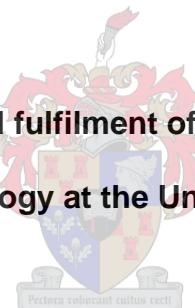


Resilience in Xhosa families

PN Smith

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Promoter: Prof AP Greeff

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this paper is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree.

.....
Signature

.....
Date

ABSTRACT

This study addresses unprivileged dichotomies in an endeavour to make audible the silence surrounding Xhosa family resilience. This study is essentially descriptive and exploratory in nature and directed towards an understanding of the factors contributing to the resilience of Xhosa-speaking, rural black South African families. To contextualise the discussion a selection of theories on resilience are viewed within their cultural contexts. Western psychology's privileging of a) the scrutiny of pathology while disregarding resilience; of b) white participants to black participants; and c) individuality to relationship centeredness and familial systems; are uncovered and a hypothetical understanding of Xhosa family resilience is construed. The line of thought culminates in the theoretical discussion and empirical exploration of The Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin, Thompson, & McCubbin, 1996). In the concluding remarks of this project an adaptation of this model, namely the Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Strength, Adjustment and Adaptation, is construed. The derived model is based on an integration of the findings of this study with resilience theory.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek onbevoorregte dichotome en maak so die stilte in die literatuur rondom veerkragtigheid in Xhosa gesinne hoorbaar. Hierdie beskrywende, eksploratiewe studie is gerig op faktore wat 'n rol speel in die veerkragtigheid van Xhosa-sprekende, landelike, swart Suid-Afrikaanse gesinne. 'n Seleksie van teorieë oor veerkragtigheid word bespreek. Die Westerse sielkunde-kader, wat die eksplorasie van a) wit bo swart deelnemers, b) individualiteit bo verhoudingsgerigtheid of gesinsfaktore en c) die ondersoek van patologie bo veerkragtigheid bevoordeel, word aangespreek en 'n hipotetiese verstaan van die veerkragtigheid van Xhosa gesinne word gebied. Die bespreking kulmineer in die teoretiese en empiriese ondersoek van die "Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation" (McCubbin, Thompson, & McCubbin, 1996). In die gevolgtrekking van hierdie projek word 'n aanpassing van die model, naamlik die "Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Strength, Adjustment and Adaptation", gekonstrueer. Die afgeleide model is gebaseer op 'n integrasie van die bevindinge van hierdie ondersoek met veerkragtigheidsteorieë.

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CONTENTS

Declaration	ii
Abstract	iii
Opsomming	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Contents	vii
List of Tables	xii
List of Figures	xiii
Analogue	1
Foreword	1
Chapter 1 RESEARCH MOTIVATION AND OBJECTIVES	4
1.1 Overall aim and research objectives	5
1.2 Background and motivation	6
1.2.1 <i>Family versus individual</i>	6
1.2.2 <i>Black versus white</i>	7
1.2.3 <i>Resilience versus pathology</i>	8
1.3 Terminological considerations	8
1.3.1 <i>Culture</i>	9
1.3.2 <i>Family</i>	11
1.3.3 <i>Resilience</i>	13

Chapter 2 OVERALL APPROACH, THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL LITERATURE REVIEW	15
2.1 Overall Approach	15
2.1.1 A cultural stance	16
2.1.2 An approach of plurality	18
2.1.3 A familial perspective	20
2.1.4 A salutogenic approach	22
2.2 Theory and empirical findings on resilience: a general view	24
2.2.1 The stress theory tradition and the birth of psychological theory on the empirical study of resilience	25
2.2.2 The individualistic tradition and resilience	27
2.2.3 A familial perspective on resilience	28
2.2.4 Empirical exploration of stressors	30
2.2.5 Empirical exploration of protective factors	33
2.2.6 The evolution of family resilience models	36
2.2.7 The resiliency model of Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin, Thompson & McCubbin, 1996)	38
2.2.8 Motivation of the selection of the Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin, Thompson, & McCubbin, 1996) for the purposes of this study	42
2.2.9 Utilisation of the resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin, Thompson, & McCubbin, 1996) for the purpose of this study	44
2.2.10 The relevance and positioning of the current study within the theoretical and empirical exploration of resilience	45

2.2.10.1	South African empirical relevance	45
2.2.10.2	Psychological theoretical relevance	47
2.2.10.3	Methodological relevance	48
Chapter 3	METHODOLOGY	50
3.1	Theoretical framework, overall design and methodology	50
3.2	Ethical considerations	51
3.2.1	The right to self-determination	51
3.2.2	The right to privacy	52
3.2.3	The right to anonymity and confidentiality	52
3.3	Participants	52
3.3.1	Participant selection	52
3.3.2	Participant demographics	53
3.4	Measuring instruments	58
3.4.1	Quantitative measures	58
3.4.2	Qualitative measures	64
3.5	Procedure	64
3.6	Data Analysis	67
3.7	Validation	70
Chapter 4	RESULTS	71
4.1	Results: Quantitative and biographical findings	72
4.2	Results: Qualitative findings	86
4.2.1	Definitions of family	86
4.2.2	Cultural perspectives on family	89

4.2.3	Qualitative perspectives on family resilience	91
Chapter 5	DISCUSSION	94
5.1	Discussion: qualitative findings	94
5.1.1	Definitions of family	95
5.1.2	Cultural perspectives on family	102
5.1.3	Qualitative perspectives on family resilience	109
5.2	Discussion: biographical findings	112
5.2.1	The eye of the beholder - factors of the self	113
5.2.2	The eye of the other: internalised others inside the self	118
5.3	Discussion: Quantitative findings	123
5.3.1	Communication: a meeting between the self and others	125
5.3.2	Communication: an intra and interpersonal meeting	130
Chapter 6	INTEGRATION OF FINDINGS	138
6.1	Reciprocal self-other relationships: a hidden individuality among patterns of collectivity	139
6.2	The link between family and resilience	142
6.3	Factors contributing to perceived Xhosa family resilience	143
6.4	Factors filtering perspectives on resilience	146
6.5	Communication	148

Chapter 7	RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION	153
7.1	Recommendations	153
7.2	Conclusion	164
 POSTSCRIPT		166
 REFERENCES		167
 ADDENDA		
Addendum A		186
Semi-structured qualitative questions		
Addendum B		187
Qualitative interview guidelines		
Addendum C		188
Full qualitative interview transcripts		
Addendum D		234
Example of Grounded Theory analysis		

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Summary of the Employment Status of Adult Participants (n=37) and their Partners (n=20)	54
Table 2: Summary of the Annual Gross Income Status of Participating Families (N=50)	55
Table 3: Summary of the Educational Level of Adult Participants and Partners (N=50)	56
Table 4.1: Adult Gender Distribution (N=50)	57
Table 4.2: Adolescent Gender Distribution (n=25)	57
Table 5: Pearson and Spearman Correlations between the Measured Independent Variables and the Dependent Variable Family Adaptation (FACI 8 scores)	73
Table 6: Adult/parental Gender Differences when comparing unweighted mean Scores for Family Adaptation (FACI 8; McCubbin et al., 1996)	83
Table 7.1: Summary of Regression Analysis for Independent Variables on Family Adaptation (FACI 8) for the Parents' Data (N=50)	85
Table 7.2: Summary of Regression Analysis for Independent Variables on Family Adaptation (FACI 8) for the Adolescents' Data (n=26)	86
Table 8: Xhosa Participants' Definitions of and Associations with 'Family' according to Adults (N=50) and Adolescents (n=21)	88
Table 9: The Cultural Perspectives of Xhosa Participants regarding 'Family'	89
Table 10: Xhosa Participants' Perspectives on Factors contributing to Family Resilience	92

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin et al., 1996)	39
Figure 2.1: Adult/parental findings regarding the association between findings on The Family Hardiness Index (McCubbin et al., 1996) and results on the Family Attachment Changeability Index 8 (McCubbin et al., 1996) total scores	78
Figure 2.2: Adolescent findings regarding the association between findings on The Family Hardiness Index (McCubbin et al., 1996) and results on the Family Attachment Changeability Index 8 (McCubbin et al., 1996) total scores	78
Figure 3.1: Adult/parental findings regarding the association between measurements on the Family Problem Solving and Communication Scale (McCubbin et al., 1996) and family adaptation	79
Figure 3.2: Adolescent findings regarding the association between measurements on the Family Problem Solving and Communication Scale (McCubbin et al., 1996) and family adaptation	79
Figure 4: Adult/parental findings regarding the association between measurements on the Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales, redefining and ascribing meaning subscale (Olson et al., 1985) and family adaptation	80

Figure 5:	Adult/parental findings regarding the association between measurements on the Social Support Index (McCubbin et al., 1996) and family adaptation	81
Figure 6:	Adolescent findings regarding the association between measurements on the Family Times and Routines Index, eating meals together subscale (McCubbin, et al., 1996)	82
Figure 7:	Adolescent findings regarding the association between length of marriage and family adaptation	82
Figure 8:	Adult/parental gender differences when comparing weighted mean scores for family adaptation (FACI 8 total; McCubbin et al., 1996)	84
Figure 9:	Revisiting the Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin et al., 1996)	158
Figure 10:	The Resilience Model of Family Stress, Strength, Adjustment and Adaptation – a circular and salutogenic adaptation of McCubbin et al.'s (1996) Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation	161

ANALOGUE

In the depth of a storm

The surface is scratched

Uncovering

Under the softness of (s)kin

The roar of the river that runs

FOREWORD

The foreword addresses the relevance of the inclusion of an analogue and metaphors in the text. The relevance will be discussed by a) referring to the complexity of the research material and b) connecting the inclusion of the analogue to the theoretical frame of the text.

Relevance of the inclusion of an analogue and metaphors in the text

Too often during times of adversity and turmoil (storm), the fundamental focus of Western psychology is limited to the potential scarring of the individual. This study aims at uncovering the strengths underlying apparent softness/fragility of individuals and the often hidden power of resilience within the individual and his/her kin.

This study entails the exploration of apparently contradictory phenomena: strengths underlying fragility; resilience despite adversity. Adding to the complexity and the need for sensitivity when approaching the research material, the target

population represents a previously neglected South African population traditionally associated with an oral tradition and rich metaphoric speech. According to Kalsched (1996) human studies call for a deep sensitivity and respect for the complexity and mystery of the research material: "... a sense of the reality of the psyche is extremely elusive and hard to maintain, even for the experienced psychotherapist, because it means staying open to the unknown, to a mystery at the centre of our work..." (p. 7).

According to Jung, Von Franz, Henderson and Jaffé (1978) metaphoric language enhances textual sensitivity because it offers the ability to concretise the richness of complex phenomena / experiences on a symbolic level. Kristeva (1984) calls for the inclusion of poetic language in text writing. Theoretically metaphoric language illustrates the process of meaning giving as the meaning of metaphoric speech is at times delayed or hidden and the attention is not immediately and one-sidedly focussed on the meaning, but also on the process of construing meaning. Metaphors unravel absolutism and illustrate the construction of meaning, plurality, ambivalence, process and possibility.

Metaphors offer a plurality of meanings, an evasive quality lending itself to the meeting of apparently opposing constructs. Van der Merwe (1990) recommends that the discrediting of metaphoric language be absolved and literal and figurative language be employed on a complementary basis to reflect the richness of meaning in the discussion of complex topics.

On a second level the plurality of meaning reflected by metaphoric speech could be theoretically associated with the African values of mutuality, plurality and collectivism. In the African tradition the value of the singular (one individual) is not upheld at the cost of the plurality (group) as in Western individualistic cultures and traditional psychology. Collectivism could thus be incorporated in speech and writing by respecting and employing a sensitivity to the plurality by including metaphoric

speech in the writing of this document. It is, therefore, no surprise that when participants were asked to reply to questions on family and resilience during the qualitative section of this study many of them used metaphoric speech in their answers, for example ‘AmaXhosa say, having a family is extremely important, no man is an island’ (question 3, line 1-4, parent 1), or ‘AmaXhosa say, ‘The elephant is able to bear its huge tusk’ (question 3, line 23-25, parent 2).

By including metaphoric speech in the context of this explorative study, the cultural tones of the target population are not only explored in the content level of the study, but also reflected and incorporated in the process of writing the text.

Chapter 1

RESEARCH MOTIVATION AND OBJECTIVES

"In the depth of a storm" (Analogue, 2005, p.i).

"Current knowledge about resilience in a family context [is] ...limited." (McCubbin & McCubbin, 1996, p.1).

"Diversity does not have to be created. It is an integral part of the human condition and demands to be appreciated, acknowledged and respected" (Le Roux, 1990, p.38).

The essential need for an exploration of black family resilience is acclaimed by the above assertions. When considering that many families do not self-destruct or that most do recover from adversity, it is important that theories and research would help explain these resilient families (McCubbin & McCubbin, 1996). However, literature regarding the family field is dominated by theories about pathology and family failures (Walsh, 1996). McCubbin and McCubbin (1996) proclaims that: 'If there is a serious commitment to prevention and family preservation ... this agenda should be driven by research and theories attempting to explain why families predisposed or even vulnerable to life's hardships and traumas emerge resilient' (p.2).

