

**RESILIENT BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN GIRLS IN CONTEXTS OF ADVERSITY: A  
PARTICIPATORY VISUAL STUDY**

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THE NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY

Promoter: Professor Linda Theron

## **DEDICATION**

This doctoral study is dedicated to my mother, Lynn Charmaine Jefferis. Thank you for always believing in me, for your guidance and support, and your unconditional love. You touched the lives of many people through your compassion. I will forever be grateful for the privilege of having you as a mother for 30 years. May you rest in peace, and may we meet again one day.

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- I would also especially like to thank my family. Nathan Jefferis, my loving son, for your patience over the years and for always smiling. Malcolm Jefferis, for your unwavering support and assistance to complete my studies. I would not have been able to complete this study without you.

## **PREFACE AND DECLARATION**

I chose the article format for this study. I, Tamlynn Jefferis, conducted the research and wrote the manuscripts. Prof. Linda Theron acted as promoter. Four manuscripts were written and will be/were submitted for publication in the following journals:

Manuscript 1: Women's Studies International Forum

Manuscript 2: Journal of Adolescent Research

Manuscript 3: South African Journal of Education

Manuscript 4: Perspectives in Education

I declare that "Resilient black South African girls in contexts of adversity: A participatory visual study" is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted are indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

## SUMMARY

### **Title: Resilient black South African girls in contexts of adversity: A participatory visual study**

Resilience refers to a process involving positive outcomes in the face of exposure to significant adversity. The Social Ecology of Resilience Theory outlines four principles that guide how resilience processes are understood and explained, namely, decentrality, complexity, atypicality, and cultural relativity (Ungar, 2011). From this perspective, resilience involves a complex process of culturally-appropriate transactions between individuals and their social ecologies that facilitate positive adjustment. What resilience theory does not sufficiently explain is how culture and gendered ways of living and being inform resilience processes among women and girls (Jordan, 2013). Even less is known about how culture and gendered ways of living shape resilience processes among black South African girls living in rural contexts of structural adversity.

Therefore, the purpose of this visual study was to explore why Sesotho-speaking South African girls living in rural contexts of structural adversity are resilient. To achieve this aim, sub-aims (detailed below) were developed to answer the research question. This study contains four manuscripts; each addresses a sub-aim.

Using a qualitative synthesis, Manuscript 1 explored the existing understanding of resilience processes among women and girls' across diverse cultures, and how this understanding reflects universal gendered ways of living and being. The findings revealed that universal gendered ways of living and being such as interdependence, the emotional caretaking of others, and emotional expressivity

are evident in resilience processes of women and girls. The universal resilience processes included: emotionally and pragmatically supportive constructive relational contexts in which women and girls received and reciprocated support: agency: and strength-fostering spirituality. Ultimately, emotionally and pragmatically supportive constructive relational contexts, agency and strength-fostering spirituality supported women and girls to adjust well to diverse adversities. Due to limited extant understandings of resilience among black South African girls, it was not clear how applicable Manuscript 1's findings are to explain their resilience. This then led to Manuscript 2 detailed below.

Manuscript 2 employed sophisticated visual methodologies (community-based participatory video, Draw-and-Talk, and Draw-and-Write) to answer how applicable the gendered theory developed in Manuscript 1 was to explaining Sesotho-speaking girls' resilience. A total of 28 Sesotho-speaking girls living in rural contexts of structural adversity participated. Findings revealed that the universal gendered ways of living and being are evident, but how they play out for Sesotho-speaking girls is informed by their rural context and traditional African culture. Using this I concluded that social ecological action such as assisting girls towards healthy forms of emotional expression, supporting women's sustained presence in girls' lives, encouraging father-involvement, and advocating for quality education is crucial to facilitate resilience among Sesotho-speaking girls.

In Manuscript 2, the girls only briefly mentioned teachers as supportive of their resilience in their creation of participatory videos. Because of this, in Manuscript 3, I revisited the remaining data to explore if and how teachers, as key members of school-going girls' social ecology, facilitate their resilience. My focus on teachers related to their prominence in the extant resilience literature. The findings revealed

that teachers who promoted resilience among Sesotho-speaking girls were teachers who: were empathic and listened and provided guidance; motivated the girls towards positive futures; and who initiated teacher-girl partnerships. In conclusion, I provided key leverage points to support teachers in their facilitation of girls' resilience, such as: initiating teacher-learner partnerships; advocating for a changed education landscape; and providing positive feedback.

To understand how visual methods can be used to explore and support social ecologies to advocate for girls' resilience, Manuscript 4 explored the value and challenges of using community-based participatory video to explore resilience among black, school-going, South African girls. In conclusion, community-based participatory video is a powerful visual tool that emphasises resilience as a person context exchange, and heightens participants' awareness of potential supports through the research process. Sophisticated methodologies like community-based participatory video can be used to sensitise girls' social ecologies to the important role they play in facilitating girls' resilience.

Taken together, these manuscripts confirm the assumptions of the Social Ecology of Resilience Theory (SERT) and Relational Cultural Theory (RCT) that resilience is a gendered process and that constructive relationships are key in promoting resilience among girls. Moreover, this study furthers understandings of the sociocultural and structural determinants of resilience among Sesotho-speaking girls. In my study, meaningful relationships for Sesotho-speaking girls were those that aligned with their traditional African values of interrelatedness. The meaningfulness of relationships was also shaped by the girls' rural context of structural adversity that meant the girls drew on support by available others which included predominantly women teachers, social workers, and friends/family. In the girls' accounts of their

resilience, the social ecology played a crucial role. My study thus contributes towards the current conversations among resilience researchers which emphasises the importance of social ecologies working to address the adversities that place young people at risk.

**Keywords:** black, community-based participatory video, drawings, Draw-and-Talk, Draw-and-Write, girls, participatory, qualitative, resilience, social ecology, synthesis, women, visual.

**DECLARATION OF LANGUAGE EDITOR**

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11 April 2016

To whom it may concern

I hereby declare that I edited the PhD thesis entitled "Resilient black South African girls in contexts of adversity: A participatory visual study" written by Tamlynn Jefferis.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ann Smith', with a long horizontal flourish underneath.

---

Ann Smith

PhD

Managing Editor of *Girlhood Studies: an Interdisciplinary Journal*

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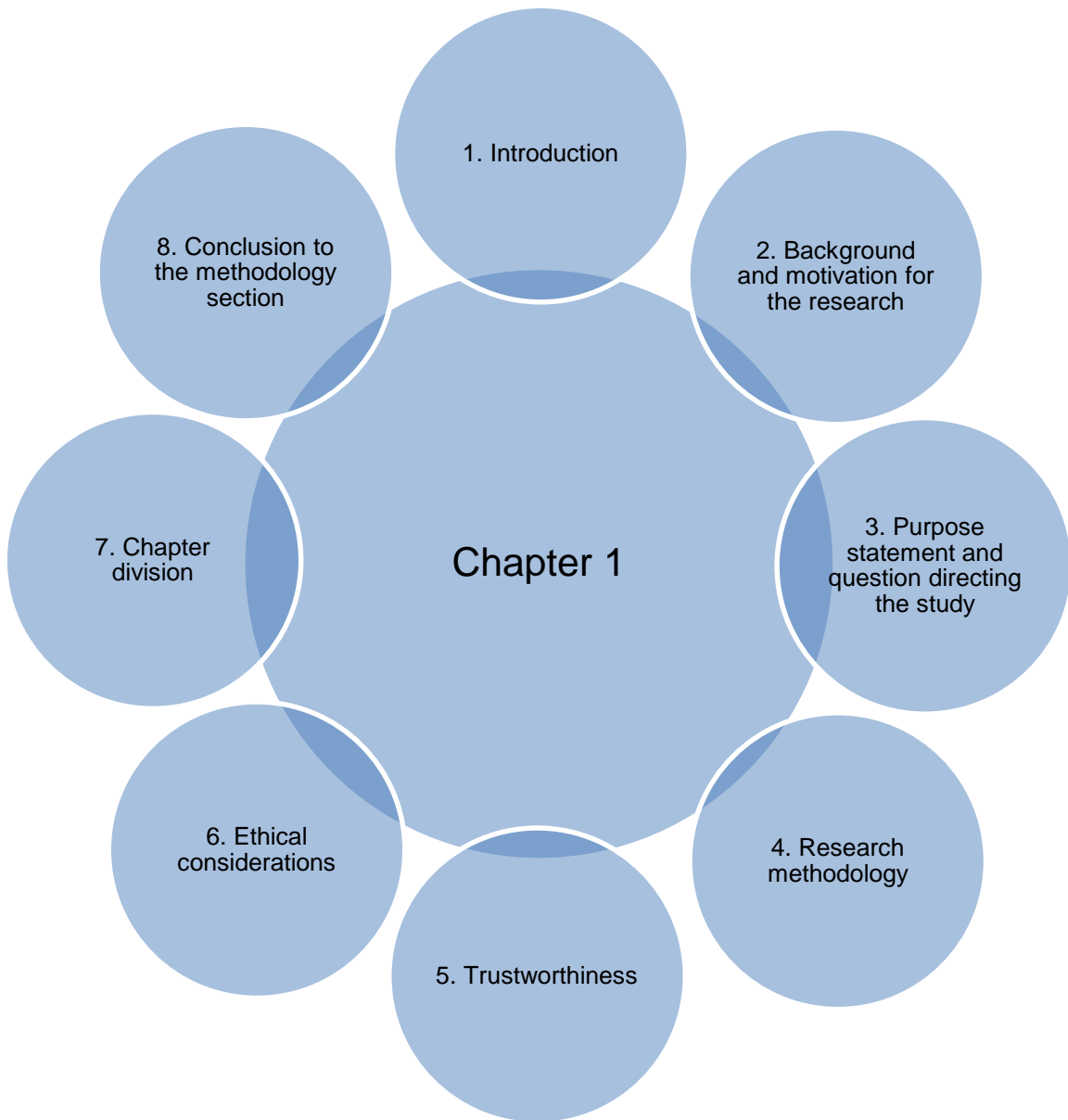
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# CHAPTER 1



## **1. Introduction**

Under the discipline of positive psychology (Rutter, 2012), my doctoral study explores resilience among Sesotho-speaking girls living in contexts of structural adversity in the Free State Province of South Africa.

This doctoral study flows from the South African collaboration in the Pathways to Resilience Project (P2RP) (see [www.resilienceresearch.org](http://www.resilienceresearch.org)), that began in 2009 and was officially completed in 2014. The P2RP was a five-country study headed by Dr Michael Ungar at the Resilience Research Centre in Halifax, Canada, that also included China, Colombia, New Zealand, and South Africa. The purpose of the P2RP was to investigate formal and informal pathways to resilience among at-risk youth across the five countries involved. I was involved as a research assistant, project manager, and researcher in the South African P2RP from 2011 to its completion in 2014. This doctoral study contributed to the larger P2RP by exploring how at-risk Sesotho-speaking South African girls adjust well in the face of significant adversity.

Chapter 1 includes the background to, and rationale for, my specific contribution to the P2RP. It offers a purpose statement as well as outlines the aims and questions that directed the research. It includes a summary of the research methodology, an overview of the ethical considerations of which I was mindful, and I conclude it by summarising what the remaining chapters encompass.

## **2. Background and motivation for the research**

In the section that follows I define resilience, the Social Ecology of Resilience Theory, and outline the four principles that guide a social ecological understanding of

resilience. I use this to draw attention to the limitations in current resilience theory that inform this doctoral study.

## **2.1 Resilience defined**

Resilience is a complex process that enables positive adjustment in spite of adversity so threatening that it has the potential to disrupt normative human development (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Masten, 2001; Ungar, 2011). For individuals to be considered resilient, two criteria must be present: (1) exposure to significant risks; and (2) evidence of positive adjustment in spite of exposure to significant risks (Masten, 2001; 2011; Schoon & Bynner, 2003). Significant risks include biological risks (e.g., disability, inherited mental illnesses, premature birth), psychosocial risks (e.g., poverty, community violence, substance abuse), trauma (i.e., war, terrorism, natural disasters), and structural adversity (i.e., disadvantaged socio-economic circumstances over which individuals have limited or no personal power) (Wright, Masten, & Narayan, 2013). Researchers consider resilience processes to be at play when, in spite of the previously mentioned risks, which typically predict negative developmental outcomes or maladjustment, there is evidence of positive adjustment (Masten, 2014a).

## **2.2 The Social Ecology of Resilience Theory**

The Social Ecology of Resilience Theory (SERT), the theory that frames this doctoral study, is similar to the social ecological systems approach to resilience proposed by authoritative resilience researchers such as Cicchetti, (2013); Masten, (2011, 2014a, 2014b); Masten and Monn, (2015); Rutter, (2012); Wright and Masten, (2015). SERT foregrounds the notion that individuals are embedded in dynamic systems within their social ecologies that influence positive adaptation. Therefore, according to

SERT, facilitation of resilience involves both the capacity of the individual and the capacity of the social ecology to make positive adjustment happen (Ungar, 2011).

SERT explains resilience as a helpful process between individuals and their social ecologies that consists of individuals' seeking and/or making good use of resilience-promoting resources that are available in their social ecology (Ungar, 2008, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014). The social ecology, in turn, is responsible for providing resilience-promoting resources to individuals in culturally meaningful ways that could be pro- or retro-active. Ungar (2013), in fact, states that although individuals contribute towards resilience, the contribution of the social ecology to young people's achievement of functional outcomes is more important than the contribution of young people themselves. Understood this way, social ecologies cannot hold young people accountable for functional outcomes. Ungar (2011) proposed four principles that guide SERT's understanding of resilience, namely: (1) decentrality; (2) complexity; (3) atypicality; and (4) cultural relativity. These are explained in detail below.

### **2.2.1 Decentrality**

Decentrality, the first principle, refers to an understanding that resilience is not an inherent trait or characteristic within individuals, and that explanations of resilience should describe both individual and social ecological contributions to it (Masten, 2014a; Panter-Brick, 2015; Ungar, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015a). Resilience research should, therefore, investigate both the individual and the social ecology as a person  $\leftrightarrow$  context exchange (Lerner, 2006; Malindi & Theron, 2010). Masten (2014b), in discussing lessons learnt from research with young people, emphasises that resilience is not only an individual trait but also includes ordinary adaptive systems informed by culture and context. Within these systems many resources,

which are mostly not innate, promote resilience; the notion of a resilient trait places blame on individuals for non-resilience. Put differently, and as noted by Ungar and Liebenberg (2011), it is the combination of individual and social-ecological resources that increases the likelihood of positive adjustment. Although both the individual and the social ecology matter in resilience processes, the social ecology has a pronounced role (Ungar, 2013). Ungar et al. (2015) make the point that as levels of risk increase, so does the responsibility of the social ecology to provide resilience-promoting resources to assist individuals to adjust well to increased risk. Thus, de-emphasising the individual in resilience processes is crucial because resilience is facilitated by both individual strengths and, more significantly, by resources within the social ecology. For example, Ungar et al. (2015) discuss the case of a young man from New Zealand who had been sexually abused by his father during childhood. After his abuse was disclosed, his mother suffered from depression and he became responsible for caring for her. As a result, he began abusing substances as a means of coping. Through the assistance of youth and social workers, he gained access to a training program and went to live with his aunt and uncle who were supportive of him. The formal (social workers) and informal (uncle) supportive others in his social ecology provided meaningful resources to assist him to adjust well after he had experienced a turning point in his life. In this example, the contribution of the social ecology was more important than the young man's contribution. The young man stated that without the support he received from the social ecology his situation might have been worse.

### **2.2.2 Complexity**

According to the second principle, complexity, resilience is comprised of non-simplistic, intricate processes that vary at different points in time, across cultures,

and across and within contexts (Masten 2014a; Schoon, 2006; Ungar, 2011, 2013; Wright et al., 2013).

Masten (2011) explains that in longitudinal studies, in cases of so-called late bloomers individuals would shift from being considered maladaptive to being considered resilient by researchers and practitioners over time, suggesting that access to meaningful protective resources may lead to positive changes in developmental trajectories in emerging adulthood. For example, Rutter (2013) noted that incarcerated men who married supportive partners showed a great degree of reduction in criminal activities, suggesting that the marriage had a protective effect. As individuals develop and their social contexts change so, too, does the meaningfulness of resources within their social ecology. The complexity here lies in people's changing environments and developmental stages, and so what might be promotive of resilience at one point in time in a specific social context, might be different at another point in time or in a different social context. The meaning that people attach to resources in their environment at various points in time adds to the complexity of resilience in that researchers need to understand which social ecological resources promote resilience over time.

It is not only the availability of resources, but the meaningfulness of these available resources that promote resilience (Ungar, 2011). The meaningfulness of resources is determined by the culture and the context in which the resources are offered and in which individuals live. What may be meaningful to individuals in one context may not have the same meaningfulness to individuals in another context. For instance, Western studies of resilience among young people have referred to scholastic achievement and success as an indicator of resilience (Werner, 2006). In contrast, South African studies have reported school engagement rather than school

achievement and/or success as an indicator of resilience (Theron, Theron, & Malindi, 2013). In the South African context being engaged at school was regarded as being more significant than school achievement because more frequent school attendance also provided access to other important resources, such as feeding schemes, for disadvantaged young people (Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Phasha, 2010; Theron et al., 2013).

In addition to differences in the meaningfulness of resources across cultures, resilience is even more complex because what might be meaningful to one person in a specific context might not be meaningful to another person in the very same context. In spite of living in the same context and subscribing to the same culture, various individuals might attach different meaning to available resources (Masten, 2014a; Ungar, 2013). Wright et al. (2013) explain that how the social ecology impacts an individual is based on how that individual perceives and interprets his/her experiences. They provide an example of marital conflict within a family and point out that one child may experience more negativity from the parents than might a sibling. In this sense, the child who experiences and interprets his/her experiences as more negative than the sibling does is more negatively impacted by his/her social context. And so what might be protective for the sibling most negatively affected by marital discord may not operate in the same way for the sibling who was in the same social context, but who perceived and interpreted his/her experiences differently. In this example, the context can be seen to add to the complexity of resilience. Another factor that adds to the complexity of resilience is gender.

#### **2.2.2.1 Gender adds to the complexity of resilience**

As a component of culture, gender is also likely to inform resilience processes (Jordan, 2006, 2013; Masten & Narayan, 2012), understandings of how gender does

so are limited (Ajibade, McBean, & Bezner-Kerr, 2013; Bunce & Ford, 2015; Enarson, 2012; Jordan, 2013). The World Health Organisation defines gender as the socially constructed psychological characteristics of being male or female (WHO, 2015) and Mertens (2009) defines gender in the same way. As children develop they internalise the societal norms and expectations associated with being a boy or a man or with being a girl or a woman. Gender Schema Theory explains that as children grow and learn they develop a cognitive framework, or schema, into which they incorporate knowledge about what it means to be a girl or a boy in the world, and this schema informs their gender identity (Bem, 1981, 1983). Because gender is more than a biological sex category, it is more than an independent variable by which to compare men and women (Krieger, 2003; Panter-Brick, 2015; Ryle, 2012).

The psychological experience of being a male or a female adds to the complexity of resilience. From a developmental perspective, competence is assessed in terms of how well a child meets societal expectations with regard to what are deemed to be appropriate developmental tasks (Wright et al., 2013) that are defined in terms of what a society regards as culture-, age- and gender-appropriate (Louw & Louw, 2009; Ryle, 2012; Wright et al., 2013). Therefore, gender, as an element of culture, is likely to inform resilience processes in complex ways.

Men and boys, and girls and women experience various levels of exposure to risk as well as different levels of discrimination as a result of gender constructs. For example, Betancourt, Agnew-Blais, Gilman, Williams and Gillis (2010) in a study with former child soldiers in Sierra Leone found that more girls than boys experienced rape, and that the gendered stigma associated with rape was greater for girls than boys. Masten and Narayan (2012) explain that in some studies in contexts of war

and disaster, girls, probably as a result of gendered societal expectations, experience more internalised problems such as depression, than do boys. Given such evidence of gendered experiences of, and exposure to, threats, it is necessary to consider how gender and gender roles might inform resilience processes.

Jordan (2006, 2013), who has provided some insight into how gender informs resilience among women and girls, developed the Relational Cultural Theory of resilience (RCT). RCT suggests that for women and girls, growth-fostering relationships are key to promoting resilience. RCT proposes that growth occurs through mutually beneficial relationships that foster courage and self-esteem. Mutual empathy characterises these growth-fostering relationships that are also mutually empowering (Jordan, 2010). When these types of mutually growth-fostering relationships reach stages of conflict they move into an even stronger connection when these conflicts are constructively resolved (Hartling, 2010). This growth towards a stronger connection occurs when there is empathic listening by one party that promotes the feeling of being cared for in the other party (Jordan, 2006). When there is no empathy, feelings of shame and humiliation could result from conflict situations (Jordan, 2010). In other words, the key to building courage and self-esteem, and ultimately resilience, among women and girls is through mutually empathic and empowering positive connections (Jordan, 2013).

RCT provides some insight into how positive attachments can inform resilience among women and girls. However, RCT is a nascent theory that should not be assumed to be necessarily true for black South African women and girls living in rural contexts that are characterised by structural adversity. Black South African women and girls living in rural areas are routinely faced with poverty, gender inequalities, HIV and AIDS, violent crime, and other forms of structural adversity

(Casale & Posel, 2008; Moletsane & Ntombela, 2012; Reddy, Munthre, & Wiebesiek, 2010). Furthermore, Moletsane and Ntombela (2012) state that living in rural areas constitutes more than mere context; it is also a lived experience. They argue that gender intensifies the lived experiences of women and girls, and that black women are considered to be most disadvantaged in South Africa. Considering the complexity of resilience, and allowing for the recognition that gender adds to this complexity, it is crucial for resilience researchers to explore how gender and gender-roles, context, and culture inform resilience among black South African girls so that their resilience can be promoted effectively.

### **2.2.3 Atypicality**

The third principle is atypicality; Ungar (2011) explains that individuals and communities who experience increased risk may sometimes find unorthodox ways of coping. Some coping strategies that may seem unconventional or maladaptive compared to those endorsed as mainstream, serve functional purposes for individuals and communities. This phenomenon has become described as “hidden resilience” (Ungar 2011, p. 8). Resilience research should focus on understanding the functionality of behaviour within the context in which it occurs rather than interpreting resilience through a set of conventional predetermined outcomes that are typically biased towards mainstream (mostly American) contexts (Bottrell, 2009; Ungar, 2011). At times, protective factors in one context may be perceived as risk factors in another context, yet these atypical factors may, in fact, be protective (Bottrell, 2009; Malindi & Theron, 2010). For example, in a study exploring resilience among street youth in South Africa, Malindi and Theron (2010) found that some unconventional practices supported resilience meaningfully. The young people in their study, for example, lied about their age to escape difficult situations with police

officials, and at times they vandalised public telephones for money in order to buy food to survive. Although these behaviours are generally considered unconventional, they served adaptive purposes by helping young people to cope well with living on the street. In another example, Bottrell (2009) explains how truancy was protective for girls and young women, aged from 13-24, who were living in a public housing estate in Australia. This housing was associated with high risk youth and youth offenders, and the girls reported feeling stereotyped because they lived there. The girls experienced bullying by peers at school and unsupportive teachers whom they found apathetic towards them so they frequently chose not to attend school. The girls' truancy, although conventionally regarded as maladaptive, protected them from feelings of isolation and an unsupportive school environment and thus served an adaptive function. Therefore, we need to contextualise the functionality of behaviour rather than drawing conclusions based on mainstream ideas of what adaptive behaviour should look like (Bottrell, 2009; Ungar, 2011).

#### **2.2.4 Cultural relativity**

As alluded to when I was discussing complexity, adaptive behaviour should be interpreted in relation to culture and context if we are to understand resilience fully. Cultural relativity, the fourth principle, emphasises that adaptive behaviour is embedded in culture (Masten & Narayan, 2012; Panter-Brick, 2015; Ungar, 2011). Panter-Brick (2015) defines culture as common or shared expectations, knowledge, and understandings of the world. These inform the ways in which people interact with one another and in the world, as well as informing the social ecological resources that might be meaningful to positive adjustment. Such protective insight is passed on through cultural traditions, religious beliefs, and ceremonies, among other means (Wright & Masten, 2006). For example, Theron and Theron (2013) report that

traditional African beliefs facilitated resilience among second-year South African university students who were faced with poverty and a history of deprivation. The belief that God and their ancestors watch over them, as is common to traditional African culture (Wilson & Williams, 2013), encouraged mastery, and supported them in remaining strong in the face of adversity. In this way, their cultural beliefs in which they had been socialised to trust, nurtured their resilience. Cultural practices and values can also constrain resilience processes if the practices and values are perceived by individuals to be oppressive (Theron & Liebenberg, 2015; Panter-Brick & Eggerman, 2012). Theron and Liebenberg (2015) explain that while a strong sense of duty to the family can drive agency, being obligated to the collective could also be experienced as oppressive.

Although authoritative resilience researchers agree that resilience processes are culturally informed (Cicchetti, 2010; Masten, 2011; Panter-Brick & Eggerman, 2012; Ungar, 2011, 2013, 2015; Wright et al., 2013), contextualised, culturally sensitive explanations of the experiences of majority-world youth (i.e., young people from non- Western -Eurocentric contexts) remain under-explored (Liebenberg & Ungar, 2009). Any assumption that resilience processes function in the same way for all young people is, quite clearly, problematic. Although, in their review of the literature, Masten and Wright (2010) were able to extract common resilience processes that include healthy positive attachments; agency and mastery; intelligence; self-regulation; meaning-making; and religiosity or spirituality, that appear to be universal, however, these common processes do not manifest in the same ways universally (Masten, 2014; Panter-Brick, 2015; Ungar 2015a). For example, healthy positive attachments in Western culture typically refer to supportive relationships within the immediate/nuclear family (Werner, 2006) whereas in

traditional African culture positive attachments include relationships to extended family members because parents often migrate for work purposes and are not always able to be present in young people's lives (Casale, Wild, Cluver, & Kuo, 2015; Theron & Phasha, 2015). The universal resilience process of positive attachments is evident in both cultures. However, the specific context and culture informs who the positive attachments involve. For service providers and other practitioners to emphasise the importance of relationships to nuclear family members in a traditional African context would be contextually and culturally inappropriate. If resilience is to be promoted in meaningful ways, how universal resilience processes play out for majority-world youth need to be more fully understood (Ungar, 2015b). Resilience researchers, therefore, should account for culture in their explanations of positive adjustment to avoid perpetuating simplistic understandings of this concept (Theron & Liebenberg, 2015).

### **2.3 Limitations in current social ecological understandings of resilience among black South African girls**

Very few South African studies explain how contextual and cultural realities inform resilience among young people. Among the studies that do are those of Dass-Brailsford (2005); Phasha (2010); Pienaar, Swanepoel, van Rensburg, and Heunis (2011); Theron (2015); and Theron and Malindi (2010). In these studies, teachers are the only formal actors who re-occur as protective resources in the lives of young South African people. Except for teachers (and, in Pienaar and colleagues' study 2011, the adult caregivers at the health care facility), informal actors—those who are not paid to support and develop young people—supported young people to cope well with multiple hardships such as the loss of loved ones, being HIV- infected or affected, having AIDS, living on the street, and experiencing sexual violence and/or

poverty. In most instances these informal actors were friends, mothers, and grandmothers. Theron and Theron (2014) theorise that this probably relates to the structural inequities that are part of apartheid's legacy that continue to impede access to other formal actors such as mental health practitioners.

Among the above studies, only Theron (2015) theorises how universal resilience processes are informed by the contextual actualities and traditional African culture of young black South Africans. Her study sheds light into how the socioeconomic realities of many black South African people have resulted in women (mostly mothers, grandmothers and women teachers) being predominantly available to offer support. Additionally, she points out that meaning-making was facilitated through the acceptance of hardship and suffering as being commonplace in the township and former homeland areas in which the participants lived. With regard to culture, interdependent ways of living and being facilitated an ethic of care from human and spiritual others. Also, the traditional African value placed on education as being essential for upward mobility facilitated prospective powerful identities. Moreover, the cultural expectations of women to be strong possibly facilitated strength in the face of hardship.

Furthermore, no published South African studies include detailed explanations of how cultural realities and contextual actualities shape resilience processes among adolescent black *girls*. Only two published South African studies explore resilience specifically among adolescent black girls, living in rural areas, who faced risks such as living on the street and experiencing sexual violence (see Malindi, 2014; Phasha, 2010). These studies provide some insight into how formal actors (teachers and social workers) and informal actors (friends, mothers, and extended family) supported black South African girls' positive adjustment. This

insight is a starting point but one that needs to be augmented because to champion resilience effectively a rich and robust understanding of black South African girls' resilience is needed.

In particular, rich understandings demand contextualised explanations of resilience (Liebenberg & Ungar, 2009; Theron & Liebenberg, 2015). Visual participatory methodologies are known to facilitate rich, contextualised understandings (Liebeberg & Theron, 2015), and simultaneously enable participants who are marginalised and vulnerable (De Lange, Olivier, & Wood, 2008). Of the existing South African literature on black girls (Malindi, 2014; Phasha, 2010), only Phasha (2010) provides contextualised understandings of resilience—explanations that account for how contextual realities and cultural legacies shape these processes of resilience. Phasha (2010), using traditional qualitative research methods, explains how African values such as the belief in higher spiritual powers, in self-belief and self-knowledge, in the value of education, and that all people are good informed the resilience processes of black South African girls who had experienced sexual violence. These African values had assisted the girls to make meaning out of their circumstances, forgive their perpetrators and persevere through difficult times, and remain engaged in their education.

In summary, given the above gaps in the South African resilience literature and the fact that the extant literature currently includes only nascent understandings of the resilience processes, too little is known about the resilience of black South African girls living in rural contexts of structural adversity. My doctoral study, by foregrounding the contextual realities and cultural actualities that shape black girls' resilience processes, will expand on what is already known as well as consider how these are nuanced by universal gender-roles.

### **3. Purpose statement and questions directing the study**

Following from the above, the purpose of this phenomenological study was to use visual methods to explore resilience among rural Sesotho-speaking South African girls living in contexts of structural adversity.

The main research question that directed this study is: “Why are black South African girls living in rural contexts of structural adversity resilient?” From the main research question, I developed sub-questions that informed each of the four manuscripts.

#### **Sub-questions directing the study**

- How are resilience processes among women and girls currently understood and how does this understanding reflect universal gender-roles?
- How does traditional African culture and a rural context shape gendered resilience promoting processes among Sesotho-speaking girls living in contexts of structural adversity?
- What do girls’ accounts reflect about how teachers (as key social ecological stakeholders) facilitate resilience and how can these insights be leveraged to support teachers to champion resilience?
- What is the value of community-based participatory video in exploring, and advocating for, school-going black South African girls’ resilience?

### **4. Research methodology**

The section that follows summarises the methodology I used in each manuscript. I do not summarise the findings and implications of each manuscript here; this is provided in each separate manuscript (or chapter of this thesis). Following

manuscript-specific details, I provide one holistic section on ethics and on trustworthiness.

This doctoral study was conducted using a qualitative exploratory research design, that subscribes to the transformative research paradigm (Mertens, 2015), and uses participatory visual research methods to gain rich insights into how Sesotho-speaking girls adjust well to living in contexts of significant adversity. However, each manuscript is an individual piece of work under the blanket of this doctoral study. The sections that follow explain the paradigm and methodology unique to each manuscript.

#### **4.1 Manuscript 1**

The following section provides a summary of the rationale, paradigm, procedures, and methodology for Manuscript 1. Manuscript 1 was prepared for *Women Studies International Forum*. The broad question directing manuscript 1 was:

- How are resilience processes among women and girls currently understood and how does this understanding reflect universal gender-roles?

The above question addresses the first sub-aim of my PhD study. In addition, I considered how apposite such explanations are to the resilience processes of black South African girls. To this end, the following three questions underpinned Manuscript 1:

- (i) “How well do researchers understand why and how women and girls from diverse cultures are resilient?”
- (ii) “How does this understanding offer insight into how gender-specific roles inform resilience in women and girls?”

- (iii) “How apposite are such explanations to explaining and supporting resilience processes in black girls living in South Africa?”

This question addresses the first sub-question directing my PhD study (see section 3, p. 15).

#### **4.1.1 Rationale for Manuscript 1**

Given the limited gendered understandings of resilience (Jordan, 2006, 2013), in Manuscript 1 I set out to examine what the extant understanding is of resilience among women and girls. This was to enable me, first, to develop a general understanding of how women and girls across cultures and contexts adjust well to adversity. Second, in order to explore how gender-roles potentially inform resilience processes, I re-interpreted my findings from Manuscript 1 (see Chapter 2) using universal gender-roles (as explained in Manuscript 1) as the lens. Third, I explored the current South African literature so as to understand how applicable my findings were to explaining resilience among black South African girls.

#### **4.1.2 Paradigm**

Manuscript 1 subscribes to the social constructivist/Interpretivist paradigm (Creswell, 2014). The ontological assumptions of the social constructivist paradigm involve the belief that knowledge can be discovered and understood through collaborative methodologies, and that the meanings people attach to their experiences are uncovered through written and spoken language (Nieuwenhuis, 2007; Fouché & Schurink, 2011). For the purpose of Manuscript 1, I wanted to uncover the extant understanding of what researchers know about resilience among women and girls. For this reason, I was not able to collaborate with participants, so I included, instead, qualitative studies on resilience among women and girls. By doing this, I was able to

synthesise the interpretations of the experiences of women and girls across diverse cultures because the authors engaged them in interactive research processes that explained their experiences in depth. Because I wanted to gain an understanding of reported resilience processes, the inclusion of qualitative studies only was appropriate to enabling me to reach the aim of Manuscript 1.

#### **4.1.3 Design**

For the purpose of Manuscript 1 (see Chapter 2), from November 2012 to March 2015, I conducted a qualitative synthesis of relevant literature explaining resilience among women and girls. A qualitative synthesis refers to the interpretation and integration of findings from a wide range of studies in order to generate new theories or understandings regarding a specific phenomenon (Saini & Shlonsky, 2012). I conducted a systematic review of relevant international and South African literature using scientific databases: EbscoHost, JStor, ScienceDirect, ProQuest, CINHAL, PsychArticles, PsychInfo, ERIC, SAePublications, Google Scholar. According to Tong, Flemming, McInnes, Oliver, and Craig (2012) some of the advantages of conducting a qualitative synthesis include combining data from a variety of contexts; generating new theory regarding phenomena; identifying gaps in the field; and producing valuable evidence for the design, implementation, and evaluation of intervention programs. However, a challenge that researchers face when they are conducting a qualitative synthesis lies in continuously updating the literature included since new developments in the field are produced continuously (Shuttleworth, 2014). Moreover, when conducting the analysis the researcher is reliant on the interpretations of the authors without having access to original datasets which means that some valuable insights into the participants' experiences may be unobtainable (Saini & Shlonsky, 2012). However, in spite of the limitations, conducting a

qualitative synthesis proved valuable in exploring the reported pathways of resilience for women and girls across diverse contexts.

#### **4.1.4 Procedure**

I used the following key words and key word combinations to search for studies published in English: resilience/resilient or positive adjustment or positive adaptation AND women, girl/s. I excluded studies that focused on coping, thriving, post-traumatic growth, and flourishing because these concepts are not synonymous with resilience. Resilience is a process that involves interactions between individuals and their social ecologies (Ungar, 2011). Therefore, resilience cannot be fully explained when we consider only internal processes such as coping, or inherent personality traits/characteristics since this is only one element of resilience (see Rutter, 2012). I also excluded therapeutic interventions, literature syntheses, and studies that incidentally reported on girl-specific findings. A total of 40 published studies, dissertations, and book chapters were included in this synthesis (see Table 1 in Manuscript 1). Following Creswell (2014), I conducted inductive content analysis using Atlas.ti (a software package for qualitative data analysis) on the sections on the findings of each study to answer the first research question. This means that I uploaded all the included literature into Atlas.ti. I began the analysis with the first research question in mind: “What is the extant understanding of what informs resilience processes of women and girls? In line with Creswell (2014), I familiarised myself with the included literature by reading and re-reading the findings sections. I then proceeded with open coding. With the first research question in mind I assigned code labels to meaningful text segments that answered the question. During this process I did not code according to the themes and sub-themes within each study since I did not want the reported findings to influence my analysis. For example,

when studies referred to positive attachments I coded for how those attachments were supportive (i.e., positive peers who are encouraging and who give advice). I subsequently grouped all the similar open codes into 'code families' (as referred to in Atlas.ti) or axial codes (i.e., emotionally supportive others). From the axial codes, the main themes were developed (i.e., emotionally supportive constructive relational context).

To answer the second research question, I re-interpreted the findings from the first question to examine how these findings reflected universal gender-roles. I investigated what literature reports as the universal gender-roles (i.e., being submissive in romantic relationships; being emotionally expressive; being focused on relationships; caring for the emotional and physical needs of others etc.) (see Brody et al., 2014; Jordan, 2013; Prentice & Carranza, 2002). I then reflected on how these gender-roles were evident in the findings that emerged from the first research question. For instance, the importance of relationships with others was clearly evident in how important constructive attachments were for women's and girls' resilience across cultures and contexts since this was reported in every single included study. The findings to the second research question, therefore, consider how gender-roles are reflected in the resilience processes of women and girls across cultures and contexts. I used the findings of the second research question to then propose a gendered understanding of resilience among women and girls.

With regard to the third research question, I wanted to understand how well the findings of the first question applied to black South African girls. To answer this, I examined the three included South African studies that explained resilience among black South African girls. I then unpacked each of the three included studies to understand what is known about how black South African women and girls adjust

well to living in contexts of adversity. This prompted the conclusion that understandings of resilience among black South African girls are limited. Thus, I wanted to explore how applicable the novel understanding of gendered resilience processes was to black South African girls which led to Manuscript 2, detailed in the next section below.

## **4.2 Manuscript 2**

In this section, I summarise the rationale, paradigm, procedures, and methodology for Manuscript 2. Manuscript 2 was prepared for the *Journal of Adolescent Research*.

The question directing manuscript 2 is:

- How does traditional African culture and a rural context shape gendered resilience promoting processes among Sesotho-speaking girls living in contexts of structural adversity?

This question addresses the second sub-question directing my PhD study (see section 3, p.15).

### **4.2.1 Rationale for Manuscript 2**

In Manuscript 1 I generated a novel theoretical explanation of what informs the resilience of women and girls. However, it was unclear how applicable this was to black South African girls since understandings of their resilience are under-represented in the literature. Considering that South Africa is regarded as a most unequal society (Ebersöhn, 2014), and that many black South African women and girls remain marginalised (Jewkes et al., 2014), it is critical that researchers attempt to understand what promotes their resilience so that relevant social ecological

support can be provided. If not, we, as part of the social ecology, could be responsible for maintaining vulnerability and marginalisation among black women and girls.

With this in mind, I first explored the extent to which the novel theory of gendered resilience processes that I developed in Manuscript 1 (see Chapter 2) explained resilience among black South African girls. I did this in order to investigate whether what might be general gendered resilience processes offer a starting point to explain how gender informs resilience processes among black South African girls. I thought this might lead to more effective, tailored resilience-promoting interventions. However, since resilience is context- and culture-specific (Ungar, 2013), it is not enough to have a general understanding of gendered resilience processes. I further explored how the gendered resilience processes are shaped by the context and culture in which the girls live. To effectively promote girls' resilience, how and why girls adjust well needs to be contextualised since simple explanations may not inform intervention programs sufficiently (Theron & Liebenberg, 2015; Ungar, 2015b).

#### **4.2.2 Paradigm**

I chose to work from the transformative paradigm for Manuscript 2 (Mertens, 2009). According to this paradigm, people's daily lives are shaped by multiple realities that are shaped, in turn, by various factors such as race; class; gender; geographic location; culture; and social and political history, among others (Mertens, 2015). People do not experience reality in the same way because of the various factors mentioned above. For example, the experiences of a white woman in the USA might not be the same as those of a black woman in Africa. Race, gender, class, politics, and the social positioning of people impact the way they live and what they do in the

world. These realities also influence the positions of people in the world. Social positioning impacts positions of power and privilege or of marginalisation (Flynn, 2013). Positions of disempowerment are historically associated with socio-economic status, disability, gender, race, and immigrant status, to mention a few (Mertens, 2012). For example, gender inequality remains a global social issue since men are often dominant in social relationships and in the workplace (Hayhurst et al., 2014; Brody et al., 2014). In another example, black South African people were oppressed under the apartheid government because of their race, and many black women and girls remain challenged by continued structural violence and/or inequality because of the legacy of apartheid (De Lange, Mitchell, & Bhana, 2012; Jewkes & Morell, 2010; Kagee, 2014; Neves & Du Toit, 2013). I chose to work from the transformative paradigm because I am a white South African woman and I was aware of my position of privilege compared with the black girls who participated in my doctoral study. Also, in order to ensure that their voices were emphasised, I chose to incorporate research methodologies (detailed below) that attempt to neutralise power relations in the research process, and that have an agenda that includes social change.

#### **4.2.3 Design**

In Manuscript 2 I followed a qualitative, phenomenological research design in order to understand how and why Sesotho-speaking girls are resilient. A phenomenological strategy of inquiry involves co-constructing knowledge with participants to understand the meanings they attach to their lived experiences (Creswell, 2014; Trotman, 2006). Using a phenomenological strategy of inquiry, I aimed to explore, and in collaboration with the girl-participants (detailed below), co-construct knowledge about what assists them to adjust well to structural adversity,

and interpret how their culture and context inform their resilience processes. To this end, and because they are under-utilised in South African studies of girls' resilience, my research methods of choice were visual research methods. Theron and Liebenberg (2015) called for innovative qualitative, visual research methodologies to be used in resilience research because they have the potential to elicit the taken-for-granted facets of people's experiences. Visual methodologies include drawings, photographs, videos, dramas, verbal storytelling, and music (Milne, Mitchell, & De Lange, 2011; Mitchell, Theron, Stuart, Smith, & Campbell, 2011). The reciprocity and reflexivity involved in visual methodologies enables the researcher and participants to reflect and then to generate meanings and motivations for creating images collaboratively (Liebenberg, Didkowsky, & Ungar, 2012; Packard, 2008).

With this in mind, I chose to use Community-based Participatory Video (CBPV), and the Draw-and-Talk method. CBPV involves the creation of video narratives in which participants act and film themselves (Mitchell & De Lange, 2011). The researcher and the participants co-construct meanings through group discussions, followed by the participants' filming and acting in their own video-like documentary (Mitchell, De Lange, & Moletsane, 2011). Participatory video has the potential to uncover social relations that are hidden, promote social change, and ethically foreground participant voices (Corneil, 2011; Milne, Mitchell, & De Lange, 2011). Although the sustainability of social change has been questioned, and the content of the videos has been said to be driven by the researcher rather than the participant (High, Singh, Petheram, & Nemes, 2011), spontaneous and interesting information and insights are often revealed through the research process (Corneil, 2011).

In addition to the CBPV, the Draw-and-Talk method was incorporated into the group discussions during the CBPV process in order to gain additional insight into the participants' lived experiences of adversity and resilience. Guilemin's (2004) Draw-and-Talk method involves providing participants with a prompt and inviting them to create a drawing which they verbally explain once it is completed. When the participant explains the meaning that is embedded in his/her drawing verbally, the researcher is able to probe for more information (Drew & Guillemin, 2014). Mitchell et al. (2011) explain that drawings can be powerful advocacy tools since they can convey important social messages that foreground the voices of the participants. I chose to add the Draw-and-Talk to the CBPV process because both methods have the potential to effect social change, and to foreground participant voices while revealing rich insights into the lived experiences of the participants.

#### **4.2.4 Participants and sampling**

Because this doctoral study flows from the P2RP, as mentioned previously, my participants were recruited from the same research site—the Thabo Mofutsanyana District of Free State Province, South Africa. Following Creswell (2014) the participants were purposively selected. For the purposes of Manuscript 2, the participants included 9 adult women who worked with girls on a daily basis, and 28 Sesotho-speaking adolescent girls (see chapter 3) between the ages of 13-19 years. Of the adult women-participants 2 were members of the P2RP advisory panel, 1 was a teacher at a local school, 1 was a social worker at a local children's home, and 5 were social workers from a family welfare organisation. The women-participants also assisted in the recruitment of the girl-participants.

#### 4.2.5 Data collection

Data collection proceeded once ethical approval was obtained from the North-West University's ethics committee (see Appendix A). Informed consent was obtained from the girl-participants' parents/guardians as well as assent from the girl-participants themselves (see Appendix B). Other permissions from the Department of Basic Education (see Appendix C) had already been obtained by the P2RP.

The P2RP research team that assisted with the data collection for my study and this team included me, the promoter of this doctoral study (Professor Linda Theron), the co-director of the Resilience Research Centre Dr. Linda Liebenberg, and the Dean of the faculty of Behavioural Sciences at the North-West University Professor Theron), another white woman (a doctoral candidate under the P2RP), one Sesotho-speaking black woman (an honours student), one Sesotho-speaking black man (a research psychology intern). The P2RP team assisted during the Draw-and-Talk and group discussions involved in CBPV. Data collection took place only outside of school hours, and at the family welfare organisation, children's home, and school to ensure the girls' safety and comfort in a familiar place. Because of the large number of participants from the family welfare organisation, we divided those girls into two groups. The girls from the children's home constituted one group, as did the girls from the local school. In total there were four groups of girls. We met with the girls from the children's home and family welfare organisation on Saturdays, and, as was advised by their teachers, on Wednesday afternoons with the girls from the local school. Data collection proceeded in two phases; we first conducted the Draw-and-Talk and CBPV with each group and this was followed by a second session. The reason for incorporating a second session was to encourage the girls to

reflect on their resilience after the first session in order to see if any new insights about their resilience might emerge during the second session.

#### **4.2.6 Data Analysis**

Once the data was collected, I analysed it in two phases. For the first phase of analysis, I followed Creswell's (2014) deductive content analysis in order to examine if the theory generated in manuscript 1 was applicable to Sesotho-speaking girls. The main themes and subthemes generated in Manuscript 1 became the codebook that informed the deductive analysis (see Table 2, in Manuscript 2, Chapter 3). This means I used the gender process codes to code the dataset. For example, all data segments relating to participants accessing or being supported to access material supports was labelled 'provision of basic needs'. I applied each code in turn.

Subsequently, I followed Creswell's (2014) inductive content analysis to explore the data for any new themes. The question that guided the inductive analysis was: "Why are Sesotho-speaking South African girls resilient?" With this question in mind at all times, I began coding all meaningful segments of the text (i.e., reference to releasing painful emotions through music) that answered the research question. I then grouped the similar codes (such as reference to externalising negative emotions) to form axial codes. The main inductive themes then emerged from the axial codes. Following this, the collective findings were then interpreted according to how the context in which the girls live, and their culture shaped their resilience processes. In other words, I critically considered how the deductively and inductively generated themes reflected the girls' contextual reality and cultural way-of-being.

### 4.3 Manuscript 3

In the next section I provide summaries of the rationale, paradigm, procedures, and methodology of Manuscript 3 that was prepared for the *South African Journal of Education*.

The research question directing manuscript 3 is:

- What do girls' accounts reflect about how teachers (as key social-ecological stakeholders) facilitate resilience and how can these insights be leveraged to support teachers to champion resilience?

This question addresses the third sub-question of this doctoral study (see section 3, p.15).

#### 4.3.1 Rationale for Manuscript 3

The girl-participants briefly portrayed teachers as supportive in the videos they created during the CBPV process (detailed above). Although teachers were present in their accounts of their resilience their input was not emphasised by the girls. This was at odds with other South African studies of youth resilience that reported teachers as champions of youth resilience (see Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011; Heath, Donald, Theron, & Lyon, 2014; Malindi & Machenjedze, 2012; Mampane & Bower, 2011; Theron & Engelbrecht, 2012; Theron & Phasha, 2015; Phasha, 2010).

Because teachers were mentioned only briefly in the data generated in manuscript 2, and because the literature provides accounts of teachers both supporting and constraining resilience, I re-examined the non-CBPV data in order to explore if and how teachers supported the girl-participants. From these findings, I developed key leverage points to support teachers in their championing of young people's resilience.

### **4.3.2 Design**

Again, the design for Manuscript 3 is a qualitative, phenomenological design, as described in section 4.2.3.

### **4.3.3 Participants and sampling**

For the purposes of Manuscript 3, only data generated by the girl participants was included. A description of the girl participants is found in section 4.2.4.

### **4.3.4 Data collection**

For the purposes of Manuscript 3, I revisited the data that was generated with the girl-participants only, through the Draw-and-Talk method (explained in section 4.2.5) to explore any references to teachers as supportive. The question that guided this was: "Do teachers in rural schools support girls' resilience? And if so, how?"

Additionally, I invited girl-participants to a third day during which we discussed the preliminary findings with them, and invited them to participate in the Draw-and-Write method. The Draw-and-Write method is similar to Draw-and-Talk, except that the participants write a few sentences explaining their drawing instead of verbally explaining it (Guillemin, 2014). Because, some of the girls provided similar explanations of their drawings during the first two research days, the P2RP research team and I wondered if the girls influenced one another's explanations. Because of this, we decided to proceed with Draw-and-Write instead of Draw-and-Talk. The prompt we gave the girls was: "How does school help you to do well in life? Do teachers help, and if so, how?" Once the girl-participants had completed their drawings and written explanations, we engaged them in verbal discussions regarding their drawings in order to probe for clarity on the meaning embedded in their drawings and explanations.

