Drower, 2008:154; Te Vaarwerk, 2009:10; Theron & Dunn, 2010:238; Theron *et al.,* 2011:808). As in my study, these studies reported that relationships with positive peers motivated young people to spend their time in meaningful activities and offered them opportunities for guidance and expression of emotion.

A **supportive teacher (or teachers)** as a resilience-promoting resource was in line with earlier studies in non-African contexts (Bernard & Este, 2005:451; Clauss-Ehlers & Wibrowski, 2007:582; Laser, 2008:330; Rutter, 1983:24; Werner & Smith, 1982:97). As in these studies, teachers in South Africa are reported to encourage resilience. Te Vaarwerk (2009:92) conducted a study with black grade-nine adolescents, five males and five females, all with separated parents, attending an ex-Model C school in the Vaal Triangle District in South Africa. All of her participants mentioned that educators at school helped them to create an environment in which they felt safe to talk about their problems. Supportive teachers promote resilience when they act as role models,

mentors, a source of encouragement, and as persons who help children with their daily lives (Barbarin *et al.,* 2001:24; Dass-Brailsford, 2005:583; Ebersöhn, 2008:14; Theron & Dunn, 2010:242; Theron & Malindi, 2010:726).

The findings of my study are consistent with previous studies which indicate that **school is a gateway** to a better life. Earlier studies report specifically staying and achieving at school as a pathway to resilience (Bernard & Este, 2005:451; Ungar, 2008:218; Ungar *et al.,* 2007:288; Werner & Smith, 1982:89; Werner & Smith, 1982:85). Many South African researchers also confirm the findings of my study that school attendance and positive school performance builds resilience (Ebersöhn, 2008:14; Johnson & Lazarus, 2007:25; Phasha, 2010:1245; Theron, 2007:367; Theron & Dunn, 2010:238; Theron & Malindi, 2010:725).

Well-resourced schools have been identified by Rutter (1983:23) as promotive of resilience. His study focused on schools in the UK. Likewise, Schoon and Bynner (2003:28), whose work was also conducted in the UK, reported that schools that are rich in resources encourage resilience. In South Africa Johnson and Lazarus (2007:29) confirmed that schools need resources in order for individuals to become resilient. Well-resourced schools provide, amongst others, **school textbooks** (also referred to by my participants) as well as well-maintained buildings.

Schooling encourages resilience when it includes opportunities for **positive social interactions**. These could be incorporated in extramural activities where individuals can form friendships, build communication skills, and behave in socially acceptable ways. Werner (1995:82), and Ebersöhn, (2008:14) also found that schools that facilitated extramural activities promoted positive social interactions which in turn encouraged resilience.

Iwaniec *et al.* (2006:79) and Masten and Wright (2010:223) support my findings that a **pet** could be a resilience-promoting resource. Masten and Wright (2010: 223) note that pets offer opportunities for attachment and that this in turn encourages resilience. However, in my study the reference to a pet was made by only one individual. It is possible that, because the participants in my study come from unemployed or low-income families, there is no money available to keep pets.

4.3.1.4 Similar mesosystemic resources

Positive social interactions are well documented as being resilience-promoting. Masten and Wright (2010:222-224) see attachment relationships as the source of positive social interactions. These include parent-child relationships, reported amongst others in studies by Anthony (1987a:153), Benzies and Mychasiuk (2009:107), Cronje (2008:118), Koon (1997:479), Rutter (2005:234), Ungar (2008:218), and Werner and Smith (1982:103). Positive interaction with friends and role models has also been reported in previous Western studies (Clauss-Ehlers & Levi, 2002:271; Letourneau *et al*., 2008:182; Masten & Wright, 2010:217; Stevens, 2005:52; Ungar *et al.,* 2007:290; Werner & Smith, 1982:97) and in South African studies (Dass-Brailsford, 2005:582; Koon, 1997:479; Smith & Drower, 2008:154; Te Vaarwerk, 2009:10; Theron & Dunn, 2010:238, Theron *et al.,* 2011:808) as resilience-promoting.

4.3.1.5 Similar exosystemic resources

The findings that **positive community-based role models** encourage resilience are in line with other studies (Benzies & Mychasiuk, 2009:108; Bernard & Este, 2005:449; Clauss-Ehlers & Levi, 2002:271; Letourneau e*t al*., 2008:170; Shortt *et al.,* 2006:34). According to Masten and Reed (2005:83), community structures such as schools, churches and sports clubs often provide an individual with mentors or role models to respect and emulate. Other South African researchers also confirm my findings (Dass-Brailsford, 2005:582; Theron *et al.,* 2011:808). For example Theron and Malindi

(2010:722) found in their research, with 20 black South African street children, that role models motivated participants to become resilient.

The finding that **employed caregivers** constitute a resilience-promoting resource parallels findings of other studies done in the past such as Garmezy *et al.* (1984:99), Benzies and Mychasiuk (2009:108), Laser (2008:330), Schoon (2007:98), Schoon and Bynner (2003:25), and Werner and Smith (1982:132). Cluver and Gardner, (2007:321) found in their study of HIV & AIDS affected black male African orphans, aged between eight and nineteen years, that poverty and a lower socioeconomic status was a risk factor for most of the participants. Many of the problems which disadvantaged individuals face on a daily basis would be alleviated if they had sufficient available finance.

The **library as a resource** in the community was identified by other researchers in South Africa such as Cook and Du Toit (2005:254), Ebersöhn (2007:14), and Theron (2007:367). The participants in my study added that this resource offered a place to study.

Clauss-Ehlers and Levi (2002:276) indicated in their study with homeless Latino and Mexicans that intervention programs, in cooperation with **medical facilities**, could be used to generate protection for youth with whom it was difficult to make contact. Similarly, in South Africa, Theron and Malindi (2010:725) found that black street children looked for service providers who offered support in the form of health care, confirming my findings that the availability of medical facilities helps to promote resilience.

4.3.1.6 Similar macrosystemic resources

The finding that **church attendance** constitutes a resilience-promoting resource is supported by other studies, such as those by Werner and Smith (1982:105) and Glicken (2006:16). **Religious practices** such as praying and reading the Bible were reported in

local and international studies (Masten & Wright, 2010:228; Malindi & Theron, 2010:323; Theron *et al.,* 2011:809). Reading the Bible and praying about situations helped participants to believe in a higher power to guide them towards solutions and resilience-promoting resources.

Access to information through television, radio, computer and cell phone has been identified in earlier studies (Chittister & Haimes, 2011:1; Masten & Obradovic, 2008). Masten and Obradovic (2008) indicated that technology makes it possible to communicate with family and friends, to console them or speak to them about problems. Sharing problems with family and friends and receiving advice from them for those problems could promote resilience. In South Africa, Cluver and Gardner (2007:323) indicated that children affected by HIV & AIDS found it comforting to view television. Using **inspirational books** to access information has also been indicated in the study done by Glicken (2006:18). One participant in Glicken's study reported that resorting to books in order to find information helped as much as speaking to another individual.

4.3.2 Differences

There were a number of differences in the themes which emerged from my study when I compared these with findings of international studies, particularly those in Eurocentric contexts. As noted, the majority of my participants reported mothers or grandmothers (rather than parents or grandparents) as supportive of their resilience. In her review of large scale international longitudinal studies conducted in Britain, Kaui, the United States, New Zealand, Australia, Denmark, Sweden and Germany, Werner (2006) reported 'maternal competence' (Werner, 2006:96) as a common familial resource associated with positive adjustment. She also reported 'supportive grandparents' (Werner, 2006:96), but this was mostly in contexts of divorce or abuse and maltreatment. Grandmothers were not emphasised as in my study. Theron and Theron (2010) reported that other researchers, such as Germann (2005), Smukler (1990), Van Rensburg and Barnard (2005), all indicated that mothers, (see for example, Barbarin *et al*., 2001:23-24; Edwards, Sakasa & van Wyk, 2005:149) and grandmothers

(see for example, Theron 2007:368) are reported more specifically in South African studies of resilience. However, neither previous South African nor international studies foreground these women as providing for youths' basic needs, or detail that for youth 'close relationships' and 'attachment' (Musick *et al*., 1987:249; Anthony, 1987b:31; Werner & Smith, 1982:120) mean experiencing love and support. Furthermore, these previous studies do not focus on mothers and grandmothers as the persons who make education possible for youth and/or motivate them to become educated, as a pathway to a better life. Likewise, these earlier studies do not report mothers as predominant teachers of religious beliefs that helped youth to feel safe and which influenced their behaviour.

Although the library was reported in previous South African studies (Cook & Du Toit, 2005:254; Ebersöhn, 2007:14; Theron, 2007:367), I could not find explicit mention of it in international studies. Also, as noted above, these South African studies did not detail that libraries offered both a place to study and access to inspirational stories.

None of the previous South African studies on resilience mentioned access to information as a pathway to resilience, particularly via technology (i.e. television, radio, computer or cell phone). In international studies access to information encouraged resilience by connecting individuals with family members who could assist them in times of crisis. The difference is that my findings provide detail as to how information that is accessed via technology could be used by individuals to become resilient. In my study, participants emphasised that technology provided them with alternative sources of advice and inspirational examples.

I found one Western study (Glicken, 2006:18) that mentions inspirational books as a resilience-promoting resource. None of the previous South African studies indicated inspirational books as a resilience-promoting resource whereas several of the participants in my study mentioned inspirational books as a source of resilience. They

stated that, in general, inspirational books offered access to advice and inspirational examples.

4.3.3 Silences

Studies on youth resilience report protective resources that my participants did not. For example, other studies (both local and international) emphasise, *inter alia*, self-esteem, inner locus of control, reflection, autonomy, curiosity, humour, positive family functioning, family rules and structures, family traditions, pro-social gang affiliations, intervention programs, educational districts, community intervention programs, therapeutic services, welfare services, social networks within the church community, policies, human rights, and support in the context of poverty as resilience-promoting resources (see Bernard & Este, 2005:448; Blocker & Copeland, 1994:291; Clauss-Ehlers & Levi, 2002:276; Cook & Du Toit, 2005:250; Cluver & Gardner, 2007:321; Dass-Brailsford, 2005:581; Ebersöhn, 2008:14: Felsman, 1989:66; Glicken, 2006:4; Hewitt, 2005:136-137; Johnson & Lazarus, 2007:25; Lee & Ng, 2008:348; Levine & Sutherland, 2008:204; Masten & Wright, 2010:214; de Roeper & Savelsberg, 2009:209; Schoon & Bynner, 2003:27; Steven, 2005:52; Theron & Dunn, 2010:238; Theron & Malindi, 2010:725; Ungar *et al.,* 2007:288; Ungar, 2010b:425; Walker, 2008:17; Werner & Smith, 1982:120).

None of these were reported by my participants. It is beyond the scope of my study to say why this is. It is possible that the methodology I used limited participants' opportunities to report the above. It is also possible that because youth were asked to report what they had experienced as resilience-promoting, the above was not included because they were not dominant in the resilience-development of these young people. Nevertheless, to truly understand these silences, further research is needed and recommended.

In addition, when considered in terms of Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), my participants made no mention of the role of the Chronosystem in the development of their resilience. This also needs further research to explain why this is so, but it is possible that the developmental phase of my participants (i.e. adolescence) limited their potential to reflect on changes over time that might influence resilience, as they are still developing and therefore future-oriented.

4.3.4 Conclusion to Discussion

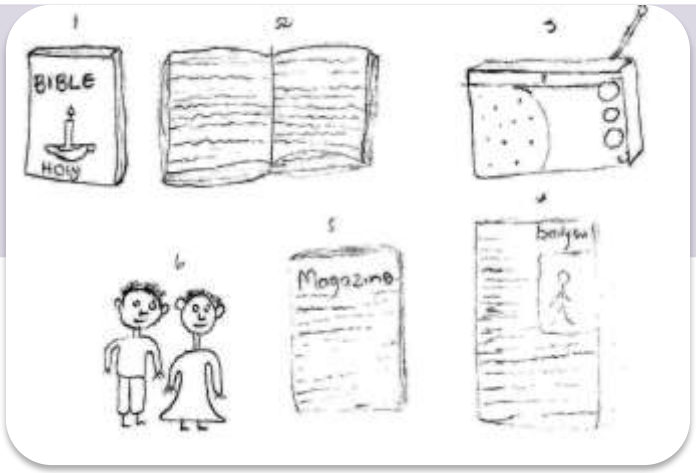
As researcher I have attempted to separate and describe the resources found in this group of resilient adolescents, in order to report them per system. It is, however, evident that these protective resources are interactive and reciprocal as these protective factors reinforce one another (Theron, 2011a). It is apparent from the participants' drawings that protective resources commingled in the participants' ecosystem. Participants mostly drew more than one resource that contributed to their becoming resilient. Only a small number of participants mentioned just one resource that helped them to become resilient. Yet, even where this was the case participants would write in their explanations that more than one resource had helped them to become resilient. Although I alluded to this commingling of resources with reference to the mesosystemic themes emerging from my study, the systemic interactivity which characterised my participants' reflections on their resilience, must be emphasised.

The question directing my study concerns the nature of the resources, embedded in the ecosystem of resilient Basotho youth in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district in the Free State province, that nurture resilience. In attempting to answer this question no one system could be singled out. The entire ecosystem was involved in providing the participants with resilience-promoting resources. Although I categorised my findings according to the different systems, partly because this was more manageable, and evaluated them independently, they worked together as a whole.

I finally came to the conclusion that the systems interact with one another to form a resilience-promoting ecosystem (see Figure 4.4 later on). This, in essence, agrees with Bronfenbrenner's theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:209) which emphasises that a young person is influenced by, and in turn influences, the gestalt of the systems within a given ecosystem. In other words, without the interactions of the different sets of microsystems, and the positive influence of the other systems, resilience would not be possible. This means that the youth, as well as other microsystems (e.g. family, school), exosystems (e.g. positive community role models, service providers) and macrosystems (e.g. religious beliefs and practices) collaborate to promote resilience (Sameroff, 2009:6; Ungar, 2011). For example, Participant FR-91 drew more than one resource (see Drawing 84). With reference to these multiple, interacting resources, she referred to her ability to use her intelligence (*"I have drawn my mind because it stores all the information that I know."*), the ability to use her senses to receive advice and guidance (*"... help me to see and hear what I being told by my elderies* [sic] *..."*), but she also mentioned her mother's support, reading the Bible and her pastor who guides her ("*I have drawn my pastor because he is the one who bring strength and hopes in my life in the name of God*."). Her reflections illustrate the commingling of microsystems (self, family), exosystems (community role models), and macrosystems (religion) to encourage her to be resilient despite her poverty-stricken circumstances.

Drawing 84: FR 91

Similarly, Participant FR-133 indicated the commingling of resources in his ecology through his drawings (see Drawing 85) and explanations. Participant FR-133 drew his Bible, text-book, radio, parents, and inspirational publications as the roots of his resilience. He reported that his parents provided him with support. His friends were a source of guidance (*"chatting with my friends and they use to tell how they do to achieve what they want, deal with problems [sic]").* He used religious practices like praying and attending church to help him to deal with his problems ("... *to deal with some problem I use to pray, attend church*."). He accessed information through his textbooks and inspirational publications, and viewed television and listened to the radio for advice (*"...I listen to radio to hear how other people deal with their problems, what they do to achieve what they want in life..."*). His resilience, therefore, relied on the microsystems of family, peers and a well-resourced school, and the macrosystem of religion and technology. But he was also active in this process - he chatted with his friends, he went to church and he looked for information.



Drawing 85: FR 113

In summary, the process of resilience relates to an individual youth playing an active role in navigating towards and negotiating for resilience-promoting resources in culturally appropriate ways (Ungar, 2010b:421; Ungar *et al.,* 2007:307), and the ecology

of the individual reciprocating these efforts in culturally relevant ways (Ungar, 2008:225). The dotted lines used in Figure 4.4 were intentionally chosen to illustrate the dynamic interactivity of the systems in youths' supported navigations towards resilient outcomes.