Because of the acclaimed role that resilience plays in understanding individual and family development and recovery under conditions that rather favour personal and family deterioration (Garmezy, 1991; Masten, 1994; McCubbin & McCubbin, 1996; Rutter, 1987) interest in the phenomenon of resilience has grown rapidly. According to a host of authors, (Cassel, 1976; Cohan, 1988; Egeland, Carlson, & Sroufe, 1993; Garmezy, 1987; Hawley & De Haan, 1996; Masten, 1994; McCubbin & Patterson, 1982; McCubbin, Thompson, & McCubbin, 1996; McCubbin, Thompson, Thompson, & Futrell, 1999), knowledge about successful adaptation under adverse life conditions strengthens the conceptual base needed to frame both curative and

preventative interventions for high risk families. Despite the acclaimed importance of understanding resilience in families, McCubbin and McCubbin (1996) nevertheless regard current knowledge about resilience in a family context as limited. McCubbin, Thompson, Thompson, and Futrell (1999) calls for more qualitative investigations to complement empirically based studies.

The tendency to disregard diversity and to generalise findings from white predominantly male populations is empirically evident and various authors have identified this as problematic (Gnaulti & Heine, 2001; Kazdin, 1999; Sato, 2001; Scarr, 1989). Angless (1990), Shuda (1990) and Veroff and Goldberger (1995) find cultural sensitivity in psychological studies wanting and assert the in-depth exploration of cultural phenomena as essential. It is against the background of these considerations within which the objectives of this study are framed. This study is essentially exploratory in nature and directed towards an understanding of black family resilience in a South African context. The specified focus aims at addressing the lapses in the scientific study of the concept.

1.1 Overall aim and research objectives

Main research question: What are the qualities in Xhosa-speaking, rural black South African families that help protect and support these families in overcoming adversity?

Primary aim: To identify and explore factors contributing to the resilience of black families.

Secondary aims: Theory building, refinement of measuring instruments and the integration of the implications of findings for practical restoration (therapy) and prevention (community based interventions) purposes.

1.2 Background and motivation

The field of black family resilience is marked by complexity and neglect. In the Western binary tradition all three concepts: 1) family instead of individual, 2) black instead of white and 3) resilience instead of pathology, represent the negated flipside of these phenomena traditionally valued by Western psychology. This study addresses these identified lapses.

Background information on the abovementioned three negated phenomena and a brief motivation for their exploration will be provided consecutively: (For more detailed information, see the literature review, Section 2.1).

1.2.1 Family versus individual

For Shuda (1990, p. vii) family therapy, a framework of group dynamics, is “often left impotent” in the South African psychological context. Immersed in the Western dualistic disposition, traditional Western psychology is characterised by proclaiming the individual at the cost of group, familial or collective influences – values potentially relevant to an African context (Fischer & Manstead, 2000). The lapses in familial awareness and the need to consider familial influences were mentioned by several authors (Fischer & Manstead, 2000; Shuda, 1990; McCubbin et al., 1996; Walsh, 1996). According to Hawley (2000), much of the work on family resilience has been at the theoretical level (Hawley & De Haan, 1996; McCubbin et al., 1996; Walsh, 1996). Hawley deems studies using family resilience as key variable as only ‘starting to emerge’ (2000, p.101).

The primary aim of this project is to identify factors contributing to the resilience of families affected by non-normative crises. For the purposes of this study the latter will be defined as any unexpected, uncommon and adverse life-event experienced as disruptive and demanding adaptation in order to survive (Walsh, 1993), for example divorce, the untimely death of a child, unexpected retrenchment, etc. Inverting the

traditional Western privileging of individuation, families will function as focal point of this study.

1.2.2 Black versus white

Equating diversity to “an invisible man” in Western psychology, Hardy (1989) postulates that traditional psychology upholds the myth of sameness – a belief system he presumes to result in “ethnic, racial and gender blind spots”(p.3). There has been a long tradition in Eurocentric psychology to disregard culture and ethnicity and to generalise data obtained from white middle class participants to black populations. This tendency is empirically evident and various authors have identified this as problematic (Gnaulati & Heine, 2001; Kazdin, 1999; Sato, 2001; Scarr, 1989). According to Angless (1990) cultural values form part of the psyche of the individual and a lack of cultural exploration paradoxically implies a lack of individual understanding. Veroff and Goldberger (1995) find cultural sensitivity in psychological studies wanting and declare: “psychology has given [little attention] … to the role of culture in human behaviour and development” (p.4). Shuda (1990) regards the in-depth exploration of cultural differences as essential to “enable processes of healing for the people and families of our troubled society” (p. viii). This study will specifically focus on the factors contributing to the resilience of African (Xhosa-speaking) families in South Africa. During the qualitative component of the study sensitivity to cultural issues will be strengthened by incorporating questions regarding the Xhosa-speaking target population’s definition of family, resilience factors and their perspectives on Xhosa culture and family. This project is part of a larger programme (project leader: Professor AP Greeff, University of Stellenbosch) directed towards the exploration of family resilience in different ethnic groups. Despite McCubbin and McCubbin’s (1996) plea for studies to explore ethnicity, culture and diversity in the family resilience field, little research as yet has been published on resilience in black South African families.

1.2.3 Resilience versus pathology

Similar to familial and ethnical phenomena, Western society traditionally undervalues the concept of resilience (McCubbin & McCubbin, 1996). In a time where increasing demand are placed on families to adapt, deal with changing social environments and stressors and to facilitate individual growth of family members, it is essential to explore, understand and develop qualities contributing to the well-functioning and resilience of families. The latter could prevent later remedial help to families and individual members. While traditional therapeutic models tend to focus on the problems clients bring to therapy, viewing families as resilient provides an alternative paradigm. The latter offers important implications for clinical practice. Instead of regarding clients as deficient, a resilience perspective 'affirms the family's capacity for self-repair' (Walsh, 1996, p.286). Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi (2000) called on psychologists to change from a deficit-based to a strength-based focus when asserting that 'psychology is not just the study of weakness and damage, it is also the study of strength and virtue' (p.2). This study is directed towards the exploration of resilience.

1.3 Terminological Considerations

As theoretical positions are construed and conveyed in language, a terminological exploration of these is essential. The terminological exploration focuses on the defining and discussion of a selection of relevant terminology. Where necessary, work definitions will be provided. This adds to the operationalisation of the study aims and clarifies the reading of the text.

Respect for potential complexity and plurality corresponds to the explorative nature of the study. To explore important concepts relevant to this study, different

definitions from a plurality of contexts will be identified and discussed, namely South African laymens' definitions, as provided in general South African dictionaries, definitions from the traditional psychological domain, as offered by general psychology dictionaries, perspectives from the target population itself and specific conceptualisations from important figures within the theoretical sphere. Within the context of the topic – Xhosa family resilience – several concepts could be selected for the purpose of definition and operationalisation, namely culture, family and resilience.

1.3.1 Culture

Defining culture is a challenging imperative. Four decades ago Kroeber and Kluckhorn (1963) collected 157 definitions of culture in their classic content analysis study. Several authors declared this confusion regarding a definition as an obstacle (Brislin, 1983; Jahoda, 1984; Rohner, 1984). Compiling a comprehensive definition embodying the essence inherent in various definitions Krober and Kluckhorn (1963) defined culture as follows:

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment of artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of actions, on the other as continuing elements of further action. (357)

This conceptualisation is a re-conceptualisation of Herskovits's (1938) definition of culture as a human-made part of the environment including physical culture (such as roads, buildings and tools) and subjective culture (such as social norms, roles and communication patterns) (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). Focussing on subjective culture, Macionis (1987) introduced a cognitive behavioural dimension in his definition of culture as shared "beliefs, values, behaviour and

material objects" (p.62). Following the tread of the cognitive propensities of culture, several anthropologists and cross-cultural psychologists noted cultural differences in meaning regarding concepts of time (Hall, 1983), self or person (Gaines, 1992; Schweder & Miller, 1985; Strauss, 1982) or healing (Fabrega, 1971).

Several authors (Shore, 1991; Rohner, 1984; Landrine, 1995) attempted to identify the essence of the concept by accentuating what Kroeber and Kluckhorn (1963) deem to be the subjective cognitive essence of culture. Currently authors introduce intra- and interpersonal dimensions when attempting to define culture. Shore (1991) upholds culture as a powerful inter-subjective phenomenon that requires sensitivity to become salient. Similarly Landrine (1995) and Rohner (1984) regard culture as learned and socially shared. For Shore (1991) culture at times could be equated to an unwritten social dictionary. To open the cultural dictionary of the target population a qualitative component was introduced whereby participants were asked to provide their definition and perspectives to central concepts of the study.

The abovementioned concept of culture as a system of shared meanings represents a common trend in current cultural theory (Veroff & Goldberger, 1995). This inter-subjective cultural dictionary provides "a common lens for perceiving and structuring reality for its members" (Veroff & Goldberger, 1995, p.11).

When tracing South African and laymen's conceptualisations of the concept as to be found in general South African dictionaries additional nuances may be found. In laymens' general dictionaries culture is defined as time and society bound "intellectual expressions" or "(group) customs such as art, literature or music" (Crowther, Kavanagh, & Ashby, 1995, p.285). The adjective "cultured", carries elitist values such as "well cultured", referring to those "appreciating" dominant values (Crowther et al., 1995, p.285) or those who are "civilised" (Kritzinger, Schoonees, &

Cronje, 1981). These elitist values are potentially founded in Eurocentrism and could offer a potential explanation for the lack of regard for non-Eurocentric cultures or the limited studies concerned with cultural sensitivity in historical South Africa (Shuda, 1990).

Four additional terminologies related to the encapsulating term, culture, are customs, rituals, values and race. As these distinctions between terminologies are relevant when conducting culturally sensitive studies brief definitions will be provided.

Customs refer to “the learned behaviours shared by and associated with a particular cultural group,” for example dietary practices or rituals (Barkauskas, Stoltenberg-Allen, Bauman, & Darling-Fisher, 1994, p.151). Customs thus constitute the behavioural dimensions of culture while activating its cognitive (association) and subjective (shared reality) propensities.

Rituals are “highly structured patterns of behaviour characteristic of cultural groups” (Barkauskas et al., 1994, p.151). Examples of rituals may include traditions, taboos, religion, healing and care for the sick, communication etc.

Values are “standards by which members of a culture define what is desirable and undesirable, good or bad, beautiful or ugly” (Macionis, 1987, p.68).

Race refers to “the classification of human beings on the basis of physical character traits such as skin pigmentation, head form or stature that are transmitted through generations (Barkauskas et al., 1994, p.151).

1.3.2 Family

Family is a difficult concept to define and some controversy regarding its definition is notable in the psychology realm (Walsh, 1996). For Walsh (1996), family is a locus not of residence, but of meaning and relationship. The heterogeneity of the South African society is reflected in the many different family structures and ways of family

life. Traditions (cultural), changing values, political events, economic developments, modernisation, and globalisation contribute in a complex way to ever-changing family forms and family relationships. Greater economic independence has resulted in more nuclear families, while poorer conditions force families to unite for the sake of survival and to support one another emotionally and economically. Adhering to the descriptive and explorative nature of this study, the South African – and more specifically the target populations' – associations with this concept were explored and respected. In South African laymens' terms the concept of family is associated with genetic and biological ties and the parent-child dyad (Odendaal et al., 1994). Following Shore's (1991) conceptualisation of culture as shared beliefs, the social dictionary of the target population was uncovered by asking participants to supply their own conceptualisations of family. Their definitions were integrated with general and traditional psychological definitions of the construct to provide a working definition for the purpose of this study.

When the definitions of participants as obtained by the qualitative interview are considered, a tendency to define family in terms of genetic, biological and marital ties and the parent-child dyad is evident (see Table 8, Qualitative results). The reciprocal self-other relationship was included in participants' definitions (such as 'a give and take basis') referring to duties, responsibilities of the self towards the other (namely concern, responsibility, politeness and respect) and functions and gains received in return (such as emotional and financial support, cultural development and socialisation, identity, esteem and self development as well as problem solving and resilience). The emphasis on finance is an interesting finding not often included in traditional conceptualisations of the construct. Lastly participants accentuated emotive (closeness, warmth, love, caring and belonging), cognitive (shared beliefs

and value systems) and interpersonal values (such as unity, peace, communication, transparency and respect) associated with family in their definitions.

The definition of family obtained from Xhosa participants could be summarised as: a group of people connected by genetic, biological, marital and parental ties, sharing emotive, cognitive and interpersonal values, as well as reciprocal self-other relationships, with related duties, responsibilities, functions and gains (see Table 8, Qualitative results) . This obtained definition will be used in the context of this study.

1.3.3 Resilience

Resilience is described in developmental psychopathology literature in numerous ways. Hawley (2000, p.102) refers to it as ‘the ability to bounce back’ or successful ‘adaptation’ following exposure to stressful life events and Garmezy (1993, p.129) as ‘functioning following adversity’. Hawley and De Haan (1996) suggested that the definitions of resilience encompass several themes. First, resilience implies surfacing despite hardship. Second, it refers to a process of reaching adaptation. Finally, resilience is described in terms of wellness rather than pathology (Hawley & De Haan). Antonovsky (1987) calls this a ‘salutogenic orientation’ (p.2).