#### 4.3.4 Data analysis

For the purposes of Manuscript 3, the data constituted all the transcripts and Draw-and-Talk and Draw-and-Write sessions and drawings. Following Creswell's (2014) inductive content analysis, I analysed the data according to the research question: "Do teachers in rural schools facilitate resilience, and if so, how?" During the first level of coding, the open coding, I labelled all segments of text that explained how teachers supported the girls' resilience. For example, all references to teachers providing advice or encouraging the girls was coded as "empathic teachers". Following this, I grouped similar codes together, and from these axial codes, the main themes emerged like, for example "Empathic teachers listen and provide guidance". Once the final themes were agreed upon by myself and my promoter, we developed key leverage points for teachers to support resilience among young people. Each theme was reflected on and the leverage points were developed as straightforward actions that teachers can take to promote young people's resilience.

#### 4.4 Manuscript 4

The following section summarises the rationale, paradigm, procedures, and methodology in Manuscript 4. Manuscript 4 was prepared (and is in press) for *Perspectives in Education*.

The question that directed Manuscript 4 is:

- What is the value of community-based participatory video in exploring, and advocating for, school-going black South African girls' resilience?

The above question addresses the fourth sub-question directing my PhD study (see section 3, p.15).

#### **4.4.1 Rationale for Manuscript 4**

International and national researchers have called for the use of more meaningful research methodologies when investigating resilience, and more specifically for more qualitative explorations (Cameron, Theron, Ungar, & Liebenberg, 2011; Theron, 2012; Ungar, & Liebenberg, 2011). Moreover, Liebenberg and Theron (2015) call for innovative research methods, with an emphasis on visual methods, to explore the complexity of resilience among young people. With this in mind, I examined the qualitative South African resilience studies, and could locate no qualitative studies that utilised CBPV or offered critical comment on using CBPV in resilience research. The majority of qualitative South African resilience studies conducted semi-structured interviews (Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Lau & Van Niekerk, 2011; Malindi & Theron, 2010; Mampane & Boucher, 2011; Phasha, 2010; Theron & Dunn, 2010). Fewer studies used innovative visual methods. Exceptions include: Draw-and-Write (Malindi, 2014), a Day-in-the-Life (Cameron et al., 2011), and the Mmogo method (Liebenberg & Theron, 2015). No published South African study has used CBPV to explore resilience. Therefore, the contribution of Manuscript 3 is to reflect critically on the value and the challenges of using CBPV in a study to explore resilience among Sesotho-speaking South African girls.

#### **4.4.2 Paradigm**

Manuscript 4 subscribed to the critical psychology paradigm (Hook, 2004) (see Chapter 5). Critical psychology questions conventional explanations of human behaviour as much psychological and theoretical knowledge (including resilience theory) has traditionally been formulated in Western contexts and generalised to be true for all people (Hook, 2004). Critical psychology interrogates the production of knowledge, the methods that are used to produce knowledge, and advocates for

non-Western voices to be foregrounded in research (Mkhize, 2004). More specifically, Liebenberg and Ungar (2009) call for innovative participatory research methods to explore resilience among young people and amplify their voices in explanations of resilience.

#### **4.4.3 Design**

The design for Manuscript 4 is also a qualitative, phenomenological design as described in section 4.2.3.

#### **4.4.4 Participants and sampling**

This manuscript draws on data generated by the same girl participants as detailed in Manuscripts 2 and 3. In addition, the data includes some commentary of the women adults who watched their videos.

#### **4.4.5 Data collection**

Data collection as detailed above for Manuscript 2 in section 4.2.5.

#### **4.4.6 Data analysis**

For the purposes of Manuscript 4 the data constituted my research journal; field notes of CBPV sessions; photographic records of CBPV sessions; telephonic follow-up interviews with recruiting teachers and social workers; minutes of P2RP team discussions; and transcribed metadata. I immersed myself in the data and reflected on what in the CBPV process might have been of value to exploring resilience and what may have been challenging. Following Creswell's (2014) inductive content analysis, I open coded any meaningful segments that answered the research question. Following this, the similar codes were grouped into axial codes, from which the main themes then emerged. The initial themes were revised, and a consensus

(Saldana, 2009) was reached with myself, my promoter, and the members of the P2RP research team.

## 5. Summary of data collected in this doctoral study

All the data collected throughout the course of this doctoral study is visually represented in the table below:

Table 1: Summary of datasets

<b>Datasets</b>	<b>Research activity</b>
Dataset 1	Draw-and-Talk session 1
Dataset 2	Draw-and-Talk session 2
Dataset 3	CBPV session 1
Dataset 4	CBPV session 2
Dataset 5	CBPV session 3 (girls living in a children's home only)
Dataset 6	Reflections on and explanations of the videos
Dataset 7	Draw-and-Write (during member-checking)

## 6. Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness of the research refers to how accurate and consistent the research methods and findings are (Creswell, 2014). There are four guiding principles with regard to trustworthiness—dependability; credibility; transferability; and confirmability. The credibility of a study refers to the internal validity, or the strength of the study with regard to accurately understanding and describing settings and patterns of interaction (Schurink, Fouché, & De Vos, 2011). In my study, to ensure the credibility I engaged in frequent debriefing sessions with my promoter,

used multiple methods of data collection, and I conducted member checking to ensure that my findings represented the views of the participants. I ensured the transferability of my study by describing the participants, setting, and context in detail, so that my findings might be applicable to similar contexts and participants. To ensure the constancy of my data over time (i.e., dependability), I incorporated an audit trail that includes the inclusion and exclusion criteria for each analysis that I conducted, for each manuscript (see Table 1: supplemental information for Manuscript 1 on page 87; Table 3: supplemental information for Manuscript 2 on page 156; and Appendix D), and I explicitly explain the selection criteria that guided participant selection. With regard to establishing confirmability (that my findings could be confirmed by another researcher) my promoter and I engaged in consensus discussions regarding the findings for each manuscript. Also, I presented my findings to the P2RP advisory panel members who are experts in the community and culture where my research took place. The advisory panel members confirmed my findings (see Figure 1 below).



Figure 1: Presentation to the P2RP Advisory Panel

## 7. Ethical considerations

Permission to conduct this doctoral study within Free State Province was obtained through the P2RP. This doctoral study was also reviewed and approved of by the North-West University's ethics committee (NWU-00006-09-A2, see Appendix A). Permission was also obtained from the principal of the school (where some of the girls were recruited), parents, guardians, the manager of the children's home, and the manager of the local family welfare organisation (see Appendix B). I also gave every girl-participant a detailed information letter, written in simple English, and I also verbally explained the aims, risks, and benefits of the study in detail, as well as telling them about the lengthy amount of time that would be required from them to participate in this doctoral study. I ensured that the girls were fully informed of the procedures involved in this visually oriented doctoral study. All the girls chose to participate in the study, and were reassured that they could withdraw without consequences at any stage of the research process. At all times the girls were

treated with respect and justice, with their best interests in mind at all times. This was especially important to me given the visual nature of the study, and I wanted to ensure that the girls felt comfortable about being part of a project in which they could, at least potentially, be recognised in their videos.

When we are using visual methods there are additional ethical principles to consider (see Cox, Drew, Guillemin, Howell, Warr, & Waycott, 2014). One such ethical principle is anonymity. Because of the nature of CBPV the girl-participants can be seen in the videos they made, therefore anonymity could not be guaranteed. I explained this to the girls to ensure they understood that if other researchers or community members watched their videos, they would be seen and possibly recognised. In one video, the girls from the children's home portrayed their house mother as unsupportive and verbally unkind. I was cautious about screening this video to any member of the children's home for fear of the girls being victimised. In this instance, I needed to proceed with extra caution because the girls from the children's home were already considered at-risk. I decided not to screen that particular video to any members of their social ecology.

Besides the anonymity of the girls being limited, so, too, is the anonymity of bystanders who are accidentally captured in videos (see Cameron et. al., 2011). I emphasised that no bystanders should be accidentally filmed because that would necessitate our having to obtain consent from them to use the videos. This was especially important for the girls from the children's home where the research took place since there were potentially vulnerable children there who had possibly suffered abuse and neglect, and whose identities I felt had to be protected at all times. No bystanders were accidentally filmed.

Another ethical concern has to do with who decides to whom the videos may be screened and to whom the completed products belong (De Lange, Olivier, & Wood, 2008). The girls filmed and acted in their videos collaboratively in groups. They decided on what subject the video should portray and who should act in the videos. In light of this, I would say that the videos belong to the girl-participants. Because of this, I asked their permission to show their videos to other researchers at conferences, and to university students, and explained that this would be for teaching researcher and university students about CBPV and about their resilience. I also asked their permission to screen the videos to members of their community to teach them about what they can do to support young girls who are potentially vulnerable. The girls were excited that others would see their videos. However, as mentioned previously, I was cautious with any video that portrayed a member of the social ecology negatively. In addition, I also gave each of the girls a DVD copy of the videos they had made. Although I also gave the girls the option of keeping their drawings they chose to give their drawings to me and the P2RP research team.

## 8. Chapter division

The following section provides an overview of the chapters included. Table 1 below summarises chapters 2 to 5, and the final chapter is summarised below Table 2.

Table 2: Summary of chapters 2 to 5

Chapter 2	Chapter 3	Chapter 4	Chapter 5
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manuscript 1: Explanations of resilience in women and girls: How applicable to black South African girls?</li> <li>• Prepared for Women Studies International Forum.</li> <li>• Referencing style: APA 6<sup>th</sup> Edition</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manuscript 2: A participatory visual exploration of Sesotho-speaking South African girls' resilience processes.</li> <li>• Prepared for Journal of Adolescent Research.</li> <li>• Referencing style: APA 6<sup>th</sup> Edition</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manuscript 3: Leveraging resilience among Sesotho-speaking girls: Lessons for South African teachers.</li> <li>• Prepared for South African Journal of Education.</li> <li>• Referencing style: Harvard</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manuscript 4: Community-based participatory video: Exploring and advocating for girls' resilience.</li> <li>• Prepared for Perspectives in Education (in press)</li> <li>• Referencing style: Harvard</li> </ul>

Chapter 6, the final chapter of this doctoral study, includes the conclusions, reflections, limitations, and recommendations for future studies. It is followed by a master reference list (i.e., a list of all the references cited in this doctoral study) along with 8 appendices relevant to the content of this doctoral study.

## 9. Conclusion

Chapter 1 provided an overview of the rationale for my PhD study. It showed how I divided my study into four meaningful articles and briefly summarised the

methodology informing each article. The next four chapters are devoted to these articles.

## CHAPTER 2

Manuscript 1 titled “*Explanations of resilience in women and girls: How applicable to black South African girls?*” will answer the following research questions: (i) “*How well do researchers understand why and how women and girls from diverse cultures are resilient?*” (ii) “*How does this understanding offer insight into how gender-specific roles inform resilience in women and girls?*” (iii) “*How apposite are such explanations to explaining and supporting resilience processes in black girls living in South Africa?*”

Prepared for submission to: Women’s Studies International Forum (see Appendix E for author guidelines). I am aware that this manuscript is longer than the required length, however, I have appealed to the editor for clemency given that the manuscript is a synthesis.

Authors: T. C. Jefferis and L. C. Theron<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Linda Theron is the co-author of all of my research articles as the policy of the North-West University to give recognition to the promoters who assist in the development of doctoral studies

## SUMMARY

Our aim in this article is to explore what is known about resilience in women and girls; to theorise how gender-roles are reflected in women's and girls' resilience processes; and to explore how apposite researchers' explanations of resilience are for black South African girls. We<sup>2</sup> conducted a systematic review entailing a qualitative synthesis using relevant qualitative studies focusing on resilience in girls and women of all ages and from diverse cultural groups. Findings from studies that report predominantly on the experiences of Western women suggest that women's and girls' resilience-supporting mechanisms (agency and strength-fostering spirituality) are cultivated through constructive relational contexts that offer emotional and pragmatic support. Gender-roles of interdependence, the physical and emotional caretaking of others, and emotional expressiveness manifest in resilience-supporting mechanisms through complex person-context interactions. However, if the context- and culturally-specific nature of resilience is taken into account, explanations of resilience in black South African girls are limited, and further robust research on the subject is needed.

### **Keywords**

Black girls, gender-roles, girls, positive adjustment, qualitative synthesis

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<sup>2</sup>"Our" and "we" refers to both the first and second author.

## **Explanations of resilience in women and girls: How applicable to black South African girls?**

In this article we investigate three questions: (i) “How well do researchers understand why and how women and girls from diverse cultures are resilient?” (ii) “How does this understanding offer insight into how gender-specific roles inform resilience in women and girls?” (iii) “How apposite are such explanations to explaining and supporting resilience processes in black girls living in South Africa?”

The definition of resilience necessarily requires two core elements: (1) the person faces risk so significant that it threatens to disrupt culturally aligned normative development; and (2) the person adjusts well to experiences of significant risk (Masten, 2001; Schoon & Bynner, 2003). Significant risks include, amongst others, natural disaster, war, terrorism, poverty and under-resourced communities, parental pathology, chronic illness, abuse (physical, emotional, and sexual), neglect, and/or loss of parents or family members (Masten & Narayan, 2012). Yet, in spite of risks such as these, some individuals adjust well (Masten, 2001). Resilience is, therefore, not the same as broader positive psychology terms such as coping, wellbeing, or post-traumatic growth. The latter terms do not require a context of significant risk (Fletcher & Sarkar, 2013; Rutter, 2012). Resilience thus refers to positive adaptation (i.e., the process of adjusting well) in the face of potentially devastating odds (Dent & Cameron, 2003; Masten, 2001; Schoon & Bynner, 2003). While the definition of resilience seems relatively straightforward, explaining why and how such positive adaptation takes place is much more challenging (Masten, 2011).

In initial studies of resilience, researchers focused on the personality traits, biological factors, and temperament of individuals as factors that promoted resilience

(Ungar, 2011). Subsequently the focus shifted towards exploring how broader systems facilitate processes of resilience. This led to an understanding that resilience processes are facilitated by culture and context-specific transactions between individuals and their social ecology (Masten, 2014; Ungar, 2008; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011; Wright & Masten, 2006). Culture is socially constructed and it shapes the ways in which people interact in the world, their shared practices, beliefs, values, and worldviews (Louw & Louw, 2009; Rogoff, 2003). Resilience-supporting transactions between an individual and his or her social ecology are co-constructed within specific cultural paradigms and manifest differently across cultures (Clauss-Ehlers, 2008; Ungar, 2011). Thus, transactional ecological conceptualisations of resilience now understand resilience as a constructive, culturally aligned person-context exchange (Masten, 2001; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011; Wright, Masten, & Narayan, 2013).

### **Gender and Resilience**

Culturally and contextually meaningful resilience-supporting transactions become more complex when one is considering gender. Gender refers to the psychological experience of being a boy/man or a girl/woman (Mertens, 2009), which experience is moulded within a child's socio-cultural context (Bem, 1983, 1981; Bradshaw, 2014; Brinkman, Rabenstein, Rosén, & Zimmerman, 2014; Krieger, 2003; Ryle, 2012). Gender Schema Theory suggests that children develop a gender schema, or framework, through which they perceive and experience the world (Bem, 1983, 1981). This gender schema develops during childhood as children acquire gender identity, and subsequently become aware of and develop gender roles (Bem, 1981; Louw & Louw, 2009; Ryle, 2012).

As with the acquisition of culture, children actively participate in developing gender identity and negotiate how to express their gender identity (Boyden & Mann, 2005; Brinkman et al., 2014; Louw & Louw, 2009; Rogoff, 2003; Ryle, 2012). Children learn gendered ways of being and doing through social interactions that are shaped by specific contexts and cultures at specific points in time (Boyden & Mann, 2005). For instance, Brinkman et al. (2014) in a study with participants who were mostly white boy and girl children in the USA aged 10 to 13 found that gender identity development is a cyclic process of active negotiation between children and their specific sociocultural context. Gendered ways of being and doing are learnt by and taught to children through culturally and contextually-aligned messages from socialisation agents (e.g., parents, adults, peers, media). When children interpret gender roles, they actively decide whether or not to conform to those gender roles by weighing the consequences of non-conforming, which then has an impact on how they choose to express their gender identity. The consequences of non-conforming might include social exclusion or the disapproval of significant others. As one girl in Brinkman's study noted, it is acceptable for girls to be "boyish" but not for boys to be "girlish" (Brinkman et al., 2014, p.843). In another example, Morrell, Jewkes, Lindegger, and Hamlall (2013) in their review of hegemonic masculinity in South African men explain that masculinity is informed by culture. Thus, gender is a socially constructed, culturally-aligned psychological phenomenon that shapes gender identity and gender roles (Yunger, Carver, & Perry, 2004).

Potentially, culturally prescribed and/or stereotypical gender roles can also heighten vulnerability in men and women (Dale et al., 2014; Galdi, Maass, & Caldinu, 2014; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010). For girls and women (the focus of this article), dominant, universal stereotypical gender roles include the physical and emotional

caretaking of others (Brody et al., 2014; Louw & Louw, 2009; Prentice & Carranza, 2002); maintaining a focus on relationships and being emotionally expressive (Jordan, 2013; 2006; Louw & Louw, 2009); showing submissiveness in romantic relationships and society (Brody et al., 2014); and prioritising the needs of others above one's own (i.e. self-silencing) (Louw & Louw, 2009; Jordan, 2013; Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Such traditional roles may place women at risk of sexual assault; intimate partner violence; becoming infected with HIV; negative health outcomes such as diabetes, depression and allostatic overload (i.e. the deterioration of the body's ability to withstand chronic stress); and a lower quality of life (Hayhurst et al., 2014; Brody et al., 2014). Clearly, the gender stereotype of women as passive and submissive in romantic relationships, and in broader society generally, creates gender inequality and positions women as dutiful to men (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Karatoreos & McEwen, 2013; Thege, 2009; Woods-Giscombé, 2010). It is not the biological sex category that places women at risk, but gender, given the societal status of being a woman (Bradshaw, 2014).

However, there are exceptions where culturally and contextually influenced traditional gender roles enable women. For example, in the face of racial inequality and oppression, African-American women were socialised to be strong enough to take on multiple financial and care burdens (Abrams et al., 2014; Brody et al., 2014; Woods-Giscombé, 2010). The sociocultural context that placed women at risk prompted the emergence of the Strong Black Woman Schema, leading to the characterisation of African-American women as unwaveringly strong (Abrams et al., 2014; Brody et al., 2014; Woods-Giscombé, 2010). Culture and context-specific socialisation messages of staying strong internalised by African-American women helped them to adjust well in the face of oppression and multiple burdens of care

(Abrams et al., 2014). Thus, culturally and contextually shaped traditional gender roles have the potential to place women and girls at risk as well as to enable strength in women and girls.

Jordan (2013) suggests that gender stereotypical behaviours of women as far as maintaining relationships as nurturers and carers is concerned, enable women and girls; culturally-aligned positive connections to mutually-supportive others are the keys to their resilience. Such constructive relationships foster courage and self-esteem. How gender informs resilience, as well as resilience-promoting relationships, will most likely differ across contexts and cultures since gender is an element of culture (Krieger, 2003). Examples like the aforementioned Strong Black Woman Schema provide a nascent sense of how gender roles and behaviours enable resilience processes in women and girls, yet there is currently inadequate understanding of how such roles vary across cultures (Baxendale, Cross, & Johnston, 2012; Hartman, Turner, Daigle, Exum, & Cullen, 2009; Jordan, 2013; Masten & Narayan, 2012; Wesley, 2011). Of particular interest to us here is that even less is known about how gender roles and behaviours potentially enable resilience in black South African girls (Phasha, 2010).

### **The importance of understanding black South African girls' resilience**

Various events and stages of the political history of South Africa and, specifically, the experience of apartheid, made black women and girls vulnerable. Both black men and black women are at risk in South Africa, but black girls and black women are most at risk of gender-based violence, unsafe school environments, intimate-partner violence, and face a higher risk of HIV infection and teenage pregnancy (De Lange, Mitchell, & Bhana, 2012; Jewkes & Morell, 2010; Mitchell, 2006; Thege, 2009). Yet

sometimes black South African girls are strong in spite of the adversities they face (Germann, 2005; Malindi, 2014; Phasha, 2014, 2010), but with only three studies available that explains resilience in black girls (see Germann, 2005; Malindi, 2014; Phasha, 2010), little is known about how and why they are resilient (Phasha, 2014, 2010). Therefore we need to make an effort to understand how gender informs resilience in black South African girls who face many risks (Phasha, 2014). Understanding how their gendered existence enables these girls' resilience will lead to more effective mental health interventions aimed at supporting their positive adjustment.

Until the three questions listed at the outset of this article are answered, mental health practitioners, service providers and other professionals, and policy makers will struggle to promote girls' resilience optimally, particularly when girls are marginalized (as many black girls are) (De Lange et al., 2012; Pattman & Bhana, 2006) and embedded in non-Western contexts. To answer these questions, we (the authors) conducted a qualitative synthesis.

## **METHODOLOGY**

### **Theoretical Framework**

Two theories inform the theoretical framework of this article: the Social Ecology of Resilience Theory (SERT) (Ungar, 2011), and the Relational Cultural Theory (RCT) (Jordan, 2013). Both SERT and RCT form the theoretical framework of this synthesis because they share similar transactional understandings of resilience rather than person-focused understandings that place responsibility for resilience on the individual. Both SERT and RCT understand resilience as a culturally-aligned person-

context exchange, with the benefit of RCT offering a gender-specific explanation of women's and girls' resilience.

According to SERT "resilience is predicted by both the capacity of individuals, and the capacity of their social and physical ecologies to facilitate their coping in culturally meaningful ways" (Ungar 2015, p.4). SERT stands in contrast to person-focused explanations of resilience that place responsibility on individuals to be resilient (Masten, 2014). SERT emphasises that resilience-supporting mechanisms are shaped by particular cultures and contexts, and therefore calls for culturally and contextually relevant understandings of such resilience-promoting transactions (Ungar, 2013, 2011).

RCT asserts that the primary building blocks of resilience in women and girls are their mutual growth-fostering relationships (Jordan, 2006, 2013). Jordan explains that women and girls draw strength in positive connections to others and this fosters courage and self-esteem (Jordan, 2008, 2013). RCT is the only theory that we know of that explicitly explains gendered expressions of resilience in women and girls. Potentially, gender stereotyping can derail resilience processes, especially when women internalise negative societal stereotypes about themselves and a societal group to which they belong. Resistance to internalising such negative stereotypes is buffered through constructive, mutually growth-fostering connections (Jordan, 2013, 2008). In contrast, when women have no access to positive connections, they move into a state of disconnection and their resilience is inhibited (Jordan, 2013, 2006). When women and girls are supported to move back into connection their resilience processes are fostered and strengthened (Jordan, 2000, 2006, 2008).

## Research Method

The method we used in this study, following Booth, Carroll, Iltis, Low, and Cooper (2013) and Saini and Shlonsky (2012), entails a systematic qualitative synthesis that aims to generate new conceptualizations of phenomena by integrating and interpreting qualitative findings from existing studies. Unlike traditional literature reviews that tend to organize literature so as to support a specific argument, a qualitative synthesis seeks to select high-quality studies, based on clear criteria, in order to answer a specific research question (Saini & Shlonsky, 2012). Our purpose in choosing a systematic qualitative synthesis was to investigate what is currently known about women's and girls' resilience processes, how this reflects gendered pathways of resilience, and how applicable this is to supporting resilience in black South African girls.

This systematic qualitative synthesis involved a rigorous review of qualitative resilience literature from 2000 to 2015, conducted in the period of November 2012 to March 2015, that focused on the resilience processes of women and girls from diverse cultures, followed by a synthesis of the findings of this body of literature (Booth et al., 2013; Saini & Shlonsky, 2012). Quantitative studies were excluded in this synthesis because of the tendency of quantitative measurements to focus on individual processes (e.g. coping) rather than on social-ecological processes of resilience (Gartland, Bond, Buzwell, & Sawyer, 2011; Tol, Song, & Jordans, 2013), and because many resilience measurements have been conducted with mainly Western participants, without explicit explanation to cross-cultural validation procedures (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Bekker, 2000; Ungar, 2013). Furthermore, measurements do not always account for underlying influences of gender but tend to draw comparisons based on sex categories (Krieger, 2003; Springer, Stellman, &

Jordan-Young, 2012). To avoid potential issues of sampling bias and to gain deeper insight into underlying experiences of gender, we deemed a qualitative synthesis to be most appropriate for the purposes of this study.

### **Search Protocol**

Masten (2011) noted that interest in resilience research is expanding and that many books and articles have been published on the subject across disciplines. Because of this abundance of resilience-focused publications (Hart & Sasso, 2011; Masten, 2011), we searched only for studies published from 2000 to 2015. We conducted a systematic literature search through several databases: EbscoHost, JStor, ScienceDirect, ProQuest, CINHALL, PsychArticles, PsychInfo, ERIC, SAePublications, Google Scholar. The keyword combinations entered were resilience/resilient, positive adjustment or positive adaptation *and* women, girl/s, or female/s. The systematic search through academic databases produced a total of 103 results. Google Scholar produced 23 400 results. However, after screening 1 150 hits, the results from Google Scholar became less focused on resilience processes and we stopped the search. We then screened all the hits from the databases, selecting only studies in which the keywords listed above appeared in the title, abstract, and/or keywords. From this screening process, 102 total matches (n = 102) were considered for inclusion. We then applied the inclusion and exclusion criteria to these.

Our inclusion criteria meant that only peer reviewed articles, book chapters, and dissertations reporting qualitative study findings or qualitative findings as part of mixed methods studies from any geographical context were suitable. Furthermore, only peer reviewed articles, book chapters, and dissertations that defined resilience

from a social ecological perspective were included, given that resilience is no longer considered to be only an individual trait or quality (Masten, 2014). Anyway, person-focused explanations of resilience are not compatible with the theoretical framework of a synthesis of SERT and RCT (Ungar, 2015). Importantly, this means we included studies from a wide ethnocultural spectrum and from varied geographical spaces (e.g., urban and rural). Although this might seem counter-intuitive to our argument that resilience is a culturally sensitive process, we considered this an important starting point for understanding what is collectively known about the resilience processes of women and girls.

We applied four exclusion criteria. First, studies that focused on positive psychology constructs (e.g., thriving (see, for example the study by Hahn, Cichy, Almeida, & Hayley, 2011), coping, post-traumatic growth and flourishing) were excluded. This criterion was based on not seeing resilience as being synonymous with broad psychology constructs such as coping or wellbeing (Rutter, 2012). Second, studies that reported therapeutic interventions with women aimed at supporting positive adjustment with no findings relating to resilience processes were excluded (e.g. Ley, 2006; Rukema & Simelane, 2013). So, too, were theoretical overviews or literature syntheses relating to resilience (e.g., Visser et al., 2012). Third, studies that reported findings that were not solely focused on women and girls (i.e. that incidentally reported findings about women and girls) were excluded. Fourth, we scrutinised each study to exclude any duplicates (i.e., studies that reported findings based on the same dataset). After these criteria were applied, 59 studies were excluded, leaving 43 to be quality appraised.

## **Quality Appraisal**

In keeping with Panter-Brick, Burgess, Eggerman, McAllister, Pruett, and Leckman (2014), a quality appraisal is necessary for researchers to rigorously examine which of the identified studies to include in the qualitative synthesis. The tool used in this appraisal was Saini and Shlonsky's (2012) Qualitative Research Quality Checklist (p. 169). This checklist consists of 25 short questions that assess the overall research framework, setting, design, sampling procedures, data collection method, ethical issues, data analysis, and findings of research studies. For example, regarding the research framework the checklist asks: "Is the purpose and research question clearly stated? Is a qualitative approach the most appropriate?" (p. 170). Checklists serve as a guide to assessing the overall quality of the studies that are retained in a qualitative synthesis, not as a means to further exclude studies (Hughes-Morley, Young, Waheed, Small, & Bower, 2014). Using this checklist to assess the quality of the 43 included studies, a further 3 studies were discarded, bringing the total remaining studies to 40 because 2 (i.e., Cohn & Hastings, 2010; Singh, 2009) did not explicate a research design, sampling, methods of data collection, data analysis and findings, and 1 did not include sufficient raw data quotes to demonstrate that interpretations were based on the subjective interpretations of the participants (i.e., Everall, Altrows, & Paulson, 2006). The 40 studies remaining are detailed in Table 1 (see supplemental information on page 86).

## **Analysis**

Following Saini and Shlonsky (2012), after the studies were selected for the synthesis, data was extracted and analysed. The data constituted the findings

sections of each study in this synthesis. Data from each findings section consisted of themes, direct quotes, and/or stories reported/reproduced by researchers as recounted by participants. The data was analysed through inductive content analysis as specified by Creswell (2014), using ATLAS.ti, a PC-based program for qualitative data analysis. First, the codes emerged from the data, and then coding became deductive as similar patterns emerged in the data. We conducted inductive content analysis systematically by first reading and re-reading the studies included in this synthesis. We then read the findings sections in each study line by line and analysed the material by coding relevant segments of data, or phrases that related to the first demarcated research question. In other words, to answer the first research question, we coded any words, sentences, or phrases that indicated resilience processes (e.g., attachment to positive peers; agency; persevering in seeking help, faith in God facilitating meaning-making) in girls and women from diverse cultures. The codes were listed in Atlas.ti, and we then reviewed the codes and refined them into code families. For example, codes that referred to positive attachments (e.g., supportive grandmother, social support from friends, unconditional love from mother) were grouped together to form a code named “positive connections to supportive others”. From these refined codes, the final themes emerged. For example, the code “positive connections to supportive others” was re-examined along with similar codes (e.g. faith in God facilitating meaning-making), to form a main theme of “constructive relational context”.

In order to answer the second research question, we reflected on the main themes that emerged in response to question 1 to understand how they reflect gendered explanations of resilience. Dominant universal gender-roles associated with women and girls, as listed in the introduction to this article, were compiled into a

code list (e.g. “being interdependent”). Following Creswell’s (2014) deductive content analysis, the codes in the list were then applied to the synthesised findings. Lastly, we explored the applicability of the findings to explaining and supporting resilience in black South African girls to answer the third research question.

## **Findings**

The findings comprise a review of the mechanisms of resilience among women and girls from diverse cultures, followed by comment on how these mechanisms might be gendered.

### **Mechanisms of Resilience in Girls and Women from Diverse Cultures**

In this section, we present the findings to the first research question “How well do researchers understand why and how women and girls from diverse cultures are resilient?”

Inductive content analysis resulted in three main themes that explain how and why some women and girls from diverse cultures adjust well to significant adversity. Such adversities included biological risks and psychosocial hardships (see supplemental information, p. 86). Women and girls adjusted well to adversities because of a constructive relational context that scaffolded agency and spirituality. Resilience-supporting mechanisms of agency and strength-fostering spirituality are interrelated and nurtured primarily within a constructive relational context. These themes are detailed below.

**Constructive Relational Context.** Across diverse cultural contexts, why women and girls are resilient is fostered by a constructive relational context. Not one of the studies we included explained processes of resilience in women and girls

where there was no report of at least one constructive relational context, even though destructive relational contexts were mentioned in relation to what placed some of the women and girls at risk. This confirms RCT in that what is key to promoting resilience among women and girls, is strength-fostering, mutual relationships that build courage and self-esteem (Jordan, 2006, 2013). In this article, a constructive relational context included positive relationships with human others (e.g. mothers, grandmothers, friends, romantic partners, supportive medical staff, social workers); metaphysical beings (i.e. spiritual deities); and animals (i.e. pets) (see Table 1). Subthemes of a constructive relational context include emotional support; pragmatic support; and expectations of reciprocity. Each of these facets is detailed below.

***Emotionally supportive relational context.*** Emotionally supportive relational contexts were characterised by immediate and continuous support; unconditional acceptance; and a safe space in which women could share experiences and advice (Arrivillaga, Arroyave, & Salcedo, 2014; Brodsky, Welsh, Carillo, Talwar, Scheibler, & Butler, 2011; Bukowski & Beutow, 2010; Campbell, 2008; Casale, 2010; Clarke, 2009; Coyne, Wollin, & Creedy, 2012; Germann, 2005; Haight, Finet, Bamba, & Helton, 2009; Janssen, Abma, & Van Regenmortel, 2012; Kinsel, 2004; Laditka, Murray, & Laditka, 2010; Leipert & Reutter, 2005; Maher, 2013; Malindi, 2014; O'Connor, 2002; Prince, 2008; Sano, 2012; Shepherd, Reynolds, & Moran, 2010; Sossou, Craig, Ogren, & Schnak, 2008; Zraly & Nyirazinyoye, 2010).

Immediate, continual support involved family members and friends who listened and offered encouragement and support day or night, without hesitation. The reliable support of friends and family who actively listened prompted positive

feelings. For example, the continual availability and encouragement of a foster mother supported a young African-American teenage mother to adjust well to the responsibilities of teenage parenting (Haight et al., 2009).

Unconditional acceptance involved feeling loved and cared for no matter the circumstances. For instance, a young woman in the UK experienced unconditional acceptance from her parents. This assisted her to adjust well after a miscarriage, and the termination of an abusive romantic relationship (Shepherd et al., 2010).

Unconditional acceptance also involved not being judged or criticised for current circumstances. This produced safe environments in which women were able to discuss their difficulties and circumstances with others. For example, non-judgemental and caring medical staff's provision of encouragement and advice led African-American women prostitutes toward a process of introspection and recovery (Prince, 2008).

Furthermore, opportunities to share experiences with others facilitated expressions of emotion and advice. This further fostered a sense of belonging that women and girls perceived as vital to their recovery (Bryant-Davis, Cooper, Marks, Smith, & Tillman, 2011; Bowland, Biswas, Kyriakakis, & Edmond, 2011; Clarke, 2009; Kinsel, 2004; Prince, 2008; Shepherd et al., 2010). For instance, women participating in church group meetings shared their difficulties with one another, and encouraged one another. Not only were they able to discuss their own difficulties, but at the same time they could learn from others thus uplifting themselves and others through mutual encouragement (Clarke, 2009). Likewise, shared spiritual support through praying for one another and sharing scriptures strengthened women's and girls' spiritual faith, which facilitated their sense of belonging, and meaning-making (i.e., making sense out of difficult situations) (Bryant-Davis et al., 2009; Bowland et

al., 2011; Clarke, 2009; Kinsel, 2004; Prince, 2008; Shepherd, Reynolds, & Moran, 2010).

***Pragmatically supportive relational context.*** The practical ways in which women and girls were assisted involved physical protection, financial support, assistance with child care, and the provision of basic needs. Being physically protected after having been raped or sexually abused, or while living on the streets restored to them a sense of safety in the world (Bukowski & Beutow, 2010; Brodsky et al., 2011; Phasha, 2010). For instance, after her daughter had been raped, a black South African mother walked her to and from school every day in an attempt to keep her safe from further harm because the rapists continually threatened her at home and at school (Phasha, 2010). A young girl living in rural Indramayu received practical support from her teachers, the researcher, and social workers (Sano, 2012). The social workers and researcher pleaded on her behalf with her parents not to force her into the sex trade, and social workers offered to pay for her schooling.

Financial support assisted women and girls by relieving the burden of poverty and this, in turn, supported their capacity to provide for their families. The financial support often came in the form of work opportunities made possible through friends or family members (Campbell, 2008; Carreón, 2006; Clarke, 2009; Dorfman, Méndez, & Osterhaus, 2009; Sano, 2012). Work opportunities gave rise to the acquisition of skills that potentiated sustained earning opportunities. Financial support from romantic partners relieved girls' and women's financial burden of single parenthood. For example, a romantic partner gave financial support to an African-American teen mother and her children. This helped her to adjust well to being a teenage mother (Haight et al., 2010).

The provision of housing, social security cards, and driving licenses (i.e., basic needs) assisted women refugees and their families after they had left their own war-stricken countries (Brodsky et al., 2011). Other basic needs in the form of food, clothing, and shelter were provided to women and girls in Liberia in the aftermath of the civil war, as well as to women and girls in the USA, New Zealand, and South Africa who were living on the street (Bryant-Davis et al., 2011; Bukowski & Beutow, 2010; Malindi, 2014; Prince, 2008). For instance, social workers provided food, sleeping bags, and safe spaces for adult women living on the street in New Zealand to meet with their probation officers (Bukowski & Beutow, 2010). The provision of food helped these women to steer away from theft in order to survive on the street. In addition, the provision of a safe meeting venue assisted the women to keep appointments with probation officers in compliance with probation regulations, thus helping them to stay out of jail.

***Expectations of reciprocity.*** Women's and girls' resilience was facilitated by relational contexts that not only supported them pragmatically and emotionally, but that also expected emotional and pragmatic support from them in turn. For example, the resilience of older black grandmothers in South Africa, following the death of their children, related in part to the bonds they shared with their grandchildren (Casale, 2010). These bonds meant that they could share their grief and they could process loss. However, these bonds also meant that the grandmothers felt a duty towards their grandchildren, particularly if they were raising them following the death of their parents. As the surviving carers, the grandmothers were expected to provide for the basic needs of their grandchildren. This expectation galvanized resilience-supporting agency that included the grandmothers' cultivating of vegetable gardens, their

obtaining social grants, or doing additional work to supplement income and provide food and education for their grandchildren.

It is important to note that expectations of reciprocity were not destructive, were culturally appropriate, and did not exacerbate risk. For example, a sense of duty to family (i.e., a sense of being compelled to care for family members, particularly children) motivated refugee women from Afghanistan to adjust well to their refugee status in order to provide for their families and children (Brodsky et al., 2011; Brodsky et al., 2012). Likewise, Mexican women who were illegal immigrants in the USA were motivated to adjust well so that their children would have access to a good education and have better futures than would have been possible in Mexico (Campbell, 2008).

**Agency.** Agentic women and girls did not allow their circumstances to overwhelm them, but actively reached out for help from their social ecologies for support to adjust well in their contexts of risk. Such tenacious action and volition, in the context of supportive others, scaffolded their resilience across ages and cultures (Arrivillaga, Arroyave, & Sacedo, 2014; Casale, 2010; Campbell, 2008; Carreón, 2006; Clarke, 2009; Bowland et al., 2011; Kinsel, 2004; O'Connor, 2002; Prince, 2008; Sano, 2012).

Agentic women and girls made constructive choices and took action in the midst of potentially devastating adversity. Constructive choices involved acceptance and positive self-regard, and constructive actions involved problem-solving and reaching out to the social ecology for assistance. These sub-themes are detailed below.

***Accepting circumstances beyond their control.*** Acceptance refers to resigning oneself to circumstances over which one has no control (Theron, Theron,

& Malindi, 2013). Acceptance promoted positive adjustment in older African-American women who were made vulnerable by circumstances of war (Dorfman, Méndez, & Osterhaus, 2009), older women in South Africa and the Netherlands with experiences of loss (Bowland et al., 2011; Clarke, 2009), and older women from the US and the Netherlands facing declining health because of old age (Kinsel, 2004; Janssen et al., 2012). With regard to war, acceptance involved tolerating terrifying circumstances of war instead of struggling against them (Bryant-Davis et al., 2009; Dorfman, Méndez, & Osterhaus, 2009). This was supported by older African American women choosing to engage in positive activities that offered temporary distraction from the war such as, for example, knitting gifts to send to children in other countries who were also suffering the effects of war, and supporting younger community members who had lost their parents; these activities distracted these women from their own circumstances. In another example, acceptance of declining health allowed older women in the US and the Netherlands to maintain a sense of mastery and competence over their day to day lives in spite of their physical ailments (Janssen, Abma, & Van Regenmortel, 2012). Acceptance of declining health was co-encouraged by supportive friends and caring medical staff who provided advice and support in relation to managing physical ailments. This supported a focus on the positive aspects of their lives, leading to these women's maintaining a sense of competence.

In young women and girls acceptance of what could not be altered facilitated focusing on future life goals (Dossa, 2010<sup>3</sup>; Phasha, 2010; Sano, 2012; Shepherd, Reynolds, & Moran, 2010). Instead of struggling against traumatic experiences or,

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<sup>3</sup> Dossa (2010) was included despite the word "coping" in the title, because the article was about risk, resilience, and coping that facilitates resilience, not solely on coping.

for example, teenage pregnancy, girls focused on what they could control. Mostly, this was building a different future through education, which at times also healed familial relationships, and fostered self-pride. For instance, a young African-American teenage mother transitioning out of foster care expressed pride in herself for completing high school after giving birth to her first child (Haight et al., 2010). Her acceptance of what she could not change (having been pregnant) and her love for her child prompted education-focused discipline and hope. Instead of struggling against others' negative predictions for her life, she focused on what could be altered.

***Problem-solving.*** In this synthesis, problem-solving involves actively thinking of and implementing solutions to various problems. Girls and women across cultures were resourceful in dealing with financial difficulties (Carreón, 2006; Casale, 2010; Clarke, 2009), and took their time to find solutions to declines in health, the threat of violence, and racial prejudice (Haeri, 2007; Kinsel, 2004; O'Connor, 2002; Van Wormer, Sudduth, & Jackson, 2011). Problem-solving facilitated the reframing of problems as challenges, careful analysis of their particular circumstances, and the development of constructive strategies. Mostly, the motivation to problem-solve came from girls and women needing to care for family members, including children (Casale, 2010; Haeri, 2007; Sano, 2012; Shepherd et al., 2010).

For instance, Clarke (2009) reported how an Afrikaans-speaking South African girl who began working at the age of nine to support her family, chose debt as a way of solving the problem of also supporting her own needs. Because most of her salary was given to her mother, the girl actively solved her problem with the pragmatic support of her boss. She borrowed a small sum of money which allowed her to buy what she needed while she continued to support her mother financially.

***Demonstrating positive self-regard.*** Women and girls demonstrated positive self-regard in spite of negative experiences, such as rape or sexual abuse that was potentially threatening to their self-concept. Positive self-regard included girls and women having a firm belief in themselves as capable (Phasha, 2010), having love for themselves that scaffolded motivation to achieve life goals (Banyard & Williams, 2005; Shepherd et al., 2010), and feeling positive and self-assured about their appearances and personalities (Bradley & Davino, 2007; Van Rensburg & Barnard, 2005). Positive self-regard was facilitated through constructive relationships with positive role models and constructive others who nurtured such self-appreciation (Banyard & Williams, 2005; Phasha, 2010; Singh, 2009; Singh, Garnett, & Williams, 2013; Van Rensburg & Barnard, 2005). For example, a white woman in the USA who had been previously sexually abused was supported to self-appreciate through her spiritual faith and the support of her family (Banyard & Williams, 2005). Her constructive relational context facilitated her desire to reconnect with, and value, herself.

***Strength-Fostering Spirituality.*** Strength-fostering spirituality refers to spirituality or faith in spiritual beings that prompted motivation in women and girls across cultures. This included a supportive relationship with spiritual beings (God, Allah, the prophet Muhammad), and finding strength and motivation through scriptural readings.

***Strength-fostering spirituality encouraged trust in spiritual beings.***

Across cultures, women made vulnerable by trauma, war, abuse, declining health, prostitution, death of loved ones, homelessness, and substance abuse drew strength from their trust in spiritual beings (in this synthesis, mostly the Christian God; see Bailey, Hannays-King, Clarke, Lester, & Velasco, 2013; Bryant-Davis et al., 2011;

Bowland et al., 2011; Clarke, 2009; Germann, 2005; Haeri, 2007; Kinsel, 2004; Laditka, Murray, & Laditka, 2010; Malindi, 2014; Moxley, Washington & Calligan, 2012; Notter, MacTavish, & Shamah, 2008; Phasha, 2010; Prince, 2008).

Trust in spiritual beings fostered positive emotions such as happiness, gratitude, patience, love, and hope, together with the belief that adversities can be overcome (Bowland et al., 2011; Clarke, 2009; Kinsel, 2004; Phasha, 2010). For instance, an older Canadian woman's preference for gratitude and positive emotions, as encouraged by her faith, outweighed the emotional discomfort of previous abuse (Bowland et al., 2011). When she focused on thanking God (the spiritual being of her choice) for various things in her life, the negative emotions subsided and she was able to gain a new perspective on her life.

Trust in spiritual beings also facilitated meaning-making. Across studies included in this synthesis, girls and women were supported to make meaning because they believed that their spiritual being had a purpose in allowing their hardship to occur. A participant in Clarke's (2009) study said that the notion that "God" had a bigger plan and a purpose fostered a sense of hope that "God" could turn difficulties into "something beautiful" (p. 199). (See also Bryant-Davis et al., 2011; Kinsel, 2004; Leipert & Reutter, 2005; Phasha, 2010).

***Scriptures and religious books and poems as a source of strength and encouragement.*** Scriptures and religious books and poems were found to be a source of strength and encouragement more frequently for adult Christian and Muslim women made vulnerable by trauma and abuse (sexual, emotional, and physical) (Bowland et al., 2011; Clarke, 2009; Haeri, 2007; Moxley, Washington & Calligan, 2012). Religious readings provided a reminder of God's (Christian/Islamic)

presence and offered a sense of solace and comfort during difficulties. For example, the popular poem “Footprints” tells the story of how Jesus carries people through difficulties. This poem was a source of strength to older female trauma survivors who felt abandoned after experiencing the trauma (Bowland et al., 2011). In a different study, a Pakistani refugee woman drew strength and comfort from reading the difficulties the Prophet Muhammad faced; she re-evaluated her own difficulties and found the strength to persevere (Haeri, 2007).

### **Gendered Reflections on the Synthesised Findings**

This section answers the second research question “How does this understanding offer insight into how gender-specific roles inform resilience in women and girls?”

In light of these findings it is clear that access to at least one emotionally and pragmatically supportive constructive relational context nurtured resilience-supporting mechanisms (agency and strength-fostering spirituality) in women and girls made vulnerable for various reasons. This was true across all cultural and geographical contexts. Additionally, women’s and girls’ resilience was cultivated when they were supported to meet expectations of reciprocity.

Reflections on the above findings reveal that dominant universal gender-roles and women’s and girls’ resilience processes appear to be complexly interrelated. As previously mentioned, dominant universal gender roles typically involve physical and emotional caretaking of others (Brody et al., 2014; Louw & Louw, 2009; Prentice & Carranza, 2002); a focus on relationships and being emotionally expressive (i.e. being interdependent) (Jordan, 2013, 2006; Louw & Louw, 2009); submissiveness in romantic relationships and in society (Brody et al, 2014); and prioritising the needs of

others above their own (Louw & Louw, 2009; Jordan, 2013; Prentice & Carranza, 2002).

The gender-roles implicit in the findings of this synthesis are being interdependent; assuming the physical caretaking of family and the emotional caretaking of family and friends; and being emotionally expressive. Being interdependent is fundamental to a pragmatically and emotionally supportive constructive relational context, to agency, and to strength-fostering spirituality. The emotional and/or pragmatic supports of a relational context were intertwined with the mechanisms of agency and spiritual ways-of-being. The centrality of the value to resilience of women being socialised to be interdependent beings is reflected in there being no accounts of women being agentic, or drawing on spirituality for strength in the absence of some form of connectedness to physical/metaphysical others. Within constructive, inter-dependent spaces, being emotionally expressive (i.e., engaging in mutual communication about experiences, having and expressing feelings, and having and sharing ways of coping) facilitated adjustment. Women and girls gained from their enactment of the stereotype of emotional expressiveness. The physical and emotional caretaking of family and friends offered women and girls the opportunity to reciprocate the emotional and pragmatic support that their interdependent ways-of-being facilitated, but also galvanized constructive actions (such as problem-solving). In this sense, the expectations of women and girls to behave in gender-specific ways in relational contexts, and their acceptance and enactment of these roles, supported their resilience.

However, it is important to point out that the above gender-roles were enacted within a context of mutuality. All the included studies report instances or patterns of girls' and women's caregiving and emotional expressiveness being reciprocated and

valued. It should, therefore, not be assumed then that gender-roles would facilitate resilience processes in the absence of reciprocal support. Of some significance, is that this reciprocity was largely with other girls and/or women. Only 11 studies reported men supporting girls and/or women, and then typically in less prominent ways (Fourie & Theron, 2012; Brodsky et al., 2011; Bukowski & Buetow, 2010; Clarke, 2009; Haight et al., 2008; Notter, MacTavish, & Shamah, 2008; O'Connor, 2002; Sano, 2012; Shepherd, Reynolds, & Moran, 2010; Van Wormer, Sudduth, & Jackson III, 2011). This possibly flags the importance of that notion of the sisterhood of women to the resilience of girls and women.

Furthermore, there are silences in the synthesised findings with regard to other gender-roles such as being submissive, and prioritising the needs of others. This raises questions regarding whether these gender-roles did not manifest in resilience processes because, possibly, they inhibit resilience. Further insight is needed regarding how gender-roles potentially enable and constrain resilience processes. In order to understand nuances of how gendered ways of doing and being inform resilience processes, further robust research using sophisticated methodologies is necessary.

### **The Applicability of Extant Studies for Explaining and Supporting Black South African Girls' Resilience Processes**

The section that follows answers the third research question "How apposite are such explanations to explaining and supporting resilience processes in black girls living in South Africa?"

The above synthesised findings point towards the beginning of an understanding of the complexity of how gender-roles manifest in resilience

processes, with particular emphasis on reciprocity and interdependence within constructive relational contexts. As pointed out above, these findings are based on the synthesis of 40 studies that focused on the resilience processes of women and girls from diverse cultures. The majority of these studies (n= 22) focus on the experiences of women and girls from Western contexts, signifying a dearth of literature explaining the resilience processes of African women and girls. Corey (2009) explains that feminists of colour have criticised existing literature for being an over-generalisation of white Western women's experiences with silence about their own experiences.