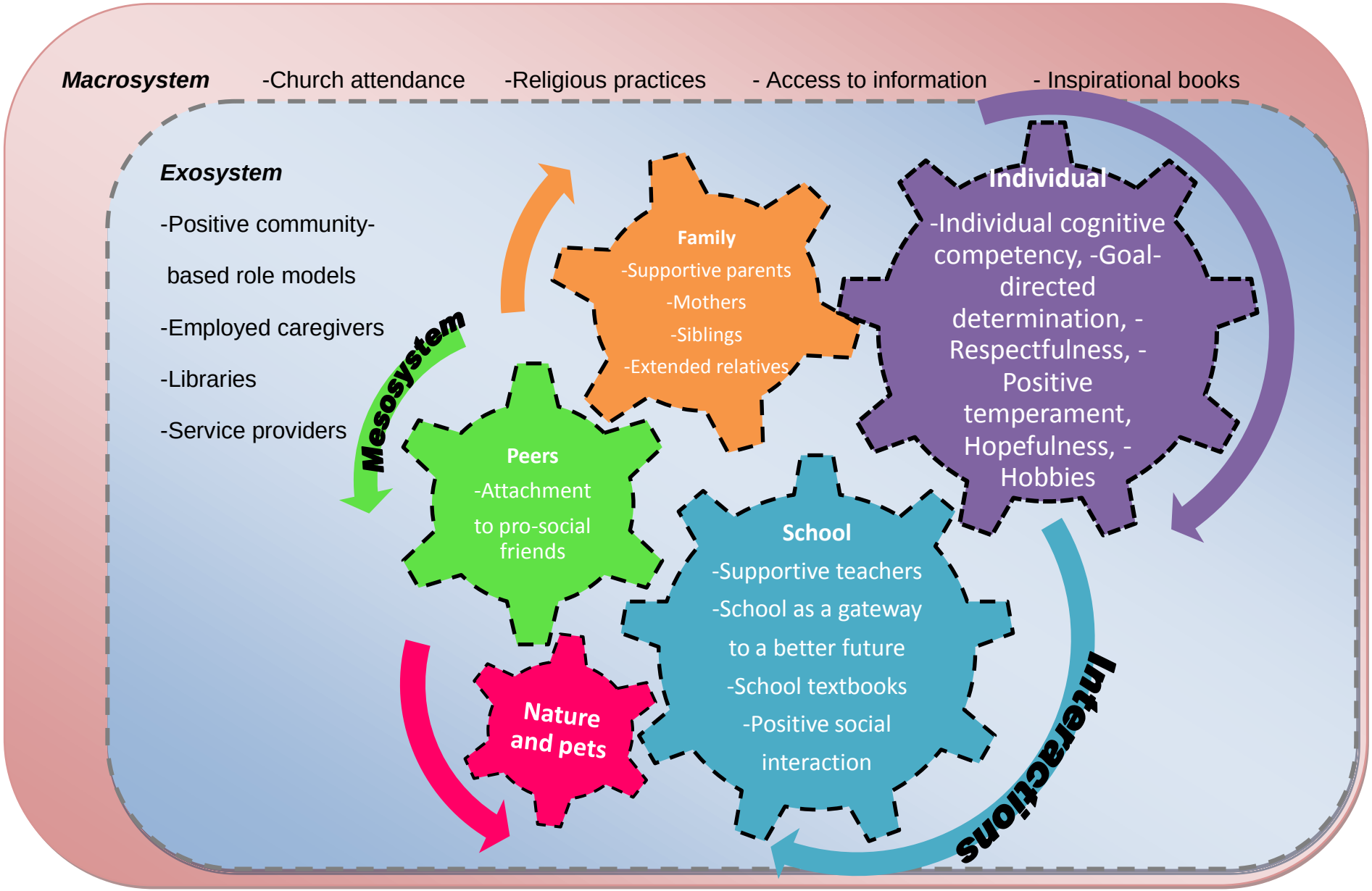


Figure 4.4: Summary of the interacting resilience-promoting resources of resilient Basotho youth participants from the Thabo Mofutsanyana District

4.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I presented my findings and stressed the commingling of the protective systems in the process of resilience. Although the scope of my study did not include the sub-aim of formulating recommendations, the findings do lend themselves to the following recommendations, particularly because the resources referred to below are not extraordinary and commonly part of most ecologies:

- Because mothers were reported as strongly resilience-promoting, policy makers and interventionists would do well to consider ways of strengthening and supporting mothers so that they might continue to buffer their children.
- School textbooks were mentioned as a resilience-promoting resource and therefore the Department of Education should continue to look into the possibility of making textbook resources readily available to youth in school.
- Libraries were mentioned by participants. This raises the question of how accessible libraries are to youth. Libraries should create an educational space in which youth may study and find helpful information. The facility of libraries could collaborate with schools to make certain information easily accessible.
- Teachers were reported as positive influences. Perhaps teachers need to be encouraged in their potential to motivate positive adjustment to life among their learners. Such an emphasis could result in teachers having a greater impact on many more learners.
- Access to information, as a resilience-promoting resource, through television and radio was a recurring participant emphasis. Government could incorporate more educational and inspirational programs on a regular basis that can be accessed by youth to enhance their resilience.
- Inspirational publications were mentioned by several participants. The government could collaborate with newspapers, magazines and other publications to incorporate more inspirational messages for youth which could promote their resilience.

- Being an active churchgoer also seemed to encourage my participants' resilience for various reasons. Church and religious leaders need to be made more aware of their strategic role in helping young people to become well-adjusted despite their difficult circumstances. If they realised the worth of their involvement in young people's lives they might actively encourage them to attend church. They could even adapt church practices to be more appealing to young people.

The point shared by all of the above recommendations is that they do not require extraordinary interventions. As noted by Masten as early as 2001, resilience is rooted in a context of everyday reciprocal supportive relationships (Masten, 2001:235). The reflections of the participants in my study support this truth and challenge societies to make an effort to work together with young people to make such 'ordinary magic' (Masten, 2001:235) available.

In the next and final chapter, I give a detailed summary of my literature and empirical study.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Overview of Chapter Five

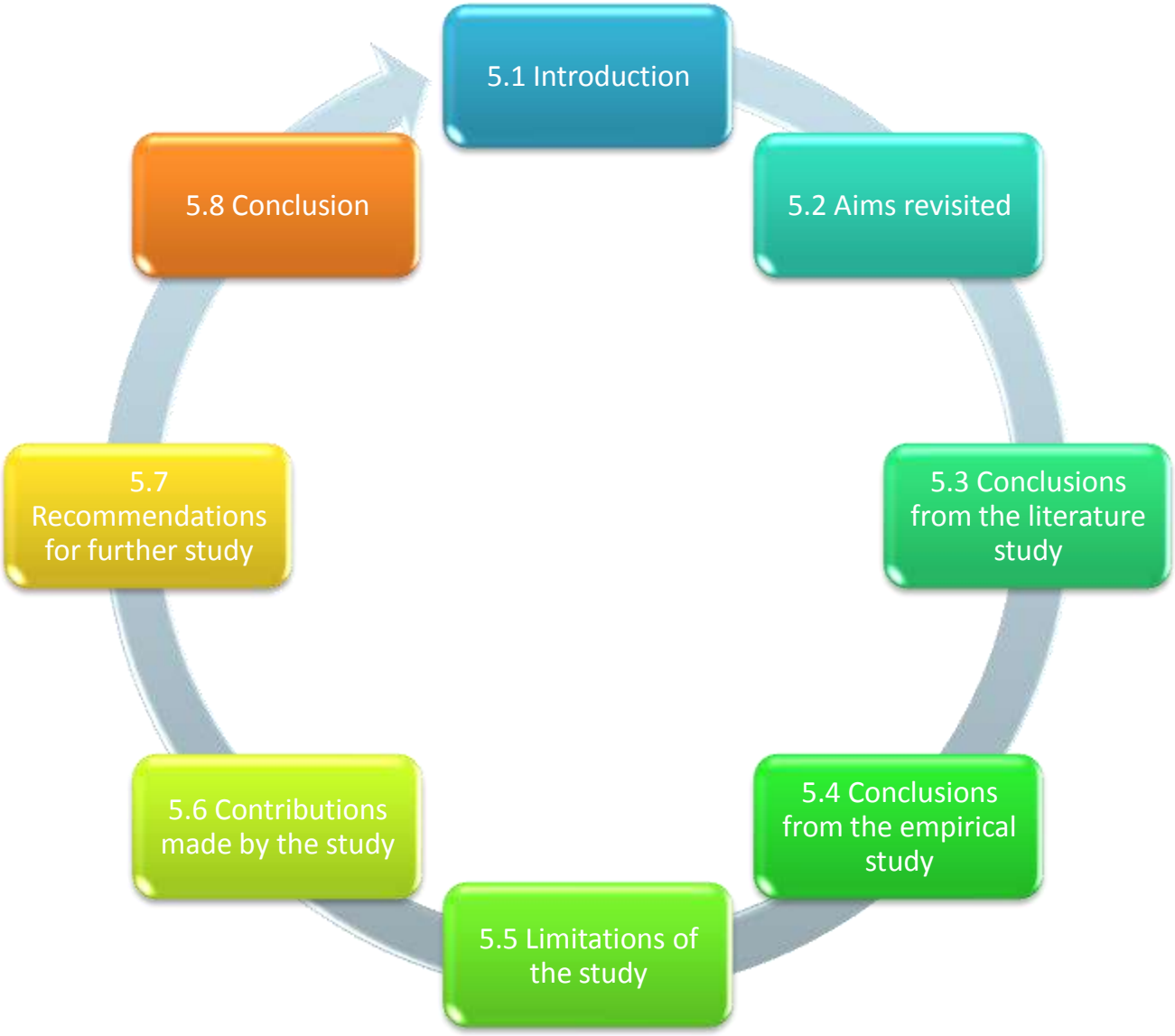


Figure 5.1: Overview of Chapter Five

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of my study was to investigate the nature of the socio-ecological resilience-promoting resources, in other words which resources within the micro-, meso-, exo-, macro- and chronosystem encourage resilient Basotho youth, in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province, to be resilient. I carried out a literature review to investigate the known resilience-promoting resources and compared the findings that emerged from the empirical study that I conducted with the findings emerging from this literature study. The literature study, empirical study, limitations of the studies and recommendations for further investigations are summarised in the chapter below:

5.2 AIMS REVISITED

The aim of my study was to identify and understand the social-ecological resources which encouraged resilience among resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province. In order to establish whether I reached the aim of my study I re-examined my sub-aims (see Figure 5.2). If the sub-aims of my study were achieved, my aim to investigate what contributed to the socio-ecological resilience-promoting resources, in resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province, would also be achieved.

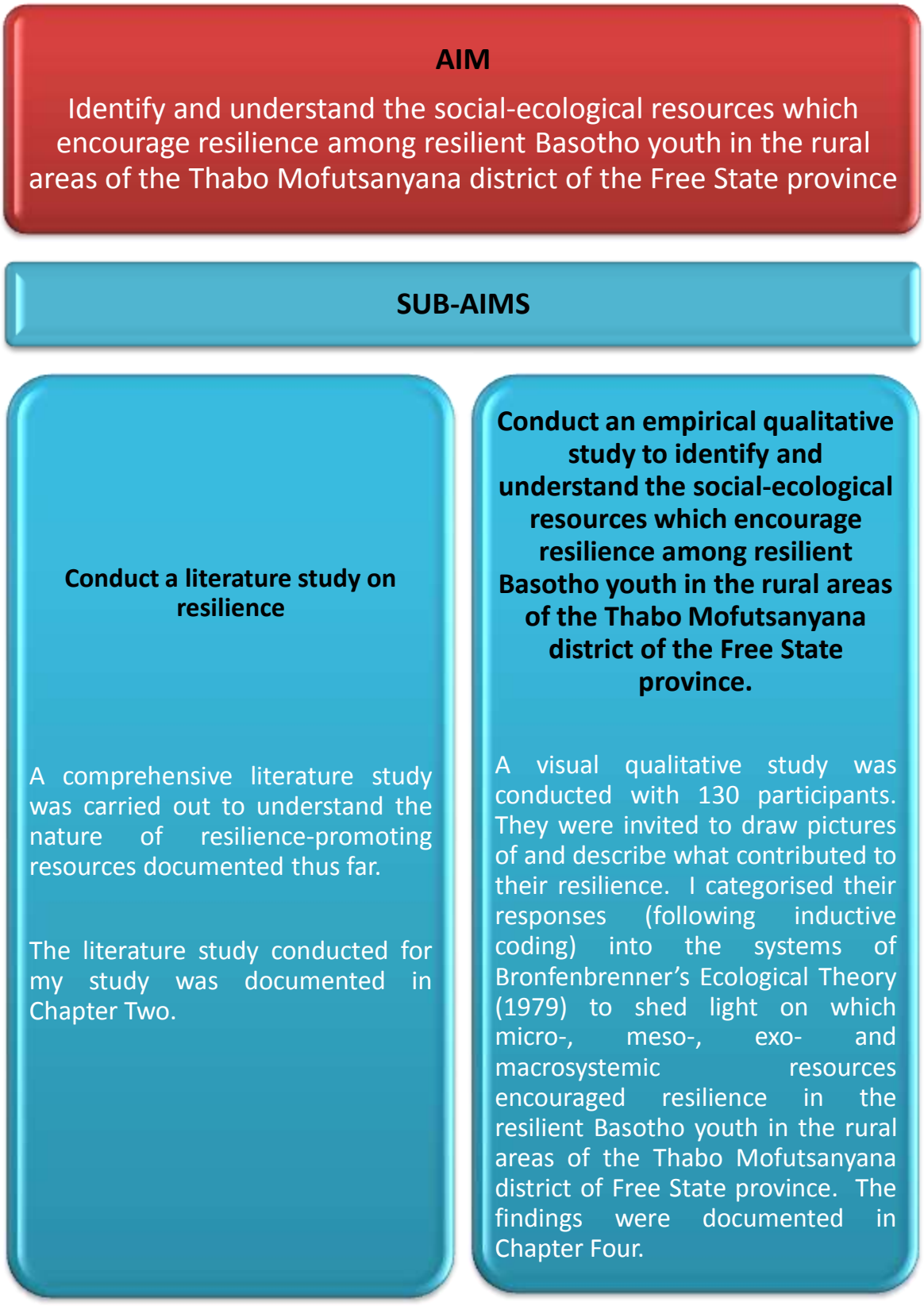


Figure: 5.2: Aims central to my current study

Figure 5.2 shows that the sub-aims of my study were achieved. Therefore, if my sub-aims were achieved, my aim to identify and understand the social-ecological resources which encourage resilience among resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province was also achieved.

5.3 CONCLUSIONS FROM THE LITERATURE STUDY

The literature study focusing on the antecedents of resilience was documented in Chapter Two. I used Urie Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecosystemic model to report the resilience-promoting resources as they are found in the micro-, exo-, macro- and chronosystems.

5.3.1 The Antecedents of Resilience

During the last decade resilience researchers have found that resilience is quite a common phenomenon in which adaptive functioning is upheld in spite of a variety of risks (Masten 2001:227; Rutter, 1990:209; Schoon & Brynner, 2003:22; Ungar *et al*., 2008:10). The definition of resilience has changed several times over the last decades, each time strengthening its meaning and how it is understood. Consequently, the most recent understanding foregrounds the interactive nature of resilience. Resilience is understood to be a process that relies on an individual playing an active role in navigating towards and negotiating for resilience-promoting resources in culturally appropriate ways (Ungar, 2010b:421; Ungar *et al.,* 2007:307), and on the ecology of the individual to reciprocate these efforts in culturally relevant ways (Ungar 2008:225). As such resilience requires transactions (Sameroff, 2010:16) that is supported by an ecosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

In order for an individual to navigate and negotiate meaningfully towards resilience-promoting resources, she must possess individual strengths. But her ecology must also offer resources. The literature study (see Chapter Two) presented the protective resources reported to date. The resilient individual can access protective resources in

her ecology within accessible micro-, exo-, macro- and chronosystems. Within these systems the literature review reported the following protective resources, which are summarised in Figure 5.3 below. However, researchers like Masten and Wright (2010: 229) warn against acceptance of these resources across contexts and encourage researchers to ascertain what the resilience-promoting resources are for groups of youth in non-American or non-European contexts. This motivated my study, as very little is known about what promotes resilience specifically among Basotho youth from poor rural areas (Theron & Theron, 2010).