Resilience carries similar values in general laymens' terms (Crowther, Kavanagh, & Ashby, 1995; Kritzinger, Schoonees, & Cronje, 1981) as in the psychological sphere, namely “the ability to recover quickly from injury, damage, etc. or the ability to spring back after being bent, stretched, etc.” (Crowther, et al., 1995, p.285). Traces of a similar metaphorical conceptualisation were found among participants attempting to qualitatively define or describe their ability to cope. ‘I think of an incident where I lost through an accident, but I raised above all the odds’ (question 1, parent 5, line 113-116). In alignment with the above definitions, resilience will be conceptualised as the ability to overcome and recover from adversity: a process metaphorically defined by

phrases indicating movement, recovery and growth despite setbacks and adversity, for example the ability to rise above, move beyond or bounce back. Resilience will thus be regarded as a process culminating in adaptation.

Culture, family and resilience, concepts defined in the above section, represent important themes related to the main research question and aims of the study, namely the exploration of factors contributing to the resilience of rural black South African families. The following section provides an empirical and theoretical review of Xhosa family resilience and motivates the selection of an explorative approach to the research.

Chapter 2

OVERALL APPROACH, THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL LITERATURE REVIEW

This section follows a general to specific line of thought. The discussion opens with a positioning of the study in terms of its overall approach (Section 2.1). Consecutively a general viewing of psychological theory on resilience is offered (Section 2.2). Here psychological theory is integrated with related empirical findings. This offers the potential of eliminating duplication, validating theoretical assumptions and identifying lapses between theoretical postulations and empirical trends. The line of thought culminates in the discussion of a specific theoretical model currently dominating the family resilience field, namely the Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin, Thompson, & McCubbin, 1996), hereafter called McCubbin et al.'s 1996 model. This model was used during the empirical section of this study. Its selection will be motivated. The discussion will also review the theoretical development of the model as well as related empirical findings. In the concluding remarks of this project, an adaptation of this model, namely the Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Strength, Adjustment and Adaptation, will be offered (see Chapter 8, Conclusion and Recommendations). The contrived model is based on an integration of the findings of this study (see Chapter 4, Results) with salutogenic assumptions and resilience theory discussed in this section (Chapter 2, Overall Approach, Theoretical and Empirical Literature).

2.1 Overall Approach

Say not, "I have found the truth", but rather, "I have found a truth" ... for the soul walks upon all paths. The soul walks not upon a line, neither does it grow like a reed. The soul unfolds itself, like a lotus of countless petals. (Gibran, 2000, p.63)

This study has a descriptive, explorative nature. Several authors accentuated the lack of research on the central themes of this project, namely: Xhosa (Gnaulati & Heine, 2001; Kazdin, 1999; Sato, 2001; Scarr, 1989); family (Fischer & Manstead, 2000; Shuda, 1990; McCubbin et al., 1996; Walsh, 1996); resiliency (McCubbin et al., 1996; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Walsh, 1996). A descriptive, explorative approach corresponds to research conducted on previously negated aspects in relatively unexplored contexts.

Considering the potential impact of the historical timeframe and socio-cultural context on the researcher and participants the overall explorative approach and the researcher's assumptions regarding participants and data should be transparent. This transparency is not only achieved by means of using transparent methodology, but also through uncovering the underlying assumptions whence the researcher approaches the research project. Through this transparency the study is historically contextualised and relativised.

To address current limitations in the field of Xhosa family resilience the following four positions will be utilised: 1) a cultural stance, 2) an approach of plurality, 3) a familial position and 4) a salutogenic perspective. All four approaches represent in accordance with the research topic, the unaddressed flipside of approaches traditionally valued by Western psychology.

2.1.1 A cultural stance

"Individualism is a paper tiger... (it) is ... never ... a natural development" (Sharp, 1995, p.47).

The above quotation highlights the embedded nature of individuals and their societies. Stanley, Kuraski, and Srinivasan (1999) describe mainstream Eurocentric psychology as a "mono-cultural ... comparative" research tradition (p.54). If the tendency to conduct research with white participants and generalise data to diverse

populations is acknowledged, the need for conducting research with unexplored populations becomes apparent.

A cultural and familial approach provides a traditionally unexplored counterpart to the individualistic approach. According to Landrine (1995) incorporating cultural sensitivity in research and theory building is a complex feat requiring sensitivity to nuances and differences in perspective as, “culture is not prime differences in behaviour, but rather in the meanings attached to [it]” (p.745). Adhering to the subtlety and “inter-subjectivity” (Landrine, p.745) of cultural phenomena a qualitative component will be incorporated in the methodology of this study.

Qualitative and culturally sensitive research implies the acknowledgement of subjectivity and reflexivity in research. According to Angless (1990) social values and expectations form part of the psyche of the individual. This could offer implications for therapists and clients; researchers and participants. Therapists/researchers could value/normalise their cultural perspectives unquestionably – a problematic bias in cross-cultural therapeutic/research settings. Similarly clients/participants could compare themselves to dominant cultural values creating a devaluation of their own culture and result in potentially deep feelings of inadequacy and isolation. An understanding of a potential discrepancy between client/participant and his/her cultural group's expectations on resilience or family life could deepen the understanding of the experiences of the client/participant. Cultural sensitivity in research is thus important. To trace Xhosa cultural and familial expectations, the participants were required to provide information regarding their own as well as their perceived perspectives on Xhosa familial associations during the qualitative component of the study. This is an essential explorative part of the study and a highly overdue feat in the South African context.

Several authors have commented on the lack of culturally sensitive studies in psychology (Bersoff & Bersoff, 1999; Kazdin, 1999; Stanley, Kuraski, & Srinivasan, 1999; Veroff & Goldberger, 1995). Veroff and Goldberger distinguished between three potential approaches addressing culture in psychology and anthropology, namely:

- Cultural psychology/anthropology studying particular cultures of groups;
- Cross-cultural psychology, comparing human characteristics across cultures; and
- Intercultural psychology, analysing the effects of different cultural groupings on one another.

Although elements of these three approaches will be present in this study (such as potential acculturation touching on the intercultural psychology domain; comparisons between the target population and traditional Western psychology cultural values from the cross-cultural tradition) the predominant focus will be from the perspective of cultural psychology – that is sensitivity to the cultural nuances of a specific target population. This complements the explorative nature of the study. This integration approach is recommended by Veroff and Goldberger (1995).

2.1.2 An approach of plurality

“The truth is rarely pure, and never simple” (Oscar Wilde, cited in Ben-Ze’ev, 2000, p.1)

An interaction approach is an attempt to address the universality-relativism split – an important aspect to take note of as some studies traditionally used universality to escape cultural sensitivity.

While valuing the autonomously regarded individual being, Western psychology tends to uphold universality at the cost of plurality. Paradoxically, while individualism and universality appears to be in opposition, both traditions disregard interactionism, complexity, plurality and relativism. Universality thus represents a

masked attempt to uphold the individual as representative benchmark. This approach has filtered through in psychological traditions claiming to uphold cultural sensitivity and is evident in Van de Vijver and Hutschemaeker's (1990) distinctions in cultural approaches. Van de Vijver and Hutschemaeker identified two theoretically and empirically different stances toward culture and psychology, namely the:

- Late entrance approach typified by universalism and directed toward an emphasis on similarities, de-contextualisation of behaviour and cross-cultural and historical comparisons; and the
- Early entrance approach characterised by relativism and focussed on an emphasis on difference, individualism, contextualisation and analysis of a specific cultural group.

The poignancy of this debate among cultural theorists resides in both stances struggling to combat the disregard of cultural influences in traditional psychological research. Underlying these two stances is the universalism-relativism split debating the modernist question of psychologically universalistic rules. This debate activates dialectic tension and constitutes a mutually exclusive and limiting perspective where radical relativism could obscure evidence of similarities in terms of families and resilience while absolute universalism could disregard difference and pluralities regarding families and resilience. The early entrance approach (Van de Vijver & Hutschemaeker, 1990) at first glance appears to be respecting relativity and plurality, however, assuming a truly relativist position implies that both approaches paradoxically may provide valuable information on cultural and psychological phenomena. This addresses the hazard of the "alpha bias" in which differences between groups are exaggerated and the "beta bias" where differences are minimised or ignored (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990).

A relativistic and interaction approach could be operationalised in the current study by initiating an early entrance approach (studying a specific population, upholding relativity and contextualisation, using explorative qualitative strategies of narrative analysis and close in-depth analysis of data) and then introducing elements from the late entrance approach (comparing findings with predominant Western psychological principles). The aim will be making evident possible commonalities and differences potentially implicit in the findings.

The aim of uncovering both commonalities and differences will also be imbedded in the semi-structured qualitative interview, providing participants with the opportunity to comment on their own conceptualisations of family and resilience as well as those of their cultural group. This is in alignment with the empirical trend evident from in-/out-group studies (Van de Vijver & Hutschemaeker, 1990) whereby a member of a particular cultural group (in-group) is likely to be highly aware of individual differences existing in the cultural group, while cultural outsiders (members of an out-group) is likely to attend to similarities among the group members. On a process level the in-/out-group split is addressed by utilising a research team comprised of both in-/and out-group members. This resolves Pike's (1954) emic-etic distinction whereby behaviour will be studied from in (emic) and outside (etic) a system.

2.1.3 A familial perspective

"Under the.... (s)kin" (Analogue, 2003, p.1.)

"Our ways of communication do not emerge from nothingness. They are embedded in the foundations of society" (Gergen, 1992, p.141).

The familial perspective is an attempt to address the individual-family/cultural dualism and placing the former in a position of privilege at the cost of the latter. In an individualist culture, such as the Western culture, strong emphasis is placed on autonomy and independence (Fischer & Manstead, 2000). Western society's placing

a high value on the privilege of the individual and autonomy can be traced to antiquity. According to Levin (1992) Plato's accentuation of the importance of the individual reverberates through the Renaissance and Modernism. Sampson (cited in Lannaman, 1995, p.118) illustrates the twentieth century's absolution of autonomy as follows, "Individuals, understood as self-determining, autonomous sovereigns, authors in charge of their own life's work, became the central actors on the social stage". Western psychology's privileging of the individual and autonomy as well as the pervasive trend to regard culture as an invariantly stable variable (Veroff & Goldberger, 1995), could offer a potential understanding of the lack of studies regarding the cultural and familial propensities of resilience.

Accentuating social and cultural influences Golschmidt (cited in Yalom, 1995, p.18) declared humans to be predisposed to a susceptibility to social influence and thus to cultural stereotypes. "Man is by nature committed to social existence, and is therefore inevitably involved in the dilemma between serving his own interests and recognizing those of the group to which he belongs". The tension and interaction between the duality of self-other, individual-society is accentuated by this quotation. The limitations of individualism and the need for theories to incorporate group influences are apparent.

Similar to the negation of cultural phenomena, familial approaches are traditionally left unexplored because of the Western privileging of individualism. This study approaches the participant from a familial perspective, incorporating research and theory from individualistic and familial traditions and inviting families to partake in the project and comment on the role/value of family in relation to resilience. A belated definition and exploration of the Xhosa-speaking target population's perspective on family is investigated – a phenomenon often left unexplored and replaced by traditional Western definitions.

2.1.4. A salutogenic approach

"The roar Under the softness of (s)kin" (Analogue, 2003, p.1)

"Treasure is uncovered by the force of flowing water

And it is buried by the same currents" (Coelho, 1999, p.28).

The salutogenic approach is an attempt to balance the traditional privileging of pathology to health when conducting psychological research. The pathology-health dualism is present in the history and participant matter of resilience. Tracing the tale of adversity and strain is marked by the uncovering of possible destruction of individual and family, but also by the knowledge of potential healing and strengthening.

Paradoxically, although families could offer resilience potential, they could also be stressors, while stress could cause a deterioration of family functioning. Authors accordingly indicated stress to have an adverse effect on parenting behaviour (Abidin, 1990; Pianta & Egeland, 1990).

For Werner and Smith (1992) and Lester (1995) the promotion of resilience, the ability to bounce back from adversity, requires hope and includes a future story. This narrative perspective hints at the necessity of a paradigm shift from exclusively focussing on adversity and pathology to an acknowledgement of strengths and resilience. Implied in narrative theory, the mere knowledge or thought of resilience and hope of recovery is a catalyst for the recovery/resilience itself. If this assumption be true, a focus on resilience and understanding of the concept is of the utmost importance in curative and theoretical psychology. These considerations lead to the salutogenic movement. In the emerging salutogenic paradigm explorations of resilience initially focussed mainly on an individual level (Shuda, 1990). A familial perspective was gradually introduced. The delayed familial focus evident from resilience literature could be ascribed to the Western privileging of individualism at the cost of cultural values, such as group, familial or cultural influences.

The salutogenic approach (health orientated) provides a traditionally unexplored counterpart to the pathogenic approach (problem orientated). Within the salutogenic approach the term 'resilience' functions as an encapsulation term referring to well functioning (McCubbin, McCubbin, Thompson, Han, & Chad, 1997) and the ability to rise above adversity and survive hardships (Hawley & De Haan, 1996; Walsh, 1996). This offers the potential to explore salutogenic questions such as: Why does the family continue to function well despite adversity? What are the characteristics of families whose members continue to function well despite hardships? What contributed to prevailing over the crises? Assuming a negated salutogenic perspective could add to a balanced scientific understanding of psychological phenomena and thus contribute to applied contexts, such as preventative interventions and remedial settings (therapy). Integrating findings obtained from a salutogenic approach with traditional pathogenic knowledge is in alliance with the Jungian assumption of the holistic truths that lie within the interaction between supposed binary opposites.

