

**Towards a deeper understanding of resilience:
Resilient South African township-dwelling adolescents'
understanding of positive adjustment to hardship**

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BY THE GRACE OF GOD

To the Lord Almighty – thank You for all the knowledge and determination You have provided me with, and for the opportunity that I had to do this project.

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Prof Edwin Hees for the speedy and dedicated language editing.

The Pathways project – for financial help when it was needed.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to all the youth that are resilient.

PREFACE AND DECLARATION

This study was done in the article format. The researcher **Tanya Pretorius**, directed the research and wrote the manuscripts. Prof Linda Theron was the supervisor for this study. Two manuscripts was written and will be submitted to the following journals:


Manuscript 1: *The Journal of Adolescent Research*

Manuscript 2: *The South African Journal of Education*

I, **Tanya Pretorius**, declare that

Towards a deeper understanding of resilience: Resilient South African township-dwelling adolescents' understanding of positive adjustment to hardship

is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of a complete reference list.



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DECLARATION OF LANGUAGE EDITOR



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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to confirm that I assisted **Ms TANYA PRETORIUS** with the language editing of her Master's thesis in Educational Psychology entitled: **Towards a deeper understanding of resilience: Resilient South African township-dwelling adolescents' understanding of positive adjustment to hardship**, while she was preparing the manuscript for submission. Her supervisor was Prof. Linda Theron.

I went through the entire draft making corrections and suggestions with respect predominantly to language usage. Given the nature of the process, I did not see the final version, but made myself available for consultation as long as was necessary.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to understand what youths living in townships experience as risks, and how they cope constructively with these difficulties. As a teacher working with township-dwelling youths, I was interested in learning about their resilience. I searched the literature and found that there is a gap in research on the risks facing township-dwelling youths and their resilience in dealing with such (perceived) risks. In particular, there was a lack of studies that explained risk and resilience from the perspective of the youths themselves.

To address this gap, I conducted a grounded theory study which involved 3 cycles of data gathering and analysis. Data-gathering techniques were the draw-and-talk method, semi-structured interviews and a group discussion. Using theoretical sampling, I invited 17 adolescents between the ages of 17 and 19 who were living in townships in the Vaal Triangle area to participate.

The core finding related to parent figures who can be both a source of risk as well as a resilience resource. Particularly parent figures who expect too much from young people put them at risk and this added to the way that domestic duties and unsafe spaces challenged young people's wellbeing. However, supportive mother figures were seen as pillars of strength who assisted and helped youths through difficult times. In the presence of supportive mother figures, youth resilience was further encouraged by developing agency, inspiring resources and motivational friends. The findings of the study therefore confirm that resilience is a social ecological process which involves interaction between youths and their environment. Allied to this, the findings of the study suggest features that teachers can use as leverage points to support youths from townships to be more resilient.

Keyword: resilience; risks; adolescent; township; social ecology; protective resources

LIST OF ACRONYMS

Aids	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
APA	American Psychiatric Association
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DSD	Department of Social Development
DWCPD	Department of Women, Children, and People with Disabilities
HIV	Human immune deficiency virus
SERT	Social ecology of resilience theory
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
WHO	World Health Organization

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CHAPTER 1: OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY



Figure 1: Overview of Chapter 1.

1. INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE FOR THIS STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The aim of my resilience-focused research is to create a theory to what accounts for South African township-dwelling youths do well in life despite the tough lives they might lead. This aim relates to the fact that only a handful of studies focus on the resilience of township youths. Recent research on the resilience of township-dwelling young people reports on the community members' views of youth people (Theron, Theron, Malindi, 2012). The studies that report young people's explanations of their resilience despite the poverty, violence and other risks associated with township life (Theron, 2007) are either quantitative or rely on traditional qualitative methods (such as interviews). In this chapter I will first expand on the aforementioned rationale for this study, followed by the purpose statement and research questions that inform my study. I define the core concepts that inform the study and introduce its theoretical framework, namely, the social ecology of resilience theory (Ungar, 2011). After that I will discuss the risks and the protective resources associated with the resilience of adolescents living in townships. I explain the methodology I followed in my research and I conclude with a summary of the manuscripts that make up my master's study.

1.2 Rationale for this study

The initial reason for this study was my curiosity about how township-dwelling youths adapt positively despite their challenging of circumstances living in townships. As a teacher working with these learners, I see and hear how they struggle with factors like poverty, violence, abuse and a lack of resources. I thought to myself that it must be difficult for them to deal constructively with these challenges, but despite that they appear to be developing in a positive way. For example, they attend school regularly, are generally cheerful and are making progress in school, all of which were considered indicators of resilience (see Theron et al., 2012). I found

how they could do this intriguing. While I was busy with my Honours studies, I learned that there are universally occurring processes (Masten & Wright 2010; Ungar, 2015) that help people to do well in life, despite challenges that predict the opposite. I then wondered whether these youths benefited from these universal processes, such as forming positive relationships or being self-motivated and taking advantage of opportunities for success.

At the same time, I understood that resilience is context specific (Ungar, 2011). In other words, the processes of resilience are relative to the contextual and cultural variables that form part of the individual's life-world (Wright & Masten, 2015; Ungar, 2015). For example, studies of vulnerable Chinese young people show that their resilience is most likely to be facilitated by attachment to their biological parents (Tian & Wang, 2015), whereas studies of vulnerable Sesotho-speaking adolescents in rural South African areas show that their attachments to strong women figures (mostly their mothers or grandmothers) enables their resilience (Theron, 2015). In both of these studies attachment (a universally occurring resilience-enhancing process) is at play, but how attachment plays out is influenced by the sociocultural context. Thus, even if universally occurring processes could explain the resilience of the township youths whom I teach, the expression of these processes would probably be different than for youths living elsewhere. Another reason for undertaking this study was to be able to inform other teachers in my profession about **how** these youths are managing despite their circumstances. When teachers understand how and what enables resilience in youths whose life circumstances put them at risk, we can do more to support them and to facilitate the development of their resilience.

1.3 Literature Control

In order to be able to answer my research question (i.e., how do township-dwelling youths do well in life despite township-related risks?) I had to review the literature on this topic to learn

what we already know about the resilience of adolescents living in townships. In order to satisfy my curiosity, I conducted a purposeful search of the literature on resilience, published between 2000 and 2016. The reason for this time limit is that prior to 2000 studies did not follow a social-ecological approach (as I am doing in my study) (Theron, 2016a). I searched for publications that detailed resilience in adolescents living in South African townships. Specifically, I searched for academic journal articles that had resilience/resilient/resiliency in the title or abstract of the publication, **AND** adolescent/adolescence/teenager/young people/child (specifically between the ages of 13 and 25) in the title and/or abstract. I used EbscoHost and ScienceDirect to search for these publications. The studies that I found gave me various options for the respective searches that were not always relevant. I refined this search to show participants who are from South Africa. I then scrutinised the results for publications that include in the description of the participants that they live in townships or that used ‘disadvantaged areas’ or ‘low-income communities’ as synonyms, but that were, on closer scrutiny, townships. I excluded any study that did not explicitly describe the *resilience of adolescents living in a South African township*. I also excluded the following studies because of the lack of clarity on the aforementioned criteria (e.g., not specific to SA; age and description of participants missing/unclear; area/location where they live unclear; not focused on resilience even if the study was about township youths): Barry et al. (2013); Cameron et al. (2009); Casale & Wild (2015); Chilenski et al. (2009); Coetzee et al. (2014); Cortina et al. (2016); De Sas Kropiwinicki (2012); Finchmen et al. (2009); Foster & Brooks-Gun (2015); Govender et al. (2014); Jefferis & Theron (2015); Jewkes & Abrahams (2002); Jones (2002); Kaminer et al., (2013); Kidman & Palermo (2016); Liebenberg, Ungar & Theron (2013); Luo et al. (2016); Ma (2006); Malindi (2014a; 2014b); Malindi & Machenjedge (2012); Mampane (2012); Mayaba & Wood (2015); Ngqela & Lewis (2012); Nwankwo, Eya & Balogun (2012); Odendaal, Brink & Theron (2011); Shields, Nadasen & Pierce (2008); Themane & Osher

(2014); Theron & Malindi (2010); Ungar, Theron & Didkowsky (2011); Ungar et al. (2013); Van Breda (2015); Van Rensburg, Theron & Rothman (2015); Willis et al. (2014).

In total I consulted 15 studies (summarised in Table 1). All these studies included participants who lived in South African townships.

Table 1: *Studies on resilient youths living in townships*

Focus of the study	Studies	Method
Psychological effects on youths living in townships.	Govender & Killian (2001)	Quantitative
Identifying resilience in adolescents.	Mampane (2005)	Mixed method
Life-orientation classes promoting resilience.	Theron (2007)	Mixed method
The contribution of township schools to resilience.	Mampane & Bouwer (2011)	Quantitative
Cultural factors that contribute to resilience.	Theron et al. (2011)	Qualitative
The behaviour of youths in response to exposure to violence.	Choe, Zimmerman & Devnarain (2012)	Quantitative
How adolescents show resilience and self-regulation in academic work.	Schutte (2012)	Quantitative
Description of the resilience of Basotho youths.	Theron et al. (2012)	Qualitative
Perspectives from adolescents on growing up well.	Cameron et al. (2013)	Qualitative
The experience of adolescent-headed families within the school contexts.	Lethale & Pilay (2013)	Qualitative
The relation between depression and resiliency factors.	Harrison (2014)	Quantitative
Exploring the sense of hope of adolescents living in high crime areas.	Isaacs & Savahl (2014)	Qualitative
Factors that contribute to resilience of youths.	Mampane (2014)	Quantitative
Future goals and how they are linked to resilience.	Mosavel et al. (2015)	Qualitative
Clarifying which resilience processes contribute to youths' positive adjustments.	Theron (2015)	Mixed method

Although these studies provide an insight into why some South African youths living in townships are resilient, most of the researchers used quantitative/mixed methods to gather this data. Only 6 (see Table 1) used qualitative studies to report young people's personal accounts

of what facilitated their resilience. Liebenberg and Ungar (2009) suggest that resilience studies that rely on traditional research methods (e.g. surveys) do not necessarily emphasise youths' voices in how resilience is conceptualised and that consequently the understanding of resilience is flawed. Accordingly, it is important to use qualitative methods that prioritise the voices (as it were) of young people themselves. In addition, Liebenberg and Theron (2015) encourage researchers to use innovative visual techniques when researching resilience, because these techniques aid young people by representing the more abstract processes of resilience, which are sometimes hard to put into words. Of the above 6 qualitative and 3 mixed methods studies, only three (Cameron et al., 2013; Theron, 2015; Theron et al., 2011) included innovative visual methods.

I found one South African study on the conceptualisation of South African youth resilience from a community's point of view (Theron et al., 2012) that drew on the insights of an advisory panel which included adults from the Department of Education, non-governmental organisations and child welfare structures. One of the study's conclusions was that adult-focused conceptualisations needed to be amplified by incorporating the voices of the youths themselves. This gave an additional motivation for my study. Until researchers work with resilient township-dwelling youths themselves and use innovative qualitative methods to learn how young people themselves explain their resilience, the understanding of youth resilience in township contexts will be incomplete (Bottrell, 2009; Liebenberg & Ungar, 2009).

2. PURPOSE STATEMENT

Given all of the above, the purpose of this grounded-theory study is to investigate what accounts for the resilience of township-dwelling South African adolescents despite the township-associated risks they might face.

Adolescence, or the age of 10 to 19 (WHO, 2002), marks the second era of a person's lifespan and is the phase in which many changes, including physical, cognitive, emotional and social development, take place (Lerner, 2005). These developmental aspects bridge childhood and young adulthood, but are also associated with a time of heightened challenges (WHO, 2002). In other words, when adolescents face challenges (such as living in a township), the ordinary risks of adolescence are compounded. For this reason it is even more important to understand the resilience of adolescents living in townships. (The remainder of the concepts that are key to the above purpose – i.e. resilience, risk, townships – are defined in the theoretical overview later in this chapter).

3. RESEARCH QUESTION

One main research question and four sub-questions directed my study. They are summarised in Figure 2.

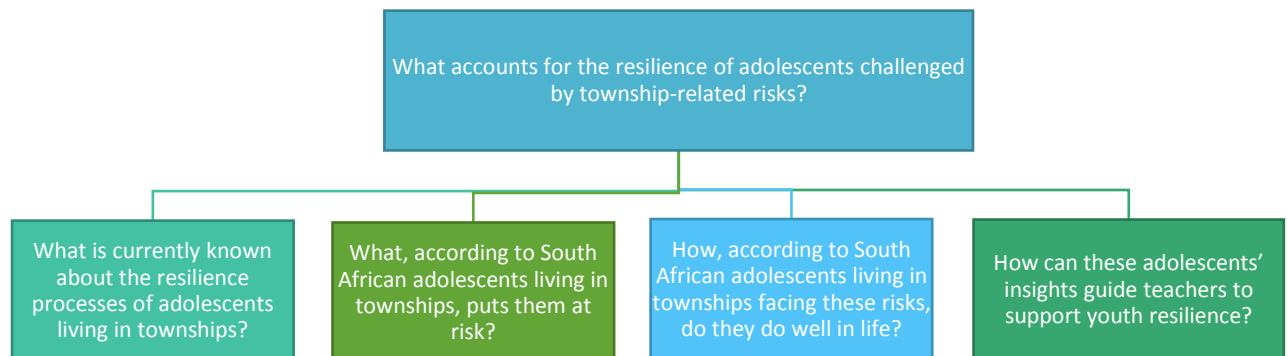


Figure 2: Primary and Secondary Questions.

4. THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

In this section I provide a definition of resilience and explain the social ecology of resilience theory (Ungar, 2011), which forms the theoretical framework of my study.

4.1 Resilience

Resilience can be defined as “relatively **positive adaptation** despite experiences of **significant adversity**” (Luthar, Lyman & Crossman, 2014). In this definition there are two core aspects that should be considered more carefully when identifying resilience. I discuss each one below.

The first is **significant adversity**, which puts the person exposed to the adversity at risk of negative developmental outcomes (Rutter, 2012). Most typically, adversity can be divided into psychosocial risks, traumatic experiences and biological risks (Theron et. al., 2012). *Psychosocial* refers to the combination of what is psychological (internal) and social or environmental (external). Psychosocial risk is associated with disruptive external changes or structural disadvantages that affect the psychological, social and emotional functioning of a person (Abrams, Hazen & Penson, 2007; Hopkins et al., 2012). This change puts the person at risk of negative outcomes (e.g. increases the chances of the person experiencing psychological ill-health or developing negative coping strategies such as substance abuse or involvement in criminal behaviour.) Common examples of psychosocial risks include experiences of being marginalised or discriminated against, or the loss of a significant loved one. *Traumatic experiences* relate to overwhelming events that occur without warning and that have the potential to effect an individual negatively for a brief and/or longer period (Bonnano, Westphal, Mancini, 2011). Traumatic events can either be natural disasters (e.g. an earthquake, floods, etc.) or caused by humans (e.g. sexual abuse, violence, etc.). *Biological risks* refer to physical conditions (e.g. a chronic illness or disability, or being born under-weight) that put a person at risk of negative outcomes. Sometimes it is not only the physical impairment that causes risk, but the discrimination that is related to being physically different or ill. For example, it is more likely that adolescents who are HIV+ will develop behavioural problems when their peers reject them (Betancourt et al., 2013). It is therefore vital that we understand that responses to risks

are typically constructed socially and often relate to the specific context and culture of an individual (Wright & Masten, 2015).

According to Wright and Masten (2015), what puts people at risk of negative developmental or life outcomes is seldom a single or once-off risk. Instead, a threat to people's wellbeing typically occurs regularly and at the same time as other risks, thus making risk a complex phenomenon. For example, poverty is a risk that is mostly chronic and recurs across and over generations. It is also associated with more threats than simply not having enough material resources (e.g. it is associated with poor parenting, social stereotyping and low/no access to quality health and education services – see Theron, 2007). Significant risk can also have a snowball effect on an individual's life. For example, Rutter (2001) has established that poverty could affect the relationships in, and functioning of, a family. Similarly, Mpofu and colleagues (2015) reported that when young people were orphaned and sent to live with their extended family, the additional burden which they placed on their poor and struggling extended families meant that family functioning became strained and that these orphans then also experienced themselves as not being welcome. In this example multiple risks derive from one situation and they typically have a compounding effect that makes the adolescent who is affected by them more vulnerable (Richman & Fraser, 2001).

The second core aspect of resilience is **positive adaption** despite high levels of adversity that are associated with negative outcomes. Therefore, **positive adaptation** is defined as an *unexpected positive outcome in the face of a significant risk* (Richman & Fraser, 2001). In order for an individual to achieve this *unexpected outcome*, resilience processes (e.g. attachment, agency and mastery, self-efficacy, meaning making, problem solving, and religion and culture – see Masten & Wright, 2010) come into play. These processes draw on resources found within the individual, families, communities and cultural legacies (Wright & Masten, 2015; Theron et

al., 2012). Table 2 includes examples of resources that are associated with the resilience processes of vulnerable young people.

Table 2: *Examples of protective resources*

Ecology	Example of protective resource	International Studies	South African Studies
Individual attributes	Intelligence: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - academic; achievement; - diligence 	Masten et al. (1999) Rutter (2012) Sagone & De Caroli (2013)	Cortina et al. (2016)
	Social competency: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - good communication; - social skills; - cheerful mood; - sense of meaning 	Hjemdal et al. (2006)	Ebersöhn & Maree (2006) Steyn (2006) Malindi & Machenjedze (2012) Makola (2013) Malindi (2014a)
	Personal competence: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - self-esteem; - hope, optimism; - determination; - self-efficacy; - problem solving 	Rutter (2012) Williams & Nelson-Gardell (2012) Ziaian et al. (2012) Hjemdal et al. (2006) Johnstone et al. (2014) Arslan (2016) Niu et al. (2016)	Ebersöhn & Maree (2006) Steyn (2006) Bloemhof (2012) Ebersöhn & Bouwer (2013) Malindi (2014b) Mampane (2014) Soji et al., (2015)
Family attributes	Family cohesion: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - support in the family; - positive attachments to parents 	Cicchetti & Rogosch (1997) Nettles et al. (2000) Williams & Nelson-Gardell (2012) Hjemdal et al. (2006) Panter-Brick et al. (2015)	Steyn (2006) Malindi (2014a) Rawatlal et. al. (2015) Soji et al., (2015) Sehularo et al., (2016)
Community attributes	School environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - teacher support; - providing opportunities; - safe environment; - extracurricular activities 	Nettles et al. (2000) Williams & Nelson-Gardell (2012)	Steyn (2006) Theron & Dunn (2010) Ebersöhn & Ferraira (2011) Malindi & Machenjedze (2012)

Culture	Social resources: - external support; - peer support; - child welfare	Williams & Nelson-Gardell (2012) Ungar et al. (2013) Hjemdal et al. (2006)	Theron & Dunn (2010) Bloemhof (2012) Malindi & Machenjedge (2012) Malindi (2014a, 2014b) Edwards (2015)
	Religion - positive values; - faith	Kumpfer (1999) Masten (2014)	Steyn (2006) Theron (2011) Theron & Dunn (2010) Malindi (2014a; 2014b)

There are many theories and models that explain resilience (Masten, 2014b; Rutter, 2012; Ungar, 2011). For the purposes of my study, I adopted the social ecological approach to resilience, as formulated by Dr Michael Ungar (2011) and advocated implicitly by resilience researchers such as Masten (2001; 2014b), Rutter (1987; 2012) and other leading proponents of the approach. According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), a social ecology is an interconnected system that includes bidirectional relationships between an individual and the environment. For example, interactions include person↔home, home↔school and school↔community, and all of these interactions have an impact on individual and systemic wellbeing (Dalhberg & Krug, 2002).

The social ecological approach is an ecological systems approach or one that explains resilience as a process that draws on the inputs of individuals and the social systems in which these individuals function. Ungar (2012; 2013) states that an ecological understanding of resilience lies in understanding the complexity of person–environment interactions (i.e. the interaction between the individual and his/her family, school and community) and that these interactions can promote positive adjustment in times of difficulties. Thus, the individual has to “navigate” (Ungar, 2011:17) or make his/her way toward resources and/or “negotiate” (Ungar, 2011:17) for (i.e. ask for) resources that are needed (but not available) to cope well with difficulty (Ungar, 2012). At the same time, the social ecology has to be supportive. This means that the

social ecology must respond meaningfully when young people negotiate for resources, but also that they should pre-empt what youths will need and work hard to create an environment that does not put young people at risk (Theron, 2015). Therefore, resilience processes are to be found in the supportive transactions between an individual and his or her environment (Ungar, 2011).

Ungar (2011) identified four principles to enable a better understanding of a social ecological approach to resilience: decentrality, complexity, atypicality and cultural relativity.

- *Decentrality*

This principle moves away from traditional approaches to resilience which explained the process of resilience primarily from the individual's perspective and as the individual's responsibility. In other words, traditionally resilience was explained as the processes that lead to positive outcomes in the face of significant adversity and which are related to the individual and individual resources (see Table 2) and not so much to the outside environment. The problem with this is that a focus on the individual doesn't really confirm the involvement of the social-ecology in the process of the resilience outcome and so the social ecology can ignore the responsibility to assist young people. In contrast, a social ecological approach puts the social ecology at the centre of explanations of resilience (Ungar, 2013). Quite recently, Ungar and colleagues (2015) reported that at higher levels of risk the social ecology is even more important to sustain the resilience processes of vulnerable young people. They drew on a five-country study to show that when risk levels are lower, individual resources are usually central to why young people adjust well, but at higher levels of risk (e.g. being a member of an abusive, dysfunctional family), social ecological resources (e.g. welfare systems; placement in care) are crucial to why young people. In other words, by decentring the individual a social ecological approach does not exclude what young people themselves contribute to adjusting

well, but it emphasises that social ecologies must contribute to cultivating the resilience of vulnerable young people.

- *Complexity*

This principle draws attention to the fact that resilience is a complicated phenomenon and cannot be defined simplistically. Part of this relates to risk and resilience not being stable – they can vary across contexts and developmental stages, and so risk/resilience should not be assumed to be consistent. For example, Werner and Smith (2001) reported that some of the participants in their study moved away from showing dysfunctional outcomes when they found life partners who supported them to behave in more socially appropriate ways. Although resilience was not associated with them as children/adolescents, this changed in adulthood.

- *Atypicality*

The principle of atypicality respects the complexity of resilience, in that it implies that different people will follow different paths of positive adjustment and that some of these paths might be different from what mainstream society expects. In other words, being resilient does not necessarily mean that an individual has to use what society would ‘typically’ see as positive strategies to survive. When someone is vulnerable in a situation, they may choose to act in ways that some societies might consider negative or risky. The negative response may become an issue in the long run, but the individual is using it as a coping mechanism for the moment and this should be acknowledged. For example, Bottrell (2009) reported that the resilience of a group of vulnerable Australian girls related to their avoiding going to school (where they were discriminated against) and identifying strongly with a local gang. These strategies were not considered typical or normative by their wider community, but they worked for these girls.

- *Cultural relativity*

This fourth principle aligns with an understanding that resilience is a complex phenomenon and that part of this complexity relates to the fact that resilience is influenced by cultural context. According to Panter-Brick (2015), culture can be defined as the knowledge that is shared from one generation to another. These cultural aspects differ from one society to another. In other words, individuals will use different ways of adjusting well to hardship depending on the cultural values and expectations they hold. For example, because Chinese culture emphasises family connections and teaches a duty to uphold the reputation of the family, Chinese grandparents are more likely to step in and become surrogate parents to their grandchildren who are vulnerable, because in so doing they are contributing to the upkeep of the family reputation (Tian & Wang, 2015). In comparison, the resilience of vulnerable Dutch children growing up in family systems that place less emphasis on duty to kin is often linked to their being adopted by families who are strangers to them (Goemans, Geek, & Vedder, 2016). In other words, resilience processes cannot be adequately explained without accounting for the cultural values and expectations that shape the actions and beliefs of people who hold those values and expectations (Masten, 2014a).

4.2 Resilience of township-dwelling youths in South Africa

In the section that follows I focus on how townships make up a context that has the potential to be associated with risks that put adolescents living there at risk of negative outcomes. I also summarise what previous studies of South African youth resilience have reported on the factors that account for some township adolescents doing well in life, despite these risks.

4.2.1 Risks for youths living in townships

South African townships are urban, usually underdeveloped, structurally inferior, residential areas where mostly black people live (Theron, 2007). There are various risks in townships that make life tough for young people. These risks have compounding effects on one another (Masten, 2014b; Rutter, 2011); this means that they are linked in some way and one risk may contribute to, and even aggravate, another. Poverty, violence, inferior education and the HIV/AIDS pandemic are typical risks associated with township life. These are discussed in detail below.

4.2.1.1 Poverty

According to Friend and Moench (2013), poverty and vulnerability should be seen as a single feature. However, this doesn't mean vulnerability replaces poverty, but they go hand in hand with one another. This simply means that the poor are more *vulnerable* to more various hardships than those who are wealthier. In other words, people who live in poverty are more susceptible to the compounding effects of risk in their lives. See Figure 3 an example of possible compounding effects as identified by De Lannoy et al. (2015).



Figure 3: Possible compounding effect of risks.

Poverty is a **complex** phenomenon and therefore should not be seen *only* as a lack of income, but a lack of resources to meet basic needs (Green, 2013; Friend & Moench, 2013; Scheidel, 2013). According to Maslow (1954), basic needs are defined as biological and physiological; safety; belongingness and love; esteem and self-actualisation. The lack of resources to meet

basic needs includes lacking things like food, clothing, shelter, education, health and opportunities for decision making (Green, 2013; Scheidel, 2013).

Poverty entails various dimensions, as seen in Table 3 below. These dimensions usually have negative effects on the lives of adolescents, including aspects such as their physical health, emotions, behaviour, social interaction and cognitive thinking abilities (Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997).

Table 3: *Dimensions of poverty*

Categories of poverty	Explanation of poverty
Lack of income	Lack of income means not enough earnings to meet the physical needs of adolescents or younger children (Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997; Scheidel, 2013). Enough earnings is a relative concept, for example, in South Africa the poverty line was R671 per month in 2013 (Hall & Sambu, 2015), but many people question this poverty line. According to Evans and Kim (2013), poor children mostly live in homes that are crowded, noisy and chaotic, and have structural problems (such as poor wall structure or leaking roofs). Income poverty can cause many disruptions in a home such as family conflict, parents who are stricter, and residence in communities where exposure to violence is more likely.
Family poverty	According to Brooks-Gunn and Duncan (1997), a poor family is usually associated with a parent(s) with low or no education, who is unemployed or has low income, or who might be single or very young. The stress of poverty affects a parent's capabilities and relationships with other members of the

	community or family (Evans & Kim, 2013). This can eventually result in chronic poverty, which is discussed below.
Community poverty	<p>The poor usually live in rural areas or urban areas on the margins of towns or cities (Green, 2013), or in structurally disadvantaged parts of towns and cities (e.g. slums, informal settlements or townships). Typically, almost everyone (if not in fact everyone) living there is materially deprived and so poverty is a pervasive reality for young people growing up in poor communities. These communities often have less access to healthy foods and they are exposed to more crime (Evans & Kim, 2013). These communities also suffer from inferior education because schools in this community have inadequate funds for textbooks, stationery and other equipment that would benefit the learners. Most of these schools have become school where learners are not required to pay school fees (Sayed & Motala, 2012). Although this recognizes the level of community poverty, waiving school fees does not allow for well-resourced schools.</p>
Chronic poverty	<p>Hulme et al. (2001) characterise chronic poverty as living in poverty for a long period of time. Being poor for a long period of time typically means that the poverty is transferred from one generation to another. The causes of chronic or inter-generational poverty are varied and can include economic variables (e.g. lack of skills, economic shocks, and technological backwardness), social issues (e.g. discrimination, inequality, a culture of poverty), political issues (globalisation, violent conflict, and insecurity) and environmental factors (e.g. low-quality resources, natural disasters such as droughts). Being challenged by any/all of these variables makes it hard to break the cycle of poverty. Children born into poverty are at higher risk of negative developmental and life outcomes (Abelev, 2009). Furthermore, contexts of chronic poverty are related to</p>

	<p>young people dropping out of school in order to find some way to earn money to contribute to the family's upkeep (Liborio & Ungar 2010). In townships and other contexts of community and chronic poverty, resilience is therefore associated with young people not quitting school and making educational progress, no matter how slow (Theron & Theron, 2013).</p>
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4.2.1.2 Violence/Abuse

Violence occurs when an individual is emotionally, psychologically or physically harmed or deprived in any way through a deliberate misuse of physical force or power (Krug et al., 2002).