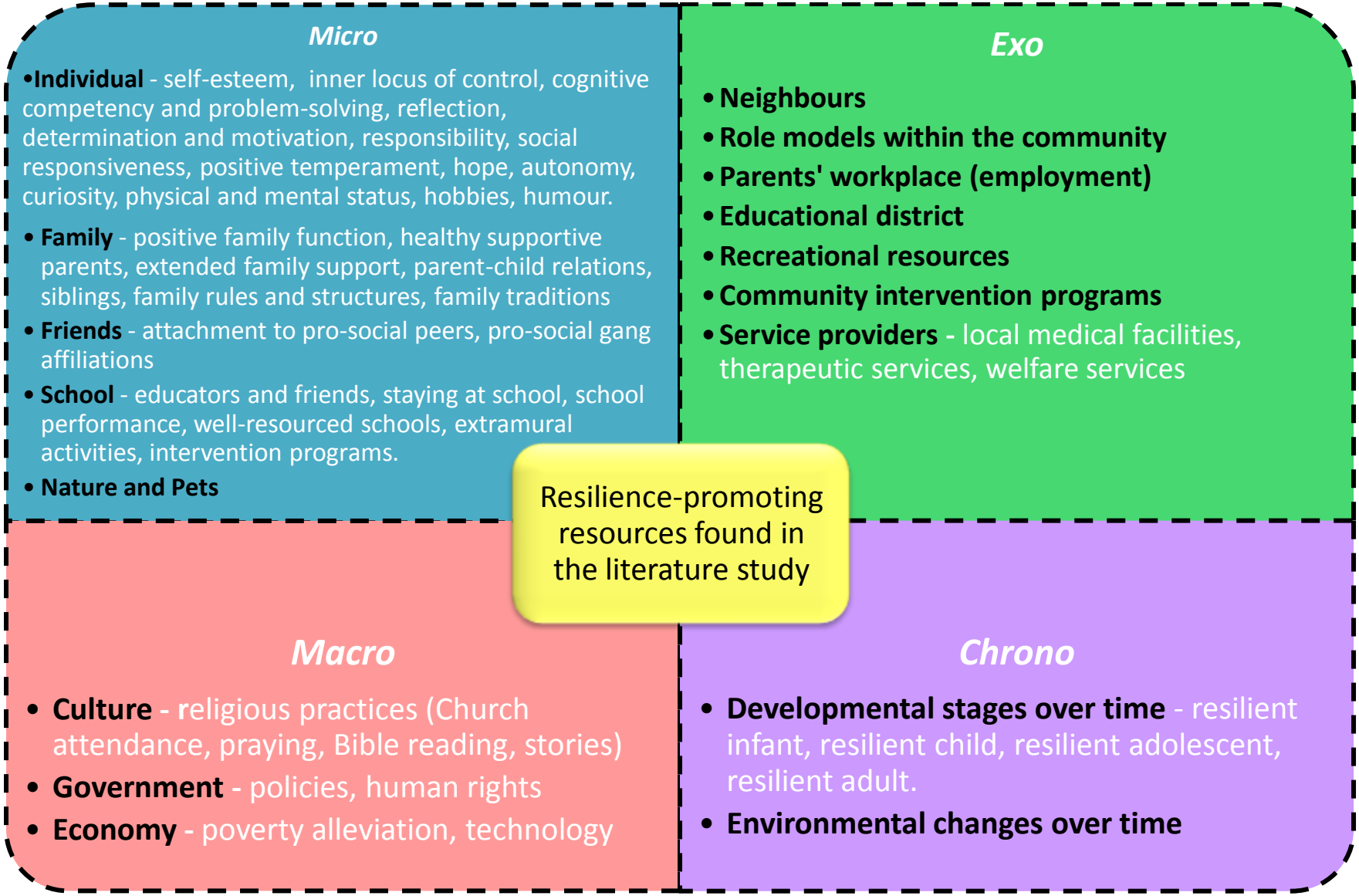


Figure 5.3: Summary of resilience-promoting resources reported within the literature study

5.4 CONCLUSIONS FROM THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

The question that guided my study was: What are the social-ecological resources which encourage resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province towards positive adjustment in the face of poverty? Conducting my empirical qualitative study, using drawings and written explanations, provided a clear answer. The resources used by the resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province are multi-systemic and interactive. Within the microsystem, protective resources can be found in individual, familial, peer, school and natural systems. Within the mesosystem, social interactions between participants and family, peers, school community, church community, and so forth, encouraged resilience. Within the exosystem the resources incorporated positive role models as a resource, employed caregivers, and community resources such as libraries and medical facilities. Within the macrosystem resilience-promoting resources included church attendance and religious beliefs, as well as access to information. See Chapter Four, (cf. 4.3) for an extensive discussion of each theme and sub-theme. Table 5.1 below provides a visual summary of how my findings reflected what has already been reported in the known literature.

	KNOWN LITERATURE	FOUND IN MY STUDY
Microsystem		
Individual	Self-esteem, inner locus of control, cognitive competency and problem-solving, reflection, determination and motivation, responsibility, social responsiveness, positive temperament, hope, autonomy, curiosity, physical and mental status, hobbies, humour	Individual cognitive competency, goal-directed determination, respectfulness, positive temperament, hopefulness, hobbies
Family	Positive family function, healthy supportive parents, extended family support, parent-child relations, siblings, family rules and structures, family traditions	Supportive parents, mothers, siblings, extended relatives

Peers/ Friends	Attachment to pro-social peers, pro-social gang affiliations	Attachment to pro-social friends
School	Educators and friends, staying at school, school performance, well-resourced schools, extramural activities, intervention programs	Supportive teachers, school as a gateway, school textbooks, school as an opportunity for positive social interactions
Nature and pets	Forms a lasting relationship with a pet	Noted by one participant
Mesosystem		
Interacting ecosystem	Resilience relies on interacting resources found throughout the youth's ecosystem	Social interactions between participants and family, peers, school community, church community, and so forth
Exosystem		
Community	Neighbours	-
	Role models within the community	Positive community-based role models
	Parents' workplace (employment)	Employed caregivers
	Educational district	-
	Recreational resources	Library
	Community intervention programs	-
	Service providers - local medical facilities, therapeutic services, welfare services	Service providers - Local medical facilities, LoveLife, Soul-Buddies
Macrosystem		
Culture	Religious practices (church attendance, praying, stories)	Religious beliefs -church attendance, Religious practices - reading Bible, praying
Government	policies, human rights	-
Economy	Poverty alleviation, use of technology (e.g. to maintain attachments)	Access to information – television, computer, cell phone Inspirational books

Chronosystem		
Developmental stages over time	Resilient infant, resilient child, resilient adolescent, resilient adult	-
Environmental changes over time	Physical surroundings change (natural disasters)	-

Table 5.1: Summary of known resources compared to resources reported by the resilient Basotho youth in the rural areas of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province

In all of the above, the resources reported most often were schools and religion. Schools as protective resources incorporated understanding, caring and guidance from teachers. In addition, staying at school and receiving an education was a central theme that a large number of participants reported, because this potentially offered a pathway to a better future and encouraged hope and belief in a chance at a better life. "*Education is the key*" was a recurring written explanation of several participants. Religion included behaviours like praying and reading the Bible. As with schools, participants valued religion for the opportunities that religious activity provided to receive guidance and support.

Resources reported least often were predominantly intrapersonal resources like self-esteem, cognitive competency, and responsibility. Other resources mentioned least included siblings, and nature and pets. Further research is needed to establish the reason why these resources were least reported.

In Chapter Four, I commented on how my findings differed somewhat from what was previously reported in known literature. I will not repeat this commentary here (please see Chapter Four, 4.3.2), but in summary my participants emphasised maternal and grand-maternal attachments (as compared to parental attachments) and reported protective resources (like libraries, inspirational books

and access to information) that few previous studies on resilience have emphasised. I provide a visual summary of these differences in Figure 5.4 below.

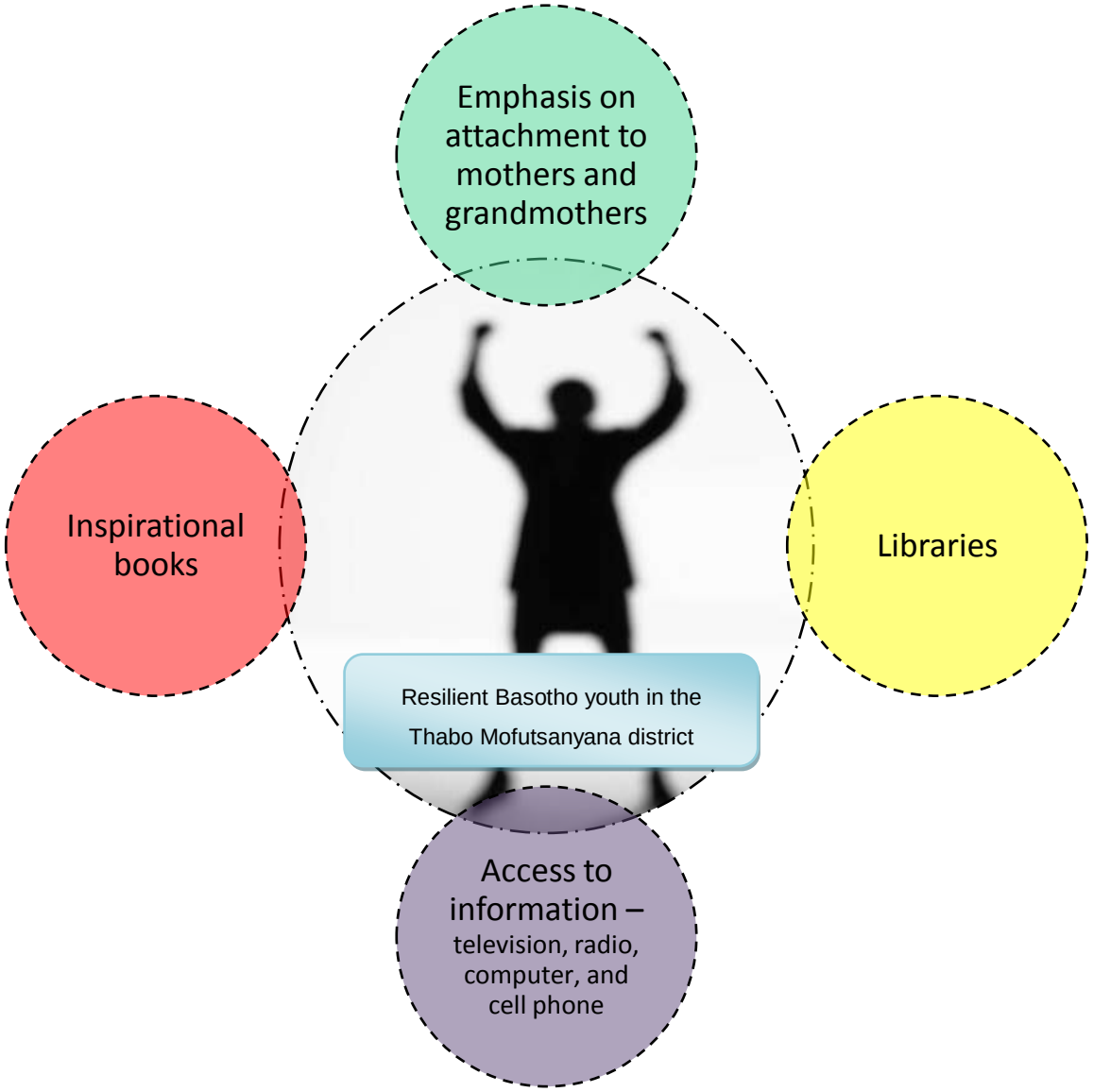


Figure 5.4: Visual summary of somewhat unique findings

In summary, my findings are essentially consistent with those of other studies of youth resilience, locally and internationally. As noted above, though my findings did provide a more detailed understanding of how some commonly reported resilience-promoting resources encouraged my participants' resilience (cf. 4.3.1). What is important about my findings is that they were generated by a relatively homogenous group of resilient Basotho adolescents in the rural Eastern Free

State. In this sense, my findings add to the theory of what encourages resilience among Basotho youth, a previously under-researched phenomenon (Theron & Theron, 2010). Finally, my study highlights the socio-ecological understanding of resilience (see Fig 4.4 in Chapter 4). My participants were not resilient because of intrapersonal strengths only, nor were they resilient because of a single supportive system. Instead, protective resources found at micro-, meso- exo- and macrosystem levels worked together to support youth to adjust well to the risks of poverty.

5.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The following limitations were identified in my study:

- I did not personally collect the data (cf. 3.3.2.5). In this sense, my study could be interpreted as secondary data analysis (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:264-265). However, it should be noted that these data were not previously analysed. Although I did not collect them, I was the first to analyse them. My not collecting them limited my understanding, as explained below.
- The methodology did not include in-depth interviews so I could not probe participants' responses in order to acquire a better insight into the participants' understanding of resilience.
- My study only incorporated youth who resided in rural areas in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province, and more specifically only included Basotho youth participants who were nominated to the study by an Advisory Panel who considered these youth to be resilient.
- Although I took steps to reflect on my situatedness and how my white, Afrikaans, urban background informed my life experiences and assumptions, my different background meant that there were times when I had limited insight into the participants' experiences and meanings. To counter this I tested (and revised) my emerging themes with experienced researchers in the Pathways to Resilience team who are more culturally competent. I nevertheless experienced my situatedness as a limitation.

5.6 CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY THE STUDY

My study made the following contributions:

- ✓ The antecedents of different resilience studies used in my literature review are summarised in Addendum A.

- ✓ I contribute a sizable qualitative study incorporating drawings and explanations of 130 participants. Theron and Theron (2010) report that there have been too few qualitative, particularly visual qualitative studies, of South African youth resilience to date.

- ✓ My study is the first qualitative study using drawings as research tool to understand the resilience-promoting resources of Basotho youth challenged by poverty in South Africa.
- ✓ My study did more than list the resilience-promoting resources of these youth. It gives a detailed understanding of the resources used by youth to overcome adversity in their ecology (see Chapter Four).
- ✓ Resilience is believed to be an ecologically embedded phenomenon (Lerner, 2006:40). By focusing on the report of the participants in this study, highlighting the multisystemic interconnectedness of different resources as found in their ecology, namely the micro-, exo-, and macrosystems, my study has contributed to this understanding of resilience.
- ✓ My study includes previously under-reported protective resources (mothers, grandmothers, inspirational publications, libraries, technological advances such as television, radio and cell phone) in the understanding of which ecosystemic resources encourage resilience, particularly among Basotho youth in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province.

5.7 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Considering the listed limitations (cf. 5.5), I advance the following recommendations for future researchers to further the study of resilience in the South African context:

- ☺ I recommend that this study be repeated, but that a Sesotho-speaking researcher collects the data. This will put the researcher in a position to interact with the participants enabling a firsthand understanding of their circumstances and their experiences of what encourages their resilience. Allied to this, I would modify the 'draw-and-write' methodology to include in-depth interviews, so that a richer understanding of resilience can be sought and so that probing can take place.
- ☺ I further recommend that the study should be replicated in other parts of South Africa with different groups of youth, who speak other mother tongues, to assess the transferability of my findings across these groups.
- ☺ I recommend that the study be replicated with Basotho participants living in urban areas as their urban experiences may shed light on other resilience-promoting resources.
- ☺ I recommend that a researcher who shares the cultural and contextual background of the participants repeats the study, or conducts a secondary analysis of the drawings. This could provide a deeper, more culturally sensitive understanding of the ecosystemic resources reported in this study.
- ☺ A follow-up study is needed to probe the silences, i.e. the resources not reported as resilience-promoting resources for the youth of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State province, but reported in international studies (cf. 4.3.3).

5.8 CONCLUSION

I was privileged to have been chosen to participate in the International Community-University Research Alliance (ICURA) project - Pathways to Resilience. In this process my understanding of the phenomenon of resilience was broadened. My study focused on identifying and understanding the

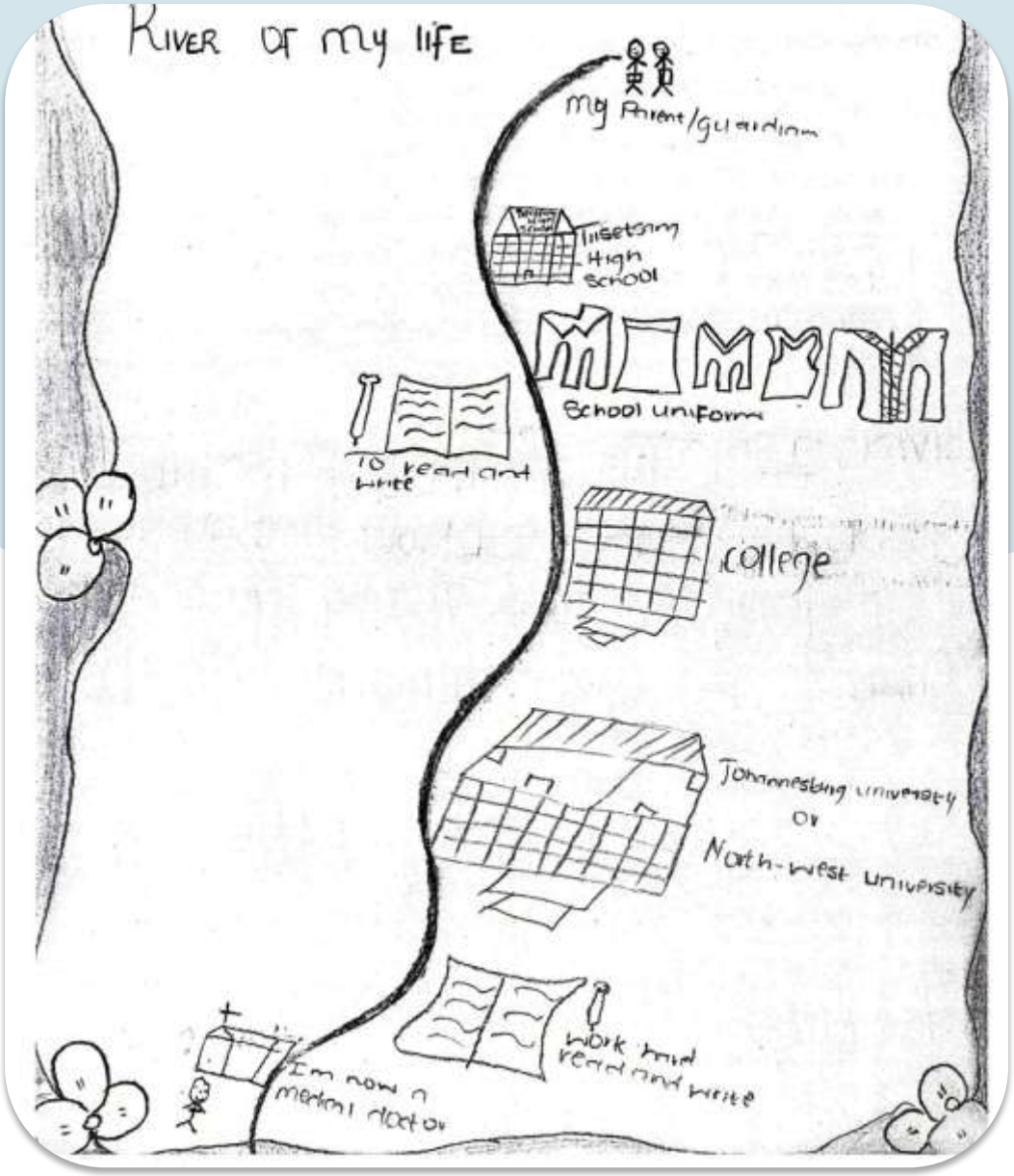
resilience-promoting resources in the ecosystem of disadvantaged Basotho youth and, in so doing, also helped me to recognise the protective resources that I use in my own life to become resilient.