The 17 studies that did report resilience in women and girls of colour mostly do not provide insights that explain black South African girls' resilience processes either. Nine focused on African-American women (see Table 1), and of those nine, two explained resilience in African-American adolescent girls (Haight et al., 2009; Johnson, 2010). Two studies focused on African women from Liberia (Bryant-Davis et al., 2011) and Rwanda (Zraly & Nyirazinyoye, 2010), with one study exploring resilience in African adolescent girls from Sierra Leone (Denov & MacLure, 2006), and one study exploring resilience in an orphaned Zimbabwean girl living in a child-headed household (Germann, 2005). A single study explored resilience in Maori women in New Zealand (Bukowski & Beutow, 2010). Eleven of the 14 studies referred to above explain resilience in adult women of colour but resilience processes are developmentally aligned, and change over time and across developmental stages (Masten, 2014). How well young people adjust is often measured in terms of their progress in age-appropriate developmental tasks (Masten, 2014; Shaffer; Coffino, Boelcke-Stennes, & Masten, 2007). Therefore, the

experiences of adult women of colour might not be applicable to adolescent girls of colour.

Although four studies explain resilience processes in black girls in America as well as Africa, these studies are not necessarily readily transferable to black South African girls because resilience processes are shaped by specific cultures and contexts (Ungar, 2011). Not only did these studies involve non South African girls, they included very specific populations of non-South African girls (i.e. teenage mothers, bereaved girls, an orphan living in a child-headed household, and girls who experienced sexual violence during armed conflict) so their resilience processes most likely reflect these specifics (Denov & MacLure, 2006; Germann, 2005; Haight et al., 2010; Johnson, 2010).

Of the three studies conducted with South African women and girls, one focused on South African women (Casale, 2010), and two on black South African adolescent girls (Malindi, 2014; Phasha, 2010). Phasha's (2010) girl-focused study reported a specific facet of resilience—educational resilience. Phasha (2010) provided insight into understanding how the sociocultural values of traditional African culture, such as interrelatedness and *Ubuntu* (i.e., traditional African values that encompass deep respect for religion, among others) shaped how black girls who had experienced sexual violence interpreted their experiences, how they behaved at school, and facilitated their future-directedness and value for education. The value of interrelatedness was evident in how girls sought relational support from others, even those who were not related to them, based on the belief that “the more we are, the stronger we become” (p. 1250). This African value facilitates a sense of belonging and a duty to the collective which promotes resilience. Phasha (2010) explained that black South African girls are traditionally socialised to value their education as a

means towards a positive future and bring pride to the collective. The value for education motivated the girls to remain at school and progress in their education in spite of their traumatic experiences. Phasha (2010) also reported that belief in the self assisted the girls to overcome difficult situations, and that the values of *Ubuntu* assisted the girls to forgive their perpetrators and make meaning out of their experiences. The only other girl-focused study is Malindi (2014) which explored resilience in the context of streetism (i.e., living on the street). Malindi (2014) reported relationships to physical and spiritual others as important for promoting resilience among black girls' living on the street. Constructive relationships included family members (mothers, grandmothers) and access to community-based support assisted the girls pragmatically and emotionally by providing food, facilitating girls' return to school, and by motivating and encouraging girls. In Malindi's (2014) study, the value for education that Phasha (2010) reported is evident in the importance of the girls returning to school. Also, the traditional African value of interrelatedness is prominent in the importance of pragmatically and emotionally supportive relationships that fostered resilience among the girls.

Given that only two studies provide insight into black South African girls' general resilience processes (and then only in contexts of streetism and sexual violence), we posit that not enough is known about black South African girls' resilience processes to authoritatively explain or meaningfully support their resilience. Therefore, further research is crucial to gain insight into the resilience processes of black South African girls for their resilience to be promoted and supported effectively.

## CONCLUSION

This study was not without limitations. This included a language bias since only studies published in English were included. Valuable findings published in other languages may thus have been overlooked. Another limitation was the exclusion of unpublished reports, which may likewise mean that potentially valuable findings were excluded. Another limitation includes the selected articles being mostly studies from the USA, Canada, and South Africa and therefore represent a particular voice that might not be as diverse as expected. Also, the interpretations made in this study are based on interpretations reported in other studies.

Despite the above, this article synthesises relevant literature and in doing so contributes towards a theory that explains resilience processes in women and girls from diverse cultures. It uses this to theorise how gender-roles potentially shape women's and girls' resilience processes. The synthesised findings support SERT (Ungar, 2011) and RCT (Jordan, 2013) in that relationships are key and that women's and girls' resilience processes are promoted through meaningful person-context transactions. Additionally, this synthesis adds insight into how gendered ways of doing and being complexly manifest in resilience processes through interdependence and reciprocity within constructive relational contexts. Gendered ways of being are evident in the significance of constructive relationships with supportive others in facilitating resilience among women and girls. Expressing emotions within these safe relational spaces also reflects gendered ways of being interdependent, and the reciprocity within these safe relational spaces facilitated resilience. The emotional and pragmatic support that women received, was also reciprocated, and reflects the caretaking of others.

Although this synthesis offers broad insight into women's and girls' resilience processes, given the growing argument for more contextually and culturally related explanations of youth resilience (Masten, 2014; Ungar, 2015), rigorous empirical research is necessary to gain specific insight into resilience in black South African girls. In other words, the general account provided in this article needs to be further interrogated and possibly refined. Black South African girls remain at-risk (Moletsane, 2007; Phasha, 2010), and so deeper insight into their resilience is critical for the development of effective interventions to support their positive adjustment.

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<sup>1</sup> We excluded the Strong Black Woman Schema from the list of recurring gender roles. We did so because we questioned how transferable this schema, which is specific to African-American women with distinct historical socio-cultural and political experiences, is to women and girls across diverse cultures. In addition, we do not assume that all women and girls conform to dominant/universal gender-roles. However, the above dominant universal gender-roles provide a starting point to gain insight into how gender has a potential impact on women's and girls' resilience processes.

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Table 1: Supplemental Information

Authors	Aim	Participants	Qualitative Method(s)	Country	Context of risk	Resilience Mechanisms
<b><i>South African studies (n = 5)</i></b>						
Malindi (2014)	To explore resilience in girls involved in streetism.	30 participants: Black adolescent girls. Age range: 12-17	Group based draw-and-write method	South Africa	Streetism	<p>Music facilitated externalisation of negative emotions, fostering positive emotions.</p> <p>Metaphysical being fostered strength to persevere through prayer and scriptural readings.</p> <p>Emotionally supportive grandmothers promoted strength through unconditional acceptance.</p> <p>Emotionally and pragmatically supportive social worker and NGO staff provided encouragement; provision of basic needs; and access to school.</p>

Phasha (2010)	To explore educational resilience in black girls who experienced childhood sexual abuse	22 participants: 11 White women, 6 mixed race women, 5 African women. Age range: 16-23	Individual in-depth interviews	South Africa	Sexual abuse/violence	<p>Acceptance, prompted by an emotionally supportive peer and neighbour, facilitated meaning-making and a focus on the future; and a sense of safety.</p> <p>Pragmatically supportive mother, teachers, and romantic partner facilitated restoration of a sense of safety; and provided basic needs.</p> <p>Trust in metaphysical being prompted meaning-making.</p> <p>Engagement in education facilitated hope for the future.</p>
Casale (2010)	To explore resilience and coping in older women and grandmothers caring for their grandchildren	9 participants: older Black women. Age range: 30-90	Individual semi-structured interviews; participant observation; review of secondary context-relevant documents	South Africa	Death of offspring; caring for orphaned grandchildren during old age	<p>Expectations of emotional/pragmatic support spurred agency; and problem-solving.</p> <p>Emotionally supportive grandchildren eased the burden of grief (emotional reciprocity in</p>

						<p>the constructive relational context).</p> <p>Pragmatic support (child grants) supported grandmothers to provide for grandchildren's basic needs.</p>
Clarke (2009)	To explore resilience in adult women who have been victims of trauma	4 participants: White adult women. Age range: not specified	Case studies; individual in-depth life history interviews; scrapbooks	South Africa	Emotional/physical abuse; loss of a family member; substance abuse; bulimia	<p>Trust in metaphysical being facilitated meaning-making; acceptance; positive self-regard; and agency.</p> <p>Trust in metaphysical being facilitated by emotionally/spiritually supportive friends.</p> <p>Emotionally supportive teacher, mother, romantic partner, friends, social workers provided unconditional acceptance; fostered positive self-regard; and provided safe spaces in which to share difficulties.</p> <p>Expectations of emotional/pragmatic</p>

						<p>reciprocity facilitated agency.</p> <p>Scriptural readings fostered motivation to persevere.</p> <p>Pragmatically supportive boss facilitated agency and positive self-regard.</p>
Van Rensburg & Barnard (2005)	To explore psychological resilience in girls who had been sexually molested	7 participants: White adolescent girls and their caregivers. Average age of girl-participants: 8. [ages of caregivers not specified]	Individual semi-structured in-depth interviews	South Africa	Previous sexual abuse	Emotionally supportive family members, peers and teachers facilitated a sense of belonging and positive self-regard.
<b>Canadian studies (n = 3)</b>						
Bailey, Hannays-King, Clarke, Lester, & Velasco (2013)	To explore the cognitive process of black mothers in finding meaning and building resilience	10 Participants: black adult women. Age range: 32-60.	Individual in-depth interviews	Canada	Loss of a child due to gun violence	Trust in metaphysical being facilitated acceptance of the deaths of their children, and that "God" has a purpose for their suffering.

	following loss of their children due to gun violence					Trust in metaphysical being facilitated meaning-making which led to mothers becoming activists.
Bowland, Biswas, Kiriakakis, & Edmond (2011)	To explore the role of spiritual/religious coping in the lives of women survivors of interpersonal violence	43 participants: 83% White women, 14% African-American women, 1 % Indian women. Age range: 55 and older.	Focus group interviews; reflections	Canada	History of childhood physical/sexual abuse, domestic violence and/or sexual assault	Trust in metaphysical being was facilitated by emotionally supportive church community.  Trust in metaphysical being prompted acceptance and forgiveness.  Re-examining scriptures facilitated agency and positive self-regard, and fostered positive emotions.
Leipert & Reutter (2005)	To develop resilience by exploring how women maintain their health in northern geographically isolated settings	25 participants: women from diverse backgrounds [races not specified]. Age range: above 20	Individual in-depth face to face or telephonic interviews	Canada	Vulnerability to physical health and safety; inadequate medical health care	Trust in metaphysical being fostered agency.  Emotionally supportive relationship with friends fostered hardiness.  Pragmatically supportive friends assisted with meeting basic needs.

						Problem-solving facilitated women's use of medicinal alternatives for health preservation.
<b>US studies (n = 16)</b>						
Moxley, Washington & Calligan (2012)	To explore risk, vulnerability and resilience in African-American homeless women	8 participants: African-American women. Age range: 50 years and older	Individual interviews; arts-based methods: photographs, scrapbooks, poetry, diaries and quilting	USA	Homelessness	Trust in metaphysical being prompted meaning-making and motivation to persevere; and provided strength.  Emotionally supportive friends provided safe spaces in which to discuss difficulties and share advice.
Fourie & Theron (2012)	To explore what contributed to positive adjustment in a girl with fragile X syndrome (FXS)	1 participant: White adolescent girl. Age: 16	Individual semi-structured interviews; observations; photographs; video clips	USA	Suffering from FXS, which includes challenges to cognitive and physical, emotional and behavioural, sensory integration, and to language	Emotionally/pragmatically supportive parents, peers, teachers, community members fostered agency and mastery.  Emotionally supportive relational context provided unconditional acceptance, prompting agency; and motivation to persevere.
Van Wormer, Sudduth, &	To explore resilience in older African-	5 participants: African-	Narrative individual life history interviews	USA	Experience of segregation; working as a maid;	Emotionally/pragmatically supportive family and community provided

Jackson (2011)	American women who worked as maids in the deep South	American women. Age range: not specified			the Great Depression	<p>basic needs, prompting agency and acceptance.</p> <p>Pragmatically supportive community members assisted in the provision of basic needs.</p> <p>Expectation of emotional/pragmatic reciprocity in the community fostered agency.</p> <p>Trust in metaphysical being facilitated meaning-making.</p>
Johnson (2010)	To explore how African-American girls make meaning from losing a friend to homicide	21 participants: African-American adolescent girls. Age range: 16-19	Individual structured interviews	USA	Loss of a friend to homicide; crime	<p>Trust in metaphysical being facilitated meaning-making.</p> <p>Emotionally supportive friends facilitated further constructive relationships with family members, and a desire to become role models.</p>
Laditka, Murray & Laditka (2010)	To explore resilience and vulnerability in African-	17 literature studies with African-American women.	Systematic literature review	USA	Disaster after hurricane Katrina	Trust in metaphysical being fostered motivation to persevere.

	American women after hurricane Katrina	Age range: not specified				Emotionally/pragmatically supportive relational context fostered agency.
Dorfman, Méndez, & Osterhaus (2009)	To explore stresses and resilience through major historical events that affected the lives of older rural women	25 participants: older rural Caucasian women. Age range: 68-98.	Individual oral history interviews	USA	Age; living in a rural area; poverty; higher incidence of chronic health conditions; lack of access to formal services; lack of transportation	Expectations of pragmatic support cultivated agency and problem-solving to provide for family's basic needs.  Pragmatically supportive community members provided basic needs.  Emotionally supportive relational context facilitated acceptance.
Haight, Finet, Bamba, & Helton (2009)	To explore resilience in adolescent mothers transitioning from foster care to independent living	3 participants. African-American adolescent girls. Age range: 19-20	Group based workshops; Individual semi-structured interviews	USA	Foster care; adolescent parenting	Emotionally/pragmatically supportive mothers and mother figures, and romantic partners facilitated positive self-regard; provided unconditional acceptance; and provided for basic needs.  Academic success facilitated positive self-regard.

						<p>Expectation of emotional/pragmatic reciprocity supported girls to care for the needs of their children.</p> <p>Trust in metaphysical being facilitated positive emotions and positive self-regard.</p>
Singh, Garnett & Williams (2013)	To explore the lived experiences of African-American women survivors of childhood sexual abuse	10 participants. African-American women. Age range: 18 and older	Individual semi-structured interviews	USA	Childhood sexual abuse	<p>Emotionally supportive relational context (family, community members, counsellors) provided safe spaces in which to discuss sexual abuse.</p> <p>Trust in metaphysical being prompted acceptance and positive self-regard.</p>
Campbell (2008)	To explore resilience in undocumented Mexican women in the USA	20 participants: Mexican women. Age range: 18-45	Individual semi-structured interviews	USA	Undocumented immigrant status	<p>Expectations of pragmatic reciprocity facilitated problem-solving and engagement in education.</p> <p>Pragmatically supportive relational context</p>

						assisted with the provision of basic needs.
Notter, MacTavish & Shamah (2008)	To explore resilience in women who faced multiple risks throughout their life histories	8 participants: White women. Age range: 25-45	Individual semi-structured interviews	USA	Substance abuse; poverty; incarceration; domestic violence; parental discord	Emotionally supportive mothers and romantic partners fostered trust in metaphysical being; positive self-regard; and agency.  Trust in metaphysical being facilitated by emotionally supportive romantic partner; and church community fostered strength.  Pragmatically supportive church community assisted with child care.
Prince (2008)	To explore resilience in African-American women recovering from prostitution	13 participants: African-American women. Age range: 24-51	Individual semi-structured and unstructured interviews; observations; reflections	USA	Prostitution; previous sexual/physical abuse	Trust in metaphysical being facilitated strength and agency.  Emotionally and pragmatically supportive transitional home staff

						<p>and medical staff provided unconditional acceptance, and met basic needs.</p> <p>Emotionally supportive relational friends in the transitional home promoted meaning-making and hope.</p>
Sossou, Craig, Ogren, & Schnak (2008)	To explore resilience in Bosnian refugee women	7 participants: Bosnian women. Age range: 32-47	Individual face-to-face interviews	USA	Extreme stress; previous trauma (genocidal militias); refugee status; displacement of family members	<p>Pragmatically supportive refugee agency provided documentation necessary to meet the basic needs of family members.</p> <p>Emotionally supportive professionals (psychologists, psychiatrists) provided safe spaces in which to discuss difficulties.</p> <p>Expectation of emotional/pragmatic reciprocity motivated by children facilitated</p>

						acceptance and problem-solving.  Trust in metaphysical being fostered motivation to persevere.
Bradley & Davino (2007)	To explore resilience to pre-prison interpersonal violence in incarcerated women	1 participant: African-American woman: Age: 29	Written life story narrative	USA	Previous sexual abuse; HIV	Emotionally supportive relational context facilitated acceptance and positive self-regard.

Banyard & Williams (2007)	To explore patterns of stability and change in resilient functioning in early adulthood	21 participants: [race not specified]. Average age: 31	Individual structured and unstructured interviews	USA	Previous sexual abuse	<p>Emotionally supportive stepmother and community members prompted agency; provided safe spaces in which to share difficulties; and prompted unconditional acceptance of themselves in these women.</p> <p>Expectation of pragmatic reciprocity lead to their providing for their children's basic needs and future.</p> <p>Trust in metaphysical being facilitated hope.</p>
Kinsel (2004)	To explore what contributes towards resilience in older women and their experience of ageing	17 participants: 12 Caucasian women, 5 African-American women.	Individual semi-structured qualitative interviews	USA	Declining health; widowhood; caring for ill husbands; death of parents; alcoholic husbands	Emotionally supportive relationship with mothers, family members, friends, romantic partners, community, and grandchildren fostered positive self-regard and agency

		Age range: 70-80				Trust in metaphysical being fostered agency; a sense of belonging in the church community; and meaning-making.  Scriptural readings fostered motivation to persevere.  Pragmatically supportive community resources provided assistance in caring for ill spouses.
O'Connor (2002)	To explore educational resilience in black women who were first generation college graduates	19 participants: African-American women. Age range: not specified	Individual structured interviews	USA	Constraints that increased the risk of school failure (being first generation of black students at predominantly white colleges)	Pragmatically supportive church community provided for basic needs.  Emotionally supportive parents facilitated commitment to education; agency; and problem-solving.
<b>Other countries (n = 16)</b>						
Arrivillaga, Arroyave, &	To explore resilience and leadership in	3 participants: [race not	Individual semi-structured life history interviews	Colombia	HIV	Emotionally supportive children, friends, and church communities

Salcedo (2014)	women living with HIV.	specified]. Age range: 37-45				prompted agency and motivation to persevere.  Expectations of emotional reciprocity prompted agency and problem-solving.
Maher (2013)	To explore resilience in women's care and career changes	18 participants: [race not specified]. Average age: 43	In-depth structured interviews (conducted with participant and spouse)	Australia	Balancing work and family care responsibilities	Expectations of emotional/pragmatic reciprocity fostered agency and problem-solving.
Brodsky et al., (2012)	To explore the role of children in their mothers resilience	110 participants: Afghan women and adolescent girls. Age range: 13-70	Individual and group interviews; participant observation; archival document review	Afghanistan	Political risks; war; refugee status; poverty	Emotionally/pragmatically supportive community organisation provided education for children; met basic needs and fostered strength.  Expectations of emotionally/pragmatically supportive community prompted agency and motivation to persevere.

Janssen, Abma, & Van Regenmortel (2012)	To explore how older people maintain mastery in the context of significant threat	2 participants: White older women. Age range: 59-90	Individual in-depth interviews	The Netherlands	Ailments associated with old age	Emotionally/pragmatically supportive family and care professionals facilitated acceptance and mastery (sense of competence).
Coyne, Wollin, & Creedy (2012)	To explore the role of the family in supporting women diagnosed with breast cancer	25 participants: [race not specified] women and support persons. Age range: 35-65	Individual semi-structured interviews	Australia	Breast cancer	Emotionally/pragmatically supportive family provided encouragement and motivation to persevere.
Sano (2012)	To explore resilience and coping in adolescent girls who entered and resisted entering the sex trade	4 participants: Indonesian adolescent girls. Age range: 15-16	Individual semi-structured interviews	Indonesia	Poverty; working in the sex trade	Emotionally/pragmatically supportive teachers, friends, family members, social workers, and romantic partner prompted agency; problem-solving; and provided basic needs and access to education.  Pragmatically supportive romantic partner gave

						assistance to exit the sex-trade.
Brodsky, Welsh, Carillo, Talwar, Scheibler, & Butler (2011)	To explore individual and organisational resilience in members of RAWA (an underground resistance organization located in Afghanistan and Pakistan advocating for peace, democracy, and women's rights)	110 participants: Adult Afghan women and adolescent girls. Age range: 13-70	Individual and group interviews; participant observation; archival document review	Afghanistan	Political risks; war; poverty; possible imprisonment	Emotionally/pragmatically supportive community organisation provided for basic needs; fostered agency, problem-solving, and motivation to persevere.  Emotionally supportive mother facilitated a sense of the value of education.
Bryant-Davis, Cooper, Marks, Smith, & Tillma (2011)	To explore recovery in women who experienced sexual violence during the Liberian civil war, and to explore resilience in adults providing care to women in Liberia who	13 participants: 12 Black women, 1 Black man. Age range: 35-65	Individual semi-structured interviews	Liberia	Sexual violence	Emotionally/pragmatically supportive church communities assisted in providing for basic needs.  Emotionally/spiritually supportive NGO staff facilitated trust in metaphysical beings.

	experience sexual violence					Pragmatically supportive NGO staff facilitated agency.
Bukowski & Beutow (2010)	To explore the health and lives of homeless women, and how they adjust well to living on the street	6 participants: Maori women. Age range: 21-39	Photo-elicitation; individual semi-structured interviews	New Zealand	Streetism	Emotionally supportive friends facilitated a sense of belonging.  Pragmatically supportive friends assisted in the meeting of basic needs.  Pragmatically supportive community resources and male friends provided for basic needs; arranged safe places to meet probation officers; and provided a sense of physical protection while living on the street. Pets provided physical protection.
Dossa (2010)	To explore resilience in Afghan women who experienced trauma	10 participants: Afghan women. Age range: 30-45	Focus group interviews	Afghanistan	Poverty; previous war-related trauma	Pragmatically supportive community facilitated agency; provided work opportunities; and

						<p>assisted with meeting basic needs.</p> <p>Emotionally supportive family and community facilitated emotional healing.</p>
Shepherd, Reynolds, & Moran (2010)	To explore resilience in young women following adversity during adolescence	6 participants: [race not specified]. Age range: 20-25	Individual semi-structured interviews	UK	Death of a parent; abusive romantic relationships; drug or alcohol abuse; teenage pregnancy	<p>Turning points motivated women to exit abusive romantic relationships.</p> <p>Emotionally supportive parents, friends, and romantic partners fostered positive self-regard; and re-commitment to education.</p> <p>Constructive writing facilitated externalisation of negative emotions.</p>
Zrally & Nyirazinyoye (2010)	To explore how women adjust well after experiencing genocide-rape	44 participants: Black women. Age range:18-59	Individual semi-structured interviews; participant observation	Rwanda	Genocide-rape	Emotionally supportive community of girls and women who experienced rape fostered agency; acceptance; and provided safe spaces in

						which to share difficulties and experiences.
Haeri (2007)	To explore resilience and post-traumatic recovery in two women whose bodies were violated for political and masculine honour	Two participants: Pakistani women. Average age: 24	Individual semi-structured interviews; informal discussions; document analysis	Pakistan	Sexual violence	Emotionally supportive family promoted acceptance and agency.  Trust in metaphysical being, and scriptural readings fostered strength and motivation to persevere.  Reflection was facilitated through listening to music.
Carreón (2006)	To explore resilience among working street girls in Mexico	23 participants: Mexican adolescent girls. Age range: 13-16	Individual semi-structured interviews; participant observation	Mexico	Poverty; working on the streets places girls at risk for physical and/or sexual assault; not completing school	Expectations of pragmatic reciprocity prompted agency and problem-solving.  Pragmatically supportive friends provided access to work opportunities.  Trust in metaphysical being fostered strength.

Denov & MacLure (2006)	To explore the experiences of girls who were involved in the armed conflict in Sierra Leone	40 participants: Black adolescent girls. Age range: 14-21	Individual semi-structured interviews; focus group interviews	Sierra Leone	Involvement in the armed conflict; sexual violence	<p>Emotionally supportive community with other women and girls experiencing the armed conflict and sexual violence provided safe spaces in which to discuss difficulties, and prompted agency.</p> <p>Agency facilitated resistance to commands to murder civilians, and spurred problem-solving.</p>
Germann (2005)	To explore vulnerability and resilience in an orphan living in a child-headed household	1 participant: Black adolescent girl. Age: under 18	Case study: semi-structured narrative interviews, and hero books	Zimbabwe	Orphan-hood, child-headed household	<p>Pragmatically supportive neighbours assisted with the meeting of basic needs.</p> <p>Emotionally supportive neighbours, peers provided advice and safe spaces to share difficulties.</p> <p>Trust in a metaphysical being facilitated strength.</p>

### CHAPTER 3

Manuscript 2 titled “*A participatory visual exploration of Sesotho-speaking South African girls’ resilience processes*” answers the following research question: “*How does traditional African culture and a rural context shape gendered resilience processes among Sesotho-speaking girls living in contexts of structural adversity?*”

Prepared for: Journal of Adolescent Research (see Appendix F for author guidelines)

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## SUMMARY

Few contextualised accounts of gendered resilience processes exist for young black South Africans, particularly black South African girls, despite their continued marginalisation. The aim of this study was to provide a detailed account of how context and culture shape the ways in which universal gendered resilience promoting processes manifest for Sesotho-speaking South African girls. Participants included Sesotho-speaking adult women and Sesotho-speaking adolescent girls from Free State, a province of South Africa. We conducted individual and group interviews with adult women participants, followed by Draw-and-Talk and Community-based Participatory Video with the girl participants. Analysis of the data confirms the universal gendered resilience processes and provides insight into how context and culture shape gendered resilience processes for Sesotho-speaking South African girls. Findings include: (i) the girls have sustained support from women and girl friends/kin/service providers; (ii) they have access to a pragmatically supportive community that values *Ubuntu*; (iii) they are making constructive choices towards a positive future; (iv) they demonstrate agency;(i.e., being personally invested in education, steering away from negative peers, exhibiting strength by expressing emotions, seeking information, and valuing themselves); and (v) they have a trusting relationship with God.

**Key words:** black, context, culture, gender, girls, resilience processes, rural, South Africa

## **A participatory visual exploration of Sesotho-speaking South African girls' resilience processes**

Resilience is understood as a process that includes good outcomes in the face of adversity so significant that it has the potential to disrupt culturally-normative development (Masten, 2014; Ungar, 2015). According to the Social Ecology of Resilience Theory (SERT), which frames this study, resilience is a context- and culture-relative transactional process between individuals and their social ecology (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2013; Ungar, 2011). Resilience-promoting transactions between and among individuals and their social ecologies are embedded in and shaped within interacting ecological systems such as immediate family, peers, school, local community, and the broader society (Cicchetti, 2013; Masten, 2014; Panter-Brick, 2014; Ungar, 2011; Wright, Masten, & Narayan, 2013).

Universal resilience-promoting transactions/processes (e.g., establishing positive attachments, maintaining cultural adherence, agency and mastery etc.) have been widely reported. However, how such resilience processes manifest is not necessarily generic across different cultures and contexts (Ungar, 2011; Veeran & Morgan, 2009; Wright & Masten, 2006). For example, Ungar (2015) explains that in an 11-country study investigating patterns of coping among at-risk youth, the protective factor of cultural adherence meant patriotism for Russian youth, but for Aboriginal Canadian youth it meant participating in the cultural practices expected by their elders. In another example, Tian and Wang (2015) discuss how, since China observes the one-child-per-household law, Chinese youth have “sworn brothers” and “sworn sisters” who fulfil their desire for sibling relationships. Sworn brother/sister relationships are financially and emotionally supportive, particularly when parental

relationships are unreliable. South African studies have reported that the cultural expectation of young people becoming role models, particularly to younger siblings, functions to promote resilience in young black South Africans (Theron & Theron, 2013). For example, Mpofu et al. (2015) and Theron and Theron (2013) report that the cultural expectation of solidarity within a family community supports young people to adjust to bereavement and structural violence. Mpofu et al. (2015) explain that in traditional Zimbabwean culture extended families adhere to the cultural expectations that families take care of relatives and absorb orphans into their familial and social networks which often promotes positive outcomes among orphans through increased access to positive support systems. In another example, Panter-Brick (2014) explains that cultural values are the foundation of resilience among families in Afghanistan. She explains adherence to the cultural expectations to support the family and the community both emotionally and financially is the only means of promoting economic and social progress in the face of conflict, war, and poverty.

Given that resilience processes are culturally and contextually relative, understanding the positive adaptation of young people requires contextualised explanations of how they adjust well in the face of adversity (Clauss-Ehlers, 2008; Ungar, Ghazinour, & Richter, 2013; Wright & Masten, 2015). However, the majority of studies have focused on youth in the global North, with few contextualised accounts of resilience in youth living in the Global South (Betancourt, Meyers-Okhi, Charrow, & Hansen, 2013; Mosavel, Ahmed, Ports, & Simon, 2015; Ungar, 2013). Without contextualised accounts of youths' resilience, teachers, parents, service providers and other community members will be inadequately equipped to support resilience in culturally and contextually meaningful ways. One such community in the

global South that has neglected to provide contextualised accounts of youth resilience is South Africa (Phasha, 2010; Theron, Theron, & Malindi, 2013). Despite the continued marginalisation of black South African people, particularly black youth (Meth, 2013; Shilubane, Ruiter, Bos, Van Den Borne, & Reddy, 2014), few studies contextualise their resilience processes.

In South Africa, racial and gender inequalities remain prevalent as a result of the political history and legacy of apartheid that segregated and oppressed black South African people (Kagee, 2014; Neves & Du Toit, 2013). During apartheid, these people were forced to occupy structurally inferior settlements (locally known as townships) that are generally associated with poverty, crime, inadequate housing, and few resources (Jewkes et al., 2014; Meth, 2013). Townships continue to be characterised by major health problems, poverty, high crime, poor service delivery, substandard education, high risk of HIV, and gender-based violence, all of which continue to affect black South African youth in particular (Meth, 2013; Shilubane, Ruiter, Bos, Van Den Borne, & Reddy, 2014). Today, young black South Africans are still considered potentially vulnerable because of the legacy of apartheid but young black girls are regarded as being most at risk (De Lange, Mitchell, & Bhana, 2012; Jewkes et al., 2014; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; George, 2008; Thege, 2009; Zembe, Townsend, Thorson, & Ekström, 2013).

Despite being considered to be most at risk, some black girls do adjust well to adversity (Germann, 2005; Malindi, 2014; Phasha, 2010; Theron & Phasha, 2015; Van Rensburg & Barnard, 2005), yet little is known about how and why they are resilient. If psychologists, researchers, social workers, and other youth-focused practitioners are to support and promote resilience effectively in black South African girls in culturally meaningful ways, contextualised accounts of their resilience

processes are crucial. Thus, the purpose of this study was to explore how culture and context shape the gendered resilience promoting processes of a specific subgroup of black South Africans, namely Sesotho-speaking girls. This focus was conveniently informed by the participant demographics of the young people engaged in the Pathways to Resilience Project, as is explained below.

### **Review of black girl-specific findings in South African resilience research**

Internationally, African-American and black South African girls are socialised to become strong women in order to cope well with the many care and financial responsibilities they face as a result of racial oppression and other challenges (Brody et al., 2014; Heath, Donald, Theron, & Lyon, 2014). This has come to be called the Strong Black Woman Schema to which black girls aspire, and black adult women role model (Brody et al., 2014; Woods-Giscombé, 2010). African-American and black South African girls may be socialised to be strong, but little research has reported processes of resilience in black girls. We could locate only two studies that focused specifically on the resilience processes of African-American black girls (see Haight, Finet, Bamba, & Helton, 2009; Johnson, 2010). With regard to black African girls, we located one study that focused on resilience in African girls from Sierra Leone (Denov & MacLure, 2006), and one case study of resilience in an orphaned girl living in a child-headed household in Zimbabwe (Germann, 2005). Overall, these four studies with African-American and/or African girls, however, report on resilience within specific risk contexts (i.e., transitioning from foster care, loss of a friend to homicide, being involved in an armed conflict, and living in a child-headed household), so the findings may not be readily transferable to black South African girls facing somewhat different risks. Only two South African studies explicitly focus on resilience in black girls (see Malindi, 2014; Phasha, 2010), and 14 South African

studies (referenced below) briefly reported one or more black girl-specific findings as part of their overall findings. Across these studies, the risks challenging girls included sexual/physical violence/abuse, poverty, low socio-economic status, trauma, living on the street, orphanhood, and being physically burnt. Reports on what assisted black South African girls to adjust well to these risks included social-ecological, intrapersonal, and faith-based resources.

**Social-ecological resources.** Positive connections to supportive others are the most frequently reported girl-specific findings. Supportive others who provided emotional support through care and encouragement included family members (including extended family), peers, romantic partners, neighbours, community members, and a mental health practitioner (see Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Edwards, Sakasa, & Van Wyk, 2005; Kritzas & Grobler, 2005; Lau & Van Niekerk, 2011; Malindi, 2014; Phasha, 2010; Theron, Liebenberg, & Malindi, 2014; Theron & Phasha, 2015; Theron & Theron, 2014a, 2014b, 2013). The encouragement and care that girls received from supportive others fostered strength in them to persevere despite challenging circumstances, and encouraged determination to obtain an education (Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Mosavel et al., 2015; Phasha, 2010; Theron & Theron, 2014a, 2014b, 2013). Phasha (2010) explains that black South African girls are culturally socialised to value education so as to secure gainful employment and therefore, to have better opportunities than did previous generations under the racially oppressive apartheid government. Additionally, adherence to traditional African cultural values (i.e. *Ubuntu*) in terms of meeting the expectations of family members, and being positively connected to others (e.g., becoming a role model to siblings) was also reported to foster resilience (Theron & Theron, 2013).

**Intrapersonal resources.** Strengths within black girls that supported their positive adjustment included being future-oriented; being hopeful; accepting circumstances beyond their control; and having a positive self-concept. Being future-oriented involved determination and a focus on obtaining an education in the hope of having a better life and rising above adversity (Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Govender & Killian, 2001; Mosavel et al., 2015; Phasha, 2010; Theron & Theron, 2014a, 2014b, 2013; Theron & Phasha, 2015). Additionally, accepting circumstances instead of struggling against them also cultivated strength in black girls (Phasha, 2010; Theron & Theron, 2014a). Self-acceptance and a positive self concept promoted resilience in girls who survived physical burns (Lau & Van Niekerk, 2011), as well as girls who had been victims of sexual violence (Phasha, 2010).

**Faith-based resources.** Spirituality or faith in a metaphysical being (God or the ancestors) was reported as promoting resilience in black girls. Spirituality involved a belief that the Christian God and ancestors have a greater purpose in sending them adversity, and this facilitated constructive meaning-making and the acceptance of circumstances beyond their control (Lau & Van Niekerk, 2011; Malindi, 2014; Theron & Theron, 2014; Pienaar, Swanepoel, Van Rensburg, & Heunis, 2011; Phasha, 2010). Additionally, these metaphysical beings offered guidance and protection during adversity which fostered strength and hopefulness through the belief that their circumstances would improve in the future (Lau & Van Niekerk, 2011; Malindi, 2014; Theron, 2014a; Theron & Theron, 2014; Phasha, 2010).

## **Methodology**

### **Contextualising the study**

This study forms a part of the broader Pathways to Resilience Project (P2RP) (see [www.resilienceresearch.org](http://www.resilienceresearch.org)). The P2RP investigated service use patterns, risk, and resilience in young people from five countries (Canada, China, Columbia, New Zealand, and South Africa). The research site of the South African P2RP is the Thabo Mofutsanyana District, in Free State, where people are mostly Sesotho-speaking (see Theron, Liebenberg & Malindi, 2014).

In Free State, 23.8% of children live with neither their biological mother nor father, 34.2% of children live with their mother only, 3.3% of children live with their father only, and 22% of children are orphans (Hall, Meintjes, & Sambu, 2014). Extended family members who care for orphaned children are able to apply for legal foster parent status, which qualifies them to receive the Foster Care Grant (Jamieson, Stein, & Waterhouse, 2014). Often these extended family members are grandparents, or aunts and uncles (Casale, 2010). There is rising concern that the financial capacity of extended family members to care for orphans is strained despite their receiving grants (Govender, Penning, George, & Quinlan, 2012; Sharer, Cluver, & Shields, 2015). Additionally, it is often poor families and women who are most affected by the burden for caring for orphans (George, Govender, Bachoo, Penning, & Quinlan, 2014). Also, female-headed households in South Africa are on the rise possibly because of men migrating for work opportunities, men abandoning their family responsibilities, or because of AIDS-related deaths (Casale, 2010; Mokomane, 2012). When men are absent, women often take on the responsibility of caring for the family, and this results in a gendered burden of care (Casale, Wild, Cluver, & Kuo, 2015; Mathews & Bevenuti, 2014; Schatz, Madhavan, Collinson, Gómez-Olivé, & Ralston, 2014).

According to Mathews and Benvenuti (2014) the role of a black man is primarily that of provider, so when men are unable to provide for their families, they are sometimes excluded from their children's lives. Black South African families are disproportionately affected by poverty and many live in townships as a result of the enduring legacy of apartheid. Those living in informal settlements—both urban and rural—typically have low-skilled, low-paying, or part-time employment, and often rely on government grants to supplement their income (Hunter & Posel, 2012). Black women living in rural areas are also more likely to be unemployed and doing unpaid work in the household (Statistics South Africa, 2016). Hall, Meintjies and Sambu (2014) reported that in 2012, 55.2% of black children in Free State live below the poverty line of US\$50 or ZAR635 per month. According to Statistics South Africa, in the Thabo Mofutsanyana District of Free State, the unemployment rate for people in general is 28.7%, unemployment among young people is 38.9%, and only 26.3% of people aged 20 and above have completed secondary education (Statistics South Africa, 2016).

Within the specific community within which the research took place, the people value *Ubuntu* (see Theron, Theron, & Malindi, 2013). *Ubuntu* is an old African philosophy or way of living that is respected in many traditional African communities (Munyaka & Motlhabi, 2009). The values of *Ubuntu* prioritise an orientation towards treating human and metaphysical others (including ancestors) respectfully and humanely (Phasha, 2010; Wilson & Williams, 2013). Accordingly, *Ubuntu* encompasses tolerance, forgiveness, empathy, sharing, and the belief that all humans are interdependent and connected to one another (Mhkize, Mathe, & Buthelezi, 2014). *Ubuntu* is also characterised by communal ways of living or by people having a vested interest in the needs and success of the collective (Etieyibo,

2014; Nicolaides, 2015). People are not connected only to one another, but also to nature, to God, to ancestors, and to those who are still to be born (Murove, 2009).

*Ubuntu* values acts that contribute towards society and towards making life “more humane for others” (Munyaka & Motlhabi, 2009, p. 75). Young people are socialised into having a duty to contribute towards their family and society, and education is valued as a means of fulfilling this duty (Watson, McMahon, Mkhize, Schweizer, & Mpofu, 2011; Phasha, 2010). A deep sense of community, or interdependence, and the respect for the needs of others often leads to neighbours, and extended family members assisting in the raising of children and in the provision of children’s basic needs (Mkhize, 2004; Muthukrishna & Sam, 2011). Unlike typical Western nuclear family structures, African families traditionally consist of kin networks with extended family members (Sharer, Cluver, & Shields, 2015).

Traditionally, African people are also known to be deeply spiritual, as well as religiously devout. God is viewed as a supreme being, the creator of the universe, and one to whom all people are connected (Mbiti, 2015). With regard to religiosity, African people enact religious devotion through rituals in which they bless their ancestors, plead to their ancestors to be blessed, ask for guidance, and ask for assistance during difficulties (Mkhize, 2004; Meyer, Moore, & Viljoen, 2002).

### **Research paradigm**

Following Mertens (2015), we subscribe to the transformative research paradigm. According to this multiple realities exist and are shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, and ethnic considerations, along with geographic location, gender, and other values and aspects of people’s daily lives (Flynn, 2013). Historically, positions of privilege and power have been associated with, amongst other factors, socio-

economic status, race, gender, disability, and immigrant status (Mertens, 2012). This transformative paradigm is most applicable when we are exploring the experiences of marginalised groups of people. The agenda of the transformative paradigm is to specifically prioritise research methods that attempt to understand and address historical and current power structures that sustain social injustice (Biddle & Schafft, 2014; Mertens, 2015). The importance of respecting the cultures and norms of people when we are conducting research is also emphasised (Mertens, 2012). Cultural competence and an awareness of the context in which participants live is crucial to our understanding power differentials in the research process, and to building a trusting relationship with participants (Linder & Rodriguez, 2012).

In this study, we recognise that black South African people were, historically, oppressed by the previous apartheid government, which has led to many inequalities and power differentials based on race. Twenty-one years after the abolition of apartheid, many black people, especially young black people, continue to live in inadequate housing in informal settlements, challenged by gender-based violence, high crime, and high risk of HIV infection (Jewkes & Morrel, 2014; Kamndaya, Thomas, Vearey, Sartorius, & Kazembe, 2014). As privileged white South African women, we were aware of our position of privilege and power in the research process. In order to address this power imbalance, following Mertens (2015), we chose interactive research methods that respectfully foregrounded participant voices, namely participatory research methods. Participatory research methods attempt to emphasise participant insights through a respectful collaborative research process with a social change agenda (Corneil, 2011; De Lange, Olivier & Wood, 2008; Waite & Conn, 2011). Our own research agenda was to attempt to understand Sesotho-speaking South African girls' resilience through making use of potentially enabling

research methods. We hoped that, through our choice of methodology, the girls would become more aware of their agency, that the research process would encourage cross-learning between girls, and that throughout the research the girls' resilience processes would be strengthened.

### **Research design**

In keeping with Creswell (2014), we used a qualitative exploratory research design with a phenomenological strategy of inquiry. We chose this because we were interested in interpreting how culture and context shape Sesotho-speaking girls' resilience. Phenomenology focuses on understanding the depth of lived human experiences, as well as the meanings people attach to their lived experiences. As children are socialised they acquire, produce, and sustain knowledge, partly by making meaning (Trotman, 2006). Smith (2015) explains that individuals unconsciously interpret events or phenomena based on a set of personal rules that are developed during childhood socialisation experiences. In their pursuit of understanding people's interpretations, researchers are actively involved in a process of co-constructing knowledge (Plunkett, Leipert, & Ray, 2014). In collaboration with participants, researchers co-interpret the meanings participants attach to their lived experiences (Creswell, 2014; Trotman, 2006).

In summary, we recognised that many Sesotho-speaking girls living in rural contexts of structural adversity remain marginalised due to historical social and political factors. Because we wanted to gain understanding into the girls' lived experiences, the phenomenological strategy of inquiry was most appropriate. In addition, to gain understand the lived experiences of the girls in ways that promote

social change and respectful collaboration in line with the transformative paradigm, we chose participatory research methods that have the potential to do so.

## **Participants**

To gain deep insight into how and why Sesotho-speaking South African girls are resilient, we included multiple voices in this study; these included adult women participants and Sesotho-speaking girls.

**Adult participants.** In total, we included nine adult women participants between the ages of 30-60: two women members of the South African P2RP advisory panel (one white, one black); one white social worker from a children's home; five black social workers and volunteers from a child and family welfare organisation; and one black teacher from a school in the local informal settlement. We specifically included these adult women because they worked directly with Sesotho-speaking girls every day. In addition to sharing their interpretations of what enables resilience, these women recruited resilient girl participants for the study.

**Girl participants.** The indicators of resilience that guided the selection of the girls are those that emerged in the South African P2RP and include the following: having active support systems; being value-driven youth; showing educational progress; having a vision for the future; exhibiting acceptance, and having a resilient personality (i.e., intrapersonal skills such as flexibility, agency, communication skills, and self-worth that encourage young people to seek support). In other words, the P2RP advisory panel used the term "resilient personality" as a collective for a group

or traits and skills that make up agency. We (the researchers in the P2RP team) debated changing their term but did not. Also, a social ecological approach conceptualises resilience as a process that draws on social ecological and individual input (Ungar, 2013); the “resilient personality” refers to the latter (for further detail see Theron, Theron, & Malindi, 2013). In total, 29 Sesotho-speaking girls (average age 16) agreed to participate. The girls faced disparate risks (i.e., death/loss of loved ones, emotional/physical/sexual abuse, and bullying by peers), which allowed us to gain insight into how Sesotho-speaking South African girls adjust well within varying contexts of risk. We grouped girls according to the organisation from which they were recruited (i.e., a children’s home, a local family welfare organisation, and a school in an informal settlement). We divided the girls from the local family welfare organisation into two groups because there were so many of them. Table 1 summarises the four girl participant groups and their demographics.

## **Procedures**

**Individual and group interviews with adult women.** All individual and group interviews were conducted by the first author in English, and no translations into Sesotho were necessary given that all the women were comfortable speaking English. The women chose individual or group interviews according to what was more comfortable for them. In-depth individual interviews were conducted with the teacher at the school in the local informal settlement, and the social worker from the children’s home. The two women from the P2RP advisory panel and the social workers from the local family welfare organisation participated in the group interviews as was convenient to them.

The interview protocol for individual and group interviews consisted of these two questions: “What makes Sesotho-speaking girls lives difficult?” and “How and why do Sesotho-speaking girls cope well in spite of the risks they face?” During the interviews, the first author probed for more information and clarified understandings with the participants to ensure that their insights were clearly understood. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. The transcripts constituted the data.

Table 1: Summary of girl-participant demographics

<b>Participant groups</b>	<b>Number of participants in group</b>	<b>Age range</b>	<b>Languages spoken</b>	<b>Living arrangements</b>
<b>Girls living in care</b>	6	15-19	Sesotho, English, Afrikaans	Children’s home
<b>Girl-child (1)</b> (girls from family welfare organisation)	10	16-18	Sesotho, English	Traditional African family/extended family
<b>Girl-child (2)</b> (girls from family welfare organisation)	8	16-18	Sesotho, English	Traditional African family/extended family

<b>School group</b> (Girls from the local informal settlement)	5	13-16	Sesotho, English	Traditional African family/extended family
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**Draw-and-Talk with girls.** The Draw-and-Talk method was led by the first author, in English, with the collaboration of the South African P2RP team who also assisted with translation when necessary. Several girls chose to express themselves in their first language (i.e., Sesotho). We conducted Draw-and-Talk prior to community-based participatory video (detailed below), on Saturdays or after school hours as was convenient to the girls. Draw-and-Talk involves participants creating a drawing according to a prompt, followed by a verbal explanation of their drawing (Guillemin, 2004; Mitchell, Theron, Stuart, Smith & Campbell, 2011). The prompt we used to understand their experiences of risk was: “What makes your life hard?”; and, to understand their resilience processes, the prompt was: “How do you cope well in spite of what makes your life hard?” The girls first created the drawings and then verbally explained their drawings to the rest of the group. As the girls explained their drawings, the P2RP researchers probed and clarified understandings to gain deep insight into each girl’s drawing and lived experience. The discussions around the girls’ drawings were recorded via audio and digital recording devices and transcribed verbatim.

One month later, we repeated the process with the girls, but did not revisit the notion of risk. Instead, we encouraged the girls to reflect on resilience processes, or

aspects of previously identified supports, that they had become aware of or more aware of since our first meeting. The transcripts and drawings constituted the data.

**Community-based participatory video with girls.** Community-based participatory video (CBPV) involves the creation of a visual narrative linked to the research focus, in the form of a short video-documentary in which some participants act and others film (Mitchell & de Lange, 2011; Mitchell, de Lange, & Moletsane, 2011). The CBPV process was also led by the first author, in English, with the collaboration of the South African P2RP team which also assisted in translations when necessary. We invited the girls to participate in a full day of research, usually on Saturdays at the organisations from which they were recruited, as suggested by the adult women participants, for the girls' convenience and safety. We asked the girls to create and film a story about how they cope well in spite of identified risks. To this end, we encouraged them to draw on what had emerged in the Draw-and-Talk activity.

In preparation for the video, the girls created storyboards (i.e., a cartoon-like sequence of scenes to be acted out in the video). Once their storyboards were complete, they video-recorded their enactment. Because we followed the No Editing Required (NER) approach of Mitchell and De Lange (2011), we screened the girls' videos to them immediately after they had been filmed. This meant we were able to engage the girls in reflective discussions and we were able to probe to ensure that we understood the message in each video. One month later, we repeated the CBPV process. In the interim, we asked the girls to reflect on their resilience. We hoped that a second CBPV session might uncover additional insights regarding the girls' resilience. The second CBPV-session matched the first. The transcripts, researcher

notes (the first author kept a reflective diary), storyboards, video footage, and reflective discussions constitute the data.

## Data analysis

We analysed the data in two stages. First, following Creswell (2014), we conducted deductive content analysis. This involved creating a codebook of five gendered processes of resilience (see Table 2) that flowed from a synthesis of the literature documenting the resilience processes of girls and women across cultures (for more detail see Chapter 2). In line with Vaismoradi, Turunen, and Bondas (2013), we wanted to test how applicable these processes were to explaining the resilience of Sesotho-speaking South African girls. For this reason we did not conduct Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (Frost et al., 2010) since deductive analysis led to insights into how—if at all—the synthesised gendered resilience processes manifest for Sesotho-speaking South African girls. We uploaded the data into Atlas.ti (a qualitative data analysis software package) that facilitated the deductive analysis of the data. We used the gendered resilience processes (see Table 2) to analyse the data, and to examine the extent to which they were reflected in the data.