The following section (Section 2.2) offers a viewing of current theoretical positions and empirical traditions and findings regarding the topic. This is obtained by discussing the development of resilience theory historically and contextualising the discussion against the dominant Western cultural traditions of the time.

2.2 Theory and empirical findings on resilience: a general view

“The surface is scratched ... (an essential starting point in the act of) ... uncovering”
(Analogue, 2005, p. i).

Theory building rests on the uncovering and integration of previous theoretical and empirical stances with current findings. As theoretical positions are construed and conveyed in language, a terminological exploration was provided (See chapter 1, Section 1.2). The following literature review provides a perspective on literature and

current empirical findings regarding resilience. The review offers the ability to contextualise the discussion, provides a perspective on current theoretical positions and empirical findings regarding Xhosa family resilience provides a preliminary understanding of the construct, offers a glimpse of possible limitations in current theory and positions the current study within the historical theoretical tradition.

The literature review follows the historical exploration of theory and empirical studies on resilience. In the brief review the origin of the concept is traced from its roots in traditional stress theory (Section 2.2.1) within a pathological and individualistic frame (Section 2.2.2) to current considerations and familial awareness (Section 2.2.3). Initially family theory was coloured by a more pathological perspective and centred on family risk factors. Following this historical trend, a corresponding discussion of the empirical exploration of firstly, stressors (Section 2.2.4) and secondly, protective factors (Section 2.2.5) is provided. The obtained empirical findings culminated in the evolution of family resilience models (Section 2.2.6). The review of family resilience models is concluded by a discussion of a model currently dominating the family resilience field, namely, McCubbin, Thompson, and McCubbin's (1996) Resiliency Model of Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (Section 2.2.7). A motivation of the selection of this model for the purposes of this study is provided in Section 2.2.8 while the utilisation of The Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin, Thompson, & McCubbin, 1996) for the purposes of this study is addressed in Section 2.2.9.

In conclusion the review culminates in a positioning of the current study in terms of discussed empirical and theoretical tendencies (Section 2.2.10). This is done by referring to the South African context and the current study's empirical relevance (Section 2.2.10.1), its psychological and theoretical relevance (Section 2.2.10.2) and the methodological value of the current study (Section 2.2.10.3).

2.2.1 The stress theory tradition and the birth of psychological theory on the empirical study of resilience

The focus on familial contributions to resilience is a relatively new contribution to the theoretic and empirical tradition which was initially characterised by an exclusive focus on individuals and pathology.

The concept of resilience and its empirical study emerged from stress and coping theory in the field of individual developmental psychology (Garmezy, 1993; Hawley, 2000; Rutter, 1987). While primarily concerned with identifying individual pathology following exposure to adversity, several empirical studies indicated unexpected competent functioning following risk exposure (Garmezy, 1991; Masten, 1994; Rutter, 1987; Werner & Smith, 1992). In Werner and Smith's (1992) classic longitudinal study the authors were confronted with individual children who coped well despite the presence of ongoing adversity. Researchers in other disciplines also noticed similar competent functioning following risk exposure. Antonovsky (1987), a medical sociologist, introduced the concept of salutogenesis to describe the unexpected high functioning of some of the Holocaust survivors, while Cassel (1976), an epidemiologist, noted factors preventing host persons from becoming ill. Dungan and Coles's (1989) cross-cultural studies found that contrary to predictions, many children did rise above severe hardship. Felsman and Vaillant (1987) concluded that 'the events that go wrong in our lives do not forever damn us' (p.289).

The similar concept of hardiness grew out of another line of research on stress and coping (Walsh, 1996). Numerous investigators sought to identify personality traits that mediate physiological processes and enable individuals to cope despite adversity (Antonovsky, 1979; Dohrenwend & Dohrenwend, 1981; Holmes & Masuda, 1974; Lazarus, 1991; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Kobasa (1985) proposed that persons who experience and overcome high degrees of stress have a personality

structure characterised by hardness. Hardiness is linked to traits such as a sense of self-esteem (Rutter, 1985), an internal locus of control (Kobasa, 1985), confidence (Werner, 1993) and optimism (Murphy, 1987).

These empirical findings reverberated in theoretical descriptions of resilience in the individual developmental psychopathology tradition. Rutter initially (1987) refers to resilience as 'individual variation in response to risk' (p.317) while Garmezy (1993) narrowed the focus to adaptation by describing the empirically observed patterns as 'functioning following adversity' (p.129). A resilience perspective was born shifting the lens from viewing individuals as damaged to seeing them as challenged. This affirmed their reparative potential.

In an attempt to theorise empirical findings, resilience leads to descriptions of wellness rather than pathology. This emphasis on strengths rather than deficits culminated in what Antonovsky (1987) called a 'salutogenic orientation' (p.2). Resilience's stress theory origins and salutogenic properties are evident from their theoretical descriptions. Resilience is often discussed in terms of risk and protective factors (Hawley, 2000). Risk factors, relating to the stress theory tradition, refer to stressors that may be hindering effective functioning, for example parental divorce, poverty or physical illness (Hawley). Protective factors, on the other hand, are resources that help individuals buffer the effects of stress (Garmezy, 1984). Resilience thus refers to a process in which protective factors play a role in reaching unexpected adaptation despite adversity. As resilience as a process is a difficult and complex construct to measure, empirical traditions focussed on the measurement of protective factors and/or the outcome of the resilience process, namely adaptation. A similar approach will be followed in this study.

2.2.2 The individualistic tradition and resilience

Initially restricted to a focus on individuals, resilience theory spurred empirical efforts to identify common categories of protective factors contributing to positive adaptation in individuals (Hawley, 2000). In Werner and Smith's (1992) classic longitudinal study, the authors correlated individual positive adaptation with an internal locus of control, a positive self-concept, a positive attitude toward life and informational sources of support. Analysing individuals who overcame adversity Wolin and Wolin (1993) have identified seven protective characteristics including insight, independence, relationships, initiative, humour, creativity, and morality. The individualistic focus of these initial studies is apparent. They were primarily focussed on individuals and concerned with personality traits, cognitive propensities, characteristics and intrapersonal processes. Despite their initial individualistic focus, relationships and social support were identified by these empirical studies as important protective factors contributing to positive adaptation (Werner & Smith, 1992; Wolin & Wolin, 1993). Walsh (1996) proposes that individual resilience has an interpersonal context and that even genetically influenced individual traits occur in a relational context. Werner (1993) supports this proposal by emphasising that self-esteem and self-efficacy are promoted mostly through supportive relationships. All of the resilient children traced by Werner (1993) in the Kauai study had 'at least one person in their lives who accepted them unconditionally' (p.512). Similarly the stress-buffering quality of social support was cited in several studies (Bowlby, 1969; Brethereton, Walsh, & Lependorf, 1996; Cohan, 1988; House, Umberson, & Landis, 1988; Norbeck & Anderson, 1989; Pillemer & Suitor, 1996). This highlights the social fabric of human existence and validates the postulation of the potential resilience which could reside in an intimate group, for example a family. Examining family background with regard to suicidal behaviour, Rosenbaum and Rickman (1970)

found that families of suicidal patients expressed more hostility and offered less support than non-suicidal patients. After examining upwardly mobile American black families, McAdoo (1982) reported that ties with extended families were a source of emotional and instrumental strength, especially in periods of high stress.

A gradual relational awareness thus began to surface in the empirically identified protective factors. Still predominantly concerned with individuals, Garmezy (1984) identified three common categories of protective factors for resilient children: an easy temperament, the presence of an individual who takes a strong interest in the child, and a strong social network. Empirical findings indicated families could function as a protective factor for individuals at risk. Barnard (1994), for example, identified several family characteristics associated with individual resilience, namely the maintenance of rituals and minimal conflict during infancy. A similar awareness of relational factors was evident in the findings of Egeland, Carlson, and Sroufe (1993) and Masten (1994) adding the presence of at least one strong parent or adult care giver to the equation. Likewise Wyman et al. (1992) compared preadolescents exposed to major life stressors and found that those who were more resilient than their peers reported positive relationships with primary caregivers, stable family environments and consistent family discipline patterns. In these studies the individual remained the unit of analysis, but family variables served as correlates to resilience.

2.2.3 A familial perspective on resilience

Increasingly, however, resilience is being viewed as a family level construct. The work of Walsh (1996) and McCubbin and McCubbin (1988) have been especially noteworthy in this regard. McCubbin and McCubbin (1988) define family resilience as 'characteristics, dimensions, and properties of families which help families (to) be resistant to disruption in the face of change and adaptive in the face of crisis

situations' (p.247). Their relational awareness introduced the concept of resilience to the field of family psychology and caused a paradigm shift. The attempt to understand and research resilience gradually shifted from trying to identify attributes that characterise the resilient individual to understanding family responses and contextual processes. McCubbin, Boss, Wilson, and Lester (1980) and McCubbin and Patterson (1982) examined variability in military families' responses to the crisis of war and observed that many families moved from crises to successful adaptation.

McCubbin and Patterson (1982) stresses that resilience includes strengths that a family utilises in response to difficulties. This conceptualisation draws primarily on family strengths literature. Concurrently, several empirical studies attempted to trace such factors. Conger and Elder (1994) found sound management of the household economy as an effective resource for families under economic stress. Based on clinical experience some theorists proposed a link between the capacity to communicate and marital adjustment in times of crisis (Lewis, Beavers, Gosset, & Phillips, 1976).

Walsh (1996) offered a systemic view on family resilience by introducing the concept of relational resilience. The latter view focuses on the family as a functional unit and incorporates a developmental perspective concerned with how families deal with stress over time. Viewing resilience as a process and thus unique to each family is implicit to this conception.

In an attempt to clarify whether resilience can be considered a family level construct as opposed to a collection of resiliencies held by individual members, Hawley and De Haan (1996) concluded that resilience can be conceptualised at the family level. However, the authors stated that operationalising the construct for research purposes remains a difficult task, particularly for definitions that rely on socially constructed meanings among family members (Hawley & De Haan, 1996).

Hawley and De Haan also stress the importance of viewing family resilience as a developmental construct. They link resilience to a path a family follows over time as it adapts to stressful situations. Family resilience should thus be considered a process rather than a static set of qualities (Hawley, 2000; Hawley & De Haan, 1996). This corresponds to the conceptualisations of Walsh (1996) who postulates that each family follows a unique path of resilience.

The family resilience movement in psychology followed a similar route of development than the psychological awareness of individual resilience. In common with empirical studies with individuals, family stress literature pointed to the existence of coping in the face of adversity. The existence of risk and protective factors associated with the study of resilience among individuals was also present in families. Family resilience models were constructed in an attempt to address risk and protective factors. Initially the models corresponded to a more pathological perspective and centred on family risk factors.

Towards the turn of the twentieth century family stress literature (Reddon, McDonald, & Kysela, 1992; Rutter, 1987; Tubbs & Boss, 2000) consistently pointed towards a relationship between the number of stressors experienced by families and their functioning.

2.2.4 Empirical exploration of stressors

McCubbin, Joy, Cauble, Comeau, Patterson, and Needle (1980) reviewed research regarding family stress carried out in the last decade and created two major classifications of family stress: normative (related to expected stressors over the life span, for example parenthood) and non-normative (referring to unexpected stressors, for example disasters, illness, untimely loss, etc.) Studies of Larson, Wilson, and Beley (1994) and Voyandoff and Donnelly (1988) found non-normative stressors,

such as job insecurity or loss, to affect marital adjustment and problem solving in families.

Certain types of family stress are more or less culture related, for example in child focussed cultures infertility can be a source of marital strain. Denga (1982) conducted an investigation comparing marital adjustment with childbearing and involuntary childless women and found the latter group to be much unhappier than the former. He concluded that wives who fail to meet cultural and familial expectations regarding childbearing can suffer from marital stress.

Similar findings were reported regarding families experiencing normative, for example adolescents leaving home (Anderson, 1990) and non-normative crises, for example military wives (Knapp & Newman, 1993) and divorcing men (Plummer & Koch-Hattem, 1986). Non-normative demands, which are unexpected and frequently traumatic, are more likely to imply significant risk (Patterson, 2002). Epidemiologic data related to the influence of a child's chronic condition on the family, indicate twice the risk for psychological and behavioural problems in the target child (Lavigne & Faier-Routman, 1992; Pless, Power, & Peckham, 1993) as well as a heightened risk for family problems (Wallander & Varni, 1998). Patterson (2002) postulates that the strain of a child's chronic condition can lead to physical and emotional exhaustion in parents, which may in turn contribute to depression. In a supportive study of medically fragile children living at home, 75% of the families had one or both parents scoring in the psychiatric case range on a standard symptom inventory (Patterson, Leonard, & Titus, 1992). Non-normative chronic stress has a way of pushing a family to the extremes of adaptation: either they decline in competence or they become more competent (Hetherington, 1984). Zimmerman and Arunkumar (1994) state that when stressors elicit greater strengths in families, the need for a resilience model is apparent. Illustrating this need, Patterson (2002) found some families with chronically

ill children showed more cohesiveness, more effective communication and clearer family role organisation than families without children with chronic conditions.