Violence can fall into the following categories: self-harm, interpersonal harm or collective harm (Krug et al., 2002; Pretorius, 2012). Each of these categories can contain various types of violent acts such as sexual, physical and psychological abuse or neglect. Table 4 below summarises the various types of violent acts.

Table 4: *Categories for types of violent acts*

Sexual violence	<p>Sexual abuse occurs when an adolescent or child is forced or intimidated to part take in sexual activities that they don't fully understand or give permission for (DSD, DWCFD & UNICEF, 2012; Pretorius, 2012). These sexual activities include molestation or assault; using a child for or showing a child pornography; or encouraging or using a child for sexual satisfaction.</p>
Physical violence	<p>According to Pretorius (2012) and the DSD, DWCFD and UNICEF (2012), physical violence includes actions that</p>

	<p>produce physical harm, such as severe beating, biting, burning and strangling that result in injuries such as bruises or broken bones. When violence takes place at school (e.g. bullying) or in the community, young people are more likely to develop mental illnesses (Isaacs & Savahl, 2014).</p>
Psychological violence	<p>These include acts that affect the mental and social functioning of a child (Pretorius, 2012). Certain destructive actions (comparing a child negatively to another; criticising a child; constant breaking down of a child's self-esteem) or omissions (not giving a child attention; not caring for a child; not supporting a child) can have damaging psychological effects on a child.</p>
Neglect	<p>According to the DSD, DWCFD and UNICEF (2012), neglect takes place when a child is deprived of basic needs such as health, a safe environment, emotional support and education. This could be intentional or unintentional (Pretorius, 2012). Intentional means that it is possible for parents to make provision to meet children's needs but they don't. Unintentional means a parent doesn't understand what a child needs, or the parent doesn't have the ability to make provision to meet these needs.</p>

When young people grow up in townships, they are typically exposed to violent crimes that make them more vulnerable than adults (Ward et al., 2012). Shields et al. (2008) agree that children living in townships are more exposed to violence at schools, the community, gangs and the police. According to Ward et al. (2012), the risk of violence in townships is shaped by the context (the living environment – urban areas are prone to violence), age group (youths are more prone to experience violence than adults are, especially young black men are associated with committing acts of homicide) and gender (the majority of men become victims of violent (non-sexual) crimes). They also mention lack of support systems, low self-esteem, mental/learning disabilities, and being violated as a child, all of which might contribute to becoming a victim or even a perpetrator of violence.

4.2.1.3 Inferior Education

Education is everyone's right and one which potentially provides opportunities for a better life, particularly if it facilitates life-long learning and opportunities for a better economic status through quality education (Hall & Theron, 2016a). In South Africa there is a crisis in education which translates into young people from the poorest communities and families mostly not having access to quality education (Donohue & Bornman, 2014). In South Africa inferior education is usually linked to race: black children are most likely to be attending under-performing schools that offer a sub-standard education (Hall & Theron, 2016a). This is linked to the legacy of apartheid which engineered superior education for white children and inferior education for black children. In under-performing schools, the typical state of affairs includes over-crowded classrooms, few teaching resources, poorly qualified teachers and low matric pass rates (Badat & Sayed, 2014; Mayosi et al., 2012). Township schools are generally described as under-performing schools (Modisaotsile, 2012). Spaull (2013) argues that a consequence of poor education is that youths inherit the disadvantaged status of their parents/caregivers regardless of their own potential. He further suggests that youths fall into or

remain in a poverty trap because of low-quality education. Coming from a poor family also complicates young people's education opportunities, because their homes in general lack educational resources (such as books or internet access) and their parents have low levels of literacy and can therefore not help them with complicated learning tasks (Theron, 2007).

4.2.1.4 HIV/AIDS

HIV is an organism that infects humans and causes AIDS, which attacks the immune system in potentially lethal ways (Granich & Mermin, 1999). This disease causes a person's immune system to become weak and leads to many illness – such as TB and bronchitis. HIV can be spread from a mother to her baby, through sex, blood or dirty needles.

According to UNAIDS (2015), the estimate for people living with HIV/AIDS in South Africa is approximately 7 000 000. Adults in South Africa aged 15–49 living with HIV/AIDS are estimated to number some 6 700 000, and women over the age of 15 are estimated to number 4 000 000 (UNAIDS, 2015). According to Jemmott et al. (2013), the core reason for HIV transmission is through heterosexual exposure. African youths between the ages of 15–24 are among those who would be more likely to become infected, especially girls. According to Karim and Baxter (2010), AIDS was initially known as an urban phenomenon but quickly spread to rural areas in South Africa. This becomes a challenge, especially because of an overloaded public health sector in disadvantaged communities (Karim & Baxter, 2010).

HIV/AIDS make adolescents feel vulnerable, because it contributes to risk factors such as emotional, physical and psychosocial challenges (Ebersöhn & Maree, 2006). People living with HIV/AIDS have to take good care of their health because of the strict treatment programme they have to follow (Skoval & Oguto, 2009). According to Skovdal and Oguto (2009), the primary caregivers have a vital part to play in managing those who are infected with HIV/AIDS. For example, these caregivers are responsible not only for making sure that

the infected person gets the necessary treatment, but also have to provide moral support, finances and care (Ebersöhn & Maree, 2006).

The youths who are infected with HIV/AIDS are seen as being different and therefore others discriminate against them. These youths lose a sense of self and identity (Ebersöhn & Maree, 2006). This loss of self is linked to their peers rejecting them, thus making them feel unaccepted. Ebersöhn and Maree (2006) also mention that these HIV/AIDS-infected youths usually live in poverty and this contributes to the risk of malnutrition. Being underfed could cause youths to lose focus and deal with physical challenges.

The epidemic does not only infect these youths, but also has a negative effect on them. Adolescents are also challenged when their caregivers or parents are infected with HIV/AIDS, thus making these youths susceptible to new challenges. For example, infected caregivers/parents don't prepare for those who are left behind (i.e. life insurance, funeral plans), and this leaves the adolescents feeling worthless and unsure about their future (Ebersöhn & Maree, 2006). And the concern about losing a parent has a tremendous effect on the emotional wellbeing of young people. Also, caring for a parent who is HIV+ or dying can mean that children have to drop out of school or cannot be as engaged with their studies (Heath, Donald, Theron, & Lyon, 2014). Many orphans and children who are vulnerable because of their parents' illness are stigmatised and/or marginalised, and some are even exploited by adults in the community who take over the meagre resources that these children have access to (Van Dijk & Van Driel, 2012). When children lose their parents they also have to work through grief, which can be a further challenge to their wellbeing and ability to engage with their schooling (Heath et al., 2014).

4.2.2 Protective resources of youth living in South African townships

In Table 5 (p. 35) I summarise the methodology and findings of specific studies on adolescents living in South African townships and resilience (see 1.2 for a description of the search method). The reason I focus on townships is because my participants come from townships and my focus is on what accounts for them being resilient despite the hardships living in townships. These studies focus on resilience (i.e. adjusting to hardship) and not on coping with daily or ordinary stresses. As I explained earlier, resilience manifests in contexts of hardship or adversity. In contrast, coping is seen as an individual trait or internal process that is typically adopted to deal with daily stressors and is different from the complex process of resilience, which draws on personal and social ecological resources (Rutter, 2012).

Because education and teachers are central to the resilience of adolescents (Theron, 2016b), I conducted another literature study to identify the role that teachers/educators play in promoting resilience in township-dwelling adolescents. I explicitly searched for *teachers/educators* who promoted *resilience* in *adolescents* living in *townships*. I used Ebsco-Host to search for academic journal articles using the following key words: **teacher/educator** in the title/abstract **AND resilience/resiliency/resilient** in the title/abstract **AND adolescent/teenager** **AND township or disadvantaged area in South Africa** in the description of the participants. The following studies did not comply with the exact criteria. For example, they focused more on the education systems/programmes or the fact that teachers *did not* promote resilience (Johnson & Lazarus, 2008), or they exposed lack of support from teachers: Africa et al. (2008); Awotidebe et al. (2014); Barber (2001); Burnett (1998); Cameron et al. (2013); Carolissen et al. (2012); Collier et al. (2015); Davis et al. (2014); Ebersöhn (2008; 2014); Jefferis & Theron (2015); Johnson & Lazarus (2008); Kaminer et al. (2013); Mampane & Bouwer (2011); McLaughlin et al. (2015); Meinck et al. (2015); Mosaval et al. (2015); Nduna & Jewkes (2013); Ngqela & Lewis (2012); Pillay & Nesengani (2006); Randall et al. (2015); Themane & Osher

(2014); Theron (2011); Ungar et al. (2011). Table 6 (p. 39) refers to 11 studies on resilience that describe the role of the teacher/educator in the lives of adolescents living in South African townships; the role of the teachers is seen as promoting resilience in these youths through various methods mentioned in the table.

It is clear from Table 5 (p. 35) and Table 6 (p. 39) that there are a number of protective factors that are associated with the resilience of township-dwelling adolescents. In Table 2 I showed that resilience processes draw on resources found in the individual, family, community and culture. A closer look at Table 5 shows that these same resources support the resilience of young South Africans living in townships. In particular family factors include immediate as well as extended family members (positive and supportive relations). Community factors include school, teachers, (see Table 6) friends and social support (community members, recreational centres, support groups, etc.). With regard to culture, spiritual values such as praying and cultural adherence to African or Christian practices supported resilience. However, these factors do not in themselves generate a theory that accounts for the resilience of these adolescents. This brings me to explain why I chose to do a grounded theory study.

Table 5: *Resources that protect youth living in SA townships*

Author(s)/ year	Participants	Method	Findings on the resilience of township-dwelling adolescents
Govender & Killian, 2001	177 (94 males and 83 females) adolescents, living in townships, in Grade 9 were randomly selected from 4 schools.	A quantitative approach with 4 various psychometric instruments used to gather data.	Protective Resources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal locus of control; • Problem-focus and action-orientated; • Self-help groups, the community and support groups contributed to resilience.
Mampane, 2005	190 (64 boys and 126 girls) Grade 8 and 9 learners from a township school in Mamelodi recruited through convenience sampling.	A mixed method approach, using questionnaires and in-depth interviews for data collection.	Protective Resources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong personalities; • Support system (father, mother, teacher, and friends); • Good problem-solving skills.
Theron, 2007	The participants consisted of Grade 9 (466 boys and 456 girls) learners from South	A mixed-method approach was used and questionnaires and focus groups were	Protective Resources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respect; • Community support; • Positive school experience; • Family support (specifically mothers/grandmothers);

	African townships who were either resilient or vulnerable.	used as data-collection methods.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Life Orientation classes.
Mampane & Bouwer, 2011	16 participants were chosen from two township schools in South Africa.	A multiple case study with a qualitative approach using focus groups as a method of data collection.	Protective Resources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rules and regulations from the school system; • Supportive teaching and learning environment.
Theron et al., 2011	1 male and 1 female participant living in townships with extended family.	A qualitative study using intensive interviews, photographs and filming to collect data.	Protective Resources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relatedness to extended family (cousins = brothers/sisters); • Male relatives are important (uncle and cousin); • Culture of sharing (from peers, teachers and cousins); • Spiritual values (praying).
Choe et al., 2012	424 (206 females and 160 males) adolescents from two high schools in township areas in Durban, South Africa.	A quantitative study using a questionnaire for data gathering.	Protective Resources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adults moderate the effects of violence; • Adult influences help youths face risks.

Schutte, 2012	180 adolescent from Grades 7–9 from a selected school in a township.	A quantitative study using various measurement instruments for data gathering.	Protective Resources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community resources helped with academic performance; • Self-regulation helped learners to perform better.
Theron et al., 2012	11 Advisory Panel adults who were knowledgeable about black youths who live in their rural community, including rural townships.	Qualitative design using various strategies of inquiries.	Protective Resources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Active support systems (includes family – specifically grandmothers; peers; social services and an instructive community); • Value driven; • Educational progress; • Dreamers (future-orientated); • Acceptance of circumstances; • Resilient personality (includes agency; flexibility; determination; assertiveness; good communication skills and a sense of self-worth).
Cameron et al., 2013	8 adolescents from various countries (China, Thailand, South Africa, and Canada) who	A qualitative approach using visual methods such as filming as a	Protective Resources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attachments: positive relationship with extended family; • Self-regulation that is culturally structured;

	lived in extreme poverty. Participants from South Africa were black adolescent township youths.	data-collection method.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meaning making through African practices (such as respectful interdependence).
Lethale & Pilay, 2013	Purposive sampling was used to select 4 (2 male and 2 female) adolescents from a township in Sebokeng.	A qualitative approach with an exploratory and descriptive nature using interviews and focus groups to gather data.	Protective Resources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-awareness helped participants to recognise when they are under pressure; • Effective communication as a tool that enhances their self-awareness; • Problem-solving skills helped participants to plan and prioritise; • Intelligence helped these participant to successfully complete complicated tasks; • Educators' support which helped with school success; • Positive relationships with friends; • Participants showed determination and perseverance to achieve academically; • A sense of hope that is future-orientated.
Harrison, 2014	173 adolescents who lived in low-income communities were	A quantitative approach using	Protective Resources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High self-esteem;

	selected through convenience sampling.	questionnaires and scales to acquire the information.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problem-solving strategies; • Social support from others (not specified).
Isaacs & Savahl, 2014	14 (8 female and 6 male) adolescents were purposively selected from the Cape Flats, a township area in Cape Town.	An explorative qualitative study where data were collected through two focus group discussions.	Protective Resources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Having hope through faith and religion; • Being optimistic about the future; • Setting goals for the future.
Mampane, 2014	Purposive sampling was used to gather data from 291 (185 males and 106 females) Grade 9 learners from two township schools in Mamelodi.	A quantitative post-positivist approach using a questionnaire as data-collection method.	Protective Resources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confidence and internal locus of control; • Social support – mostly from adults who give advice, guidance and assistance; • Toughness and commitment to achievements; • Being achievement orientated.
Mosavel, 2015	14 focus groups consisting of 112 participants (76 girls and 36 boys). These adolescents were randomly recruited. They	A phenomenological research approach was used and data were	Protective resources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Having a proactive attitude towards adversity; • Making life better by having: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Stricter laws and regulation;

	included adolescents from rural townships.	gathered through focus groups.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Recreational facilities; ○ Social services; ○ Successful education.
Theron, 2015	1 137 youth were selected for the quantitative section and from those 181 resilient youth were selected from the same sample. They included adolescents from rural townships.	Mixed method using the PRYM instrument and various qualitative methods.	Protective Resources: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to material resources (food, clothes, education, etc.); • Constructive relationships (women caregivers; caring friends); • Sense of cohesion; • A powerful identity; • Cultural adherence (Christian/ancestral practices).

Table 6: *Teachers role in the lives of youths living in townships*

Author(s)/Year	Participants	Method	Findings of teachers/educators promoting resilience
Dass-Brailsford, 2005	16 (8 male and 8 female) participants in first year of university were selected through	Qualitative research design using questionnaires and	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers (black teachers) are seen as mentors, when they create a bond (teacher-youth) with the adolescents. • Teachers inspire youths to have self-esteem and self-confidence. • Teachers also encouraged youths to build a better future.

	purposeful random sampling. Mean age was 21.	interviews to gather the data.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teachers understood the youths' context and circumstances. (Teachers grew up in similar circumstances to that of the youths).
Theron, 2007	The participants consisted of Grade 9 (466 boys and 456 girls) learners from South African townships who were either resilient or vulnerable.	A mixed-method approach was used and questionnaires and focus-groups were used as data collection methods.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> LO teachers play a major role – they focus on the holistic child: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Preparing youth for the future Allowing youth to be open about their emotions Educators who are reliable (trustworthy) Teachers who are seen as mentors
Theron & Malindi, 2010	20 black disadvantaged youths between the ages of 10–17 who lived in Free State and Gauteng.	A qualitative phenomenological study that used individual interviews and focus group interviews for data collection.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teachers inspired youths by not accepting mediocre schoolwork. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> This encouraged the youths to have a good work ethic and dedication to their work; And inspired them to be future orientated. Teachers helped street youth to fit into the school by limiting other learners discriminating against them. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> They (teachers) encouraged them to play football with other children.

Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2011	Participants were teachers selected from various schools (primary/secondary) in areas where HIV/AIDS was a significant risk.	Qualitative long-term study - PRA interpretivist approach using focus groups, interviews and observation-context-interaction as data collection.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers use resources to support youths and their families: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Health and social development services; ○ Provide information on HIV/AIDS. • Teachers create partnerships with: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Kids and parents; ○ Community volunteers; ○ Businesses and the government.
Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011	Teacher from a primary school in an informal settlement community.	Qualitative study method using interviews, focus groups, reflection strategies and observation-context-interaction to collect data.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers are committed to give support: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Supporting vulnerable children; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - School fees; school uniform; food; services - Basic counselling for psychological support ○ Giving school community support; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vegetable garden on school grounds; - Informing about HIV/AIDS needs; - Support group. ○ Creating partnerships with parents; ○ Emotional, spiritual and social support.

Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012	Three rural schools with teachers from primary and secondary schools who teach learners from rural areas.	Qualitative – Participatory Reflection and Action (PRA) as research design using visual data collection and observation-context-interaction as data gathering methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers focus on the needs of youths (especially needs associated with poverty). • Teachers make connections and use resources to focus on the needs of adolescents (referrals and networking). • Teachers provide learning support, counselling and career guidance.
Malindi & Machenjedge, 2012	17 African boys between the ages of 11–17 who lived in disadvantaged areas in South Africa.	An exploratory qualitative study using focus group interviews to gather data.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers who care provide emotional support (connection). • Teachers listen and support. (Teachers are connected to youths).
Bhana, 2015	28 female and 6 male primary school teachers between the ages of 30–56.	Constructivist qualitative study using interviews and focus groups to gather data.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers care: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Giving emotional support to youths (hugging and love) to create safety and security; ○ Teachers as mother figures (nurturing teachers); ○ Providing material resources (clothes and food);

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Promote the agency of girls. (A teacher advised them to protect themselves from older men).
Mampane, 2014	Purposeful sampling was used to gather 291 (185 males and 106 females) Grade 9 learners from two township schools in Mamelodi.	A quantitative post-positivist approach using a questionnaire as data-collection method.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers enables learners to see their own potential. • Teacher is available to listen.
Theron & Theron, 2014	16 (9 male and 7 female) students from a university in South Africa, between the ages of 19–53.	Deductive and inductive coding were used to analyse a secondary data set.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers were supportive and made connections (with youth and the community): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ By allowing access to school; (due to not paying school fees) ○ By assisting with university applications; ○ By organising food, clothes and money; ○ By caring for the adolescents; ○ By seeing potential in the adolescents. • Teachers interacted with the youths on a personal level. • Teachers understood the youths' situations. • Teachers taught youth: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To have passion for reading;

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To have respect for their academic ability; ○ To have positive beliefs; ○ To have a positive mind-set.
Theron, 2015	1 137 youth were selected for the quantitative section and from those 181 resilient youths were selected from the same sample.	Mixed method using the PRYM instrument and various qualitative methods.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers are like parents – they provided things like money for food and clothes. • Teachers connect by asking how an adolescent is feeling. • Teachers emphasised that education is important for youths' futures.
Van Breda, 2015	Young people between the ages of 14–21 with a sample of 500 participants in seven different sites in South Africa.	A quantitative survey-based design using a questionnaire as data-gathering method.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers create individual relationships through conversations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Provide space for children to be heard; ○ Connecting children with support services.

5. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In this section I will discuss the reason behind my research design and what made me choose grounded theory as the strategy of inquiry. I will explain in detail how I selected my participants and how the data were gathered and analysed through a constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2006). I also discuss my role as researcher and the ethical considerations that applied to this research.

5.1 Qualitative research design

My study follows a **qualitative research design**. Qualitative research is suitable for studies that aim to explore and better understand a specific problem or phenomenon as experienced by individuals. This means the qualitative researcher wants to generate meaning related to a problem or phenomenon from the participant's point of view (Creswell, 2009). I realised that qualitative research best suited my study because I wanted to account for what enables the resilience of adolescents challenged by township-associated risks and because I wanted to prioritise what was common to the multiple perspectives of adolescents. In other words, I was not interested in manipulating the resilience of these adolescents. Rather my study was naturalistic and focused on the adolescents as the experts of what enabled their resilience (Bailey & Tilley, 2002).

As a qualitative researcher I was aware that I am the core instrument of this research regarding the data-generation and data-analysis processes. I co-generated data and probed participants' responses (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). I was thus a research instrument that guided the process through which the participants could express their understanding of resilience while living in urban townships. This meant that I was integral to the data gathering throughout the process (Creswell, 2009). I did not rely on a questionnaire, but interacted with the adolescents myself (using multiple data-generation techniques such as draw-and-talk interviews, semi structured interviews and a group discussion) to get an answer to my research question (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). I was aware that this answer would

not be an absolute one, or generalisable to adolescents living in contexts that are very different from townships (Creswell, 2009). However, my involvement in the data-generation and analysis processes could have led to my influencing the data (Charmaz, 2014). Because of the nature of the strategy of inquiry that guided me to confirm acquired data (e.g. I asked participants to explain their drawings in Cycle 1 and to comment explicitly on the emerging theory in Cycle 3), the impact of my subjectivity on the data was limited (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). Nonetheless, I had to be aware that I could well make assumptions regarding culturally acceptable behaviours, available resources and opinions. I am a white female researcher living in the suburbs, but I have also experienced adversity. This could limit my understanding of township adversities and I could assume that my way of life is similar to that of the participants. Accordingly, I might anticipate that relationships and being invested in education would be central to their resilience. To manage this I asked my supervisor to check my interpretations and engaged a fellow master's student (who was also undertaking a resilience-focused study) to act as a peer debriefer.

Finally, I was also aware that qualitative research is an emergent design, which simply means that it can change throughout the research process (Creswell, 2009). Therefore, as the research evolves, the design can be adapted so that it is better able to elicit young people's accounts of their resilience. In my study this related mostly to varying which participants I included in an attempt to get a rich range of answers to my research question. At times it also meant following up with participants telephonically (not anticipated at the outset of my study) in order to better understand the theory that was emerging as I began to make sense of the data.

5.2 Research paradigm

My research is based on the **constructivist paradigm** which is part of the **interpretive custom** (Charmaz, 2006). The latter approach focuses on constructing meaning (Nieuwenhuis, 2007) and acquiring insight into the specific social world of a particular group of participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Thus the knowledge gained through the research is an interpretation made by the

researcher through facilitating the research process and gaining knowledge from the participants' point of view (Tracy, 2013). In that way, the meaning is co-constructed and reflects both the participants' and my interpretations (Charmaz, 2014).

This approach aims to understand a particular group of people's perspectives on a specific phenomenon according to their own situation and lived experiences (Nieuwenhuis, 2007; Charmaz, 2006). Put differently, a constructivist study **explores meaning** that participants construct within and about their own situations. This is highly apposite to my study, which aims to account for what informs the resilience of township-dwelling youths, as explained by youths themselves.

In using the **interpretivist approach** I had to consider the points of view of multiple participants whilst also considering their **background** (where they are from) and **culture** (the conventions and values they had been taught to respect) (Tracy, 2013). I had to be careful that my own views did not overshadow their interpretations and experiences. As a teacher, I see and work with many township-dwelling youths and this helped me understand their background and, to some extent, their culture. Based on this, I made some assumptions that these participants would be challenged by poverty and violence, given that they are living in townships (see Section 4.2). I wondered what helps them to cope with these difficulties – again, based on the young people I teach I suspected it would be their relationships, religion, school achievements or their personal qualities. However, with all these assumptions in mind, I had to remain open-minded during my data collection in order for my assumptions not to influence my interpretations. To this end, I also consulted other educators who have a richer understanding of township-dwelling participants to gain a deeper understanding of who these participants are.

5.3 Strategy of inquiry

In this study I followed a strategy informed by grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014). I chose this strategy because there is little indicated in the literature about what accounts for the resilience of township-

dwelling youths besides the globally known protective factors. Thus a grounded theory approach would allow me to access the personally expressed insights from these adolescents in order to generate a theory (Charmaz, 2011). As explained below, this choice influenced how I selected my participants, how data were generated, and how I analysed and interpreted the data.

5.3.1 Grounded theory defined

The founders of the grounded theory approach were Glaser and Strauss (1967). The method was originally devised to elicit a theory from data that were methodically gathered and analysed (Howard-Payne, 2016). According to Urquhart (2012), the original method is not the same as it is being used today, because there were two core types of this study, identified by Howard-Payne (2016) as: 1) the Glaserian approach; and 2) Straussian approach. Table 7 identifies key differences between these two types of approaches.

Table 7: *Characteristics of Glaserian and Straussian grounded theory*

Glaserian approach	Straussian approach
- Post-positive paradigm	- Constructivist approach
- Uses the understanding of realism, which aims to expose findings from within the data.	- Uses the understanding of contextualism, which aims to provide an understanding of the phenomenon in question.
- The researcher should be a disinterested observer.	- The researcher has to be involved with the participants.
- The literature review should be conducted after data analysis (so as not to influence the emerging theory).	- The literature review should be conducted before data gathering.
- No pre-set research questions.	- Pre-set research question/s.
- Promotes initial coding through comparison of data.	- Open coding is used to start the coding process and is initial coding. Any relevant data are open coded,

	even if there is only one instance of it. It also includes axial coding to show the links between linked or related codes and between emerging categories.
- Verification of the emerged theory requires subsequent quantitative proof of the theory	- Verification of an emerging category through constant evaluation of various perspectives.

My study followed the Straussian approach. Table 8 shows how my study fits into the Straussian approach.

Table 8: *My approach compared to the Straussian approach*

Straussian approach	My approach
Constructivist approach	My study focuses on constructing the meaning of the strategies adopted by township-dwelling youths to do well in life. It constructs this meaning in interaction with the adolescent participants. It interprets how young people explain what enables their resilience in order to generate an account of what enables the resilience of young people challenged by township risks.
Uses the understanding of contextualism, which aims to develop an understanding of the phenomenon in its specific context.	My study contextualises the resilience processes of participants. The context is specifically that of urban townships. In addition to providing an overview of the risks that are typically associated with townships, I invited participants to explain what they experienced as personally challenging about the township context.