Table 2: Summary of the list of codes comprising the code book

<b>Gendered resilience processes</b>	<b>Emotionally supportive constructive relationship (ESCR)</b>	<b>Pragmatically supportive constructive relationship (PSCR)</b>	<b>Expectations of reciprocity from the constructive relational context</b>	<b>Agency</b>	<b>Strength-fostering spirituality</b>
<b>Facets of gendered resilience processes</b>	Immediate/continuous support	Provision of basic needs	Emotional expectations (i.e., encouraging others)	Acceptance of circumstances beyond one's control	Trust in metaphysical beings

	Unconditional love and acceptance	Physical protection	Practical expectations (i.e., providing for the family)	Problem-solving	Motivational scriptural/religious readings
	Safe spaces in which to share difficulties and advice	Financial assistance		Positive self-regard	
		Assistance with child care			

Following this, we first interrogated, adjusted, and refined the facets of the gendered resilience processes to examine the extent to which they explained Sesotho-speaking girls' resilience. For example, the codes "immediate/continuous support", "unconditional love and acceptance", and "safe spaces to share difficulties and advice" were refined to "Predominantly females that offer unconditional encouragement and have a sustained presence in the girls' lives" (see supplemental information, p. 153).

Second, following Creswell (2014), the first author subsequently coded the uncoded data inductively for any new codes that might emerge from the data. The question that guided the inductive analysis was: "Why are Sesotho-speaking South African girls resilient?" All relevant segments of data not coded during the deductive analysis were assigned a code label through open coding (e.g., writing in a diary to express negative emotions). Similar open codes were then grouped through axial coding, and after careful re-examination new process-specific codes were developed (e.g., being a strong black woman by expressing painful emotions. See Table 3, supplemental information, p. 153). We then interpreted all codes in terms of how context and culture potentially shaped the expression of the girls' resilience processes. For the purpose of this study, following Ungar (2015), we defined context as the social and physical environment within which the girls live. Also, we

understood culture as the daily practices, beliefs, values, and worldviews of people (Louw & Louw, 2009).

### **Ethical considerations**

Ethical clearance for this study was granted by the authors' institutional review board and other necessary authorities (i.e., the local department of education, the children's home, the school, and the family welfare organisation). We gave detailed information letters to all the girl participants as well as to their parents or caregivers or legal guardians to ensure that they understood the aims of the study, as well as any risks regarding their participation. We emphasised that because the research method is a visual one, there were limits to the girls' anonymity and confidentiality since others would be able to see them in their videos should they be screened to any community members or researchers. Because anonymity was not possible in this CBPV study, we were careful about which videos to screen to community members so not to put the girls at risk of being victimised. In Group 1 particularly, we chose not to screen one video in order to protect the girls because a particular adult in their environment was portrayed as being verbally unkind. The girls agreed with our rationale and were satisfied with the opportunity to vent their feelings.

We obtained informed consent from all the adults to participate in individual interviews or group interviews at their convenience. We explained in detail the aim of the project, the risks as well as the benefits of their participation in the project, and the risks and benefits to the girl-participants. The women participants were aware that the group interviews posed a risk to their anonymity and confidentiality, but they agreed to participate anyway.

### **Trustworthiness**

Following Creswell (2014), in order to ensure trustworthiness we used multiple methods of data collection, particularly methods that foreground participant voices. We also conducted stakeholder checks once the data was analysed to ensure that our interpretations did reflect the girls' experiences. To assure the transferability of our findings we provided rich descriptions of the context within which the participants live. Additionally, as the authors, we reached agreement on the main findings of this study through several consensus discussions.

### **Findings**

The current dataset provides ample evidence that the universal gendered resilience promoting processes (as conceptualised in Chapter 2) account for the resilience processes of the Sesotho-speaking participants (see Table 3; a more detailed Table is available as supplemental information, p). However, these processes reflected the girls' contextual and cultural realities. As summarised in Table 3 (see supplemental information, p. 153), participating Sesotho-speaking South African girls adjusted well to adversity because they (1) had access to unconditional encouragement from women figures who were continually present; (2) had access to a pragmatically supportive community; (3) made constructive contributions towards society; (4) demonstrate agency (i.e., being personally invested in education, steering away from negative peers, being a strong black girl/woman by expressing emotions, seeking information, and valuing themselves), and (5) have a trusting relationship with God.

These findings are interrelated. For example, pragmatic support assisted girls to remain invested in education, and emotionally supportive relationships encouraged girls to invest personally in their education in order to meet cultural expectations of reciprocity (i.e., having a duty to contribute towards society). In what follows we discuss the contextual actuality and cultural expectations that shaped the expression of these gendered resilience processes (e.g., that shifted unconditional encouragement to unconditional encouragement from women figures).

### **Contextual actualities**

The girls' physical and social environments shaped the form of their available constructive relationships, as well as their expression of the culturally based expectations of carrying out their duty to family.

**Community of caring women and girl friends/kin/service providers.** The absence of men (by choice or not) has been widely reported for black South African families living in rural areas (Casale, 2010). Reasons include labour migration (of one or both parents), HIV infection, and AIDS-related deaths, or the abdication of fathering responsibilities (Casale, 2010; Franklin, Makiwane, & Makusha, 2014; Hosegood, Richter, & Clarke, 2015). Because of this, women and girls are most likely to be a readily available form of support. A girl from the Girl-child (Group 1) illustrates the difficulty in connecting with her father whom she has known only briefly.

I have a dad but the thing is I had to be separated from him when my mother was going to look for a job in Kimberley, that's when we separated so I came back here in 2005...so we kind of have a complicated [relationship] because he wasn't really

there when I was growing [up] and it's really hard for me to accept him as my dad.

Disrupted contact with fathers, coupled with the girls' reported experiences of loss (death/loss of loved ones), might explain why the sustained support of women/girls—rather than just support itself—was meaningful.

In keeping with Theron's (2015) point, when the girls referred to men as supportive this was limited to their encouraging investment in education or learning opportunities, or to providing for the girls' basic needs. For example, one of the girls from the Girl-Child group 1 explained that her father encouraged her to participate in this research study because she might learn something valuable through her participation.

He supports me because he encouraged me to come here [to participate in this research].... He said I should come here and see what's happening, maybe I'm [going to] learn something, and he told me it's about the resilient thing, people from [the University].

**Expectations to manage domestic responsibilities.** Woman-headed homes and the migration of one or both parents to urban areas for employment is a common phenomenon in rural areas because of the legacy of apartheid. This often results in children living in single-parent households or with their grandparents (Casale, 2010; Mokomane, 2012). Accordingly, many black South African children take on household chores because adults are absent and/or their mothers work long hours (Lane, Cluver, & Operario, 2015). Girls and women are more likely to perform household chores (Statistics South Africa, 2011). This possibly explains why expectations of reciprocity were expressed as girls' support with domestic chores at home (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: "I clean at home I do everything" (Participant 2, School group)



### Cultural distinguishing features

Cultural expectations that shaped the expression of the girls' resilience processes included being a strong black woman; having allegiance to *Ubuntu*-like ways of living and being; and being invested in education. These are discussed below.

**Being a strong black woman able to express emotions.** The political history of black South African women has led to their adoption of multiple care and work responsibilities (Schatz et al., 2014). The absence of men (discussed earlier) has added to the creation of a gendered burden of care (Casale et al., 2015), as has already been mentioned. Theron (2015) reasoned that black South African women are socialised to be reliable and strong for historical and political reasons, echoing the schema of the Strong Black Woman (see Brody et al., 2014; Woods-Giscombé, 2010). Being socialised to be strong potentially serves as a means of survival in threatening contexts of living, as was highlighted by one of the girls in the Girl-Child group 1. "We know that now girls are in danger of rape and stuff, so you have to stay strong." In this way, the cultural prescription for girls to be strong

serves a protective function. Another girl from the Girl-child group 1 emphasised this cultural expectation. *“What I’ve been told is that as a girl you always have to be at your best behaviour...what I’m trying to explain is that as a girl... you have to, no matter what might happen, just be strong.”*

For the girls in this study, maintaining strength was informed by expressing painful emotions in solitary ways (i.e., writing in a journal, crying alone, or crying while listening to music). For example, one of the girls living in care reported, *“I was really sad and I wrote I think four pages full of my feelings and I cried... but then afterwards I felt better.”* Furthermore, the expression of emotions was facilitated by the girls’ social ecology. In particular, women social workers encouraged girls. *“We taught them to have journals, a personal journal that you can talk to if there’s no one listening to you.”* (Social worker, family welfare organisation)

**Allegiance to *Ubuntu*-like ways of living and being.** As mentioned previously, the girls’ community is known to respect *Ubuntu*. Devotion to this traditional African way of being interconnected to and with human and spiritual others is reflected in the girls’ accounts of their resilience.

All the girls reported having caring, supportive women and/or girl-friends, sisters, mothers, teachers, or social workers, as well as a trusting relationship with God (i.e., the Christian God). This collective of human beings and a spiritual entity shared concern for the girls’ emotional and basic needs (see Table 3: Supplemental information, p. 153). The girls drew on the values of *Ubuntu*, trusting that they would receive support from human or spiritual others, despite

their experiences of a lack of care from human others (i.e., because of the death of their parents, emotional, physical, and sexual abuse, and/or bullying by peers).

In addition to the support from mainly women and girls, the girls had a trusting relationship with God (the only spiritual being they reported). Their deep connection to God strengthened them against their experiences of not having been cared for by human others. In spite of *Ubuntu* being the prevailing philosophy in the girls' community, the values of this traditional African way of being are not always practised by all people (Kamwangamalu, 2013). The decline in allegiance to *Ubuntu* has been associated with crime, poverty, and unemployment, all of which prompt distrust of others, as well as with there being fewer living elders able to continue teaching *Ubuntu* because of AIDS-related deaths (Theron & Phasha, 2015). During times when human others were unable to support the girls, they relied on their connection to God as a being who is caring, reliable, and who offers protection and guidance (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: "Praying helps me that...if I pray I feel better because I know God will do something and take action" (Participant 3, School Group)



Moreover, the interconnectedness integral to *Ubuntu*-like ways of living and being involved mutual acts that advance and bring pride to the collective (Nicolaidis, 2015). There is reciprocity in the girls' accounts of their resilience in terms of giving back to their community by role modelling constructive behaviours and reaching out to others. Out of their concern for the collective, they reached out to advise their peers who were engaging in potentially destructive behaviours (i.e., not going to school, abusing substances or smoking) to focus on their education. This is evident in the words of one girl from the School Group who reached out to her peer: "I told my [friend] she must go to school to learn so that she can be someone with importance so that she can help other teenagers."

**Investment in education.** For the girls, being committed to education was the key to overcoming their current adversity in the future. As Theron (2015), Malindi (2014) and Phasha (2010) demonstrate elsewhere, the girls in this study also saw education as a means to contribute positively towards their families in the future by uplifting them from poverty (See Figure 3). This "valorisation of education" (see Theron, 2015, p. 10) reflects the *Ubuntu* priority of advancing the

collective community through acts that contribute to society (Wilson & Williams, 2013). Phasha (2010) explains that black girls in particular are socialised to value education as a means to a better future compared to the harsh labour and inequality previous generations suffered on account of apartheid. This is apparent in the reflection on her own resilience of one of the adult AP participants.

I have been raised by a grandmother...I think I've got the resilience from her.... She was the one who was encouraging me... to study very hard so that I could in future stand for myself. Because she was a divorcee, and she struggled a lot, she always told me...you must not be like me...you must study, and go to school, so that you can work for yourself, and you can look after your children.

The “valorisation of education” was reinforced by the girls’ social ecology as girls were encouraged to focus on their schoolwork rather than being involved with disruptive peers. Enacting their investment in education often meant taking actions that would promote their investment in education (i.e., avoiding negative peers, not abusing or using substances) (see Figures 3 and 4).

Figure 3: “There’s a family and parents are not working so they rely on the children’s grants. So school helps us to change that we can help the parents at home and maybe let our parents reach their goals” (Participant 4, Girl-Child Group 2)

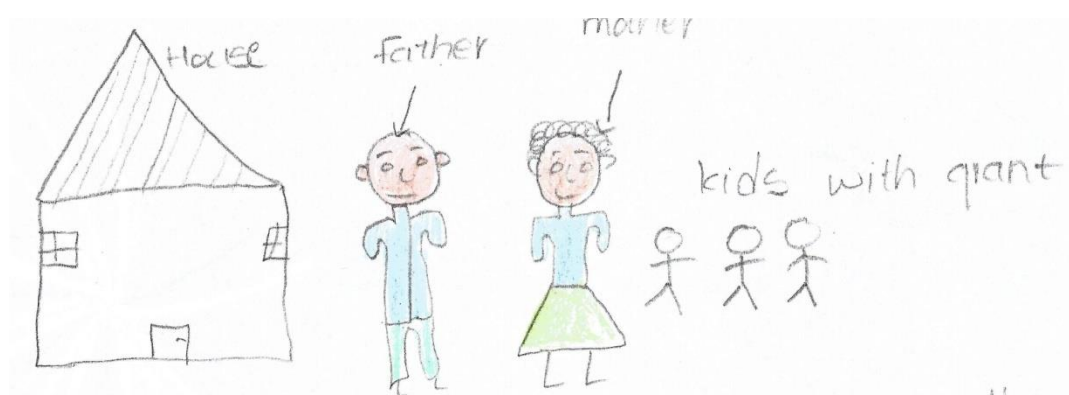
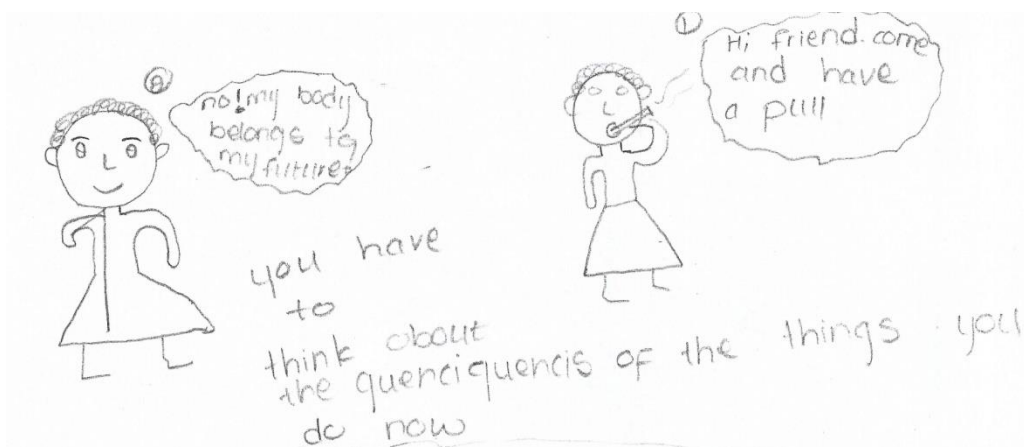


Figure 4: “School helps you to know what is right and what is wrong, and helps us to stay away from bad things at the street” (Participant 3, Girl-Child Group 1)



### Discussion

The purpose of this study was to understand how gendered mechanisms inform the resilience of Sesotho-speaking girls and, in particular, to question and reflect on how culture and context shape the expression of these resilience processes. In answer to this question, Sesotho-speaking South African girls are resilient because they have (i) sustained support from women and girl friends/kin/service providers; (ii) access to a pragmatically supportive community that values *Ubuntu*; (iii) motivation to make constructive choices towards a positive future; (iv) agency (i.e., being personally invested in education, steering away from negative peers, being a strong black girl or woman by expressing emotions, seeking information, and valuing oneself); and (v) a trusting relationship with God.

These mechanisms were reflective of girls' sociocultural positioning. Unavailable or absent men shaped the form of who supported the girls emotionally. Also, the girls' community that values *Ubuntu*-like ways of living and being, supported the girls in practical ways (i.e., support with schoolwork, basic

needs provision), as well as in negotiating new culturally appropriate ways of expressing emotions. Moreover, the “valorisation of education” was facilitated by a communal culture that prioritises education as a means to a positive future for young people and their families. In essence then, the girls adjusted well to adversities because of gendered mechanisms of resilience that were refined in ways that mirrored the cultural realities of their rural, traditionally African life-worlds. Also, our findings expand on the understandings of agency in Manuscript 1 (see chapter 2) that involve acceptance over circumstances, problem-solving, and positive self-regard. For Sesotho-speaking girls living in rural contexts of structural adversity, agency involves making constructive choices to steer away from negative peers, to invest in education, to express painful emotions, and to role model positive behaviours to younger people. These findings extend current understandings of how the resilience promoting process of agency is shaped by context and culture. Furthermore, our findings lead us to three key points about how the social ecology can leverage Sesotho-speaking South African girls’ resilience in contextually and culturally appropriate ways.

First, both international and South African literature reports on the archetype of the strong black woman and how African culture prescribes being unwaveringly strong (Abrams et al., 2014; Brody et al., 2014; Heath et al., 2014). Adhering to this archetype has potentially devastating health risks such as diabetes, depression, and allostatic overload (i.e., the inability of the body to cope physically with long term stress) (Brody et al., 2014; Hayhurst et al., 2014). Watson and Hunter (2015) reported tensions of the Strong Black Woman schema with the first tension being: “Be psychologically durable yet do not engage in behaviours that preserve psychological durability” (p. 10). Part of this tension

involves the belief that strong black women should not express too much emotion since this is considered a sign of weakness. Heath et al. (2014) reported the South African cultural context to be one that also encourages stoicism rather than the expression of intense feelings. Our findings are in direct opposition to this stoicism that has been reported in both international and South African literature. The girls in this study found means to manage the tensions of being culturally expected to remain strong by expressing their painful emotions through solitary creative activities. This indicates a change in the expression of the strong black woman archetype. Instead of suppressing painful emotions, the girls were supported towards health-promoting emotionally expressive activities that potentially facilitate psychological durability. Adults within girls' social ecologies have been reported to negotiate potentially harmful cultural prescriptions. Bhana (2010) reported how a South African teacher was pivotal in promoting gender equality among school children in her class. She challenged culturally prescribed gender roles and promoted mutual respect between boys and girls instead of allowing boys to treat girls as subordinate. Teachers, as part of girls' social ecologies, could be key to helping girls to challenge potentially threatening cultural expectations and negotiate for health-promoting expressions of cultural expectations. Future transformative participant-led research needs to explore what types of culturally-appropriate health-promoting behaviours would be acceptable for traditional African girls and their communities.

Second, sustained support by women and girls whose presence in the girls' lives was uninterrupted, rather than briefly supportive encounters, was significant to the girls' resilience. This signals the importance of the social ecology partnering with women and girls to support their uninterrupted presence in girls' lives

(Theron, 2015). One possible way for the social ecology to support women to be continually supportive and available might be to promote the economic independence of black women, particularly in rural areas. Black South African women living in rural areas are least likely to be employed and most likely to be doing unpaid domestic work (Statistics South Africa, 2011). If women in rural areas could be supported towards economic independence through gainful employment or entrepreneurial activity then women would be able to remain present in girls' lives. An additional way might be to support sustained father-involvement that may relieve some of the many care-giving burdens for which women bear primary responsibility. According to Mathews and Benvenuti (2014) fathers are sometimes excluded from their children's lives when they are unable to provide for them. This implies that fathers might desire involvement with their children, yet structural disadvantage obstructs this. This highlights the importance of not discarding black men or stereotyping them as being uninterested in their children's lives (Hosegood, Richter, & Clarke, 2015). As with women, supporting men to be economically healthy is likely to have positive spin-offs for the children they father. Hosegood et al. (2015) reported that being involved as a father brings respect to African men and encourages their shift towards health-promoting behaviours (e.g., restricting alcohol consumption) and concomitant family benefits.

Third, being personally invested in education as a means to a better future and as a means to contribute positively towards the collective was important for the girls in this study. However, as Theron (2015) explains, poor quality education in rural areas is likely to obstruct upward trajectories and lead young people towards failure. Education in South Africa is in crisis, and many learners who pass their secondary schooling do not obtain entry to university (Modisaotsile, 2012).

Poor quality education in rural areas is a result of the legacy of apartheid and continues to plague rural South African schools (Madhavan & Crowell, 2013). Because being personally invested in education is such an integral part of Sesotho-speaking girls' resilience, the South African Department of Basic Education needs to raise the quality of education in schools, particularly rural government schools. If the quality of education remains poor and if this is not addressed, the social ecology may be responsible for perpetuating vulnerability in girls (Theron, 2015).

### **Conclusion**

This study has limitations. The subjective selection of participants by adult women may have resulted in a biased sample. This might have resulted in other important resilience processes and understandings of Sesotho-speaking girls' resilience not emerging in our data that may have, had other girls participated. The data also explains the girls' resilience at one point in time only and offers no insight into longitudinal understandings of the girls' resilience. Another limitation to this study is the challenge in actualising social change in rural contexts of structural adversity. After screening the girls' videos to actors within their social ecologies, the girls later reported that no change had occurred. This signifies the need for continuous collaboration with girls' social ecologies to partner with them towards actualising change. Additionally, our findings do not represent all black South African girls, even though they are likely to be transferrable to other girls who have similar experiences of marginalisation.

Despite these limitations, the study provides valuable insight into understanding the gendered resilience promoting processes of Sesotho-speaking

girls. These insights flag the importance of continued attention to contextualised accounts of resilience, particularly if social ecologies intend to facilitate resilience in cultural and gender-appropriate ways. Moreover, attention is drawn to the importance of adults in the social ecology in facilitating resilience. In particular, flowing from this study an emphasis on spiritual narratives to the exclusion of other narratives could perhaps signpost that professionals need to explore what is prompting this emphasis—i.e., adherence to cultural conventions of spirituality or an absence of social ecological supports? Considering the emphasis girls place on education as a means to a better future, adults within girls' social ecologies should be supported to be actively present in girls' lives to support their resilience and assist them in achieving their educational aspirations. If the adults in Sesotho-speaking girls' social ecologies do not take serious action towards supporting their positive adjustment, particularly regarding the quality of their education, they will be responsible for maintaining the girls' vulnerability.

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Table 3: Supplemental information

Gendered resilience mechanism	Resilience mechanism defined	Cultural or contextual distinguishing feature	Examples
<b>Emotionally supportive relational context</b>	Emotionally supportive relationships offering advice, encouragement, or emotional support.	<b>Unconditional encouragement by women-figures who are continuously present</b>	<p>“I have a friend who’s like always there for me...who, no matter what you... I trust her with everything... she’s my girl...yeah we talk about everything, we encourage each other, and we don’t discourage each other” (Participant 1 Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 24-26)</p> <p>“She’s a good person [her friend] and she just sits there and listens to us and we listen to her. And if you need to cry in the middle of the night you can pick up your phone...I can put the phone on my ear and you can just cry all the time and I’ll just listen... even if you need to cry, even if you don’t want me to say anything, but I could just listen to what you feel, that’s a good friendship, always being there” (Participant 2, group 2, day 2, lines 415-420)</p> <p>“She [social worker] is always there for me when I need her, when I’m sad or what, she’s always giving me advice, yeah so she helps me” (Participant 6, children’s home, day 2, lines 106-107)</p>
<b>Pragmatically supportive relational context</b>	Supportive others providing for basic needs.	<b>Supportive community provides access to basic resources</b>	<p>“...every house [at the children’s home] has a [community], like a church support... and then they bring the meat” (Participant 1, children’s home, day 3, lines 250-253)</p> <p>“...so this child [living in a child-headed household]...she was brave enough to stay with her brother and her sister without somebody else helping them, but what I liked about her is that even if there was nothing to eat at home, she would rather not eat and share whatever she shares with the brother and sister until we decided here at school, we have this feeding scheme system that okay, during break you’ll have your food but we’ll give you extra so that when you go home you’ll be having something in hand for your brother and sister” (Teacher, lines 241-248)</p>

			<p>“When they are on their monthly period and all those things, when it just happens the teacher will give them pads and so it’s not just academics” (Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 755-757)</p>
		<p><b>Friends and educated adults assist with schoolwork</b></p>	<p>“... during the school term they will come in our offices if they have some, to do some research or they need information to add on their school work, they do come here at our offices and then we do assist them” (Social worker, group interview, lines 392-395)</p> <p>“The working in groups at school it helps her... when they work in groups with the other learners... It helps her because she says anything that she does not know, during that group they help her to gain knowledge” (Participant 4, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 581-588)</p> <p>“her friend is helping her because she says what helps her with spelling errors and all those things” (Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 749-757)</p>
<p><b>Expectations of reciprocity</b></p>	<p>Community or family expectations of girls (emotional/pragmatic)</p>	<p><b>Making a constructive contribution to society</b></p>	<p>“She is saying that she will tell them [her friends] to stop doing what they are doing, and again...for her not to fall into the same trap that they are in she will stop going with them” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 667-668)</p> <p>“I told [her] [friend] she must go to school to learn so that she can be someone with importance so that she can help other teenagers” (Participant 2, school group, day 2, lines 502-503)</p> <p>“...we just say like we are having four C’s ... it’s comradeship it’s consequences* creativity and community development which is the fourth C of the month, so we just say ok it’s community development we just have to do something for our community, so we will go to the granny’s house, clean, cook... one of my friends, the one who needs something, giving them our old clothes” (Participant 3 and Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 309-313)</p>

		<b>Shared domestic chores</b>	<p>“I do everything I clean I cook I wash clothes because I’m the only girl at home expect for my mom” (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, line 589)</p> <p>“I wash and do dishes after school” (Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, line 597)</p> <p>“and community development which is the fourth C of the month, so we just say ok it’s community development we just have to do something for our community, so we will go to the granny’s house, clean, cook... one of my friends, the one who needs something, giving them our old clothes” (Participant 3 and Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 309-313)</p>
<b>Agency</b>	Making constructive choices, or taking action.	<b>Being personally invested in education</b>	<p>“...I’ve drawn myself dreaming, you know future dreams, it’s all about...I do well in life because I want to achieve my dreams...I want to become a magistrate in the future so I really, really, really have to be magistrate so that’s why I’ve drawn this image..that’s a representation of my dreams” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 35-39)</p> <p>“...I connect with people, as I said, who help me reach my goals and dreams and who are not negative and they are always positive in life, and I avoid ending up in drugs...because I should always respect myself and those who are living with me who are around me so that we can reach our (goals) in life” Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 50-53)</p> <p>“You know ...as I said that you know I have been raised by a grandmother...I think I’ve got the resilience from her...she was the one who was encouraging me you know to study very hard so that I could in future stand for myself because she was also a divorcee, so and she struggled a lot... she always told me you know you must not be like me, you must do this you must study, go to school so that you can work for yourself and you can look after your children so on” (Mrs M, focus group 1, lines 315-319)</p>

		<p><b>Steering away from negative peers</b></p>	<p>“...sometimes you may not have good friends all of your friends might be bad friends and you will have no one to turn to. That is not all there is, like she says you must reach out for help to people who can support you” (Participant 10, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1, lines 1352-154)</p> <p>“it’s about friends and they try to make you do wrong things, the good thing is to try to stay away from them” (Participant 10, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1, lines 514-516)</p> <p>“Well... drugs aren’t good for you...they make you think silly things...so it’s something that you should try to avoid because it has consequences... a person who offers you drugs definitely doesn’t want to see you anywhere but he just want to destroy your life, you should immediately run away from that person” (P2 G2G1 228-240)</p>
		<p><b>Being a strong black girl/woman by expressing emotions</b></p>	<p>“...to write it down, when I’m angry I write down what makes me angry and what I’m going to do about this...It’s like I’m talking to somebody, when you’re talking to somebody you’re taking out your feelings” (Participant 1, school group, day 1, lines 445-446)</p> <p>“I keep writing in that book...to take the feelings out...once something has happened to me I write it down you know to take the anger the stress I have” (Participant 3, school group, day 2, lines 26-28)</p> <p>“Music helps me to release my feelings” (Participant 2, children’s home, day 3, lines 353-354)</p> <p>“I cry alone because it makes me feel better” (Participant (Participant 11, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 864-865)</p>
		<p><b>Seeking information/guidance from the collective</b></p>	<p>“I also was one of those people that like always say negative things about myself and I never said one positive thing about myself , but reading about people and how they feel about themselves, it made me feel like ok I’m a human being I should start saying positive things about myself...so it’s great” (Participant 10, Girl-Child, group 1, day 1, lines 87-91)</p>

			<p>“they will talk...they will ask for privacy, if that thing I can’t handle, I refer them to come and talk to, go ask Mavis because they do counselling” (Participant 1, focus group 2, lines 199-201)</p> <p>“Ok I like taking like maybe quizzes, yes I like quizzes, so I take them I read a lot magazines, magazines called “Girl” yes they really motivate girls so I like reading, reading as well I like getting information and stuff I like that so from quizzes and reading magazines, I’m very well informed about girls and stuff so that’s why I feel confident about myself” (Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 99-102)</p>
		<b>Valuing oneself</b>	<p>“She says she prepares for class, when the teacher asks questions she feels proud about herself to give answers and the teacher giving positive feedback saying that was a good answer” (Participant 4, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 595-597)</p> <p>“Ok like many people have low self-esteem and I used to be one but they encouraged the Girl-Child helped me you know realise that I’m not the only one who like has low self-esteem and there are people who are willing to help us like have high self-esteem” (Participant 10, Girl-Child, Group 2, day 1, lines 75-78)</p> <p>“I believe in having a good self-esteem yes and just staying strong, that helps me to stay strong because if I don’t believe in myself who will?...just have a good self-esteem...because I know myself and I love myself just the way I am” (Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 91- 94)</p>
<b>Strength-fostering spirituality</b>	Connection to metaphysical beings.	<b>Trusting relationship with God.</b>	<p>“For me what I drew here, this is me...I like to lock myself in my room and then I pray I tell Jesus what, what I need in life, what He must do for me, I tell Him about other people...It’s just that I love God, He keeps me, He takes my hands...I just say to Him Jesus take my hands and let me grow, you are my light in the dark, wherever I go You are there...: It help me to be strong because He’s the one, He’s the one I tell my secrets to you know I tell Him what I want...’cause I know that He can provide the thing that I need (Participant 4, school group, day 2, lines 318-331)</p> <p>“God helped me as I already told you last time I had been raped...I remembered I said that I have to take God as my saviour. That’s...what</p>

			<p>made me go to the church because if it wasn't for God I could have been dead" (Participant 3, school group, day 2, lines 285-289)</p> <p>"God always be there everywhere we go He is with us, he protect us from the evil things" (Participant 2, school group, day 1, lines 845)</p>
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## CHAPTER 4

Manuscript 3 titled “*Leveraging resilience among Sesotho-speaking girls: Lessons for South African teachers*” answered the following research question: “*What do girls’ accounts reflect about how teachers (as key social-ecological stakeholders) facilitate resilience and how can these insights be leveraged to support teachers to champion resilience?*”

Prepared for: South African Journal of Education (see Appendix G for author guidelines)

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## SUMMARY

Both nationally and internationally teachers are a crucial part of young people's social ecologies. Considering that black South African girls remain the most marginalised in South Africa, the purpose of this study was to explore how teachers champion resilience among black girls living in rural contexts of structural adversity. Using inductive content analysis, we analysed a total of 68 drawings that were generated by 28 Sesotho-speaking girls from the Free State Province of South Africa. The findings include: (i) empathic teachers actively listen and provide guidance; (ii) teachers motivate girls towards positive futures; and (iii) teachers initiate teacher-girl partnerships. Key leverage points developed from these findings to support teachers' championship of resilience include: (i) initiate teacher-learner partnerships; (ii) advocate for a changed education landscape; and (iii) provide positive feedback.

**Keywords:** girls, resilience, rural, Sesotho-speaking, social ecology, structural adversity, teacher(s)

## **Leveraging resilience among Sesotho-speaking girls: Lessons for South African teachers**

Resilience, or positive adaptation to adversity, is currently widely understood as a process rather than an individual trait (Masten, 2014). According to the Social Ecology of Resilience Theory (SERT), which is the theoretical framework of this article, adjusting well to adversity (i.e., resilience) is a reciprocal process between individuals and their social ecologies (Ungar, 2011). Both the individual and the social ecology play active roles in facilitating positive outcomes. Individuals navigate towards and negotiate for culturally meaningful resources; the social ecology provides resources that support positive adjustment (Ungar, 2008, 2011, 2012). Although resilience demands input from both the individual and social ecology, there is growing emphasis on the influential contributions that a social ecology makes to the resilience of young people (Masten, 2014; Panter-Brick, 2015; Ungar, 2013).

Schools are a vital part of most young people's social ecologies both internationally and in South Africa (Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011; Masten, 2014; Theron & Engelbrecht, 2012; Ungar, Russel, & Connelly, 2014). Internationally, many young people spend the majority of their daily lives at school (Theron, 2015). In South Africa, school-going young people spend a significant amount of time (around 7 hours per day) in formal school classes (excluding extracurricular activities), and a total of 197 days of the year at school (School terms South Africa, 2016). School engagement and regular school attendance has been widely associated with resilience both in South Africa and internationally (Phasha, 2010; Ungar et al., 2014). This relates to schools facilitating adaptive processes, and constituting a secure space for young people in the midst of trauma, structural disadvantage, or other significant adversity (Doll, Jones, Osborn, Dooley, & Tuner, 2011; Holt, 2015; Wolmer, Hamiel, Barchas, Slone, & Laor, 2011). Teachers in particular have the potential to be instrumental in protecting young people who face a variety of difficulties or emergency situations. In fact, Ungar et al. (2014) report that teachers are the most critical school-based influence on the resilience of young people.

In their review of resilience-focused school-based interventions, Ungar et al. (2014) and Theron and Engelbrecht (2012) report that teachers who champion youth resilience make themselves accessible to young people; actively listen and engage

with students; are empathetic to the difficulties learners face; take responsibility for educational outcomes; advocate for the support of learners considered at-risk; address bullying; and promote pro-social bonding. In other words, teachers provide psychosocial and pragmatic support to vulnerable children (Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011). Moreover, according to Masten (2014) and Malindi and Machenjedze (2012) teachers support resilience when they refer young people to necessary services. According to prevailing education policy (Norms and Standards for South African Educators, 2000), South African teachers are expected to go beyond their educational role and take on a pastoral role (Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011; Schoeman, 2015). This includes acting as counsellors and/or mentors to learners and providing psychosocial support. Psychosocial support is continuous assistance that attempts to address both psychological and social problems that people are faced with (World Health Organisation, 2015). For example, psychosocial support might involve assisting individuals and their families to cope well psychologically and socially with HIV-related difficulties. Typically, teachers are not provided with formal training in providing psychosocial support (Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011). Even though the extant literature (e.g., Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011; Malindi & Machenjedze, 2012; Phasha, 2010) suggests that some South African teachers succeed in offering pastoral support, all teachers need to be capacitated in order to optimally fulfil a pastoral role. One way of doing this is to identify research-based lessons relating to how best to leverage resilience. In short, this article aims to do just that. To do so, it draws on empirical work with Sesotho-speaking young women from rural parts of the Thabo Mofutsanyana district in Free State who participated in the Pathways to Resilience Study, South Africa (for detail, see [www.resilienceresearch.org](http://www.resilienceresearch.org)). The study included a focus on Sesotho-speaking young women given the worrying reality that black South African girls remain the most marginalised and at-risk group in South Africa (De Lange, Mitchell, & Bhana, 2012; Jewkes et al., 2014). The lessons from this study are likely applicable to teachers working with young people who are marginalised in other parts of the Global South, as well as those in the Global North. Even though the lessons flow from a study with young women, they are broad and therefore probably beneficial for male learners too.

## **Review of the South African literature: Teachers and resilience**

South African studies on resilience among black school-going youth generally characterise resilience-fostering teachers as actively caring and motivational (Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011; Heath, Donald, Theron, & Lyon, 2014; Ebersöhn, 2007; Johnson & Lazarus, 2008; Malindi, 2014; Malindi & Machenjedze, 2012; Mampane & Bouwer, 2011; Mosavel, Ahmend, Ports, & Simon, 2015; Phasha, 2010; Pillay & Nsengani, 2006; Theron & Engebrecht, 2012; Theron, Liebenberg, & Malindi, 2014; Theron & Phasha, 2015; Theron & Theron, 2010, 2014; Van Rensburg & Barnard, 2005; Van Rensburg, Theron, Rothmann, & Kitching, 2013).

***Actively caring teachers.*** Teachers demonstrated empathy through immediate emotional and/or practical responses that assisted learners to cope well in spite of hardships such as sexual abuse, poverty, loss, or streetism. They showed emotional care by listening to the difficulties of young people, encouraging learners, and treating learners fairly and respectfully (Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011; Heath et al., 2014; Johnson & Lazarus, 2008; Malindi & Machenjedze, 2012; Phasha, 2010; Theron et al., 2014; Theron & Theron, 2010, 2014; Van Rensburg & Barnard, 2005). For instance, Malindi and Machenjedze (2012) reported how supportive teachers who created safe spaces for children to discuss difficulties with them, helped ease feelings of loneliness among male street children in the Free State. In another instance, Johnson and Lazarus (2008) explained that in spite of reports of Western Cape adolescent learners not trusting some teachers or not feeling connected to school, teachers who listened and laughed nurtured learner resilience. Moreover, caring actions involved teachers, at times, reaching out to learners they perceived as vulnerable rather than only reciprocating support when approached by young people (Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011; Theron & Engelbrecht, 2012; Theron & Theron, 2014). Caring teachers ultimately formed partnerships with youth by actively providing psychosocial support (Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011; Malindi & Machenjedze, 2012; Theron & Theron, 2014).

Pragmatic caring involved teachers finding ways to provide learners with food to ease their hunger, or by referring learners to community services (e.g., health services, welfare services) as necessary (Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011, 2007; Malindi & Machenjedze, 2012; Phasha, 2010; Theron & Engelbrecht, 2012; Theron et al.,

2014). For example, Malindi and Machenjedge (2012) reported that a teacher supported a male street child by giving a sandwich to him when he disclosed to her that he had no food. Additionally, the teacher referred him to a clinic where he could be medicated as he had fallen ill at school. This supported him to remain engaged in school while living on the street. In another example, Ferreira and Ebersöhn (2011) found that teachers had taken the initiative to develop lists of important community services (i.e., family welfare organisations, health services) that they would refer young people to when they saw that additional services were needed for young people to cope well. Similarly, Theron et al. (2014) reported that teachers facilitated welfare services or police protection services in order to support youth who were orphaned or who experienced abuse/neglect.

***Motivational teachers.*** Teachers inspired young people by being positive role models of beating the odds, and by urging young people to invest in their education as a means towards upward life trajectories (Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Ebersöhn, 2008; Malindi, 2014; Malindi & Machenjedge, 2012; Mosavel et al., 2015; Phasha, 2010; Theron & Engelbrecht, 2012; Theron et al., 2014; Theron & Theron, 2014). For example, first year university students from disadvantaged backgrounds recounted that teachers who experienced similar childhood circumstances to them but still gained professional qualifications were seen as real life examples of overcoming adversity (Dass-Brailsford, 2005). These teachers also took on mentorship roles to inspire youth to do the same. To this end, they actively encouraged young people to be future oriented by investing in education. Similarly, Theron et al. (2014) reported that teachers who encouraged school-going young people in the Free State to prioritize education facilitated future directedness in young people, which helped them to persevere in the face of difficulties. Likewise, Ebersöhn's (2007) participatory study with at-risk adolescents from Limpopo provided evidence that teachers who encourage future directedness were a source of strength for young people exposed to crime in their community.

The above examples highlight supportive teachers, however, not all teachers do facilitate resilience. Some teachers have been reported to heighten vulnerability in young people (for examples see Phasha, 2010; Kruger & Prinsloo, 2008; Pillay & Nsengani, 2006). It cannot be assumed, therefore, that all teachers are capacitated to champion resilience among young people. This emphasises the need to

investigate if and how teachers facilitate resilience, particularly in more challenging contexts such as rural districts that are structurally disadvantaged.

### **Research Methodology**

The following question directed the secondary data analysis that is explained below: “What do girls’ accounts reflect about how teachers (as key social ecological stakeholders) facilitate resilience and how can these insights be leveraged to support teachers to champion resilience?” This question emerges from prior empirical accounts of teachers heightening young people’s vulnerability (see above) as well as our (i.e., the authors) concern, following analysis of nine videos made by Sesotho-speaking young women to explain their resilience processes, that rural teachers were minimally supportive of girls’ resilience (see Jefferis & Theron, in press). This concern led us to re-examine another visual data set – 68 drawings and explanations – generated by these same girls in order to answer the above research question.

### **Ethics**

We obtained ethical approval from the research ethics committee of the institution to which we are affiliated, as well as from the Free State Department of Education and each of the organisations from where the girls were recruited. The gatekeepers (see below) distributed the consent documents. These provided a detailed explanation of the aim of the study, all of the procedures, as well as the risks and benefits for the girls in simply written informative consent documents. The girls’ parents /guardians consented to their participation. Before we began the visual research process we re-explained the aims, procedures (making drawings and explaining them), risks and benefits to ensure the girls understood what the research would entail. We asked the girls for permission to keep and use their drawings or to photograph their drawings should they wish to keep them (none utilised the latter option). We explained that their drawings might be used in conference presentations, research publications, or class presentations.

### **Participants**

Twenty-eight school-going Sesotho-speaking girls living in rural Thabo Mofutsanyana, Free State Province, South Africa participated. Diverse gatekeepers (i.e., two Pathways advisory panel members, a social worker from a local children’s

home, social workers from a family welfare organisation, and teacher from a school in the local informal settlement) who worked with the girls on a daily basis facilitated recruitment. They purposefully recruited girls who demonstrated resilience (as defined by the advisory panel [AP] of P2RP – for detail, see Theron, Theron, & Malindi, 2013) despite being challenged by various risks such as death/loss of loved ones, physical/emotional/sexual abuse, and bullying by peers. Table 1 below summarises the girls' demographics.

Table 1: Summary of participant demographics at time of study

<b>Participant group</b>	<b>Number of participants in group</b>	<b>Age range</b>	<b>Grade at school</b>	<b>Languages spoken</b>	<b>Living arrangements</b>
<b>Girls recruited from a local children's home</b>	6	15-19	10-12	Sesotho, English, Afrikaans	Children's home
<b>Girls recruited from a family welfare organisation</b>	18	16-18	10-12	Sesotho, English	Traditional African family/extended family
<b>Girls recruited from a school in the local township</b>	5	13-16	8-10	Sesotho, English	Traditional African family/extended family

## Generation of drawings

Following Guillemin (2004) we used both Draw-and-Talk and Draw-and-Write to facilitate generation of a set of drawings and explanations that elucidate what supports resilience among Sesotho-speaking girls. We chose these methods because they have the potential to uncover deep insights that may otherwise be hidden when using traditional research methods with participants (Mitchell, Theron, Stuart, Smith, & Campbell, 2011). According to Guillemin and Drew (2010) using drawings can assist participants to fully express themselves because experiences are not always easy to verbalise, particularly in a second language.

As recommended by the gatekeepers, we grouped the girls according to the organisations they were recruited from and worked separately with each group (see Table 1). We met with each group twice (6 weeks apart). On both occasions we asked the girls to create drawings using the following prompt “Please draw how you cope well in spite of what makes your life hard and please explain your drawing to us”. We provided girls with paper, pencils, and colour pencils. There was no time limit to the activity, and we reminded girls that how well they drew was inconsequential – we were interested in what they drew and their explanations of these contents. The girls verbally explained their drawings to the rest of the group and researchers. This constituted a quasi group interview, allowing us to probe and clarify the meanings of the girls’ drawings. The group interview format also created a safe, supportive atmosphere between the girls as they shared their drawings. It was evident that the group format created a safe, supportive atmosphere as the girls patted one another, provided positive feedback to one another, and expressed their agreement in what was important in one another’s videos.

Following preliminary analyses of these drawings, we met with 11 girls for a third time. These were the girls whom we could access easily (i.e., a convenience sample) and who were representative of the full sample (i.e., they shared similar demographics and circumstances that were common in the larger group). In spite of the girls including teachers in the above drawings and explanations, these seldom explained *how* teachers and schools champion resilience. Therefore, our aim during the follow-up session was to uncover insight into how teachers support the girls’ resilience. Following Guillemin (2004) we engaged the girls in the ‘Draw-and-Write’

method which involved asking the girls to create a drawing and explain their drawings in writing. The Draw-and-Write was led by the following prompt “Do your teachers help you to do well in life? And if so, how do they help you to do well in life?” And please explain your drawing to us by writing a few sentences at the back of your drawing”. We asked this specific question to the girls because the existing dataset included references to teachers as supportive and we wanted to understand how teachers were supportive. Our earlier use of ‘Draw-and-Talk’ led us to wonder if verbal explanations (rather than written ones) communicated in a group context influenced girls’ explanations of their drawings, because of similarities in some of their explanations. To address this, we instead chose ‘Draw-and-Write’ followed by verbal conversations with the girls about their drawings and written explanations, to ensure that the group process did not pre-empt any of the girls’ explanations of their drawings.

### **Data Analysis**

All of the drawings and transcripts of the group interviews constituted the data. Following Creswell (2014) we conducted inductive content analysis. Our analysis was guided by the research question “What do girls’ accounts reflect about how teachers (as key social ecological stakeholders) facilitate resilience? First, we open-coded (i.e., assigned a label) all drawings and segments of text that included references to teachers or school. In general these codes were a paraphrase of what was drawn/explained. We then conducted axial coding: we grouped similar codes together and labelled each group. The label summarised what was common to the grouped codes (e.g., teachers are emotionally supportive). Following this, we discussed the axial codes through consensus discussions (see Saldana, 2009) and reached agreement on the final themes (e.g., teachers create safe relational spaces for girls to discuss difficulties). Once we reached agreement on the final themes, we reflected on the themes and identified key leverage points aimed at supporting teachers to champion girls’ resilience.

### **Trustworthiness**

In line with Creswell (2014) we enhanced the trustworthiness of the preliminary data analysis by conducting member-checking with 11 of the girl-participants who were representative of the entire sample. We reached agreement on the key findings of

this study through several consensus discussions (as mentioned previously). The first author presented the findings to the AP. Their endorsement supported our confidence in the findings.

## **Findings**

This study aimed to answer two research questions: (1) do rural teachers support girls' resilience; and (2) if so, how? Our findings confirmed that rural teachers do, on occasion, support girls' resilience. Although mothers, girl friends, sisters were most likely to facilitate resilience, there was fairly regular reference (i.e., 12 out of 28 participants or 43%) to teachers. In answer to the question "How do teachers in rural schools facilitate resilience?" three themes emerged: (i) empathic teachers actively listen and provide guidance; (ii) teachers motivate girls towards positive futures; and (iii) teachers initiate teacher-girl partnerships.

### **Empathic teachers listen and provide guidance**

Empathic teachers were those who the girls felt cared for them. Caring was demonstrated when teachers listened to their difficulties and provided constructive advice on how to deal with whatever was challenging them (e.g., loss or peer pressure). The girls felt that this advice buoyed them because it facilitated successful management of what was troubling them. This is illustrated in the excerpts below, as well as Figure 1:

"For me to be strong, as I said regarding (female teacher) she advise me and I take her advice... when something...make me sad I go...to [female teacher] or [another female teacher] and talk to them, and then they'll advise me and that make me to be strong" (Participant 3, Draw-and-Talk)

"Well the reason why we included a teacher is because in our schools our teachers are very supportive, most especially to children who are disadvantaged and who [have] a problem with their self esteem...For instance in my school ... most of the teachers there are very supportive... they will [talk] with you though the journey and guide you so that at the end you can make the right decision" (Participant 2, Draw-and-Write)

In their responses, the girls compared these caring teachers to parent figures. For instance, Participant 3 labelled the teacher she drew “a second parent” (see Figure 1: “At school there’s a teacher I can talk to, she’s my second parent”). She expanded: *“teachers are like your parents because they want to see you succeed in life...they are like your mom and dad helping and guiding you to a better future”* Such teacher acts were probably especially meaningful because the girls could not consistently rely on parents/parent-figures because of parental absence or death or parent complicity in abuse (see Jefferis & Theron, 2013).

Figure 1: “At school there’s a teacher I can talk to, she’s my second parent”



### Teachers motivate girls toward positive futures

The girls communicated that their teachers wanted to see them succeed in life, and therefore encouraged them to behave in ways that would lead to their future success. This included guiding the girls to formulate goals. Participant 7 said, *“from like primary [school]... they have been teaching us that if you want something you should set a goal, you should know what you’re going to do to achieve that goal...my teachers are big motivators to me...”*. These goals were typically related to investing in education. For example, Participant 4 explained, *“Your teacher will [say] ‘If you want to be like me...[you] have to go to school’. So that’s what makes you realise that school is important”*

In the course of motivating the girls, teachers nurtured the girls’ self-worth and in doing so amplified girls’ belief that they could aspire to transformed futures. For example, Participant 4 added:

You might say ‘This is the most difficult subject in school -- I cannot be able to do this!’ But, your teacher will [say to you] ‘you have that thing you can do it, you have potential and I believe in you’ and you will say ‘at least someone believes in me’...so school shows us that people can make you to succeed because always we tend to say ‘I don’t have strength I cannot be able to do this’ but when someone comes and says ‘you can’, that’s when you start to believe that you can.

By building girls’ self-esteem, teachers also reinforced the very behaviours (e.g., goal setting, planning, and diligence) that they urged girls to adopt if they wanted to improve their prospects and have a better future. This is illustrated by Participant 10’s comment: *“I prepare for class, when the teacher asks questions I feel proud about myself to give answers and the teacher gives positive feedback saying that was a good answer”*.