I trust that my study will result in the strengthening of the ecologically-based protective resources reported by my participants. Policy makers would be wise to focus on and strengthen the resources mentioned by my participants. Mothers should be assisted, more educational resources such as textbooks should be provided, religious beliefs and practices should be encouraged, access to information through inspirational books and technological resources (television, radio, computer) should be more readily available to help youth and other individuals in South Africa to do well in life.

For me as educator this study has helped me to realise the importance of the role we, as educators, play in the lives of the learners in our classes. Because I mainly teach Sesotho-speaking disadvantaged children I found it motivating to see how many participants mentioned their schools as a huge source of resilience. I realised that, even though the participants lived in poverty-stricken areas, did not mean that they were vulnerable and unable to succeed in life. This study motivated me to be a better educator in order to assist the learners in my class and in our school to become resilient.

In conclusion I draw attention to a quote that I live by, and presume my resilient participants also live by, as well as to the drawing of Participant FR- 175. Both of these will always remind me that circumstances are fluid and that the 'river of life' can be navigated resiliently using ordinary, ecologically-embedded resilience-promoting resources that encourage us to be 'stronger'.

THAT WHICH DOES NOT KILL YOU, MAKES YOU STRONGER!



FR 175

REFERENCES[4]

ACTS **see** SOUTH AFRICA

ADLER, J.M. & McADAMS, D.P. 2007. Time, culture, and stories of the self. *Psychological inquiry*, 18(2):97-128.

AI, A.L., CASCIO, T., SANTANGELO, L.K. & EVANS-CAMPBELL, T.E. 2005. Hope, meaning, and growth following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 20(5):523-548, May.

ANDERSON, K.M. 2008. Discovering how resilient capacities develop in the midst of surviving incest. (*In* Liebenberg, L. & Ungar. M., *eds.* Resilience in action: working with youth across cultures and contexts. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. p. 61-86.)

ANTHONY, E.J. 1987a. Children at high risk for psychosis growing up successfully. (*In* Anthony, E.J. & Cohler, B.J., *eds*. The invulnerable child. New York: Guilford Press. p. 147-184.)

ANTHONY, E.J. 1987b. Risk, vulnerability, and resilience: an overview. (*In* Anthony, E.J. & Cohler, B.J., *eds*. The invulnerable child. New York: Guilford Press. p. 3-48.)

[4] The reference list is aligned with the Harvard Style as prescribed by North-West university.

ANZIA, L. 2007. "Educate a Woman, You Educate a Nation" – South Africa Aims to Improve its Education for Girls. http://womennewsnetwork.net/2007/08/28/%E2%80%9Ceducate-a-woman-you-educate-a-nation%E2%80%9D-%E2%80%93-south-africa-aims-to-improve-its-education-for-girls/ Date of access: 10 July 2011.

ARMSTRONG, M.I., BIRNIE-LEFCOVITCH, S. & UNGAR, M.T. 2005. Pathways between social support, family well being, quality of parenting, and child resilience: what we know. *Journal of child and family studies,* 14(2):269-281.

BABBIE, E.R 2010. The practice of social research. 12th ed. Belmont, CA: Cengage Learning Inc. 530 p.

BABBIE, E. & MOUTON, J. 2001. The practice of social research. Cape Town: Oxford University Press. p. 674.

BADOLA, H.K. & AITKEN, S. 2010. Biological resources and poverty alleviation in the Indian Himalayas. *Biodiversity*, 11(3 & 4):8-18.

BARBARIN, O.A., RICHTER, L. & DE WET, T. 2001. Exposure to violence, coping resources, and psychological adjustment of South African children. *American journal of orthopsychiatry*, 71(1):16-25.

BAUMGARDNER, S.R. & CROTHERS, M.K. 2010. Positive psychology. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 338 p.

BENZIES, K. & MYCHASIUK, R. 2009. Fostering family resiliency: a review of the key protective factors. *Child and family social work,* 14:103–114.

BERGER, R. 2008. Fostering post-traumatic growth in adolescent immigrants. (*In* Liebenberg, L. & Ungar. M., *eds*. Resilience in action: working with youth across cultures and contexts. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. p. 87-110.)

BERNARD, W. & ESTE, D. 2005. Resilience and young African Canadian males. (*In* Ungar, M., *ed*. Handbook for working with children and youth: pathways to resilience across cultures and contexts. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. p. 433-454.)

BESTHORN. F.H. 2005. Beetles, bullfrogs, and butterflies: contributions of natural environment to childhood development and resilience. (*In* Ungar, M., *ed*. Handbook for working with children and youth: pathways to resilience across cultures and contexts. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. p. 121-132.)

BLACKSTOCK, C. & TROCMÉ, N. 2005. Community-Baced child welfare for aboriginal children: supporting resilience through structural change. (*In* Ungar, M., *ed*. Handbook for working with children and youth: pathways to resilience across cultures and contexts. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. p. 105-120.)

BLOCKER, L.S. & COPELAND, E.P. 1994. Determinants of resilience in high-stressed youth. *The high school journal,* 77(4):286-293, Apr./May.

BOLGER, K.E. & PATTERSON, C.J. 2003. Sequelae of childhood maltreatment: vulnerability and resilience. (*In* Luthar, S.S., *ed*. Resiliency and vulnerability: adaptation in the context of childhood adversities. New York: University of Cambridge Press. p. 156-181.)

BOYDEN, J. & MANN, G. 2005. Children's risk, resilience, and coping in extreame situations. (*In* Ungar, M., *ed*. Handbook for working with children and youth: pathways to resilience across cultures and contexts. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. p. 3-26.)

BRINK, M. 2008. *The use of narrative in psychodiagnosis and psychotherapy*. (Workshop notes at Johannesburg on 9 February 2008.) (Unpublished)

BRONFENBRENNER, U. 1979. The ecology of human development: experiments by nature and design. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 330 p.

BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS. 2011. Background note: South Africa http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2898.htm Date of access: 15 Apr. 2011.

BURGER, D. 2009. Government Communication and Information System. http://www.info.gov.za/aboutsa/landpeople.htm Date of access: 02 Jan. 2010.

BURNHAM, J.J. 2009. Contemporary fears of children and adolescents: coping and resilience in the 21st century. *Journal of counselling and development*, 87:28-35.

BUTT, R. 2009. South Africa. http://ravi.lums.edu.pk/rwes/sa.html Date of access: 01 Des. 2009.

CARVER, C.S. 1998. Resilience and thriving: issues, models, and linkages. *Journal of social issues*, 54(2):245-266.

CHASE-LANSDALE, P.L. & GORDON, R.A. 1996. Economic hardship and the development of five- and six-year-olds: neighborhood and regional perspectives. *Child development*, 67:3338-3367.

CHENG, E. & LI, R.Y. 2009. Community development funds: a new vehicle for poverty alleviation in China? *Public finance and management,* 9(1):37-75.

CHIRESHE, R. 2010. The impact of poverty on women's psychosocial well-being: narratives form Zimbabwean migrant women in South Africa. *Journal of psychology in Africa*, 20(2):193-198.

CHITTISTER, C.G. & HAIMES, Y.Y. 2011. The role of modeling in the resilience of cyber infrastructure systems and preparedness for cyber intrusions. *Journal of homeland security and emergency management*, 8(1):1-19.

CLAUSS-EHLERS, C.S. & LEVI, L.L. 2002. Violence and community, terms and conflict: an ecological approach to resilience. *Journal of social distress and the homeless,* 11(4):265-278.

CLAUSS-EHLERS, C.S. & WIBROWSKI, C.R. 2007. Building educational resilience and social support: the effect of the educational opportunity fund program among first- and second-generation college students. *Journal of college student development,* 48(5):574-594.

CLUVER, L. & GARDNER, F. 2007. Risk and protective factors for psychological well-being of children orphaned by AIDS in Cape Town: a qualitative study of children and caregivers' perspectives. *AIDS care*, 19(3):318-325, Mar.

COMMISSION of Public Service **see** SOUTH AFRICA. Commission of public service.

CONSTITUTION **see** SOUTH AFRICA. 1996.

COOK, P. & DU TOIT, L. 2005. Overcoming adversity with children affected by HIV & AIDS in the indigenous South African cultural context. (*In* Ungar, M., *ed*. Handbook for working with children and youth: pathways to resilience across cultures and contexts. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. p. 247-262.)

CRESWELL, J.W. 2007. Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. 395 p.

CRESWELL, J.W. 2009. Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. 251 p.

CRONJE, M.F. 2008. Factors which contribute to resilience amongst poor, second-Language learners. Vanderbijlpark: North-West University. (Dissertation M.ed.) 275 p.

DASS-BRAILSFORD, P. 2005. Exploring resiliency: academic achievement among disadvantaged black youth in South-Africa. *South-African journal of psychology,* 35(3):574-591.

DENIS, P. 2007. Prayers and rituals to the ancestors as vehicles of resilience. *Journal of theology for Southern Africa,* 128:37-52, Jul.

DENZIN, N.K. & LINCOLN, Y.S. 2005. Introduction: the discipline and practice of qualitative research. (*In* Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S., *eds.* The Sage handbook of qualitative research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. p. 1-32.)

DEPARTMENT of Education **see** South Africa. Department of Education.

DEPARTMENT of Social Development **see** SOUTH AFRICA. Department of Social development.

DE ROEPER, J. & SAVELSBERG, H.J. 2009. Challenging the youth policy imperative: engaging young people through the arts. *Journal of youth studies*, 12(2):209-225, April.

DONALD, D., LAZARUS, S. & LOLWANA, P. 2010. Educational psychology in social context: ecosystemic applications in Southern Africa. 4th ed. Cape Town: Oxford University Press. 374 p.

EBERSÖHN, L. 2008. Children's resilience as assets for safe schools. *Journal of psychology in Africa,* 18(1):11-18.

EDGERTON, D. 2008. The shock of the old: technology and global history since 1900. London: Profile books. 288 p.

EDWARDS, D., SAKASA, P. & VAN WYK, G. 2005. Trauma, resilience and vulnerability to PTSD: a review and clinical case analysis. *Journal of psychology in Africa*, 15(2):143-153.

ELLINGSON, L.L. 2009. Engaging crystallization in qualitative research: an introduction. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. 224 p.

ERKAYA, O.R. 2005. Benefits of using short stories in the EFL context. *Asian EFL journal, 8:1-13.*

FELNER, R.D. 2006. Poverty in childhood and adolescence: a transactional-ecological approach to understanding and enhancing resilience in contexts of disadvantage and developmental risk. (*In* Goldstein, S. & Brooks, R.B., *eds*. Handbook of resilience in children. New York: Springer. p. 125-147.)

FELSMAN, J.K. 1989. Risk and resilience in childhood: the lives of street children. (*In* Dugan, T.F. & Coles, R., *eds*. The child in our times: studies in the development of resilience. New York: Brunner/Mazel, Inc. p. 56-80.)

FERGUSSON, D.M. & HORWOOD, L.J. 2003. Resiliency to childhood adversity: result of a 21-year study. (*In* Luthar, S.S., *ed*. Resiliency and vulnerability: adaptation in the context of childhood adversities. New York: University of Cambridge Press. p. 130-155.)

FLICK, U. 2007. Managing quality in qualitative research. (*In* Flick, U., *ed. The Sage qualitative research kit.* London: Sage. p. 156.)

FREE STATE YOUTH COMMISSION. 2004. A Profile of the perceptions and behaviour of youth in the Free State: survey findings 2004. www.fsyc.org.za Date of access: 26 Feb 2011.

FRIESEN, B.J. & BRENNAN, E. 2005. Strengthening families and communities: system building for resilience. (*In* Ungar, M*., ed.* Handbook for working with children and youth: pathways to resilience across cultures and context. London: Sage. p. 295-309.)

FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT. 2011. http://www.scholastic.com/browse/subarticle.jsp?id=1698 Date of access: 10 July 2011.

FUREDI, F. 2008. Fear and security: a vulnerability-led policy response. *Social policy & administration*, 42(6):645-661, Dec.

GARMEZY, N. 1993. Vulnerability and resilience. (*In* Funder, D.C., Parke, R.D., Tomlinson-Keasey, C. & Widaman, K., *eds.* Studying lives through time: personality and development. Washington: American Psychological Association. p. 377-398.)

GARMEZY, N., MASTEN, A.S. & TELLEGEN, A. 1984. The study of stress and competence in children: a building block for developmental psychopathology. *Child development*, 55:97-111.

GIBBS, G. 2007. Analyzing qualitative data. (*In* Flick, U., *ed.* The Sage qualitative research kit. London: Sage. p. 160.)

GLICKEN, M.D. 2006. Learning from resilient people: lessons we can apply to counselling and psychotherapy. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. 277 p.

GODUKA, I.N. & POOLE, D.A. 1992. A comparative study of black South African children from three different contexts. *Child development,* 63:509-525.

GOVENDER, K. & KILLIAN, B.J. 2001. The psychological effects of chronic violence on children living in South Africa townships. *South African journal of psychology,* 31(2):1-11.

GRILLS-TAQUECHEL, A.E., NORTON, P. & OLLENDICK, T.H. 2010. A longitudinal examination of factors predicting anxiety during the transition to middle school. *Anxiety, stress, & coping,* 23(5):493-513, October.

GUILLEMIN, M. 2004. Understanding illness: using drawings as research method. *Qualitative health research*, 14(2):272-289.

GUNNESTAD, A. 2006. Resilience in a cross-cultural perspective: how resilience is generated in different cultures. http://www.immi.se/intercultural/nr11/gunnestad.htm Date of access: 12 May 2011.

HARTMANN, T. 2011. Government. http://www2.scholastic.com/browse/article.jsp?id=5116 Date of access: 26 February 2011.

HARVEY, J. & DELFABBRO, P.H 2004. Psychological resilience in disadvantaged youth: a critical overview. *Australian psychologist*, 39(1):3-13, Mar.

HEWITT, J.P. 2005. The social construction of self-esteem. (*In* Snyder, C.R & Lopez, S.J., *eds.* Handbook of positive psychology. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 135-147.)

HOLLERAN, L.K. & WALLER, M.A. 2003. Sources of resilience among Chicano/a youth: forging identities in the Borderlands. *Child and adolescent social work journal,* 20(5):335-350.

HORNBY, A.S. 2010. Oxford advanced learner's dictionary of current English. 8th ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 1732 p.

IWANIEC, D., LARKIN, E. & HIGGINS, S. 2006. Research review: risk and resilience in cases of emotional abuse. *Child and family social work*, 11:73-82.

JOHNSON, B. & LAZARUS, S. 2008. The role of schools in building the resilience of youth faced with adversity. *Journal of psychology in Africa*, 18(1):19-30.

JOSEPH. J.M. 1994. The resilient child: preparing today's youth for tomorrow's world. USA: Perseus Publisher. 355 p.

KIM-COHEN, J. 2007. Resilience and developmental psychopathology. *Child and adolescent psychiatric clinics of North America,* 16:271-283.