The researcher has to be involved with the participants.	I personally conducted the draw-and-talk sessions, individual interviews and group discussions. This meant that I interacted with the participants in ways that enabled them to share their interpretations of their resilience with me and for us to work together to add further meaning of these interpretations.
The literature review should be conducted before data gathering.	My literature review was done in advance to identify existing knowledge about risks and factors contributing to the resilience of township-dwelling adolescents. In addition, I decided in advance to use the social ecology of resilience theory as theoretical framework, which means that I was sensitive to individual and social ecological contributions to accounts of resilience even before I heard the participants' accounts.
Pre-set research question.	My questions were developed before I conducted the interviews, draw-and-talk sessions and group discussion (see Figure 2).
Includes focused coding to show the links between the categories.	A variety of initial codes formed my focused codes which I then used for the next cycle. I also used these when I started to prepare my emerging categories towards the end of the last cycle.
Verification forms through constant evaluation and comparing of various perspectives.	After analysing a data set (initial and focused codes) I went back to check and re-check the emerging categories.

In addition to the above aspects that show my study was in line with the Straussian approach, it was true to broader understandings of grounded theory designs in that it took place in three data-generation cycles (with concurrent data analyses). In each cycle I facilitated the generation of different data sources to refine the theory that was emerging instead of just relying on a single set of data. Therefore, following Charmaz (2006), I used the methods of draw-and-talk, interviews and a group discussion to generate multiple data sets. When I did my draw-and-talk (Cycle 1), I involved a variety of participants (10) in different age and gender groups. For my interviews (Cycle 2) I involved 7 participants also from different gender and age groups. My group discussion (Cycle 3) participants consisted of a mixture of 8 participants from Cycle 1 and Cycle 2. I had to analyse and interpret the data through different phases in order to organise the data into categories.

In the following section I describe each phase of my research done in Cycles 1 – 3. This includes how the participants were selected for each cycle, which data-generating method was used in the cycle and how it was analysed. I comment briefly on the advantages and disadvantages of each cycle. The cycles were implemented consecutively and took place over the course of 12 months. These cycles allowed me to systematically generate data and refine a theory accounting for the resilience of township-dwelling young people.

5.3.1.1 Cycle 1

To select participants for Cycle 1, I used purposive sampling (Maree & van der Westhuizen, 2007). This means participants were selected according to specific factors relevant to the research question (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). The following criteria directed who was included: school-going **adolescents** from **urban townships** who **adapt well despite hardships**. This non-random sampling method was most suitable because it helped me to gain rich data from participants who were knowledgeable about the phenomenon that I was interested in. In order to gain access to these participants I asked gatekeepers, such as Life Orientation and School-Based Support Team teachers, to assist me in recruiting relevant participants (i.e. participants who met the above criteria) and to

provide access to them at the research site (Creswell, 2009). The research site was a high school that mostly serves township-dwelling youths. All my participants attended the school where I teach. Because of this, my sampling of participants for Cycle 1 could also be labelled as convenience purposive sampling. In the ethics (Chapter 1 – 5.6) and reflection (Chapter 4 – 4) sections, I comment on the implications of doing research at the school where I teach. I involved these specific teachers as gatekeepers because they offer counselling and support to adolescents and would therefore be in a good position to know which adolescents were challenged by township-linked risks, but doing well in life nevertheless. To guide the gatekeepers to understand ‘**adapt well despite hardships**’ I asked them to identify adolescents doing well at and/or progressing in school despite the adversities they have to contend with in township areas, because school progress/performance and being connected to school is a locally (Theron & Theron, 2010) and internationally (Masten & Wright, 2010) recognised indicator of resilience. In my study this meant that despite challenges the participants faced living in townships, such as poverty and violence, they remained in school, were typically not absent from school and did not bunk classes. As Theron et al. (2012) note, they made educational progress, even if it was slow and involved repeating grades.

Table 9 summarises the participants from Cycle 1. The respective township and township area varied for each participant – to respect their right to anonymity I will simply refer to Townships 1 to 6 to show which participant came from which township. All these townships are in the Vaal Triangle area. This area is the Sedibeng area, where there are high levels of unemployment, lack of service delivery, and high incidence of HIV/AIDS (Akinboade et al., 2012).

Table 9: *Summary of participants for Cycle 1*

Pseudonym	Age	Sex	Home Language	Township
Buddha	19	Male	Sesotho	Township 1
Stillo	17	Male	Sesotho	Township 2

Tee	18	Female	Sesotho	Township 3
G-White	18	Female	Sesotho	Township 3
Shwex2	17	Female	Sesotho	Township 4
Mcee	18	Female	Sesotho	Township 3
Fifi	17	Female	Sesotho	Township 4
Cap-sol	18	Male	Sesotho	Township 1
Christian Grey	18	Male	Sesotho	Township 1
K-Mtwand	18	Female	Sepedi	Township 1

To generate data in this cycle, I made use of the draw-and-talk method (Mitchell et al., 2011). This means I asked recruited participants to make drawings that illustrate a) what makes life tough for them living in the township, and b) why they believe they adjust well to the challenges identified in (a). Then I asked them to explain what their drawing means. Malindi and Theron (2010) report that drawings can present constructive information about participants' circumstances and experiences, which could in turn amplify understanding of how they experience their resilience.

To gather data in this cycle, I invited the participants to make drawings on a piece of A4 paper and I gave them a variety of colour pencils and pens. I explained that there is no correct or incorrect way of drawing (Mitchell et al., 2011). One A4 paper per drawing was sufficient for all the participants as well as the variety of stationery provided. The participants used a grey pencil to draw – this might have been because they are older and do not colour anymore. Initially the participants were surprised when I asked them to draw, but once I explained that I was interested in what they would draw (and not how well they draw), they felt comfortable and went ahead with the drawing. This fits with the experience of Malindi and Theron (2011) – they noted that drawings allowed participants (street children) to show their resilience in a way that doesn't harm or intimidate them. Each participant made two drawings, the first was about the things that make life tough living in township (a) and then I asked them to explain what they drew (I audio recorded the explanation). After that I asked them

to draw what makes it possible for them cope with these difficulties they face (b) and after drawing they explained its meaning to me. After each draw-and-talk interview I transcribed each participants' explanation and analysed the drawing.

To analyse data generated in Cycle 1, I immersed myself in the data. When I was familiar with it, I started analysing each drawing and explanation. I did this immediately after the draw-and-talk session. As Charmaz (2014) advises, I did this by using initial coding (see Addendum G and H). Initial coding is open coding, which means that I labelled parts of the transcribed text that fit the questions I asked. I coded line-by-line – wherever there were relevant data that related to what I was looking for, I labelled it by writing a short paraphrase of how it answered my research question. To identify relevant data I referred to the questions I asked as mentioned above. I first focused on what makes their lives tough and then went back to see how they cope with these difficulties. For example: “cleaning the car, cleaning the house” – were labelled with ‘doing chores at home’.

Next, I considered which open codes were most frequent and which made the most sense analytically (Charmaz, 2014). I used these codes to do focused coding (sometimes called axial coding) (see Addendum H), which helped me to uncover patterns in the data (Tweed & Priest, 2015). I grouped similarly focused codes and so reduced the data into categories that emerged from the data itself. These became my emerging conceptual categories (Charmaz, 2006). Emerging categories are key concepts that are found in the data and address the research question (Dey, 2007). It is important to understand that the aim of grounded theory analyses is to provide an explanation and not a description (i.e. in my study the focus was to account for what enabled resilience in resilient township-dwelling adolescents and not describe the protective resources that probably underpin their resilience process). To offer an explanation, coding must lead to a set of concepts or conceptual categories (Holton, 2007), and explain how these are related.

In other words, in my study, where I was interested in answering the question ‘What accounts for the risk and resilience of South African township-dwelling adolescents?’, each focused code offered part of the answer. I grouped together similar or related codes to form conceptual categories that addressed this question. For example, one emerging risk-related concept that was conceptualised was household chores. This related to participants mentioning things like: “...cleaning the car, cleaning the house...” and “I have to get down to my chores; I have to clean, cook...”. Throughout the coding process I constantly compared the initial codes to see if the data supported the focused (or axial) codes and also to see if the emerging categories possibly overlap and need to be collapsed (Holton, 2007). At this early point of my research the tentative categories did not overlap (see Figure 4) and therefore no change in conceptual categories was necessary.

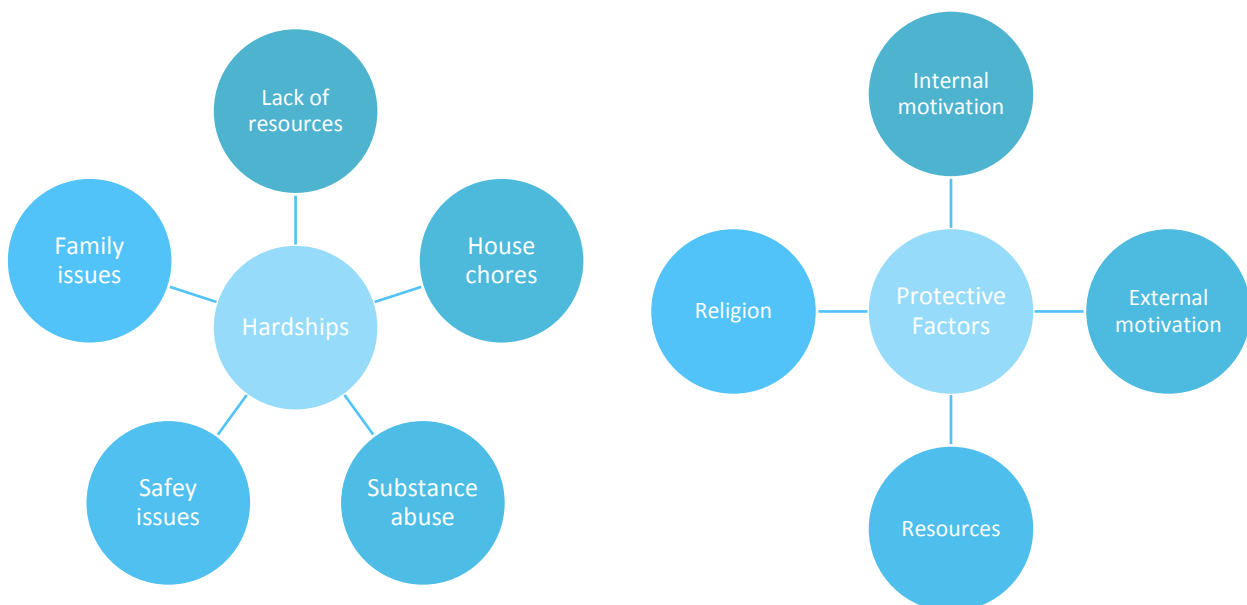


Figure 4: Cycle 1 findings.

At this early point in the research category names are often longer and still need to be further refined – refinement requires additional data generation (i.e. Cycle 2) and memo-writing (Tweed & Priest, 2015). Early on in their analysis grounded theorists start using the process of memoing (see Addendum I), whereby they write drafts of the possible emerging theory to help with the analysis (see Charmaz, 2006) and to facilitate subsequent theoretical sampling (see Cycle 2). In my memoing process I noted down certain possible categories to keep in mind for my next interviews. For example, when I focused on the drugs and gangs, my thought trail led me to the knives and guns, which in turns

linked to safety issues. Another example was external motivation (from friends; parents or teachers) → emotional support; social support; or academic support. In Cycle 2, I kept these categories in mind as I gathered additional data.

5.3.1.2 Cycle 2

To select participants in Cycle 2, I used theoretical sampling (Charmaz, 2006:96), which means that I focused on recruiting particular participants who could lead me to collect rich data about the emerging or tentative categories (category (a) lack of resources; house chores; safety issues; family issues and substance abuse; category (b) internal motivation, external motivation, resources and religion) that emerged in Cycle 1. In other words, theoretical sampling is when a researcher creates criteria from exiting categories (in Cycle 1) in order to recruit participants (Charmaz, 2006). I used the same gatekeepers as in Cycle 1, but asked them to focus on the above-mentioned categories. Morse (2010:240) describes this as follows: ‘Researchers deliberately seek participants who have had particular responses to experiences, or in whom particular concepts appear significant.’ Thus for this cycle I considered the tentative categories and asked the School-Based Support Team to identify learners who fit the risk categories. As summarised in Table 10 seven participants were involved in Cycle 2.

Table 10: *Summary of participants for Cycle 2*

Pseudonym	Age	Sex	Home Language	Township
Yona	17	Female	Sesotho	Township 3
M	18	Female	Sesotho	Township 3
Kheledi	17	Male	Sesotho	Township 5
CocktailZz Tha King	17	Male	Sesotho	Township 1
Tshidi	17	Female	Sesotho	Township 6
London	19	Female	Zulu	Township 1

Paris	18	Female	Sesotho	Township 1
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To generate data during Cycle 2, I used one-on-one semi-structured interviews (Charmaz, 2006). This allowed me to engage in one-on-one discussions with the participants about their individual experiences of the township challenges that emerged in Cycle 1 and their insight into their resilient responses to these challenges. Qualitative interviewing can be seen as dialogue with a specific purpose (Lichtman, 2010). The interviews were open ended and took the form of a dialogue focusing on participants' views, ideas and beliefs: broadly, in my study this entailed understanding participants' views on what makes life tough and what/who keeps them going (Niewenhuis, 2007). All the interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by me, which was very time consuming (Koshy, Koshy & Waterman, 2010). It was also possible that my presence could have contributed to a biased response from the interviewees, which could in turn have led to interpretations that were influenced by social desirability (Creswell, 2009; Koshy et al. 2010). These aspects can be seen as limitations of the use of individual interviews.

To gather data in this cycle, I had interviews with participants at the school after hours, where they felt comfortable and in a time slot which suited them. The interviews were conducted in English (the language in which they are being schooled) and took between 30 and 40 minutes to complete. Participants was reassured that there is no correct answer and if they felt uncomfortable about answering any questions they did not have to. Table 11 lists the questions I asked from the emerging theory that developed in cycle 1.

Table 11: *Questions for Cycle 2*

Question	Emerging category	Questions	
What makes life tough living in townships?	Lack of resources	Is there a lack of resources that makes life tough for you? What are they?	It was important for me to know HOW these aspects changed their life for better or worse. Therefore after asking each question, I probed the participant and asked <i>how</i> it particularly influenced their lives.
	House chores	Do you have responsibilities at home that make life tough for you? What are they?	
	Safety issues	Are there any safety issues that make life tough for you? Can you give me an example?	
	Substance abuse	Are there any substance abuse matters that make life tough for you? Like what?	
	Family issues	Are there any family matters that make life tough for you? What are they?	
What helped you cope even though your life is difficult?	Resource	Are there any resources that help you cope? Can you give me an example?	
	Internal motivation	Is there anything you do within yourself to cope well? Can you give me an example?	
	External motivation	Are there any people that help you cope? Who are they?	
	Religion	Is there any religious support that helps you to cope well? Can you give me an example?	

As these were semi-structured interviews, I probed the responses of the participants throughout the process. The aim of Cycle 2 was to refine the emerging theory by asking more specific questions related to the categories. For example, in the case of the theme for motivation I wanted to know *who* motivates them, or *what* resources motivate them. I was also interested in how motivation is related to the other processes.

To analyse data in this cycle, I coded the transcribed interviews using the focused codes that emerged in Cycle 1. I constantly compared the data and coding of Cycle 1 with those of Cycle 2 (Tweed & Priest, 2015). I did this to see how well the codes fitted and whether new codes were needed. All this helped me to better understand and refine the emerging categories (Figure 5) that developed in Cycle 1 and consider whether I had reached the point of theoretical saturation (Holton, 2007).

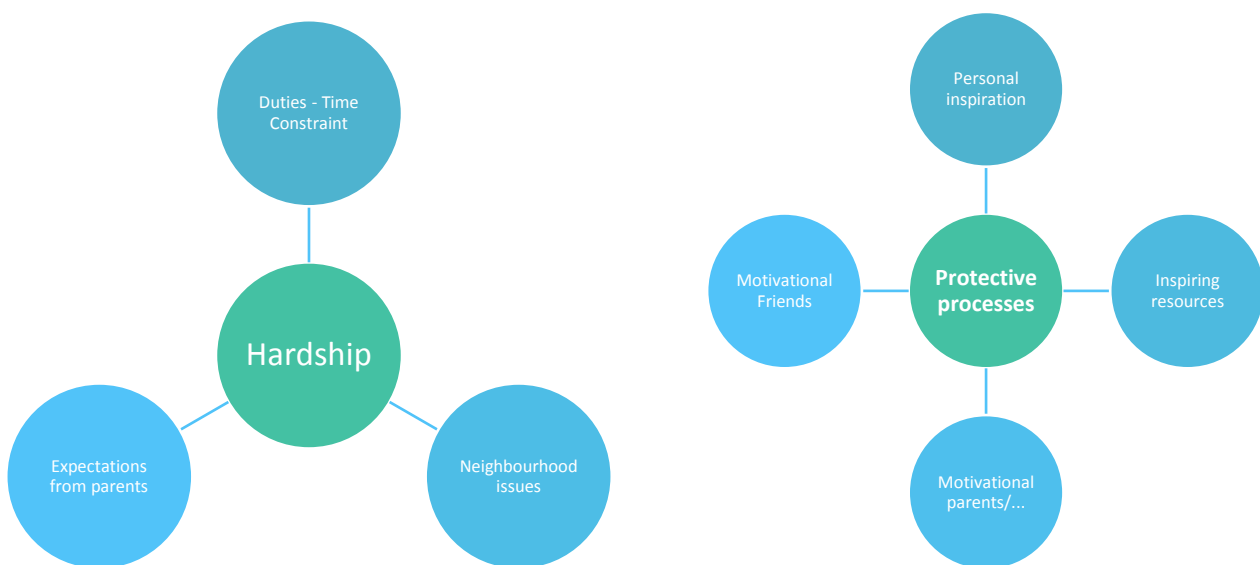


Figure 5: Cycle 2 findings.

It was clear that there was theoretical saturation, but I still needed to identify which were the core categories and explain the relationship between the core category and other categories. To do so, I undertook theoretical coding (Tweed & Priest, 2015). Theoretical coding looks at how the emerged categories relate to each other and uses this to hypothesise a theory (Charmaz, 2014). I therefore considered the categories that had emerged in Cycle 2; by constantly comparing them (and the data relevant to them) I began to see that both the risk and resilience mechanisms had a core category to

which the other categories were related. For risk, this was expectations from parents, and for resilience, motivation from parent figures. To verify the above, I searched for cases in the data that did not fit with the centrality of these categories (Charmaz, 2006). In this sense I conducted negative case analysis (Charmaz, 2006). I found no cases that contradicted the theory that was emerging (i.e. that parent figures are central to what accounts for the risk and resilience processes of township-dwelling adolescents). This fitted with my memos in which I had begun to note that it seemed that parent-figures were central to both the risks and resilience processes, as explained by participants, but I needed to interrogate this further to be sure. I tentatively proposed that **parent figures** were central to hardships and protective processes (see Figure 6). The need to verify this led me to Cycle 3.

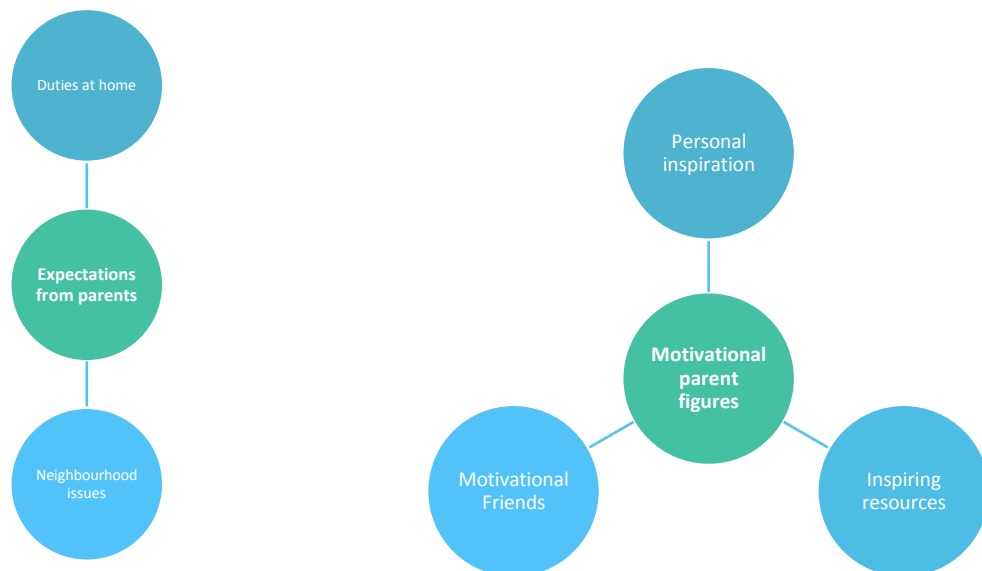


Figure 6: Parents are central to hardships and protective resources.

5.3.1.3 Cycle 3

To select participants for this cycle, I again used theoretical sampling. I chose participants from Cycle 1 and Cycle 2 whom I knew would provide me with rich data in order for me to critically interrogate and refine the theory that emerged from the analysis of Cycle 2 (Charmaz, 2006). I considered the participants who gave me rich data in Cycles 1 and 2 and then invited them to participate in Cycle 3. I invited 8 of them and all agreed to participate (see Table 12).

Table 12: *Summary of participants for Cycle 3*

Pseudonym	Age	Sex	Home Language	Township
Yona	17	Female	Sesotho	Township 3
Buddha	19	Male	Sesotho	Township 1
Stillo	17	Male	Sesotho	Township 2
Tee	18	Female	Sesotho	Township 3
Christian Grey	18	Male	Sesotho	Township 1
K-Mtwand	18	Female	Sepedi	Township 1
London	19	Female	Zulu	Township 1
Paris	18	Female	Sesotho	Township 1

To generate data in Cycle 3, I used a group discussion to refine the emerging theory. A group discussion entails individuals interacting within a group that allows them to think in broader terms and expose forgotten details of their experiences (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). The unique feature of a group discussion is that the conversation is focused on a specific topic (in my study, the core category (parent figures who have expectations/mother figures who are supportive) that emerged from Cycle 2) that will lead the participants to elaborate on this topic (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). In the group discussion I made notes that were relevant to the core category and contributed to refining the emerging theory. There are, however, certain limitations to groups, including some participants who might dominate the conversation or provide socially acceptable answers (Smithson, 2000). Luckily in my study no participant dominated the discussion and each participant seemed to be speaking from the heart.

In grounded theory a group discussion is called a theoretical group interview, because the discussion is aimed at finalising the emerging theory (Morse, 2010). To do this, the researcher presents the participants with the theory and asks them to engage critically with it, thus adding data to under-

developed or ambiguous parts of it (Theron et al., 2012). The participants do not have to confirm the theory – the emphasis is on critical review (Morse, 2010). I presented the participants with the proposed hardships and protective resources as seen in Figure 6. I then asked them if they agree with this by probing them for specific answers. In the course of their comments on the tentative finding, I was able to identify that it was specifically mothers who motivated these participants and at the same time both their parents expected a lot from them. This helped me to refine my interpretation (see Figure 7).

To analyse data in Cycle 3, I had to theorise the data by asking questions, forming connections and seeing links in the data (Charmaz, 2014). This process led me back to my memos in order to re-evaluate my data. By doing this I could narrow my emerging theory to make it more focused. In my case I found that the parent figures who are most supportive are mainly mother figure such as grandmothers, mothers, aunts and female teachers. In contrast, expectations came from both male and female figures. Another refinement was that personal motivation is better described as agency because the participants were mainly focused on a better future and doing well after school as well as being committed to actions that would make this possible. Figure 7 demonstrates the emerging theory.

If theoretical saturation is achieved (i.e. if the third cycle supports a rich, saturated explanation of what accounts for the resilience of township youths), then no successive cycles will be needed. This was the case in my study. The data I gathered from the group was sufficient and provided me with an emerging theory.

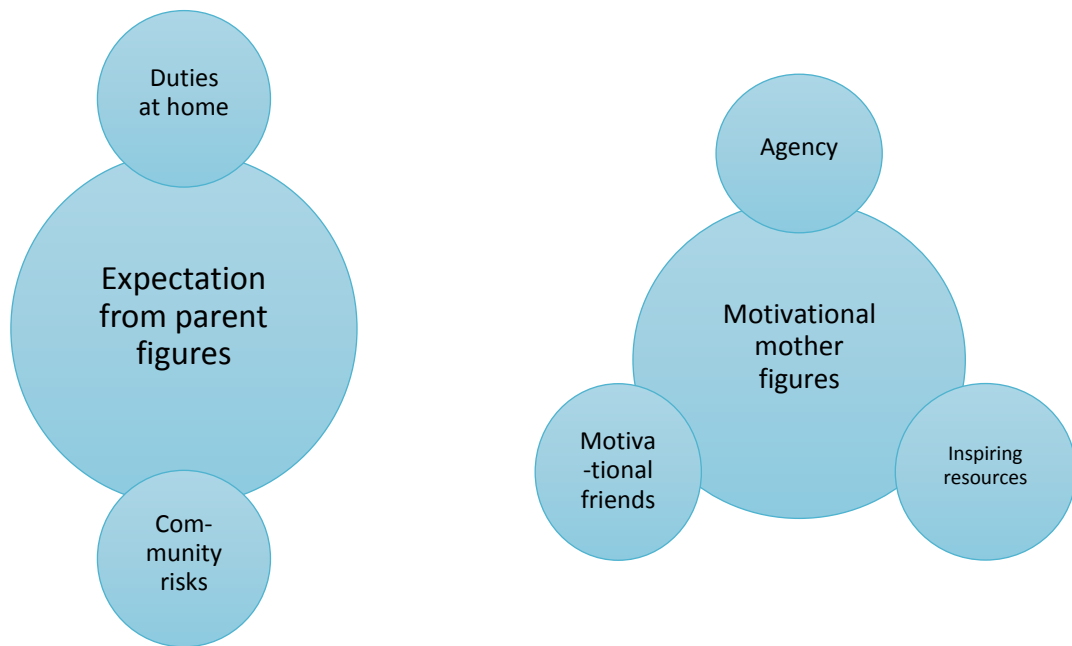


Figure 7: Final Categories.

5.4 Research Process and Ethics

The data were generated by meeting with participants both individually and in a group (as appropriate to the method) in time slots that suited their needs. As noted above, the cycles of data generation were successive. All data-generation sessions took place at an appropriate venue that was safe and comfortable for the participants. During the whole process of collecting and analysing data I used memoing, which means making theoretical notes about the data and emerging concepts and conceptualising the connection between the categories. Memo writing helps to develop properties for each category, raises the conceptual level of the analysis and therefore guides the next step the researcher should take (Holton, 2007).

Prior to participation in any of the three cycles, the participants were informed about what was expected and I confirmed that they wanted to participate. This was part and parcel of the **ethics procedures** of my study. Before the actual research could take place, other ethical issues were addressed.

To make sure that the research was not emotionally or physically harmful, I first had to gain ethical clearance from North-West University, the Department of Education and the headmaster of the school

before engaging with the participants. My study was part of Prof. Linda Theron's Pathways to Resilience Project (Ethical Clearance Number: 00066-09-A2) (see Addendum B) and as such had ethical clearance from the NWU, but I still had to develop information and consent letters for my participants, as well as for parents/guardians when participants were younger than 18.

Once the gatekeepers identified the participants and let me know that the participants were willing to participate, I met with each participant individually and explained what the study was about. I then provided the participant with an information pack, which included a letter of consent for parents/guardians to sign. The participants took these to their parents and asked them to provide written consent to their participation in my study. The following information formed part of the letter of information (see Addendum C) which accompanied the consent form (see Addenda D-F), so that participants could give informed consent (Creswell, 2009). My relevant personal details were clearly stated, as was the purpose of the study.