### **Teachers initiate teacher-girl partnerships**

Teachers who championed girls’ resilience did not wait for the girls to approach them regarding difficulties, but recognised when girls were vulnerable and acted on this in ways that supported constructive coping. For example, Participant 11 explained that her teacher immediately recognises when something is wrong and then reaches out to her to in order to support her to cope well:

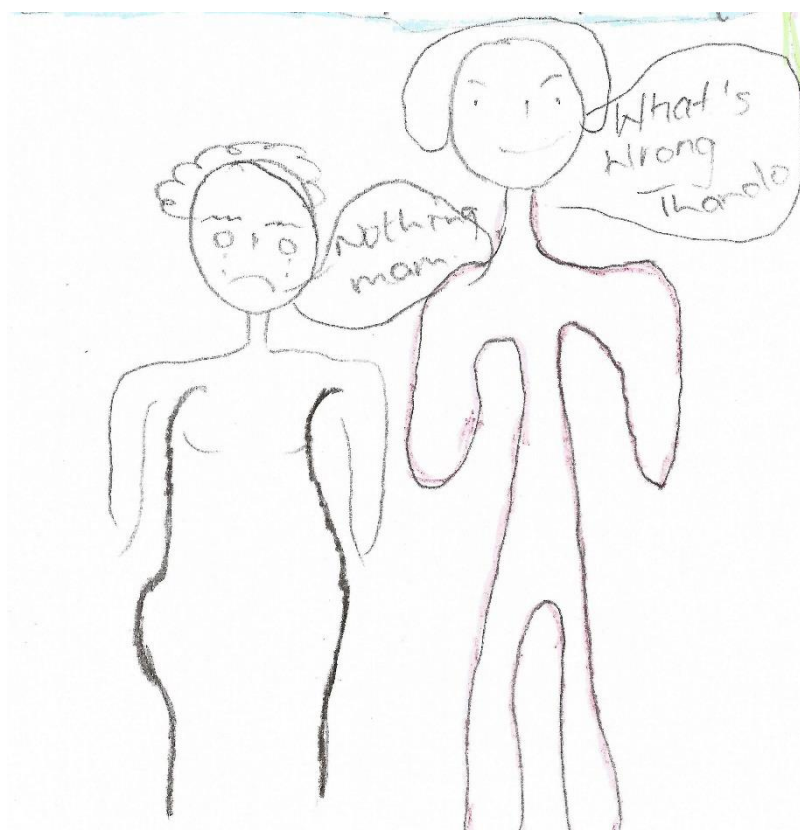
You know like sometimes in school, in class...people tease me...she [teacher] could just call me and say “is anything going on?”... she said “don’t take people that tease you into consideration because they are just making a fool of themselves”...and then she would just say “okay in order for you to smile I’m going to give you an activity to just do, and then you can sit alone, be quiet and just do it, or you can just do it at home and bring it back or just read”...and she helps me a lot because I can forget, like in 2 minutes I can forget that I was even teased because of that moment that I’m with her... she makes me smile (Participant 11)

Similarly, teachers took action to secure girls' access to protective resources that supported their resilience. For instance, Participant 7 explained that when she was orphaned her teacher's introduction to a local support program enabled her to form supportive connections with local adults: "My teacher...introduced me to Girl-Child when she found out that I don't have parents anymore. So after that Mme [name], she's been there for me."

When girls resisted teacher overtures – typically because they were embarrassed or uncertain – this did not discourage teachers. Participant 5 drew a reluctant girl and a determined teacher (see Figure 2). She explained:

"I have drawn a learner and a teacher, the learner is crying, the teacher is trying to comfort her but she insists on not telling the teacher what's wrong, but because we have caring teachers she [the teacher] insists that the learner should talk to her" (Participant 5).

Figure 2: "A teacher insists that a learner should talk to her about her problems"



## Discussion

The purpose of this article included exploring if and how rural teachers facilitate girls' resilience. Clearly, teachers do enable resilience. This fits with findings from the greater Pathways study (Liebenberg et al., 2016), the South African Pathways study (Theron, 2015; Theron et al., 2014; Theron et al., 2013), as well as prior international studies of youth resilience (e.g., Doll et al., 2011; Ungar et al., 2014). Of some concern is that half of the girl participants did not include teacher in accounts of resilience. So, although teachers do enable resilience, their championship of resilience could be more consistent. More consistent championship of resilience could probably be secured by capacitating teachers to enable resilience (Theron & Theron, 2014; Sanders & Munford, 2015).

Relating to how resilience-promoting teachers enable resilience, the findings speak to selfless teachers. Part of this selflessness was being empathic and guiding girls through difficulties. This corroborates existing research which foregrounds empathic teachers as important for young people's resilience (Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011; Phasha, 2010; Ungar et al., 2014). Another facet of selflessness lies in the finding that rural teachers initiate supportive partnerships with girls. This aligns with the study by Theron and Engelbrecht (2012) as well as Theron and Theron (2014). A third dimension of teacher generosity is found in teacher concern for the futures of the girls they taught. To this end they urged goal-directed investment in education and reinforced girls' enactment of their advice. As with the above, this reinforces prior understandings of how teachers enable and sustain resilience (Malindi, 2014; Malindi & Machenjedge, 2012; Phasha, 2010).

These findings suggest three leverage points (detailed below). Although they are embedded in what rural girls report about their resilience-promoting teachers, each is broad enough to be useful to teachers working in rural and/or urban contexts. Similarly, although these findings flow from a study with young people in the Global South, they are broad enough to be useful to teachers working with marginalised young people in the Global North too.

### **Initiate teacher-learner partnerships**

Ungar (2013) maintains that a social ecology bears more responsibility for resilience processes that enable young people, than young people themselves. Part of this responsibility lies in a social ecology providing the resources necessary for young people to achieve functional outcomes (Ungar, 2011). In this regard, young people are expected to demonstrate agency and negotiate for what they need (Munford & Sanders, 2015). However, it is crucial that a social ecology not only reciprocate such agency, but also initiate partnerships support for vulnerable young people (Theron & Engelbrecht, 2012). The Norms and Standards Policy for South African Educators (2000) scripts teachers to be pastoral carers who “respond to social and educational problems” (DoE, 2000: 18). Implicit in this policy is that teachers react to the needs of learners. It fails to explicitly encourage teachers to also proactively initiate teacher-learner partnerships. This has important implications for supporting potentially vulnerable learners because reserved learners might not always approach their teachers and could possibly remain at-risk if teachers do not reach out to them. Therefore, rural (but also other) teachers can leverage young people’s resilience by recognising potentially vulnerable learners and initiating teacher-learner partnerships aimed at providing emotional and pragmatic support to facilitate resilience among learners. More importantly, perhaps, is that teachers go beyond initiating support for learners who appear vulnerable and begin to agitate for life-worlds that are less likely to put any young person at risk (Theron, 2015). By lobbying for social change that will result in fewer young people needing to be resilient, teachers will have engaged in the ultimate championship of resilience.

### **Advocate for a changed education landscape**

Education is associated with resilience processes of young people both locally (Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Phahsa, 2010; Theron & Phasha, 2015), and internationally (Doll et al., 2011; Masten, 2014; Ungar, et al., 2014). When teachers motivate learners to invest in their education to work towards a positive future, they also encourage hope that the adversities learners face can be overcome in the future (Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Ebersöhn, 2008; Malindi & Machenjedge, 2012; Mosavel et al., 2015; Phasha, 2010; Theron, 2015; Theron & Engelbrecht, 2012). However, it is not enough for teachers to encourage hope alone, particularly when the quality of

education is substandard, especially for those living in rural or disadvantaged areas (Steyn, Harris, & Hartell, 2014). If the quality of Basic Education in South Africa remains poor, then motivating young people to invest in their education is setting them up for failure because below par education is likely to obstruct upward trajectories (Theron, 2015). With the recent nationwide South African student protests, the need for quality education – including quality basic education – has received increased attention (Jansen, 2015). The cost of tertiary education has become almost unaffordable to disadvantaged students who often take longer to complete their studies because of substandard literacy and numeracy skills in basic education (Modisaotsile, 2012).

Considering the above, teachers world-wide can leverage young people's resilience by becoming advocates for a changed education landscape, particularly for disadvantaged learners. First, teachers can advocate for better quality basic education and an increase in the appointments and salaries of well-trained teaching staff. Increasing the number of well-trained teaching staff could improve the quality of teaching. Also, well-trained teaching staff are more likely to have the skills needed to cope with educator and concomitant caring roles and therefore be in a better position to provide additional support to learners, particularly at disadvantaged schools (Badat & Sayed, 2014). Second, teachers can advocate for career counselling to be made available in South African schools so that young people understand what options they have at their disposal post-school. Maree (2013) advocates for contextually and culturally appropriate career counselling that guides young people towards fitting careers, successful life designs, and opportunities to contribute towards society. Such counselling will facilitate young people's understanding of which school subjects and skills they need to prioritise. This prioritisation is likely to enhance their progress at school as well as post-school. Advocating for better quality education as well as career counselling opportunities might hugely benefit learners by assisting them with realistic avenues to follow in order to achieve their future life-goals and overcome current adversity.

### **Provide positive feedback**

The importance of teacher feedback is well documented (Bansilal, James, & Naidoo, 2010; Çakýrođlu, 2014; Dowse & Van Rensburg, 2015), but bears repeating, with

special emphasis on the importance for young people who are vulnerable. To transcend disadvantage and adversity requires belief that it is possible (Theron, 2015). In instances where young people face complex challenges (e.g., being economically disadvantaged *and* a young woman in a community where girls are more vulnerable than boys) affirmative messages become even more important. Jordan (2013, 2010) explains that, particularly for women and girls, growth-fostering relationships that build resilience are those that cultivate self-esteem and feelings of self-worth. Teachers are in a key position to facilitate this. Furthermore, Hartling (2010) explained that relationally-based self-worth is more important for resilience than achievement-based self-worth. One way of nurturing self worth through relationships is through feedback. Teachers can, for example, emulate the resilience-promoting teachers' endorsement of the girls' constructive engagement in education and other constructive actions, as in the current study. This will likely foster learners' self-worth. The leverage point is thus for teachers to utilise every possible opportunity to provide meaningful positive feedback to learners to nurture their self-worth, and ultimately their resilience.

## **Conclusion**

This study is not without limitations. Because girl-participants were recruited by gatekeepers, girls who are quietly resilient (see Theron 2015) might not have been identified and so their insights are not included. Moreover, we included only school-going girls. Should we have included girls who had dropped out of school as well as teachers, we might have uncovered different perspectives into if and how teachers champion girls' resilience. In spite of the limitations, the findings have important implications for future research both locally and globally.

In conclusion, a word of caution. Teachers are crucial, and effective champions of young people's resilience (given the girls' and other published accounts), but many teachers are burning out (Mansfield & Beltman, 2012). Globally, interventions need to be focused not only on supporting at-risk youth, but also on supporting teachers to sustain their championship of resilience. In light of this, studies are needed to investigate what capacitates teachers both locally and internationally to sustain their facilitation of resilience, and importantly how social ecologies can contribute to this.

Given the social ecology is more responsible for facilitating resilience than individuals (Ungar, 2013), teachers as individuals cannot be held responsible for not facilitating resilience if they do not have social ecological support.

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## CHAPTER 5

Manuscript 4 titled “*Community-based participatory video: Exploring and advocating for girls’ resilience*” answered the following research question: “*What is the value of community-based participatory video in exploring, and advocating for, girls’ resilience?*”

Prepared for: Perspectives in Education (see author guidelines in Appendix H)

Authors:

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## SUMMARY

Resilience studies typically privilege the views and assumptions of minority-world research. One way to circumvent this is through methodologies that give voice to the experiences of majority-world youth. Our aim in this article is to reflect critically on the use of community-based participatory video (CBPV) to understand and promote resilience processes in 28 black South African adolescent girls. The girls, aged from 13 to 19 years, were recruited by social workers and teachers collaborating with the South African Pathways to Resilience Project. The findings suggest that CBPV does champion participant-directed understandings of resilience. However, the findings also draw attention to the difficulties of realising the potential of the social change inherent in CBPV, and the complexity of stimulating deep reflection in the girl participants.

**Keywords:** black girls, participatory research, positive adjustment, school-going.

### **Community-based participatory video: Exploring and advocating for girls' resilience**

The successful completion of high school by many South African young people is under threat because they are made vulnerable by various adversities including economic disadvantage; underperforming schools; high HIV prevalence; poor service delivery; and lived experiences of trauma and abuse (Du Preez, 2011; Ramphela, 2012). Although boys and girls in South Africa are both vulnerable, girls in particular are considered to be at risk of negative developmental and educational outcomes (Bottrell, 2009) because of sex- and gender-based violence; unsafe school environments; higher risks of contracting HIV; and teenage pregnancy (Mitchell, 2006; Moletsane, 2007; Phasha, 2010). But sometimes these girls do better than expected. Instead of responding in ways ranging from developing mental illness to failing at school or becoming teenage mothers, these girls cope well with risk-filled lives (Jordan, 2013); they are resilient, a measure of which is regular school attendance and making progress at school (Phasha, 2010).

Resilience is the capacity to do well in life, despite significant adversity (Masten, 2011). According to Ungar's (2011) Social Ecology of Resilience Theory (SERT)—the theoretical framework of the study informing this article—doing well despite adversity is a process during which individuals steer themselves towards resources that will support their doing well. Simultaneously, the individual's social ecology (SE) reciprocates and provides support in culturally and contextually relevant ways. The SE consists of social structures that have an impact on human development such as immediate family, school, peers, community organisations, culture, and the broader political and educational systems, among others (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Ungar (2013) suggests that SEs have greater responsibility

than individuals to promote resilience in at-risk youth. Unhelpful explanations of resilience have focused on individual capacities (Masten, 2014), or generalised Western minority-world explanations of resilience about majority-world youth, i.e. those from non-Western cultures (Ungar, 2013). Such studies either blame individuals for not being resilient, while overlooking how SEs obstruct resilience, or they constrain majority-world communities' support of their youth by privileging the explanations of minority-world youth, and allied interventions (Ungar, 2013).

Community facilitation of resilience requires a contextually-sensitive understanding of resilience, and how processes of resilience manifest in specific youth, such as, for example, black girls. The insights of young people into what supports their resilience and what puts them at risk need to be respected. Unless their insights are "substantially voiced" (Milne, Mitchell, & De Lange, 2011: 1128), advocated for, and respected in subsequent programmes and interventions, youth vulnerability is likely to prevail. Black girls in rural areas, particularly, need to be given such substantial voice so that their SEs will understand how to support their resilience meaningfully (Milne, Mitchell & De Lange, 2011; Moletsane, 2007).

One methodological tool that offers to provide girl-centred accounts, by black girls, of their resilience is CBPV, an interactive research process in which participants construct visual narratives, using storyboards and a video documentary, of their insights into a given research phenomenon (De Lange, Olivier & Wood, 2008). The principles of CBPV include respect for participants as expert informants; participant control of filming and editing; and researcher and participant use of the video products to advocate for social change (Corneil, 2011). These principles are attractive when we are working with black adolescent girls because they potentiate the respectful foregrounding of black girls' voices that have often been left out of

traditional social research (Waite & Conn, 2011), and research on resilience in particular (Liebenberg & Ungar, 2009).

To generate more meaningful accounts of resilience, researchers have included participatory visual methods, such as photo elicitation (Liebenberg, Didkowsky & Ungar, 2012), a Day-in-the-Life video method (Cameron, Pinto & Tapanya, 2014), the Mmogo method (a visual projection technique) (Roos, 2013), and draw-and-talk as well as draw-and-write (Guillemin, 2004). Notwithstanding the popularity of participatory visual approaches in research on resilience, there are no published accounts of the usefulness of CBPV to explain and promote resilience, particularly resilience in black adolescent girls. The only CBPV study we could locate was by Haw (2010) but this study focused on UK youths' experiences of risk with little attention paid to their positive adjustment.

Thus, given the potential of the method, and because, following Schratz and Walker (1995), we subscribe to research that prompts meaningful social change, we initiated a CBPV-facilitated study of black girls' resilience. As already noted, the purpose of this article is to reflect critically on the value of using CBPV to explore, and advocate for, processes of resilience in school-going black South African girls faced with significant adversity.

## **2. Methodology**

Critical psychology informed our choice of a visual participatory methodology. Critical psychology interrogates stereotypical explanations of human behaviour because, historically, psychological knowledge (including theories of resilience) has been produced in Western contexts and generalised universally (Hook, 2004; Mkhize, 2004). Critical psychology challenges such so-called expert theories by questioning

who is producing this knowledge and for whom it is being produced (Hook, 2004: 16). Accordingly, critical psychology interrogates methods of knowledge production and promotes the inclusion of non-Western voices in research (Mkhize, 2004). This aligns with SERT's critical response to the stereotypical understandings of resilience produced in minority-world contexts. SERT questions explanations of majority-world youths' resilience processes that are not produced by these youths (Ungar, 2013), and urges using creative, participatory research methods to do so (Liebenberg & Ungar, 2009).

As white women researchers and outsiders to the community to which we introduced CBPV, we needed to choose a method that would downplay our voices. Using CBPV offered us the opportunity to amplify the voices of black South African girls in explanations of their own resilience.

## **2.1 Background to the CBPV-facilitated study of black girls' resilience**

Our CBPV study forms part of the Pathways to Resilience Project (P2RP). P2RP (see [www.resilienceresearch.org](http://www.resilienceresearch.org)) aims to explore formal services and informal pathways that support resilience among at-risk youth. The South African P2RP research site is in the Thabo Mofutsanyana District, Free State Province (see Theron, Liebenberg & Malindi, 2014).

### **2.2.1 Recruitment of participants for the CBPV-facilitated study**

Social workers and teachers who collaborated with the P2RP team recruited girls with whom they worked closely, and whom they believed were doing well in life, despite adversity. In keeping with Dass-Brailsford (2005) and Phasha (2010), doing well, for us, primarily meant progressing at school and not presenting with symptoms

of psychological problems. Adversity included lived experiences of emotional, physical, and/or sexual abuse; being HIV positive and/or living in AIDS-affected communities; being exposed to harmful peers; and having suffered the death of loved ones as well as living with the prevalence of community-based violence and substance abuse.

### **2.2.2 Research process and data collection of the CBPV-facilitated study**

The CBPV method requires a group format as a tool for social change within communities (High, Singh, Petheram & Nemes, 2011). We worked with four groups of girls on separate occasions. Group 1 was comprised of six girls living in a children's home. We met with them there on three occasions on Saturdays for six hours at a time. The second group consisted of 18 girls living in an informal settlement. We split them into Group 2 and Group 3. We met with them twice on Saturdays at the local child and family welfare offices for seven hours each time. Group 4 was comprised of five girls from a township school. We engaged with them twice for five hours at a time after school hours, at their school. In total, the girls made nine participatory videos (see Table 1).

Table 1: Videos created during the CBPV-facilitated study

<b>Group</b>	<b>Most threatening risk</b>	<b>Video Title</b>	<b>Gist of resilience process</b>
<b>1</b>	Death/loss	Video 1: The bright side	Girls navigate towards supportive co-habiting friends and God.
		Video 2: Jesus is my hero	Girls emphasise God as their most reliable resource.
		Video 3: 5 steps to feeling better	Girls repeat co-habiting friends and God as resilience-promoting and add supportive social workers and music/writing.
<b>2</b>	Bullying	Video 1: A depressed girl	Female family members (mother, sister) facilitate support from a social worker.
		Video 2: A depressed girl 2	The girls' application of the social workers advice, amidst supportive friends and family, encourages resilience.

<b>3</b>	Peer pressure	Video 1: The girl next door	A supportive friend encourages resistance to peer pressure.
		Video 2: The good advice	Supportive SE (friends, mother, teacher, pastor) promotes resilience.
<b>4</b>	Abuse (emotional/physical/ sexual).	Video 1: Child- headed household	Girls identify <i>potential</i> resources (supportive sister and social worker).
		Video 2: Reality of life	Prayers for protection against an abusive mother animate improved maternal behaviour. This and supplementary meaning- making (facilitated by sister and social worker) support resilience.

In each first session, Guillemin's (2004) draw-and-talk method was used to explore risks experienced by the girls. The girls depicted, in drawings, their lived experiences of risk, and then explained their drawings to the group. The girls listed the collectively reported risks and each girl then voted for the risk she perceived to be most threatening. Once the girls reached consensus regarding one overarching risk, they were again engaged in Guillemin's (2004) draw-and-talk method; each girl drew a picture showing why she was strong despite this risk. After the girls explained these drawings, they collaboratively drew storyboards to plan a video showing how the strengths and protective processes identified in their pictures supported them and enabled their strength despite adversity. The girls then acted out and filmed their stories of resilience as planned in their storyboards. The videos varied in length from 5 to 10 minutes.

One month later, a second CBPV session was held in order to better understand the girls' resilience. The girls were specifically asked to reflect on their resilience between CBPV sessions to stimulate deeper awareness of their processes of resilience in the hope that such awareness would deepen subsequent explanations of their resilience. During the second CBPV sessions the girls again drew pictures depicting why they were strong in life, explained their drawings, and created a storyboard showing how these strengths and protective processes facilitate their resilience. This was then acted out and video-recorded by the girls.

All CBPV sessions included having the girls, and the teachers and/or social workers who recruited them and who were available watch the videos. We screened the videos immediately since we had followed the no-editing-required (NER) approach that results in videos being shot and completed in the same process (Mitchell & De Lange, 2011). Following Yang, (2011), reflective discussions about

the meaning of the videos from the girls' perspectives followed each screening. The teachers and social workers, out of respect for the girls' authorship of the stories, did not contribute to these reflective discussions.

The P2RP team later engaged social workers, teachers, and community stakeholders (including the P2RP advisory panel) in awareness-raising dissemination activities during which the girls' videos were screened and the girls' explanations of their resilience processes made public. The first dissemination was to social workers and caregivers at the children's home where the Group 1 girls lived. The second was to community stakeholders and teachers at a dinner hosted by the P2RP team. The remaining two disseminations occurred concurrently with the CBPV sessions when teachers and social workers were present.

### **2.3 Analysis**

Informed by SERT, we reflected on how CBPV facilitated the understanding and advocacy of resilience for this specific group of girls in their specific context. These reflections are based on qualitative data generated during the research process of the CBPV and P2RP project, comprised of the first author's research journal; field notes of CBPV sessions; photographic records of CBPV sessions; telephonic follow-up interviews with recruiting teachers and social workers; interviews with advisory panel members (APMs); minutes of P2RP team discussions; and transcribed participants' reflections.

The first author immersed herself in the data by reading and re-reading all journal entries, notes, and transcripts to reflect on clues related to the possible benefits and limitations of using CBPV to understand and advocate for black girls' resilience. She grouped segments of data that addressed benefits and limitations.

Following Creswell (2009) she then used inductive, thematic content analysis to identify themes explaining the value and limitations of using CBPV to explain and promote resilience in black adolescent girls. In this process, she was mindful of SERT and therefore paid attention to how SEs enabled or constrained resilience. In this sense, as Creswell (2009) observed elsewhere, there were deductive elements in the analysis. Both authors had lengthy discussions about the emerging themes, and revised initial themes, as Saldana (2009) advises, before reaching consensus. Members of the P2RP team scrutinised these tentative conclusions. They mostly concurred, thus substantiating the trustworthiness of the findings.

#### **2.4 Ethical considerations**

The institution to which the authors are affiliated provided ethical approval. The P2RP advisory panel (see Theron, 2013) sanctioned the CBPV method as appropriate for local youth. The girls and their parents/caregivers signed detailed consent letters that included details about risks to confidentiality and anonymity entailed in using CPBV. Critical psychology and SERT urge the generation of contextually and culturally-relevant knowledge that foregrounds youth participant insights (Ungar, 2013). However, using CBPV to meet this expectation created ethical tensions because dissemination of the videos could expose the girls' identities and this could possibly prompt their victimisation. This risk was emphasised to the girls prior to the start of the research project, but they were proud to make their knowledge known and gave permission for their videos/video-stills to be made public.

### **3. Findings**

The findings suggest that CBPV champions participant-directed understandings of resilience, but that the method is not without challenges. The first section reports CBPV's usefulness in this regard using three themes: CBPV (i) facilitates understandings of resilience as a context-specific, co-constructed process; (ii) it heightens participant awareness of potential resilience-supporting processes; and (iii) it offers a fun-filled way to engage girls in a research process. The second section acknowledges that there are limitations in using CBPV to explain and promote black girls' resilience, using two themes: (i) the difficulty in realising the social change potential of CBPV; and (ii) the complexity of stimulating deep reflection in the girl participants.

#### **3.1 The value of using CBPV to explain and promote black girls' resilience**

##### **3.1.1 CBPV facilitates understandings of resilience as a context-specific, co-constructed process**

As already discussed, SERT calls for resilience research using non-traditional methods to uncover non-Western understandings of how the socio-cultural context shapes resilience processes (Masten, 2014). Along with critical psychologists, leading resilience researchers, therefore, urge theorising that explains resilience as a contextually-specific, collaborative, youth-society process (Masten, 2014; Panter-Brick, 2015; Ungar, 2013). This is precisely what the CBPV-facilitated study of resilience foregrounded.

The CBPV-facilitated study flagged co-constructed processes of resilience. All nine videos showed how others (e.g. female peers/social workers/teachers, sisters,

mothers, male clergy, and God—see Table 1) support girls' resilience. Not one video depicted a girl beating the odds by relying predominantly on her own strength, even though there was reference to girls' personal strengths (e.g. diligence and determination). The girls in every group show that connections to supportive others are what help them to be strong in life. Likewise, practitioners who attended the dissemination event commented on how the videos drew attention to the need for adults to collaborate with youth to promote resilience.

Comments from psychologists who attended a presentation of the CBPV-facilitated study at the 2013 Psychological Society of South Africa Conference drew similar conclusions. For example, the second author reported that a UWC-based psychologist commented: "The power lies in how the CBPV method allowed these girls to portray that resilience is in community". Thus, the CBPV method illustrates SERT through its provision of visual evidence that positive adjustment is facilitated by partnered processes (i.e. girls are not resilient on their own).

Drawing attention to the co-constructed nature of resilience potentiates SE awareness of the duty of the SE to partner in girls' processes of positive adjustment. Dissemination activities revealed that CBPV made the importance of this partnership clear. The teacher who recruited Group 4 stated that watching the videos inspired her to begin a girl-child life-skills programme at her school. The teachers at this same school also said that they became more aware of the girls' struggles, felt more empathy towards the girls, and noted that they needed to support the girls more actively.

In addition to CBPV's usefulness in accentuating the co-constructed nature of resilience and in sensitising SEs to their responsibility to facilitate resilience, CBPV

provides a medium that illustrates how such co-facilitated processes manifest in specific ways for black girls in a specific socio-cultural context. In their videos, the girls portrayed a relationship with God as helpful to coping well with loss, or with having been removed from their family homes. Social workers were portrayed as accessible sources of human comfort when loss overwhelms them. The social workers who watched group 1 of the girls living in care said they felt encouraged because the videos show their interactions with the girls as constructive, and demonstrate that the girls had internalised their teachings. The manager of the children's home remarked: "It is exciting for us to hear their faith is important ... it's actually the bottom line of what we try to teach them".

Group 2 participants, who were not in care, did not include spiritual resources in their depictions of resilience. Likewise, Group 3 included reference to support from only a pastor. However, in the video called "The reality of life", girls prioritised God as a source of help. The strong Christian ethos of the children's home might explain Group 1's emphasis on faith, but we cannot assume this Christian orientation to be true of the homes of the Group 4 participants, even though the APMs advised us that the local community prioritised faith as an enabling resource.

This raises questions about whether resilience processes are simply informed by context-specific resources and/or community norms about which resources are valuable, as previously suggested (Ungar, 2013). Might the resources that inform resilience processes be animated, rather, by which resources are missing, or by life-experience of resources seen to be more reliable? For example, adults were reported to have let Group 1 and 4 participants down (i.e., they died or were abusive). This left these girls with limited immediate tangible support and this might then explain their emphasis on faith in a god who could or would not die or abuse

them. Similarly, Groups 2 and 3 experienced negative peer influences, resulting in their turning towards adults and family members who were immediately available and reliable. Our use of CBPV facilitated the generation of persuasive visual evidence of how life-experience and/or resource constraints, along with the socio-cultural context, has an impact on supportive others who are available to collaborate in processes of resilience. This raises interesting questions about teachers.

Teachers were part of the daily context of all four groups. However, only two groups portrayed teachers as supportive, and they did so only briefly. In the video called “The good advice”, Group 3 included a single instance of a teacher enquiring about a girl’s wellbeing but taking no action to nurture her. In “A depressed girl” Group 2 fleetingly portrayed a teacher suggesting protective resources— a mother, a sister —towards whom the girl might consider navigating. In Group 2’s follow-up video “A depressed girl 2”, the same teacher was included once: in the video she briefly encourages the girl’s sense of self-efficacy. Despite these passing references to teacher support, the impression given by the collective videos is that teachers do not actively co-facilitate girls’ resilience processes. This is at odds with earlier studies of black South African youth that portray teachers as champions of youth resilience (Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Ebersöhn, 2007; Phasha, 2010). Using CBPV, therefore, offers sensitive insight into who co-facilitates girls’ resilience in a specific context at a specific point in time.

Girl-generated videos can be used as advocacy tools: screening the videos to teachers in this specific context should raise awareness of their absence in the girls’ accounts of their resilience. Likewise, the videos could galvanise teacher and teacher-educator explorations of teacher actions that would facilitate their being key partners in girls’ resilience processes.

### **3.1.2 CBPV heightens participant awareness of potential resilience-supporting resources**

Critical psychology, in interrogating who benefits from knowledge production (Hook, 2004), implies that research should hold direct benefits for research participants.

One such benefit could be that participants themselves are enabled by the knowledge they produce. Producing and watching their videos, and those of others, heightened the girls' awareness of existing and potential protective resources. For example, after watching Group 3's video "The good advice", a Group 2 participant commented, "I like the church thing ... I like when you mentioned that it's good to involve God in your decisions". Group 2 reflected that, given an opportunity to re-story their video, they would have added faith-based resources, thus indicating their awareness of an additional source of support. Similarly, in "The girl next door", Group 3 portrayed how pro-social school friends can support girls to do well in life and at school, whereas Group 2's "A depressed girl" portrayed difficulty with abusive school friends. Group 3's explanation emphasised how pro-social school friends support constructive ways of coping with negative peer influences. In their second video "A depressed girl 2", Group 2 continued their initial story, but progressed to portraying some school friends as being supportive and generously sharing knowledge to overcome emotional abuse.

Cross-learning also occurred within groups as girls swapped experiences and knowledge about resources while planning their videos. This, and watching and reflecting on their videos, heightened their awareness of potential support. In Group 4's second CBPV session, for example, they could better articulate how resources included in the first session (e.g. sister, counsellor) supported them.

### 3.1.3 CBPV offers a fun-filled way to engage girls in a research process

Research into resilience must foreground youth experiences, but too often traditional methods fail to do so; these methods bore young people (Liebenberg & Ungar, 2009). Moreover, vulnerable youth have little opportunity for fun because of the multiple demands and responsibilities that challenge them (Chuong & Operario, 2012). The CBPV process is an enjoyable method; it stimulates reflection on hidden experiences through play (Bloustien, 2011; Mitchell, Milne & De Lange, 2012).

Engaging the girls in CBPV, therefore, offered some respite from their demanding lives. When asked how they experienced the CBPV process, the girls remarked that “it was very fun” (Participant 2 from Group 1), they felt “excited” (Participant 1, Group 1), and they “enjoyed it a lot” (Participant 1, Group 4). The girls’ enjoyment of the CBPV process was also visually evident (see Photographs 1 and 2 below, taken by the P2RP team).

Photograph 1: Group 1 laughing while watching their first video



Photograph 2: Group 2 members smiling while preparing for their second video



The atmosphere was uncomfortable and tense during the exploration of the risks the girls faced. This was evident in the girls' serious facial expressions and the sense of a shared sadness as each girl explained her drawing. When the focus shifted to their resilience, their mood lightened. The CBPV process facilitated this shift, particularly because the girls enjoyed creating storyboards and filming their videos. As the girls watched their videos they laughed at themselves and each other, patting one another on the shoulders, and expressing pride in their videos. Thus, rather than traditional positivist research methods, the CBPV process offered a fun-filled, encouraging way for the girls to discuss the adversities they face and to articulate why they are strong despite them.

## **3.2 Limitations of using CBPV to explain and promote the processes of black girls' resilience**

### **3.2.1 Difficulty in realising the social change potential of CBPV**

A P2RP team discussion highlighted the difficulty in realising social change that would support resilience processes, despite the potential of the CBPV method to do so. During this discussion, the P2RP team questioned whether there was any actual change in the lives of the girls after CBPV-related dissemination activities. After such activities social workers and teachers were excited about their role in promoting girls' resilience, but there was limited tangible action in this regard. For example, the teachers who recruited Group 4's girls were excited about starting girl-child life skills programmes at school, but follow-up telephone interviews one year later revealed that no programmes had been instituted. Preliminary findings from Group 1's videos were presented to social workers and caregivers working and residing in the children's home where Group 1 lived. Although the social workers and caregivers seemed excited and proud of the girls' videos, there was limited response when they were asked to comment on how they might support the girls. Despite repeated attempts to prompt reflection in, and action from them, they offered no concrete ideas to further support the girls' resilience. One month after the dissemination, the girls in Group 1 said many of their caregivers were unsupportive despite having seen the videos.

This inactivity suggests that galvanising, realising, and sustaining resilience-supporting social change probably requires long-term research projects, or purposeful interventions that include assisting communities to facilitate girls' resilience (High et al., 2011). It requires more than girl-community dialogue, or

information-focused disseminations, even though it is important for communities to hear how girls need their support, and to become aware of their responsibility to promote girls' resilience. Once communities are aware, action is essential: the social ecology is expected to support youth (Ungar, 2013). However, attention to SE capacity to offer meaningful support is neglected. For example, burnout in teachers, social workers, and other helping professionals is a serious problem in South Africa (Newsome, Waldo & Gruszka, 2012), and this calls their capacity to actively and consistently support girls' resilience into question.

Thus, although the CBPV method sensitises communities to their co-responsibility for girls' resilience, realising this responsibility is more complicated. For supportive action to follow community awareness of their responsibility to girls' resilience, communities probably need to be supported to facilitate girls' resilience processes meaningfully, and to sustain such facilitation. In the context of this CBPV study, this requires that education departments, community members, professionals (social workers, counsellors), and researchers capacitate the SE to partner with girls.

### **3.2.2 The complexity of stimulating deep reflection in the girl participants**

In this study, reflections included girls' thoughts on the protective processes included in their videos, and how these supported their doing well in life. Such reflections are crucial to the dissemination of accurate understandings of these girls' resilience, which, in turn, is pivotal to trustworthy knowledge production that privileges majority world insights. In our experience, it was challenging for the girls to explain the resilience-supporting mechanisms underpinning the concrete events portrayed in their videos. For example in "The good advice", Group 3 portrayed a priest who, while praying for the girls, violently shakes their heads. After the videos were

screened, the girls struggled to explain how the priest supported their resilience. The P2RP team hypothesised that a schooling system that does not encourage critical and independent thinking and/or the developmental stage of the girls may have affected their ability to reflect on and explain their resilience processes.

In adolescence, formal operational thinking that, as we know, involves the ability to think and reason abstractly is generally reached between the ages of 12 to 15 years. However, many adolescents are able to reason abstractly only in late adolescence or young adulthood (Louw & Louw, 2009). This may be the reason why the girls struggled to reflect on and explain abstract phenomena. Skilful, patient questioning by the research team assisted the girls to explain the underlying processes of their resilience, but this became tiring for the girls. This protracted process led the P2RP team to wonder if older girls at university level, who are more sophisticated in their cognitive development, might have reflected deeply with more ease.

Another barrier to reflecting deeply could be the South African schooling system, which does not facilitate critical thinking and active learning sufficiently (Adams, 2011). Traditional teaching approaches characterise teachers as transmitters of knowledge and learners as passive recipients (Botha & Du Preez, 2014). Despite recent implementation of learner-centred curricula in schools, many learners still have difficulty thinking critically (Lombard & Grosser, 2008). The need to shift from being a passive learner to being creators of knowledge in the CBPV process was probably alien—something not understood and therefore unavailable to the girls.

In summary, the potential of CBPV to investigate resilience was challenged by the girls' difficulty in reflecting deeply, despite researcher support of such reflection. In future CBPV-facilitated explorations of resilience, researchers must consider youths' developmental stage carefully and recognise how the schooling system to which they are exposed may limit their ability to reflect deeply on abstract phenomena.

#### **4. Concluding discussion**

The aim of this article was to consider critically the value of using CBPV to explain and promote resilience in school-going black South African girls' faced with significant adversity in ways that privilege their insights and life-experiences, rather than hegemonic Western theories of resilience (Hook, 2004; Ungar, 2013). The videos offered robust visual evidence that the resilience processes of these girls were co-constructed by their SE in ways that reflect the risks and sociocultural realities of these SEs. In doing so, they drew attention to the importance of explaining and promoting resilience in ways that are contextually sensitive rather than Eurocentric, and confirmed the importance of what Hook (2014) and Ungar (2013) see to be a critical approach to knowledge production. However, there were definite challenges to our using CBPV to explore the abstract phenomenon of resilience and to realise resilience-supporting social change. These challenges were addressed partly by conducting follow-up CBPV sessions focused only on processes of resilience. Between the two sessions, the girls were asked to reflect in diaries provided by the researchers on their resilience and what they had learnt about this process. In our experience, using CBPV to explore resilience in school-going youth is more useful when it incorporates many CBPV sessions and structured reflection activities between these sessions.

The challenge of slow social change necessitates continued research and intervention-oriented dissemination activities. School communities, in particular, need to be engaged in these continued activities. The school environment is a crucial facet of girls' SEs, partly because it forms part of their daily context, and because schools have the potential to facilitate resilience (Phasha, 2010). To advocate for the responsibility and potential of schools to facilitate resilience, girl-generated videos could be used in awareness-raising activities with teachers, principals, school-based support teams, school governing bodies, and the Department of Education. Sensitising the school ecology to its co-responsibility for facilitating girls' resilience is not enough in and of itself since this assumes that school ecologies are capable of responding in resilience-supporting ways without assistance. Future research and dissemination, therefore, must focus on what teacher-education initiatives are needed for school ecologies, along with the necessary support, to better support girls in adjusting well to hardship.

## **5. Acknowledgements**

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CHAPTER 6



## **1. Introduction**

The purpose of Chapter 6 is to conclude this doctoral study. In this chapter, I summarise the study (as addressed in manuscripts 1 - 4), by revisiting the research questions, discussing the conclusions and contributions of the study, outlining implications for leveraging resilience, reflecting on the study, describing the limitations of the study, making recommendations for future studies, and offering the conclusions of the study.

## **2. Research questions revisited**

This doctoral study aimed to answer the main research question: “Why are black South African girls living in rural contexts of structural adversity resilient?” From the main research question, sub-questions were developed that informed each of the four manuscripts. The sub-questions are visually summarised in Figure 2. The methodology employed to answer these sub-questions is summarised in Figure 3.

Figure 2: Visual summary of research sub-questions

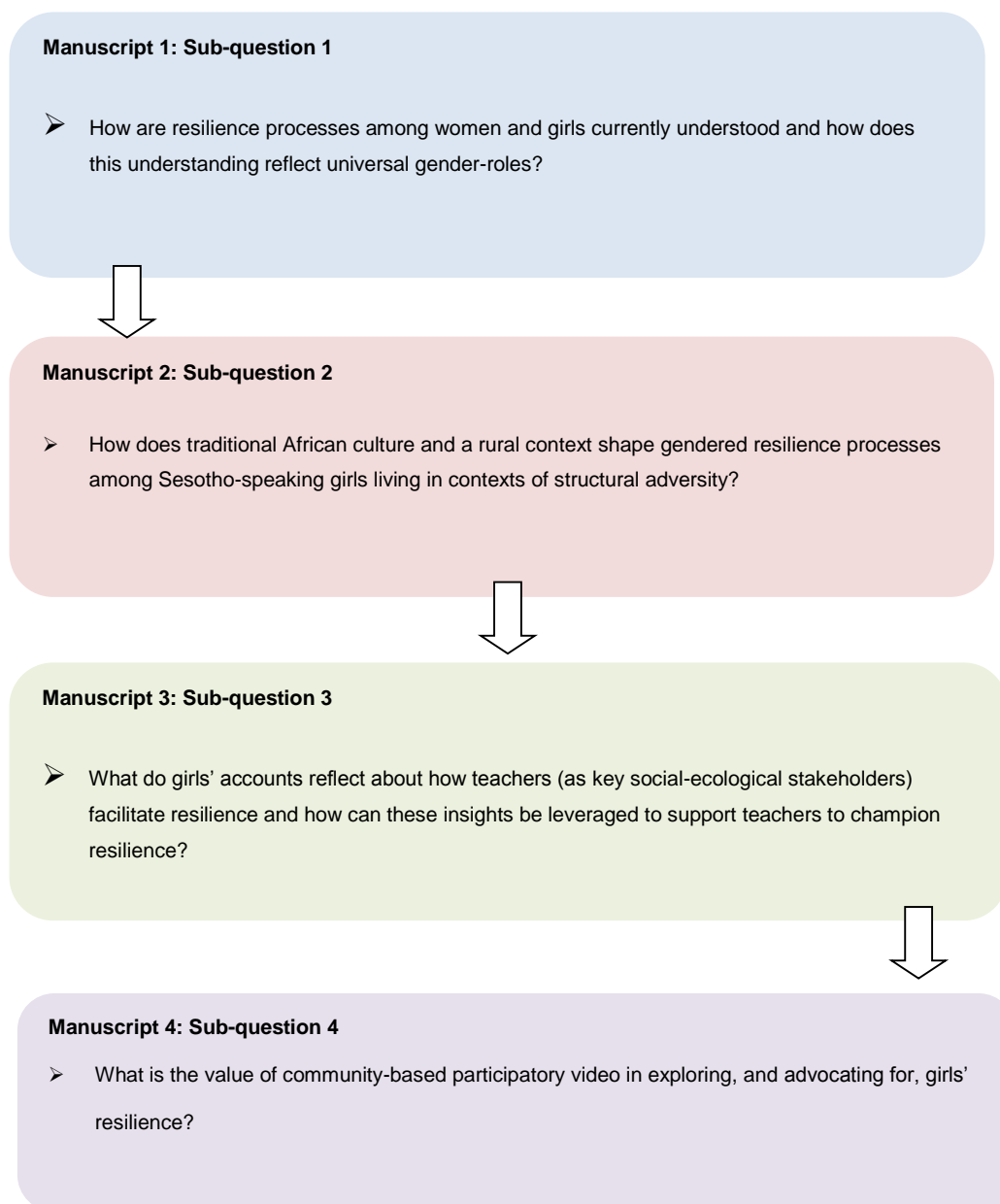
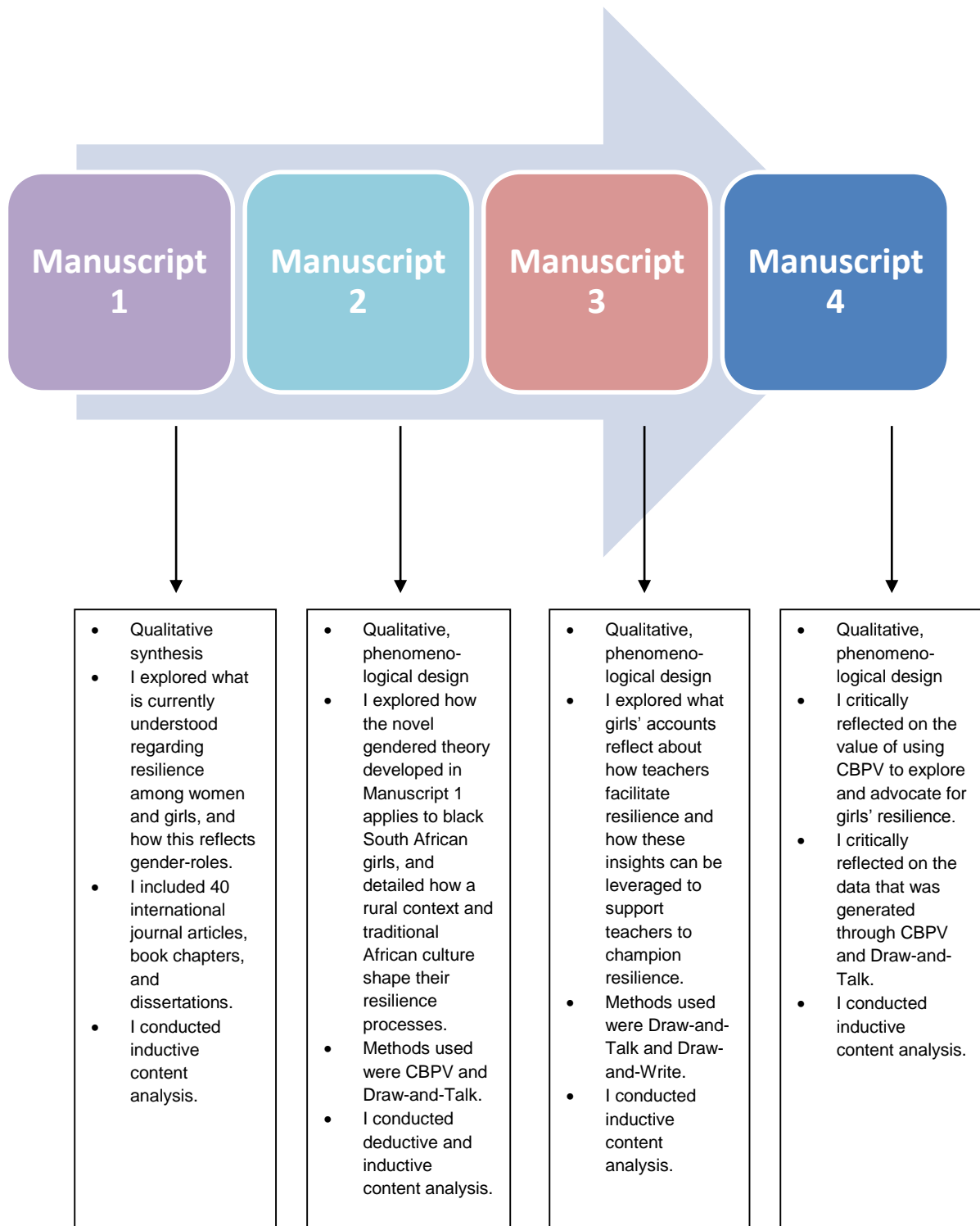


Figure 3: Summary of methodology informing each manuscript



In Manuscript 1, I conducted a qualitative synthesis in order to explore extant understandings of resilience among women and girls from diverse cultures. I then explored how my findings offer insight into how universal gender-roles are reflected in resilience processes among women and girls. This prompted an understanding that interdependent ways of being are key to women's and girls' resilience. Emotionally and pragmatically supportive relational contexts created safe spaces where women and girls could express their emotions and be agentic. Also, interdependence allowed women and girls to not only receive emotional and pragmatic support, but also to reciprocate emotional and pragmatic support. Next, I explored how apposite this understanding is for black South African girls living in rural contexts of structural adversity. It was unclear how apposite the findings were given that little is known about the ways in which black South African girls are resilient.

This led to Manuscript 2 in which my aim was to explore if and how the findings of Manuscript 1 explained Sesotho-speaking girls' resilience, and how the rural context and traditional African culture informed the expression of gendered resilience processes. The gendered resilience processes explored in Manuscript 1 were evident in the findings outlined in Manuscript 2. However, context and culture informed how they manifested. For example, the girls' context itself is informed by who is available in their constructive relational contexts. An absent father is a reality for many of the girls. This absence is the result of men's migration to seek work, abandonment of their families etc. (Casale, 2010), so the constructive relational context is mainly comprised of women/girls (i.e., mothers, sisters, friends, and service providers).

Teachers were de-emphasised in some of the data reported on in Manuscript 2. Because this was at odds with the South African literature that emphasises the role of teachers as champions of resilience (Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Phasha, 2010; Theron & Engelbrecht, 2012), I revisited the data that was generated through Draw-and-Talk and Draw-and-Write to explore whether this data set shed light on whether or not rural teachers facilitate girls' resilience and, if so, how they do this (see Manuscript 3). From these findings, I developed key leverage points to support rural teachers to facilitate resilience among girls, and young people in general. These leverage points include initiating teacher-learner partnerships, advocating for a changed education landscape, and providing positive feedback to learners.

Following Manuscript 3, I then reflected critically on the value and challenges of using Community-Based Participatory Video (CBPV) to explore, and advocate for, girls' resilience (see Manuscript 4). I reflected not only on how CBPV could be used to explore resilience, but also on how this method could be employed to spur change and promote resilience. CBPV proved valuable in exploring resilience since it drew attention to resilience as a context-specific, co-constructed process. Furthermore, the method heightened awareness of potential resilience-promoting resources through the group process, and it was a fun-filled way of engaging girls in a research process. There were also challenges to using CBPV to explore resilience and these included difficulty in realising the social change potential of the method, and the complexity involved in stimulating deep reflection among the girl-participants.

In summary, the above indicates that (with the support of my participants and promoter) I generated answers to the sub-questions informing this doctoral study. In the section that follows, I put these answers together in order to answer my main question. In doing so, I introduce the conclusions that these answers prompt.

### **3. Conclusions and contributions of the study**

My study investigated why black South African girls living in rural contexts of structural adversity are resilient. I spent eight months interacting with Sesotho-speaking girls living in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district of the Free State Province. Following this, the answer to my main research question is that Sesotho-speaking girls are resilient because of emotionally and pragmatically supportive relational contexts (mainly to women/girls); reciprocity in supportive relational contexts; agency; and trust in a caring God (the metaphysical being of their choice). These processes reflect gender norms given the foregrounding of reciprocal, emotionally and pragmatically supportive relationships (interdependent ways of being) in which girls could express their emotions. These processes also reflect the girls' structural and sociocultural realities (i.e., who their available supportive others are as well as what forms of reciprocity are expected), and traditional African culture.