KIMOTO, D.M. 2007. Giving voice to culture: stories of change. *International journal of the diversity*, 6(5):37-45.

KNOWLES, A. 2011. Resilience among Japanese atomic bomb survivors. *International nursing review,* 58:54-60.

KUMPFER, K.L. 1999. Factors and processes contributing to resilience: the resilience framework. (*In* Glantz, M.D. & Johnson. J.L., *eds.* Resilience and development: positive life adaptation. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers. p. 179-224.)

LANDSBERG, E. 2005. Learning support. (*In* Landsberg, E., *ed*. Addressing barriers to learning: a South African perspective. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers. p. 61-77.)

LASER, J.A. 2008. Resilience in Japanese youth. (*In* Liebenberg, L. & Ungar. M., *eds.* Resilience in action: working with youth across cultures and contexts. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. p. 321-334.)

LAUFER, A. & SOLOMON, Z. 2006. Posttraumatic symptoms and posttraumatic growth among Israeli youth exposed to terror incidents. *Journal of social and clinical psychology*, 25(4):429-447.

LEAD SA. 2011. Bill of Responsibilities. http://leadsa.co.za/bill-of-responsibilities-launched/ Date of access: 10 June 2011.

LEE, C.D. 2008. The centrality of culture to the scientific study of learning and development: how an ecological framework in education research facilitates civic responsibility. *Educational research,* 37(5):267-279.

LEE, C.D. 2010. Soaring above the clouds, delving the ocean's depths: understanding the ecologies of human learning and the challenge for education science. *Educational researcher,* 39:643-655. http://er.aera.net Date of access: 14 February 2011.

LEE, F.W. & NG, K.K. 2008. Chinese approaches to understanding and building resilience in at-risk young people: the case of Hong Kong. (*In* Liebenberg, L. & Ungar. M., *eds.* Resilience in action: working with youth across cultures and contexts. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. p. 333-351.)

LEE, M. & TAY-KOAY, S. 2008. Youth Expedition Programming in Singapore: building resilience and positive personal development. (*In* Liebenberg, L. & Ungar. M., *eds.* Resilience in action: working with youth across cultures and contexts. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. p. 238-263.)

LEEDY, P.D. & ORMROD, J.E. 2005. Practical research: planning and design. 8th ed. New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall. 319 p.

LEMIEUX, M.C., PIUMMER, C.A., RICIIARDSON, R., SIMON, C.E. & AI, A.L. 2010. Mental health, substance use, and adaptive coping among social work students in the aftermath of hurricanes Katrina and Rita. *Journal of social work education,* 46(3):391-410, Fall.

LERNER, R. 2006. Resilience as an attribute of the developmental system: comments on the papers of professors Masten and Wachs. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences,* 1094:40-51.

LESEJANE, D. 2006. Fatherhood from an African cultural perspective. (*In* Richter, L. & Morrell, R., *eds*. Baba: men and fatherhood in South Africa. Cape Town: HSRC Press. p.173-182.)

LETOURNEAU, N., STEWART, M., REUTTER, L. & HUNGLER, K. 2008. Supporting resilience among homeless youth. (*In* Liebenberg, L. & Ungar. M., *eds*. Resilience in action: working with youth across cultures and contexts. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. p. 167-191.)

LEVINE, K. & SUTHERLAND, D. 2008. The impact of an informal career development program on the resilience of inner-city youth. (*In* Liebenberg, L. & Ungar. M., *eds.* Resilience in action: working with youth across cultures and contexts. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. p.192-214.)

LIEBENBERG, L. 2009. The visual image as discussion point: increasing validity in boundary crossing research, 9(4): 1–27. www.resilienceresearch.com/files/the_visual_image_as_discussion_piont_qualitative_research.pdf Date of access: 12 July 2011.

LOOTS, M.C. 2010. Teachers' implementation of an asset-based intervention for school-based psychosocial support. Pretoria: University of Pretoria. (Thesis PhD.) p. 477.

MACDONALD, E., GILLMER, B.T. & COLLINGS, S.T. 1996. Adolescents in residential care: a study of personality, coping styles, and resilience. *The social work practitioner-researcher*, 9(3):233-240, Dec.

MALINDI, M.J. 2011. Verbal communication with the author. Vanderbijlpark. (The course of action taken during the collection of drawings.)

MALINDI, M.J. & THERON, L.C. 2010. The hidden resilience of street youth. *South Africa journal of psychology,* 40(3):318-326.

MALINDI, M.J. & THERON, L.C. 2011. Drawing on strengths: images of ecological contributions to street child resilience. (*In* Theron, L.C., Mitchell, C., Stuart, J. & Smith, A., e*ds.* Picturing research: drawings as visual methodology. Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sense Publishers. p.105-117.)

MAREE, K. & VAN DER WESTHUIZEN, C. 2007. Planning a research proposal. (*In* Maree, K., *ed*. First steps in research. Pretoria: Van Schaik. p. 23-45.)

MASTEN, A.S. 1999. Resilience comes of age: reflections on the past and outlook for the next generation of research. (*In* Glantz, M.D. & Johnson, J.L., eds. Resilience and development: positive life adaptations. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers. p. 281-296.)

MASTEN, A.S. 2001. Ordinary Magic: resilience processes in development. *American psychologist,* 56(3):227-239.

MASTEN, A.S. & OBRADOVIC, J. 2008. Disaster preparation and recovery: lessons from research on resilience in human development. *Ecology and society*, 13(1):9. http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol13/iss1/art9/ Date of access: 8 July 2009.

MASTEN, A.S. & POWELL, J.L. 2003. A resilience framework for research, policy, and practice. (*In* Luthar, S.S., *ed*. Resiliency and vulnerability: adaptation in the context of childhood adversities. New York: University of Cambridge Press. p. 1-25.)

MASTEN, A.S. & REED, M.J. 2005. Resilience in development. (*In* Snyder, C.R & Lopez, S.J., *eds.* Handbook of positive psychology. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 74-88.)

MASTEN, A.S. & WRIGHT, M. 2010. Resilience over the lifespan: developmental perspectives on resistance, recovery, and transformation. (*In*, Reich, J. W., Zautra, A.J. & Hall, J.S., *eds*. Handbook of adult resilience. New York: Guilford Publications. p. 213-237.)

MEHLOMAKULU, T., MOGOERA, L., & LENKA, M. 2011. A youth-related evaluation of the integrated sustainable rural development strategy: final draft. www.ufs.ac.za Date of access: 26 Feb. 2011.

MERRIAM, S.B. 2008. Qualitative research methods. (Workshop delivered at the North-West University, June 2008.) Potchefstroom. (Unpublished.)

MITCHELL, C. 2008. Getting the picture and changing the picture: visual methodologies and educational research in South Africa. *South African journal of education*, 28:365-383.

MITCHELL, C. & THERON, L.C., STUART, J & SMITH, A. 2011. Drawings as research method. (*In* Theron, L.C., Mitchell, C., Stuart, J. & Smith, A.S, *eds. P*icturing research: drawing as visual methodology. New York:Sense Publishers. p. 19–36.)

MOSOETSA, S. 2011. Eating from one pot: The dynamics of survival in poor South African households. Johannesburg: WITS University Press.

MUSICK, J.S., STOTT, F.M., SPENCER, K.K., GOLDMAN, J. & COHLER, B.J. 1987. (*In* Anthony, E.J. & Cohler, B.J., *eds*. The invulnerable child. New York: Guilford Press. p. 229-48.)

NIEUWENHUIS, J. 2007a. Analysing qualitative data. (*In* Maree, K., *ed*. First steps in research. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers. p. 99-122.)

NIEUWENHUIS, J. 2007b. Introducing qualitative research. (*In* Maree, K., *ed*. First steps in research. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers. p. 47-68.)

NUWAYHIDA, I., ZURAYK, H., YAMOUT, R. & CORTAS, C. S. 2011. Summer 2006 war on Lebanon: a lesson in community resilience. *Global public health,* 6(5):505-519, July.

ODENDAL, F.F., SCHOONEES, P.C., SWANEPOEL, C.J., DU TOIT, S.J. & BOOYSEN, C.M. 1988. Verklarende handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal. 2de dr./uitg. Johannesburg: Perskor-Boekdrukkery. 1378 p.

O'KOON, J. 1997. Attachment to parents and peers in late adolescence and their relationship with self-image. *Adolescence,* 32:471-483.

OSWALT, A. 2008. Urie Bronfenbrenner and child development http://www.mentalhelp.net/poc/view_doc.php?type=doc&id=7930&cn=28 Date of access: 20 Jan 2010.

PHASHA, T.N. 2010. Educational resilience among African survivors of child sexual abuse in South Africa. *Journal of black studies*, 40(6):1234-1253.

PHILLIPS, L. 1968. Human adaptation and its failures. New York: Academic Press. 217 p.

RAK, C.F. & PATTERSON, L.E. 1996. Promoting resilience in at-risk children. *Journal of counselling and development,* 74:368-373.

REBER, A.S. & REBER, E.S. 2001. The penguin dictionary of psychology. London: Penguin. 831p.

RENNER, W., PELTZER, K. & PHASWANA, M.G. 2003. The structure of values among Northern Sotho speaking people in South Africa. *South African journal of psychology*, 33(2):103-108.

RICHTER, L., CHIKOVORE, J. & MAKUSHA, T. 2010. The status of fatherhood and fathering in South Africa. *Childhood education,* 86(6):360-365.

ROGOFF, B. 2003. The cultural nature of human development. New York: Oxford University Press. 411p.

ROSA, S. & LEHNERT, W. 2003. Children without adult caregivers and access to social assistance. (Hosted by the children's institute, University of Cape Town and the alliance for children's entitlement to social security. Workshop report. 20-21 Aug.)

RUTTER, M. 1983. School effects on pupil progress: research findings and policy implications. *Child development,* 54(1):1-29, Feb.

RUTTER, M. 1984. Resilient children: why some disadvantaged children overcome their environments, and how we can help. *Psychology today*, 57- 65 March.

RUTTER, M. 1985. Resilience in the face of adversity: protective factors and resistance to psychiatric disorder. *British journal of psychiatry*, 147:598-611.

RUTTER, M. 1990. Psychosocial resilience and protective mechanisms. (*In* Rolf, J., Masten, A.S., Cicchetti, D., Nuechterlein, K.H. & Weintraub,S., *eds*. Risk and protective factors in the development of psychopathology. New York: University of Cambridge Press. p. 181-214.)

RUTTER, M. 2005. Multiple meanings of a developmental perspective on psychopathology. *European journal of developmental psychology,* 2(3):221-152.

RUTTER, M. 2006. Implications of resilience concepts for scientific understanding. *Annals of the New York Academy of Science*, 1094:1-12.

RUTTER, M. & MADGE, N. 1976. Cycles of disadvantage. London: Heinemann. 413 p.

RUTTER, M. & O'CONNOR, T.G. AND THE ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN ADOPTEES (ERA) STUDY TEAM. 2004. Are there biological programming effects for psychological development? Findings from a study of Romanian adoptees. *American psychological association,* 40(1):81–94.

SAMEROFF, A. 2009. The Transactional Model. (*In* Sameroff, A., *ed*. The Transactional Model of Development: how children and context shape each other. Washington: American Psychological Association. p. 3-21.)

SAMEROFF, A.J. 2010. A unified theory of development: a dialectic integration of nature and nurture. *Child development*, 81(1): 6-22.

SCHNIEDEWIND, W.M. 2004. How the Bible became a book: the textualization of ancient Israel. New York: University of Cambridge Press. 257p.

SCHOON, I. 2007. Adaptations to changing times: agency in context. *International Journal of Psychology*, 42(2):94-101.

SCHOON, I. & BARTLEY, M. 2008. The role of human capability and resilience. *The Psychologist,* 21(1) 24-27.

SCHOON, I. & BYNNER, J. 2003. Risk and resilience in the life course: implications for interventions and social policies. *Journal of youth studies,* 6(1):21-31.

SCHURINK, W., FOUCHÉ, C.B. & DE VOS, A.S. 2011. Qualitative data analysis and interpretation. (*In* de Vos, A.S., Strydom, H., Fouchè, C.B. & Delport, C.S.L., *eds*. Research at grass roots. 4rd ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik. p. 397-423.)

SHORTT, A., TOUMBOUROU, J., CHAPMAN, R. & POWER, E. 2006. The Resilient Families Program: promoting health and wellbeing in adolescents and their parents during the transition to secondary school. *Youth studies Australia,* 25(2):33-40.

SMITH, L & DROWER, S.J. 2008. Promoting resilience and coping in social workers: learning from perceptions about resilience and coping among South African social work students. (*In* Liebenberg, L. & Ungar. M., *eds.* Resilience in action: working with youth across cultures and contexts. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. p. 136-164.)

SOUTH AFRICA. 1996. Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 108 of 1996. Pretoria: Government Printer.

SOUTH AFRICA. Department of Education. 2005. Conceptual and operational guidelines for the implementation of inclusive education: district based support teams. Pretoria: Government Printer.

SOUTH AFRICA. Departement van Onderwys. 2004. Nasionale Kurrikulumverklaring: Ouerhandleiding (Graad R-9). Pretoria: Departement van Onderwys. 78 p.

SOUTH AFRICA. Department of Social development. 2006. Discussion document linking social grants beneficiaries to poverty alleviation and economic activity. Pretoria: Government Printer. 12 p.

SOUTH AFRICA. 2005. Department of Social Development. . Free State province: Provincial growth and development strategy (PGDS) (2005-2014). http://www.info.gov.za Date of access: 26 Feb. 2011.

SOUTH AFRICA. Department of Social Development. 2009. SA yearbook 2008/09. http://www.gcis.gov.za Date of access: 26 Feb. 2011.

SOUTH AFRICA. Commission of public service. 2007. Report on the Evaluation of Government's Poverty Reduction Programme. Pretoria: Government Printer.

SOUTH AFRICA. 2011. Diagnostic overview. http://www.npconline.co.za Date of access: 26 Feb. 2011.

STATISTICS SOUTH AFRICA. 2007. Community survey 2007. www.statssa.gov.za Date of access: 26 Feb. 2011.

STATISTICS SOUTH AFRICA. 2010. Millennium development goals: country report 2010. http://www.statssa.gov.za/news_archive/Docs/MDGR_2010.pdf Date of access: 26 Feb. 2011.

STEVENS, J.W. 2005. Lessons learned from poor African American youth: resilient strengths in coping with adverse environments. (*In* Ungar, M., *ed*. Handbook for working with children and youth: pathways to resilience across cultures and contexts. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. p. 45-56.)

STRYDOM, H. & DELPORT, C.S.L. 2011. Information collecting: document study and secondary analyais. (*In* de Vos, A.S., Strydom, H., Fouchè, C.B. & Delport, C.S.L., *eds*. Research at grass roots. 4rd ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers. p. 376-389.)

SUMSION, J. 2003. 'Bad days don't kill you; they just make you stronger': a case study of early childhood educator's resilience. *International journal of early years education*, 11(2):141-154, June.

SWART, E. & PETTIPHER, R. 2005. A framework for understanding inclusion. (*In* Landsberg, E., *ed*. Addressing barriers to learning: a South African perspective. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers. p. 3-23.)

SYNAPSES. 2011. The Bill of Responsibilities for the youth of South Africa. http://synapses.co.za/bill-responsibilities-youth-south-africa/ Date of access: 17 Apr. 2011.

TE VAARWERK, N. 2009. The Phenomenon of resilience among black adolescents from divorced families in the Vaal Triangle area. Vanderbijlpark: North-West University. (Dissertation M.ed.) 171 p.

THERON, L.C. 2007. Uphenyo ngokwazi kwentsha yasemalokishini ukumelana nesimo esinzima: a South African study of resilience among township youth. *Child and adolescent psychiatric clinics of North America,* 16(2):357-375.

THERON, L.C. 2008. "I have undergone some metamorphosis!" The impact of REds on South African education affected by the HIV/Aids pandemic. a pilot study. *Journal of psychology in Africa*, 18(1):31-42.

THERON, L.C. 2009. ICURA Advisory Committee (AC) meeting 2009, *Minutes from 07/09/2010*, Education District Office, Bethlehem.

THERON, L.C. 2010. ICURA Advisory Committee (AC) meeting 2010, *Minutes from 23/09/2010*, Education District Office, Bethlehem.

THERON, L.C. 2011a. South African youth are not wimps. (Keynote address at the 1st Positive Social Sciences Symposium, at the NWU, Vaal Triangle campus on 13-15 April) (Vanderbijlpark) (Unpublished)

THERON, L.C. 2011b. ICURA Advisory Committee (AC) meeting 2011, *Minutes from 05/09/2011*, Education District Office, Bethlehem.