Related to the concept of normative/expected stressors, Polak (1965) and Carter and McGoldrick (1980) focussed on the tasks of childbearing and child-rearing in their respective longitudinal studies with nuclear and extended families. As far as couples with adolescent children (the participants of this study) are concerned, the authors identified the following tasks:

- Adjustment of flexibility of family boundaries to meet children's increasing tendency toward autonomy as permitted by the culture;
- Developing family group solidarity (nuclear family or within the context of a larger extended family).

Rutter (1987) illustrates McCubbin and McCubbin's (1993) postulation of family vulnerability, a pile-up effect stemming from built up stressors, by noting that children may be able to withstand one or two continued stressors (for example poverty) but children who experience three or more stressors could experience long-term detrimental effects. Tubbs and Boss's (2000) findings of an association between ambiguous (prolonged) loss among servicemen missing in action and decreased functioning elaborate on the concept of a pile-up of stressors by introducing the concept of prolonged loss.

When exploring types of stressors tied to family functioning, several authors identified economic stressors (Conger et al., 1994; Nickols, 1994) and low social support (Wills, Blechman, & McNamara, 1996) as related to decreases in functioning. Brody, Stoneman, and Flor (1996) found lower wages to be linked to higher levels of depression and reduced marital quality.

Paradoxically although families could offer resilience potential, stress could cause a deterioration of family functioning. Abidin (1990) and Pianta and Egeland (1990)

found stress to have an adverse effect on parenting behaviour creating a circular effect.

2.2.5 Empirical exploration of protective factors

Resilience is often discussed in terms of stressors/risk and protective factors. Risk factors increase the likelihood of straining effective functioning, while protective factors, on the other hand, are resources that help individuals buffer the effects of adversity (Garmezy, 1984; Hawley, 2000). Because of Western psychology's focus on pathology (Walsh, 1996), much of the empirical studies, similar to theoretical trends, initially focussed on the exploration of stressors and the risk they may hold (Hawley, 2000). However, some findings indicated unexpected well-functioning despite adversity (Bowlby, 1969; Brethereton, Walsh, & Lependorf, 1996; Cohan, 1988; House, Umberson, & Landis, 1988; Norbeck & Anderson, 1989; Pillemer & Suitor, 1996). Stemming from their work with adult children of alcoholics who did not repeat the patterns of their parents, Wolin and Wolin (1993, p.15) advocate a 'change model' that focuses on resiliencies employed by clients who overcame adverse circumstances. These findings spurred the assessment of the potential presence of protective factors. Initial studies were mostly conducted from an individual perspective. Pearlin and Schooler (1978) found an internal locus of control to be a psychological coping device contributing to a reduction in the negative effect of stressful life events. Similar results were obtained by the South African study of Greeff and Van der Merwe (2004). According to Pearlin and Schooler (1978), a person with an internal locus of control displays strong feelings of self-mastery, because the person believes that the successful solution depends on him/her. The individualistic focus is apparent. Many studies have sought to understand how some children of mentally ill parents were able to overcome early experiences of abuse or neglect and lead productive lives (Anthony, 1987; Cohler, 1987; Garmezy, 1987).

Wolin and Wolin (1993) concluded lists of individual characteristics (for example insight; humour; creativity) as protective factors for resilient children, while Garmezy (1984) found interpersonal factors (for example someone taking a strong interest in the child; a strong social network) alongside personal characteristics (easy temperament) as contributing to individual resilience among children.

A few studies broadened the attention to include interpersonal phenomena. The importance of social support from family and friends is clearly evident from the findings of several studies (Holmes & Werbel, 1992; Johnson, 1989; Turner et al., 1991; Voydanoff, 1987). Families who are able to develop and use social support in the form of practical, emotional or financial assistance as offered by relatives, work associates, friends, or church organisations, are more resistant to major crises and better able to recover (Walsh, 1996). This is in agreement with Reed and Sherkat (1992) and Walsh (1998) who found that support from relatives and friends make it easier to bear the loss of a parent. In a study of factors promoting adjustment to unemployment, Turner, Kessler, and House (1991) found social support to be buffering the impact of job loss. The protective value of intra-familial emotional support was affirmed by the findings of Olson (1993), Sigelman and Shaffer (1995) and Walsh (1998). The importance of intra-family support was accentuated by the findings of several studies (Barnard, 1994; Hawley & De Haan, 1996; Gordon Rouse, Longo, & Trickett, 2000) while others noted the protective contribution of the social support of friends (Duran-Aydintug, 1998; Gavin, Kalter, & Hansell, 1993; Hawley & De Haan, 1996; Gordon Rouse et al., 2000). Johnson (1989) found that support from family members is considered more important than support from friends. Gavin et al. (1993) identify family solidarity and social support as key factors in promoting resilience. Van der Merwe and Greeff (2003) found familial support to be an important stress mediator in the coping devices of unemployed African men.

A common thread in current studies is that family is viewed as a protective factor for individuals potentially at risk (Hawley, 2000). Barnard (1994) for example identified family characteristics (for example the absence of parent-child role reversals; the maintenance of rituals) as contributing to individual resilience. Daily routines and rituals play a part in the process of building a sense of who a family is and how they differ from other families (Patterson, 2002). Rituals, such as a funeral and visits to the grave, can bind a family together in coping with the crisis of loss (Hochschild, 1997; Imber-Black, Roberts, & Whiting, 1988). Gordon Rouse, Longo, and Trickett (2000) found family participation in household tasks and hobbies to contribute to family resilience. Steinglass, Bennet, and Wolin (1987) found engaging in family rituals without the influence of alcoholic behaviour as a major protective factor from the intergenerational transmission of alcoholism after growing up with alcoholic parents. Similarly Wyman et al. (1992) compared groups of preadolescents and found family characteristics (for example positive relationships with care-givers; stable family environments) contributing to individual resilience.

Studies considering resilience as a family level construct are a new development in the empirical exploration of resilience (Hawley, 2000). Gordon Rouse, Longo, and Trickett (2000) identify emotional support between family members, clear boundaries and rules, and frequent contact between members as contributing factors to resilience in a family. In a study of families with a medically fragile child, some families developed positive meanings about their situation as a way to cope (Patterson, 1993; Patterson & Leonard, 1984). Stinnett and DeFrain (1985) have studied family strengths in different countries. Their cross-cultural research identified the following qualities as contributing to members' sense of personal worth and feelings of relationship satisfaction: commitment to the family, appreciation and affection, communication, shared enjoyable times, a sense of spiritual well-being and

the ability to successfully manage stress and crisis. Similar results were obtained by DeFrain (1999) who studied family strengths among Australian families.

2.2.6 The evolution of family resilience models

In a successive refining of theory and an inversion of dominant dualities McCubbin and colleagues shifted the focus from individual to family and pathology to health by attempting to understand the mechanisms/factors contributing to family resilience/positive adaptation despite a pile-up of stressors. Following numerous studies on stress and coping three successive models dominate current theory on resilience, namely:

- The ABCX model (Hill, 1949) addressing pre-crisis factors;
- The double ABCX model (McCubbin & Patterson, 1982) introducing post-crisis factors into the equation; and
- The Resiliency Model of Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin, Thompson, & McCubbin, 1996). The latter model is an adaptation of the ABCX model and incorporates the role that family type plays in contributing to family resilience.

In 1949 Hill developed a theoretical model of adjustment which incorporated the response cycle of the individual/family to stressors as they attempt to return to a homeostatic level (McKenry & Price, 1994). Hill developed the ABCX model to explain why families confronted with the same stressors vary in their responses and ability to adapt (Hawley, 2000). In Hill's (1949) ABCX model, a stressor event (A), interacting with the family's resources and strengths in dealing with the stressor (B), in combination to the family's definition of and attributes regarding the event (C), produces an impact (X) (Frude, 1991; McKenry & Price, 1994). Reformulating this model by adding post-crisis factors, McCubbin and Patterson (1982) proposed the

double ABCX model of Family Adjustment and Adaptation, or the Family Adjustment and Adaptation Response (FAAR) (Patterson, 1988). According to both the ABCX (Hill, 1949) and the double ABCX (McCubbin & Patterson, 1982) models the effects of the stressor event can be reduced by the availability and the use of various coping resources. The double ABCX model of McCubbin and Patterson (1982) differs from Hill's ABCX model (1949) because it also takes into consideration other life events or changes that simultaneously may rely on and tap the family's resources (McCubbin, Patterson, & Wilson, 1985).

From a family stress perspective, McCubbin, Thompson, and McCubbin (1996) expanded on Hill's (1949) ABCX model and McCubbin and Patterson's (1982) double ABCX model to propose the Resiliency Model of Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation. This most recent model, described more fully below, was used as the theoretical basis in the present study. This model involves two interrelated phases of family response to stress. The adjustment phase is concerned with the family's adjustment. In the face of normative and minor stressors and transitions the family makes minor changes and short-term adjustments with as little disruption to the family structure or functioning as possible (Frude, 1991; McCubbin et al., 1996). When these adjustments are inadequate to meet demands, or when resources are depleted, the adjustment process ends. The family then enters a crisis phase and the need for possible changes to restore stability arises (McCubbin et al., 1996; Walsh, 1996). The second phase, adaptation, requires the family to use resources from within and outside the family to facilitate adaptation (McCubbin & McCubbin, 1988). In the Resiliency Model of Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation, McCubbin, Thompson, and McCubbin (1996) suggest that a number of factors interact to predict a family's level of adaptation to stressors, including their level of vulnerability, family type (regenerative, resilient or rhythmic), resources, appraisal of the stressor, and

problem-solving and coping skills. They also propose family schema as a concept, a notion that suggests the family's overall outlook on life influences resilience (Hawley, 2000). The outcome of this adaptation phase is either bon-adaptation and exit from crisis, or mal-adaptation and entry into crisis and exhaustion (McKenry & Price, 1994; McCubbin et al., 1996).

2.2.7 The Resiliency Model of Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin, Thompson, & McCubbin, 1996)

McCubbin, Thompson and McCubbin (1996) assumed a leading role in the field of family resilience by developing a theoretical model and relating measuring instruments to evaluate contributing factors to family resilience. A translation of these instruments will be employed in this research project. According to Hawley (2000), Walsh (1996) and Hawley and De Haan (1996) resilience refers to a process in which protective factors play a role in reaching unexpected adaptation despite the adversity/risk. As resilience as a process is a difficult and complex construct to measure, its operationalisation for research purposes is difficult (Hawley, 2000) and it entails the measurement of protective factors and/or the outcome of the resilience process, namely adaptation. The Resiliency Model of Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin et al., 1996) clarify the resilience process by mapping it in terms of stressors and risk, protective factors and adaptation. This enables a measurement of the resilience process by tending to its compilation in terms of the aforementioned processes (stressors, protective factors and adaptation). A similar approach will be followed in this study.

The following figure, Figure 1, shows McCubbin et al.'s (1996) model of family resilience.

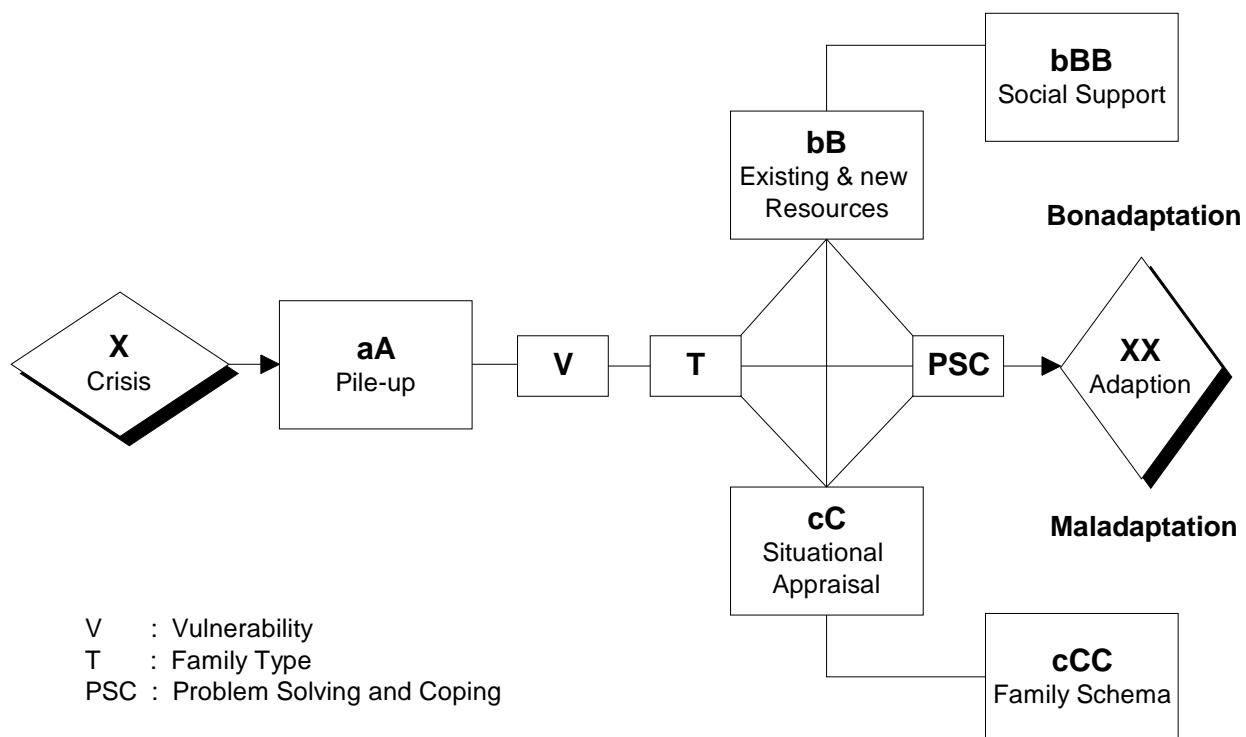


Figure 1. The Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin et al., 1996).