I made it clear that the participants would need to stay after school to participate in individual interviews, the focus group and the drawing sessions (as applicable) – in other words, the participants knew that they would not miss academic time to participate in my study. I got approval from the participants to make use of a voice recorder during the data-generation sessions and to use their drawings in publications related to my study. The letter stated that my study would not cause intentional harm to the participants and I tried to minimise any risks, such as emotional discomfort (e.g. when I asked them about their personal experience of township risks). I made it clear that they did not have to answer and that we could stop the conversation about these issues at any time.

Participants could have withdrawn at any stage of the research, if they felt uncomfortable in any way. I was aware of the fact that disclosing information about the participants' difficult circumstances may be harmful to them and therefore the privacy of the participants was protected at all times (Christians, 2000). I kept participants' personal details confidential and did not disclose the name of their school

or the various townships they lived in. No details regarding the results were falsified and no colleagues exploited. Once the examination of my work is complete, details of the research findings will be released to the participants' school, the Department of Education and other researchers, so that all interested parties can benefit from them (Creswell, 2009).

5.5 Trustworthiness

To achieve trustworthiness I used multiple methods of data collection (i.e. interviews, drawings, explanations and a focus group with participants). After each set of data collection I analysed the data in order to move to the next cycle of data collection and analysis. Because of the situatedness of the participants and me as the researcher, I had to be aware of the fact that both my and the participants' gender, culture, background and socio-economic status may have had an influence on the outcome of the research. I consulted with the participants after coding the data to ensure that I had interpreted the findings correctly. My supervisor and a fellow master's student assessed the research project regularly, which will also enhance the trustworthiness of the research. The use of negative cases and theoretical interviews (Morse, 2010) should further heighten the trustworthiness of the process and the theory that emerges. As a researcher I considered the following dimensions of trustworthiness (Maree & Van der Westhuizen, 2007) throughout my research process.

- **Credibility:** I had to consider the believability of my findings, therefore I used a credible research design and research methods to ensure this. I was also familiar with the participants and where they came from. To ensure further credibility, I often consulted with my peer-debriefer and supervisor. The purpose of this consultation was to allow insight from different perspectives.
- **Transferability:** The details of my participants and their context are clearly identified in the participant description; therefore any reader would be able to connect to the findings. I used purposive sampling, which in turn assures the reader that the findings should be transferable to other adolescents with similar demographics.

- **Dependability:** During my research I kept track of my research design and methods that might have changed. I also kept track of my data gathering and analysis by using memos. The data analysis was also reviewed by my supervisor.
- **Confirmability:** I kept a firm distance from my participants and I ensured that none of them was a pupil of mine. Although the learners were in the same school that I teach, I had no other contact with them during the research period, or could not influence them. This way I knew that I would not be biased towards the data given by them.

5.6 Ethics

This study was included in a resilience-focused umbrella ethics application, namely the Pathways to Resilience Project. North-West University approved this application which included my project [clearance numbers: 00066-09-A2; see Addendum B]. In addition I applied to the Gauteng Department of Education for permission to work with young people attending a school under the department's jurisdiction. This was granted [see Addendum A]. Participants and their parents/caregivers (when participants were younger than 18) provided written consent (or assent in the case of minors) after they were fully informed about the cycle they would be participating in. Each cycle had its own set of information letters and consents [see Addendum C - F]. I was careful to respect ethical issues such as voluntary participation and keeping the personal identities of the participants' anonymous using pseudonyms (this is what the participants and their parents preferred) (Creswell, 2014). Those who took part in the theoretical group discussion understood that because this was a group activity, anonymity was not possible and confidentiality would be limited. I explained to minors that I had a duty to report abuse, rape, or other serious dangers that they were experiencing/planning if I learnt about this during the research with them (Howcroft & Eskell-Blokland, 2010).

I teach at the school from which the participants were recruited. Because of the power issues relating to my position as teacher and theirs as learners, I did not approach any participants myself. The gatekeepers (LO teacher, SBST members) invited participants that fitted the study criteria to participate and I only came into contact with them once they had said they were interested in participating. None of the participants were/are taught by me.

In the dissemination of my study's findings, participants' names and details will not be disclosed. No detail regarding the results will be falsified. Details of the research findings will be released to the participants' school, the Department of Education and other researchers so that all interested parties can benefit from it (Creswell, 2014).

6. CONCLUSION

To summarise, this chapter introduced my study and its theoretical underpinnings and in particular the grounded theory method I used. In Chapter 2 I present an article manuscript that will show what the findings of my study are. In Chapter 3 I present another article manuscript which details what the implications of the findings are for teachers in township schools. The final chapter of this dissertation (Chapter 4) summarises my study. This is followed by a combined reference list and 10 addenda.

CHAPTER 2: MANUSCRIPT 1

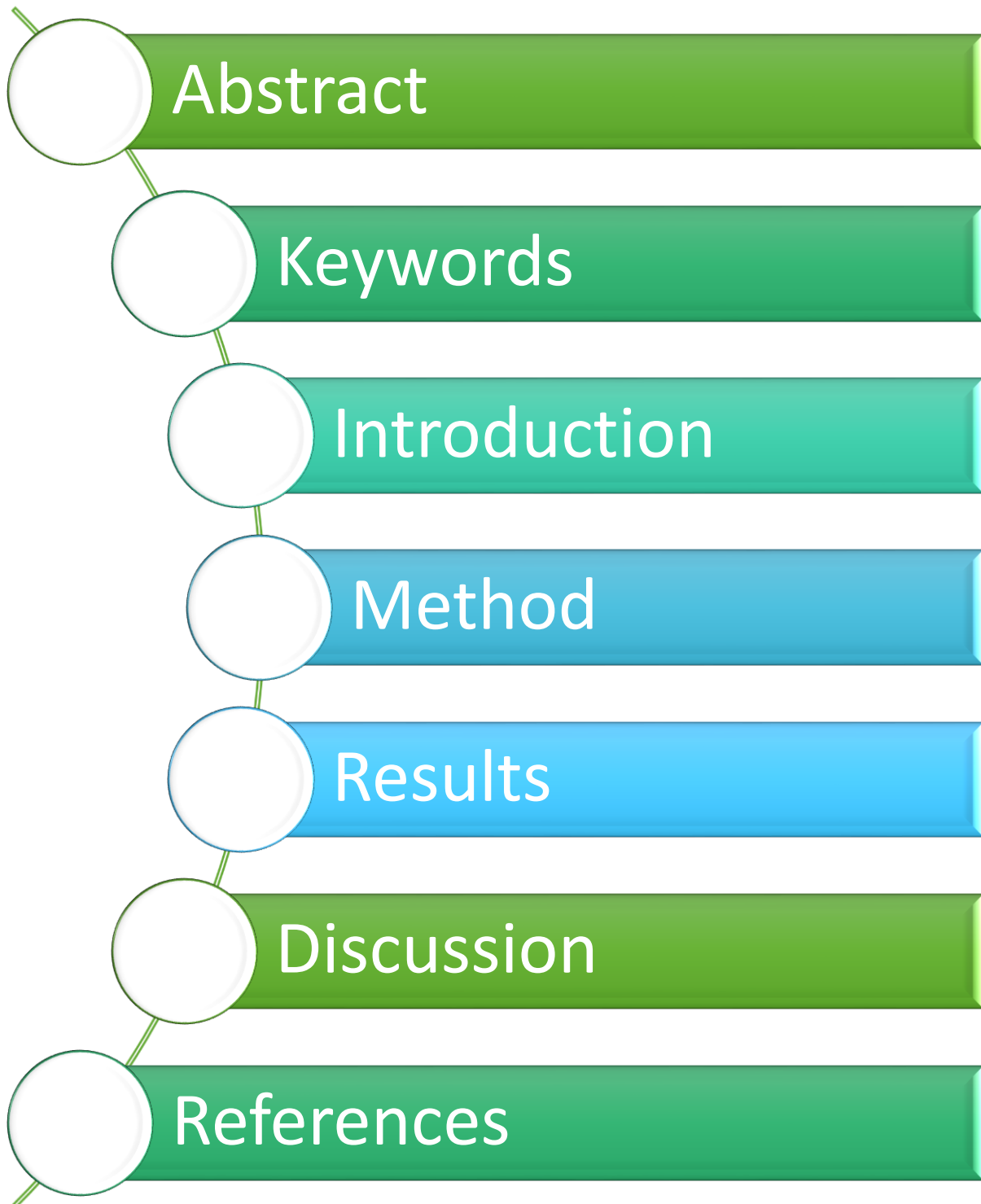


Figure 8: Overview of Chapter 2

MANUSCRIPT 1

Prepared for submission to

The Journal of Adolescent Research

(Guidelines for author – Addendum I)

The focus for this manuscript was based on the following research questions:

- ❖ What makes your life tough living in townships?
- ❖ What helps you cope with these difficulties?

“A PILLAR OF STRENGTH”: MOTHER FIGURES AND RESILIENCE OF TOWNSHIP-DWELLING YOUTHS

Abstract

Various studies explain the risks youths face around the world and their resilience in dealing with them. However, few of these explain risk and resilience from the perspectives of adolescents themselves, particularly from the perspective of African adolescents. This is problematic because resilience is considered to be a process of positive adjustment that is sensitive to contextual and cultural dynamics. To address this gap, this study focuses on risk and resilience from the point of view of 17 resilient adolescents who live in South African townships. It uses a grounded theory approach and reports that parent figures are central to what challenges adolescents. Mother figures in particular are at the heart of supporting adolescents to adjust well to these challenges. This core finding fits with social ecological understandings of resilience that devote less attention to what young people themselves contribute to the resilience process and more to what social ecologies can do to assist them.

Keywords

Resilience, adolescent, township, grounded theory, social ecological, South Africa

The focus of this article is a youth-directed understanding of what accounts for the resilience of Sesotho-speaking adolescents challenged by township-related risks. As explained in this article, living in a township (or structurally inferior residential area, similar to a favela) is typically a proxy for exposure to compound and chronic risks, including poverty, communicable disease, crime and violence (Masten, 2014b; Rutter, 2001). Exposure to these risks is usually associated with negative developmental outcomes (such as dropping out of school or substance abuse) (Theron, 2007). But many young people living in townships avoid these expected negative outcomes (Mampane, 2014). When young people are able to deflect or sidestep these expected negative outcomes, resilience is implied (Panter-Brick et al., 2015). Although there are many resilience studies or studies explaining

how and why young people avoid expected negative outcomes (Masten, 2014b), very few of these are specific to adolescents living in South African townships (Theron et al., 2012). Furthermore, too few resilience studies prioritise the views of young people themselves in explanations of resilience (Botrell, 2009; Liebenberg & Ungar, 2009). In this article young people's perspectives on the risks of living in a township are prioritised along with young people's perspectives on the resources that have helped youths living in townships to overcome these risks.

An awareness of young people's views on the risks of living in a township, along with young people's views of what supports them to develop well regardless of these risks, will provide a fuller understanding of resilience. This knowledge is likely to support the adults who interact regularly with young people (e.g. parents, guardians, teachers and youth workers) to understand better how they can optimally help township-dwelling youths to beat the odds that they face. To generate this much needed knowledge, the following question underpins the research being reported in this article: "How do resilient South African township-dwelling adolescents explain why they do well in life despite the risks of living in townships?"

SOCIAL ECOLOGY OF RESILIENCE

The social ecology of resilience theory (Ungar, 2012) informs the study being reported on in this article. Similar to the approaches of ecological systems to explaining resilience (see Masten, 2001, 2011; Rutter, 2012), a social ecological approach acknowledges that positive adjustment is a process that draws on the inputs of the individual as well as the social systems in which an individual is embedded (Ungar, 2015). What this means is that positive adjustment requires, on the one hand, that an individual navigate towards, or ask for, resources that will enable him/her to accommodate significant stressors such as poverty or violence or racism, *and* on the other hand, that a social system (e.g. family or community) makes helpful resources available (Rutter, 2012; Ungar, 2011; Wright & Masten, 2015). For example, when children live in child-headed households, their resilience is often tied to being part of a supportive peer or religious group in which material resources (such as food)

are available or can be requested (Lee, 2012; Skovdal & Ogutu, 2012). This example shows that resilience draws on the individual *and* the social ecological system. This shows that resilience is about more than what the individual contributes and more than a set of individual/intrapersonal resources (Masten, 2014a).

RESILIENCE AND TOWNSHIP YOUTHS

Living in townships can be dramatic and can have a negative impact on youths. For example, townships are associated with violence, poverty and a high burden of communicable disease, including HIV (Govender & Killian, 2001). Townships are a direct legacy of South Africa's shameful apartheid politics. During the apartheid period, townships were designed to house black South Africans and to relegate them to the margins of towns and cities (Nduna & Jewkes, 2013). To this day townships are mostly inhabited by black South Africans.

A handful of studies have explored the resilience of young people between the ages of 13 and 25 in South African townships (Cameron et al., 2013; Choe et al., 2012; Govender & Killian, 2001; Harrison, 2014; Isaacs & Savahl, 2014; Lethale & Pilay, 2013; Mampane, 2005; Mampane, 2014; Mampane & Bouwer, 2011; Mosavel, 2015; Schutte, 2012; Theron, 2007; Theron et al., 2011; Theron et al., 2012; Theron, 2015). These studies reported inadequate resources (e.g. low-quality education; inadequate school resources; poor health services; lack of technology and infrastructure) (Mampane, 2005; Mampane & Bouwer, 2011; Theron, 2007), poverty (Theron, 2015) or violence (Choe et al., 2012; Govender & Killian, 2001; Isaacs & Savahl, 2014) as the major threat to the positive developmental outcomes among young people. Yet all these studies showed that, despite these risks, many young African people develop well. These studies associated this positive development with both individual and interpersonal resources.

Among individual resources, the following were highlighted:

- A strong personality: youths who show an internal locus of control (i.e. they make bold choices for themselves) (Cameron et al., 2013; Govender & Killian, 2001; Harrison, 2014; Mampane, 2014; Mampane, 2005; Schutte, 2012; Theron et al., 2012; Theron, 2015);
- Problem-solving skills: youths focus on solving their problems at hand (Govender & Killian, 2001; Harrison, 2014; Lethale & Pillay, 2013; Mampane, 2005);
- Future-orientated attitude: youth show determination and perseverance to achieve a better future (Isaacs & Savahl, 2014; Lethale & Pillay, 2013; Mampane, 2014; Theron et al., 2012).

Among interpersonal resources, the following were reported:

- A good support system: family, friends, school and community that support and guide youths. For example, positive relationships with family and/or friends; teachers who guide for school success; community support groups (Cameron et al., 2013; Govender & Killian, 2001; Harrison, 2014; Lethale & Pillay, 2013; Mampane, 2014; Mampane, 2005; Schutte, 2012; Theron, 2007; Theron et al., 2011; Theron et al., 2012);
- A positive school environment: teaching and learning in a positive school environment; rules and regulations that are in place to improve the youths' experience of school (Mampane & Bouwer, 2011; Theron, 2007);
- Spiritual values: a sense of hope from religion, praying or African practices (Cameron et al., 2013; Isaacs & Savahl, 2014; Theron et al., 2011; Theron, 2015).

In summary, although the above studies provide an understanding of the risk and protective factors associated with the resilience of young people living in South African townships, these enumerated factors do not provide a rich enough understanding of what supports young people to develop well

despite the odds associated with township living. In order to address this limitation, this study adopted a grounded theory approach, as detailed below.

METHOD

A grounded theory qualitative research design aims to construct a meaningful explanation of an under-researched phenomenon. This meaning draws on the insights of a specific group of participants (Charmaz, 2006; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). This approach was appropriate because the aim of this study was to explore what accounts for the resilience of adolescents challenged by township-related risks. This meant that the participants were the experts on what counted towards developing their resilience. The Straussian approach (Howard-Payne, 2016) to grounded theory was used rather than the Glaserian approach, because the Straussian approach adopts a constructivist paradigm, which is aligned with the purpose of the current study.

Participants and process

All participants were adolescents who resided in 6 different townships in the Vaal Triangle area at the time of the study. These participants contributed to at least one cycle of the data-generation process. There were three cycles in total. Each cycle had its own participant recruitment, and data-gathering and data-analysis process. For this reason I will explain each cycle separately.

Cycle 1

Ten (4 male and 6 female) participants between the ages of 17 and 19 were purposively selected according to the following criteria: older **adolescents** who live in **township** areas and who **do well in life** (i.e. are resilient). They were recruited with the help of gatekeepers (i.e. Life Orientation and School-Based Support Team teachers). Following Ungar (2012), doing well in life meant developing in a positive way despite adverse surroundings. In this study, using both international and local findings, this was specifically interpreted as progress or achievement in school, or connectedness to the school (Masten & Wright, 2010; Theron & Theron, 2010). The data for this cycle were collected

through the draw-and-talk method (Mitchell et al., 2011). The drawings were guided by two prompts: a) “What makes life tough for you living in the township, and b) Why do you do well despite these challenges?” After completing each drawing, the participant explained the drawing verbally. This allowed opportunity for us¹ to probe responses. We analysed the data for both questions. The analysis started with initial coding (searching for data that related to each question and labelling these data with short phrases that paraphrased the content) (Charmaz, 2014) and then went on to focused coding (grouping similar paraphrase codes together). This process helped to create five emerging conceptual categories for question (a) and four emerging conceptual categories for question (b) that could be further explored in the second cycle. According to Dey (2007), emerging conceptual categories are the probable main concepts that will help answer the research question. In the first cycle the emerging categories for question (a) were lack of resources, house chores, substance abuse, safety issues and family issues. For question (b) the emerging categories were internal motivation, external motivation, resources and religion.

However, grounded theory analysis aims to culminate in a core category or core categories. A core category is developed by refining the emerging conceptual categories (Charmaz, 2014). This necessitated a second cycle.

Cycle 2

With the help of gatekeepers, I recruited seven (2 male and 5 female) participants, also between the ages of 17 and 19. Following Charmaz (2014), their recruitment was based on theoretical sampling. This meant that the categories that emerged from the previous cycle served as the criteria. Participants

¹ In accordance with Optentia policy relating to authorship of articles in the article-model Master's degree, the supervisor is listed as the second author.

needed to be in a position to deepen my understanding of (a) emerged theory of township risks (i.e. a lack of resources; house chores; safety issues; family issues and substance abuse), and (b) the mechanisms that protect against the aforementioned risks that emerged (i.e. internal motivation, external motivation, resources and religion). To generate data, the first author conducted a one-on-one semi-structured interview with each participant. The questions were specific to the tentative categories from cycle 1 (i.e. the first author asked *who* and/or *what* contributed to each of the specific risk/resilience categories; she probed as necessary to better understand the detail of the categories that emerged in the first cycle). The transcribed data were analysed using the focused codes from cycle 1. Focused codes are defined as codes that help shape the analysis and uncover patterns that emerge in the data (Charmaz, 2014; Tweed & Priest, 2015). The first author constantly compared the codes between the two cycles. This means that the codes were compared to see whether the conceptual categories fit or if there were new codes (Tweed & Priest, 2015). Constant comparison allowed the cycle 1 categories to be refined as: House chores → Duties at home; Safety issues → Neighbourhood issues; Family Issues → Expectations from parents; Internal Motivation → Personal motivation; External motivation → Motivation from parents/friends; Resources & Religion → Inspiring Resources.

Cycle 3

Theoretical sampling once again informed recruitment. The first author recruited eight (3 male and 5 female) participants from cycles 1 and 2 who would provide rich data in order to refine the emerging theory. Five youths had originally participated in cycle 1 and three in cycle 2. To refine and enrich the emerging explanation of what enables resilience in township youths, the first author used a theoretical group discussion (Morse, 2010). A group discussion entails individuals collaboratively discussing a research topic about which they have experience (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). In this group discussion the focus was on the specific risks (i.e. expectations from parents; duties at home; neighbourhood issues) and protective factors (i.e. motivational parent-figures; motivational friends;

personal inspiration; and inspiring resources) that had emerged from cycle 2. The first author asked the participants to comment on how well these categories answered the research questions. She asked them to comment on which risk and protective factors were central to their risk and resilience processes. Thus, the first author probed the participants to gain more specific answers that would support identification of the core category. The first author was then able to identify that mother figures are drivers of motivation and that parental expectations (from fathers and mothers) were central to the risks youth reported.

During the analysis of the transcribed data from the group discussion, the first author went back to cycle 1, cycle 2 and her memos to verify connections in the data in order to be sure of the above core categories. In grounded theory a core category clarifies processes in the data and therefore also connects sub-categories (Charmaz, 2015). Because the group discussion provided clear evidence of the core categories, no further data gathering was necessary.

During this analysis the first author renamed “personal motivation” as “agency”. This related to the group discussion and participants stressing that they were motivated to have a better future. This motivation included taking action themselves (such as studying hard) and so agency was the more appropriate label.

Trustworthiness

Following Maree and van der Westhuizen (2007), to ensure trustworthiness various data-collection methods were used (i.e. draw-and-talk interviews; semi-structured interviews; and a group discussion). The data were coded by the first author and independently audited by a peer who is currently engaged in resilience research. Next, as suggested by Saldana (2009), the authors had a consensus discussion about the coded data. Both authors agreed on the coding. The group discussion further heightened the credibility of the findings.

Ethics

The study was ethically cleared by the authors' institution review board and the provincial department of education. Following this, participants and the parents of participants younger than 18, provided written consent. Participants chose pseudonyms in order to preserve their anonymity. All participants understood that their participation was voluntary. Those who took part in the theoretical group discussion understood that because this was a group activity, anonymity was not possible and confidentiality would be limited.

RESULTS

Two core categories emerged, namely parental expectations heighten risk, and motivational mother figures enable resilience. Each category is discussed below.

Parental expectations heighten risk

Figure 9 below shows three interrelating aspects that adolescents who live in townships reported as placing them at risk. At the core of what challenges adolescents living in townships is parental expectations, particularly the expectation from parents or caregivers that young people should contribute to the smooth running of the family home and avoid or manage risks that are perennially part of townships and that have the potential to challenge young people's health and wellbeing.



Figure 9:² Issues living in townships

Participants associated expectations from parent figures (i.e. performing well in school; following cultural customs of the family; and avoiding the risks from the community) with stress and other negative emotions. For example, Tee (an 18-year-old girl) said it was challenging for her,

when parents expect you to be in a certain way and that is not the way you want to go ... Cause you feel like you are giving everything ... but you can't be the person that they want you to be ... so you end up being bitter ... you can't be yourself – instead you live to impress your parents.

Put differently, parental expectations were stressful because young people experienced them as limiting or restrictive, and often unfair. A case in point was an explanation provided by London (an 18-year-old girl):

² The figures in this dissertation are numbered chronologically. The manuscript figures will be renumbered when submitted to the identified journals.

I have to clean and then ... why doesn't my brother do everything ... they'll be like: 'You're a girl you have to do this'.

Similarly, Mcee (also an 18-year-old girl) commented,

Parents expect a lot from us ... they expect you to do this and that ... why can't we share duties?

At times young people related the negative effects of parental expectations to their parents or parent-figures being out of touch with the 21st century. In such instances participants referred to traditional African ways of being. Feyona (an 18-year-old girl) said,

sometimes as family, we are different people; we have different beliefs and everybody has their specific goal ... if someone gets in your way of reaching your goals ... in a way ... they are straining you.

my grandmother ... she is very strict. She ... believes in culture and the way in which they did things.

Similarly, Mcee (an 18-year-old girl) said,

If your parent tells you don't do this and you tell her ... 'no I know this' ... you argue about what to do and what not to do.

Mcee felt frustrated, because her mother wanted her to cook in a more traditional way.

She [mother] said: 'I want you to cook this, this way' ... and she [mother] tells me 'no you can't ... you have to cook this according to culture' and then we start fighting.

These excerpts imply that, as young people acquire more or different knowledge from that of their parents, it becomes difficult to comply with parental expectations. In particular, parental expectations

that participants should take responsibility for duties at home and avoid typical township risks created stress. Each expectation and responses to it are discussed below.

Duties at home

Duties at home included cooking, cleaning, washing and looking after younger siblings. For example, Cap-sol (an 18-year-old boy) mentioned that he had to do the cooking, cleaning and washing and on top of that he also had look after his little brother. He said,

I cook, I wash, I clean – then my mother is always pressuring me to look after my little brother.

Another participant, G-white (an 18-year-old girl) echoed this (as also illustrated in Figure 10). She said,

I have to get down to my chores – I have to clean, cook ... and it's sort of a burden to me.

M (a 17-year-old girl) mentioned that the cooking and cleaning take up her time. She said

I don't have time for myself.



Figure 10: G-White's illustration of duties at home

Doing duties placed these young people at risk because it generated negative emotions. Christian Grey (an 18-year-old boy) stated that his chores were tiresome. He said,

cleaning the car, cleaning the house ... it's boring to do those kind of stuff.

In addition, it contributed to parent-adolescent conflict. He added,

clean the whole day and if you don't do that it's like you disrespecting or something.

Paris (an 18-year-old girl) emphasised this tension by saying,

I have to do all the duties. When I tell her [mother] that I have to study and do my homework, she gets angry with me and that causes tension between us, and we fight.

Fighting with their parents makes these adolescents feel rebellious and this leads to activities that could put them at risk. For example, Buddha (a 19-year-old boy) mentioned,

I get tempted to go and party ... it makes a lot of tension at home ... my mom doesn't approve it and I end up going without her knowing.

Another reason why these adolescents are at risk is because of the time these duties take up in their lives. They need to focus on their school work, like homework or studying – instead they have to do these duties. These duties discouraged them, because they also have to deal with a heavy workload from school. Feyona (a 17-year-old girl) said,

Like normally when I came back from school, I have to cook ... each and every day ... in the evening I have to wash dishes and early in the morning before school ... I have to clean.

M (a 17-year-old girl) said,

coming to my studies it makes it difficult for me to study, coz I have to cook and clean and wash my laundry.

Paris (an 18-year-old girl) mentioned,

when I have to study ... I have to cook ... and study.

Tshidi (a 17-year-old girl) said

I have to do laundry, I have to clean the house and then sometimes I iron a few things ... I can't do time management.

In Figure 11 Fifi (a 17-year-old) shows her duty to bath her little sister, and she also mentioned,

House chores and cleaning, sometimes after school.

This takes up her time to spend with friends or do her homework.

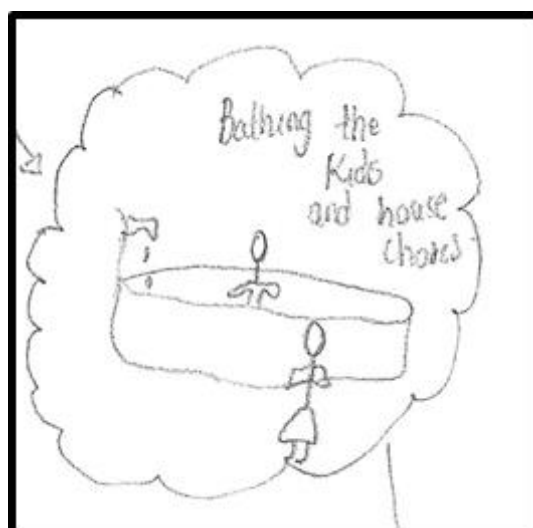


Figure 11: Fifi's illustration of bathing her sister

Typical township risks

One way that young people responded to the above stresses was to avoid being at home. They would rather spend time in their community, but this makes them vulnerable to the community risks. For example, Buddha (a 19-year-old boy) mentioned that the duties can get too much and the parents,

push you to run away from home and be outside.