The above answer aligns with Relational Cultural Theory's (RCT) assertion that resilience is a gendered process and that constructive relationships are important for resilience among women and girls (Jordan, 2006, 2013). Through constructive relationships the girls gained support to adjust well to a variety of hardships (e.g., loss, sexual violence, bullying by peers, emotional/physical abuse, etc.). The answer also fits the theoretical underpinnings of Social Ecology of Resilience Theory (SERT) in that what promotes resilience – also for this sample of Sesotho-speaking girls – is meaningful emotionally and pragmatically supportive person-context transactions (Ungar, 2012, 2011) in which mothers, sisters, friends, service providers, and teachers facilitate resilience among girls. In my study, meaningfulness related to traditional African values of respectful and reciprocal interrelatedness which translated into girls' valuing relational and spiritual supports,

and enacting sociocultural expectations to be strong. In other words, the girls' resilience was not just about having the constructive connections valued by RCT, but also about these connections being aligned with traditional African ways-of-being. As explained by various indigenous Africans (Mhkize, Mathe, & Buthelezi, 2014; Nicolaidis, 2015; Ramphele, 2012), connections come with a duty to honour the collective. In many ways, this expectation scripted how this sample of Sesotho-speaking girls reacted to adversity and spurred themselves into educational diligence and a hopeful future-directedness (both of which potentiated bringing honour to the collective).

Meaningfulness was further shaped by structural inequities (such as poverty, high unemployment, and service inaccessibility) which translated into girls' drawing on support from those service providers who were accessible (i.e., teachers and, occasionally, social workers) and women (who had not, like most of the men, left the district in search of employment). Explained differently, the structural realities shaped who was available for the sample of girls to connect to. Given the specific social ecology of these girl participants, meaningful transactions largely excluded interaction with formal supports (e.g., public health services or pro-social organisations) that are commonly reported to help build resilience in Global North contexts (Werner, 2013). Despite the scarcity of formal supports, the social ecology of participating girls still played a crucial role in enabling their resilience in that it included accessible, caring informal actors (mostly women kin and girlfriends) and passed on helpful cultural values (i.e., a belief in a caring god, prioritisation of education, and role models of strong women). Previous studies specific to the resilience processes among black South African girls have reported general processes of resilience, including relational supports, agency, investment in

education, and spirituality (Malindi, 2014; Phasha, 2010). In drawing attention to how these transactions are refined by the contextual realities of predominantly female (women and girl) supportive others, and the traditional African culture of Ubuntu-values (that include investing in education and being strong), my study advances an understanding of the sociocultural and structural determinants of resilience in a sample of Sesotho-speaking girls. In so doing, it contributes impetus to the current calls that resilience theory must account for how context and culture shape resilience processes (Masten, 2014; Panter-Brick, 2014; Ungar, 2015a), and how gendered ways of living and being do so (Jordan, 2013). In the absence of detailed, contextualised accounts of girls' resilience social ecologies will face challenges in facilitating resilience in meaningful ways (Liebenberg & Ungar, 2009; Ungar, 2011).

SERT explains that resilience processes entail having young people draw on supports that are provided by their social ecology (Ungar, 2011). SERT emphasises that the social ecology has a pronounced duty to both provide relevant supports and advocate for inaccessible supports that young people might need (Ungar, 2013). However, can a social ecology be expected to facilitate resilience without receiving support on how best to do so? In particular, such support needs to take structural realities and cultural norms into account. Where necessary, these realities must be redressed (e.g., advocating for improved education, and findings ways of sustaining men's presence, particularly that of fathers, in rural areas). With regard to Sesotho-speaking girls living in resource-challenged rural communities, key leverage points are likely to include supporting women to help them maintain a sustained presence in girls' lives, encouraging father-figure involvement, advocating for better quality education and teacher-learner partnerships to promote resilience, and assisting girls to find culturally appropriate health-promoting ways of expressing themselves (see

Manuscripts 2 and 3 for details). By flagging the above, I contribute to a current resilience discourse which is calling for more attention to how social ecologies can change the odds that work against the well-being of young people (Aranda & Hart, 2014). However, my study points out that this expectation can be met only in tandem with support for social ecologies to meaningfully change the odds in ways that respect and, where necessary, redress structural realities and cultural norms. A possible starting point would be to use visual research methods to inform social ecologies on how to change the odds meaningfully. CBPV is a potentially powerful visual tool that could be used to highlight how the social ecology (in my study, mothers, sisters, friends, teachers, and service providers) can facilitate girls' resilience by showing that resilience is a context-specific, co-constructed process and by emphasising what the social ecology can do to facilitate resilience (see Manuscript 4).

#### **4. Implications for leveraging resilience**

The final part of the answer I provided in the previous section underscores the fact that resilience research should have a translational agenda (Masten, 2014b). In other words, the findings of resilience studies should be translated into meaningful interventions to support vulnerable children (Aranda & Hart, 2014; Ungar, 2015b). In line with this translational agenda I highlight, in the section that follows, key ways in which my findings can be translated into resilience-promoting social-ecological actions / interventions. I centre these suggestions on the actors who were central to Sesotho-speaking girl-participants' accounts of resilience.

- Teacher educators need to instruct teachers on how to champion resilience intentionally in ways that can be added easily to the existing tasks teachers

have without overwhelming them (Sanders & Munford, 2015). Following from my study, this could include equipping teachers with the skills to assist girls to foster constructive teacher-learner relationships. Within this relational space teachers could provide relevant advice; could assist girls to navigate potentially harmful cultural traditions concerned with emotional expression; and help them to find appropriate ways to vent painful emotions so as to assist them to cope well. Furthermore, teachers could nurture young people's self-esteem by providing positive feedback to them. And, following Theron and Engelbrecht (2012), teacher educators need to make teachers aware of the importance of actively initiating partnerships with young people instead of waiting for these young people to approach them. Teachers need to realise that if they do not facilitate this some young people will not express themselves at all. Finally, because of the importance of education in the lives of girls, teachers need to be encouraged to advocate for better quality education and for changes in the education landscape. In other words, teachers need to do more than react to what is putting girls at risk; they need to pre-empt the conditions related to the failure of education that heighten and perpetuate risk (Theron, 2015).

- Men (e.g., father figures, brothers, and other male kin) need to be supported to explore options that will enable them to contribute meaningfully to the resilience processes of girls. Fathers play a potentially significant role in the facilitation of resilience and family well-being (Panter-Brick, 2014), and therefore their involvement in the family needs to be supported. Researchers could use CBPV in this regard. Importantly, community stakeholders (e.g., business owners, and local government) need to be brought into this dialogue

so that the structural barriers to men's presence in rural communities can be addressed.

- Women who provide informal support to girls (mothers, sisters, other women kin, and friends) need to be supported to sustain their role in girls' resilience processes. As part of this, practitioners (e.g., social workers and teachers) could communicate information about the importance of constructive relationships and encourage women to develop and maintain relationships with girls. They could help women connect with supportive others who could help them sustain their own capacity to keep on championing the resilience of girls.
- Academics and researchers could develop appropriate interventions that aim to capacitate teachers/social ecologies to promote resilience effectively. The individual members of the social ecology, like teachers, need support in their efforts to champion resilience among girls and young people in general. Again, CBPV is a powerful tool that could be used to engage researchers and teachers/social ecologies in collaborating towards developing meaningful interventions to facilitate resilience among girls, and to support teachers/social ecologies in doing so.

## **5. Reflections on the study**

The section that follows includes my theoretical, methodological and ethical reflections on this doctoral study. I also discuss implications for researchers that flow from these.

## Theoretical reflections

I reflected on my own assumptions about what might indicate resilience. Given my knowledge of resilience literature as well as my conversations with the P2RP advisory panel, I assumed that I would recognise resilience right away. My assumptions were challenged by my experience of working with the girls at the children's home. One particular girl, whom I will call Precious, stands out. On the first research day she appeared unhappy about being there and she was hesitant to open up when I tried to probe for more information from her during the Draw-and-Talk activity. Although I assured all the girls that if they did not feel comfortable participating they were welcome to withdraw, she chose to stay. Throughout the process she rolled her eyes and seemed irritated at her own presence. I was not sure how to process this and I found it very challenging to relate to her. She remained quiet throughout the day, but when I screened the girls' video I realised that what she had said in their video was extremely valuable; this surprised me. When I returned on the second research day she hugged me and it was clear that she was excited to be a part of the research process; the girl I had met on the first day seemed like a completely different person. I saw that she had leadership qualities and that when she spoke all the other girls listened. I believe that the research process broke down the barriers and helped her to feel more comfortable for the second day. This confirms the existing understanding that resilience processes are context- and culture-specific, and that they manifest differently across various contexts and cultures (Botrell, 2009; Ungar et al. 2015). I also believe that it took time to build trust with her because she had been let down by others in her life; people she loved had died and the housemothers were abusive at times. She taught me that to understand and/or recognise resilience means that we cannot see

participants at one point in time and assume that we understand (Panter-Brick, Grimon, & Eggerman, 2014); we need longitudinal studies during which we spend more time in the field before we can truly understand how resilience processes play out (Masten, 2014). Additionally, resilience processes do not always manifest in typical ways, but in ways that may appear to be atypical (Ungar, 2011). As researchers, we must not make assumptions regarding how resilience processes manifest, instead we need to understand resilience processes in relation to context and culture.

Another of my assumptions was that relationships with their mothers would be the key positive attachment in the girls' lives, and that this attachment is essential to the development of resilience, partly because of reports in the literature of mothers taking on the burden of care for their families (e.g., Casale, 2010; Jewkes et al., 2014), and also because of the relationship I had with my mother. During the course of this doctoral study, my mother suffered a series of strokes that caused brain damage from which she never recovered. During this time, I became more aware of how important my mother was in my life and how difficult it was to see myself losing this relationship. Two years after she had the strokes my mother passed away. As I grieved I frequently thought about Precious who had lost her mother three years before I met her, as well as about the other girls and the variety of losses and difficulties they had experienced. I reflected on what had assisted them to cope well in spite of losing their mothers and/or other family members and living with and through the other difficulties they faced, and this helped me to believe that I would get through the loss in my own life. During the times when I felt like giving up, I thought about the girls with whom I worked and was motivated to continue this study to honour them, and to honour my mother. And so, indirectly, the girls in this study

helped me to make meaning out of the loss I was experiencing. The lesson in this reflection is that resilience can also be learnt vicariously, and also through relationships with non-mother figures. According to Acevedo and Hernandez-Wolfe (2014), vicarious resilience refers to the positive effect that exposure to the resilience of others has on practitioners, and, even, researchers. Put another way, resilience is not only facilitated through direct social-ecological transactions, but through indirect observations of how others adjust well. Future research could explore how researchers are influenced by their research with resilient others and how this shapes their assumptions of the indicators of resilience.

SERT proposes that individuals navigate towards resources in their social ecologies, and that their social ecologies reciprocate by providing resilience-promoting resources (Ungar, 2008, 2011, 2013). As mentioned previously, Ungar (2015b) emphasises the social ecology's contribution to resilience as being more important than the contributions of individuals. However, the findings in my study suggest that although the social ecology's contributions are more important than those of individuals, the social ecology needs to be capacitated and informed on how to facilitate resilience. This is to say that the theoretical definition of resilience could take cognisance of the complexity of the bi-directional contributions between individuals and their social ecologies, as well as necessary contributions within social ecologies so that key social ecological actors can be supported to facilitate resilience meaningfully among young people.

### **Methodological reflections**

Working under the transformative paradigm heightened my awareness of my own social positioning and privilege as a white South African woman. Since I began this study I have become much more aware of our complex social and political history as

South Africans, and of how disadvantaged all black South Africans were, and of how many still are. I anticipated that my social positioning as a white woman might create a barrier to how much the girls I worked with would open up to me. In line with Anderson, Adey and Bevan (2010), by social positioning I refer to my social, political, and geographic location as a white South African woman. To address this, I chose research methods that have the potential to minimise power imbalances in the research process, and the multi-racial P2RP team collaborated with me throughout the research process. Following De Lange, Olivier and Wood (2008), I believe that the methods I chose did neutralise the barriers between my social positioning and that of the girls with whom I worked through the collaborative nature of these research methods. I noticed that by the end of each research day the girls had become more relaxed and more comfortable. This was evident in their shyness at the start of the day, and their laughter and hugs at the end of the day. The girls also insisted on taking group photographs that included me and the P2RP team, and were excited about returning for the second research day. The barriers that existed, like social positioning and language, were broken down during the research days. The lesson in this reflection is, therefore, that white researchers could choose co-productive methodologies to give participants power in the research process. Also, white researchers could include multi-racial research teams to the members of which participants might be better able to relate. Additionally, such team members could conduct the research in the participants' first language. Reflecting back I recognise that since I worked in a multi-racial team, I could have asked one of the black P2RP members to conduct the group sessions in Sesotho, and then had the transcripts translated by the team member and a professional translator so that no insights were lost because of any language barriers to full understanding.

It was interesting to me that in the videos the girls produced, teachers were mentioned only briefly, but when the girls completed the Draw-and-Talk and Draw-and-Write, teachers were more emphasised as being supportive. My promoter drew to my attention that when the girls completed a pen and paper activity similar to what they do at school, references to teachers as supportive were elicited (Theron, in press). This raised my awareness of how important the methodology is because methods have the potential to elicit varied responses from participants. This also emphasises the importance of using more than one research method to explore resilience. By combining methods we might be able to elicit deeper insights than we can with just one method.

An additional challenge we (the P2RP team and I) faced concerned the interference of teachers during the research process. The teachers of the girls recruited from the local school seemed to have planned what they wanted the girls to discuss and what they wanted them to use in a video before we arrived. This was evident in the particular arrangement of tables (that I saw the teachers arrange while talking to the girls) the girls used in their video, and I overheard certain English words, such as “clinic”, spoken by the teachers to the girls which led me to believe that the teachers gave the girls some instructions. My belief was validated in that the girls’ video included a sister at a clinic with whom a young girl had a consultation. Because of this, the data generated during the first research session with the school group was somewhat questionable. To counter this, we attempted to ask the teachers respectfully to absent themselves from the second research session with the school group. Luckily, on that day they were called to district meetings and were unable to attend the research process anyway. During their absence, the girls’ responses were more spontaneous and their video portrayed their resilience

processes, rather than the community problems as portrayed in the first CBPV session. A challenge therefore lies in how to ensure in future such sessions that key community members (especially those in authority/power positions) are included in ways that promote their understanding of the importance of foregrounding the girls' insights rather than implementing their own personal agendas.

### **Ethical reflections**

Another important aspect to consider when we are conducting research with vulnerable young people, especially those who have been let down by adults in their lives and who live in contexts of structural adversity, is the significance of closure to the research process. We need to explain that the research process has come to an end, provide the girls with the final findings to the study, and celebrate their strengths and the video products they created. In my study, I explained the research process to the girls and emphasised that we would conduct two research sessions with them. In reflecting on this, I now think that it might have been in the girls' best interests to host an additional (third) session to formally close the project, despite my explanations to the girls prior to conducting the research. To be respectful of participants, researchers using methods like CBPV should include in the process a final session that focuses only on ending the research process and not on generating data, and that assists the participants, as well as the researcher, to experience closure. The girls in my study suggested going on a camp at the end of the study, but because of funding constraints, this was not possible. I explained the funding constraints to the girls and in place of a camp, I tried to arrange final sessions with them but school activities (i.e., events and exams etc.), made them unavailable. Furthermore, deaths in the family intervened, and two girls left the children's home. A useful way around this would have been to incorporate a pre-arranged final session

into the informed consent letter given to participants and parents at the outset of the research. This would have made the logistics of arranging a closing off session easier, and would have prevented disappointing the participants.

6. Additionally, actualising change in the girls' social ecologies proved challenging.

The screening of the videos did not in their own right actualise change within the children's home. With regards to the girls living in the children's home who portrayed their housemother as verbally unkind and harsh at times, we wondered if the ethical duty to protect the girls from further victimisation hindered change within their social ecology. In other words, what would have happened if we had not been bound by the ethical principle to not screen videos that might result in negative consequences for the girls? If we had screened that particular video to certain adults in the children's home who were trustworthy (e.g., social workers), those adults may have taken positive action towards ensuring a safer, more encouraging environment at the children's home. As researchers, we need to critically reflect on the ethical principles that guide research, and examine how ethical principles could possibly hinder social change. Future CBPV studies should take this into account and explore creative ways to promote social change in potentially harmful circumstances.

## **7. Limitations**

This study is not without limitations. First, a language bias in the selection of literature meant the inclusion of studies published only in English in the qualitative synthesis. This may mean that valuable studies published in other languages were excluded. Also, unpublished reports that may have offered valuable insight into resilience among women and girls were excluded. Another important limitation with regard to the qualitative synthesis is that I relied on authors' interpretations of the

experiences of the women and girls. Since researchers often do not have access to the original databases of published studies, this remains a limitation when we are conducting qualitative syntheses.

Second, all the girl-participants in this study were subjectively recruited by adult women, and this might have resulted in a biased sample. Because of this, I might have missed valuable insights into what promotes resilience from girls who are what Theron (2015) refers to as quietly resilient. In addition, only school-going girls were included in this study. This means that I might also have missed valuable insights into resilience among girls who do not attend school. Considering that resilience processes are not always typical or mainstream (Ungar, 2011), I might have obtained deeper insights into girls' resilience processes had I included girls who had dropped out of school, or had I asked girls to self-nominate.

Third, visual data might be biased toward the more recent lived experiences of participants (Theron, 2015), which means that the data might only offer insight into the girls' most recent experiences. If the study were to be repeated it might yield different results. Moreover, CBPV tends to rely on the ability of participants to express themselves (High et al., 2011). This might mean that girls who were shy or quieter than others might have held back on explaining important facets of their resilience. Despite having translators present, the language barrier may also have had an impact on the extent to which the girls chose to discuss their experiences because of their being shy about their lack of fluency in English.

Fourth, participatory research has been criticised because participants are not always included in the analysis phase of the research process and, because of this, are not positioned as agents of their own change (Kumsa, Chambon, Yan, & Maiter, 2014). Participants are often not invited to engage in the data analysis phase

because some researchers believe that this phase is time consuming and uninteresting for participants (Nind, 2011). However, including participants could offer a more rigorous and inclusive approach to data analysis along with being fun-filled for them (Flicker & Nixon, 2016). In my study, I included the girl-participants only as co-analysts during the research process when they explained their drawings and videos. Had I included the girls in analysis beyond this (i.e., asked them to co-analyse the complete dataset), I might have gained additional key insights into their resilience. Although I did conduct member-checking with many of the girl-participants in my study, this remains a limitation.

Fifth, I worked with Sesotho-speaking girls (given the design of the P2RP) and although multiple African authors (e.g., Mpofu, 2015; Ramphele, 2012) believe that conventions such as emphasis on interrelatedness and spirituality unite African people (regardless of their ethnicity), the findings of this study are quintessentially applicable to Sesotho-speaking girls in rural areas. I hope that follow-up studies will investigate how transferable the findings are to other African ethnicities.

## **8. Recommendations for future studies**

The following section provides recommendations for future resilience research.

- A question that arose from Manuscript 1 is: What insights can be learnt about resilience by including studies published in languages other than English in qualitative syntheses? Multi-lingual research teams could include studies published in languages other than English in order to incorporate further valuable information that would expand theoretical understandings of resilience.

- From Manuscript 2, two questions emerge: (1) How are non-school-going girls resilient? (2) How do girls living in urban contexts adjust well to adversity? Future studies on resilience among girls should include a wider range of participants such as girls who have dropped out of school, and could invite adults to comment on their understandings of resilience among girls and what they can do to facilitate their resilience. Also, a future research study could replicate this current study with girls from a more urban context to understand context-specific resilience-promoting transactions more fully. Moreover, including young adult women in addition to girls might provide further insights into girls' resilience. Young adult women might be able to reflect more deeply about how they adjusted well during their adolescence which, in turn, might expand understandings of girls' resilience.
- From Manuscript 3 I ask: How can researchers capacitate teachers globally and nationally to promote resilience among young people? Future research could investigate how resilience researchers can partner with and inform young people's social ecologies (e.g., teachers) on how to champion resilience among young people effectively.
- One question that becomes apparent from Manuscript 4 is: How can CBPV be used to actualise effectively social-ecological action to promote resilience among young people? Future research using CBPV needs to engage girls and their social ecologies in order to create dialogue through dissemination, and focus on how CBPV can facilitate resilience among young people.
- A future research study could replicate this study with boy-participants to deepen the understandings of how gender-roles add to the complexity of resilience, and

also to promote resilience effectively for boys, because many men and boys are also at risk (Hosegood, Richter, & Clarke, 2015).

## 9. Conclusion

The purpose of this doctoral study was to investigate why Sesotho-speaking girls living in rural contexts of structural adversity are resilient. As can be deduced from this concluding chapter, with the help of my participants I achieved this purpose. Essentially, the words of a song the girls from the local family welfare organisation sang at the end of their video (see the lyrics below and the video included<sup>4</sup>) stand out for me because they illustrate that ultimately my participants adjusted well to complex and chronic adversity by drawing on personal and collective strengths. In their video they portrayed how a young girl adjusts well to being bullied by her peers by drawing on strength from the people in her social ecology who encouraged her agency and built her self-esteem. The song also reflects interdependent ways of being that are typical of Traditional African culture, as well as typical of universal gendered ways of being that are often associated with women.

The more we are together, together, together, the more we are together, the happier we'll be. The more we are together, together, together, the more we are together, the happier we'll be. 'Cause my friends are your friends and your friends are my friends, the more we are together the happier we'll be.

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<sup>4</sup> I have included a copy of two of the CBPV videos made by the girls from the family welfare organisation in this document. The two I chose include the one where the girls sing the song that is quoted.

It is not enough, however, to recall the words of these participants, or to make them (and those of the other participants) public. Thus, I conclude my doctoral study with a call to researchers, fellow students, and community-based actors to leverage the insights that my study provides in order to support Sesotho-speaking and other young women to beat the odds that challenge them. Additionally, I call on researchers, fellow students, and community-based actors to partner with girls to galvanise social change that will lead to fewer girls being vulnerable and thus de-emphasise the need for sustained resilience. Only then will the study of resilience achieve its true transformative potential.

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## APPENDIX A

### North-West University Ethics permissions



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Web: <http://www.nwu.ac.za>

**Ethics Committee**

Tel +27 18 299 4850  
Fax +27 18 293 5329  
Email [Ethics@nwu.ac.za](mailto:Ethics@nwu.ac.za)

31 March 2009

Prof Linda Theron

**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.

Ethics number:	Project title: Pathways to Resilience													
	N	W	U	-	0	0	0	0	6	-	0	9	-	A
Approval date:	12 March 2009						Expiry date: 11 March 2014							

Special conditions of the approval (if any): None

**General conditions:**

While 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 deviated 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 )

## APPENDIX B

### Informed consent



NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY  
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[tamlynn@thermoelectric.co.za](mailto:tamlynn@thermoelectric.co.za)

## **Invitation letters to participate in a research project called: Resilient Sesotho-speaking adolescent girls: A participatory visual study**

### **Pathways to Resilience Project**

North-West University collaborates with the Resilience Research Centre in Canada to explore how youth do well in spite of difficult life circumstances, in the Pathways to Resilience Project. My name is Tamlynn Jefferis and I am a student in the Pathways to Resilience Project. The research which I would like to conduct "*Resilient Sesotho-speaking adolescent girls: A participatory visual study*" involves working with Sesotho-speaking girls between the ages of 13 to 19 years to explore what cultural things girls do to cope and do well when facing difficulties in life. This study forms a doctoral study that flows from the Pathways to Resilience Project.

The Free State Department of Education has given clearance for this study, which was also reviewed and granted clearance by the Ethics Committee of the North-West University. This project will be conducted with Professor Linda Theron (from North-West University) and Dr. Macalane Malindi (from North-West University). If you would like to be a part of this project, please fill in and sign the forms attached.

### **Aims of the study**

This research aims to:

- To explore some of the challenges that Sesotho-speaking adolescent girls face.
- To explore how culture contributes towards resilience in Sesotho-speaking adolescent girls.
- To explore what it is that Sesotho-speaking adolescent girls do to be strong when facing difficulties in life.
- To explore the method of participatory video and create short videos in which the girls can tell their stories.

### **The importance of the research project**

This research project is important because by understanding how culture and gender help to promote resilience, we might understand more about how girls cope and do well in spite of difficulties that they face. With what we learn from you, it would mean that we could then try to help other girls who also face difficulties in life to be able to cope and do well in their lives.

### **What would you be asked to do if you would like to participate?**

- I would like to invite you and other girls to come and make a short video that tells a story about how you cope and do well in life in spite of challenges that you face.
- It would mean that you will work in groups with other girls, and you will be asked to discuss some of the challenges you face and the ways in which you cope and do well in spite of those challenges. During these discussions you will be asked to make drawings of some of the challenges you face, and then another drawing regarding the ways in which you cope and do well in spite of the challenges. I will request to keep and use the drawings that you make, but if you would like to keep your drawing we will return it to you. If you want to keep your drawing, then I will request to take a photograph of it and use the photograph.
- It would mean that in groups of about five girls, you will work together to choose what story you would like to tell about how you cope well with life's challenges, plan how you would present this story as a short video (2-3 minutes), and act the story out, and film it together. In the planning you will make a story-board (like a little cartoon of your story) and I will request to keep this.
- We will then watch the video that your group made, and the videos made by other groups of girls. I will ask that you explain the story to us and I will ask the other groups to comment on your video.
- It is a day of fun, working together, and making a short movie from which we can learn how being a girl in your cultural context supports you to do well in life. If you would like to be a part of this project, it means that you will need to be available for a full day (probably a Saturday. 09h00-15h30).
- During the day there will be a lunch break and hamburgers will be provided for lunch.
- After the videos have been made, I will request to meet with you on another day that suits you – probably about a month later - to discuss the findings of

the project with you. At this time, I would like to give you a small gift of thanks for being a part of the project.

### **Possible risks**

You should know that when we meet, you will be asked about some of the challenges and difficulties that you face in your life, which may be upsetting. If at any time you feel upset or do not want to answer any questions, please come and tell me and I will refer you to someone who will help you to talk about anything that might have upset you.

Being a part of this project means that you will act in and film a short video. Because of this, others who watch this video will be able to see you in the video, and this means that your participation will not be anonymous. Photographs will be taken throughout the day, and all our discussions will be recorded. I ask for your permission to show the drawings, storyboards, and videos that you will make to other researchers, academics, and students. You will also be given a copy of your video to keep. Please keep in mind that by agreeing to be part of this project you will not be anonymous (people will know **you** participated) and before you agree to participate make sure that you are comfortable with this.

### **Possible benefits**

Participating in this study might be beneficial to you in that it gives you a chance to think about what makes you strong in life and to tell your story about this. Being a part of this study will probably also benefit other girls, because what we learn from you will be shown to community service providers and other professional to try and apply what we learnt from you to other girls who also face difficulties in their lives. What we learn will also be used to try and develop policies and youth programs.

### **Remuneration**

Each participant that agrees to participate in this project will receive a Shoprite voucher to the value of R100 as a token of thanks. In addition to this, lunch of a hamburger will be provided on the day that we meet to make the videos, as well as when we meet at a later stage to discuss the findings of the study.

If you would like to participate in this project, please ask you parent or guardian to fill in the form that is attached to this letter called Informed Consent from Parent/Guardian, and please will you also fill in the form called Informed Consent from Participant.

### **Questions, problems or concerns**

If you have any questions, problems or concerns you are welcome to contact any of the following research members:

- Me: Miss Tamlynn Jefferis (student in the Pathways Project conducting this research project). Her phone number is 076 232 1785. I am available from Monday to Friday between 8a.m. and 5p.m.
- Prof. 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.
- Dr. 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.

If you have any difficulties with, or wish to voice concern about, any aspect of your participation in this study, you may also contact the Research Director (Faculty of Humanities, Vaal Triangle Campus, NWU): Prof Susan Coetzee van Rooy at [susan.coetzeevanrooy@nwu.ac.za](mailto:susan.coetzeevanrooy@nwu.ac.za) or 016 910 3422.

Many thanks for taking the time to look over this letter.

Regards from

The Research Team



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[macalane.malindi@nwu.ac.za](mailto:macalane.malindi@nwu.ac.za)

## **Resilient Sesotho-speaking adolescent girls: A participatory visual study**

### **Informed Consent for Parent/Guardian**

My name is Tamlynn Jefferis and I am a student in the Pathways to Resilience Project of North-West University, in collaboration with the Resilience Research Centre in Canada. Under the ethical clearance of the North-West University as well as the Free State Department of Education, I would like to conduct a research study which seeks to explore how culture and gender possibly contribute towards resilience in Sesotho-speaking adolescent girls. This project will be conducted with Professor Linda Theron (from North-West University), and Dr. Macalane Malindi (from North-West University).

### **Explanation of the study (what will happen to my child in this study?)**

- Your child will be asked to work in groups with other girls to act in and film a short video that tells a story about how the girls do well in spite of difficult life circumstances.
- Your child will be asked to make two drawings regarding some of the challenges she faces, and the ways in which she copes and does well in spite of those challenges. Your child will also be asked to draw a storyboard (cartoon like strip) before the filming of the video as preparation. With the girls' permission we keep the drawings and storyboard to use in our research. The process leading up to the making of the video will be video recorded and photographs will be taken.
- Professor Linda Theron, Dr. Macalane Malindi, and I will work with your child and facilitate the process of the girls making their short videos.
- This will require one full day, preferably a Saturday so that it will not interfere with your child's school, at a place that will be most convenient for all the participants.

- Once you agree that your child may participate in the study, I will arrange a time and place to work with your child.

**Benefits of the study (can anything good happen to my child?)**

- Your child's participation will teach her skills in working with a video camera, as well as working in groups with other girls.
- Your child will also have a day of fun, and she will receive lunch of a hamburger and something to drink.
- By participating in this project, your child will be helping to shape future programs that will be made to help other girls who face difficulties in life.

**Confidentiality (will anyone know my child in the study?)**

- If your child participates in this study, it will not be anonymous and other people will be able to see her in the study because of the video she will act in and film.
- I ask for permission to show the videos to other researchers, academics and students. Your child will receive a copy of the video that she will participate in making.
- The highest ethical principles will be upheld at all times by me and the other researchers who will help in conducting this project, and we aim to do no harm to your child.

**Voluntary participation (what if my child does not want to do this?)**

- Your child does not have to participate unless she wants to.
- If she agrees to participate and then changes her mind, we will respect her choice. If at any stage your child does not wish to participate in this project, she may leave the project without any consequences.

**Risks or discomforts (can anything bad happen to my child?)**

- Acting in and filming videos can be fun, and I am sure that your child will enjoy the day.
- Through the day we will have a discussion on what some of the difficulties are that the girls face, which could remind the girls about difficulties they have faced. These discussions will be done with caution, and should your child become upset, then steps will be taken to ensure that she has the necessary support.

### Questions, problems or concerns

If you have any questions, problems or concerns you are welcome to contact any of the following research members:

- Miss Tamlynn Jefferis (student in the Pathways Project conducting this research project). Her phone number is 076 232 1785 and she is available from Monday to Friday between 8a.m. and 5p.m.
- Dr. 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.
- Dr. 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.

If you have any difficulties with, or wish to voice concern about, any aspect of your participation in this study, you may also contact the Research Director (Faculty of Humanities, Vaal Triangle Campus, NWU): Prof Susan Coetzee van Rooy at [susan.coetzeevanrooy@nwu.ac.za](mailto:susan.coetzeevanrooy@nwu.ac.za) or 016 910 3422.

If you agree that your child may participate in this research project, please write your name and sign:

Name of Parent/Guardian	Name of Child
Signature and date	Phone number



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[tamlynn@thermoelectric.co.za](mailto:tamlynn@thermoelectric.co.za)

## Informed Consent to Participant

### Resilient Sesotho-speaking adolescent girls: A participatory visual study

I hereby consent to participate in the “*Resilient Sesotho-speaking girls: A participatory visual study*”, and **I have read the letter of invitation** to participate in the follow-up video and understand that:

- My participation in this project is with consent from my parents/guardian.
- That my participation is voluntary and should I feel that I do not want to continue that I may withdraw without any consequences.
- My participation in this project will not be anonymous, and I agree that all discussions may be video recorded and that photographs may be taken throughout the day.
- I agree that the researchers may keep / make copies of / photograph the drawings I make and the storyboard (cartoon like strip) that is for preparation of the short video, and that these will be returned to me if I would like to keep them.
- I agree that the video that I make will be allowed to be shown to other researchers, academics and students, and to community members and other interested parties. I understand that the researchers will aim not to use the video in any way that may cause me harm.
- My participation in this project means that I agree to be available for a full day (probably a Saturday).
- A copy of the video will be given to me.

**Questions, problems or concerns**

If you have any questions, problems or concerns you are welcome to contact any of the following research members:

- Miss Tamlynn Jefferis (student in the Pathways Project conducting this research project). Her phone number is 076 232 1785 and she is available from Monday to Friday between 8a.m. and 5p.m.
- Dr. 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.
- Dr. 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.
- If you have any difficulties with, or wish to voice concern about, any aspect of your participation in this study, you can contact Research Director (Faculty of Humanities, Vaal Triangle Campus, NWU): Prof Susan Coetzee van Rooy at [susan.coetzeevanrooy@nwu.ac.za](mailto:susan.coetzeevanrooy@nwu.ac.za) or 016 910 3422.

If you agree and would like to participate in this project, please write your name and phone number on the back of this form, and please sign.

---

Name

---

Phone number

---

Signature

---

Date

## APPENDIX C

Permission from the Department of Basic  
Education



**education**  
Department of  
Education  
FREE STATE PROVINCE

Enquiries : IM Malimane  
Reference no. : 16/4/1/36-2009

Tel: 0514048662  
Fax: 051 4477318

2009-10-07


Director, Thabo Mofutsanyana Education District  
Private Bag 817  
Witsieshoek  
9870

Dear Mr Chele

**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

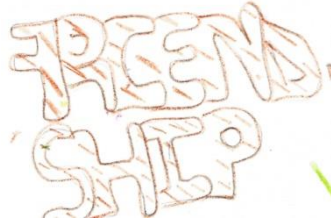

  
FR SEVLO  
DIRECTOR: QUALITY ASSURANCE


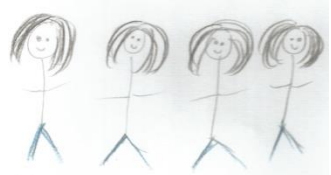
Directorate: Quality Assurance  
Private Bag X20565, Bloemfontein 9300  
Syfrets Center, 65 Maitland Street, Bloemfontein  
Tel: 051 404 8750 / Fax: 051 447 7318  
E-mail: quality@edu.fs.gov.za




[www.fs.gov.za](http://www.fs.gov.za)



## APPENDIX D



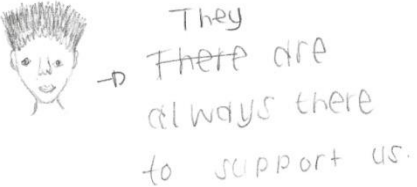

### Inclusion exclusion criteria


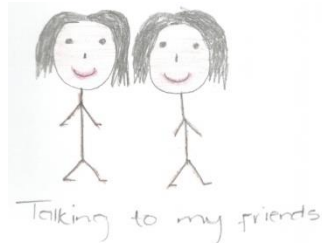
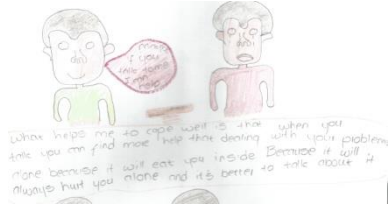
Resilience mechanism	Resilience mechanism defined	Cultural and contextual distinguishing feature	Quotes from the data	Drawings and video stills
<p>Emotionally supportive constructive relational context</p> <p>(Quotes: 70; Drawings: 26; Video stills: 14)</p>	<p><b>Inclusion:</b> others offering advice (including life skills), listening, offering encouragement, and sustained emotional support.</p> <p><b>Exclusion:</b> references to any form of pragmatic support.</p>	<p>Predominantly females that offer unconditional encouragement and have a sustained presence in the girls' lives</p>	<p>"I have a friend who's like always there for me...who, no matter what you... I trust her with everything... she's my girl...yeah we talk about everything, we encourage each other, and we don't discourage each other" (Participant 1 Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 24-26)</p> <p>"...my family, my aunty and my brother... they are always there for me... even if I tell them I'm coming here to Girl-Child, they support me either way" (Participant 1 Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 27-30)</p> <p>"Mam D (social worker at Girl Empowerment Program), she's always there for me...When I was in grade 9, my teacher... well she introduced me to Girl-Child when she found out that I don't have parents anymore, so after that Mam D, she's been there for me...and there was a time when I didn't come to Girl-Child...but when I came back she welcomed me with open arms" (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 44-53)</p>	 <p>[supportive friends, P1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2]</p>  <p>[supportive family, teacher, friends, social worker represented by the heart, P1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2]</p>



			<p>“Talking to a teacher...it really helps a lot because you are a student and if she sees that your work is going off the sides...she can say is there something wrong and you can talk to a teacher” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 220-222)</p> <p>“We are 100% there...one of my friends has no father...their stepfather died and she really loved her stepfather and we talk about things that happened in the past and we start crying and she’s like wow what are you girls crying about? We’re like no you trust us to talk about your feelings and you trust us to help you get through this. And she said the last time I talked to you about this it really helped me to just be normal and live with it...that I don’t have a father” (Participant 2, Girl-Child, Group2, day 2, lines 405-412)</p> <p>“She’s a good person [her friend] and she just sits there and listens to us and we listen to her. And if you need to cry in the middle of the night you can pick up your phone...I can put the phone on my ear and you can just cry all the time and I’ll just listen... even if you need to cry, even if you don’t want me to say anything, but I could just listen to what you feel, that’s a good friendship, always being</p>	 <p>[supportive teacher, P1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2]</p>  <p>Having good friend helps alot because they cant make you see whats write and wrong...</p> <p>[supportive friends, P2, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2]</p>
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			<p>there” (Participant 2, group 2, day 2, lines 415-420)</p> <p>“She says whenever there is a challenge that she’s faced with, there’s always someone in the school or in the neighbourhood that she can go to and ask for help that she can get help from them” (Participant 3, group 2, day 2, lines 444-446)</p> <p>“The granny is the one where I can talk about my problems” (Mrs M, focus group 1, line 200)</p> <p>“Yea and then what you find...the Sotho girls are telling me that the teachers at school are making them resilient, because even if the grandmother is not really a role model...they are very much connected at least to one teacher at school” (Ms. A, focus group 1, lines 220-222)</p> <p>“G and M [are] good friends, and yeah, in a place like this, like the children’s home...the friends [are] very important” (Mrs S, social worker at children’s home, lines 44-45)</p>	 <p>[supportive female elders, P3, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2]</p>  <p>[supportive friends, P1, children’s home, day 1]</p>  <p>[supportive friends, P2, children’s home, day 2]</p>
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			<p>“It’s like no one, we all have friends, so if you can just go to your friends and say my friend has this problem and it’s this and this and this. Maybe she knows someone who will help me” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group1, day1, lines )</p> <p>“She [social worker] is always there for me when I need her, when I’m sad or what, she’s always giving me advice, yeah so she helps me” (Participant 6, children’s home, day 2, lines 106-107)</p> <p>“My friends, they always help me when I’m sad and they’re always there for me...when I’m sad they always ask me what’s wrong, so I tell them what’s wrong, and so they’re always there, they cheer me up (Participant 5, children’s home, day 2, lines 119-120)</p> <p>“I do talk with my sister...she is a social worker, she helps me some way, somehow (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 27-29)</p> <p>“Yes but I’m trying very hard because I can also see that he is trying very hard to build our relationship to be good, he’s really good but</p>	 <p>[supportive female elders, P3 school group, day ]</p>  <p>[Girls hug after they support one another to see things positively (children’s home video 1]</p>
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			<p>I'm really trying hard" (Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 446-447)</p> <p>"My friends, like they motivate me, when I'm down they cheer me up" (Participant 5, children's home, day 1, line 467)</p> <p>"I draw friends, I think friends make them feel better...they will say nice things to you" (Participant 5, children's home, day 1, line 475)</p> <p>"I would just go to my mom and ask her am I important? And I know she's going to say you're important, you're important to me, you're important to your family, you're real important so that's going to make you feel that wow if I'm important to my parents then and no one else, then it doesn't matter" (Participant 10, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1, lines 1409-1412)</p> <p>"Actually when I came here I became a better person, when I came to the children's home [because]...people (my friends) were there, they helped me" (Participant 2, children's home, day 3, lines 574-576)</p>	 <p>[Encouraging social worker, Girl-Child, group 1, video 1]</p>  <p>friends...</p>  <p>They are always there to support us.</p> <p>[supportive friends, children's home, day 3]</p> 
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			<p>“What we wanted to portray [in the video] was that friends, the people around you help you see life differently, our friends are there, we have friends for a reason to help us see positively” (Participant 4, children’s home, day 1, lines 12-14)</p> <p>“No-one can decide for you to be happy, everything is a choice you make and sometimes we need our friends to help us make those decisions” (Participant 4, children’s home, day 1, lines 38-39)</p> <p>“My social worker told me I’m a good girl, a strong one, and that helps me to cope at school and at home” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 1, lines 40-41)</p> <p>“My friends are always there to encourage me and help me through tough times and I always go to them” (Participant 2, children’s home, day 3, lines 423-424)</p> <p>“You have to talk with other people in your life, so they can advise you and encourage you</p>	<p>[Supportive teacher, P2, school group, day 1]</p>  <p>[supportive family, P1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2]</p>  <p>[supportive friends, P5, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2]</p> 
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			<p>and tell you what to do” (Participant 2, School group, day 1, lines 287-288)</p> <p>“For me to be strong, as I said regarding (Female teacher) she advise me and I take her advice, and I take it when something...make me sad I go...to Miss May or Mrs. Msimande, and talk to them, and then they'll advise me and that make me to be strong” (Participant 3, school group, day 1, lines 557-559)</p> <p>“I was [going] to some classes of counselling there at hospital...who was counselling me is Miss Baressa. And then she was always saying that we have to take some books and write what makes me to be sad, and after that we talk about that thing” (Participant 3, School group, day 1, lines 563-565)</p> <p>“The best thing that made me strong is to be counselled ...She asked me to tell her what had happened from the beginning to the end” (Participant 1, school group, day 1, lines 698-708)</p>	<p>[talking to supportive others, P6, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2]</p>  <p>[talking to supportive others, P2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2]</p>  <p>[supportive mother, P4, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2]</p>
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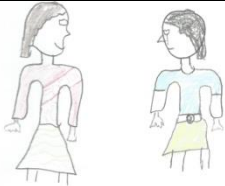


		<p>“There is a social worker next to our house, then I go to her and I take her advice and I live them...I go then I tell her that what happened to me, then she tells me what to do...and what not to do then, then her advice I take it and compare it with my problems then I see that that advice is right” (Participant 3, school group, day 2, lines 208-210)</p> <p>“This is me and this is my teacher...whenever the period is finished, every single day at the end of the period, there’s that encouragement, that motivation, she always talk about being a better person in the future” (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 32-35)</p> <p>“Last year...term 1 I failed and I was expecting them [her family] to be angry, and those kind of things that people do...you don’t do well at school, it’s boys and this and this and this... but then they were like ok you will do well, it’s just the beginning of the year and it’s your first time at that school so it’s peer pressure and stuff” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 61-65)</p> <p>“We’ve been friends like forever, actually we’re cousins but then we’re so close that we’re friends...every time when I’m down I go to her</p>	 <p>[supportive sister, Girl-Child, group 1, video 1]</p>  <p>[supportive teacher, Girl-Child, group 1, video 1]</p> 
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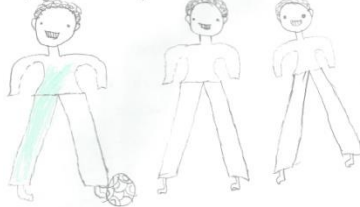

			<p>and talk to her, even if I know this is private, I don't tell anyone but I'm able to tell her, even though I can't tell my parents I'm able to tell her, you know she advise me don't do this, do this" (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 70-74)</p> <p>"...my geography teacher, there was a time in the beginning of this year...we were so disrespectful when she came in class we were making noise and so she had to be angry at us always, so there was a time whereby at the end of the period she talked to us and told us what we're doing is not right, if you want to achieve something in the future you should be respectful and those kind of things" (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 79-84)</p> <p>"...my grandfather used to say to me "you talk too much I think you will make a good lawyer", and he made me to love it so much that now I just want to stand in front of a magistrate and just talk until he gets my point...that's what I love" (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 177-180) <b>Value for education/vision for the future</b></p>	<p>[supportive friends, Girl-Child, group 2, video 1]</p>  <p>[supportive mother, Girl-Child, group 1, video 2]</p>  <p>[supportive sister, Girl-Child, group 1, video 2]</p> 
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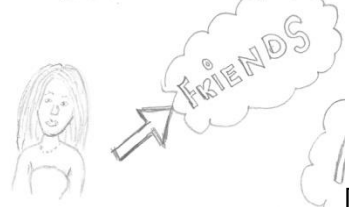