The theoretical awareness of the adverse effect of stressors, and its empirical exploration represent the traditional emphasis of family stress literature and the original emphasis of resilience models (McCubbin & Patterson, 1982). This awareness is also included in McCubbin et al.'s 1996 model depicted by Figure 1.

McCubbin et al.'s 1996 model illustrates the role of a pile-up of stressors in stress adaptation. Stressor events are any life event with the potential to provoke change in the family system (Lavee, McCubbin, & Olson, 1987; McCubbin & Lavee, 1986). Stress refers to tension arising from actual or perceived demands and distress appears when family members perceive the stress as 'unpleasant or undesirable' (Olson et al., 1985, p.119). A number of studies support the notion that unresolved previous stressors and previous coping attempts influence family functioning, for example Reddon, McDonald and Kysela (1992) who found a link between accumulated stressors and decreased functioning among mothers of disabled

children. A pile-up of stressors (aA), if not managed, depletes resources and may lead to family tension and stress (Lavee, McCubbin, & Patterson, 1985; McCubbin & Patterson, 1982; Olson et al., 1985).

According to Figure 1, family members are rendered vulnerable (V) because of a pile-up of previous stressors (aA). This intensifies, by means of recurrent impacts of the current crisis (X) faced by the family. Vulnerability interacts with the family's typology (T) referring to established patterns of family functioning. Family type (T) is thus a set of basic qualities of the family system that characterises how it typically behaves (McCubbin et al., 1996). McCubbin and Thompson (1991) identified four family types, namely regenerative, resilient, rhythmic and traditionalistic families. Marsh et al. (1996) found regenerative families to be better at managing normative strain and recovering from non-normative stressors. Marsh et al. (1996) analysed the regenerative family typology in terms of hardness and coherence and distinguished between an additional four groupings: vulnerable families (low hardness and low coherence); secure families (high hardness and low coherence); durable families (high coherence and low hardness); and regenerative families (high coherence and high hardness). Hardness refers to the internal strengths, sense of commitment to life with all its events and hardships and the durability of a family. Coherence is a coping strategy that assumes qualities such as acceptance, loyalty, pride, respect and shared values in management of family problems (Marsh et al., 1996). Antonovsky and Sourani (1988) found that families with a strong sense of coherence adapt more easily after a crisis. Research indicates that a families' level of education and socio-economic status, as well as gender, exert an influence on the sense of coherence of family members, whilst family coherence is a better predictor of the adaptability of the family structure than the individual's sense of coherence (Sagy & Antonovsky, 1998).

The family's potential to meet the demands of stressors is determined by a combination of factors that may already exist or are developed and strengthened by the family (Patterson, 1988). These resources (bB) may include individual traits of family members, cognitive appraisal, traits of the family system or typology (for example adaptability, cohesiveness and problem-solving abilities) and social support (Lavee et al., 1985; Olson et al., 1985).

Families appraise the situation (cC), i.e. define the problem as minor, moderate or a catastrophe, and use existing and new resources (bB) in attempting to reach adaptation. The family's perception (cC) of the pile-up of demands (aA), of the available resources (bB) and of what needs to be done in order to cope, is a critical factor in predicting family adaptation (McCubbin & Patterson, 1982; McKenry & Price, 1994). Drapeau, Samson and Saint-Jaques (1999) pointed out that the clearer the family's perception of control over a situation, the more likely it is that such a family will be resilient. Lazarus (cited in Olson et al., 1985) states that the cognitive appraisal process determines the intensity of emotional reactions and concludes that it is only possible to adjust in the face of hardships after some cognitive sense has been made or meaning attached to the problem.

Perception (the C factor) was a key element in the ABCX model originally proposed by Hill (1949). In their most recent expansion of the model, the Resiliency Model of Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation, McCubbin et al. (1996) proposed a related concept: family schemata (cCC). Family schemata describe the shared values, goals, priorities, and expectations of family members. McCubbin et al. (1996) suggest that strong family schemata are a key element of highly resilient families. Although family schema is generally seen as a relatively stable construct, McCubbin et al. (1996) emphasise that under drastic circumstances family schema may be reshaped in order to cope with the crisis. Closely related to McCubbin et al.'s

proposed concept of family schemata, is family sense of coherence (Hawley, 2000). This is an extension of Antonovsky's (1987) individual sense of coherence and refers to the extent to which families feel confident that the outcome of a situation will be favourable. Several studies (Anderson, 1994; Antonovsky & Sourani, 1988) have found positive links between higher levels of a family's sense of coherence and their ability to meet the demands of stressful situations.

Perception (the C factor) interacts with the family's problem solving and coping strategies (PSC), for example seeking social support. Family coping (PSC) refers to the attempt made by the family to reduce or manage demands on the family system (McCubbin & Thompson, 1991). Family coping is thus an adaptation strategy developed over time and is not an instant created state (McCubbin, & McCubbin, 1993; McKenry & Price, 1994). All of these components interact to shape the level of adjustment (XX). The latter can be positive (bon-adaptation) or negative (mal-adaptation) (McCubbin & Patterson, 1982). Adaptation (XX) is thus the culmination of the resilience process determined by the interaction between stressor events (aA), resources (bB) and perception (cC) (McCubbin et al., 1996).

2.2.8 Motivation of the selection of The Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin et al., 1996) for the purposes of this study

1) Because of its inversion of dominant dualities (pathology-health; individual-family) the model offered a revolutionary outlook on traditional family theory:

- By considering resilience, McCubbin et al.'s 1996 model addressed the tendency to predominantly focus on pathology as evident in stress literature; and

- By focussing on family strengths, McCubbin et al.'s 1996 model inverted the individual-family/cultural modality. The model addressed the privileging of individualism by a) focussing on the family/group instead of the individual and b) by identifying social support as contributing to resilience.
- 2) The model offered a means of empirically measuring the outcome of the resilience process:
- McCubbin et al.'s 1996 model's inclusion of a pile-up of stressors (aA) in its mapping of the resilience process, supports the perspective of family resilience as a process (Walsh, 1996) or a pathway a family follows over time in response to a significant stressor or a series of stressors (Hawley, 2000). This perspective supports the development of an assessment device that evaluates the level of resilience a family possesses at a given point of time. Resilience is thus not considered a static characteristic, but a process (Walsh).
 - According to Hawley (2000), Hawley and De Haan (1996) and Walsh (1996) resilience refers to a process in which protective factors play a role in reaching unexpected adaptation despite the adversity/risk. McCubbin et al.'s 1996 model clarifies the resilience process by mapping it in terms of stressors and risk, protective factors and adaptation. This enables measurement of the resilience process by *tending to the compilation thereof* in terms of the aforementioned processes.
- 3) The model offered the potential to be tested in a collective cultural setting:
- Accentuating groups (McCubbin et al.'s 1996 model corresponds to some extent to the collective African tradition). The selection of the model thus complements the target population of the study.

- McCubbin et al.'s 1996 model regards social support as one of many potential resilience factors. Acknowledging plurality and relativity are important when conducting culturally sensitive research.

For Shuda (1990) culturally sensitive research has long been neglected in the South African context. The uncovering of the universality-relativism duality in Western psychology is an important feat, as the emphasising of universality traditionally offered theorists the ability to disregard difference and plurality, rendering culturally sensitive research unexplored. Among family stress theorists, Boss (2001) recently emphasised the contexts of family stress and the need to take account of the cultural context in which a family resides to understand why and how a family is stressed as well as how they cope with this stress. This question is particularly relevant in the South African context of cultural diversity and negated cultural realities.

2.2.9 Utilisation of the Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin et al., 1996) for the purposes of this study

Since resilience as a process is a difficult and complex construct to measure, this complicates the conduct of research (Hawley, 2000). McCubbin et al. (1996) solved this dilemma by operationalising the measurement of resilience in terms of the measurement of protective factors and/or the outcome of the resilience process, namely adaptation. The Resiliency Model of Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin et al., 1996) enables measurement of the resilience process by *tending to the compilation thereof* in terms of stressors, protective factors and adaptation. This approach will be followed in this study. In the quantitative section of this study McCubbin et al.'s 1996 model will be employed. Different independent variables, as theoretically suggested by literature and empirically tested by this study, will be measured to determine which independent variables could be associated with

adaptation (XX) (see Figure 1). In this way factors associated with positive or bona-adaptation can be identified.

2.2.10 The relevance and positioning of the current study within the theoretical and empirical exploration of resilience

2.2.10.1 South African empirical relevance

Similar to traditional psychology's upholding of a pathological focus, resilience appears to be a negated concept within the South African psychological context. Because of Eurocentric individualistic influences, an even more limited research trend is evident from South African literature on family resilience or the resilience of ethnically diverse populations. While a few studies refer to the strengths of family life (Bolazek, 1999; Moller, 1996; Steyn, 1993, Viljoen, 1994) the specific exploration of family resilience in South Africa is limited to the work of Greeff (University of Stellenbosch). With the exception of four projects (Der Kinderen & Greeff, 2003; Greeff & Human, 2004; Greeff & Van der Merwe, 2004; Van der Merwe & Greeff, 2003) no other published South African research is available on factors contributing to family resilience.

In a South African study related to individual resilience, Van der Merwe and Greeff (2003) evaluated the efficacy of coping mechanisms of 82 unemployed African men with dependants. Results indicated significant relationships between stressful life events, perceived stress and four groups of coping mechanisms, namely an internal locus of control, extended family social support, mastery and health within the family and the utilisation of community resources. A familial and salutogenic perspective was followed in Greeff and Van der Merwe's (2004) exploration of variables associated with resilience in divorced South African families. Results indicated that intra-family support, support of the extended family, support of friends,

religion, open communication among family members, employment and financial security were factors promoting resilience in 98 participating families. In a similar South African project, but with a different crisis (the loss of a parent), Greeff and Human (2004) found individual characteristics (for example optimism), interpersonal characteristics (that is intra-familial support and support from extended family and friends), religion and the family's hardiness characteristics (such as the internal strength and durability of the family unit) to be contributing to successful adjustment to loss. Similarly the importance of social support was highlighted by the findings of Der Kinderen and Greeff (2003) in their tracing of resilience among South African families where a parent accepted a voluntary teacher's retrenchment package. This study again illustrated McCubbin et al.'s (1996) inclusion of a pile-up of stressors in their conceptualisation of the resilience process. The results confirmed that when family stressors are not managed they pile up and may lead to family tension and stress (Der Kinderen & Greeff, 2003). The above studies did ground-breaking work in the limited South African empirical investigation of resilience. Cultural sensitivity or an explorative tracing of diverse cultural groups was not a focal point in most of the cited studies, save the work of Van der Merwe and Greeff (2003). This study will specifically focus on the factors contributing to the resilience of African (Xhosa-speaking) families in the Alice area of the Eastern Cape, South Africa. In this country only limited research has been documented which aims at understanding the resilience process in families, or which identifies resilience factors contributing to the recovery of South African families faced with adversity (Der Kinderen & Greeff, 2003). Even fewer studies address these phenomena from a culturally sensitive perspective (Shuda, 1990). The present study thus contributes to the field of research on resilience in families.

The identified lack of South African empirical studies on resilience may also be linked to a more global trend.

2.2.10.2 Psychological theoretical relevance

The theoretical relevance of the current exploration is founded in the recommendations of several theorists: Dodson (1995) acclaims the need for culturally sensitive research, Hawley and De Haan (1996) notes the need for a focus on resilience and McCubbin et al. (1996) calls for a familial perspective when addressing resilience. This study endeavours to address these phenomena.

Hawley (2000) assessed psychological theory on family resilience and found a lack of considerations on how a family as a unit may be resilient. Instead theorists, in the context of working with families (Barnard, 1994; Valentine & Feinauer, 1993; Wolin & Wolin, 1993), tend to focus on how individual resilience may be a protective factor in troubled families. Although Hawley and De Haan (1996) and Walsh (1996) address resilience, Hawley (2000) deems their primary focus to be the clarification of the definition of resilience. By assessing which factors (in a familial setting) may play a role in reaching successful adaptation (the deemed outcome of the resilience process according to Hawley and De Haan (1996), McCubbin et al. (1996) and Walsh (1996)), this study may contribute to the theoretical understanding of how a family may be resilient.

Viljoen (1994) focussing on the strengths and weaknesses of black families in South Africa, reported the 'enduring belief in the family as institution and in its resilience under adverse circumstances' among participants (p. i). These findings accentuate the importance of familial factors in resilience and validate the need for the current exploration. This could add to a theoretical understanding of resilience.