Feyone (a 17-year-old girl) said that she prefers to go to a nearby school at night (from 17:00 to 01:00) and,

the thing that makes me go to school during that time is because I don't wanna do things at home.

On her way to and from the school she was vulnerable to the community challenges these young people faced that were associated with taverns (a type of pub), lack of security, substance abuse and a lack of resources. In particular, these young people often experienced violence and felt threatened in the townships (see Figure 12, as drawn by Buddha, an 18-year-old boy).

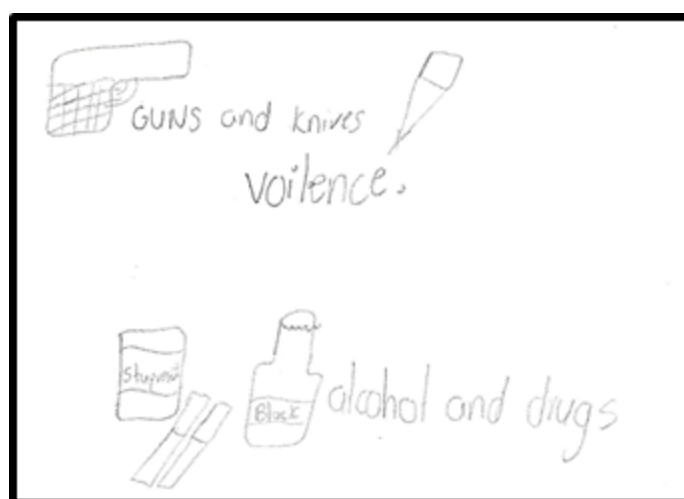


Figure 12: Violence in townships

The prevalence of violence meant that young people did not have the freedom to roam in their community. Stillo (a 17-year-old boy) mentioned,

guns and knives ... there is a lot of violence ... every time I walk I need to be careful of what's happening.

Tee (an 18-year-old girl) said,

there's no security in the township ... people will just be drinking and doing what they like.

London noted,

I have a tavern at the back of [close to] my house ... so everyday music, people shouting, fighting.

K-Mtwand (an 18-year-old girl) said,

gangsters ... they steal things in our yard ... my father's car and they broke into the house.

Mcee (an 18-year-old girl) added,

They come and break into our houses and steal stuff.

She also said the most famous drug in townships is Nyaope (normally a cocktail of anti-retroviral drugs, milk powder, rat poison, bicarbonate of soda and pool cleaner, but there are various variations).

Shwe X 2 (a 17-year-old girl) also referred to how this drug threatened security (Figure 13),

Nyaope people ... they are all over the streets ... so as children we don't find freedom to roam around the streets.

M (an 18-year-old girl) explained that the threat related to how use of Nyaope led to violence,

The way they behave, cause I'm afraid they will do somethings that's wrong to me.

Feyona said it's very dangerous in her neighbourhood. For this reason,

at six o'clock, most people ... you will find them in the house.

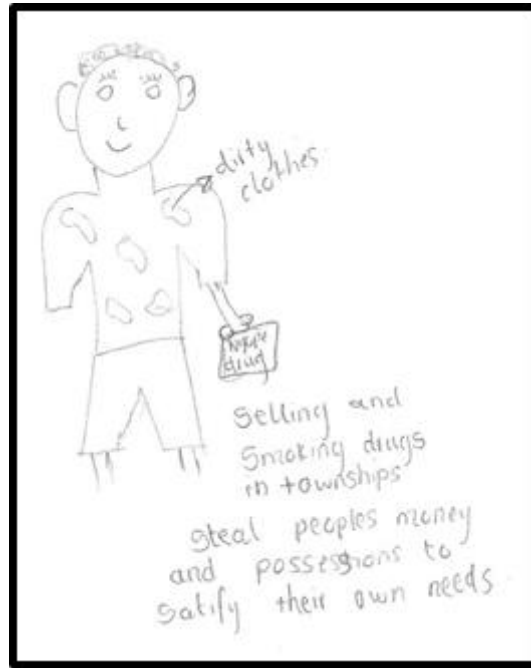


Figure 13: Representation of someone who uses drugs

Black parents generally expect their children to do well at school in the hope that this will lead to post-school education opportunities and subsequent well-paying positions that will put children in a position to contribute towards parental economic survival (Theron, 2015). Young people reported awareness of this expectation. For example CocktailZz Tha King (a 17-year-old boy) said,

they [my parents] motivated me ... to succeed more than they [their parents] did. ...we live in township.

Tee (18-year-old girl) reported that she faced similar expectations,

you want to be a CEO, you want to have a big house, you want to have a car, you want to have money and all that.

The participants realised that to be successful in life required educational progress and so typical township risk factors such as inadequate infrastructure frustrated them. Shwe x 2 (a 17-year-old girl) mentioned,

Sometimes the electricity is off, then you have to study by candles.

Tee (an 18-year-old girl) said,

we do not have enough access to technology and the library ... and it makes it difficult for us, because I think that's the reason why most people end up – you know – doing drugs, dropping out of school ... because there is no hope.

Taverns in particular disrupted participants' ability to study. For example, G-White (a 17-year-old girl) said:

the noise is like [pulls her face to show the noise is bothersome] ... I live next to a tavern.

Stillo (a 17-year-old boy) echoed this:

there is a tavern in the same street where I live, so sometimes I can't study.

He also said:

they drink alcohol and they make a lot of noise.

According to him, the taverns operate all day every day for 365 days a year; he said 'it never closes'.

Thsidi (a 17-year-old girl) stated that this noise was worse at night when she was most likely to have time to study,

there is a tavern in our street, so it's always noisy and I prefer reading [studying] during the night.

Motivational mother figures enable resilience

Figure 14 illustrates the protective factors that helped young people do well despite the above difficulties. It was apparent that mother figures were the core protective factor. Young people who

were protected and nurtured by their mothers seemed to show greater agency and to seek motivation from their friends and other resources.

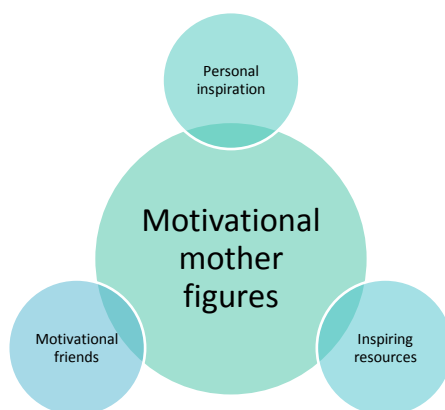


Figure 14: Aspects that help youth to overcome challenges

Mother figures are female caregivers, including biological mothers, or grandmothers, or women teachers who played a mothering role in young people's lives. These caregivers motivated participants to be the best they could be and to have a positive outlook on life. They also gave them guidance on how to cope in life and to do well in their school work. For example, Feyona (a 17-year-old girl) was grateful for the

encouragement that I get from my mother. She is my pillar of strength, she's always there for me. She encourages me and tells me 'this time around you are gonna do better'.

Tee (a 17-year-old girl) echoed this by saying

when I think of giving up I think of her [mother] ... she is my pillar of strength.

Cap-sol (18-year-old boy) also mentioned that his mother plays a major role in his life:

she [mother] is always there ... telling me what's wrong and what's right.

Even though most of these mothers use positive reinforcement, Buddha's mother motivated him to do the right things, such as studying on Saturdays to stay off the streets, by being a strict disciplinarian. When he explained his drawing he said it was:

a picture (Figure 15) of my mom shouting at me, pushing me to do the right things.



Figure 15: Buddha's mother shouting at him

As mentioned above, parents had high expectations for their children to succeed. Mother figures shared in these expectations, but also helped participants to achieve them. For instance, Christian Grey (an 18-year-old boy) said his grandmother is very close to him and that she always motivates him. He said:

she helps me with Afrikaans, coz she is good with Afrikaans.

London (19-year-old girl) said her grandmother helps her with accounting. Kheledi (a 17-year-old boy) said that his mother helps him with Life Science. Tshidi (a 17-year-old girl) mentioned that her aunt encourages her to do her best and comforts her when succeeding was difficult. She said

she talks to me in a motherly manner which calms me down.

As K-Mtwand (an 18-year-old girl) illustrates in Figure 16, her teachers helped her to cope. She mentioned that one teacher prayed for her when she felt down and another

come around my house

and took walks with her to encourage her to keep going. She said:

I can talk to them and tell them how I feel and they understand.

Mcee emphasises the value of teachers being motherly and motivating by saying

they [teachers] keep me motivated, because at times I feel like giving up, but they tell me: ‘no you can do it, continue ... you know you are good at this, so go on.’

Buddha (a 19-year-old boy) had a teacher who inspired him and his friends to stop using drugs. He said

we have lost hope that time ... she [teacher] started motivating us, inspiring us ... now most of us are not doing drugs.

Feyona said that her teacher helps her on a scholastic as well as personal level. She said:

she doesn’t only consider school work, but also on personal levels we do talk about a lot of things.

Paris (a 17-year-old girl) mentioned that young teachers inspire her to work hard. She said:

my teachers ... they are young and they have everything - a car, a house, a job ... so they inspire you.

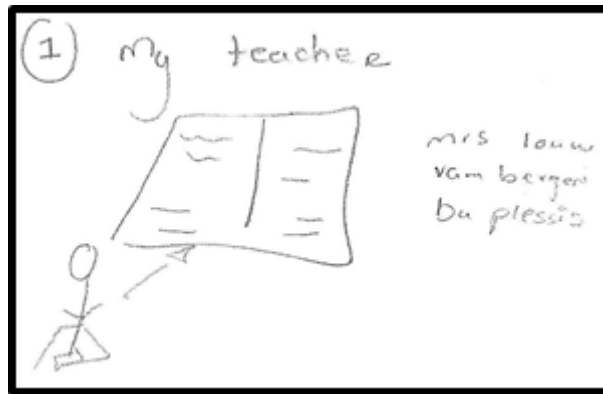


Figure 16: K-Mtwand's drawing of inspiring teachers

Motivational friends

The participating young people also reported finding comfort in the motivation of their friends. The mother figures mentioned above frequently encouraged participants to associate with peers who would be a good influence on them. For example, Paris (an 18-year-old girl) said

My mom ... she told the teacher that I have the best friend ... she [mother] recommends her more than my older friends.

Buddha also said that when his friends come to his house, his mother would tell him if she doesn't approve of them. He said

so they motivate you into seeing which one is a better friend.

These motivational actions of 'good' friends vary from providing support in school work to just talking about life's issues (e.g. fears about the future; emotional support). Tee (a 17-year-old girl) said that she and her friends motivate each other. She said

we just build one another ... sharing ideas, talking about our future, talking about our dream, what we want to achieve.

G-White (a 17-year-old girl) illustrated in Figure 17 how her friends at school encourage her a lot. They shared their problems with each other and this motivated her because it helped her realise that hardships were common. Knowing that she was not the only one who was going through a rough time, but her friends were as well, made it easier for her to manage challenges and supported her in feeling less like a victim.

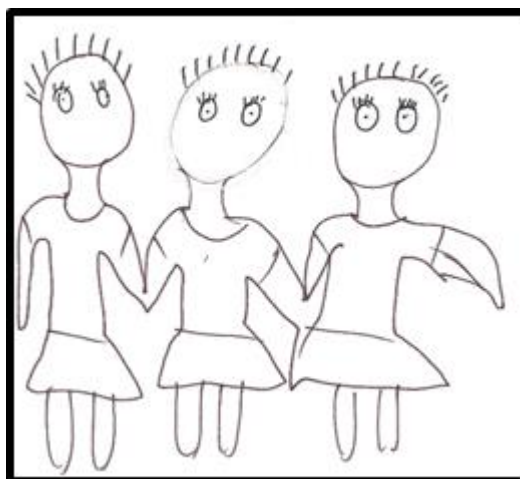


Figure 17: G-White's friends

Participants also reported that their friends support them emotionally. For example K-Mtwand (an 18-year-old girl) mentioned that her best friend Lerato (Figure 18) has always been there for her and she feels comfortable around her. She also said

she is my shoulder to cry on.



Figure 18: K-Mtwand's best friend Lerato

G-White (a 17-year-old girl) said

My friends help me to do well, I get support from my friends.

London emphasized the support of friends and how she had learnt to reciprocate.

if you feel bad, we will try and make you smile.

Stillo (a 17-year-old boy) mentioned that he likes considerate friends, as he illustrated in Figure 19.

He said

considerate friends ... not people that will put bad influence or pressure you to do things you don't want to do. Friends that are realistic.

He also said that he goes to his friends for advice to change his view about certain situations:

if a situation present itself I can see the advantages and the disadvantages.

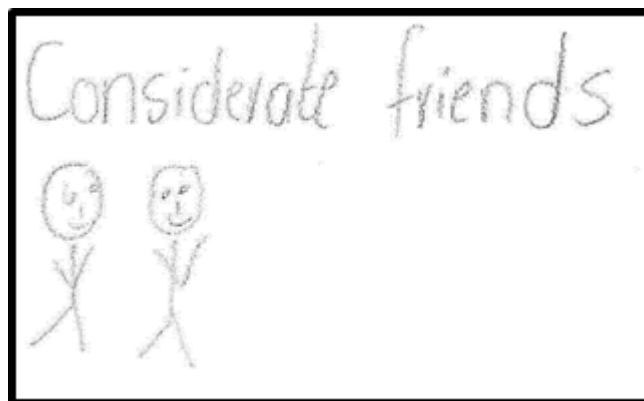


Figure 19: Stillo's illustration of considerate friends

Friends also encouraged scholastic progress and achievement. Christian Grey said his friend motivates him; she always tells him

never give up, even though I'm trying ... she always pushes me ... you get 40%, you can get 50 if you try.

He and his friend help one another with school work. He said

we study together ... we give each other motivation: 'aaa no man, you know the next test you gonna do well.'

Paris mentioned that she and her friends are one another's study-buddies and that they spend afternoons together at one another's homes for this purpose. She said

we do homework, we explain things to each other.

In addition, friends regulated each other's behaviour so that there was less chance of trouble at school which could impede scholastic progress. For example, Buddha said he once wanted to cheat on a test, but his friend didn't help him to do that

we were writing a test and all of a sudden I went blank, I asked him a question and he [the friend] just said, 'tough love' ... then continued writing.

Inspiring resources

Participating young people reported also drawing strength from inspirational resources. Inspiring resources refer to anything that motivates and inspired participants to cope well with the pressures in school and issues at home. They could include music, poems, television and the Bible. Mother figures frequently encouraged participants to make use of these resources. For example, Tee (a 17-year-old girl) mentioned that her mother brings magazines with inspirational articles. She said

by just reading those articles you get inspired ... that's where I want to be ... if she can do it then I can do it.

Inspirational resources also encouraged participants to sustain their determination to be successful. Tee said

I watch TV, and I watch certain programmes ... and you kind of picture yourself down there ... being this successful person.

Kheledi (a 17-year-old boy) mentioned that he has a picture of a car and this helps him to be motivated and not give up. He said

sometimes when I want to give up, I just look at the picture.

G-white (a 17-year-old girl) illustrated a Bible (Figure 20) and said that it strengthens her every day. She feels renewed in the morning and ready for the day's challenges. She realised that God thinks she is strong and said

I'm going to prove Him right.



Figure 20: G-White's inspirational resource

ShweX2 (a 17-year-old girl) emphasized this by the illustration (see Figure 21) saying

I listen to a lot of gospel music and read the Bible.

She also mentioned that she reads novels that are heart-breaking where people share their stories.

so you get to learn values from them ... to move on and to never give up.

Paris (a 17-year-old girl) also mentioned that listening to music helps her. She said

I listen to the words and I relate to stuff ... like okay, this person went through this, so I can also do this.

London stresses this by saying she will

read about stories ... that kind of keeps me motivated – like if they can do it, I can do it.

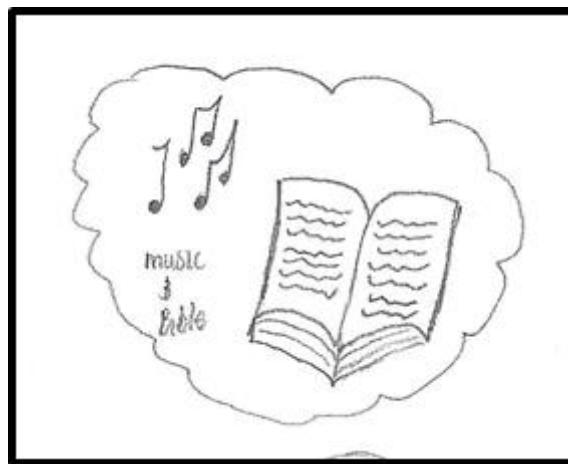


Figure 21: ShweX2's inspirational resource

Agency

Agency was one of the common protective resources that the participants reported. Agency was about making good choices and acting in ways that made it possible to realise good choices. Mother figures also had a great influence on the youths' ability to develop agency and on their determination to sustain agency. For example, Tee (an 18-year-old girl) said

...even when it hit her [mother] the hardest she never gave up, and that inspires me.

Young people explained that they have dreams and goals that they want to reach one day. These goals and dreams sustain their sense of agency. For example, Tee's drawing was of all the luxuries she would like to acquire in order to make herself and her parents proud (see Figure 22).



Figure 22: Tee's dream of having a house and a car

Mcee (a 17-year-old girl) echoed this by saying that her achievements keeps her going:

I have to aim for a certain APS (Admission Point Score – the score determines what you can study), so I have to push...

G-White (a 17-year-old girl) said that following her mother's advice, she knows what she wants in life and through diligence and perseverance she can achieve her goal:

I am willing to work hard to get there.

Agency was also informed by positive self-talk. Some participants reported that talking to themselves positively motivated them to carry on. Feyone (a 17-year-old girl) said

looking in the mirror and telling myself that each and every day: 'I'm gonna do it...'

M (a 17-year-old girl) said that she likes to look into the mirror and say

I'm beautiful to myself, despite what other people might say.

Paris (a 17-year-old girl) said that she keeps telling herself that she "can do this" and that she is not the only one going through difficulties, because

...there are people who have been through this and they have made it.

Buddha (a 19-year-old boy) mentioned that the meaning of the name his mother had given him is his personal inspiration and that he reminds himself,

you know what, I'm Blessing ... so that means I'm blessed.

DISCUSSION

Parent figures are key to both the risk and resilience processes that participating young people reported. Motivational **parent figures** – mostly mothers – encouraged the use of resilience resources and protective processes, namely agency, making good use of inspiring resources, and maintaining connections with motivational friends. These resources are also reported elsewhere in the South African literature (e.g. Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2011; Ebersöhn & Maree, 2006; Govender & Killian, 2001; Malindi, 2014). Paradoxically **parent figures** (mother and father figures) are also central to the risks challenging young people in the sense that their expectations created tension for participating young people. These expectations typically found expression in young people's duty to do household chores, to behave in traditional ways, and to succeed academically. Typical township risks, such as violence, were then more real to young people who tried to avoid the pressure of parental expectations by going out into the community. Typical township risks, such as poor infrastructure and noisy taverns, were also more keenly felt by young people who were trying to realise parents' expectations of academic achievement.

The centrality of parents to children's processes of developing resilience is well documented in the international literature (Panter-Brick et al., 2015; Nettles et al., 2000; Williams & Gardell, 2012) and in South African resilience literature (Mampane, 2005; Theron, 2007; Theron et al., 2012; Theron, 2015). Yet some studies have reported quite the opposite, namely that detachment from parents (particularly when parents are abusive or complicit) supports resilience. For example, Werner and Smith (1992) reported that resilient children who grew up in dysfunctional families did not form attachments to their parents. Paradoxically their avoidance of this commonly reported adaptive

system supported their resilience. However, as far as could be ascertained, no previous resilience studies put parents at the heart of *both* the risk and resilience processes of the same group of young people. Previous studies of township-associated risks mentioned poverty (Theron, 2007), violence (Govender & Killian, 2001) and HIV/AIDS epidemic (Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2011), but not parental expectations. Although the centrality of mother figures to the resilience of Sesotho-speaking youths has been previously reported (Theron, 2015), the youths in question lived in rural areas and not urban townships as in the present study.

It seems that motivational mother figures continued to expect much from adolescents. However, they were central to resilience processes because their advice and example enabled adolescents to accommodate parental expectations and offset typical township risks. Put differently, they expected much from adolescents, but they also gave much to adolescents in the form of guidance. This is similar to the finding of Theron and Theron (2013) on how family communities enable resilience. Still, in the absence of resources (such as well-resourced schools, libraries, safe spaces and scholastic support) and motivational adult support to manage this deficit, parental expectations are more likely to overwhelm young people than nurture them.

The centrality of mother figures to the resilience of township adolescents fits with more recent social ecological explanations of resilience which emphasize the role of the social ecology. In this regard, Ungar and colleagues (2015) argue that in contexts of heightened risk (i.e. the kinds of contexts that townships arguably inhabit), social ecological contributions to the resilience process matter more than what young people themselves can contribute. The data from this present study do not provide a clue as to why mother figures – and not father-figures – protected young people. One previous study of resilience in township-dwelling youths reported that extended male relatives (i.e. an uncle and an older male cousin) were central to the resilience of a girl and boy adolescent respectively (Theron et al., 2011). A follow-up study would be useful to ascertain the reasons for the under-representation of father figures in the current study.

It is interesting that in addition to the well-documented protective value of positive mother-figure actions such as providing emotional support, care and guidance (Brewster, Stephenson & Beard, 2014), there was mention of mother figures also being somewhat authoritarian. The disciplinary actions that participants reported mother figures using, such as being strict and monitoring their friends, have been reported to support the resilience of children and adolescents growing up in dangerous communities in North America (e.g. Buckner, Mezzacappa & Beardslee, 2003; Ispa et al., 2004). Taken together this suggests that in the interests of adolescent resilience mother figures need to be supported to be both warmly supportive and strict about limiting adolescent exposure to typical township risks.

CONCLUSION

This study is biased towards reflecting the insights of township-dwelling adolescents who attend school. Because of the many risks associated with townships, there are high rates of school attrition among adolescents living there (Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012). To gain a fuller understanding of the resilience of township-dwelling young people, it will be necessary also to get the insights of adolescents who are outside of the school system. Despite the limitations of this study, it provides an insight into what adolescents experience as risks and protective factors. Parent figures are central to risk, and mother figures are key to resilience processes. From this, ascertaining how parent figures could be supported to champion resilience in township-dwelling adolescents is an important next step.

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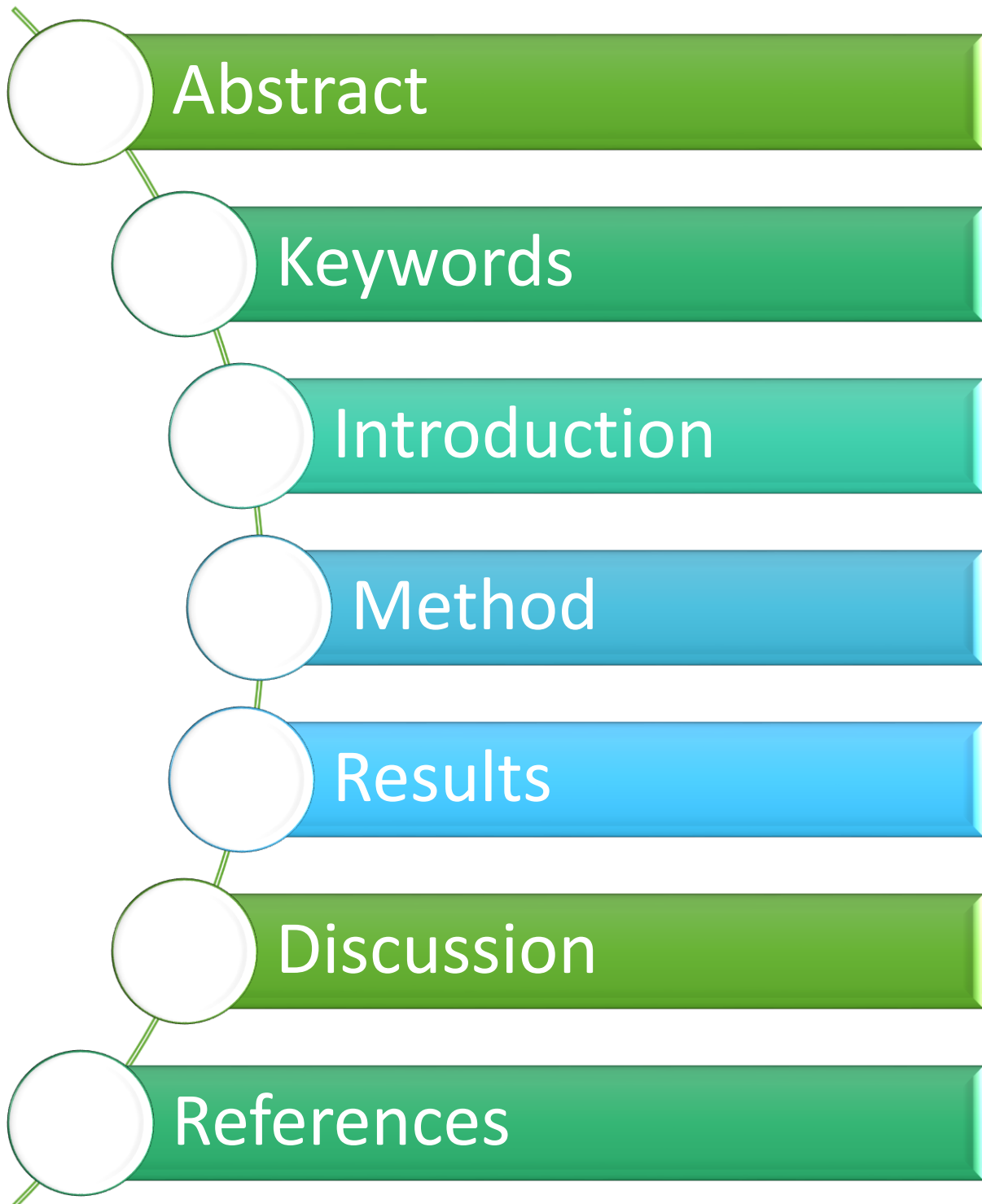


Figure 23: Overview of Chapter 3

MANUSCRIPT 2

Prepared for submission to

The South African Journal of Education

(Guidelines for author – Addendum I)

The focus for this manuscript was based on the following research question:

- ❖ How do teachers motivate and encourage youths to do well living in townships?

TEACHERS CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE: RESILIENT TOWNSHIP-DWELLING ADOLESCENTS SHARE THEIR EXPERIENCE

ABSTRACT

This article gives an insight into *how* teachers can support resilience among township-dwelling adolescents and *what* they can do to nourish it. For the purposes of this study, resilience is understood from a social ecological perspective as a process of positive adjustment that must be supported by social ecological stakeholders, and teachers are important stakeholders in this process. To better understand teachers' contributions to resilience, this study used a secondary analysis (deductive and inductive) of a data set generated through interviewing 17 young people living in townships in the Vaal Triangle. This produced three themes which offer three leverage points to assist teachers working with township-dwelling adolescents to make a difference in supporting resilience.