THERON, L.C., CAMERON, C.A., DIDKOWSKY, N., LAU, C., LIEBENBERG, L. & UNGAR, M. 2011. A “Day in the Lives” of four resilient youths: cultural roots of resilience. *Youth & society,* 43(3):799-818.

THERON, L.C. & DUNN, N. 2010. Enabling white, Afrikaans-speaking adolescents towards post-divorce resilience: implications for educators. *South African journal of education,* 30:231-244.

THERON, L.C., L’ETANG, S. & STRYDOM, H. 2011. Rural adolescents in the Free State province: a contextualization of the South African sites participating in the Pathways to Resilience Study, July. (Unpublished)

THERON, L.C. & MALINDI M.J. 2010. Resilient street youth: a qualitative South African study. *Journal of youth studies*, 13(6):717-736.

THERON, L.C., MALINDI, M.J. & THERON, A.M.C. Towards an African definition of resilience: a rural South African community's view of resilient youth. *Journal of black psychology*, (Forthcoming).

THERON, L.C., STUART, J. & MITCHELL. 2011. A positive, African ethical approach to collecting and interpreting drawings: some considerations. (*In* Theron, L.C., Mitchell C., Smith, A. & Stuart, J., *eds.* Picturing research: drawing as visual methodology, Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sense Publishers. p. 49–61*.)*

THERON, L.C. & THERON, A. M.C. 2010. A critical review of studies of South African youth resilience, 1990–2008. *South African journal of sciences*, 106(7/8):1-8. http://www.sajs.co.za Date of access: 26 Feb. 2011.

THOM, D.P., LOUW, A.E., VAN EDE. & FERNS, I. 2003. Adolessensie. (*In* Louw, D.A., van Ede, D.M. & Louw, A.E., *eds*. Menslike ontwikkeling. p. 387-474.)

TWINE, R., COLLINSON, M.A., POLZER, T.J. & KAHN, K. 2007. Evaluating access to a child-oriented poverty alleviation intervention in rural South Africa. *Scandinavian journal of public health*, 35(69):118–127.

UNGAR, M. 2008. Resilience across cultures. *British journal of social work*, 38:218-235, Oct.

UNGAR, M. 2009. Pathways to resilience project proposal. Submitted to ICURA, November 2008. Unpublished.

UNGAR, M. 2010a. What is resilience across cultures and context? Advances to the theory of positive development among individuals and families under stress. *Journal of family psychotherapy*, 21:1-16.

UNGAR. M. 2010b. Families as navigators and negotiators: facilitating culturally and contextually specific expressions of resilience. *Family processes,* 49(3):421-435, Sep.

UNGAR, M. 2011. The social ecology of resilience: addressing contextual and cultural ambiguity of a nascent construct. *American journal of orthopsychiatry,* 81(1):1-17.

UNGAR, M., BROWN, M., LIEBENBERG, L., CHEUNG, M. & LEVINE, K. 2008. Distinguishing differences in pathways to resilience among Canadian youth. *Canadian journal of community mental health*, 27(1):1-13.

UNGAR, M., BROWN, M., LIEBENBERG, L., OTHMAN, R., KWONG, W., ARMSTRONG, M. & GILGUN, J. 2007. Unique pathways to resilience across cultures. *Adolescence,* 43(166):287-310.

VAN WORMER, K., SUDDUTH, C. & JACKSON, D.W. 2011. What we can learn of resilience from older African-American women: interviews with women who worked as maids in the Deep South. *Journal of human behavior in the social environment*, 21:410–422.

VISSER, M. 2007. Systems theory. (*In* Visser, M., *ed.* Contextualising community psychology in South Africa. Pretoria: Van Schaik. p.22-36.)

WALKER, J. 2008. Family life in the 21st century: the implications for parenting policy in the UK. *Journal of children's services,* 3(4):17-29, Dec.

WERNER, E.E. 1995. Resilience in development. *Journal of American Psychological Society,* 4(3):81-85, Jun.

WERNER, E.E. 2006. What can we learn about resilience from large-scale longitudinal studies? (*In* Goldstein, S. & Brooks, R.B., *eds.* Handbook of resilience in children. New York: Springer. p. 91-105.)

WERNER, E.E. & SMITH, R.S. 1982. Vulnerable but invincible: a longitudinal study of resilient children and youth. New York: McGraw-Hill. 229 p.

WERNER, E.E. & SMITH, R.S. 1992. Overcoming the odds: High risk children from birth to adulthood. New York: Cornell University Press. 271 p.

WOLIN, S. 2003. What is a strength? *Reclaiming children and youth.* 12(1):18-21, Spring.

WOLIN, S.J. & WOLIN, S. 1993. The resilient self: how survivors of troubled families rise above adversity. New York: Villard Books. 238 p.

WRIGHT, M. & MASTEN, A.S. 2006. Resilience processes in development: fostering positive adaptation in the context of adversity. (*In* Goldstein, S. & Brooks, R.B., eds. Handbook of resilience in children. New York: Springer. p. 17-37).

ADDENDUM A

SUMMARY OF STUDIES REFERENCED IN CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCHER(S)	YEAR	NAME OF STUDY	COUNTRY	SAMPLE	RISK
Ai, Cascio, Santangelo & Evans-Campbell	2005	Hope, meaning, and growth following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks,	USA Nevada, Pennsylvania and Washington	Participants consisted of 457 graduate and undergraduate students, with a mean age of 29.06 years. Participants attended a mental health related course at the Universities of Nevada, Pennsylvania and Washington. The study was conducted 3 months after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack. The sample used consisted mainly of females (83%), with U.S. citizens (96%) comprising the majority of the sample. Non-Hispanic Whites (64%) comprised nearly two-thirds of the sample. The remaining 36% included African- Americans (11%), multiracial students (6%), Hispanic-Americans (6%), Asian- Americans (5%), Middle Eastern-Americans (1%), and other individuals (7%).	September 11 terrorist attack, violence-related trauma.

Anderson	2008	Discovering how resilient capacities develop in the midst of surviving incest.	USA Midwestern metropolitan area.	A qualitative study of 26 incest survivors, aged 25 to 58 years who experienced incest during their youth. The majority of participants were Caucasian, 2 were African-American, 2 were biracial and the rest were native American and Caucasian.	Sexual abuse.
Bernard & Este	2005	Resilience and young African Canadian males.	Canada	Young African-Canadian males.	Poverty, high unemployment, underemployment, lack of education, racism, lack of support for business.
Blocker & Copeland	1994	Determinants of Resilience in High-Stressed Youth.	USA Midwestern school system	41 Participants, aged 17 to 19 years, male and female high school resilient youth of Anglo, Asian and Hispanic origins.	School drop out, gang affiliation,
Chase-Lansdale & Gordon	1995	Economic hardship and the development of five- and six-year-olds: neighborhood and regional perspectives.	USA	National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) included over 7,000 children ranging in age from infancy through to 19 years. Participants included 673 early school age children (292 African-American and 381 White) aged 5 or 6 years (early school age) in 1986.	Economically disadvantaged.

Clauss-Ehlers & Levi	2002	Violence and community, terms and conflict: an ecological approach to resilience.	USA and Mexico	Latino youth affected by community violence.	Community and youth violence, poverty, lack of access to educational and mental health resources, immigrants, malnutrition, living on the streets of Mexico with no access to support services.
Clauss-Ehlers & Wibrowski	2007	Building educational resilience and social support: The effect of the educational opportunity fund program among first- and Second-generation college students.	USA New Jersey	95 Participants (63 females, 32 males) first- and second-generation college students, about to start their freshman year at a large state university on the east coast.	Low-income family.

Cluver & Gardner	2007	sk and protective factors for psychological well-being of children orphaned by AIDS in Cape Town: A qualitative study of children and caregivers' perspectives.	South Africa, Western Cape	Participants included 60 black African children aged between 8 to 19 years, who were orphaned as a result of their parents contracting HIV & AIDS, 42 caregivers of orphaned children and 20 care experts. Participants resided in street children centres or in underprivileged (formal and informal) Cape Flats settlements.	Family conflict, separation from parents, domestic violence and alcohol abuse, discrimination, poverty, changing caregivers, and caregiver illnesses.
Cook & Du Toit	2005	Overcoming Adversity with Children Affected by HIV & AIDS in the Indigenous South African Cultural Context.	South Africa, Free State, Maluti-A-Fophong, Welkom and Sasolburg	Child and Youth Care Agency for Development (CYCAD), working with the University of Victoria's International Institute for Child Rights and Development (IICRD) in supporting family and child resilience within the Circles of Care project for vulnerable youth and children.	HIV & AIDS, sexual abuse, physical abuse, poverty, high unemployment, high cost of living, lack of nutrition, violence because of alcohol and drug abuse, prostitution.

Cronje	2008	Factors which contribute to resilience amongst poor, second-language learners.	South Africa, Gauteng, Free State and Vaal-Triangle area	Resilient second language learner participants in grades 6 and 7 from a primary school.	Poverty, second language learning.
Dass-Brailsford	2005	Exploring resiliency: academic achievement among disadvantaged black youth in South-Africa.	South Africa, KwaZulu-Natal, Durban	16 First year African isiZulu-speaking university student participants with academic success (eight male & eight female) with an average age of 21.	Poverty, financial stress, violence in the community and lack of community resources, such as libraries, transportation, shopping and recreational facilities, and a language barrier at university.
de Roeper & Savelsberg	2009	Challenging the youth policy imperative: engaging young people through the arts.	Australia	Many policies involving intervention programs are being implemented by the government especially for the underprivileged youth.	Disadvantaged young people, lack of shelter, education and sustenance.

Ebersöhn	2008	Children's Resilience as Assets for Safe Schools.	South Africa, Limpopo, KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape provinces	2391 Youth in child-friendly schools (883 grade 00-3 children, 815 grade 4-7 children and 693 grade 8-12 children) aged from 3 to 21 years.	Poverty, high crime levels, lack of adult protection and supervision, lack of adult support.
Felsman	1989	Risk and resilience in childhood: the lives of street children.	Colombia, Cali-Bogotá	Street children under the age of 16.	Poverty, rural to urban relocation, civil discord, family violence, divided families, physical abuse from fathers. Physical and sexual abuse played a vital role in the development of some of the street children.
Garmezy, Masten & Tellegen	1984	The study of stress and competence in children: a building block for developmental psychopathology.		Group one consisted of 200 community-based grade 6 children, group two consisted of 32 children facing a life threatening congenital heart defect and group three consisted of 29 physically handicapped children.	Schizophrenia, affective disorders, personality disorders, hyperactive behaviour, disruptive behaviour, irresponsible, physically aggressive, low socioeconomic status, single

					parent household, health problems, physical handicap problems, changing environment..
Glicken	2006	What we can learn from resilient people.	USA California, Santa Barbara	Participants used self-help groups to overcome the loss of an individual at the Alisos Institute.	Loss of an individual.
Grills-Taquechel, Norton & Ollendick	2010	A longitudinal examination of factors predicting anxiety during the transition to middle school.	USA south western Virginia	77 Participants, (52% female and 48% male) newly enrolled in a south western Virginia middle school, aged 11 to 15 years, in grade 6 and grade 8. Majority of participants were Caucasian (88%), African-American (4%), Native-American/Alaskan Native (4%), biracial (3%), and Asian-American (1%).	Transition from middle school, lower-middle to upper-middle income families.
Johnson & Lazarus	2008	The role of schools in building the resilience of youth faced with adversity.	South Africa, Western Cape	472 Grade 9 teenage participants (210 male, 262 female), aged between 12 to 18+ years, selected from seven high schools in the Western Cape.	Poverty, violence, drug and alcohol abuse, abuse, crime, unemployment, lack of resources at school, racism and divorce.

Knowles	2011	Resilience among Japanese atomic bomb survivors.	USA	Eight participants living in the United States, aged between 67 to 79 years who survived the atomic bombings, over 65 years ago, of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, in August 1945.	Atomic bomb survivors, trauma, post traumatic stress, parental/ family loss, orphaned, low socioeconomic status, child-headed homes.
Laufer & Solomon	2006	Posttraumatic symptoms and posttraumatic growth among Israeli youth exposed to terror incidents.	Israel, Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip	Participants consisted of 2,999 adolescents in grades 7 to 9 from 11 schools in four areas. Participants were 42.2% male and 57.8% female, who were exposed to different levels of terrorist attacks. Two-thirds were exposed to at least one terror event, and one-fourth was exposed to more than three terror incidents. Findings show that 41.1% of the participants reported mild to severe posttraumatic symptoms whilst 74.4% reported feelings of growth.	Terrorist attacks, exposure to terror. Participants had different socioeconomic statuses: 0.6% very low, 4.3% low, 70.4% similar to friends, 20.4% above friends, and 4.3% very high.

Laser	2008	Resilience in Japanese Youth.	Northern Island of Hokkaido, Sapporo area	802 Japanese youth participants (42.5% female and 57.5% male) aged 18 to 22 years.	History of physical illness, being bullied, parental depression, unsafe neighbourhood, domestic violence, parental absence, overcrowdedness, change of residence.
Lee & Ng	2008	Chinese approaches to understanding and building resilience in at-risk young people: the case of Hong Kong.	Hong Kong	Chinese learners from a secondary school who participated in the Understanding the Adolescent Project (UAP).	Mental and psychological health problems, substance abuse, eating disorders, Triad (gang) partisanship, pregnancies and truancy.
Lee & Tay-Koay	2008	Youth Expedition Programming in Singapore: building resilience and positive personal development.	Singapore	347 Participants (135 males and 212 females) between the age of 17 to 25 years from the Youth Expedition Programming.	Lack of skills and knowledge to solve problems, develop identity, create a better future for community, no motivation or concentration, low self-control and self-efficacy. No social support from adults and do not act responsibly.

Lemieux, Piummer, Riciiardson, Simon & Ai	2010	Mental health, substance use, and adaptive coping among social work students in the aftermath of hurricanes Katrina and Rita.	USA New Orleans	Participants consisted of 416 social work students (40.9% undergraduate and 59.1% graduate students) with a mean age of 29.43 whose mental health symptomology, substance use, and adaptive coping were examined after Hurricane Katrina and Hurricane Rita. Participants were 88.9% female, 60.8% African-American, with two thirds (66.9%) being employed.	Surviving natural disasters, depression PTSD-like symptoms, substance use.
Letourneau, Stewart, Reutter, & Hungler	2008	Supporting resilience among Homeless youth.	Canada, Edmonton, Alberta	Seventy homeless youth aged between 16 to 24 years (54% male and 46% female), seeking social support (Aboriginal/Metsi/First Nations, and Caucasian).	Homeless, poverty, disrupted families, parental neglect, inadequate social relationships and fear of attachment. Physical and sexual abuse and chemical addictions, prostitution, ethnic minority status, emotional neglect, and foster care placement.

Levine & Sutherland	2008	The impact of an informal career development program on the resilience of inner-city youth.	Canada, Winnipeg Manitoba,	Impact of the Career Trek Program on inner city children, grades 5 and 6 (10-11 years of age), who are at risk of not completing secondary school, due to poverty.	Poverty, low socioeconomic status, gender, disability, family structure.
MacDonald, Gillmer & Collings'	1996	Adolescents in residential care: a study of personality, coping styles, and resilience.	South Africa, Durban	White English-speaking resilient adolescents, living in residential children's homes.	Poverty.
Malindi & Theron	2010	The hidden resilience of street youth.	South Africa, Free State, Gauteng province	Participants were 20 Sesotho- and isiZulu-speaking street children (17 boys and 3 girls) aged from 10 to 17 years, who attended school.	Poverty, abandonment, living on the streets, discrimination.
Phasha	2010	Educational resilience among African survivors of child sexual abuse in South Africa.	South Africa	Participants consisted of 11 white, 6 mixed race, and five African ancestries (21 female and 1 male), aged between 16 to 23 years, who experienced sexual abuse in their youth.	Sexual abuse, racial discrimination, violence in the community, lack of familial, educational or community support for some of the participants.

Rutter, O'Connor, and the English and Romanian Adoptees (ERA) Study Team	2004	Are there biological programming effects for psychological development? Findings from a study of Romanian adoptees.	UK	Participants consisted of 144 Romanian children, adopted into UK families between February 1990 and September 1992. Participants consisted of different ages from birth up to 42 months. 45 Children were placed at under 6 months, 54 at between 6 and 24 months, and 45 at between 24 and 42 months. The 144 children were assessed at age 6. The comparative sample consisted of 52 UK-born children who were adopted before the age of 6 months.	Malnutrition, abandonment, adoption.
Shortt, Toumbourou, Chapman and Power	2006	The Resilient Families program: Promoting health and wellbeing in adolescents and their parents during the transition to secondary school.	Australia Melbourne and neighbouring regions	'Parenting Adolescents: A Creative Experience' (PACE) program incorporated 81 parents with adolescents, in their seventh year in Catholic or government secondary schools.	Fear of failing secondary school.