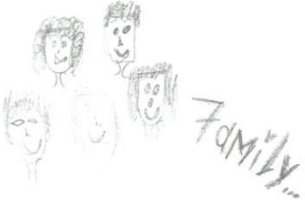
			<p>“I have four friends, and they are the best friends ever, we are like sisters and we connect with each other, we tell each other everything, we laugh together, we play, we’re kinda grown but we still like playing... We have fun, we encourage each other, we tell each other to do good things instead of bad things, and even in crying they all cry with me, and if I’m laughing they laugh with me, and if I fall they’re always there to just pick me up and say no matter how this has affected me but just know that we’re here for you, and they know that, they just know how I am” (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 205-217)</p> <p>“My friends...we are from different backgrounds and when we go to school we just forget that we are from different backgrounds, we just become one thing, like one group of friends, like one human being, but four human beings in one where you...we like to pray, when we were writing [exams] we prayed a lot... we like to make jokes and laugh... we like to chat a lot and talk about advice, I’m [going to] say to one of my friends I’m having a bad day, I’m [going to] gather them around and say guys I’m having a bad day can you help and they will be like yea we can and everyone brings out their different opinion about how you should handle the situation, and if this one cannot work there’s a</p>	<p>[supportive peers, Girl-Child, group 1, video 2]</p>  <p>[supportive friends share knowledge and encouragement, Girl-Child, group 1, video 2]</p>  <p>[supportive friend, Girl-Child, group 2, video 2]</p>
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			<p>second one, if the second cannot work there's a third one... so they just bring ideas and start giving you advice, and we're just great friends...I've never even heard them saying negative things to each other, they're always like we got our test results back and she's like how did you do, and she was like top two, and one of my friends was doing economics and she was doing science and two of us are doing history, so the both of us almost got the same marks in history and the other one got highest marks in science and this one I think she was number one in her class and she was like guys I did so great, and we were like well done and we should probably celebrate and we started dancing and we had a good time... and when someone cries we don't just say it's [going to] be ok it's just part of life no, we cry with them and just be like you know in life there are situations like this, but as friends we can just overcome them, we can help you to overcome these situations" (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 332-355)</p> <p>"You know like sometimes in school, in class...people tease me, so I can just look bored and as if I'm not in the mood, she [teacher] could just call me and say is anything going on?... she said don't take people that tease you into consideration because they are just making a fool of themselves, they just</p>	 <p>[supportive mother, Girl-Child, group 2, video 2]</p>  <p>[supportive teacher, Girl-Child, group 2, video 2]</p>
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			<p>want attention” (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 229-237)</p> <p>“I think it was 34 year old woman, she was like if you ever need something here are my contacts phone me I’m proud that you saw things how they were before it was too late, because some people out there when things are really, really bad, either they are pregnant or they are positive or they are just like that and people don’t even look at them anymore, they don’t even care so she was like I’m really proud that you saw things early so that you can get help and motivate yourself” (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 323-328)</p> <p>“...every morning there’s a specific teacher who prays for them for wisdom and that makes them feel important that someone is looking after them” [translated to English] (Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 500-501)</p> <p>“I think coming together and sharing one another’s problem or one another’s achievement...Maybe chatting to each other at the end of the day...she’ll end up saying you know I thought my parents don’t love me</p>	 <p>[supportive sister, school group, video 2]</p>  <p>[supportive social worker, school group, video 2]</p>
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			<p>anymore, no, it's not like that because so and so she's asking a shoe, parents say I don't have money but she's still fine" (Teacher, school group, lines, 369-370)</p> <p>"...they have to get strength and then they can go back to school again, you can achieve your goal, you can be something and then be able to provide for your baby, not go again after that boy, and then if that boy comes back how to deal with the situation" (Participant 1, focus group 2, lines 64-637)</p> <p>"([Participant 5] had people outside that believed in her but [Participant 2] and [Participant 6] don't have, [Participant 3] don't have, so they don't have people outside that's there for them, so they rely on each other" (Social worker, children's home, lines 184-187)</p> <p>"My family, my aunt, my mom and my...little [brother]...they always cheer me up when I'm down" (Participant 1, children's home, day 1, lines 463-464)</p> <p>"She [sister]...advise me that I have to forgive my mother and then tell my mother to forgive</p>	 <p>Get advices from People [supportive female others, P5, school group, day 2]</p>  <p>[supportive friends, P5, school group, day 1]</p>  <p>[supportive friends, P4, school group, day 1]</p>
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			<p>me and then she says to me I have to go back home and apologise. And then I understand and I go at home and I apologise to my mum and my mum forgive me” (Participant 2, school group, day 2, lines 525-527)</p> <p>“...my friend she like to tell me what have happened, so that we encourage each other, I give her advice, I take her advice” (Participant 2, school group, day 2, lines 493-494)</p> <p>“She says that her uncle is giving her some advices to not do the things he did when he was young” [translated] (Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1, lines 779-780)</p> <p>“She tells her mother about everything that happens...Or she talks to her friends...They help each other because they’re giving each other advices” [translated] (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1)</p> <p>“...last time I told her, I’m like mom I got bad marks on my geography, she was like you know this is the first time, you shouldn’t put yourself down, you’re [going to] work hard</p>	 <p>[supportive friends, P5, school group, day 1]</p> <p>Family</p>  <p>[supportive family members, P1, children's home, day 2]</p>
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			<p>right, and I was like yeah mom” (Participant 10, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1)</p> <p>“my friends who encourage me and motivate me when I feel bad, or when something bad has happened” (Participant 1, children’s home, day 2, lines 151-152)</p> <p>“friends also is important...Yea it’s because we go most of the times through the same stuff...We understand each other” (All participants, children’s home, day 3, lines 396-398)</p> <p>“And our social worker especially, always... listens to our problems and gives us advice” (All participants, children’s home, day 3, lines 437-440)</p> <p>“I hang out with people who are positive in life and who are supportive...for example teachers...I’m more close to teachers than to my fellow learners...learners don’t know anything about life and they are still in the process that I’m at and so teachers have passed through that and they’ve got a lot of experience, so they know how to handle situations like the ones we face as teenagers”</p>	 <p>[supportive friends, P3, children’s home, day 2]</p>  <p>[supportive friends, P5, children’s home, day 2]</p>  <p>[supportive family, P5, children’s home, day 2]</p>
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			<p>(Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 44-48)</p> <p>“I have this one teacher, she’s actually my English teacher...we have our sometimes, which is go out and I just talk to her...and so she advise me...there are people who are not negative and they look forward and the success of their learners, they don’t want to see a learner being a failure or ending up in drugs...they want to see you successful and really changing your community” (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 68-73)</p> <p>“I will just say...my mom helps me with self-esteem, because I have low self-esteem, she build me” (Participant 4, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 126-127)</p> <p>“...talking to other girls about your problems, sharing some ideas...: I have a friend at school, it’s my best friend...I started school...and she started...together... and we are still together” (Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 149-153)</p>	 <p>[supportive social worker, P3, children’s home, day2]</p>  <p>→ Alwou there to listen to our problems and give us advice</p> <p>[supportive social worker, all girls, children’s home, day 3]</p>
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			<p>"I talk with my sister and tell [her] how [what] made me to be sad and she will make me feel so good and...she give me advice (Participant 6, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 156-157)</p> <p>"They like to talk, and then they like to feel that they are important...you must make them understand how important they are and how better they can do" (Participant 2, focus group 2, lines 206-210)</p> <p>"With their grand-daughters...the mothers say you must be like this and this, the grandmother is just loving them for what they are" (Mrs. M, focus group 1, lines 212-213)</p> <p>"I would talk to my mom about everything, good, funny, strange, incredible, anything that I want to share with my mom, and no matter how she would say to me no matter how this problem is, no matter how bad it will hurt me as a mother or disappointed I will be, I have to know that I am your mother and I will do this to protect my child" (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 193-197)</p> <p>"Ok my family, they just always there for me, they don't care what's wrong, they don't care if</p>	
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			<p>I've done mistakes, they're just there for me... they do their best to support me all the way" (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 55-58)</p> <p>"...talking to my parents helps me even though they don't get me, but just telling them how I feel and it has affected me or how good this is and how bad it is, it helps me a lot because they can understand sometimes that she's a teen and she's got some side of teenager stage" (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 202-205)</p> <p>"We start our session everyday with a prayer and a reading from the bible, some other times we have a session of the bible study, only a bible study so everyone can bring their verses and then we discuss their verses" (Participant 1, focus group 2, lines 344-346)</p> <p>"...at the end of the day...when a problem comes she will think I wish my mother was here, I wish this and this will happen but if you always talk of saying God, God, God...she will say yes, I don't have my mother, but God can hear me (Mrs, M, Teacher, lines 1016-1066)</p>	
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			<p>“but the most important, my feeling is that if their relationship with God is priority, all the other things is coming alright...Everyday now I only this thing that, that’s what we must do here at this Children’s home the children must know God, it’s their choice, but we as therapists and the care takers, we must yeah, it’s very important that everyone must know God...if they decide that’s what they want to do, it’s not easy and I think sometimes they do give up hope and say “no, but there’s not a God because this is happening to me and this is happening to me” and then it’s important I think that the child care worker and us as therapists and the friends are there to, yeah, “<b>ondervang</b>” them” (Social worker, children’s home, lines 84-86)</p> <p>“And then we like to...invite visitors like a guest speaker some other times like a sister from the clinics or they can be motivated...hygienic wise. If you are a girl you must take care of your body, yeah, those things...but then women, yeah, we invite them” (Participant 1, focus group 2, lines 230-234)</p> <p>“We try them to give them life skills like the life skills program like what about life, in life you are going to be faced with many challenges, life is not easy, it’s up and down and then</p>	
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			<p>sometimes you will find yourself falling again and then you have to pick up yourself and get ready again, don't just stay there and say oh, I'm a failure, I can't do nothing, you have to pick up some strength and then be ready to take the journey of life again (Participant 1, focus group 2, lines 620-625)</p> <p>"They [sisters] once tell me that I don't have to go with boys and that I have to choose my friends, because sometimes my friends tell me to do something that is not good for me" (Participant 4, school group, day 1, lines 606-607)</p> <p>"She says she has talked to her brother, her brother just said, that you must ignore our aunt and take her as a mad person, because there is nothing we can do, she can't change, it's her character" [translated] (Participant 5, school group, day 1, lines 785-787)</p> <p>"Even the belonging of the group...then I'm special, they see themselves as special and then [inaudible] that is doing the good thing and then sharing" (Participant 3, focus group 2, lines 490-492)</p>	
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			<p>“...they can be exploited by men. So we try to protect them, to make them feel that they are important, no matter what situation you find yourself in it’s not your fault, your family situation it must end up with you, you must improve your home circumstances” (Participant 1, focus group 2, lines 524-527)</p> <p>“The more we are together, together, together, the more we are together, the happier we’ll be, ‘cause my friends are your friends and your friends are my friends, the more we are together the happier we’ll be” (Song sang at the end of video, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2]</p>	
<p><b>Pragmatically supportive constructive relational context: provides basic necessities for girls</b></p> <p>(Quotes: 7)</p>	<p><b>Inclusion:</b> Any form of pragmatic support in the form of basic necessities, including a school uniform (e.g., food, clothes, a place to live, finances, sanitary pads).</p> <p><b>Exclusion:</b> Any form of emotional</p>	<p>Pragmatically supportive community/ shared concern for the basic needs of girls</p>	<p>“I support a lot of them here at school with some of the teachers, you’ll find that those orphans they are not having uniforms, we usually go out ask for donations or pop out from our pockets, buy them those uniforms” (Teacher, lines 195-198)</p> <p>“...so this child [living in a child-headed household]...she was brave enough to stay with her brother and her sister without somebody else helping them, but what I liked about her is that even if there was nothing to eat at home, she would rather not eat and share whatever she shares with the brother and sister until we decided here at school, we have this feeding scheme system that okay,</p>	

	<p>support (i.e., advice, encouragement, being listened to).</p>		<p>during break you'll have your food but we'll give you extra so that when you go home you'll be having something in hand for your brother and sister" (Teacher, lines 241-248)</p> <p>"[Children's home] there are so many children out there that don't have a bed to sleep in, they don't have food to eat, they don't have clothes to wear, we have three meals every day, we go to one of the best schools in the Free State, we have braai's here, the people come in and throw braai's, we have so much to be grateful for" (Participant 5, children's home, day 1, lines 307-310)</p> <p>"She says she hasn't been through much adversity but she feels if she needs resources that she can access this whenever anything can happen she has a much better chance of accessing them because she has built a good relationship" [translated] (Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 456-458)</p> <p>"She says they sit her down and they tell her that we may not have this thing now but they will work on her being full, so they listen to her and they really try everything possible for her"</p>	
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			<p>[translated] (Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 542-544)</p> <p>“When they are on their monthly period and all those things, when it just happens the teacher will give them pads and so it’s not just academics” (Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 755-757)</p> <p>“...every house has a community, like a church support... and then they bring meat, so we see them bringing us the meat and stuff” (Participant 1, children’s home, day 3, lines 250-253)</p>	
<p><b>Pragmatically supportive constructive relational context: promotes girls’ investment in education</b></p> <p>(Quotes: 9; Video still: 1)</p>	<p><b>Inclusion:</b> Any support that concerns schoolwork, assistance in obtaining information or understanding schoolwork.</p> <p><b>Exclusion:</b> Excluding any form of pragmatic</p>	<p>Practical support with schoolwork encourages investment in education</p>	<p>“my family, my aunty and my brother...they help me with my schoolwork and everything I do” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 27-30)</p> <p>“Oh, they like school, they do like school because during the school term they will come in our offices if they have some, to do some research or they need information to add on their school work, they do come here at our offices and then we do assist them” (Participant 1, focus group 2, lines 392-395)</p>	 <p>[Friends supporting each other’s schoolwork, Girl-Child, group 2, video 2]</p>


	<p>support that does not concern schoolwork or homework, or assistance with information for school projects.</p>		<p>“She says maybe if it’s raining...the school will be able to understand the reason that she wasn’t [at school] maybe making provision for them to do their work” (Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 523-524)</p> <p>“She enjoys school because she can read and avoid chores - She says the time that they have at school they have time to do almost everything” (Participant 4, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 575-576)</p> <p>“The working in groups at school it helps her... when they work in groups with the other learners... It helps her because she says anything that she does not know, during that group they help her to gain knowledge” (Participant 4, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 581-588)</p> <p>“She feels that if while reading stuff in the library because if she doesn’t understand there’s always someone she can ask and (build) their relationship” (Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 730-731)</p> <p>“her friend is helping her because she says what helps her with spelling errors and all</p>	
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			<p>those things” (Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 749-757)</p> <p>“her friends also help her with homework so that when the teacher walks in and you have not done your homework you will not be punished or disciplined” (Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 777-778)</p> <p>“I got 92% because I had a friend who took me to the park and showed me how to do stuff, but the whole point was a friend sometimes can help you even if you say you’re struggling in some kind of a subject and then your friend knows it best, you can go to her and you know I need your help, don’t say I can do this by myself, say I need your help and she can help you, if she helps you then you can end up getting high marks” (Participant 10, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1, lines 244-249)</p>	
<p><b>Expectations of emotional reciprocity</b></p> <p>(Quotes: 11; Drawings: 5; Video stills: 1)</p>	<p><b>Inclusion:</b> Girls attempting/being expected to support/reach out to others, or girls’ role modelling constructive behaviours.</p>	<p>Allegiance to <i>Ubuntu</i>-like ways of being: (having a duty to make a constructive contribution/ role modelling</p>	<p>“...in the beginning of this year I met my grade 3 teacher...and she didn’t believe I’ve managed this far you know and then I told her you know what, what you taught me has like really (helped) me” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 143-146)</p>	<p>["avoid ending up in drugs", P2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2]</p>

	<p><b>Exclusion:</b> Any form of pragmatic support expected from or offered by the girls.</p>	<p>constructive behaviours)</p>	<p>“She wants to become a policewoman...she feels that people are committing crimes and that criminals are walking around free so she feels that justice needs to be done” (Participant 4, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 609-611)</p> <p>“When you see young girls being victims it hurts” (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, line 693)</p> <p>“She is saying that she will tell them [her friends] to stop doing what they are doing, and again...for her not to fall into the same trap that they are in she will stop going with them” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 667-668)</p> <p>“I told [her] [friend] she must go to school to learn so that she can be someone with importance so that she can help other teenagers” (Participant 2, school group, day 2, lines 502-503)</p> <p>“It help me to cope because some girls wanted to do...bad things but then they must explain what they want to do and what they wanted to do to you, but then when you help them they</p>	 <p>[a present that represents giving to others, Participant 5, children’s home, day 1]</p>  <p>[being a constructive influence by sharing knowledge with peers, Girl-Child, group 1, video 2]</p>
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			<p>will understand that this is right and this is wrong. So they must know what is right and what is wrong and they must not do bad things, do good things” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 1, lines 502-504)</p> <p>“...I gained more experience when I helped others” (Participant 4, Girl-Chid, group 1, day 2, line 207)</p> <p>“There is this guy... he always told me that being in prison doesn't mean that there's no hope for you out there, it means that that person wants to further his education or wants to go reach out... so I would say to them, they should try and avoid doing things that will... make them end up going back to that place (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 298-301)</p> <p>“...we just say like we are having four C's ... it's comradeship it's consequences* creativity and community development which is the fourth C of the month, so we just say ok it's community development we just have to do something for our community, so we will go to the granny's house, clean, cook... one of my friends, the one who needs something, giving</p>	
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			<p>them our old clothes” (Participant 3 and Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 309-313)</p> <p>“[I want to be a social worker]...Because I can see that when people suffer, some people they didn’t go to school to learn, just like my parents, I don’t want to be like them I want to be good and all these things. I want to do good work” (Participant 2, school group, day 2, lines 658-660)</p> <p>“And this is a present, it’s a box present, I give, I love giving whatever I have, I love to give, I don’t have much but I always try to give, when people ask something I give, I just, I love giving. It makes me, you feel good when you give to somebody and you know that they’re going to appreciate it, even if they don’t appreciate it but at the end of the day you give...It’s like, for me it’s like lighting a torch for somebody else, you don’t light up a person’s path without reflecting some light on yourself, so that’s for me” (Participant 5, children’s home, day 1, lines 427-432)</p>	
(Quotes: 3)		Gendered expectations for girls to be	“...what I’ve been told is that as a girl you always have to be at your best behaviour and respect, start first by respecting yourself and	




		<p>respectful and strong</p>	<p>others will respect you” (Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 632-633)</p> <p>“Mostly in girls because we know that now girls are in danger of rape and stuff so you have to stay strong you know... like what I’m trying to explain is that as a girl... you have to, no matter what might happen just be strong, like I’ve said have a good self-esteem and stuff, it really helps” (Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 636-639)</p> <p>“yeah being a girl is being strong and just to focus on your school even though things disturb you as a woman” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 657-658)</p>	
<p><b>Pragmatic expectations of reciprocity: of girls to fulfil domestic responsibilities</b></p> <p>(Quotes: 14; Drawings: 1)</p>	<p>Inclusion: any reference to what the girls think is expected of them practically, including chores or being actively invested in education.</p>	<p>Gendered expectations for girls to be responsible for domestic chores</p>	<p>“...some will try their best to keep the uniform clean, every time when they come they come presentable, right, you feel honoured that okay, I’ve done something and this person is taking care of the uniform” (Teacher, lines 198-200)</p> <p>“...at home you go there and you do your chores” (Participant 4, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, line 576)</p>	 <p>[Doing chores, Participant 2, school group, day 1]</p>



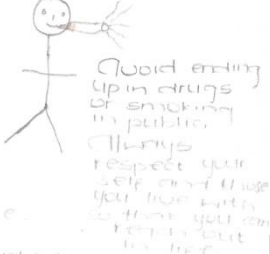
	<p><b>Exclusion:</b> any reference to being a constructive influence/role model to others.</p>		<p>“Itumeleng on the other hand she’s I think the eldest now in her [house] and the child care worker ask her to look after the babies and look after the others. So she’s half a leader now in her house, so I think that’s and she’s doing it well, she’s coping well to and like to make the food and all the stuff” (Social worker, children’s home, lines 117-121)</p> <p>“and then I have to clean at home...[To make peace after fighting with the mother]” (Participant 2, school group, day 1, line 492)</p> <p>“and community development which is the fourth C of the month, so we just say ok it’s community development we just have to do something for our community, so we will go to the granny’s house, clean, cook... one of my friends, the one who needs something, giving them our old clothes” (Participant 3 and Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 309-313)</p> <p>“No I’m having a time...I’m going to my gym, next time I’m cooking like” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, line 566)</p>	
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			<p>“I sweep” (Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, line 584)</p> <p>“I do everything I clean I cook I wash clothes because I’m the only girl at home expect for my mom” (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, line 589)</p> <p>“I wash the dishes” (Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, line 591)</p> <p>“I’m cleaning and cooking” (Participant 6, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, line 594)</p> <p>“I wash and do dishes after school” (Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, line 597)</p> <p>“I clean when I get home” (Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, line 599)</p> <p>”when you’re growing up you will be empowered so when your husband expect you to do something for him so you have to know</p>	
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			<p>because like in our cultures a female must look for her husband cooking whatever so he don't experience that your relationship with your husband...it even helps you at school because at school you have to clean not being in a dating environment, so you have to do that... if you don't know how to clean what will you do at school 'cause it's not good sitting in a bad environment" (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1, lines 611- 613)</p> <p><b>[Expectation that children will pass at school]</b> My father only supports people who are ... who support themselves, people who want to see themselves somewhere in life... like my brother didn't finish his Matric, he dropped out of school when he was in grade 11.. so my dad was supposed to like ah you messed up you were with your education you're just gona stay at home, and he doesn't support him at all, if he wants something he will read a list of things you didn't do this you didn't do that and in return you are expecting me to do this for you...no I'm not gona do that, and you know it's something that makes me feel bad" (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 425-430)</p>	
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<p><b>Agency:</b></p> <p><b>Making constructive choices towards a positive future</b></p> <p>(Quotes: 8; Drawings: 6; Video stills; 1)</p>	<p><b>Inclusion:</b> All references to valuing education or being future oriented.</p> <p><b>Exclusion:</b> excluding problem-solving or value for oneself, or managing painful emotions.</p>	<p>Being invested in education to make a positive future happen</p>	<p>“...and then I’ve drawn myself dreaming, you know future dreams, it’s all about...I do well in life because I want to achieve my dreams...I want to become a magistrate in the future so I really, really, really have to be magistrate so that’s why I’ve drawn this image..that’s a representation of my dreams” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 35-39)</p> <p>“...I connect with people, as I said, who help me reach my goals and dreams and who are not negative and they are always positive in life, and I avoid ending up in drugs...because I should always respect myself and those who are living with me who are around me so that we can reach our (goals) in life” Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 50-53)</p> <p>“I try to get in the line of you know faith, and I think it helps me a lot when it comes to my schoolwork because it’s the most important thing to me” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, Group 2, day 2, lines 98-100)</p> <p>“She wants to be alone and study and make sure she passes the exam” (Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, line 741)</p>	<div data-bbox="1451 204 1691 507"> </div> <p>[“I do well in life because I want to achieve my dreams, Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2]</p> <div data-bbox="1482 683 1713 997"> </div> <p>[support for learning/education, Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2]</p>
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			<p>“So if you want better circumstances than me as your grandmother, you have to study very hard so that’s the message that I’m getting from the girls” (Ms A, focus group 1, lines 328-329)</p> <p>“You know ...as I said that you know I have been raised by a grandmother...I think I’ve got the resilience from her...she was the one who was encouraging me you know to study very hard so that I could in future stand for myself because she was also a divorcee, so and she struggled a lot... she always told me you know you must not be like me, you must do this you must study, go to school so that you can work for yourself and you can look after your children so on” (Mrs M, focus group 1, lines 315-319)</p> <p>“I remember there was this topic, should a woman be highly educated or not, you know...I want to be a doctor, let me not run after the marriage or the relationships unless I found my doctor’s certificate, then thereafter I can now start looking for this kind of life” (Teacher, school group, lines 442-450)</p>	 <p>[value for education, Participant 4, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2]</p>  <p>[value for education, Participant 5, children’s home, day 1]</p>  <p>[focus on education, Participant 1, school group, day 2]</p>
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			<p>“I work hard in school, I work hard [to] achieve, to try and be, not a better person but to achieve something. It’s not about just getting a degree and then I’ve got a degree, but it’s about knowing that I worked for it” (Participant 5, children’s home, day 1, lines 405-407)</p>	 <p>[Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2]</p>  <p>[celebrating her success at school, Girl-Child, group 2, video 2]</p>
<p><b>Agency:</b> <b>Making constructive choices towards a positive future</b></p> <p>(Quotes: 11; Drawings: 2)</p>	<p><b>Inclusion:</b> Making choices to steer away from peers who engage in drinking/drugs, and using constructive advice from others.</p>	<p>Enacting their investment in education/future by steering away from negative peer influences and making use of advice from constructive others</p>	<p>“...friends and they try to make you do wrong things, the good thing is to try to stay away from them” (Participant 10, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1, lines 514-515)</p> <p>“...sometimes you may not have good friends all of your friends might be bad friends and you will have no one to turn to. That is not all there is, like she says you must reach out for help to people who can support you”</p>	 <p>[avoiding drugs and negative peers, Participant 2, Girl-Child, day 2]</p>

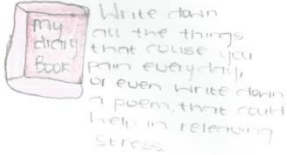
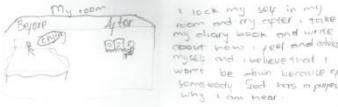

	<p><b>Exclusion:</b> valuing education, being future-oriented, problem-solving, and value for oneself, or managing painful emotions.</p>		<p>(Participant 10, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1, lines 1352-154)</p> <p>“...if you’re a person you’re able to say like ok she’s right I’m gonna do something and change myself, you know repent and all those kind of things... In my schoolwork you know, I do so much, getting high marks you know, I’m more focused, I’m not that she could complain in class” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 86-94)</p> <p>“Yea I’m that person, I’m not that person that say ok if someone say don’t do that I just ignore what they said, I listen” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 148-149)</p> <p>“[discussing that she would like to go to UCT]...But if any opportunity comes along I’ll take it because I’m not from that family who can afford anything you know” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 167-168)</p> <p>“it’s about friends and they try to make you do wrong things, the good thing is to try to stay away from them” (Participant 10, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1, lines 514-516)</p>	 <p>[steering away from negative peers, Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1]</p>
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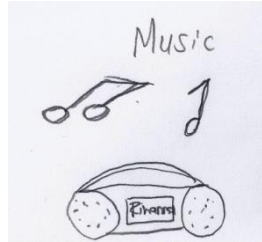

			<p>“She is saying that she will stop playing with them, she will watch TV in order to avoid doing the things that they are doing she will watch TV and play with her siblings” (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 1, lines 674-675)</p> <p>“They can learn that in life, no matter how hard the situation is there’s always help out there if you reach out your hand to get help...Yah you have to reach out for it. Coz the person will not know your problem if you don’t tell..., like she says you must reach out for help to people who can support you” (Participant 10, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1, lines 1342-1343)</p> <p>“I’ll either choose another friend to help me, I’d go to good friends not bad friends, because bad friends influence you through peer pressure” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 1, lines 472-473)</p> <p>“Well... drugs aren’t good for you...they make you think silly things...so it’s something that you should try to avoid because it has consequences... a person who offers you drugs definitely doesn’t want to see you anywhere but he just want to destroy your life,</p>	
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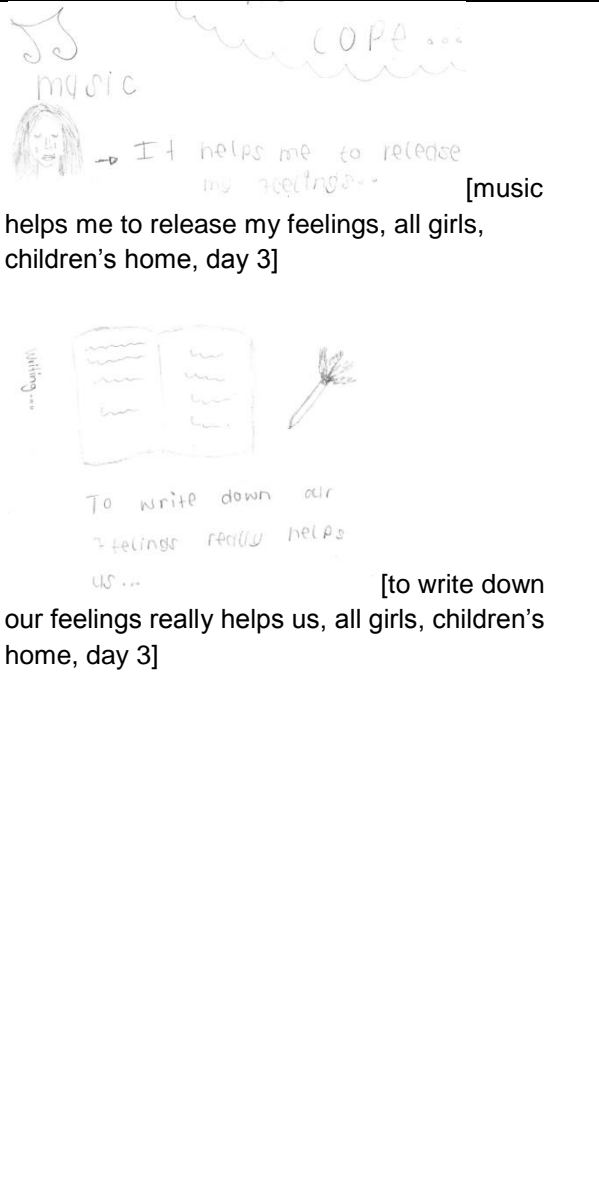
			<p>you should immediately run away from that person” (P2 G2G1 228-240)</p> <p>“To me it’s like even though there are temptations in this world, there are a few people that are good, good people, so I was like in this world I’m gonna try and be good and just avoid the bad stuff no matter how something is attractive, I’m just gonna say... I’m just gonna leave it, I’m just gonna live with it and in years back I can just look I just passed that” (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 315-319)</p>	
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<p><b>Agency:</b></p> <p><b>Enacting what they have been taught to manage painful emotions</b></p> <p>(Quotes: 25; Drawings: 10; Video stills: 4)</p>	<p><b>Inclusion:</b> taking action by crying, listening to music, writing in a journal or diary, or singing to release painful emotions.</p> <p><b>Exclusion:</b> valuing oneself, problem-solving, being invested in education or future oriented.</p>	<p>Culture and gender appropriate forms of emotional expression</p>	<p>“...to write it down, when I’m angry I write down what makes me angry and what I’m going to do about this...It’s like I’m talking to somebody, when you’re talking to somebody you’re taking out your feelings” (Participant 1, school group, day 1, lines 445-446)</p> <p>“Sometimes when you feel sad you can maybe sing and dance and then you feel better” (Participant 1, school group, day 1, line 921)</p> <p>“I keep writing in that book...to take the feelings out...once something has happened to me I write it down you know to take the anger the stress I have” (Participant 3, school group, day 2, lines 26-28)</p> <p>“While I’m writing I remember you know, all the things that has happened to me you know, I write it down you know like It’s blowing out of my mind you know” (Participant 4, school group, day 2, lines 334-345)</p> <p>“...my diary is my friend I do talk a lot with my diary even though I don’t talk with people by then I’m feeling better talking with my diary”</p>	 <p>[crying along with music to release painful emotions, children’s home, video 3]</p>  <p>[writing in a journal to release painful emotions, children’s home, day 3]</p>
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			<p>(Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 1, lines 30-31)</p> <p>“In my diary I wrote what happened to me you know, and what must I do what action must I take after that. That will show me I must not focus on what happened...after it I feel better because I know maybe at that moment there’s no one who I can talk with so talking with my diary helps me” (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 1, lines 843-851)</p> <p>“I also write in my journal because I don’t have someone to confide in so I...I always tell myself that whatever happens I am stronger than that even though at that particular moment I don’t that feel strong” (Participant 11, Girl-Child, group 2 day 1, lines 865-867)</p> <p>“Like to cry a lot, so she cry and cry and cry and cry and she feel better” (Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 1, day 1, lines 1221-1223)</p> <p>“Music helps me to release my feelings” (Participant 2, children’s home, day 3, lines 353-354)</p>	 <p>[writing in a journal to release painful emotions, school group, video 2]</p>  <p>[girls singing together, children’s home, video 3]</p>  <p>[crying and writing to release emotions, Participant 11, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1]</p>  <p>[crying and writing in a journal, Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 1]</p>
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			<p>“Yea I feel better, on one Friday I was really sad and I wrote I think four pages full of my feelings and stuff and I cried... but then afterwards I felt better...” (Participant 2, children’s home, day 3, lines 561-562)</p> <p>“I [didn’t] like writing a lot about how I feel so when I saw the diary then I started writing about it and then believe me it got full in like 3 days, it just, the pages are just full and I couldn’t believe it so I like writing in a diary” (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 199-202)</p> <p>“When I feel irritated and angry, like let’s say I just had a bad day and I just turned the channel to the cartoons, I know they’re gonna be making stupid jokes, they’re gonna be laughing, ‘cause I saw that a few days ago my little brother was watching a cartoon and he was laughing, and I was like he’s laughing and why can’t I laugh, then I saw the fact that oh it’s the cartoons that are making him laugh, so then I started doing that when I got back from school I started staring at the cartoons and then they started laughing and then I started laughing, so it really helped” (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 266-272)</p>	 <p>[writing in a journal. Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2]</p>  <p>[crying and writing in a journal, Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2]</p>  <p>[writing in a journal, Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2]</p>
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			<p>“When I’m sad I cry, I pray or I sing or watch DVDs or I sleep” (Participant 3, children’s home, day 1, line 485)</p> <p>“Is to write it down, when I’m angry I write down what makes me angry and what I’m going to do about this... It’s like I’m talking to somebody, when you’re talking to somebody you’re taking out your feelings” (Participant 1, school group, day 1, line 445-446)</p> <p>“While I’m writing I remember you know, all the things that has happened to me you know, I write it down you know like It’s blowing out of my mind you know...It’s like I can talk to someone, when I’m writing it down it’s like I can talk to someone that helps me” (Participant 4, school group, day 2, lines 352-353)</p> <p>“I cry alone because it makes me feel better” (Participant (Participant 11, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 864-865)</p>	 <p>[listening to music, Participant 6, children’s home, day 1]</p>  <p>[Participant 1, children’s home, day 1]</p>  <p>[Participant 2, children’s home, day1]</p>
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			<p>“Musiek...laat my kalmee” [translated] Music calms me down (Participant 1, children’s home, day 3, line 97-98)</p> <p>“and it makes us cry ne, like we said, to release all that pain and stuff” (Participant 2, children’s home, day 3, line 334)</p> <p>“Music helps me to release my feelings...the feelings just come out...and you just feel better” (Participant 3, children’s home, day 3, lines 328-329)</p> <p>“I feel much better because my book it’s like a friend to me, I talk to my book when I’m sad, if I can’t find Agnes” (Participant 6, children’s home, day 3, lines 545-546)</p> <p>“I cry in my room, I take my diary and I’m writing...writing is not just writing, I do write what makes me feel bad and what am I going to do after that and step I’m going (to take to do well in grade 9) ..that helped me a lot because I do realise what’s the problem, what must I do and what the person feels when doing something like that” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 18-22)</p>	 <p>[music helps me to release my feelings, all girls, children’s home, day 3]</p> <p>[to write down our feelings really helps us, all girls, children’s home, day 3]</p>
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			<p>“...and then I have a diary book and I enjoy writing...I write whatever that makes me feel sad and I write poems because I mean I am a poet, and I enjoy doing poetry and I sing...I have a lot of things that [help me with] stress...After writing I feel as if something as been removed, I can, I don't know...when I was hurt or...it feels as if like the pain in me has gone out so I don't have to worry about anything else so it helps me... if that doesn't work I sing..I compose a song and I do my own lyrics and I sing... It helps a lot because uh...even if people don't understand what you're singing, you're the only person who understand what I am saying so you're trying to tell them about your feeling even though they don't just get the point, so it helps a lot” (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 48-62)</p> <p>“Reading helps taking out the emotions, so when I'm just reading it helps me get the information” (Participant 4, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, line 135)</p> <p>“I go out and play soccer with my younger brother and that helps me a lot to cope...It helps me laugh because I don't know how to</p>	 <p>[crying and listening to music, Participant 3, children's home, day 1]</p>
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			<p>play soccer that much so he always laugh at me” (Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 140-143)</p> <p>“I used to go to do athletics (in this park here) and exercise with my team mates...they do make me forget about what happened and they are friendly and we do talk a lot even though the lucky thing is there will be someone who will joking” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 22-25)</p>	
<p>Agency: Equanimity  (Quotes: 4)</p>	<p><b>Inclusion:</b> any reference to accepting circumstances beyond the girls’ control.</p> <p><b>Exclusion:</b> problem-solving, releasing painful emotions, valuing oneself, and being future oriented or</p>	<p>Allegiance to <i>Ubuntu</i>-like ways of living in peace and harmony with others</p>	<p>“I think accepting whatever comes their way will help them to cope because we are all growing but in different situations, I may think my parents are well to do, when I want the shoe they buy me a shoe, when I want the shirt they buy me a shirt but when I want to do my hair they don’t... then you end up saying no, they don’t love me but when they bought you shoes you were happy, when they bought you a dress you were happy but today they can’t afford to do your hair then you say they no longer, love me, such things, they have to know that there are those ups and down in life” (Teacher, lines 355-365)</p>	

	<p>invested in education.</p>		<p>“That maybe, when in their family they don’t have a money they suffer, so they have to accept that at home they don’t have that kind of money” (Participant 2, school group, day 2, lines 789-790)</p> <p>“My circumstances aren’t going to determine my future, circumstances are not there to make you, they are there to mould you” (Participant 5, children’s home, day 1, lines 438-439)</p> <p>“It means that you have to know when your mother say I don’t have the money you have to know, so you have to accept that. My mother doesn’t have the money, she will have to get over it... Like you don’t take it to the heart, you know that someday you will grow up and the you will have your own money, you’ll buy what you want to buy” (Participant 4, school group, day 2, lines 794-801)</p>	
<p><b>Agency: Problem-solving</b></p>	<p><b>Inclusion:</b> any reference to seeking solutions, or reading about how others managed</p>	<p>Seeking solutions to problems to live a life that is pleasing to the group/ duty to live</p>	<p>“I usually set short-term goals to see if I can achieve them, like last year in June, whereas I failed term 1, I told myself I’m [gona] do this, and suddenly unexpected, I made it to the top ten position, in grade 10, I didn’t believe it you</p>	

<p>(Quotes: 7)</p>	<p>problems they faced and implementing the advice.</p> <p><b>Exclusion:</b> being invested in education or future-oriented, valuing oneself, or releasing painful emotions.</p>	<p>constructively and bring pride to the group</p>	<p>know” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 128-131)</p> <p>“they will talk...they will ask for privacy, if that thing I can’t handle, I refer them to come and talk to, go ask Mavis because they do counselling” (Participant 1, focus group 2, lines 199-201)</p> <p>“Well it [baking] helps me a lot because...I do major in it, I’m doing it at school like mathematics...how I should put the cups of sugar” (Participant 4, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 188-189)</p> <p>“I also was one of those people that like always say negative things about myself and I never said one positive thing about myself , but reading about people and how they feel about themselves, it made me feel like ok I’m a human being I should start saying positive things about myself...so it’s great” (Participant 10, Girl-Child, group 1, day 1, lines 87-91)</p> <p>“Ok I like taking like maybe quizzes, yes I like quizzes, so I take them I read a lot magazines, magazines called “Girl” yes they really</p>	
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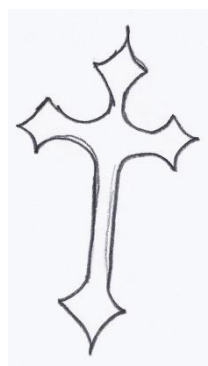
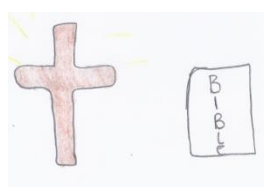
			<p>motivate girls so I like reading, reading as well I like getting information and stuff I like that so from quizzes and reading magazines, I'm very well informed about girls and stuff so that's why I feel confident about myself" (Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 99-102)</p> <p>"You tell yourself that you don't want to end up going there... You just have to stand for yourself... That's why I said you should connect with people who to reach your goals and your dreams and you will want to see... who would want to see you successful... a person who offers you drugs definitely doesn't want to see you anywhere but he just want to destroy your life, you should immediately run away from that person... It's something that I've noticed myself... if a person offers you drugs... what is that person thinking, you should ask yourself, you should do research and then after that you complete... so that's what I do, I ask myself questions then I do research... I look around my school at learners who smoke this do this do that, so end up like this... so I am complaining that I will never go there, I don't want to find myself doing that, so it's something that you just have to motivate yourself" (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 233-248)</p>	
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			<p>“I just told myself that when I’m going there I’m going for information not to scare myself... there were prisoners there who have got information, they told us please don’t go in here” (Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, 282-284)</p>	
<p><b>Agency:</b></p> <p><b>Valuing oneself</b></p> <p>(Quotes: 10; Drawings 1; Video stills: 1)</p>	<p><b>Inclusion:</b> girls seeing themselves as worthy, valuing themselves or being proud of themselves.</p> <p><b>Exclusion:</b> Positive self-talk.</p>	<p>Believing that one is worthy</p>	<p>“Yea, I never thought I’d do something like that in front of the whole school [she reached the top ten academic position in her class]...I’m very proud of myself” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 133-134)</p> <p>“She says she prepares for class, when the teacher asks questions she feels proud about herself to give answers and the teacher giving positive feedback saying that was a good answer” (Participant 4, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 595-597)</p> <p>“I think it’s important because at the end of the day, yes, there are times when they do different dances specifically for girls and specifically for boys...that I can as a girl do this dance which, what can I say, it gives the image of a girl, if I’m able to do this, then yeah, I’m a girl!” (Teacher, lines 754-762)</p>	<div data-bbox="1451 502 1720 662" data-label="Image"> </div> <p>[Girls encouraging each other to value themselves, Girl-Child, group 1, video 2]</p> <div data-bbox="1489 837 1691 1037" data-label="Image"> </div> <p>[Valuing oneself by loving yourself the way you are, Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2]</p>

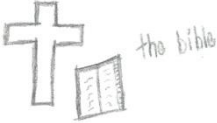


			<p>“And then this is my motto, if you look good, you feel good and if you feel good, you do good” (Participant 5, children’s home, day 1, lines 443-444)</p> <p>“Ok like many people have low self-esteem and I used to be one but they encouraged the Girl-Child helped me you know realise that I’m not the only one who like has low self-esteem and there are people who are willing to help us like have high self-esteem” (Participant 10, Girl-Child, Group 2, day 1, lines 75-78)</p> <p>“I believe in having a good self-esteem yes and just staying strong, that helps me to stay strong because if I don’t believe in myself who will?...just have a good self-esteem...because I know myself and I love myself just the way I am” (Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 91- 94)</p> <p>“I tell myself I say like I can’t let this bring me down, I’m stronger than that I tell myself I can’t let it bring me down. I still have a life ahead of me so I won’t give up” (Participant 10, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 871-872)</p>	
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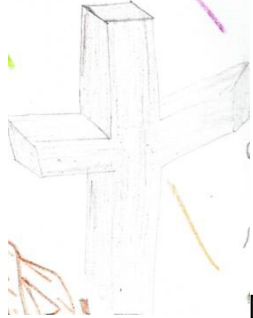


			<p>“What we usually do is that I do not let the situation bring me down. Each and every time when I’m facing a difficult situation I will say that this problem is smaller than I am (Participant 10, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1, lines 972-973)</p> <p>“There’s also one exercise...in your bedroom write in watercolour so you can remove it right, you can write in big letters I am important. And then for one night stare at those words and then try to sleep and sleep with a diary next to you and if somewhere in the night, you are gonna wake up and think about the important things that you are. How important you are and you can write it in your diary and then early in the morning you look at it, the thing that you wrote on the board and you can look at your diary and it really helps a lot, it makes you see how important you are and then you can wipe off the thing” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 1, lines 1420-1426)</p> <p>“...so I always tell myself that whatever happens I am stronger than that even though at that particular moment I don’t that feel strong” (Participant 11, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1, lines 866-867)</p>	
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<p><b>Strength-fostering spirituality. Having a trusting relationship with God</b></p> <p>(Quotes: 31; 16 Drawings; Video stills: 6)</p>	<p><b>Inclusion:</b> trusting in God, believing that God will protect and help during times of difficulty, praying to God as an act of faith, and a belief that God is always with them.</p> <p><b>Exclusion:</b> any religious activity such as going to church, or religious rituals.</p>	<p>Allegiance to <i>Ubuntu</i>-like ways of being through a trusting relationship/spiritual connection to God</p>	<p>“...it would help to encourage them that even though they don’t maybe have somebody then but they know that God is there” (Teacher, lines 1069-1070)</p> <p>“It helps me to stay positive that when I pray I know that God is there for me” (Participant 3, children’s home, day 1, line 487)</p> <p>“I think my faith is the only reason I am who I am today. The bible represents the relationship I have because you cannot have a relationship with someone if you don’t know them...I read my bible so to get to know Him better and every time I do that I would fall in love more with who He is and what He does for me” (Participant 5, children’s home, day 1, lines 419-421)</p> <p>“For me when things are difficult I always pray asking God to help me with my situation...Prayer has helped me with many things, like sometimes I feel like I am weak, when I am waking up at home...I pray when I</p>	<div data-bbox="1456 331 1713 587" data-label="Image"> </div> <p>[Trusting relationship with God, Participant 1, children’s home, day 1]</p> <div data-bbox="1456 726 1713 1005" data-label="Image"> </div> <p>[trusting relationship with God, participant 3, children’s home, day 1]</p>
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			<p>feel that I am weak” (Participant 2, school group, day 1, line 880)</p> <p>“It’s very tough for us to make it, but then I keep on going on you know and praying and so that makes me strong” (Participant 2, school group, day 2, lines 21-22)</p> <p>“God always protects me” (Participant 1, school group, day 1, line 199)</p> <p>“I pray and then tell the God what has happened and then tell her, tell Him that happened and then I know that He will help me” (Participant 3, school group, day 2, lines 223-224)</p> <p>“It helps me to be strong... because, when I’m praying I was believing, I was believing that God will help me” (Participant 3, school group, day 2, lines 757-758)</p> <p>“...when they pray they feel better because they have someone to talk to, for someone who don’t like to talk to the friends about it”</p>	<div data-bbox="1451 199 1736 391">  <p>When they Pray to Jesus</p> </div> <p>[Trusting relationship with God, Participant 4, children’s home, day 1]</p> <div data-bbox="1451 518 1657 885">  </div> <p>[Trusting relationship with God, Participant 3, children’s home, day 1]</p> <div data-bbox="1451 1013 1713 1204">  </div> <p>[Trusting relationship with God, Participant 5, children’s home, day 1]</p>
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			<p>(Participant 6, children’s home, day 1, lines 477-478)</p> <p>“This... symbol (cross) is for God, my relationship with Him...when I have a problem I like to pray because I know somebody is listening, Jesus is listening, He can help me when no-one can” (Participant 1, children’s home, day 2, lines 148-151)</p> <p>“ I usually set short-term goals to see if I can achieve them, like last year in June, whereas I failed term 1, I told myself I’m gona do this [see problem-solving], and suddenly unexpected, I made it to the top ten position, in grade 10, I didn’t believe it you know...that’s where I found out you know God is good and He is” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 128-131)</p> <p>“She says when she prays she feels that...even if she does not see God, she thinks that because she prayed certain things change because of God’s power and [those] things they manifest in her life make her feel much better... there was a specific day when her mom was shouting and having (conflict) at home, and then when she went to church they were singing and praying and in the process</p>	 <p>[ Trusting relationship with God Participant 1, children’s home, day 2]</p>  <p>[Trusting relationship with God, Participant 6, children’s home, day 2]</p>  <p>[Trusting relationship with God, Participant 3, children’s home, day 2]</p>
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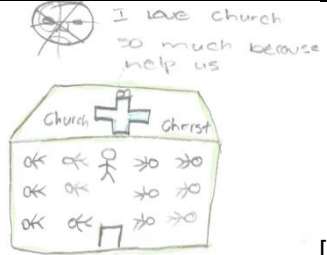
			<p>she lost herself in the worship and when she came back she was ok and (the situation with her mom changed)... her feelings changed” [translated] (Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 485-493)</p> <p>“God helps that whatever has happened or is happening He will then pass...Like when in your family, like maybe if there are some quarrels in the family, as a child you hear those things and then when you pray it’s like her prayers were like God helped her and those things come to an end and more peace will be in the family” (Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 711-717)</p> <p>“My main thing is Jesus and I always focus on Him that’s why the cross is there... Don’t worry what the world says about you, focus on what you’re good at and believe in God, He will show you the way to the future” (Participant 2, children’s home, day 1, line 462-471)</p> <p>“God always be there everywhere we go He is with us, he protect us from the evil things” (Participant 2, school group, day 1, lines 845)</p>	 <p>[Trusting relationship with God, Participant 4, children’s home, day 2]</p>  <p>[Jesus and the Bible, Participant 2, children’s home, day 2]</p>  <p>→ It gives me hope and courage and helps me through difficult times</p> <p>[Trust in God “gives me hope and courage. It helps me through difficult times” All girls, children’s home, day 3]</p>
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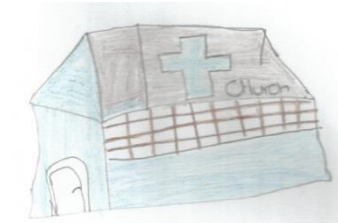

			<p>“God helped me as I already told you last time I had been raped...I remembered I said that I have to take God as my saviour. That's...what made me go to the church because if it wasn't for God I could have been dead” (Participant 3, school group, day 2, lines 285-289)</p> <p>“For me what I drew here, this is me...I like to lock myself in my room and then I pray I tell Jesus what, what I need in life, what He must do for me, I tell Him about other people...It's just that I love God, He keeps me, He takes my hands...I just say to Him Jesus take my hands and let me grow, you are my light in the dark, wherever I go You are there...: It help me to be strong because He's the one, He's the one I tell my secrets to you know I tell Him what I want...'cause I know that He can provide the thing that I need (Participant 4, school group, day 2, lines 318-331)</p> <p>“Every time I have a problem I just say that you know what God I have this problem and I don't know how to handle this so please show me the way to handle it. I mean like sometimes you can get weird feels. Like you can sometimes be struck by God and it's because of God, sometimes you can be like when you're sitting down at an exam you can be like please help me God, He's not gonna write that exam for you but he's gonna give</p>	 <p>[Trusting relationship with God, Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2]</p>  <p>[Trusting relationship with God, Participant 5, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2]</p>  <p>[Trusting relationship with God, Participant 3, school group, day 2]</p>
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			<p>you that calm that sense of courage to just write and everything” (Participant 10, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1, lines 1166-1171)</p> <p>“Again as you know God helps those who helps themselves, like in the video there was a girl who was trying to find help, and she didn’t actually she didn’t quit trying, trying, trying until God helped her, because He saw that this girl is troubled, she is looking for help. So He don’t only see things that are trouble He, He’s saw her problem, He helped her because she was looking for help...you must talk and wait for help. So God will help (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 1, day 1, lines 11356-1360)</p> <p>“To me like, when I’m in a situation and I can’t tell my mom and I can’t tell my dad and brothers, I like lock myself in my room and I’m like like God I am so ..I don’t know what to do in this situation I’m stuck and I need your help, I need your protection, I need your guidance and I need you to show me the way in how to do this... It’s like when you are praying God you don’t accept the answer at that moment but when you pray it’s like something in your heart just snaps or in your head like it’s an idea and, and immediately you’re like when you say amen it’s like no this is from God, I really feel that this is from God, and once you do that thing, it’s a positive and good thing”</p>	 <p>This is me and my mother When my mother saved me for something that I didn't do it <del>for</del> I pray for and for her [Trusting relationship with God, Participant 1, school group, day 2]</p>  <p>I love God I will just read my Bible and keep write down to take out the things and pray to god to help me [Trusting relationship with God, Participant 3, school group, day 2]</p>  <p>[Trusting in God through prayer, Children’s home, video 1]</p>
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			<p>(Participant 10, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1, lines 158-166)</p> <p>“You should believe in Jesus no matter what circumstances you are in... That Jesus is always there for us” (Participants 2 and 6, children’s home, day 2, lines 188)</p> <p>[Hoe help geloof julle, dit help my baie want dit gee my hoop] How does faith help you?...It helps me a lot because it gives me hope” (Participant 1, children’s home, day 3, line 114)</p> <p>“And the cross it gives us hope and courage and it helps us through difficult times” (Participant 3, children’s home, day 3, line 381)</p> <p>“When I feel sad I always go to God...Because sometimes no-one can really do anything” (Participant 2, children’s home, day 3, lines 408-412)</p> <p>“This is, what makes me strong...It helps me because I say; dear my Lord show us the way</p>	 <p>[Trusting in God through prayer, children’s home, video 3]</p>  <p>[Pastor prays for girls’ healing, children’s home, video 2]</p>  <p>[Pastor prays for the girls’ exams, Girl-Child, group 2, video 2]</p>
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			<p>to follow you...Because I was believing that God is the only one that can show me the way to follow Him and forget about those things that happened” (Participant 3, school group, day 2, lines 771-773)</p> <p>“We know that when we pray, when you ask God to do something for you won’t realise, He will do it before you realise that...he already...answer my prayers” (Participant 2, school group, day 2, lines 873-875)</p> <p>“...praying helps me that...if I pray I feel better because I know God will do something and take action” (Participant 2, Girl-Child, group 1, day 2, lines 835-836)</p> <p>“...the pastor it was like he was praying for us to overcome all the challenges that, and we should know like with prayer and with God you can conquer everything” (Participant 10, Girl-Child, group 2, day 1, lines 154-156)</p> <p>always believe in God...and this is a piece of paper that has God’s words inside... always read the Bible so that God can help you with your problems...always know that God is</p>	 <p>[Trusting in God through prayer, school group, video 2]</p>  <p>[God answered her prayers, school group, video 2]</p>
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			<p>everywhere you go” (Participant 6, children’s home, day 2, lines 135-138)</p> <p>The Bible and Jesus helps me so that when I’m unhappy I can always pray...the Bible because, I always read my Bible to feel better...” (Participant 4, children’s home, day 2, lines 118-119)</p> <p>“You know believing in God is the best thing in my mind because most people do bad things, so I try to get in the line of you know faith, and I think it helps me a lot when it comes to my schoolwork because it’s the most important thing to me” (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 98-100)</p>	
<p><b>Engaging in religious activities</b></p> <p>(Quotes: 7; Drawings: 3)</p>	<p><b>Inclusion:</b> reading the Bible for motivational scriptures, going to church.</p> <p><b>Exclusion:</b> references to a</p>	<p>Religious activities of going to church and reading the Bible strengthen the spiritual connection to God</p>	<p>“on Saturday I’m going to church and praying... Because...they guide me, they tell me the messages” (Participant 1, school group, day 2, lines 128 &amp; 197)</p> <p>“...always read the Bible so that God can help you with your problems” (Participant 6, children’s home, day 3, lines 136-137)</p>	 <p>[People at church are available to help, Participant 3, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2]</p>

	<p>relationship with God.</p>		<p>“...the Bible because, I always read my Bible to feel better... (Participant 2, children’s home, day 1, line 129)</p> <p>“...there’s a verse I go by, it’s Proverbs 16:3 “Commit your work to the Lord and your plans shall be established” so everything I do I commit it to God...And then I know that my plans will be established and I don’t get scared of anything no matter how, anyone judge me or say something that’s bad, I just if I want this I’m gona get this, I want to be a magistrate and I’m going to be a magistrate (Participant 1, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2, lines 116-121)</p> <p>“It’s saying [scripture verse]...Oh Lord look at my enemies, save them for me to see my successes...Oh Lord my tears will never go down but they will go to You and...Your angels will...they will take, they will hold my tears and then they will take them to, so I know that You will never leave me to suffer from this land” (Participant 2, school group, day 2, lines 239-250)</p> <p>“To believe in God. I was go to church at (Name of place) when I joined the church I go</p>	 <p>[Going to church and praying, Participant 4, Girl-Child, group 2, day 2]</p>  <p>[Going to church and praying, Participant 5, school group, day 2]</p>
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			<p>to, I become a newborn... I was going to the Sunday school in church every Friday... Then my pastor tell me, telling me that on a, the devil is not only fighting with our parents but he's taking children too...The devil uses children to disturb their parents, he told me that. Then I started praying and then, He showed me something that was happening on a, then He shows me that...that the devil is fighting with children. What he is wanting to do is see them leave the school and then not see a success...[what made you believe in that?]. It's the Bible" (Participant 3, school group, day 2, lines 258-277)</p> <p>"...always go to church on Sunday...and always believe in your church and pray" (Participant 6, children's home, day 2, lines 138-140)</p>	
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## APPENDIX E

### Author Guidelines for Women's Studies International Forum



# WOMEN'S STUDIES INTERNATIONAL FORUM

## AUTHOR INFORMATION PACK

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ISSN: 0277-5395

### DESCRIPTION

*Women's Studies International Forum* (formerly *Women's Studies International Quarterly*, established in 1978) is a bimonthly journal to aid the distribution and exchange of **feminist research** in the multidisciplinary, **international** area of **women's studies** and in feminist research in other disciplines. The policy of the journal is to establish a feminist forum for discussion and debate.