Keywords: resilience; adolescents; townships; teachers; qualitative research

INTRODUCTION

The motivation for this study was my realisation that as a teacher I can make a difference in the lives of all those learners whom I encounter. Adolescents spend most of their time at school with their peers and teachers. As teachers we are seen as acting *in loco parentis* (in the place of a parent) (Conte, 2000), and it is thus our responsibility to encourage and support all young people whom we work with, but even more especially those young people who have been made vulnerable by structural disadvantages that are mostly beyond their control. Because there are a growing number of reports that teachers are sometimes uncertain about how best to support young people who are vulnerable (Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011), and because I have witnessed the concern among my colleagues because of a lack of formal training to support youths challenged by typical township risks, this article aims to provide some leverage points that teachers can use to promote resilience in township-dwelling adolescents. Resilience is a process of adapting well to adverse life circumstances (such as the

challenges associated with townships) (Masten, 2014a). Ungar and colleagues (2014) report that teachers are social ecological stakeholders that make key contributions to the resilience process. This makes it even more important for teachers to be able to access guidelines that will support their leveraging or promotion of the resilience process (Theron, 2016b). These leverage points have the potential to help educators/teachers to be more aware of how they can make a difference in the lives of township-dwelling adolescents.

To provide these leverage points, I first surveyed published journal articles that document how teachers support adolescents from townships to adjust well to hardship (i.e. I searched for accounts on how teachers facilitate resilience). Then I used what emerged from this survey to deductively code a data set that I generated in my Master's study (i.e. I performed a secondary data analysis). My Master's study focused on the resilience processes of young people who are challenged by risks that are typically associated with township living (e.g. violence (Govender & Killian, 2001); poverty (Theron, 2015) and the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2011). Even though the findings from the literature review and the secondary analysis are specific to South African context, they offer insights for teachers who work with young people globally who are challenged by risks similar to those of township life in South Africa.

A brief review of the literature: South African teachers and resilience

I scrutinized the literature to gain a preliminary answer to the question directing the research for this article: How do teachers promote resilience in township-dwelling adolescents? I focused on township-dwelling young people not only because of my professional experience of how township life often challenges the constructive development of young people, but also because the current literature associates township contexts with multiple risks (e.g. communicable diseases, sub-standard infrastructure and schooling, crime and violence, poverty) that heighten the chances of negative life outcomes for township dwellers (Govender & Killian, 2001; Mampane & Bouwer, 2011; Theron, 2007). I used Ebsco-Host to search for studies that explicitly included reference to *teachers/educators*

who promoted *resilience in township-dwelling adolescents*. I searched for the terms ‘teacher/educator’ and ‘resilience/resiliency/resilient’ in the title and/or abstract of the study. Additionally, I searched for ‘adolescents/adolescence/teenager/youth’ and ‘township’ in the description of study participants. This search produced 12 articles (Bhana, 2015; Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2011; Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012; Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011; Malindi & Machenjedge, 2012; Mampane, 2014; Theron, 2007; Theron & Malindi, 2010; Theron & Theron, 2014; Theron, 2015; Van Breda, 2015). Close reading of these articles led to the formulation of the themes indicated below that explain what is currently understood about how teachers support the resilience of young people placed at risk by township environments.

Teachers enact COMPASSION

Some teachers showed kindness by supporting youths in difficult times. Teachers showed compassion by listening to the adolescents (Malindi & Machenjedge, 2012, Mampane, 2014; Theron & Theron, 2014). Teachers also demonstrated instrumental compassion when they provided money, food, clothes and/or information (e.g. about career guidance, HIV/AIDS, basic counselling) (Bhana, 2015; Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2011; Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011; Theron, 2015). Teachers provided tangible evidence of compassionate care through hugs and other acts that supported learners to feel loved/valued and created an environment of safety and security (Bhana, 2015; Theron, 2015).

Teachers make CONNECTIONS

When teachers connected with township youths who were vulnerable, this prompted relationships that offered safe emotional spaces in which youths felt encouraged and supported (Bhana, 2015; Malindi and Machenjedge, 2012). For example, Bhana (2015) found that when women teachers were nurturing, this created a teacher-mother relationship that facilitated youth resilience. Teachers also connected with youths when they made regular contact and discussed youths' fears, or offered social support such as going to visit the youths at home (to support the family with food parcels and prayers);

or when teachers and youths shared spiritual values that facilitated acts such as teachers praying for and with young people and/or using religious beliefs to encourage youth to make adaptive meanings (Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011; Malindi and Machenjedge, 2012; Van Breda, 2015). All of these connections required that teachers communicate that they care, either verbally or instrumentally (as detailed next).

Teachers engage in COMMUNICATION

Teachers also promoted resilience by communicating that they had positive expectations of their township students. This communication was often verbal and explicit (Theron & Malindi, 2010). For example, students reported that it motivated them when teachers declined to accept mediocre work and urged them to do better (Theron & Malindi, 2010). Mampane (2014) reported that opportunity for students to talk with their teachers made youths feel encouraged and motivated to live out their potential. However, teachers also communicated implicitly, and then mostly by being role models as people who have beaten the odds (Theron & Theron, 2014). For example, Dass-Brailsford (2005) indicated that resilient university students had been inspired by their school teachers whom they experienced as role models. What was particularly motivating to them was that the example of their teachers, who had grown up in similar township adversity, communicated that it was possible to escape intergenerational cycles of poverty and hardship.

METHOD: REVISITING THE DATA

As mentioned above, for the purposes of this article I used a secondary data analysis (Creswell, 2009). The qualitative data that 17 participants and I co-generated for my Master's study were re-analysed specifically to shed light on how **teachers/educators** promoted resilience in adolescents living with difficult township-related issues. The data set consisted of 10 draw-and-talk interviews, 7 semi-structured interviews, and an unstructured group discussion with 8 of the participants from either the draw-and-talk sessions or the semi-structured interviews (see Author, blinded for review). In total,

this yielded a data set of 83 single-spaced pages. The draw-and-talk interviews (see Mitchell et al., 2011 for details of what this method entails) and the semi-structured interviews revolved around the following core questions: a) What makes life tough living in townships?; and b) What helps you cope even though life is tough? Probing questions were added during the interviews as necessary to better understand the details underpinning the risks and resilience reported by the young people.

Ethical considerations

With regard to the original data set, ethical clearance was given by the institutional review board of [blinded for review] and permission was given by the Gauteng Education Department to conduct these interviews. Parents of the participants who were under-aged gave consent for the youths to participate in this study, and those who were over 18 gave their consent themselves. Participants could have withdrawn at any stage of the research if they felt uncomfortable in any way.

Participants

A total of 17 township-dwelling adolescents, between the ages of 17 – 19, were interviewed to generate the data set. They were recruited from one high school, but resided in various townships in the Vaal Triangle. Life Orientation teachers and members of the school-based support team acted as gatekeepers (because of their deep knowledge of the school's students). Because the original data set was facilitated by a grounded theory approach (Howard-Payne, 2016), participants were selected only if they complied with the broad criteria (i.e. resilient adolescents living in a township area), which meant they could potentially contribute towards or deepen the insights being sought in one of three research cycles (Author, blinded for review). In other words, participants were recruited using theoretical sampling (Charmaz, 2006). Table 13 shows a summary of the participants in this study.

Table 13:³ *Total number of participants*

Pseudonym	Age	Sex	Home Language	Township
Buddha	19	Male	Sesotho	Township 1
Stillo	17	Male	Sesotho	Township 2
Tee	18	Female	Sesotho	Township 3
G-White	18	Female	Sesotho	Township 3
Shwex2	17	Female	Sesotho	Township 4
Mcee	18	Female	Sesotho	Township 3
Fifi	17	Female	Sesotho	Township 4
Cap-sol	18	Male	Sesotho	Township 1
Christian Grey	18	Male	Sesotho	Township 1
K-Mtwand	18	Female	Sepedi	Township 1
Yona	17	Female	Sesotho	Township 3
M	18	Female	Sesotho	Township 3
Kheledi	17	Male	Sesotho	Township 5
CocktailZz Tha King	17	Male	Sesotho	Township 1
Tshidi	17	Female	Sesotho	Township 6
London	19	Female	Zulu	Township 1
Paris	18	Female	Sesotho	Township 1

³ The tables in this dissertation are numbered chronologically. The manuscript tables will be renumbered when submitted to the identified journals.

Data analysis

During the re-analysis of the data set, following the guidelines provided by Creswell (2014), the first author deductively coded the content of the draw-and-talk interviews, semi-structured interviews and group discussion for specific actions from teachers/educators that promoted resilience. In other words, she analysed only data that included references to teachers or educators. She used the three themes that emerged from the literature review (i.e. teachers enact compassion; teachers make connections; teachers engage in communication) to make sense of how teachers supported the township-dwelling youths in my study to be resilient. After this deductive analysis, and following Creswell (2014), the first author also conducted an inductive analysis whereby any data (that referred to teachers/educators) were scrutinised which had not already been coded using the three codes developed from the literature review. To this end, the first author labelled uncoded data segments with a code that was specific to that data segment. This code summarised how these teachers/educators promoted resilience. Very little data was labelled inductively. For example, reference to teacher building learners' self-confidence was labelled: 'teachers inspire learners'. Next the first author grouped similar inductive open codes and deductive codes to form axial codes. These axial codes coalesced to form the three themes reported below.

RESULTS

In this secondary data analysis the intention was to see how teachers contribute to cultivating the resilience of township adolescents from the perspective of the young people themselves. Three themes emerged: compassionate teachers; mentor teachers and connected teachers. All three themes showed that there are some teachers (mostly the **same** teachers and all **female** teachers) who support and guide youths who are challenged by township life to adapt to and/or overcome these challenges. Of interest is the fact that the teachers who championed their resilience were not necessarily from the same race as the participants. What is additionally interesting is that in this study it mostly girl participants who made spontaneous comments about teachers supporting their resilience.

Compassionate teachers

Teachers care for youths by being understanding of situational factors that complicate young people's capacity to be actively engaged in their schooling. In doing so, teachers demonstrated a compassion that allowed their learners a second chance, and they scaffolded learners' attempt with much needed support. For example, K-Mtwand (an 18-year-old girl who was challenged by having to cope with cancer, in addition to the other challenges of living in a township) said about her teachers: "They know about my sickness, so if there is a time when I'm feeling sick I can talk to them and tell them how I feel and they understand." She even mentioned that a certain teacher would always pray for her and get help (a counsellor) from the community (church). Yona was in a situation where she was about to get punished for apparently disrespecting a teacher, but because of the understanding of another teacher who was familiar with the risks she faced, the situation was easily resolved. Yona (an 18-year-old girl) said: "...she [the teacher] was the one who understood..."

Mentor teachers

Teachers motivate adolescents to reach for higher dreams and create a better future for themselves. There were various ways in which a teacher mentored young people to dream of an advanced future self. For example, Tee (a 17-year-old girl) said: "...they [teachers] will help you build your self-confidence to achieve anything." She said that her teachers believe in her "...they see potential in you, they tell you good things, and they motivate you at most times." Mcee (an 18-year-old girl) agreed and added that her teachers were her role models (see Figure 24). She explained that her teachers kept her motivated by pushing her to do well. She kept repeating her teacher's words: "...continue, you know you are good at this, so go on." Teachers also acted as mentors when they provided living examples of success. This inspired the youths to work hard and do their best. For example, Paris (an 18-year-old girl) mentioned about her teachers: "they are young and they have everything – a car, a house, a job...so like they inspire you...you can be like them; you just have to work hard." Mentor teachers also encourage adolescents to avoid negative lifestyles and risky habits.

For instance, Buddah (a 19 year old boy) commented: "she (teacher) started motivating us...now most of us are not doing drugs."



Figure 24: Mcee's drawing of her teachers.

Connected teachers

Participants referred to teachers who 'connected' with them. Put differently, young people experienced that their teachers related well to them, not just as students but as young *people*. For instance, Yona (an 18-year-old girl) mentioned that a teacher who connected with her on a personal level: "...she doesn't only consider school work, but also on personal levels..." Some teachers connected by 'just being there' in difficult times. For example, K-Mtwand (an 18-year-old girl) said: "...most of the time, she [the teacher] is always there for me. Calling me and checking up on me." She also mentioned another teacher who would reach out to her by going to her home. She said: "...when I'm feeling bit unwell, Ms [teacher's name] just come around my house and take a walk with me." Tee (a 17-year-old girl) summed up teachers who related well to her and her friends as being "like parents at school".

DISCUSSION

This study aimed to add to existing knowledge of the way that teachers can promote resilience in township adolescents. To do so, it tested three codes arrived at deductively (i.e. that were drawn from published South African studies on how teachers support resilience in township youths.) This

deductive analysis confirmed that these codes fit the experiences of young people from townships in the Vaal Triangle. This suggests that there are core mechanisms that teachers repeatedly use to enable resilience and that these mechanisms can be advocated as feasible leverage points for teachers wishing to champion resilience.

At the same time, a closer look at the above findings shows that young people (mostly girl participants in this study) referred to women teachers only, and mostly to the same teachers. Even though there were male teachers at the school from which participants were drawn, it seems like the female teachers were the ones who championed resilience amongst the young people. This could perhaps relate to the traditional nurturing nature of women and/or gender stereotypes that socialise women to provide support to those experiencing difficult times (Lindsay, 2015). It could also possibly relate to the numerical preponderance of women teachers at school in general (Bullough, 2015). The reason for it being mostly the same teachers could be because of their personality or motherly nature, but it could also relate to there being an absence of whole-school support for promoting resilience (Theron, 2016a). The fact that mostly girls referred to teacher championship of resilience is particularly worrying. A recent international study of teacher support of resilience showed that teachers are more likely to champion the resilience of girl students than that of boys (Liebenberg et al., 2016). It is not clear whether this is the reason that mostly girl participants in my study acknowledged teacher support, but regardless of the reason, boys and girls who are at risk are equally deserving of support (Ramphele, 2012).

Drawing on the above, the following leverage points can be used by teachers and school systems to promote resilience in township-dwelling adolescents.

Commit to being an extraordinary teacher to all learners who are vulnerable

An extraordinary teacher does more than just teach (Theron & Engelbrecht, 2012; Theron & Theron, 2014). Teachers who are compassionate to those students whose social ecological challenges place

them at risk, who connect with students as whole people and who mentor young people, by example and in the messages they give, to rise above their current challenges, embody the qualities of extraordinary teachers. To champion resilience requires a commitment to being an extraordinary teacher. Importantly, though, teacher education programmes need to sensitise teachers to commit to championing resilience regardless of the sex or race of students (Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Liebenberg et al., 2016). Hopefully this will result in equal numbers of boys and girls reporting teacher championship of their resilience.

Sustain teacher-mother roles

As mentioned above, female teachers are the most common champions of resilience among the youths in the schools participating. One could say that a teacher is like a second mother, because she does everything a mother can do and more. The current literature on resilience reinforces this (e.g. Hall & Theron, 2016a; Phasha, 2010; Theron, 2015; Theron & Engelbrecht, 2012). However, given the current high rates of teacher burnout (Johnson & Naidoo, 2016), teacher education programmes and school management structures will need to enable women teachers to cope with the additional demands of being the default champions of resilience (Beltman, Mansfield & Harris, 2016). In particular, this will require additional support for women teachers from school-based support teams and/or support staff (Beltman, et al., 2016).

Aim for whole-school championship of resilience

The findings point to individual teachers enabling resilience. None of the participants suggested that their school as a whole was committed to cultivating resilience. Whole-school support of resilience (e.g. through a school climate aimed at facilitating student success and engagement, a school system that purposefully aims to meet the basic needs of its students, or curricula designed to scaffold optimal development – see Theron, 2016a) is reported to be a more successful route to supporting resilience than ad hoc or even regular initiatives by individual teachers (Masten, 2014). To achieve whole-

school support of resilience calls for strategic planning by school management teams in collaboration with parents, students, community representatives and education district representatives (Read et al., 2015).

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, teachers have the potential to make a positive difference in the lives of young people challenged by the risks of living in the township. Even though the aforementioned results is based on a study that is limited to adolescents from urban townships, it offers an important reminder to teachers that they are in a position to champion resilience. It is essential that all teachers who work with young people who are at risk because of poverty, communicable diseases and violence (i.e. typical township risks) commit to leveraging resilience by making use of the above leverage points.

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CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

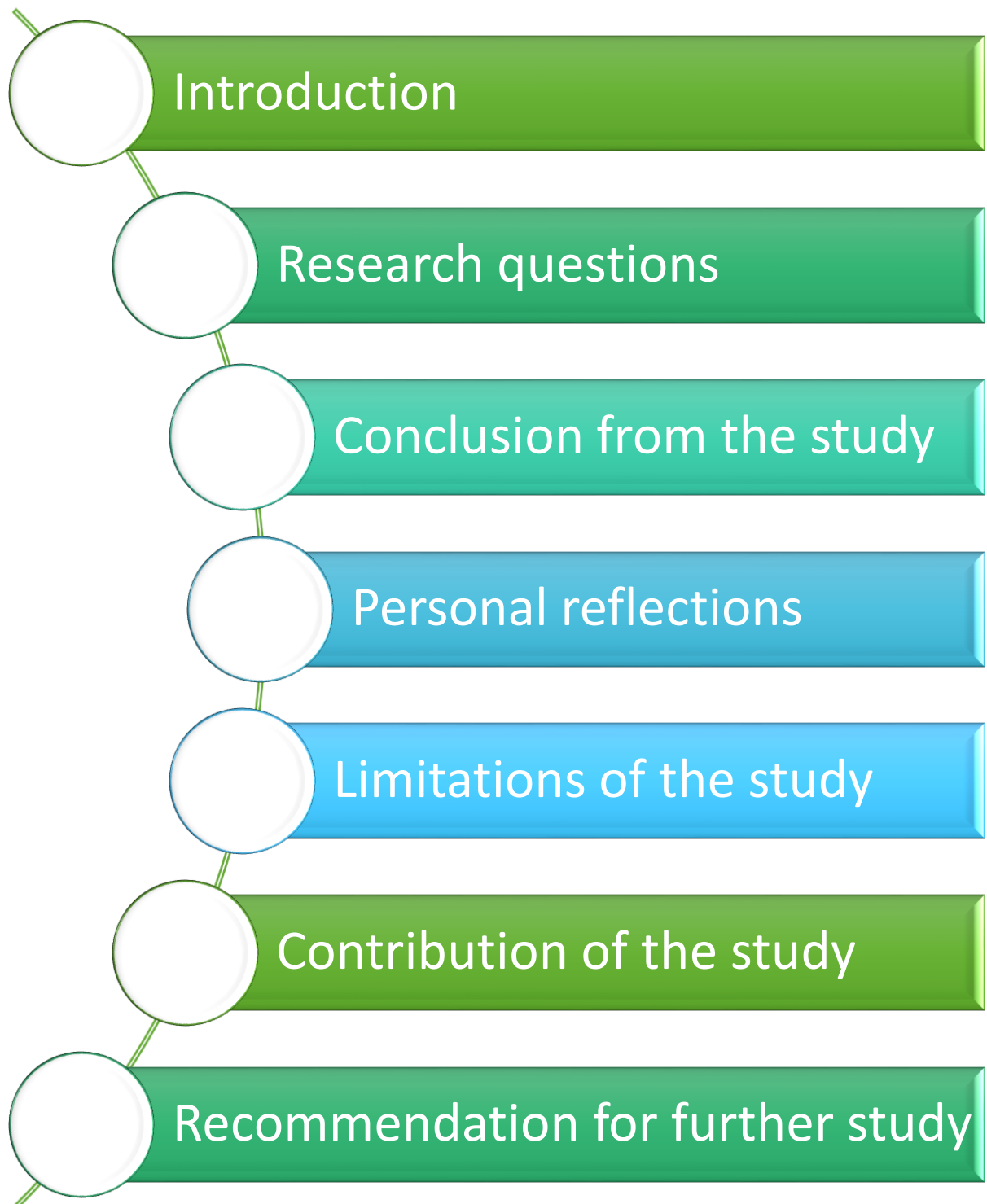


Figure 25: Overview of Chapter 4

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter concludes my study. In it I look again at the research questions and determine whether they were answered. I also discuss the conclusions that have emerged from the study. I add my thoughts about what I learned personally from the study and my reflections on the methodology and conclusions. Lastly, I discuss the limitations and possible future research as a way of addressing the limitations.

2. RESEARCH QUESTION RECONSIDERED

The study was based on one main research question and four sub-questions. Figure 26 shows the layout of the research questions and how they were answered during the research process.

All the sub-questions were answered, thus the main research question was answered. From the sub-questions it was clear that youths were vulnerable living in townships, facing various risk factors, such as high expectations from their parents, having duties at home and community issues around them. However, despite these risks youth still managed to develop resilience through protective factors such as family, friends and spiritual beliefs. It was apparent that the support the youths felt derived from their social ecology (Ungar, 2012), where their individual traits as well as environmental aspects played a role.

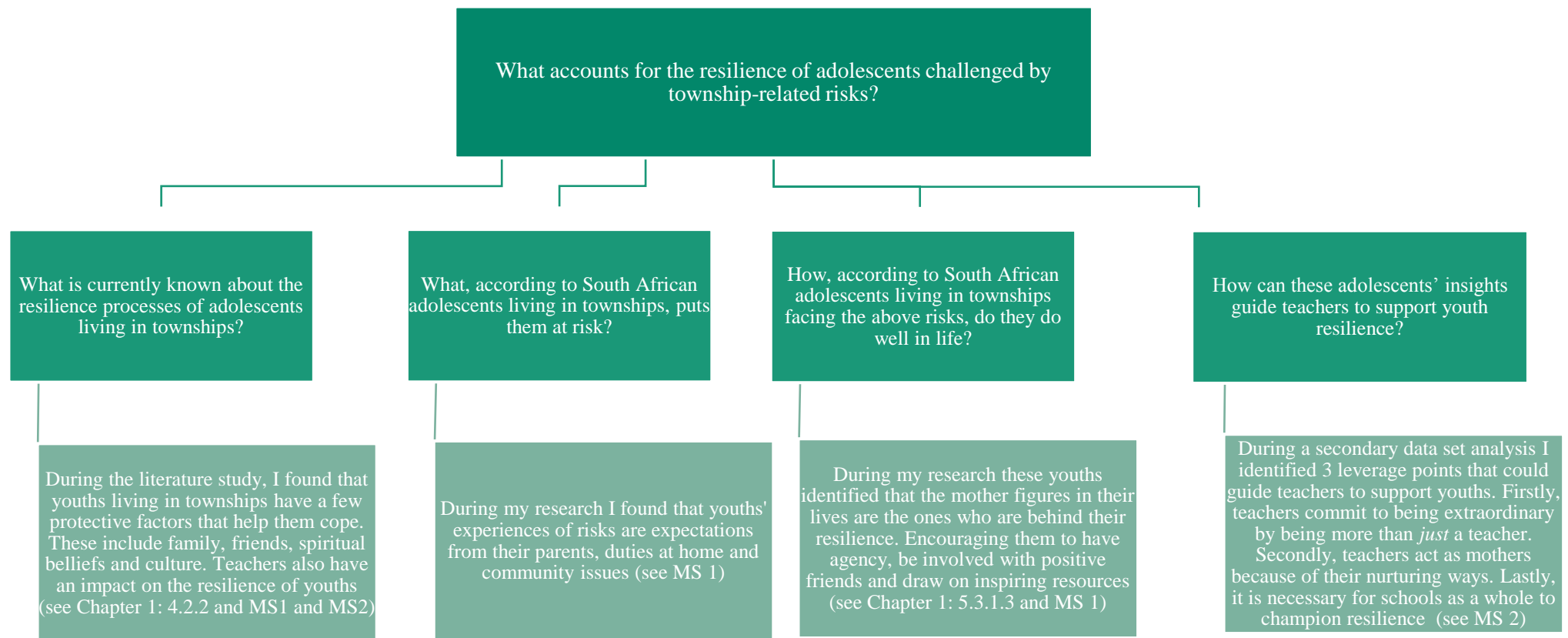


Figure 26: Research Questions and Responses

A more refined interpretation of the above showed that parent figures (both male and female) were seen as a key component to the contribution of risk when parents communicated inflexibly high expectations, including performing duties at home and doing well in school. Paradoxically, however, mother figures were the key component in contributing to the resilience of these youths. Even though mother figures had expectations of their adolescent children, they were also the ones who provided support and motivation. Mother figures encouraged and inspired agency, the use of inspirational resources and also promoted connections to motivational friends. Thus, the overall answer to the main research question is that motivating mother figures are central to what accounts for the resilience of township youths. The emphasis on mother figures is in line with local studies (e.g. Theron, 2015) but also with international studies of white and black children in contexts of extreme poverty (Owens & Shaw, 2003). Motivating mothering sounds simple (“ordinary magic”, as Ann Masten (2001, 2014) puts it), but knowing how challenging township life is, the capacity of mother-figures to inspire young people to exercise agency, draw on inspirational resources and link with motivational friends seems beyond the ordinary. In other words, following Felner and DeVries (2013), what is probably at the heart of the resilience of the township youths who participated is social ecological processes (such as motivational mothering) that are not obstructed by the challenges of poverty and other township risks.

3. THE RESILIENCE PROCESSES OF TOWNSHIP-DWELLING ADOLESCENTS: CONCLUSIONS SPRINGING FROM THE STUDY

Throughout my literature study it was clear that youths living in townships are at risk. However, these risks were sometimes anticipated or predictable township risks, often linked to the legacy of the apartheid era (Ramphela, 2002; Theron, 2007) such as poverty, violence, inferior education and the HIV/AIDS epidemic (see Chapter 1: 4.2.2), but despite these risks the youths were resilient. The literature also indicated protective factors inherent in the individual (e.g. strong personality, problem-solving skills and being future orientated) and in the environment (e.g. a support system, a positive school environment and spiritual values) (Cameron et al., 2013; Choe et al., 2012; Govender &

Killian, 2001; Harrison, 2014; Isaacs & Savahl, 2014; Lethale & Pilay, 2013; Mampane, 2005; Mampane, 2014; Mampane & Bouwer, 2011; Mosavel, 2015; Schutte, 2012; Theron, 2007; Theron et al., 2011; Theron et al., 2012; Theron, 2015). Yet the literature I reviewed did not necessarily focus on the youths' point of view on what they considered as risks and resilience processes. Therefore, my study investigated what these youths themselves considered as risk and resilience. Figure 27 depicts the findings of my study and shows that parent figures play a role in both risk and resilience. It is clear that my research extends the current literature on risks to deal with more personal experiences of the youths. It confirms community issues (violence), but shows that parent figures play a role in the risks by having inflexible expectations. Interestingly, there was a hint that parental expectations are experienced as negative when they are based on traditional cultural ways-of-being that are hard for young people to associate with. This fits with the idea that culture is fluid and that inflexible cultural expectations can put young people at risk (Panter-Brick, 2015; Theron & Phasha, 2015). As mentioned above, my research also shows that mother figures are central to the protective factors of resilience and they (mother figures such as mother, grandmother, aunts, women teachers) promote other protective factors such as agency, motivational friends and making use of inspirational resources.