Smith & Drower	2008	Promoting resilience and Coping in Social Workers: Learning from Perceptions about Resilience and coping among South African Social Work Students.	South Africa, Johannes-burg	Black adult social work students of The University of the Witwatersrand.	Apartheid, violent oppression, social disadvantage, inequality and hardship, and the HIV & AIDS epidemic, poverty, unemployment, malnutrition, substance abuse, crime.
Stevens	2005	Lessons Learned from poor African American youth: resilient strengths in coping with adverse environments.	USA Boston	Poor black African-American girls from the inner city.	Poverty, sexual abuse, prostitution.
Sumsion	2003	'Bad days don't kill you; they just make you stronger': a case study of early childhood educator's resilience.	Australia	A young early childhood educator; Natalie from Anglo-Australian background.	New occupation.

Te Vaarwerk	2009	The Phenomenon of resilience among black adolescents from divorced families in the Vaal Triangle area.	South Africa, Gauteng, Vaal-Triangle	Five male and five female black grade 9 adolescents who went to an ex-Model C school.	Divorced parents
Theron	2007	Uphenyo ngokwazi kwentsha yasemalokishini ukumelana nesimo esinzima: a South African study of resilience among township youth.	South Africa, Gauteng, North-West and the Free State provinces	466 Male and 456 female grade 9 participants involved in the *Batsha* (*Batsha* = Youth in Sesotho) Life Orientation study, in eight black townships.	Poverty, unemployment, overcrowdedness, single-parent homes, lack of resources (libraries, sports clubs, and recreational resources), substance abuse, school resources, community violence.
Theron, Cameron, Didkowsky, Lau, Liebenberg & Ungar	2011	A “Day in the Lives” of four resilient youths: cultural roots of resilience.	South Africa and Canada	The participants consisted of four impoverished youth. Two Sesotho-speaking, orphaned, South African adolescents, a 14 year old boy and a 16 year old girl, living in townships. Two Canadian participants, a 14 year old Mexican immigrant girl and a 13 year old Mexican immigrant boy.	Low socioeconomic living, high housing and living costs, loss of extended family.

Thereon & Dunn	2010	Enabling white, Afrikaans-speaking adolescents towards post-divorce resilience: implications for educators.	South Africa, Vaal-Triangle and Mpumalanga area	10 Afrikaans-speaking white adolescents aged between 14 to 18 years (5 females, 5 males), living with only their mother or with their mother and stepfather.	Divorced parents, feeling unwanted, conflict-stricken homes.
Theron & Malindi	2010	Resilient Street youth: a qualitative South African study.	South Africa, Eastern Free State and Gauteng area	20 Street children (3 females, 17 males), aged between 10 to 17 years, in rural and urban areas with access to systemic support structures.	Poverty, inadequate housing, HIV & AIDS and community violence.
Twine, Collinson, Polzer & Kahn	2007	Evaluating access to a child-oriented poverty alleviation intervention in rural South Africa.	South Africa, northeast Limpopo Province, Agincourt sub-district of Bush-buckridge district	Participants consisted of 6,725 households, in 21 villages. About 30% of the individuals are former Mozambican refugees who relocated in the 1980s.	Extreme poverty.

Ungar	2010	Families as navigators and negotiators: facilitating culturally and Contextually Specific Expressions of resilience.	USA Canada	Richard, a 15 year old African-Canadian boy who has a history of violence.	Poverty, negative peer delinquent gangs, racism, bullied, ADHD and conduct disorder, drug abuse (marijuana).
Ungar, Brown, Liebenberg, Othman, Kwong, Armstrong & Gilgun	2007	Unique pathways to resilience across cultures.	14 different sites	89 White middle-class heterosexual able-bodied youth, raised in Western societies.	Low socioeconomic status, abuse, discrimination, alcohol and drug misuse.
Van Wormer, Sudduth & Jackson	2011	What we can learn of resilience from older African-American women: interviews with women who worked as maids in the Deep South.	USA. Arkansas, Mississippi	Participants consisted of three older African-American women aged between 68 to 87 years, who were born during the 1920s to the 1940s in the South, in the days of segregation. From their childhood, they worked for white landowners, living on their farms and working as domestic workers and in the cotton fields.	Lived in oppressive social and economic systems, cruelties of segregation and racism, low socioeconomic situations, gross economic exploitation and disempowerment, brutal expressions of mob justice of lower-class Whites, sexual

					predation of African-American women, and the widespread cheating under lopsided sharecropping arrangements.
Werner & Smith	1982	Vulnerable but Invincible: a longitudinal study of resilient children and youth.	Hawaii, Kauai Island	Participants consisted of 217 Japanese, 147 part- and full-Hawaiian, 115 Filipino, 105 other ethnic mixtures, 42 Portuguese and 17 Anglo-Caucasians (Haoles).	Parents with depression, schizophrenia, and other mental illnesses. Poverty, late birth order, prolonged separation of the infant from the mother, prenatal discord between birth and year 2, serious or repeated childhood illnesses, high stressful life events, low maternal education.
Wolin & Wolin	1993	The resilient self: How survivors of troubled families rise above adversity.	USA	25 Adults who, despite having been raised in troubled families, have improved considerably.	Troubled family life.

ADDENDUM B

AP DEFINITION OF RESILIENCE

A resilient youth shows / is /has all / most of the following despite being placed at risk by poverty:

Resilient personality

- Adaptable / compromises
- Strong will power
- Seeks solutions
- Entrepeneur
- Self-confident
- Takes socially acceptable risks / explores
- Assertive
- Communicative
- Approachable / open
- Positive self-image

Evidence of active support system

- Family / extended family support / interest
- Peer support
- Social services support

Dreamer

- Goals
- Vision
- Focused
- Self-knowledge

Value-driven

- Values influence behaviour / attitude positively:
    - Religion
    - Community
    - Culture
    - Educators

Educational progress

- Attendance
- Cooperation
- Progress

Acceptance (Amohela)

- The ‘it’s OK’ attitude – accept & carry on

ADDENDUM C

PROMPT FOR PARTICIPANTS

“What has helped you to do well in your life so far? Please draw what has helped you to do well in your life so far. REMEMBER, IT IS NOT ABOUT HOW WELL YOU DRAW, BUT ABOUT WHAT YOU DRAW”

Please help us to understand what your drawing means by writing a couple of sentences explaining what it means.

ADDENDUM D

LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT

NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT
VAAL TRIANGLE CAMPUS

PO Box 1174, Vanderbijlpark
South Africa, 1900

Tel: (016) 910-3076
(016) 910-3094/073 88 33 064
Fax: (016) 910-3078
E-mail: Macalane.Malindi@nwu.ac.za
Linda.Theron@nwu.ac.za

PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE: FORMAL SERVICE AND INFORMAL SUPPORT USE PATTERNS AMONG YOUTH IN CHALLENGING SOCIAL ECOLOGIES

CONSENT FORM FOR YOUTH: *PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE YOUTH MEASURE - FRS*

Hello,

On behalf of a team of researchers led by Dr. Michael Ungar from Dalhousie University, Canada, we invite you to take part in a research study. We hope to interview youth like you in different communities in Atlantic Canada who have different kinds of experience with child welfare, mental health, education, corrections, a community support organisation or community recreational programs. We want to know what kinds of services you've used and why.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may leave it at any time, for up to one year from today.

The study is described below. This description tells you about the risks, inconvenience, and discomfort which you might experience. This study may not benefit you directly, but it will help us better understand how to be of real help to young people. You should discuss any questions you have about this study with me, Macalane Malindi (016-910 3094), the person who will be doing the study with you.

Purpose of the study:

We are hoping to better understand how the different kinds of services available to youth are being used by young people and how these services help or don't help them.

Study design:

We would like to meet with about 1200 youth in South Africa. We are asking all these young people to complete a questionnaire, the ***Pathways to Resilience Youth Measure*** **(PRYM)** and to make a drawing of what they believe has helped them to do well in life. We then ask young people to explain what this drawing means. We would also like to meet with some of the youth again, to conduct an individual interview, and so might come back to you to invite you to participate in this other research as well.

Who can participate in the study?

You may participate in this study if you are:

1. Between the ages of 13 and 19 (or thereabouts), and;

2. Have had to deal with significant difficulties in your life with which you are dealing well.

Who will be conducting the research?

The principal investigator of this study is Michael Ungar, Ph.D., Professor at the School of Social Work, Dalhousie University. The director of research is Linda Liebenberg PhD, Resilience Research Centre, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada. The South African team director is Prof **Petra Engelbrecht** (Faculty of Education, Potchefstroom Campus, NWU) and the project leader is **Linda Theron**, School of Educational Sciences, Vaal Triangle Campus, North-West University and **Macalane Malindi** (School of Educational Sciences, Vaal Triangle Campus, North-West University) is the South African community liaison officer.

What you will be asked to do:

To understand how to better help young people we are asking that you meet with us, to complete a questionnaire. It will take about 60 minutes to complete. You may take extra time if you. Meetings will happen at a time and place that you are comfortable with. Then we will ask you to make a drawing of what has helped you to do well in life and to explain this drawing (in writing or verbally). We also may ask to speak with you again as we will be inviting some participants to take part in longer one-on-one interviews about their lives and their experience receiving services. Please let me know if we can contact you again.

Possible risks and discomforts:

You should know that when we meet to talk about your experiences and answer the questionnaire, you may be asked some questions that could make you feel uncomfortable or be upsetting to you. If this happens you should let me, or anyone of the contacts provided on this letter, know so that we can refer you to someone to talk to about what has upset you. Also, please let me know if you do not want to answer any of the questions I ask.

Possible benefits:

Taking part in this study will not benefit you. It is hoped though that what is learned will be of future benefit to others. Also, once we have the findings from this study, the research team will be working with a service provider in your community to try and apply some of the lessons learnt from young people who have participated. Because of this, the findings of this study should be useful for informing policy, program development and available services.

Compensation / Reimbursement:

You will be offered a burger if you participate as a token of appreciation for your part in this research project.

Confidentiality and anonymity:

While the research team cannot promise that your participation in this study will be kept anonymous (that is, people around you might know or find out that you have participated in the study), you should know that we will protect your privacy and that all the information you provide will be kept strictly confidential. This means that we will not tell other people who are not involved in the study about what you have said here today or how you have answered your questionnaire. Also, all the information we collect will be anonymous. This means that it will have no personal information on it like your name and we will not publish your name in anything we write about this study. Only the forms you sign will identify you personally and that information will be stored at North-West University. Your questionnaires will be labelled with a unique number so we can keep track of which questionnaires belong to you, but no one else can identify you. The questionnaires will be stored in a locked cabinet in a different office at North-West University for five years after we have published this study. Again only the members of the research team will have access to the information you provide.

Once information has been collected, members of the research team will publish a summary in books, magazines, websites and talk about the results to people who are interested in improving services for youth. It is important for you to know that we are not interested in the responses of any one person, but rather what young people like yourself as a group have experienced. Your identity will never be revealed. Should we use a quote from your questionnaire, or include your drawing, we will ensure that details are changed to make it impossible to identify you as the one who said it (like your age, your school, where you live, what your parents do, and other things that could be used to identify you). There is only one situation that would make it necessary to share what you say with others and identify you. If you tell us that you are being harmed, or in serious danger, or your brothers or sisters are in danger of being hurt, we have a professional and legal obligation to get help. Likewise, if indicate that you are going to hurt yourself or someone else, we must legally tell someone who can help keep you and others safe.

Questions, problems or concerns:

If you have any questions, problems or concerns you are welcome to contact any of the following research members:

- Linda Theron (South African Project Leader). Her phone number is 016 910 3076 and she is available Monday to Thursday between 9a.m. and 4:30p.m.
- Macalane Malindi (South African Community Liaison Officer). His phone number is 016-910 3094 and he is available Monday to Friday between 9a.m. and 4:30p.m
- You can also leave a message for Linda or Macalane with Mrs Maureen Meiring, 016-910 3060. She is available Monday to Friday between 9a.m. and 4:30p.m.

If you have any difficulties with, or wish to voice concern about, any aspect of your participation in this study, you may also contact Patricia Lindley, Director of Dalhousie University's Office of Human Research Ethics Administration, for assistance at 902 494-1462, patricia.lindley@dal.ca. Or, you can contact Research Director (Educational Sciences, NWU): Prof Cornelia Roux at Cornelia.Roux@nwu.ac.za or at 018-299 4780.

Many thanks for taking the time to look over this letter.

Regards

The Research Team

NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT
VAAL TRIANGLE CAMPUS

PO Box 1174, Vanderbijlpark
South Africa, 1900

Tel: (016) 910-3076
(016) 910-3094/073 88 33 064
Fax: (016) 910-3078
E-mail: Macalane.Malindi@nwu.ac.za
Linda.Theron@nwu.ac.za

CONSENT FORM FOR YOUTH: *PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE YOUTH MEASURE - FRS*

PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE: FORMAL SERVICE AND INFORMAL SUPPORT USE PATTERNS AMONG YOUTH IN CHALLENGING SOCIAL ECOLOGIES

SIGNATURE PAGE FOR YOUTH: PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE YOUTH MEASURE -FRS

"*I have read the explanation about this study. I have been given the opportunity to discuss it and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I hereby consent to take part in this study. However I realize that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time*": (If you agree, please place an "X" in the 'yes' boxes to show that you understand and agree with each statement. You do not need to consent to all study activities in order to participate)

1. I understand the information about the study provided in the Information Letter. Any questions I had were answered. **Yes, I understand [ ]**

2. I if I am uncomfortable answering any question, I may choose not to answer. **Yes, I understand [ ]**

3. Information will be collected directly from me by means of a questionnaire and a drawing that I will explain. **Yes, I understand [ ]**

4. I give permission for the researchers to contact me to invite me to participate in a one-on-one interview and understand that I have the right to refuse to do this if I wish. **Yes, I understand [ ]**

5. I give permission for the service that referred me to this study to release their last known contact details for me in case I have moved since starting the study. **Yes, I understand [ ]**

6. I understand that what I say or draw may be quoted or used in publications, presentations and the final report. I also understand that I will never be identified personally. If I become concerned with anything I said, I can ask for parts, or all, of my questionnaire responses not to be quoted. **Yes, I understand [ ]**

_____	_____
Full name of youth participant	Signature of youth participant
_____	_____
Signature of researcher	Signature of guardian/parent / adult in loco parentis
_____	_____
Date	Date

FUTURE CONTACT PAGE

You may contact me: yes / no.

If yes, the best way to reach me is:

Address: _____

_____

Email: _____

Second Email: _____

Phone Number: _____

Cell Phone Number: _____

[ ] No, you may not contact me about future participation in this study.

Would you like us to send you a short summary of the study when it is complete?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

Please provide an address to which you would like it sent:

Address: _____

_____

Email: _____

Second Email: _____

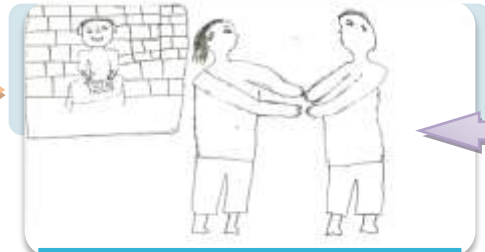
ADDENDUM E

AUDIT TRAIL

Section A

Audit trail of how I open coded resources for participant FR 89 and FR 94 in drawings and narratives.