2.2.10.3 Methodological relevance

Leading figures in the family resilience field, McCubbin, Thompson, Thompson and Futrell (1999) identified an important methodological lapse in current empirical trends. According to McCubbin et al. (1999) qualitative research is well suited to understanding processes and strategies and has been underused in the study of resilience. Similarly Patterson (2002) urges for the need to include qualitative methods in research on resilience. Because processes to develop new meanings are important to resilience (Antonovsky, 1987; McCubbin et al., 1996; Walsh, 1998) and given the subjectivity of meanings (Pearce, 1995; Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992) qualitative methods could help clarify how these processes unfold and the content of these meanings (Patterson, 2002). Beardslee's (1989) work is considered one of the few exceptions. Using open-ended life histories the author examined the role of self-understanding in resilience and found the latter of critical importance in addition to having strong relationships. A familial focus was not used. This study corresponds to McCubbin et al.'s (1999) calling by employing qualitative research in exploring Xhosa family resilience.

Secondly explorative studies of diverse populations are needed in the resilience field (Shuda, 1990). Considering the empirical exploration of black families, strong lapses emerged. Several theorists (Gnaulati & Heine, 2001; Kazdin, 1999) have noted the problematic traditional Eurocentric tendency to conduct research on white, predominantly male populations and to generalise findings to diverse groupings. The reported conceptualisations of non-white populations currently centre around predominantly American studies of black American culture from an American ethnocentric approach. This approach assumes there are universal norms for American culture and results in what Dodson (1995) deems the pathologising of families not fitting American cultural expectations. Frazier (1963) regards black

American culture as influenced by slavery, American and African culture (Herskovits, 1938). The aforementioned declaration of the American cultural influence on the black American population renders the mere generalisation of such findings to South African populations untenuous.

Very limited explorative research has been done on populations from diverse cultural settings (Hardy, 1989). Although this is a global trend (Gnaulati & Heine, 2001; Kazdin, 1999, Sato, 2001; Scarr, 1989), it is particularly true in the South African setting (Shuda, 1990). In South Africa only a few studies have thusfar attempted to explore and understand culturally diverse populations and those addressing resilience from a culturally sensitive perspective are even more limited (Shuda, 1990). In one South African study related to individual resilience, Van der Merwe and Greeff (2003) evaluated the efficacy of coping mechanisms of 82 unemployed African men with dependants. The authors linked the participants' valuing of extended family social support and the utilisation of community resources to African collective cooperation (Van der Merwe & Greeff, 2003). The current explorative study is directed toward an understanding of a negated South African population, that is, Xhosa-speaking families residing in the Alice area of the Eastern Cape.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Theoretical framework, overall design and methodology

This study is essentially exploratory in nature and directed towards an understanding of Xhosa family resilience in a South African context. The selection of an exploratory design is founded on three indicators. Firstly, the theoretical positioning of family resilience is a recent development. Secondly, indications of empirical lapses in studies investigating resilience of Xhosa families warrant an exploratory approach. Thirdly, an exploratory approach seems essential to understand the specific culture and context of a previously unexplored South African population.

Based on theoretical declarations of the complexity of resilience and the explorative nature of this study, qualitative and quantitative measures will be utilised. This adds to reflexivity and a balancing of opposites. Adhering to reflexivity, qualitative and quantitative measures can be compared and validated. Both measures will be used to explore resilience.

The study of black family resilience could be complemented by adhering to the salutogenic (health orientated) approach. As this approach provides a traditionally unexplored counterpart to the pathogenic approach (problem orientated) the framework complements the untangling of the negated qualities of Xhosa family resilience. Hawley and De Haan (1996) and Silliman (1994) view family resilience as an exploration of the ways in which families use their strengths in a time of crisis. Following the salutogenic approach the Resiliency Model of Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin et al, 1996) will be employed to explore family strengths and resilience factors.

Overall design: In alignment with the explorative stance both qualitative and quantitative means will be employed. This adds to the respect of plurality and the balancing of binary opposites while complementing the descriptive nature of the study. McCubbin and McCubbin (1996), leading figures in current knowledge on family resilience, urge for an incorporation of “more qualitative investigations … to complement empirically based studies” (p.1). For Tubbs and Boss (2000, p.286) qualitative data “humanize[s]“ research while providing rich and detailed data. According to Allen and Walker (2000) qualitative methods are suitable for the exploration of close relationships or explorative fieldwork. Walker (1985) mentions various other relevant considerations in support of a qualitative approach:

- A qualitative design is appropriate where information is insufficient or theory is inadequate;
- A qualitative approach is more appropriate with complex phenomena and where cultural sensitivity is required;
- A qualitative approach could add depth to potential superficial quantitative responses and may offer an understanding of relationships.

The inclusion of qualitative methods is thus theoretically grounded without rejecting quantitative techniques. Both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods were used to identify resilience factors. Firstly, existing quantitative instruments by McCubbin et al. (1996) were translated and employed. Secondly, semi-structured interviews were used to supplement quantitative data with qualitative perspectives.

3.2 Ethical considerations

3.2.1 The right to self-determination

Respect for freedom of choice underlies the right to self-determination. Thus human participants are to be treated as free agents with the right to control their own destiny.

All participants in this study were, therefore, fully informed about the study and were allowed to choose whether or not to participate in the project.

3.2.2 The right to privacy

Privacy was operationalised in terms of respect for the participants' freedom to determine the time and extent under which private information would be shared or withheld. The participants' privacy was protected at all times during the data collection. No data were collected unless the participant was fully informed about the research and his/her consent obtained.

3.2.3 The right to anonymity and confidentiality

Research participants have the right to anonymity. Anonymity and confidentiality were protected by using pseudonyms in all stages of the research: data gathering, analysis and reporting/discussion of findings. The data were collected by Xhosa fieldworkers. The training of the fieldworkers by the researcher included maintaining confidentiality and anonymity during data collection.

3.3 Participants

3.3.1 Participant selection

To co-ordinate the study with the encapsulating project, to maximise homogeneity and to address current limitations in the South African empirical and theoretical tradition, the population is defined as black, Xhosa-speaking families, with at least one adolescent child, living in rural communities surrounding Alice in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. Following Veroff and Goldberger's (1995) pragmatic conceptualisations of culture, the target group could be defined as a distinctive cultural grouping within the larger South African population, that is: "people sharing a common history, ...living in a specific geographic region, speak the same ...

language, observe common rituals, values, rules ..., [have] ... culturally normative practices such as child-rearing, kinship, social role and power arrangements" (p.10).

Sampling was based on voluntary participation. Based on ethical considerations, this is a necessary limitation. Depending on the availability of participants and the cost of the project, sufficient participants were included to allow meaningful statistical analysis.

Fifty families, who experienced either the death of a family member or a serious financial set-back, were identified and approached. As community members are mostly familiar with one another, members themselves acted as resource persons, identifying those families who suffered from some non-normative crisis. Central figures, well acquainted with and actively involved in the Alice community and community organisations – for example churches – were contacted to help identifying potential participants fitting the research profile. The prospective families were informed about the explorative nature, goals and ethics of the project. The voluntary basis of participation and what would be required of them in terms of time and availability were accentuated. Families were to be represented by two members, one parent and one adolescent. This representation was determined by the family members. The parent and child representation offered a multigenerational perspective. Unfortunately many of the families preferred to be represented by only one representative: usually the adult or parental figure in the family. However, some adolescent representatives did participate in the project. All participating families received compensation for their time and effort.

3.3.2 Participant demographics

Alice, a rural community in the Eastern Cape, is characterised by extreme poverty. Male family members are mostly absent from day to day family life as they are employed in far away urban areas in an attempt to provide for their families. Some of

the males work in South African mines many hundreds of kilometres away. Similarly many adolescents are away from home attending school, studying or seeking employment elsewhere. These demographics were reflected in the voluntary participant profile of the study. Length of marriage ranged between 1 and 50 years.

Age Distribution

All 76 participants (100% response rate) indicated their age. The sample is composed of 50 families who experienced either the death of a family member or a serious financial set back. These families were represented by 50 adults (ages varying between 32 and 74) and 26 adolescents (aged 15 to 20 years).

Employment

A total frequency of 28 (75.67%) of the total adult participants indicating their employment status (n=37), indicated that they did have some form of permanent/temporary employment, while 16% were unemployed at the time of data gathering.

Table 1 offers a summary of the employment status of adult participants and their partners.

Table 1

Summary of the Employment Status of Adult Participants (n=37) and their Partners (n=20)

Permanent		Temporary		Pensioner		Unemployed	
Self	Partner	Self	Partner	Self	Partner	Self	Partner
12	9	16	3	3	2	6	6
32.24%	45%	43.24%	15%	8.1%	10%	16. 21%	30%

Table 1 shows the distribution of employment indicated by 37 participants.

A frequency of 20 (40%) of the total adult participants indicated their partner's employment status. When compared to the 32.24% permanent employment status of participants, a higher frequency of partners (45%) were permanently employed. This could be a reflection on the gender status of the participants. Eighty eight percent of the adult participants were females living with male partners. An inverse effect is evident from temporary employment figures. Sixteen (43%) participants (predominantly female) were temporary employed while only three (predominantly male) partners (15%) were recorded as temporary employed. Pensioner status was more evenly distributed between two partners (10%) and three participants 3 (8%).

Income Status

Table 2 provides a summary of the annual gross income status of participating families.

Table 2

Summary of the Annual Gross Income Status of Participating Families (N=50)

Annual income categories						
<R20 000	R21 000 –R40 000	R41 000 – R60 000	R 61 000 – R80 000	R 81 000 – R 100 000	> R 100 000	
29	5	9	5	1	1	
58%	10%	18%	10%	2%	2%	

According to Table 2 a frequency of 29 (58%) of the total number of participating families have an income status of less than R20 000 per annum. Ninety six percent of all the participating families' income is below R80 000 per annum. A mere 4% of the sample had an income higher than R80 000. It is clear from the distribution that most of the participants had low financial resources.

Educational level

All 50 adult participants (100%) indicated their own educational level. Thirty two (64%) of the adult participants indicated their partner's education level. Table 3 provides a summary of the educational level of adult participants and their partners.

Table 3

Summary of the Educational Level of Adult Participants and Partners (N=50)

Educational level									
Primary School		Secondary School		Tertiary diploma		Tertiary Degree		Other	
Self	Partner	Self	Partner	Self	Partner	Self	Partner	Self	Partner
7	5	26	18	11	6	4	2	1	1
14%	15.6 %	52%	56.2%	22%	18.8%	8%	6.2%	2%	2%

The educational status of adult participants could be portrayed by allocation to the above categories (see Table 3). The distribution of education levels followed a normal curve slightly skewed to the left (more participants/partners had a primary educational level than a tertiary degree). The above table reflects that most of the participants (74%) had a secondary (n=26, 52%) or tertiary (diploma) (n=11, 22%) educational level.

Gender distribution

All adult participants (N=50) indicated their gender. A similar pattern was evident from the adolescent population. The following tables indicate the gender distribution of the population who provided the required information. Data on adult and adolescent populations are reported separately to enable comparison. Table 4.1 reflects the adult gender distribution of the participants, while Table 4.2 shows the adolescent gender distribution.

Table 4.1

Adult Gender Distribution (N=50)

Males		Females		Total	
Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
6	12	44	88	50	100

According to Table 4.1 a 100% response rate was obtained from adult participants indicating their gender (N=50). 44 (88%) of the participants were females and 6 (12%) were males. Table 4.2 offers a summary of the gender distribution of adolescent participants.

Table 4.2

Adolescent Gender Distribution (n=25)

Males		Females		Total	
Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
12	48	13	52	25	96

It would appear from Table 4.2 that all adolescent participants, save one (96%), indicated their gender. A more even distribution was evident from the adolescent gender profile indicating their gender (N=25) where 12 (48%) of the participants were male and 13 (52%) were female. Because of ethical considerations representation was voluntary. The representatives were selected by the families based on membership, availability and willingness to partake in the project.

3.4 Measuring instruments

According to Hawley (2000), Hawley and De Haan (1996) and Walsh (1996) resilience refers to a process in which protective factors play a role in reaching unexpected adaptation despite the adversity/risk. The Resiliency Model of Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin et al., 1996) was employed to clarify the resilience process by mapping it in terms of stressors and risk, protective factors and adaptation. This enables measurement of the resilience process by tending to its compilation in terms of the aforementioned processes. The following measures were selected based on McCubbin et al.'s 1996 model. Six measures, listed below, were used to measure independent variables (protective factor(s) contributing to the resilience process) and a seventh measure, The Family Attachment Changeability Index 8 (FACI8) (McCubbin et al., 1996), was used to measure the adaptation of the family post crisis.