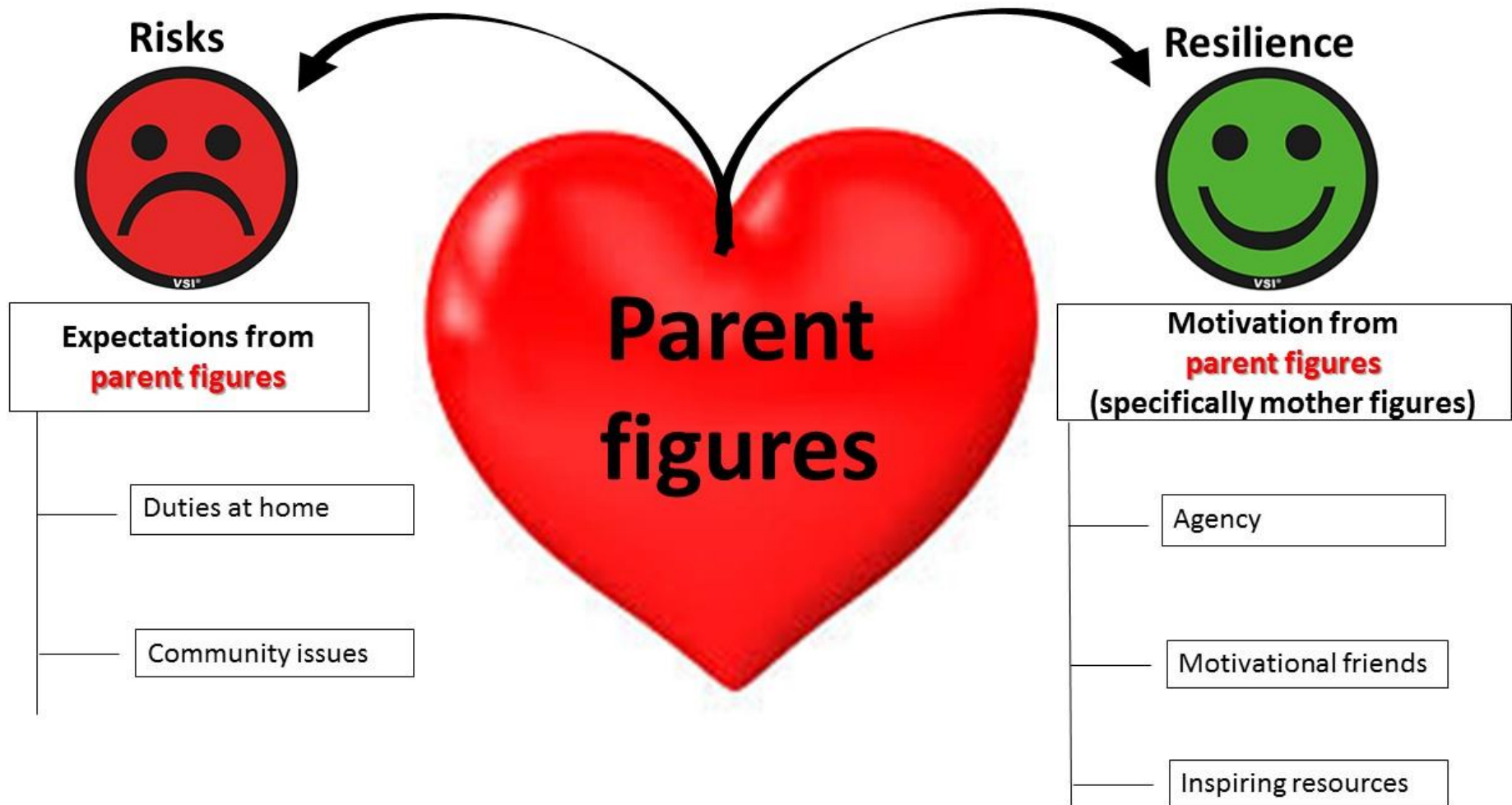


Figure 27: Parent figures are central to risk and resilience

In addition to the above, I examined the literature to determine the impact that teachers have on the resilience of township youths. I found three actions of teachers, described in the literature, that contribute to youths' resilience (see Figure 28). I then re-analysed my data by deductively coding for these specific actions and adding inductive codes. I found that teachers have a role in the development of resilience in the youths they teach. They include:

- teachers act as role models and show compassion in various ways such as listening;
- teachers develop relationships with their students to better understand them and their situations;
and
- teachers find ways to communicate with youths and give encouraging messages.

My use of the word 'teachers' above could be misleading, because in my study this finding pertained only to female teachers, and mostly the same teachers. As detailed in Theron (2016), this implies the need for school policies that will support whole schools (rather than individual teachers) to champion resilience. In addition, as suggested by Ebersöhn, Loots, Eloff, & Ferreira (2015), teacher training needs to purposefully skill teachers to accept that they have a duty individually and as a collective to support the resilience of the young people they teach.

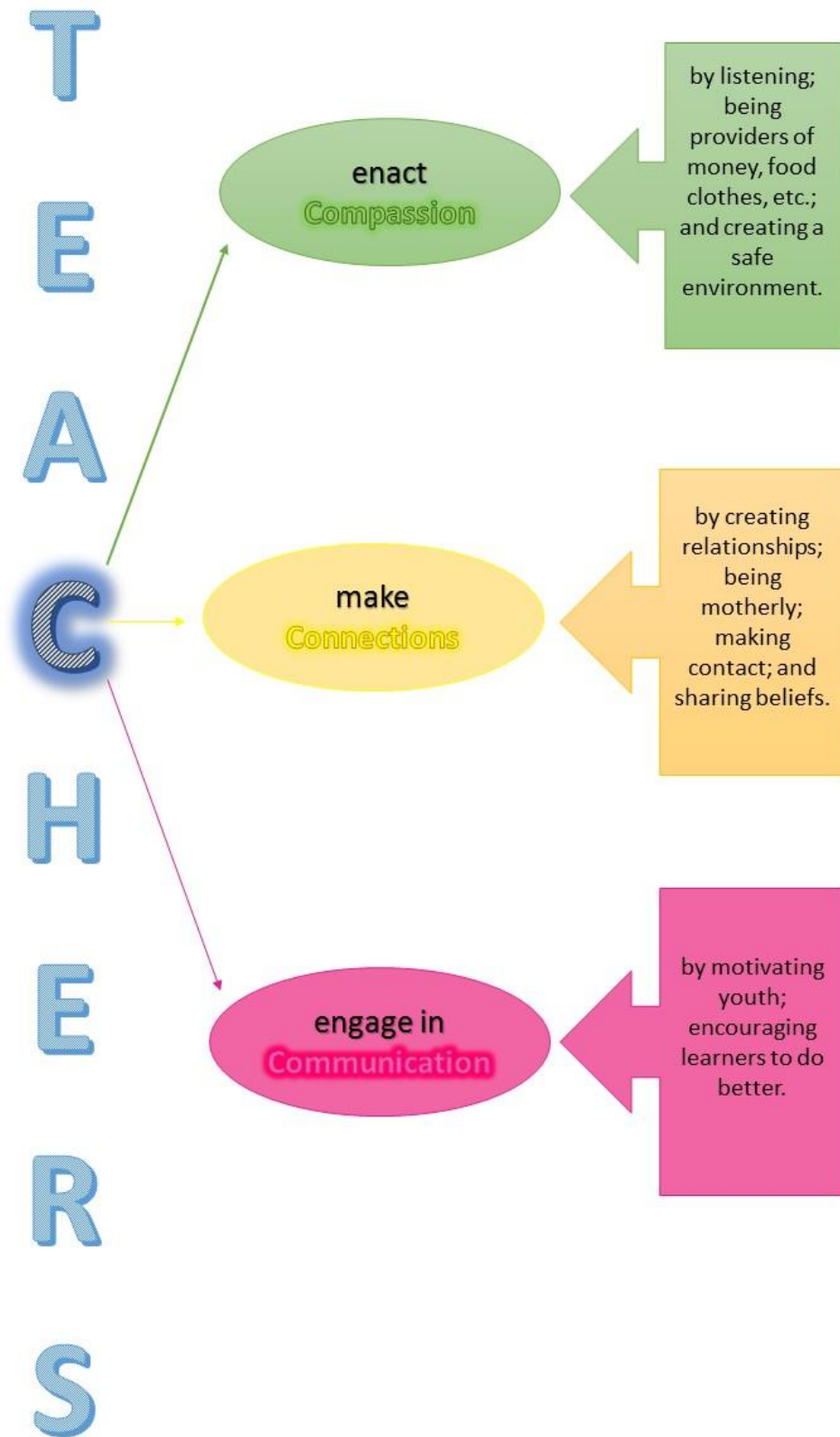


Figure 28: Teacher's actions that contribute to resilience

4. PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

As a teacher who has taught township-dwelling adolescents for 6 years, I was curious to find out how they were coping with the various challenges that are associated with townships. I was impressed by their efforts to come to school, sometimes late because of transport issues or strikes, but despite that they continued as if nothing was bothering them. In some cases I was surprised at the findings; in other cases I was frustrated because I think that other methods might have led to richer data which would have helped me to better understand these surprising findings. In the bullet points below, I reflect on some of these aspects.

- It was strange at first when I had just joined the school that the register period was scheduled for around 10:30 – *"I mean should we not take roll call at the beginning of the day?"* Then I noticed that some learners often arrived 'late' at school (i.e. not in time for the start of the day but in time for the register period). As I continued to observe the situation and asked around, it became clear that in most cases the situation was out of the learners' control as most of them rely on public transport. I became increasingly sympathetic towards these learners and gradually developed an understanding of their situation. However, during the course of my study my understanding grew. I now understood that in addition to inadequate public transport, these young people had to cope with poor infrastructure and were probably coming to school not well rested (particularly if they lived close to shebeens). Similarly, whilst teaching these learners I sometimes became frustrated with them, because they did not know the 'basics'. For example, as a CAT (Computer Application Technology) teacher I refer to a Wifi Hotspot, as this is a popular technology; however, I found that most of them don't understand or know what this is. The findings of my study helped me realise just how limited my learners' access to infrastructure resources is and this really encouraged me to be more patient and to find ways of supporting access to the 'basics'. In our staffroom we have a quote: "The kids who need the most love will ask for it in the most unloving ways." After my study, this quote took on new meaning for me. My new understanding drives

me to be a better, empathic teacher and so as I see the learners daily, I try to remember this quote, as well as my study's revelations, and be supportive of them.

- As I was going through the literature I realised that I was aware of these risks and had anticipated that these would be the risks the youths face (e.g. poverty, violence and the HIV/AIDS epidemic). My interest was more in what they, the youths themselves, see as risks? Despite my being interested in what young people themselves experience as risks, I was quite surprised to find out that it was day-to-day experiences, such as household chores, that made them feel vulnerable. The one particular thing that puzzled me was the duties they had to do at home – I was surprised that they felt this was a risk. As I was growing up, my friends and I also had duties at home, but we never considered this as a risk. I am aware that in comparison my upbringing was privileged and so our experiences cannot be equated. These youths' parents are not actively involved in their children's school, but this was not mentioned as a risk – for me it was important that my parents were involved by always coming to watch my netball matches. In other words my personal upbringing needed to be bracketed so as not to influence the research. I had to work hard to make sure that my personal experiences did not interfere with the reporting of the participants' experiences (Creswell, 2014). In this regard, I asked a fellow student, who was also engaged in a resilience-focused Master's study and who was aware of my upbringing, to critically consider my findings. My study leader and I also had regular discussions about this.
- I was also surprised that youths saw their parent figures as contributing to their risks; I did not expect this finding at all. Parents are there to protect us, but in this case they seemed to (unintentionally perhaps) cause harm to the youths. Again, this probably relates to my own upbringing and different experience. It was easy for me to accept that mothers contributed to the growth of resilience – this fitted my understanding that mothers and those who act like mothers are nurturing and supportive. As above, it was very important for me to work with a peer debriefer to make sure that my assumptions did not get in the way of what I reported (Creswell, 2014).

- With hindsight I realised that something that could have assisted the research process was to use an interpreter during the data-gathering processes. I became aware that some participants struggled to express themselves when I was transcribing and analysing the data. I assume that the reason for this is because English is not the participants' home language; thus the language issue could have had obstructed the point of view they were trying to convey. At the outset of my study I did not think language would be a problem, because all participants were attending an English-medium school. At the same time I am aware that translations are not fool-proof either, because sometimes the participants' true meanings get lost (see Theron, 2016a). Still, I do think that participants being able to talk in their mother tongue might have produced richer data.
- Another positive spin-off for me personally was that I became more aware of the 'person' behind these adolescents. As I was interviewing them, I tried to put myself in their shoes. After their participation in the study, there were two specific learners whom I interviewed who would always come to say 'Hello' and just hear how it was going. I found this very touching and I realised that the small connection I made with them meant a great deal. Yet in some cases seeing these learners in the corridors made me feel sad as I remembered the stories they shared. In this regard it might be necessary for researchers to debrief when they are involved in sensitive research, thus also making the data more credible (Creswell & Miller, 2000). For this same reason, the ethical constraints of my study did not allow me to include learners whom I had taught or was teaching. At the time I thought this was a bit strict, but after my study I realised the protective value of this restriction not only for learners, but also for me.
- Most of these learners spoke about their future and how they want to accomplish certain things in their lives. It became clear that the township is rather a difficult and melancholy place for them to be in. Therefore, these youths want to become successful and leave the township area. What struck me about this is how important it is that our education system facilitates this aspiration and supports youths who strive for a successful future. For me this means that as a teacher I need

to ensure that I provide quality education inside and outside of the classroom. I also like to encourage other educators at my school to think of the 'person' in their class and not only just to teach in a detached way, but to develop these learners cognitively and emotionally.

5. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

There are a few limitations to this study; however, they could be addressed by follow-up studies.

- The main limitation is that this study included 17 adolescents from various townships in the Vaal Triangle area – in other words, a sub-urban region. None of these townships can be described as rural or truly urban.
- With regards to the findings reported in MS2, it is important to consider that the sample of participants could be regarded as a biased sample as participants attended the same school approximately 15 km from a large township. Thus the culture of the school could have had an impact on what these adolescents spontaneously mentioned about how teachers and schools supported their resilience.
- This study provides a once-off snapshot understanding of how a specific group of youths experience risks and resilience, and can therefore not anticipate if there will be a change over a longer period in time.

6. CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

Despite the limitations of the study, I considered the findings do make a contribution to research.

- As mentioned previously, my study addressed a gap in the literature because at the start of my study I noted that the opinions and points of view of the adolescents living in townships were not strongly represented, which represented a gap in the literature. I believe that my study has taken steps to narrow this gap. It specifically focused on the adolescents' point of view on what they experienced as risks and protective factors. Understanding risk and resilience from the

perspective of township adolescents themselves is important, as it contributes contextually and developmentally sensitive knowledge which has the potential to support stakeholders (such as teachers) who are involved in the daily lives of adolescents to better understand what they can do specifically to enable resilience among adolescents in townships.

- Related to the previous point, my study contributes towards an understanding of how teachers who teach township youths can promote resilience. This understanding has its foundation in the available South African literature (Bhana, 2015; Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2011; Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012; Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011; Mampane, 2014; Malindi & Machenjedge, 2012; Panter-Brick et al., 2015; Theron, 2007; Theron, 2015; Theron & Malindi, 2010; Theron & Theron, 2014; Van Breda, 2015), but goes further, because it tested what I gleaned from the literature in the light of young people's own comments, which I used to suggest what teachers can do to promote resilience.
- The South African literature on resilience often reports how important parent figures, particularly mother-figures, are to youths' resilience (Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2011; Ebersöhn & Maree, 2006; Govender & Killian, 2001; Malindi, 2014; Theron, 2007; Theron, 2015; Theron et al., 2012). Some South African studies mention specific parenting styles that put adolescents at risk (Kritzas & Grobler, 2005). However, to the best of my knowledge, no previous South African study reports that parent figures can have a dual role – in township contexts parents are central to what young people report as risk when parents have unreasonable or inflexible expectations, but at the same time mother figures are key to developing resilience when they motivate young people and prompt additional resilience-supporting actions. This suggests that service providers who want to promote resilience in township youths should probably focus their attention on supporting parent figures to have less rigid expectations and to be more supportive and motivating.

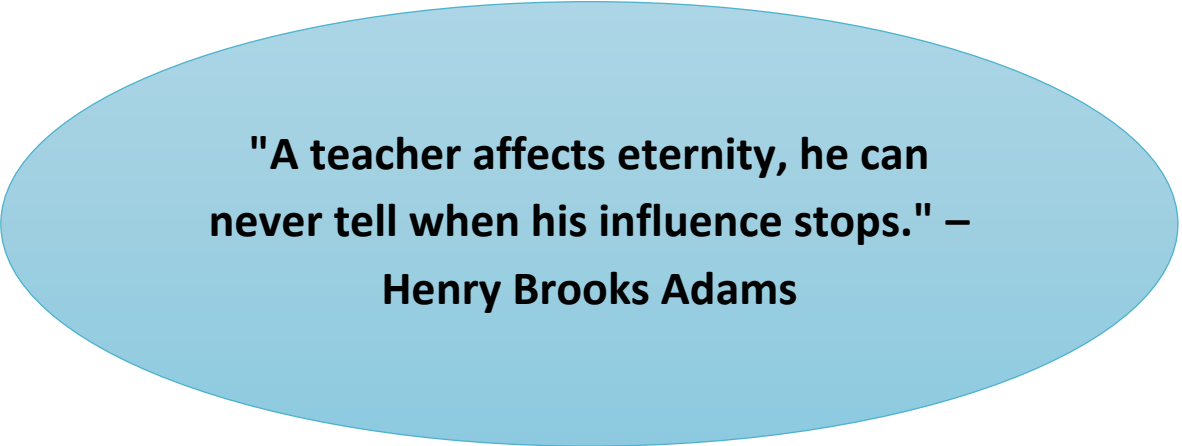
7. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- The limited number of participants in this study suggests that further more extensive research is necessary. The participants all came from a sub-urban area, which suggests the need for a follow-up study with a much larger number of participants. Importantly, participants in future studies need to come from urban and rural townships in order to produce a broad understanding of what enables the resilience of township-dwelling youths.
- To counter the limitation of a specific school culture potentially being over-represented in the findings of how teachers enable resilience, the participants in follow-up studies should be drawn from various schools where there might be different school cultures that inform how teachers support youths. Also these youths could be interviewed in their mother tongue in order to produce richer data. Further, it would be useful to repeat the current study using mother tongue during the research activities and to compare the findings.
- Longitudinal studies could be helpful to see how sustained the reported risks and resilience processes are and how young people's agency plays out (e.g. what these youths achieve after school and if indeed they move out of the township area).

8. FINAL CONCLUSION

As a 'mother' to those I teach, I find myself responsible for nurturing and supporting these adolescents as they are still discovering their purpose in life. This responsibility was emphasized in the course of my study, which showed that young people who live in townships are challenged by numerous risks within their township context, but also in their home contexts if parent figures have inflexible expectations. More compelling for me was the understanding that mother figures are central to the way that young people adjust to the above challenges. For me personally this meant that I could no

longer expect learners to be solely responsible for their resilience. Instead, every learner I see is a person who needs acceptance, appreciation and, perhaps most importantly, the motivation to make positive friends, use inspirational resources, and take constructive action for a better future. In short, walking past township-dwelling youths I am reminded of the vital part I can play in their lives - not only to be a teacher, but an extraordinary influence who is co-responsible for their resilience.



**"A teacher affects eternity, he can
never tell when his influence stops." –
Henry Brooks Adams**

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ADDENDUM A

LETTER OF APPROVAL: EDUCATION DEPARTMENT



GAUTENG PROVINCE

Department: Education

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

For administrative use:
Reference no. D2015 / 409 A

GDE AMENDED RESEARCH APPROVAL LETTER

Date:	16 February 2015
Validity of Research Approval:	16 February 2015 to 2 October 2015
Previous GDE Research Approval letter reference number	D2014 / 354 A dated 13 February 2014 and D2014 / 172 dated 29 July 2013
Name of Researcher:	Pretorius T.
Address of Researcher:	13 van Staden Street; Vaalpark; 1947
Telephone / Fax Number/s:	073 194 2272
Email address:	pretorius.tanya01@gmail.com
Research Topic:	Towards a deeper understanding of Resilience: Resilient South African township-dwelling adolescents' understanding of positive adjustment to hardship
Number and type of schools:	ONE Secondary School
District/s/HO	Sedibeng West

Re: Approval in Respect of Request to Conduct Research

This letter serves to indicate that approval is hereby granted to the above-mentioned researcher to proceed with research in respect of the study indicated above. The onus rests with the researcher to negotiate appropriate and relevant time schedules with the school/s and/or offices involved. A separate copy of this letter must be presented to the Principal, SGB and the relevant District/Head Office Senior Manager confirming that permission has been granted for the research to be conducted. However participation is VOLUNTARY.

The following conditions apply to GDE research. The researcher has agreed to and may proceed with the above study subject to the conditions listed below being met. Approval may be withdrawn should any of the conditions listed below be flouted:

16 Feb 2015
2015/02/17

1

Making education a societal priority

Office of the Director: Knowledge Management and Research

9th Floor, 111 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg, 2001
P.O. Box 7710, Johannesburg, 2000 Tel: (011) 355 0506
Email: David.Makhado@gauteng.gov.za
Website: www.education.gpg.gov.za

CONDITIONS FOR CONDUCTING RESEARCH IN GDE

1. The District/Head Office Senior Manager/s concerned must be presented with a copy of this letter;
2. A copy of this letter must be forwarded to the school principal and the chairperson of the School Governing Body (SGB);
3. A letter / document that outlines the purpose of the research and the anticipated outcomes of such research must be made available to the principals, SGBs and District/Head Office Senior Managers of the schools and districts/offices concerned;
4. The Researcher will make every effort obtain the goodwill and co-operation of all the GDE officials, principals, SGBs, teachers and learners involved. Participation is voluntary and additional remuneration will not be paid;
5. Research may only be conducted after school hours so that the normal school programme is not interrupted. The Principal and/or Director must be consulted about an appropriate time when the researcher/s may carry out their research at the sites that they manage;
6. Research may only commence from the second week of February and must be concluded before the beginning of the last quarter of the academic year. If incomplete, an amended Research Approval letter may be requested to conduct research in the following year;
7. Items 6 and 7 will not apply to any research effort being undertaken on behalf of the GDE. Such research will have been commissioned and be paid for by the Gauteng Department of Education.
8. It is the researcher's responsibility to obtain written parental consent and learner;
9. The researcher is responsible for supplying and utilising his/her own research resources, such as stationery, photocopies, transport, faxes and telephones and should not depend on the goodwill of the institutions and/or the offices visited for supplying such resources;
10. The names of the GDE officials, schools, principals, parents, teachers and learners that participate in the study may not appear in the research report without the written consent of each of these individuals and/or organisations;
11. On completion of the study the researcher must supply the Director: Education Research and Knowledge Management with one Hard Cover, an electronic copy and a Research Summary of the completed Research Report;
12. The researcher may be expected to provide short presentations on the purpose, findings and recommendations of his/her research to both GDE officials and the schools concerned; and
13. Should the researcher have been involved with research at a school and/or a district/head office level, the Director and school concerned must also be supplied with a brief summary of the purpose, findings and recommendations of the research study.

The Gauteng Department of Education wishes you well in this important undertaking and looks forward to examining the findings of your research study.

Kind regards



Dr David Makhado

Director: Education Research and Knowledge Management

DATE: 2015/02/17

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ADDENDUM B

ETHICAL CLEARANCE FROM NWU



NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
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Ethics Committee

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Prof Linda Theron

31 March 2009

ETHICS APPROVAL OF PROJECT

The North-West University Ethics Committee (NWU-EC) hereby approves your project as indicated below. This implies that the NWU-EC grants its permission that, provided the special conditions specified below are met and pending any other authorisation that may be necessary, the project may be initiated, using the ethics number below.

Ethics number:	Project title: <u>Pathways to Resilience</u>														
	N	W	U	-	0	0	0	0	6	-	0	9	-	A	2
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 deviation from the project protocol without the necessary approval of such changes, the ethics approval is immediately and automatically forfeited.
- The date of approval indicates the first date that the project may be started. Would the project have to continue after the expiry date, a new application must be made to the NWU-EC and new approval received before or on the expiry date.
- In the interest of ethical responsibility the NWU-EC retains the right to:
 - request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project;
 - withdraw or postpone approval if:
 - any unethical principles or practices of the project are revealed or suspected,
 - it becomes apparent that any relevant information was withheld from the NWU-EC or that information has been false or misrepresented,
 - the required annual report and reporting of adverse events was not done timely and accurately,
 - new institutional rules, national legislation or international conventions deem it necessary.

The Ethics Committee would like to remain at your service as scientist and researcher, and wishes you well with your project. Please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Committee for any further enquiries or requests for assistance.

Yours sincerely

Prof MMJ Lowes
(chair NWU Ethics Committee)

Prof M. Monteith
(Chairman: NWU Ethics Committee: Teaching and Learning)



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Ethics Committee

Tel +27 18 299 4852
Email Ethics@nwu.ac.za

ETHICS APPROVAL OF PROJECT

The North-West University Ethics Committee (NWU-EC) hereby approves your project as indicated below. This implies that the NWU-EC grants its permission that provided the special conditions specified below are met and pending any other authorisation that may be necessary, the project may be initiated, using the ethics number below.

Project title: The Pathways to Resilience Project																
Project Leader: Prof Linda Theron																
Ethics number:		N	W	U	-	0	0	0	6	6	-	0	9	-	A	2
		Institution			Project Number						Year		Status			
Status: S = Submission; R = Re-Submission; P = Provisional Authorisation; A = Authorisation																
Approval date: 2014-09-25										Expiry date: 2019-09-24						

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.
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 - withdraw or postpone approval if:
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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 Amanda Lourens

(chair NWU Research Ethics Regulatory Committee (RERC))

ADDENDUM C

INFORMATION LETTERS TO YOUTH (INTERVIEW)



NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
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E-mail: Linda.Theron@nwu.ac.za

PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE

INFORMATION LETTER TO YOUTH:

PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE –a study amongst township-dwelling youth

Hallo,

I would like to invite you to take part in my study which aims to discover a deeper understanding of how township-dwelling youth explain resilience. Resilience refers to the ability to adapt positively despite the hardships we may face.

Purpose of the study:

The purpose of my study is to understand how you may understand resilience and what it means in your context.

Study design:

An interview will be held with you to get an understanding of your view about positive adaption despite difficulties in the townships.

What you will be asked to do:

You would be invited to meet with me for a face-to-face interview that could take up 60 minutes of your time. During this interview I will ask questions such as: “What does it mean for you to do well in life despite difficult circumstances?”; “Why do you think some adolescents do well in life, even though their circumstances are difficult? Or “How do you identify an adolescent that shows resilience?” During the interview I will use a voice recorder with your permission. This interview will take place in a quiet place where you feel comfortable and in a time slot that will suit you. There is also a possibility that I might contact you in the future to verify certain information that was given by you.

Possible risks and discomforts:

During the interview you may be asked some questions – like about what makes life in township hard – that could make you feel uncomfortable or be upsetting to you. If this happens you should let me, or anyone of the contacts provided on this letter, know so that we can refer you to someone to talk to about what has upset you. Also, please let me know if you do not want to answer any of the questions I ask.

Possible benefits:

Participating in this study may not benefit you directly, but this could help teachers and other people working with youth, to understand township-dwelling youth in a better way.

Confidentiality and anonymity:

Your name as well as the information given by you will be kept private and confidential. This means that no information will be disclosed to anybody that is not part of the research process. All information gathered will be anonymous including personal information. The form you sign will be the only personal information that I would have and this would be safely stored with my supervisor at the University.

There is only one situation that would make it necessary to share what you say with others and identify you. If you tell us that you are being harmed, or in serious danger, or your brothers or sisters are in danger of being hurt, we have a professional and legal obligation to get help. Likewise, if indicate that you are going to hurt yourself or someone else, we must legally tell someone who can help keep you and others safe.

After the analysis of the information an article will be published and there is a possibility that some information that you gave may be quoted. In this regard it will still be anonymous and your name or additional private information about you (like your address) will not be made known.