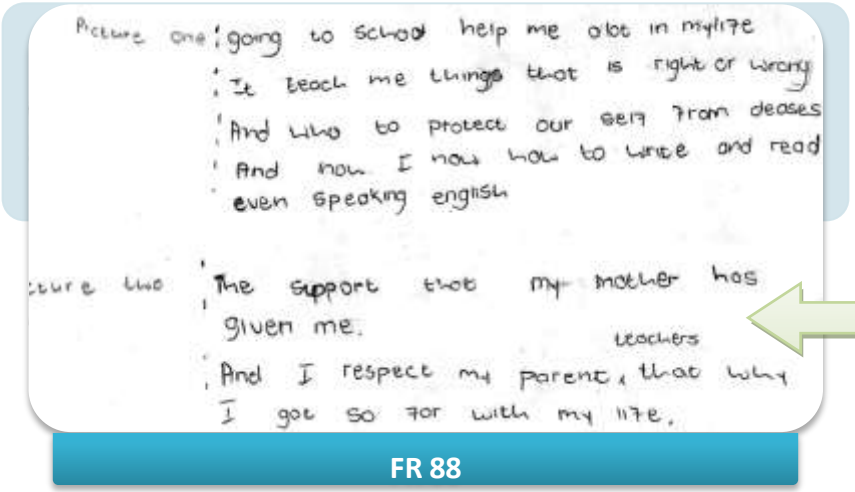
- School
- Books



- Affection
- Support

FR 88

- School
- Life skills
- Write and read English



- Support
- Mother
- Respect
- Teacher

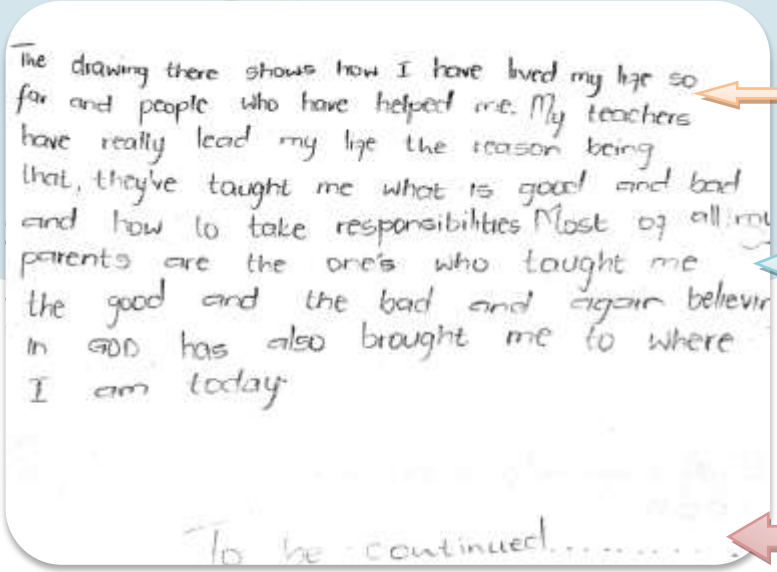
FR 88

- Book
- Culture
- Church

- Teacher
- Parents/guardians

FR 94

- Culture
- Believe in God



- Teachers
- Parents guidance
- Future

Her story is not done she still has more to achieve

FR 94

Inclusion criteria for open coded resources

		INCLUSION CRITERIA		
CATEGORY	THEME	SUBTHEME	DRAWINGS OF ...	EXPLANATIONS RELATING TO...
Microsystemic resilience-promoting resources	Individual	Individual Cognitive Competency	• Minds • Brains	• Thinking • Problem solving • Reasoning
		Goal-Directed Determination	• Future careers • Achieving in school	• Making dreams come true • Having goals and being committed to achieving them • Future career plans • Determination to create a better future • Reaching career goals • Achieving in a career someday
		Respectfulness	• Drawing parent/teachers bigger than self	• Respecting the self • Respecting family members • Respecting others
		Positive Temperament	• Smiling faces	• Mentioning that she is a good child • Caring comments about other individuals

		Hopefulness	• Future plans • The word ‘hope’	• Hope for the future • Believing in the chance of a better life • Believing that some day she will succeed • Hoping for / believing in a brighter tomorrow
		Hobbies As Recreational Opportunities	• Sport • Playing with friends • Drawings of recreational activity	• Playing sport • Spending time with friends • Doing something enjoyable in her spare time (not school task)
	Family	Supportive Parents	• Parents providing basic necessities like money, food, clothing, housing • Holding hands with parental figure • Hearts with parents • Parents watching over participants	• Explaining that parents supported them by providing guidance with school • Parents encouraged religion • Parents supported them to solve problems • Parents providing basic necessities like food, clothes housing
		Mothers Provided	• Drawing of mothers, labelled as mothers • Drawings of mothers with food parcels • Mothers making food • Mothers holding hands with youth	• Mothers supporting participants by providing money for basic necessities like food, clothes, housing • Mothers helping with schoolwork • Mothers giving emotional support • Mothers giving educational support • Mothers providing love and care

		Siblings	• Drawings of brothers or sisters • Labels of brother / sister	• Brothers or sisters supporting participants • Emotional support from siblings • Brothers or sisters helping participants with schoolwork, emotional problems • Brothers or sisters taking participants to clinics and school functions
		Extended Relatives	• Uncles • Aunts • Grandparents • Labels for the above	• Support from extended relatives • Love and affection from extended relatives • Grandmothers supporting and caring for participants like a mother
		Attachment To Pro-Social Friends	• Friends playing together • Friends at school • Playing sports with friends	• Playing with friends • Talking to friends about problems • Spending time with friends in positive activities • Staying out of trouble because of friends
	School	Teachers	• Teachers in a classroom • Teachers writing on boards	• Teachers providing education • Teachers providing emotional support • Teachers providing guidance through life skills • Teachers being a role model, someone to look up to • Teachers supporting youth practically

		School As A Gateway (Staying In School)	• Working at desks (in a classroom) • Studying with friends • Drawings of colleges and universities	• Working hard at school to achieve high grades • Studying to go to collage or university to further education • Achieving high marks in examinations • Studying with friends to improve marks to get ahead
		Receiving An Education	• Drawings of schools • Studying	• Explaining that “education is the key” • Grateful to go to school • Wanting to stay in school
		Life Skills taught at school	• Text books with the words life skills on them	• Grateful for being taught the skills to cope in life
		Doing Well In School	• Learning at desk • Studying with friends	• Explaining that you have to learn to stay in school • Wanting to achieve high marks
		Resources - Textbooks	• Drawings of textbooks • Drawings of individuals learning or reading out of a text book	• Using books to achieve in school • Reading books to study / increase knowledge • Using textbooks to learn things that are not taught in class time
		Positive Social Interactions	• Drawing friends with smiling faces • Drawing other individuals with smiling faces.	• Explaining that participant interacted with friends and teachers at school in a positive way

	Nature And Pets	Nature And Pets	• Animals • Nature elements like flowers and trees	• Explaining that animals help participants to feel better or provide emotional support • Explanations that nature has a calming effect on participants or inspires participants
Mesosystemic	**Social interactions**		• Drawing more than on e resource • Drawing more than one individual on a page	• Explanations relating to interacting with other individuals in a positive way like parents, friends, community members • Explanations of multiple, interacting resources
Exosystemic resilience-promoting resources	**Community**	Positive Community-Based Role Models	• Teachers • Pastors	• Explaining that teachers and pastors guide the participants in positive ways
		Employed Caregivers – providing money for basic necessities	• Drawings of money • Food • Clothing • Housing	• Explaining that money provides food, clothes, housing and other necessary items and that parents/caregivers make these possible • Caregivers providing an education and the necessary supplies for school
		The Library	• Libraries	• Explaining that the library is a place to receive information and work in a quiet place • Comments about studying in the library

		Service Providers	• Medical facilities	• Explaining that the clinic helped participants when they had health problems • Service providers like NGO's who helped participants with either spiritual or emotional problems
Macrosystemic resilience-protective resources	Religious beliefs	Church Attendance	• Church building	• Explaining that participants go to church for guidance, support, to pray
		Pastor	• Pastor figures (labelled pastor or wearing clerical robes)	• Listening to the pastor • Going to the pastor for guidance or support
		Religious Practices (Reading Bible And Praying)	• Reading Bible • Praying • Crosses	• Reading Bible for guidance • Praying to God for guidance, support and thanking Him for what has already been done • Explaining that participants drew a cross to show the presence of God in their lives
	Access to information	Television	• Watching television • Televisions	• Watching television for guidance or enjoyment • Watching television to learn life skills about a particular subject • Watching inspirational talks
		Radio	• Radio	• Listening to the radio for guidance • Listening to educational programmes • Listening to inspirational talks
		Computer	• Working on a computer • Computer	• Using the computer to find information about problems

		Cell Phone	• Talking on a cell phone • Cell phone	• Using the cell phone to communicate with supportive individuals
		Using Inspirational Publications To Access Information	• Magazines • Newspapers • Inspirational books	• Reading the newspaper or magazine to find information about a specific problem • Reading inspirational books like life stories of other individuals who overcame problems

Audit trail of how open codes of Participant FR 88 and FR 99 transferred to table of resources

	Microsystemic Resources																							
	Individual						Family															Friends		
Participant	Individual Cognitive Competency	Goal-Directed Determination	Respectfulness	Positive Temperament	Hopefulness	Hobbies As Recreational Opportunities	Supportive Parents			Mothers Provided				Siblings			Extended Relatives			Attachment To Pro-Social Friends		
88			X									X												
94					X				X															

	Microsystemic Resources								Meso	Exosystemic Resources						Macrosystemic Resources								
	School									Community						Religion			Access To Information					
	Teachers	School As A Gateway (Staying In School)	Receiving An Education	Life Skills	Doing Well In School	Resources - Textbooks	Positive Social Interactions	**Nature And Pets**	Social Interactions	Positive Community-Based Role Models	Employed Caregivers - Food	Clothes	Housing	The Library	Service Providers	Church Attendance	Pastor	Religious Practices (Reading Bible And Praying)	Television	Radio	Computer	Cell Phone	Using Inspirational Publications To Access Information
88	X	X	X	X		X																		
94	X					X												X						

Section B

Complete table of categorized resources (see p. 298-304 for inclusion criteria)

	Microsystemic Resources																			
	Individual						Family											Friends		
Theme	Individual Cognitive Competency	Goal-Directed Determination	Respectfulness	Positive Temperament	Hopefulness	Hobbies As Recreational Opportunities	Supportive Parents			Mothers Provided				Siblings		Extended Relatives			Attachment To Pro-Social Friends	
FR																				
4																				
87												X								
88			X									X								
89									X											
90								X												
91	X	X																		
92																				
93																				
94					X				X											
95						X														
96																				
97			X																	
98		X																		
99																				
100				X	X															
101																				
102								X												

103																			X	
104										X										
105																				
106																				
107														X					X	
108																X	X			X
109									X											
110							X		X											X
111			X																	
112																			X	
113									X										X	
114																				
115																				
116																				
117		X																		
118																				
119									X			X				X				
120																				
121																				
122					X	X														
123																			X	
124										X										
125																X				
126					X															
127							X		X											
128									X											
129																				
130																				X
131																				
132																				
134								X												
135														X						
136																X				
137												X								
138																				

139																				
140			X								X									
141										X										
143																				
144			X																	
145																				
146																				
147																				
148																				
149																				
151																				
152																				
153																				
157				X																
156																				
158									X											
159																	X			
160																				
161																				
162			X																	
163																				
164														X				X		
165																				
166																				
167																				
168																				
171																	X			
173										X										
174								X												
175		X							X	X										
176			X							X										
177																				
178																				
179																				
180																			X	

181																	X			
182			X																	
183																				
184		X																		
185						X														
186										X	X									
187		X														X				
188											X									
189											X									
190										X			X							
191										X	X									
192											X	X								
193														X						
194											X									
195								X			X									
196											X		X							
197							X													
198											X									
199				X							X									
200											X									
201											X									
202																				
203			X										X							
204										X										
205																				
207										X	X			X						
401			X																X	
402			X									X								
403																				
404																				
405																			X	X
406								X												
408									X										X	X
409																				
410											X									

411																					
412													X								
413																					
414	X																				
415																					
416																					
417						X															
419																					

Microsystemic Resources									Meso	Exosystemic Resources						Macrosystemic Resources								
	School									Community						Religion			Access To Information				
Theme	Teachers	School As A Gateway (Staying In School)	Receiving An Education	Life Skills	Doing Well In School	Resources - Textbooks	Positive Social Interactions	Nature And Pets	Social Interactions	Positive Community-Based Role Models	Employed Caregivers - Food	Clothes	Housing	The Library	Service Providers	Church Attendance	Pastor	Religious Practices (Reading Bible And Praying)	Television	Radio	Computer	Cell Phone	Using Inspirational Publications To Access Information
FR																							
4																				X			
87																							
88	X	X	X	X		X																	
89																							
90			X																				
91										X							X	X					
92				X															X				
93		X																					
94	X					X										X		X					
95							X																

96	X			X																				
97																				X				
98			X	X			X																	
99				X																				
100																			X	X				X
101	X									X				X								X		X
102	X					X																		
103							X			X							X	X						
104																X		X						
105									X															
106			X																					
107				X					X							X								
108	X						X																	
109	X																							
110							X									X								
111				X						X						X		X						
112																				X				X
113						X										X				X	X			X
114									X									X			X			
115																		X				X		
116			X	X						X														
117				X														X						X
118				X														X						
119																								
120				X			X																	
121			X																					
122	X			X			X		X															
123		X																						
124				X							X	X												
125	X		X			X							X											
126	X																							
127																								
128						X													X					
129											X													
130							X								X				X					

131																				X				X
132											X											X		
134						X																		X
135																								
136						X													X				X	
137																								
138									X										X					
139				X																				
140			X									X				X								
141																								
143			X																	X				
144																								
145																X								
146						X																		
147			X																X					
148					X																			
149											X													
151	X																							
152														X										
153	X	X																						
156																X								
157																								
158																								
159											X			X										
160			X																					
161														X										
162				X																				
163															X									
164											X									X				
165												X		X										
166			X	X							X													
167								X												X				
168																	X							
171														X										
173												X	X	X										

174											X	X	X											
175					X																			
176																								
177								X																
178			X					X																
179						X																		
180									X															
181																								X
182							X				X													
183						X																		
184				X																				
185							X																	
186				X							X		X		X									
187				X					X															
188																								
189																								
190											X	X	X											
191																								
192																								
193																								
194																								
195																								
196																								
197																								
198																								
199																								
200																								
201																								
202	X																							
203						X														X				
204	X																							
205				X																				
207											X				X									
401											X									X				
402																								

403																		X					
404																	X		X				
405																				X				X
406											X													
408																								
409		X																						
410			X																					
411																								X
412									X				X											
413			X																					
414																								
415		X																						X
416																								X
417								X																
419																								X

ADDENDUM F

INSTITUTIONAL CLEARANCE

NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITI YA BOKONE BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES UNIVERSITEIT

Private Bag X6001, Potchefstroom
South Africa 2520

Tel (018) 299 4900
Fake: (018) 299 4910
Web: http://www.nwu.ac.za

Ethics Committee
Tel +27 18 299 4850
Fax +27 18 293 0329
Email Ethics@nwu.ac.za

Prof Linda Theron

31 March 2009

ETHICS APPROVAL OF PROJECT

The North West University Ethics Committee (NWU-EC) hereby approves your project as indicated below. This implies that the NWU EC grants its permission that, provided the special conditions specified below are met and pending any other authorisation that may be necessary, the project may be initiated, using the ethics number below.

Project title: Pathways to Resilience

Ethics number: NWU-00909-09-A2

Approval date: 12 March 2009 Expiry date: 11 March 2014

Special conditions of the approval (if any): None

General conditions:

With this ethics approval is subject to all declarations, undertakings and agreements incorporated and signed in the application form, please note the following:

- *The project leader (principle investigator) must report in the prescribed format to the NWU-EC:*
  - *annually (or as otherwise requested) on the progress of the project,*
  - *without any delay in case of any adverse event (or any matter that interrupts sound ethical principles) during the course of the project*
- *The approval applies strictly to the protocol as stipulated in the application form. Would any changes to the protocol be deemed necessary during the course of the project, the project leader must apply for approval of these changes at the NWU-EC. Would there be deviation from the project protocol without the necessary approval of such changes, the ethics approval is immediately and automatically forfeited.*
- *The date of approval indicates the first date that the project may be started. Would the project have to continue after the expiry date, a new application must be made to the NWU EC and new approval received before or on the expiry date.*
- *In the interest of ethical responsibility the NWU-EC retains the right to:*
  - *request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project;*
  - *withdraw or postpone approval if:*
    - *any unethical principles or practices of the project are revealed or suspected,*
    - *it becomes apparent that any relevant information was withheld from the NWU-EC or that information has been false or misrepresented,*
    - *the required annual report and reporting of adverse events was not done timely and accurately,*
    - *new institutional rules, national legislation or international conventions deem it necessary.*

The Ethics Committee would like to remain at your service as scientist and researcher, and wishes you well with your project. Please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Committee for any further enquiries or requests for assistance.

Yours sincerely

Prof MMJ Lowes
(chair NWU Ethics Committee)

Prof M. Monteith
(Chairman: NWU Ethics Committee Teaching and Learning)

ADDENDUM G

EDUCATIONAL CLEARANCE

education
Department of
North West Province

Enquiries : M Malinde
Reference no : 16/4/2/08-2008

Tel: 0184048562
Fax: 051-1477318

2008-10-07

Director: Taabo Mofutsanyana Education District
Private Bag 817
Witsieshoek
9870

Dear Mr Cholo

NOTIFICATION OF A RESEARCH PROJECT IN YOUR DISTRICT

Please find attached a copy of the letter giving Mr. MJ MALINDI and PROF. LC THERON permission to conduct research in the Thabo Mofutsanyana District. They will conduct this research in identified school with learners in Grades 8 – 11.

Yours sincerely

FR SELLO
DIRECTOR: QUALITY ASSURANCE

Directorate: Quality Assurance
Private Bag X20565, Bloemfontein, 9300
Sylvia Centre, 65 Maitland Street, Bloemfontein
Tel: 051 404 8750 Fax: 051 417 7518
E-mail: qualityed.fs.gov.za