The journal seeks to critique and reconceptualize existing knowledge, to examine and re-evaluate the manner in which knowledge is produced and distributed, and to assess the implications this has for women's lives.

We seek contributions from people, individually or collectively, from different countries and different backgrounds, who are engaged in feminist research inside or outside formal educational institutions. We welcome a variety of approaches and resources through the whole range of disciplines: papers geared toward action-oriented research as well as those which address theoretical methodological issues; and we encourage historical reassessments of the lives and works of women. We urge all contributors both to acknowledge the cultural and social specifics of their particular approach, and to draw out these issues in their articles.

We also invite conference reports and announcements, calls for papers, notices of new publications and reports, contacts, etc., sent in by individuals or groups in the international feminist community.

## **AUDIENCE**

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Feminists, anthropologists, sociologists and educators

## **IMPACT FACTOR**

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2014: 0.468 © Thomson Reuters Journal Citation Reports 2015

## **ABSTRACTING AND INDEXING**

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ASSIA

Alt Press Ind

America: History and Life

Annotated Guide to Women's Periodicals in the United States and Canada

British Humanities Index

Current Contents/Social & Behavioral Sciences

Historical Abstracts

PsycINFO Psychological Abstracts

Research Alert

Sociological Abstracts

Studies on Women Abstracts

Feminist

Periodicals

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## GUIDE FOR AUTHORS

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### INTRODUCTION

*Women's Studies International Forum* (formerly *Women's Studies International Quarterly*, established in 1978) is a bimonthly journal to aid the distribution and exchange of feminist research in the multidisciplinary, international area of women's studies and in feminist research in other disciplines. The policy of the journal is to establish a feminist forum for discussion and debate.

The journal seeks to critique and reconceptualize existing knowledge, to examine and re-evaluate the manner in which knowledge is produced and distributed, and to assess the implications this has for women's lives.

### Types of paper

We seek contributions from people, individually or collectively, from different countries and different backgrounds, who are engaged in feminist research inside or outside formal educational institutions. We welcome a variety of approaches and resources through the whole range of disciplines: papers geared toward action-oriented research as well as those which address theoretical methodological issues; and we encourage historical reassessments of the lives and works of women. We urge all contributors both to acknowledge the cultural and social specifics of their particular approach, and to draw out these issues in their articles.

We also invite conference reports and announcements, calls for papers, notices of new publications and reports, contacts, etc., sent in by individuals or groups in the international feminist community.

### Submission details

The submission of manuscripts to *Women's Studies International Forum* proceeds online via the journal's online submission and tracking tool at <http://ees.elsevier.com/wsif/>. This site will guide authors stepwise through the submission process.

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### *Special Issues*

Full instructions for special issue proposals and delivery of special issue articles can be found [here](#).

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## BEFORE YOU BEGIN

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Please submit, with the manuscript, the names, addresses and e-mail addresses of 3 potential referees. Note that the editor retains the sole right to decide whether or not the suggested reviewers are used.

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Please suggest **three** possible referees with relevant current research activity along with their full postal and email addresses. Please ensure that these referees are not from the authors' own institutions.

## PREPARATION

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There are no strict requirements on reference formatting at submission. References can be in any style or format as long as the style is consistent. Where applicable, author(s) name(s), journal title/book title, chapter title/article title, year of publication, volume number/book chapter and the pagination must be present. Use of DOI is highly encouraged. The reference style used by the journal will be applied to the accepted article by Elsevier at the proof stage. Note that missing data will be highlighted at proof stage for the author to correct.

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If your article includes any Videos and/or other Supplementary material, this should be included in your initial submission for peer review purposes. Divide the article into clearly defined sections.

### *Figures and tables embedded in text*

Please ensure the figures and the tables included in the single file are placed next to the relevant text in the manuscript, rather than at the bottom or the top of the file.

## REVISED SUBMISSIONS

### Language Policy

*Women's Studies International Forum* is multidisciplinary, and unnecessary or mystifying jargon should be avoided. Authors should use non-sexist language. "Man," for example, is not acceptable as a generic term. For further guidelines please see the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, Fifth Edition, ISBN 1-55798-790-4, copies of which may be ordered from <http://www.apa.org/books/4200061.html> or APA Order Dept., P.O.B. 2710, Hyattsville, MD 20784, USA or APA, 3 Henrietta Street, London, WC3E 8LU, UK.

### *Use of word processing software*

Regardless of the file format of the original submission, at revision you must provide us with an editable file of the entire article. Keep the layout of the text as simple as possible. Most formatting codes will be removed and replaced on processing the article. The electronic text should be prepared in a way very similar to that of conventional manuscripts (see also the Guide to Publishing with Elsevier: <https://www.elsevier.com/guidepublication>). See also the section on Electronic artwork.

To avoid unnecessary errors you are strongly advised to use the 'spell-check' and 'grammar-check' functions of your word processor.

### Article structure

#### *Subdivision - unnumbered sections*

Divide your article into clearly defined sections. Each subsection is given a brief heading. Each heading should appear on its own separate line. Subsections should be used as much as possible when crossreferencing text: refer to the subsection by heading as opposed to simply 'the text'.

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State the objectives of the work and provide an adequate background, avoiding a detailed literature survey or a summary of the results.

#### *Results*

Results should be clear and concise.

#### *Discussion*

This should explore the significance of the results of the work, not repeat them. A combined Results and Discussion section is often appropriate. Avoid extensive citations and discussion of published literature.

#### *Conclusions*

The main conclusions of the study may be presented in a short Conclusions section, which may stand alone or form a subsection of a Discussion or Results and Discussion section.

### Appendices

If there is more than one appendix, they should be identified as A, B, etc. Formulae and equations in appendices should be given separate numbering: Eq. (A.1), Eq. (A.2), etc.; in a subsequent appendix, Eq. (B.1) and so on. Similarly for tables and figures: Table A.1; Fig. A.1, etc.

### Essential title page information

- **Title.** Concise and informative. Titles are often used in information-retrieval systems. Avoid abbreviations and formulae where possible.
- **Author names and affiliations.** Please clearly indicate the given name(s) and family name(s) of each author and check that all names are accurately spelled. Present the authors' affiliation addresses (where the actual work was done) below the names. Indicate all affiliations with a lowercase superscript letter immediately after the author's name and in front of the appropriate address. Provide the full postal address of each affiliation, including the country name and, if available, the e-mail address of each author.
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### Abstract

A concise and factual abstract is required (not exceeding 150 words). This should appear on a separate page following the title page. The abstract should state briefly the purpose of the research, the principal results and major conclusions. An abstract is often presented separately from the article, so it must be able to stand alone. For this reason, References should be avoided, but if essential, then cite the author(s) and year(s). Also, non-standard or uncommon abbreviations should be avoided, but if essential they must be defined at their first mention in the abstract itself.

### Highlights

Highlights are mandatory for this journal. They consist of a short collection of bullet points that convey the core findings of the article and should be submitted in a separate editable file in the online submission system. Please use 'Highlights' in the file name and include 3 to 5 bullet points (maximum 85 characters, including spaces, per bullet point). See <https://www.elsevier.com/highlights> for examples.

### Keywords

Immediately after the abstract, provide a maximum of 6 keywords, avoiding general and plural terms and multiple concepts (avoid, for example, "and", "of"). Be sparing with abbreviations: only abbreviations firmly established in the field may be eligible. These keywords will be used for indexing purposes.

### Word limit

Submitted papers should be approximately 25-30 pages, double-spaced. The Editors are willing to be flexible on this, depending on the nature of the article.

### Acknowledgements

Collate acknowledgements in a separate section at the end of the article before the references and do not, therefore, include them on the title page, as a footnote to the title or otherwise. List here those individuals who provided help during the research (e.g., providing language help, writing assistance or proof reading the article, etc.).

### Notes

Notes which refer to the text should be used only when absolutely necessary. If notes are used, they should be numbered consecutively and typed on a separate sheet at the end of manuscript. They will appear in an Endnotes section following the article. Notes of acknowledgement and author identification are not numbered and should appear on the title page.

### Footnotes

Footnotes should be used sparingly. Number them consecutively throughout the article. Many word processors build footnotes into the text, and this feature may be used. Should this not be the case, indicate the position of footnotes in the text and present the footnotes themselves separately at the end of the article.

### Artwork

#### *Electronic artwork*

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- Make sure you use uniform lettering and sizing of your original artwork.
- Preferred fonts: Arial (or Helvetica), Times New Roman (or Times), Symbol, Courier.
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- Use a logical naming convention for your artwork files.
- Indicate per figure if it is a single, 1.5 or 2-column fitting image.
- For Word submissions only, you may still provide figures and their captions, and tables within a single file at the revision stage.
- Please note that individual figure files larger than 10 MB must be provided in separate source files. A detailed guide on electronic artwork is available on our website: <https://www.elsevier.com/artworkinstructions>.

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### *Please do not:*

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- Supply files that are too low in resolution.
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Please submit tables as editable text and not as images. Tables can be placed either next to the relevant text in the article, or on separate page(s) at the end. Number tables consecutively in accordance with their appearance in the text and place any table notes below the table body. Be sparing in the use of tables and ensure that the

data presented in them do not duplicate results described elsewhere in the article. Please avoid using vertical rules.

## References

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Please ensure that every reference cited in the text is also present in the reference list (and vice versa). Any references cited in the abstract must be given in full. Unpublished results and personal communications are not recommended in the reference list, but may be mentioned in the text. If these references are included in the reference list they should follow the standard reference style of the journal and should include a substitution of the publication date with either 'Unpublished results' or 'Personal communication'. Citation of a reference as 'in press' implies that the item has been accepted for publication.

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As a minimum, the full URL should be given and the date when the reference was last accessed. Any further information, if known (DOI, author names, dates, reference to a source publication, etc.), should also be given. Web references can be listed separately (e.g., after the reference list) under a different heading if desired, or can be included in the reference list.

### *References in a special issue*

Please ensure that the words 'this issue' are added to any references in the list (and any citations in the text) to other articles in the same Special Issue.

### *Reference management software*

Most Elsevier journals have their reference template available in many of the most popular reference management software products. These include all products that support Citation Style Language styles (<http://citationstyles.org>), such as Mendeley (<http://www.mendeley.com/features/reference-manager>) and Zotero (<https://www.zotero.org/>), as well as EndNote (<http://endnote.com/downloads/styles>). Using the word processor plug-ins from these products, authors only need to select the appropriate journal template when preparing their article, after which citations and bibliographies will be automatically formatted in the journal's style. If no template is yet available for this journal, please follow the format of the sample references and citations as shown in this Guide.

Users of Mendeley Desktop can easily install the reference style for this journal by clicking the following link:

<http://open.mendeley.com/use-citation-style/womens-studies-international-forum>

When preparing your manuscript, you will then be able to select this style using the Mendeley plugins for Microsoft Word or LibreOffice.

### Reference formatting

There are no strict requirements on reference formatting at submission. References can be in any style or format as long as the style is consistent. Where applicable, author(s) name(s), journal title/book title, chapter title/article title, year of publication, volume number/book chapter and the pagination must be present. Use of DOI is highly encouraged. The reference style used by the journal will be applied to the accepted article by Elsevier at the proof stage. Note that missing data will be highlighted at proof stage for the author to correct. If you do wish to format the references yourself they should be arranged according to the following examples:

#### Style and Reference Examples

Citations in the text should follow the referencing style used by the American Psychological Association. You are referred to the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, Fifth Edition, ISBN 1-55798-790-4, copies of which may be ordered from <http://www.apa.org/books/4200061.html> or APA Order Dept., P.O.B. 2710, Hyattsville, MD 20784, USA or APA, 3 Henrietta Street, London, WC3E 8LU, UK. Details concerning this referencing style can also be found at <http://linguistics.byu.edu/faculty/henrichsen/apa/apa01.html>

The reference section must be double-spaced, all works cited in the text must be listed and no references may be added for works not cited in the text. Use first names of authors in the reference list. Avoid abbreviations of journal titles and incomplete information.

Examples of style:

(a) Text

". . . comes to this conclusion (Daly, 1973) in her analysis of . . ." (for specific reference supply page numbers).

(b) In references:

For a book:

Daly, Mary (1973). *Beyond god the father: Toward a philosophy of women's liberation*. Boston: Beacon.

For an article in a book:

Callaway, Helen (1981). Women's perspectives: Research as a re-revision. In Peter Reason & John Rowan (Eds.), *Human inquiry* (pp. 457-472). New York: John Wiley.

For a journal article:

Hesse-Biber, Sharlene, Leavy, Patricia, Quinn, Courtney E., & Zoino, Julia (2006). The mass marketing of disordered eating and Eating Disorders: the social psychology of women, thinness and culture. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 29 (2), 208-224.

### Reference style

*Text:* Citations in the text should follow the referencing style used by the American

Psychological Association. You are referred to the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, Sixth Edition, ISBN 978-1-4338-0561-5, copies of which may be ordered from <http://books.apa.org/books.cfm?id=4200067> or APA Order Dept., P.O.B. 2710, Hyattsville, MD 20784, USA or APA, 3 Henrietta Street, London, WC3E 8LU, UK.

*List:* references should be arranged first alphabetically and then further sorted chronologically if necessary. More than one reference from the same author(s) in the same year must be identified by the letters 'a', 'b', 'c', etc., placed after the year of publication.

### Examples:

Reference to a journal publication:

Van der Geer, J., Hanraads, J. A. J., & Lupton, R. A. (2010). The art of writing a scientific article. *Journal of Scientific Communications*, 163, 51–59.

Reference to a book:

Strunk, W., Jr., & White, E. B. (2000). *The elements of style*. (4th ed.). New York: Longman, (Chapter 4).

Reference to a chapter in an edited book:

Mettam, G. R., & Adams, L. B. (2009). How to prepare an electronic version of your article. In B. S. Jones, & R. Z. Smith (Eds.), *Introduction to the electronic age* (pp. 281–304). New York: E-Publishing Inc.

Reference to a website:

Cancer Research UK. Cancer statistics reports for the UK. (2003). <http://www.cancerresearchuk.org/aboutcancer/statistics/cancerstatsreport/> Accessed 13.03.03.

### Video data

Elsevier accepts video material and animation sequences to support and enhance your scientific research. Authors who have video or animation files that they wish to submit with their article are strongly encouraged to include links to these within the body of the article. This can be done in the same way as a figure or table by referring

to the video or animation content and noting in the body text where it should be placed. All submitted files should be properly labeled so that they directly relate to the video file's content. In order to ensure that your video or animation material is directly usable, please provide the files in one of our recommended file formats with a preferred maximum size of 150 MB. Video and animation files supplied will be published online in the electronic version of your article in Elsevier Web products, including ScienceDirect: <http://www.sciencedirect.com>. Please supply 'stills' with your files: you can choose any frame from the video or animation or make a separate image. These will be used instead of standard icons and will personalize the link to your video data. For more detailed instructions please visit our video instruction pages at <https://www.elsevier.com/artworkinstructions>. Note: since video and animation cannot be embedded in the print version of the journal, please provide text for both the electronic and the print version for the portions of the article that refer to this content.

#### Supplementary material

Supplementary material can support and enhance your scientific research. Supplementary files offer the author additional possibilities to publish supporting applications, high-resolution images, background datasets, sound clips and more. Please note that such items are published online exactly as they are submitted; there is no typesetting involved (supplementary data supplied as an Excel file or as a PowerPoint slide will appear as such online). Please submit the material together with the article and supply a concise and descriptive caption for each file. If you wish to make any changes to supplementary data during any stage of the process, then please make sure to provide an updated file, and do not annotate any corrections on a previous version. Please also make sure to switch off the 'Track Changes' option in any Microsoft Office files as these will appear in the published supplementary file(s). For more detailed instructions please visit our artwork instruction pages at <https://www.elsevier.com/artworkinstructions>.

#### AudioSlides

The journal encourages authors to create an AudioSlides presentation with their published article. AudioSlides are brief, webinar-style presentations that are shown next to the online article on ScienceDirect. This gives authors the opportunity to summarize their research in their own words and to help readers understand what the paper is about. More information and examples are available at <https://www.elsevier.com/audioslides>. Authors of this journal will automatically receive an invitation e-mail to create an AudioSlides presentation after acceptance of their paper.

#### Submission checklist

The following list will be useful during the final checking of an article prior to sending it to the journal for review. Please consult this Guide for Authors for further details of any item.

*Ensure that the following items are present:*

One author has been designated as the corresponding author with contact details:

- E-mail address
- Full postal address

All necessary files have been uploaded, and contain:

- Keywords
- All figure captions
- All tables (including title, description, footnotes)

Further considerations

- Manuscript has been 'spell-checked' and 'grammar-checked'
- All references mentioned in the Reference list are cited in the text, and vice versa
- Permission has been obtained for use of copyrighted material from other sources (including the Internet)

Printed version of figures (if applicable) in color or black-and-white

- Indicate clearly whether or not color or black-and-white in print is required.

For any further information please visit our customer support site at

<http://support.elsevier.com>.

## AFTER ACCEPTANCE

### *Availability of accepted article*

This journal makes articles available online as soon as possible after acceptance. This concerns the accepted article (both in HTML and PDF format), which has not yet been copyedited, typeset or proofread. A Digital Object Identifier (DOI) is allocated, thereby making it fully citable and searchable by title, author name(s) and the full text. The article's PDF also carries a disclaimer stating that it is an unedited article. Subsequent production stages will simply replace this version.

### *Use of the Digital Object Identifier*

The Digital Object Identifier (DOI) may be used to cite and link to electronic documents. The DOI consists of a unique alpha-numeric character string which is assigned to a document by the publisher upon the initial electronic publication. The assigned DOI never changes. Therefore, it is an ideal medium for citing a document, particularly 'Articles in press' because they have not yet received their full bibliographic information. Example of a correctly given DOI (in URL format; here an article in the journal *Physics Letters B*):

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.physletb.2010.09.059>

When you use a DOI to create links to documents on the web, the DOIs are guaranteed never to change.

### Online proof correction

Corresponding authors will receive an e-mail with a link to our online proofing system, allowing annotation and correction of proofs online. The environment is similar to MS Word: in addition to editing text, you can also comment on figures/tables and answer questions from the Copy Editor. Web-based proofing provides a faster and less error-prone process by allowing you to directly type your corrections, eliminating the potential introduction of errors.

If preferred, you can still choose to annotate and upload your edits on the PDF version. All instructions for proofing will be given in the e-mail we send to authors, including alternative methods to the online version and PDF.

We will do everything possible to get your article published quickly and accurately. Please use this proof only for checking the typesetting, editing, completeness and correctness of the text, tables and figures. Significant changes to the article as accepted for publication will only be considered at this stage with permission from the Editor. It is important to ensure that all corrections are sent back to us in one communication. Please check carefully before replying, as inclusion of any subsequent corrections cannot be guaranteed. Proofreading is solely your responsibility.

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## APPENDIX F

### Guidelines for authors Journal of Adolescent Research

### Guidelines for authors Journal of Adolescent Research

The aim of the *JOURNAL OF ADOLESCENT RESEARCH* is to publish lively, creative, and informative articles on development during adolescence (ages 10-18) and emerging adulthood (ages 18-25). The journal encourages papers that use qualitative, ethnographic, or other methods that present the voices of adolescents. Few strictly quantitative, questionnaire-based articles are published in the journal, unless they break new ground in a previously understudied area. However, papers that combine qualitative and quantitative data are especially welcome.

In order to be considered for review, papers must meet at least one of the following criteria:

1. Combine quantitative and qualitative data.
2. Take a systematic qualitative or ethnographic approach.
3. Use an original and creative methodological approach.
4. Address an important, but rarely studied topic (this could include papers with strictly quantitative data).
5. Present new theoretical or conceptual ideas.

[This journal is a member of the Committee on Publication Ethics \(COPE\)](#)

#### Manuscript Preparation

Manuscripts should be prepared using the *APA Style Guide* (Sixth Edition). All pages must be typed, double-spaced (including references, footnotes, and endnotes). Text must be in 12-point Times Roman. Block quotes may be single-spaced. Must include margins of 1 inch on all the four sides and number all pages sequentially.

The manuscript should include four major sections (in this order): Title Page, Abstract, Main Body, and References.

Sections in a manuscript may include the following (in this order): (1) Title page, (2) Abstract, (3) Keywords, (4) Text, (5) Notes, (6) References, (7) Tables, (8) Figures, and (9) Appendices.

1. Title page. Please include the following:

- Full article title
- Acknowledgments and credits
- Each author's complete name and institutional affiliation(s)
- Grant numbers and/or funding information
- Corresponding author (name, address, phone/fax, e-mail)

**2. Abstract.** Print the abstract (200 words max.) on a separate page headed by the full article title. Omit author(s)'s names.

**3. Text.** Begin article text on a new page headed by the full article title.

a. Headings and subheadings. Subheadings should indicate the organization of the content of the manuscript. Generally, three heading levels are sufficient to organize text. Level 1 heading should be Centered, Boldface, Upper & Lowercase, Level 2 heading should be Flush Left, Boldface, Upper & Lowercase, Level 3 heading should be Indented, boldface, lowercase paragraph heading that ends with a period, Level 4 heading should be Indented, boldface, italicized, lowercase paragraph heading that ends with a period, and Level 5 heading should be Indented, italicized, lowercase paragraph heading that ends with a period.

b. Citations. For each text citation there must be a corresponding citation in the reference list and for each reference list citation there must be a corresponding text citation. Each corresponding citation must have identical spelling and year. Each text citation must include at least two pieces of information, author(s) and year of publication. Following are some examples of text citations:

(i) *Unknown Author.* To cite work that do not have an author, cite the source by its title in the signal phrase or use the first word or two in the parentheses. Eg. The findings are based on the study was done of students learning to format research papers ("Using XXX," 2001)

(ii) *Authors with the Same Last Name*: use first initials with the last names to prevent confusion. Eg.(L. Hughes, 2001; P. Hughes, 1998)

(iii) *Two or More Works by the Same Author in the Same Year*: For two sources by the same author in the same year, use lower-case letters (a, b, c) with the year to order the entries in the reference list. The lower-case letters should follow the year in the in-text citation.Eg.Research by Freud (1981a) illustrated that...

(iv) *Personal Communication*: For letters, e-mails, interviews,and other person-to-person communication, citation should include the communicator's name, the fact that it was personal communication, and the date of the communication. Do not include personal communication in the reference list.Eg.(E. Clark, personal communication, January 4, 2009).

(v) *Unknown Author and Unknown Date*: For citations with no author or date, use the title in the signal phrase or the first word or two of the title in the parentheses and use the abbreviation "n.d." (for "no date").Eg. The study conducted by of students and research division discovered that students succeeded with tutoring ("Tutoring and APA," n.d.).

**5. Notes.** If explanatory notes are required for your manuscript, insert a number formatted in superscript following almost any punctuation mark. Footnote numbers should not follow dashes ( — ), and if they appear in a sentence in parentheses, the footnote number should be inserted within the parentheses. The Footnotes should be added at the bottom of the page after the references. The word "Footnotes" should be centered at the top of the page.

**6. References.** Basic rules for the reference list:

- The reference list should be arranged in alphabetical order according to the authors' last names.
- If there is more than one work by the same author, order them according to their publication date – oldest to newest (therefore a 2008 publication would appear before a 2009 publication).
- When listing multiple authors of a source use "&" instead of "and".
- Capitalize only the first word of the title and of the subtitle, if there are one, and any proper names – i. e. only those words that are normally capitalized.
- Italicize the title of the book, the title of the journal/serial and the title of the web document.
- Manuscripts submitted to XXX [journal acronym] should strictly follow the XXX manual (xth edition) [style manual title with ed].
- Every citation in text must have the detailed reference in the Reference section.
- Every reference listed in the Reference section must be cited in text.
- Do not use "et al." in the Reference list at the end; names of all authors of a publication should be listed there.

Here are a few examples of commonly found references. For more examples please check *APA*(6<sup>th</sup> Ed).

Books:

*Book with place of publication*--Airey, D. (2010). *Logo design love: A guide to creating iconic brand identities*. Berkeley, CA: New Riders.

*Book with editors & edition*--Collins, C., & Jackson, S. (Eds.). (2007). *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand society*. South Melbourne, Australia: Thomson.

*Book with author & publisher are the same*--MidCentral District Health Board. (2008). *District annual plan 2008/09*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Author.

*Chapter in an edited book*--Dear, J., & Underwood, M. (2007). What is the role of exercise in the prevention of back pain? In D. MacAuley& T. Best (Eds.), *Evidence-based sports medicine* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp. 257-280). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Periodicals:

*Journal article with more than one author (print)*--Gabbett, T., Jenkins, D., & Abernethy, B. (2010). Physical collisions and injury during professional rugby league skills training. *Journal of Science and Medicine in Sport*, 13(6), 578-583.

*Journal article – 8 or more authors*-- Crooks, C., Ameratunga, R., Brewerton, M., Torok, M., Buetow, S., Brothers, S., ... Jorgensen, P. (2010). Adverse reactions to food in New Zealand children aged 0-5 years. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, 123(1327). Retrieved from <http://www.nzma.org.nz/journal/123-1327/4469/>

Internet Sources:

*Internet – no author, no date*--Pet therapy. (n.d.). Retrieved from [http://www.holisticonline.com/stress/stress\\_pet-therapy.htm](http://www.holisticonline.com/stress/stress_pet-therapy.htm)

*Internet – Organisation / Corporate author*-- SPCA New Zealand. (2011). *Your dog may be dying from the heat* [Press release]. Retrieved from

<http://www.rnzspca.org.nz/news/press-releases/360-your-dog-may-be-dying-...>

- Examples of various types of information sources:

*Act (statute / legislation)*--Copyright Act 1994. (2011, October 7). Retrieved from <http://www.legislation.govt.nz>

*Blog post*-- Liz and Ellory. (2011, January 19). The day of dread(s) [Web log post]. Retrieved from

<http://www.travelblog.org/Oceania/Australia/Victoria/Melbourne/St-Kilda/...>

*Brochure / pamphlet (no author)*--Ageing well: How to be the best you can be [Brochure]. (2009). Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Health.

*Conference Paper*--Williams, J., & Seary, K. (2010). Bridging the divide: Scaffolding the learning experiences of the mature age student. In J. Terrell (Ed.), *Making the links: Learning, teaching and high quality student outcomes*. Proceedings of the 9th Conference of the New Zealand Association of Bridging Educators (pp. 104-116). Wellington, New Zealand.

*DVD / Video / Motion Picture (including Clickview&Youtube)*--Gardiner, A., Curtis, C., & Michael, E. (Producers), & Waititi, T. (Director). (2010). *Boy: Welcome to my interesting world* [DVD]. New Zealand: Transmission.

*Magazine*--Ng, A. (2011, October-December). Brush with history. *Habitus*, 13, 83-87.

*Newspaper article (no author)*--Little blue penguins homeward bound. (2011, November 23). *Manawatu Standard*, p. 5

*Podcast (audio or video)*--Rozaieski, B. (2011). *Logan cabinet shoppe: Episode 37: Entertainment center molding* [Video podcast]. Retrieved from <http://blip.tv/xxx>

*Software (including apps)*--UBM Medica.(2010). iMIMS (Version 1.2.0) [Mobile application software]. Retrieved from <http://itunes.apple.com>

*Television programme*--Flanagan, A., & Philipson, A. (Series producers & directors).(2011). *24 hours in A & E* [Television series]. Belfast, Ireland: Channel 4.

*Thesis (print)*--Smith, T. L. (2008). *Change, choice and difference: The case of RN to BN degree programmes for registered nurses*(Master's thesis). Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand.

*Thesis (online)*--Mann, D. L. (2010). *Vision and expertise for interceptive actions in sport* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia). Retrieved from <http://handle.unsw.edu.au/1959.4/44704>

Non-English reference book, title translated in English

Real Academia Espanola. (2001). *Diccionario de la lengua espanola* [Dictionary of the Spanish Language] (22<sup>nd</sup>ed.). Madrid, Spain: Author

**IMPORTANT NOTE:** To encourage a faster production process of your article, you are requested to closely adhere to the points above for references. Otherwise, it will entail a long process of solving copyeditor's queries

and may directly affect the publication time of your article. In case of any question, please contact the journal editor at [csorozcoJAR@gmail.com](mailto:csorozcoJAR@gmail.com)

**7. Tables.** They should be structured properly. Each table must have a clear and concise title. When appropriate, use the title to explain an abbreviation parenthetically. Eg. *Comparison of Median Income of Adopted Children (AC) v. Foster Children (FC)*. Headings should be clear and brief.

**8. Figures.** They should be numbered consecutively in the order in which they appear in the text and must include figure captions. Figures will appear in the published article in the order in which they are numbered initially. The figure resolution should be 300dpi at the time of submission.

**IMPORTANT: PERMISSION** - *The author(s) are responsible for securing permission to reproduce all copyrighted figures or materials before they are published in JAR. A copy of the written permission must be included with the manuscript submission.*

**9. Appendices.** They should be lettered to distinguish from numbered tables and figures. Include a descriptive title for each appendix (e.g., "Appendix A. Variable Names and Definitions"). Cross-check text for accuracy against appendices.

In addition, all articles must show an awareness of the cultural context of the research questions asked, the population studied, and the results of the study. **Each paper submitted MUST include a cover letter indicating how the paper meets at least one of these criteria and the cultural requirement.**

For more on the standards for publication in the *JOURNAL OF ADOLESCENT RESEARCH*, please see: Arnett, J. J. (2005). [\*The Vitality Criterion: A new standard of publication for Journal of Adolescent Research. Journal of Adolescent Research, 20, 3-7.\*](#)

In addition to journal articles, the *JOURNAL OF ADOLESCENT RESEARCH* publishes **Editorial Essays**, which are short pieces (3,000 words or less) in which an author presents challenging new ideas. There will be few or (preferably) no citations, and authors of the essays will be encouraged to draw upon opinions, insights, and even personal experience. Scholars may present new ideas that may have limited empirical support, but inspire new thinking and research. Some essays may provide a thoughtful critique of a research area while making constructive suggestions for new ways of approaching it. Other essays could analyze a recent event, commenting on the developmental context when adolescents or emerging adults are in the news for involvement in something widely discussed. Policy discussions and advocacy also are welcome in the essays. Scholars interested in writing and submitting an Editorial Essay should query the editor first to confirm the appropriateness of the proposed topic.

The journal accepts **ELECTRONIC SUBMISSIONS ONLY**. Manuscripts should be submitted online at <http://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jar>. The editor (or associate editor) will review all manuscripts within 1 month and then inform the lead author whether or not the paper has met the *JOURNAL OF ADOLESCENT RESEARCH* criteria. The manuscript then will be sent out for peer review.

Submission of a manuscript implies commitment to publish in the journal. Authors submitting manuscripts to the journal should not simultaneously submit them to another journal, nor should manuscripts have been published elsewhere in substantially similar form or with substantially similar content. Authors in doubt about what constitutes prior publication should consult the editor.

In general, manuscripts should not exceed 30 typed, double-spaced pages, including references, tables, and figures. Figures and tables should be included as part of the manuscript, not as separate files. Five to six keywords, to be used in archival retrieval systems, should be indicated on the title page. The title page should also include contact information for the lead author, including affiliation, mailing address, e-mail address, and phone and fax numbers. Manuscripts should include three- to four-sentence biographical paragraphs of each author at the bottom of the title page. Following the title page, an abstract of no more than 200 words should be included. Text and references must conform to American Psychological Association style, as stated in the ***Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (Fifth Edition)***. Permission for use of the copyrighted material is the responsibility of the author. All artwork must be camera ready.

Authors who want to refine the use of English in their manuscripts might consider utilizing the services of SPi, a non-affiliated company that offers Professional Editing Services to authors of journal articles in the areas of science, technology, medicine or the social sciences. SPi specializes in editing and correcting English-language manuscripts written by authors with a primary language other than English. Visit <http://www.prof-editing.com> for more information about SPi's Professional Editing Services, pricing, and turn-around times, or to obtain a free quote or submit a manuscript for language polishing.

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## APPENDIX G

### Author Guidelines for Perspectives in Education

## **Information For Authors**

### **Editorial Policy**

Perspectives in Education is a professional, peer-reviewed journal that encourages the submission of previously unpublished articles on contemporary educational issues. As a journal that represents a variety of cross-disciplinary interests, both theoretical and practical, it seeks to stimulate debate on a wide range of topics. PiE invites manuscripts employing innovative qualitative and quantitative methods and approaches including (but not limited to), ethnographic observation and interviewing, grounded theory, life history, case study, curriculum analysis and critique, policy studies, ethno-methodology, social and educational critique, phenomenology, deconstruction, and genealogy.

Debates on epistemology, methodology or ethics, from a range of perspectives including post-positivism, interpretivism, constructivism, critical theory, feminism and post-modernism are also invited. PiE seeks to stimulate important dialogue and intellectual exchange on education and democratic transition with respect to schools, colleges, non-governmental organisations, universities and universities of technology in South Africa and beyond.

As the journal aims to make itself accessible to a wider reading community, it encourages authors to make their content accessible to a broad readership, including those who may not be familiar with the subject matter addressed. PiE challenges contributors to use innovative, provocative and creative ways of presenting and reporting their research.

Contributions in English, are preferred, as the journal caters to an international audience.

### **Submission of articles**

Articles are considered for publication provided that:

- The work is original.
- The copyright is transferred to PiE and the author has secured all permissions for the reproduction of original or derived material from a copyright source.
- The work has not been published previously and is not under consideration for publication elsewhere (in selected cases, this condition may be waived).
- The author has secured the permission of all named co-authors, who have agreed on the order of the names for publication.
- The Research on which the article is based has been ethically cleared by an approved ethics board (a copy of the ethical clearance certificate/letter should be made available to the editorial office).
- The article has been language checked by a certified language specialist (a copy of the letter from such a language editor should also be made available to the editorial office).
- The author(s) subscribe(s) to PiE and ensures they are familiar with the style and content of the journal.

The editor reserves the right to make editorial changes in any manuscript accepted for publication to enhance clarity or conformity with journal style.

The review process takes between 3 to 6 months to complete. Authors will be informed of the editor's decision on receipt of all of the reviewers' reports. (Please

note that it usually requires more time to review manuscripts submitted in the November – January period.)

PiE invites submissions in the following categories:

### **Research articles.**

Contributors are encouraged to submit typewritten manuscripts of no more than (6 000 words) including references, notes, and tables.

The following are considered when evaluating the suitability of a manuscript for publication in this section of PiE:

- The manuscript offers new, original insights or interpretation and not merely a restatement of existing ideas and views.
- The manuscript makes a significant contribution to the field and extends the borders of educational debate.
- The manuscript is likely to arouse readers' interest and stimulate debate.
- The manuscript reflects sound scholarship and research design with appropriate, correctly interpreted references to other authors and works.
- The content of the manuscript is accessible to the broad readership of the education community, and not just specialists in the area addressed.

The latter part of the journal, which is generally not subject to the peer review process, allows for the submission of, inter alia, the following:

### **Review articles.**

*PiE* invites succinct, critical, evaluative reviews of current literature on key topics in education. Reviews should provide a descriptive and evaluative summary and a brief discussion of the significance of the work in the context of current theory and practice. In addition to the conventional literature review format, reviewers are encouraged to use alternative methods of representation, such as critically engaging the author(s) in a dialogue on published books or articles.

### **General submission guidelines**

Please download the pdf submission form and submit it, together with your article via email to [pie@ufs.ac.za](mailto:pie@ufs.ac.za). This form is also available from the above website.

Name(s) of the author(s), title(s), and affiliation(s) should not be disclosed in the text.

The user needs to sign up using a valid email address in order to submit the article and receive feedback. Please note that all correspondence is done via email. Please direct all enquiries to:

[pie@ufs.ac.za](mailto:pie@ufs.ac.za)

An abstract of not more than 200 words should be submitted via the submission form, followed by up to 10 keywords that characterise the article.

Division of the text must be clear and logical into **numbered** sections. Subsections should be clearly indicated by using the following numbers to indicate the different heading levels:

**Level 1: 1**

**Level 2: 1.1**

**Level 3: 1.1.1**

**Level 4: 1.1.1.1**

No more than four levels of numbering should be used. **Note that this is only for formatting purposes and numbering will be removed from the final draft - do not refer to sections by numbers in the text.**

Tables and figures must be placed within their appropriate position in the article accompanied by the appropriate caption/heading. All scanned photographs/figures must be kept to a minimum quality level of 300 dpi. Diagrams should be inserted as images - preferably as jpeg or tiff files (**not drawn in MSWord using lines, shapes and arrows**) Tables and figures should be numbered consecutively and be accompanied by a brief heading for tables or caption for figures. Each table/figure must be referred to in the text.

Do not use footnotes. Use endnotes only (not more than five endnotes per article).

### **Procedure for manuscripts accepted for publication**

Publication fees of R3,500 per article published will be charged. Authors will be invoiced on acceptance of the article.

### **References**

References are cited in the text by the author(s) name(s) and the year of publication in brackets (Harvard method), separated by a comma: e.g. (Brown, 2001). Page references in the text should follow a comma after the date, e.g. (Brown, 2001: 69).

If several articles by the same author and from the same year are cited, the letters a, b, c, etc. should be added after the year of publication e.g. (Brown, 2001a).

In works by three or more authors the surnames of all authors should be given in the first reference to such a work. In subsequent references to this work only the name of the first author is given, followed by the abbreviation et al.: e.g. (Ziv et al., 2005).

For personal communications (oral or written) identify the person and indicate in brackets that it is a personal communication, e.g. (M Smith, pers. comm.).

### **List of References**

Only sources cited in the text are listed, in alphabetical order. These should be presented as indicated in the following examples. Special attention should be paid to the required punctuation.

#### ***Journal articles:***

Johnson, D.W. & Johnson, R.T. 2002. Gifted students illustrate co-operative learning. *Educational Leadership*, 50: 60-61.

#### ***Books:***

Van Zyl, R. & Thomas, P.P. 2004. *Recent advances in classroom research*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

#### ***Chapters in books:***

Dukzec, S. 2008. Gender issues. In: D Hicks & J Brown (eds), *Education for peace*. London: Routledge.

Unpublished theses or dissertations:

Squelch, J. 2001. Teacher training for multicultural education in a multicultural society. MEd dissertation. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

***Anonymous newspaper references:***

Citizen. 2006. Education for all, 22 March.

***Personal communications:***

Not retrievable and not listed.

***Electronic references:***

***No author:***

Violence and discipline problems in U.S. schools: 1999-2002. Retrieved from:  
<http://www.nces.ed.gov/pubs98/violence/98030001.html> on 3 June 2006.

***Published under author's name:***

Burbach, H. 2000. Violence and the public schools. Retrieved on 4 March 2001 from:  
<http://www.people.Virginia.EDU/~rkb3b/Hal/SchoolViolence.html>

## APPENDIX H

### Guidelines for authors South African Journal of Education

## Author Guidelines

### Guidelines for Contributors

#### **Editorial policy**

The South African Journal of Education (SAJE) publishes original research articles reporting on research that fulfils the criteria of a generally accepted research paradigm; review articles, intended for the professional scientist and which critically evaluate the research done in a specific field in education; book reviews, i.e. concise evaluations of books that have recently appeared; and letters in which criticism is given of articles that appeared in this Journal.

Indicate the relevance of the study for education research where the education system is characterised by transformation, and/or an emerging economy/development state, and/or scarce resources.

Research articles of localised content, i.e. of interest only to specific areas or specialists and which would not appeal to the broader readership of the Journal, should preferably not be submitted for consideration by the Editorial Committee.

Ethical considerations: A brief narrative account/description of ethical issues/aspects should be included in articles that report on empirical findings.

All articles will be submitted to referees (national and/or international). The consulting editors/referees will have documented expertise in the area the article addresses. When reviews are received, an editorial decision will be reached to either accept the article, reject the article, request a revision (in some cases for further peer review), or request arbitration. As a rule not more than one article per author or co-author will be accepted per year for refereeing and possible publication.

Authors bear full responsibility for the accuracy and recency of the factual content of their

contributions. A signed declaration in respect of originality must accompany each manuscript.

On submission of the manuscript, the author(s) must present a written undertaking that the article has not been published or is not being presented for publication elsewhere.

Plagiarism entails the use of ideas that have been published previously and is prohibited.

Word-for-word copying of the work of others should be indicated by means of double quotation marks. When quoting, always provide the author's surname, year of publication and the page number e.g. (Brown, 1997:40-48).

Redundancy/self-plagiarism is unacceptable. It may occur in the following ways:

- 1) Authors reproduce sections of their previously published papers without quotation.
- 2) Authors create several papers slightly differing from each other, submitting it to different journals without acknowledging it (Information adapted from Code of Ethics for the Journal of International Business Studies (n.d.).

Available at

[http://www.palgrave-journals.com/jibs/author\\_instructions.html#Ethical-guidelines](http://www.palgrave-journals.com/jibs/author_instructions.html#Ethical-guidelines).

Accessed 20 March 2013).

In cases where redundancy is suspected, the Editor in collaboration with the Editorial Board, will investigate the matter.

Plagiarism and redundancy/self-plagiarism will be dealt with as follows:

- 1) With regards to papers already published - a formal notice of redundant publication will be issued to readers as part of the next edition. The Editor has the right to refuse

accepting submissions of those authors for a certain period of time (Information adapted from

Redundant Publication: The Editorial Policy Committee of the Council of Science Editors (n.d.).

Available

at [http://natajournals.org/userimages/ContentEditor/1256771128861/redundant\\_pub.pdf](http://natajournals.org/userimages/ContentEditor/1256771128861/redundant_pub.pdf).

Accessed 20 March 2013).

- 2) In cases of major concerns authors will be denied the privilege of publishing the particular

paper in the South African Journal of Education.

- 3) In cases of minor concern authors will be asked to rephrase the

duplicated sentences.

It is expected of authors to cite materials which overlap with their work within the manuscript. Upon request of the Editor, the information should be made available where necessary (Information adapted from Code of Ethics for the Journal of International Business Studies (n.d.). Available at [http://www.palgrave-journals.com/jibs/author\\_instructions.html#Ethical-guidelines](http://www.palgrave-journals.com/jibs/author_instructions.html#Ethical-guidelines). Accessed 20 March 2013).

The author(s) must ensure that the language in the manuscript is suitably edited and the name and address of the language editor must be supplied.

Copyright of all published material is vested in the Education Association of South Africa (EASA).

### **Page charges**

Article processing charges (APCs) – ZAR R4725 per article for South Africans and USD \$525 for international authors. Authors will be invoiced for the required charges.

Total number of pages should preferably not exceed 15 pages ( $\pm$  5,500 words).

### **Preparation of manuscripts**

The manuscript, including abstract, figure captions, tables, etc. should be typed on A4-size paper and the pages numbered consecutively. Manuscripts should be in Microsoft Word format.

Text should be set in Arial font, 12 point in size with 1.5 line spacing. Margins should be 2.54 cm all around.

The title should be brief (max. 15 words), followed by the author(s) name(s), affiliation(s) (Department and University), and an e-mail address for the corresponding author.

An abstract in English (approximately 190 words) must be provided, followed by up to

10 keywords, presented alphabetically.

The text of the article should be divided into unnumbered sections (e.g. Introduction, Method, Results, Discussion, Acknowledgements, References, Appendix, in that order). Secondary headings may be used for further subdivision. Footnotes, if any, will be changed to endnotes.

Authors must observe publishing conventions and should not use terminology that can be construed as sexist or racist.

**Figures** should be clear, black/white originals, on separate pages — not embedded in the text. Grey or coloured shading must NOT be used. **Tables/figures** should be numbered consecutively, with a brief descriptive heading/caption. Information should not be duplicated in text and tables. Each table/figure must be referred to in the text by number — not 'above' or 'below'. They will be placed where possible after the first reference.

## **References**

References are cited in the text by the author(s) name(s) and the year of publication in brackets (Harvard method), separated by a comma, e.g. (Brown, 1997).

If several articles by the same author and from the same year are cited, the letters a, b, c, etc. should be added after the year of publication, e.g. (Brown, 1977a).

Page references in the text should follow a colon after the date, e.g. (Brown, 1997:40-48).

In works by three or more authors the surnames of all authors should be given in the first reference to such a work. In subsequent references to this work only the name of the first author is given, followed by the abbreviation et al., e.g. (Ziv et al., 1995).

If reference is made to an anonymous item in a newspaper, the name of the newspaper is

given in brackets, e.g. (Daily News, 1999).

For personal communications (oral or written) identify the person and indicate in brackets that it is a personal communication, e.g. (M Smith, pers. comm.).

### **List of references**

Only sources cited in the text must be listed, in alphabetical order, after the article. References should be presented as indicated in the following examples. Special attention should be paid to the required punctuation.

#### **Journal articles:**

Johnson DW & Johnson RT 1999. Gifted students illustrate co-operative learning. *Educational Leadership*, 50:60-61.

#### **Books:**

Van Zyl R (ed.) 1994. *Recent advances in classroom research*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

#### **Chapters in books:**

Dukzec S 1988. Gender issues. In D Hicks & J Brown (eds). *Education for peace*. London: Routledge.

#### **Unpublished theses or dissertations:**

Squelch J 1991. Teacher training for multicultural education in a multicultural society. MEd dissertation. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

#### **Anonymous newspaper references:**

*Citizen* 1996. Education for all, 22 March.

#### **Electronic references:**

*Published under author's name:*

Wilson J 2000. The blame culture. *British Educational Research Journal*, 26. Available at <http://www.govsources/gtp%access>. Accessed 20 April 2005.

*Website references: No author:*

These references are not archival and are therefore subject to change in any way and at any time. If it is essential to present them, they should be included in a

numbered endnote and not in the reference list.

**Personal communications:**

Not retrievable and not listed.

**Submission of manuscripts for publication:**

Manuscripts may be submitted electronically by e-mail or via the internet. Manuscripts should be submitted in MS Word format.

**E-mail submissions:**

Manuscript and covering letter must be e-mailed to *Estelle.Botha@up.ac.za*

**Internet submissions:**

Website: <http://www.sajournalofeducation.co.za>

Use the "Register as Author" link to register and submit an article. This will enable you to track the status of your article on the website.

For inquiries contact *Estelle.Botha@up.ac.za*

**Submission Preparation Checklist**

1. The submission has not been previously published, nor is it before another journal for consideration.
2. The submission file is in Microsoft Word format.
3. All URL addresses in the text (e.g., <http://pkp.sfu.ca>) are activated and ready to click.
4. The text adheres to the stylistic and bibliographic requirements outlined in the [Author Guidelines](#), which is found in About the Journal.
5. The text has had the authors' names removed. If an author is cited, "Author" and year are used in the bibliography and footnotes, instead of author's name, paper title, etc. The author's name has also been removed from the document's Properties, which in Microsoft Word is found in the File menu.
6. The article is approximately 5500 words or 15 pages.
7. The text was approved by a language editor.
8. Empirical data must be checked by a statistical consultant.