Questions, problems or concerns:

If you have any questions, problems or concerns you are welcome to contact me

- Tanya Pretorius

☎ 073 194 2272 – Available between 14:30 and 19:30

✉ pretorius.tanya01@gmail.com

You can also contact my promoter

- Linda Theron at

☎ 016 910 3076 / 082 783 1728 (office hours)

✉ Linda.Theron@nwu.ac.za (Faculty of education, VTC, NWU)

or Prof Ian Rothmann, head of Optentia Research Focus Area at Ian.Rothmann@nwu.ac.za .

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter.

Regards

Tanya Pretorius

INFORMATION LETTERS TO PARENTS (INTERVIEW)



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Fax: (016) 910-3078

E-mail: Linda.Theron@nwu.ac.za

PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE

INFORMATION LETTER TO PARENTS:

PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE –a study amongst township-dwelling youth

Good day,

I am a Master's degree student at the North-West University and would like to invite township-dwelling youth to take part in my study which aims to discover a deeper understanding of how township-dwelling youth explain resilience. Resilience refers to the ability to adapt positively despite the hardships we may face.

The study is explained below and this informs you about the risks and discomfort they might be during the study. There is no benefit in participating, but the research gathered will provide teachers, counsellors and others working with youth, with information that could benefit the youth. If you have any question regarding my study you are welcome to contact me (Tanya Pretorius – 073 194 2272) or my supervisor - Prof. Linda Theron (016 910 3076).

Purpose of the study:

The purpose of my study is to understand how township-dwelling youth may understand resilience and what it means in their context.

Study design:

My aim is to meet with 10 – 15 township-dwelling youth for interviews/group discussion to get an understanding of their view about positive adaptation despite difficulties in the townships.

Who may participate in this study?

Youth may participate in this study if they:

- Live in townships;
- Are between the ages of 16 and 19; and
- Despite difficulty they are doing well.

What the youth would be expected to do:

They would be invited to meet with me for a face-to-face interview that could take up 60 minutes of your time.

During this interview I would ask questions such as: "What does it mean for you to do well in life despite difficult circumstances in life?"; "Why do you think some adolescents do well in life, even though their circumstances are difficult? Or "How do you identify an adolescent that shows resilience? During the interview I will use a voice recorder with their permission. This interview will take place in a quiet place where they feel comfortable and in a time slot

that will suit them. There is also a possibility that I might contact them in the future to verify certain information that was given to me.

Possible risks and discomforts:

During the interview they may be asked some questions – like about what makes life in township hard – that could make them feel uncomfortable or be upsetting to them. If this happens they should let me, or anyone of the contacts provided on this letter, know so that we can refer them to someone to talk to about what has upset them.

Possible benefits:

Participating in this study may not benefit them directly, but this could help teachers and other people working with youth, to understand township-dwelling youth in a better way.

Confidentiality and anonymity:

Their name as well as the information given by the youth will be kept private and confidential. This means that no information will be disclosed to anybody that is not part of the research process. All information gathered will be anonymous including personal information. The form they sign will be the only personal information that I would have and this would be safely stored with my supervisor at the University.

There is only one situation that would make it necessary to share what they say with others and identify them. If they tell us that they are being harmed, or in serious danger, or their brothers or sisters are in danger or being hurt, we have a professional and legal obligation to get help. Likewise, if indicate that they are going to hurt themselves or someone else, we must legally tell someone who can help keep them and others safe.

After the analysis of the information an article will be published and there is a possibility that some information that they gave may be quoted. In this regard it will still be anonymous and their name or additional private information about them (like their address) will not be made known.

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or Prof Ian Rothmann, head of Optentia Research Focus Area at ian.Rothmann@nwu.ac.za .

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter.

Regards

Tanya Pretorius

INFORMATION LETTERS TO YOUTH (DRAW-AND-TALK)



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PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE

INFORMATION LETTER TO YOUTH: PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE –a study amongst township-dwelling youth

Hallo,

I would like to invite you to take part in my study which aims to discover a deeper understanding of how township-dwelling youth explain resilience. Resilience refers to the ability to adapt positively despite the hardships we may face.

Purpose of the study:

The purpose of my study is to understand how you may understand resilience and what it means in your context.

Study design:

You will be asked to draw and explain your view of positive adaption despite difficulties in the townships.

What you will be asked to do:

You would be invited to meet with me where you will be asked to make a drawing and explain the drawing. This could take up 30 minutes of your time. For the drawing I will ask you to draw and explain what you think resilience means.

You will be provided with paper and pencils. This meeting will take place in a quiet place where you feel comfortable and in a time slot that will suit you. You do not have to be an artist to participate. There is also a possibility that I might contact you in the future to verify certain information that was given by you.

Possible risks and discomforts:

During the drawing and explanation you may be asked some questions – like about what makes life in township hard – that could make you feel uncomfortable or be upsetting to you. If this happens you should let me, or anyone of the contacts provided on this letter, know so that we can refer you to someone to talk to about what has upset you. Also, please let me know if you do not want to draw or explain anything that has been asked.

Possible benefits:

Participating in this study may not benefit you directly, but this could help teachers and other people working with youth, to understand township-dwelling youth in a better way.

Confidentiality and anonymity:

Your name as well as the information given by you will be kept private and confidential. This means that no information will be disclosed to anybody that is not part of the research process. All information gathered will be anonymous including personal information. The form you sign will be the only personal information that I would have and this would be safely stored with my supervisor at the University.

There is only one situation that would make it necessary to share what you say with others and identify you. If you tell us that you are being harmed, or in serious danger, or your brothers or sisters are in danger of being hurt, we have a professional and legal obligation to get help. Likewise, if indicate that you are going to hurt yourself or someone else, we must legally tell someone who can help keep you and others safe.

After the analysis of the information an article will be published and there is a possibility that some information/drawings that you gave may be quoted/inserted. In this regard it will still be anonymous and your name or additional private information about you (like your address) will not be made known.

Questions, problems or concerns:

If you have any questions, problems or concerns you are welcome to contact me

- Tanya Pretorius
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or Prof Ian Rothmann, head of Optentia Research Focus Area at ian.Rothmann@nwu.ac.za .

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter.

Regards

Tanya Pretorius

INFORMATION LETTERS TO PARENTS (DRAW-AND-TALK)



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PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE

INFORMATION LETTER TO PARENTS: PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE –a study amongst township-dwelling youth

Good day,

I am a Master's degree student at the North-West University and would like to invite township-dwelling youth to take part in my study which aims to discover a deeper understanding of how township-dwelling youth explain resilience. Resilience refers to the ability to adapt positively despite the hardships we may face.

The study is explained below and this informs you about the risks and discomfort they might be during the study. There is no benefit in participating, but the research gathered will provide teacher, counsellors and others working with youth, with information that could benefit the youth. If you have any question regarding my study you are welcome to contact me (Tanya Pretorius – 073 194 2272) or my supervisor - Prof. Linda Theron (016 910 3076).

Purpose of the study:

The purpose of my study is to understand how township-dwelling youth may understand resilience and what it means in their context.

Study design:

My aim is to meet with 5 – 10 township-dwelling youth for drawings and explanations to get an understanding of their view about positive adaption despite difficulties in the townships.

Who may participate in this study?

Youth may participate in this study if they:

- Live in townships;
- Are between the ages of 16 and 19; and
- Despite difficulty they are doing well.

What the youth would be expected to do:

They would be invited to meet with where they will be asked to draw and explain the drawing. This could take up 30 minutes of their time. I will ask them to draw and explain what they think resilience means. They will be provided with paper and pencils. This meeting will take place in a quiet place where you feel comfortable and in a time slot that will suit you. They do not have to be an artist to participate. There is also a possibility that I might contact them in the future to verify certain information that was given by them.

Possible risks and discomforts:

During this meeting they may be asked to draw something – like about what makes life in township hard – that could make them feel uncomfortable or be upsetting to them. If this happens they should let me, or anyone of the contacts provided on this letter, know so that we can refer them to someone to talk to about what has upset them.

Possible benefits:

Participating in this study may not benefit them directly, but this could help teachers and other people working with youth, to understand township-dwelling youth in a better way.

Confidentiality and anonymity:

Their name as well as the information given by the youth will be kept private and confidential. This means that no information will be disclosed to anybody that is not part of the research process. All information gathered will be anonymous including personal information. The form they sign will be the only personal information that I would have and this would be safely stored with my supervisor at the University.

There is only one situation that would make it necessary to share what they say with others and identify them. If they tell us that they are being harmed, or in serious danger, or their brothers or sisters are in danger or being hurt, we have a professional and legal obligation to get help. Likewise, if indicate that they are going to hurt themselves or someone else, we must legally tell someone who can help keep them and others safe.

After the analysis of the information an article will be published and there is a possibility that some information that they drew may be inserted. In this regard it will still be anonymous and their name or additional private information about them (like their address) will not be made known.

Questions, problems or concerns:

If you have any questions, problems or concerns you are welcome to contact me

- Tanya Pretorius

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or Prof Ian Rothmann, head of Optentia Research Focus Area at ian.Rothmann@nwu.ac.za .

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter.

Regards

Tanya Pretorius

INFORMATION LETTERS TO YOUTH (GROUP DISCUSSION)



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PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE

INFORMATION LETTER TO YOUTH: *PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE –a study amongst township-dwelling youth*

Hallo,

I would like to invite you to take part in my study which aims to discover a deeper understanding of how township-dwelling youth explain resilience. Resilience refers to the ability to adapt positively despite the hardships we may face.

Purpose of the study:

The purpose of my study is to understand how you may understand resilience and what it means in your context.

Study design:

A focus group (7 – 10 participants) will be held with you and others to get an understanding of your view about positive adaption despite difficulties in the townships.

What you will be asked to do:

You would be invited to meet with me and other participants (boys and girls) for a discussion that could take up 90 minutes of your time. During this discussion I will ask questions such as: “What does it mean for you to do well in life despite difficult circumstances?”; “Why do you think some adolescents do well in life, even though their circumstances are difficult? Or “How do you identify an adolescent that shows resilience?” During the discussion I will use a voice recorder with your permission. This discussion will take place in a quiet place where you feel comfortable and in a time slot that will suit you. There is also a possibility that I might contact you in the future to verify certain information that was given by you.

Possible risks and discomforts:

During the discussion you may be asked some questions – like about what makes life in township hard – that could make you feel uncomfortable or be upsetting to you. If this happens you should let me, or anyone of the contacts provided on this letter, know so that we can refer you to someone to talk to about what has upset you. Also, please let me know if you do not want to answer any of the questions I ask.

Since you are participating in a focus group that involves a few youth, others will know what you have said and discussed. I will ask all the participants to be respectful of what is said, but it is possible that others might discuss what you said during this meeting. If you feel uncomfortable to participate, knowing that you will be part of a group, feel free to tell me. You have the right to decline my invitation for this group discussion.

Possible benefits:

Participating in this study may not benefit you directly, but this could help teachers and other people working with youth, to understand township-dwelling youth in a better way.

Confidentiality and anonymity:

This is a group discussion and as mentioned earlier others who participate will know who you are and what you said. But I will protect your privacy when writing up the findings of the information you provided. This includes your name as well as the information given by you. This means that no personal information –like your name - will be disclosed to anybody that is not part of the research process. The form you sign will be the only personal information that I would have and this would be safely stored with my supervisor at the university.

There is only one situation that would make it necessary to share what you say with others and identify you. If you tell us that you are being harmed, or in serious danger, or your brothers or sisters are in danger of being hurt, we have a professional and legal obligation to get help. Likewise, if indicate that you are going to hurt yourself or someone else, we must legally tell someone who can help keep you and others safe.

After the analysis of the information an article will be published and there is a possibility that some information that you gave may be quoted. In this regard it will still be anonymous and your name or additional private information about you (like your address) will not be made known.

Questions, problems or concerns:

If you have any questions, problems or concerns you are welcome to contact me

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You can also contact my promoter

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☎ 016 910 3076 / 082 783 1728 (office hours)

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or Prof Ian Rothmann, head of Optentia Research Focus Area at ian.Rothmann@nwu.ac.za .

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter.

Regards

Tanya Pretorius

INFORMATION LETTERS TO PARENTS (GROUP DISCUSSION)



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PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE

INFORMATION LETTER TO PARENTS: *PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE –a study amongst township-dwelling youth*

Good day,

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The study is explained below and this informs you about the risks and discomfort they might be during the study. There is no benefit in participating, but the research gathered will provide teacher, counsellors and others working with youth, with information that could benefit the youth. If you have any question regarding my study you are welcome to contact me (Tanya Pretorius – 073 194 2272) or my supervisor - Prof. Linda Theron (016 910 3076).

Purpose of the study:

The purpose of my study is to understand how township-dwelling youth may understand resilience and what it means in their context.

Study design:

My aim is to meet with 5 – 10 township-dwelling youth for a focus group discussion to get an understanding of their view about positive adaptation despite difficulties in the townships.

Who may participate in this study?

Youth may participate in this study if they:

- Live in townships;
- Are between the ages of 16 and 19; and
- Despite difficulty they are doing well.

What the youth would be expected to do:

They would be invited to meet with me and other participants for a discussion about how they explain resilience. This group discussion could take up 90 minutes of their time. During the discussion I will use a voice recorder with their permission. This discussion will take place in a quiet place where they feel comfortable and in a time slot that will suit them. There is also a possibility that I might contact them in the future to verify certain information that was given to me.

Possible risks and discomforts:

During the discussion they may be asked some questions – like about what makes life in township hard – that could make them feel uncomfortable or be upsetting to them. If this happens they should let me, or anyone of the contacts provided on this letter, know so that we can refer them to someone to talk to about what has upset them.

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or Prof Ian Rothmann, head of Optentia Research Focus Area at ian.Rothmann@nwu.ac.za .

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter.

Regards

Tanya Pretorius

ADDENDUM D

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR THE INTERVIEW



NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
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INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR YOUTH PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE

I have read the explanation about this study. I had the opportunity to discuss anything that I might have wanted to and my questions were answered to my satisfaction. I hereby consent to take part in this study. However I realize that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time”:

Please place an “X” in the ‘yes’ boxes to show that you understand and agree with each statement. You do not need to consent to all study activities in order to participate.

	Yes, I understand and agree
<i>I understand the information about the study provided in the Information Letter. Any questions I had were answered.</i>	
<i>I understand that information will be collected directly from me by means of an interview.</i>	
<i>I understand that the interviews will be recorded.</i>	
<i>The information gathered from my interview can be published.</i>	
<i>I may be contacted again to talk about what I said during the interview.</i>	
<i>I understand that what I say may be quoted anonymously in publications, presentations and the final report. If I become concerned with anything I said, I can ask for parts, or all, of my responses to be withdrawn and this will be respected.</i>	

Full name of participant

Signature of participant

Date

Full name of Parent

Signature of Parent

Signature of researcher

Dissemination & future contact page

You may contact me again

☐ **Yes** ☐ **No**

I would like a summary of the findings of this research

☐ **Yes** ☐ **No**

The best way to reach me is:

Name & Surname: _____

Postal Address: _____

Email: _____

Phone Number: _____

Cell Phone Number: _____

ADDENDUM E

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR THE DRAW-AND-TALK



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INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR YOUTH

PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE

I have read the explanation about this study. I had the opportunity to discuss anything that I might have wanted to and my questions were answered to my satisfaction. I hereby consent to take part in this study. However I realize that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time”:

Please place an “X” in the ‘yes’ boxes to show that you understand and agree with each statement. You do not need to consent to all study activities in order to participate.

	Yes, I understand and agree
<i>I understand the information about the study provided in the Information Letter.</i>	
<i>Any questions I had were answered.</i>	
<i>I understand that information will be collected directly from me by means of a drawing and explanations of the drawing.</i>	
<i>The information gathered from my drawing can be published.</i>	
<i>I may be contacted again to talk about what I drew and explained.</i>	
<i>I understand that what I draw may be inserted anonymously in publications, presentations and the final report. If I become concerned with anything I drew, I can ask for parts, or all, of my responses to be withdrawn and this will be respected.</i>	

Full name of participant

Signature of participant

Date

Full name of Parent

Signature of Parent

Signature of researcher

Dissemination & future contact page

You may contact me again ☐ Yes ☐ No

I would like a summary of the findings of this research ☐ Yes ☐ No

The best way to reach me is:

Name & Surname: _____

Postal Address: _____

Email: _____

Phone Number: _____

Cell Phone Number: _____

ADDENDUM F

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR THE GROUP DISCUSSION



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INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR YOUTH PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE

I have read the explanation about this study. I had the opportunity to discuss anything that I might have wanted to and my questions were answered to my satisfaction. I hereby consent to take part in this study. However I realize that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time”:

Please place an “X” in the ‘yes’ boxes to show that you understand and agree with each statement. You do not need to consent to all study activities in order to participate.

	Yes, I understand and agree
<i>I understand the information about the study provided in the Information Letter. Any questions I had were answered.</i>	
<i>I understand that information will be collected directly from me by means of a focus group discussion and that this will involve a group of youth(boys and girls) hearing what I say and knowing that I have participated.</i>	
<i>I understand that the discussion will be recorded.</i>	
<i>The information gathered from the discussion can be published.</i>	
<i>I may be contacted again to talk about what I said during the discussion.</i>	
<i>I understand that what I say may be quoted anonymously in publications, presentations and the final report. If I become concerned with anything I said, I can ask for parts, or all, of my responses to be withdrawn and this will be respected.</i>	

Full name of participant

Signature of participant

Date

Full name of Parent

Signature of Parent

Signature of researcher

Dissemination & future contact page

You may contact me again

☐ Yes ☐ No

I would like a summary of the findings of this research

☐ Yes ☐ No

The best way to reach me is:

Name & Surname: _____

Postal Address: _____

Email: _____

Phone Number: _____

Cell Phone Number: _____

ADDENDUM G

DATA SEGMENTS FROM A DRAW-AND-TALK INTERVIEW,

- 1 **Researcher:** Recaps ethics and thanks participant...
- 2 **Researcher:** Ok the first thing I'm gonna ask you is to draw me a picture or pictures of what makes your life
- 3 tough when you are not at school.
- 4 First Picture (What makes life tough for you living in a township?)
- 5 **Researcher:** Cool, can you explain this picture to me?
- 6 **Participant 2:** Well I think when I'm not at school and when I'm at home I become exposed to many
- 7 things that are happening in the community that we do not see when we're at school. I feel like in the
- 8 townships you do not have access to...uhm like resources that we should have access to as children that are
- 9 growing up and that are in school. For example libraries, they do not have enough resources that we need.
- 10 And I feel like we don't get enough programmes and stuff to do during the holidays that builds us as
- 11 teenagers and at school. And there's no security in the township – one is not safe out, people will just
- 12 drinking and doing what they like. And also people will be raping and we also abuse in the community, and
- 13 children are really badly affected by this. And I feel like the police are not doing anything about it – instead
- 14 they are joining these one that are drinking. And at the end of the day they claim that they are doing
- 15 something, but still you're not safe. And there's waste, there is litter everywhere – the environment itself is
- 16 not healthy in the community.
- 17 **Researcher:** Ok. You mentioned about resources. Why does it make your life difficult if you don't have
- 18 enough resources?
- 19 **Participant 2:** I feel like, in the townships we're not giving enough...uhm attention that we should
- 20 receive...like people living in the suburbs maybe, if I can say that. Uhhh...we do not have enough access to
- 21 technology and the library too. Because sometimes if you go there – some information that you looking for
- 22 is not there and it's information that you need and I think that like in high school and growing up you have to
- 23 decide about your career and stuff like that. And I don't feel that in the libraries you could go there and be
- 24 like: "ok I'm gonna find this and that." It's not certain that you will find that...so I feel for you to be able to
- 25 do something for yourself you have to go somewhere....out of your hometown to just get that information
- 26 so that you do not suffer without all our resources...and it makes it difficult for us, because I think that's the
- 27 reason why most people end up - you know - doing drugs, dropping out of school, girls getting pregnant
- 28 because there's no hope...we don't see any hope because nothing is being done to address the issues that
- 29 we are facing in the townships.
- 30 **Researcher:** Ok. And you mentioned the guys drinking and rape going on and the abuse. How does that
- 31 make your life difficult?
- 32 **Participant 2:** Well as a teenager and growing up and seeing all these things happening it does...you
- 33 wonder...uhmm: "Is there any hope of me getting out of this community?" You know when you come out
- 34 of a township, I don't know, people...most people will not take you seriously, because they feel...I think it
- 35 goes back to the issue that we're not exposed to enough resources, so people will not take us seriously,
- 36 because...they have the right to, because we do not have enough knowledge that we need. And when you
- 37 become exposed to these things, they kind of traumatise you. You grow up being traumatised, you grow
- 38 up having this hate, you grow up being bitter and in the future you don't learn, you won't know how to
- 39 be...good towards other people, cause you will feel like you know what, this is a bad guy, this is a bad
- 40 guy...like you won't – you'll just not be good when it comes to judging people, you will just think that
- 41 people are bad, because we you come from 90% of the people are actually doing the bad stuff.

...

42 **Researcher:** Ok. So what I'm gonna ask you know is to make a drawing that besides these things that make
43 it difficult for you...how..what has helped you to cope in these tough times.

44 Second drawing (What helps you through these tough times)

45 **Researcher:** O could you explain to me?

46 **Participant 2:** Well I feel like when I'm at home and I watch TV, and I watch certain programmes I would
47 come exposed and I feel that you know when you watching certain programmes that maybe sometimes
48 you find yourself in it...and you kind of picture yourself down there down the road being this successful
49 person, you know...who has all the things that one would like to have in the world. And also I feel that
50 dreams, you know, people need to dream. I think that most people believe that you can dream, but it
51 won't happen. I feel that dreams can actually turn into reality, especially if you're a hard worker and you're
52 passionate about what you want to do with your future. You just wanna do it...I feel that you can achieve it
53 and I feel that also being...meeting with other people you know, who share the same vision as you...you
54 become motivated....joh you become fumed [feeling passionate]...and you'll be like you know what there's
55 certain people who do see this...I'm not the only one and I believe it can happen. Just being exposed to
56 different people...you can...I'm exposed to people from my school who share the same dreams as I do and
57 also people from other schools. And I see you know what I'm not the only one...then you still have hope
58 that you can change the future and if you have education...education is the key to success. I really believe
59 that, because instead of wasting my time I feel that I can do something like... I could just invest in my future
60 which could be by studying and working hard. And I also believe that having a family support you...I mean
61 that's the greatest. I feel that if you have your mom and your dad supporting you all the way then you
62 won't struggle in any way, because whenever you have a problem you can talk to them, because they have
63 experience and they will advise you in the right way. And therefore they will also help you to achieve you
64 dreams. And also being exposed to different companies...like here at school they took us to PWC, and feel
65 like when you get there you see, you know what people actually do this and you realise that I also want to
66 do this...and this is actually achievable, you know it's not just a dream you can actually achieve it. And you
67 become motivated by seeing other people. And actually when you get there people tell you that you know
68 what: "I lived in a poor place, I lived with my mom, I had a single parent raising me...sometimes I went to
69 bed hungry...I sometimes didn't have clothes, but then I still made it to the top and I'm a CEO today and I'm
70 this big person and I'm successful." And it makes you realise no matter the circumstances and if you have a
71 dream you can achieve it. And if you really passionate about it and if it's really what you want then nothing
72 can get in the way of you achieving it.

ADDENDUM H

AUDIT TRAIL OF AXIAL CODES

Table 14: *Audit Trail*

Line	Open codes	Axial codes	Emerging themes
8 - 9	No access to resources such as libraries	Unavailable resources Health risks Security issues No hope living in townships	Lack of resources Safety risks Substance abuse
10 - 11	Lack of programmes and things to do		
11 - 12	No security in townships – people drink, people being raped and abused		
13 - 14	Police unable to help – safety concern		
15 - 16	Unhealthy community because of litter		
20 - 26	No/little access to technology and resources		
27 - 28	No hope in township - school drop outs; drugs; pregnancy		
33	No hope of getting out		
34 - 35	Not enough resources		
36 - 41	Feeling traumatised because of situation		
47 - 49	Using available resources – TV to get motivated	Resources that motivate Dreaming for a better future Hard work – education is important Support from parents Support from other people	Inspiring Resources External Motivation Internal Motivation
49 - 54	Having dreams for the future, being passionate		
57 - 58	Having hope that things can change – education is important		
59 - 60	Work hard and study for a better future		
60 - 63	Support from her mom and dad		
63 - 64	Parents support helps her to achieve her dreams		
64 - 66	Companies that inspire and motivate		
66 - 70	Being motivated by people in the community		
70 - 71	No matter her circumstances it is possible to achieve her dreams		

ADDENDUM H

EXAMPLE OF MEMO

Support from outside

Support means any action that helped a participants to do better and cope with their circumstances. The support given was in forms of emotional support (just being there), social support (helping to fit in) and academic support (encouraging participants to do well). The support given to participants come from outside, there it is external motivation.

At this time in the research process, I picture (Figure 1) the emerging theme as follows:

Looking at who support these youths: it is friends, parents and teachers. This motivation is primarily for the outside, thus it is external motivation. However it become apparent that it was mostly mothers/grandmothers who gave support to these youths; and teachers were always female. Mothers encourage participants to choose good friends that will help them.

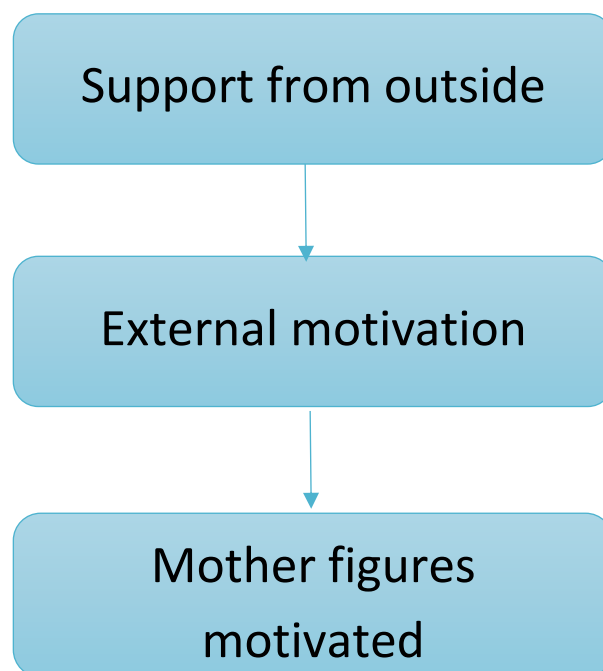


Figure 29: Thought trail - outside support

ADDENDUM I

JOURNAL OF ADOLESCENT RESEARCH GUIDELINES

The aim of the Journal of Adolescent Research is to publish informative and dynamic articles from a variety of disciplines that focus on development during adolescence (ages 10 to 18) and early emerging adulthood (18-22). We are particularly interested in papers that use mixed-methods, systematically combining qualitative and quantitative data and analyses. We also seek rigorous qualitative research using a variety of strategies including ethnography, in-depth interviews, case studies, photo elicitation, and the like. Our goal is to expand upon the understanding of a diverse range of experiences of adolescents and emerging adults across a variety of contexts.

[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 does 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*(6th 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* (2nd 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

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 (Version1.2.0) [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] (22nded.). 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

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.*](#)

Suárez-Orozco, C. (2015). [*Transitional statement from the new Journal of Adolescent Research team. Journal of Adolescent Research, 30\(1\), 3-6.*](#)

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 (Sixth 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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ADDENDUM J

SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION (SAJE) GUIDELINES

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.

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