3.4.1 Quantitative measures

The following quantitative measuring instruments were employed. All questionnaires were translated in the native language of the population, Xhosa, by a Xhosa-speaking psychology lecturer at the University of Fort Hare. A translation-back-translation procedure was followed. The employed questionnaires were as follows:

The Family Hardiness Index (FHI) of McCubbin et al. (1996) was utilised to measure internal strengths and durability of the family unit. The Family Hardiness Index measures the ability to have a sense of control over outcomes of life and having an active orientation in adjusting to and managing stressful situations (McCubbin et al., 1996). Hardiness refers to a sense of control over the outcomes of life events and hardships, as well as an active, rather than a passive, orientation in adjusting to and managing stressful situations (McCubbin et al., 1996). The scale consists of 20 items, which aim to measure the characteristics of hardiness in

mitigating the effects of stressors and demands, facilitating adjustment and adaptation over time (McCubbin et al., 1996). The scale consists of three subscales (commitment, challenge, and control) that require participants to assess on a 5-point Likert rating scale (False, Mostly False, Mostly True, True, Not Applicable) the degree to which each statement describes their current family situation. The Commitment subscale measures the family's sense of internal strengths, dependability and ability to work together. The Challenge subscale measures the family's efforts to be innovative, active, to enjoy new experiences and to learn. The Control subscale measures the family's sense of being in control of family life rather than being shaped by outside events and circumstances (McCubbin et al., 1996). The internal reliability of the Family Hardiness Index (FHI) is .82 (Cronbach's alpha), and the validity coefficient ranges from .20 to .23 with criterion indices of family flexibility, satisfaction, and time and routine (McCubbin et al., 1996). The Cronbach alpha reliability coefficient of the Family Hardiness Index (FHI) in this study was .25 (Commitment, .52; Challenge, .29 and Control, .51).

The Relative and Friend Support Index (RFS) developed by McCubbin, Larsen and Olson, measures the degree to which the family uses friends and family support to manage stressors and strains (McCubbin et al., 1996). The eight items relate to sharing problems or seeking advice from neighbours or relatives. The 8 item scale requires a response on a 5 point Likert rating scale ranging from, strongly disagree to strongly agree (McCubbin et al., 1996). The scale has an internal reliability of .82 (Cronbach's alpha) and a validity coefficient of .99 (correlation with the original Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales [F-COPES]) (McCubbin et al., 1996). The Cronbach alpha reliability coefficient of the Relative and Friend Support Index (RFS) in this study was .88. The internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of the

scale is .82 and the validity coefficients range from .20 to .23 regarding family satisfaction, time and routines, and flexibility variables (McCubbin et al., 1996).

The Social Support Index (SSI) (McCubbin et al., 1996) was incorporated to assess community integration and the family's employment of community resources for emotional support, esteem support (affection) and network support (relationships with relatives). The Social Support Index (SSI) was developed by McCubbin, Patterson and Glynn (McCubbin et al., 1996), to evaluate the importance of finding support in the community and the families' integration in the community (McCubbin et al., 1996). According to Greeff and Human (2004) support from the community could be emotional (recognition and affirmation), esteem support (affection), and network support (relationships with relatives). The Social Support Index consists of 17 items rated on a five point scale of agreement, ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree" (McCubbin et al., 1996). The internal reliability of the Social Support Index measures .82 (Cronbach's alpha) and the validity coefficient (correlation with the criterion of family well-being) was .40 (McCubbin et al., 1996). The Guttman split-half alpha reliability coefficient of the Social Support Index in this study was .80.

The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales (F-COPES), developed by McCubbin, Larsen, and Olson (McCubbin et al., 1996), identifies the problem solving and behavioural strategies that families use in crisis situations. F-COPES consists of 30 5-point Likert-type items (Strongly Disagree, Moderately Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Moderately Agree, Strongly Agree). The scale consists of five subscales that are divided into two dimensions, namely: (1) internal family coping strategies and (2) external family coping strategies. The former defines the way in which crises are managed by using support-resources inside the nuclear family system. The latter refers to the active behaviour that a family adopts to elicit support-resources outside the nuclear family system (Olson et al., 1985). The internal

strategies are: (1) reformulation or redefining the problem in terms of the meaning it has for the family (positive, negative, or neutral) (Cronbach Alpha = .69) and (2) passive appreciation (the family's tendency to do nothing about crisis situations based on a lack of confidence in own potential to change the outcome) (Cronbach Alpha = .57). The external strategies are: (1) use of social support, for example friends, family members and neighbours (Cronbach Alpha = .84); (2) the search for religious support (Cronbach Alpha = .87); and (3) the mobilisation of the family to obtain and accept help (for example professional help and utilisation of community resources) (Cronbach Alpha = .58) (McCubbin et al., 1996).

The Family Time and Routine Index (FTRI) of McCubbin et al. (1996) was employed to explore a) activities and family routines utilised by families and b) to assess the value families place upon these practices. Family time, practices, and routine are reliable indicators of family integration and stability that include a family's ability to handle major crises (McCubbin et al., 1996). This scale consists of 30 items and 8 subscales, (1) parent-child togetherness (Cronbach's alpha = .27), (2) couple togetherness (Cronbach's alpha = .69), (3) child routines (Cronbach's alpha = .40), (4) meals together (Cronbach's alpha = .55), (5) family time together (Cronbach's alpha = .49), (6) family chores routines (Cronbach's alpha = .56), (7) relatives' connection routine (Cronbach's alpha = .27), and (8) family management routines (Cronbach's alpha = .65) (McCubbin et al., 1996). The Parent-Child Togetherness subscale measures the family's emphasis on establishing predictable communications between parent and children and adolescents. The Couple Togetherness subscale measures the family's emphasis on establishing predictable routines to promote communication between couples. The Child Routines subscale measures the family's emphasis on establishing predictable routines to promote a child/teen's sense of autonomy and order. The Family Togetherness subscale

measures the family's emphasis on family togetherness to include special events, caring, quiet time and family time. The Family Chores subscale measures the family's emphasis upon establishing predictable routines to promote child and adolescent responsibilities in the home. The Meals Together subscale measures the family's efforts at establishing predictable routines in promoting togetherness through family mealtimes. The Relatives Connection subscale measures the family's effort to establish predictable routines to promote a meaningful connection with relatives. The Family Management Routines subscale measures the family's efforts to establish predictable routines to promote a sense of family organisation and accountability needed to maintain family order (McCubbin et al., 1996). Participants are required to assess on a 4-point Likert rating scale the degree (False, Mostly false, Mostly true, or True) to which each statement describes their current family situation. Additionally, an assessment of the degree to which the participant values the routine was listed (Not important, Somewhat important, Important, Very important, and Not applicable) (McCubbin et al., 1996). The internal reliability (Guttman split-half alpha) of the Family Time and Routines is .73 and the validity coefficients range from .19 to .34 with criterion indices of Family functioning (McCubbin et al., 1996). The instrument has an overall internal reliability of .88 (Cronbach alpha).

The Family Problem Solving and Communication scale (FPSC) of McCubbin et al. (1996) was used to assess family communication patterns. The Family Problem Solving Communication (FPSC) questionnaire was used to measure two dominant patterns in family communication, which plays an important part in coping with hardships. This scale consists of 10 items with a 4-point Lickert scale (0-False, 1-Mostly false, 2-Mostly true, and 3-True) which aims to measure family communication patterns. Communication patterns are recognised as positive and negative, and both play an important role in problem solving and resilience (McCubbin et al., 1996). The

scale consists of two 5-item subscales, (1) Incendiary communication which tends to exacerbate a stressful situation and (2) Affirming communication which conveys support and care, exerting a calming influence (McCubbin et al., 1996). The alpha reliability of the Family Problem Solving Communication (FPSC) instrument is .89 (Incendiary Communication .78, and Affirming Communication .86). The validity coefficient has been validated in several large-scale studies under stress. The Cronbach alpha reliability coefficient of the Family Problem Solving Communication (FPSC) instrument for this study was .54 (Incendiary Communication .45, and Affirming Communication .51).

The Family Attachment Changeability Index 8 (FACI8), an adaptation by McCubbin et al. (1996) of the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales (Olson, Porter, & Bell, 1989) was incorporated as a measure to assess the family's level of Attachment (cohesion) and Changeability (flexibility). This instrument was used to measure the dependent variable (family adaptation) in this study. According to the Resiliency Model the outcome of all the processes results in the level of adaptation for the family. This scale consists of 16 items with a 5-point Likert scale of how often events occur, ranging from Never to Always. The respondent is asked to describe how often each item is occurring now and how often the respondent would like to see each item happening in his/her family. The scale consists of two subscales, (1) Attachment, determining family members' attachment to each other, and (2) Changeability, determining the flexibility of the family members in their relationship with each other (McCubbin et al., 1996). The internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha) for the Attachment scale in this study is .56. The internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha) for the Changeability scale in this study is .43. Validity was established by determining the FACI8's relationship to a treatment program's successful outcome (McCubbin et al., 1996).

The abovementioned instruments measure various aspects of family functioning presumably contributing to the family resilience process, for example internal family strength and durability, community integration and support, utilisation of social (friend and relative) support, problem solving techniques (internal and external to the family cohort), activities and family routines, and communication patterns. Family adaptation (the dependent variable) is measured with the FACI8.

3.4.2 Qualitative Measures

A biographical questionnaire was compiled for the purposes of this study. The questionnaire consisted of semi-structured questions regarding family composition, marital status and the duration of the parental relationship, age and gender of family members, level of education, employment, income and home language. The qualitative interview included semi-structured questions regarding the participant's perspective on resilience and factors contributing to his/her family's ability to combat and recover from adversity (See Addendum A).

3.5 Procedure

Alice is a close nit rural community. As community members are mostly familiar with one another, members themselves acted as resource persons, identifying those families who suffered from a non-normative crisis. Central figures, for example, Nkululeko Sandlana, a Xhosa-speaking psychology lecturer, well acquainted with and actively involved in the Alice community, acted as an important resource person. Community organisations, for example churches, were also contacted to assist in identifying potential participants fitting the research profile. The identified families were approached by the interviewers participating in the study, namely two Xhosa-speaking post-graduate psychology students, trained in the skills of qualitative interviewing and data gathering. All potential participating families were provided with information regarding the study (that is the aims and method of the study). In

alignment with ethical principles recruitment was not random, but rather based on voluntary participation and informed consent. All participating families received a food hamper in appreciation for their time and effort. Should selected families be unwilling to participate, another family were identified. Privacy and confidentiality were valued, all data were coded and pseudonyms were provided in all written reports. Prospective participants were invited to ask questions and voice their opinions regarding the project.

Post-graduate psychology students fluent in Xhosa and English and familiar with the target population conducted the interviews and assisted participants with the completion of the questionnaires. Interviewers received a basic remuneration of R20 per family. Both interviewers received the same instructions regarding the data gathering process (see Addendum C for interview guidelines). Role-play techniques were employed to facilitate further preparation of the interviewers. Xhosa lecturers who are familiar with the target population and play an active role in the identified community's cultural and church activities provided supervision to the interviewers. During the first set of interviews the interviewers were accompanied by their supervisor to ensure that instructions were understood and clearly followed.

The data gathering process followed once informed consent was obtained. The discussions were taped with the participants' consent. During the interviews the following strategies were used to ensure an easy flow of discussions:

- Explaining the aims and nature of the research.
- Emphasising that there were no "right" or "wrong" answers and that participants were to focus on their own experiences.

The interview process may be summarised as follows:

- The procedure started with the biographical questionnaire.

- This was to be followed by the qualitative phase where family members were asked why they thought their family was able to work through a crisis successfully. The semi-structured questions are designed to trace personal and potentially culturally imbued perspectives on family and resilience. This complements the explorative nature of the study and provides an essential personal and potentially cultural contextualisation of the obtained data. The qualitative questions (see Addendum A) were recorded by the interviewer.
- The quantitative phase was then introduced. Families were required to complete questionnaires separately, but in the presence of the interviewer. The relevant family members completed the questionnaires. Depending on literacy levels, interviewers assisted participants in the completion of the questionnaire. A total of 50 families were interviewed. To add to the convenience of participants, all interviews were conducted at the participants' home. As Alice is a very poor and rural community, requiring participants to travel to a central interviewing venue, for example at the University of Fort Hare, would be inappropriate. All interviews were conducted in October, November and December 2003. Interviews were conducted mostly during the course of the day at a time convenient for the participants. Although interviewers reported the qualitative section of the data gathering to be quite time consuming, resulting in some families' choice to be represented by only one member instead of two, few other problems were experienced.

All families ($N=50$) were invited to select two representatives: one adult/parent and one adolescent per family, but only 21 families chose to do so. Because of voluntary selection based on ethical considerations 50 families chose to be represented only by an adult/parent ($N=50$). Gender distribution was determined by voluntary selection as each family chose its own representative(s). Adult

representatives were mainly female because of male breadwinners reportedly working far away from home. Qualitative and quantitative sections were completed by the selected adult representatives ($N=50$). Adolescent representatives were difficult to trace. Twenty six adolescents completed the quantitative section of the study, while only 21 adolescent representatives were available to complete the qualitative component. Families often indicated that the qualitative section should be conducted with the parental representative first. Adolescents were often difficult to trace or unavailable when interviewers again attempted to visit them at a later stage.

3.6 Data Analysis

Qualitative data: Grounded theory analysis was used to categorise qualitative data according to themes and frequency. This narrative technique is acclaimed for its ability to make implicit belief systems explicit (Charmaz, 1995). According to Charmaz the approach is designed to promote sensitivity and is recommended for explorative settings. By means of coding and close reading, categories and relationships imbued in the narrative are uncovered (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Central to the implementation of grounded theory in analysing data, is the heuristic tool of coding, namely paradoxically condensing and expanding data by devising categories of data. This facilitates further investigation and interpretation. The operation of coding was modelled by Strauss (1987). Grounded theory devised by Strauss (1987) entails the following process:

After several repeated readings of the qualitative transcripts, initial codes are assigned to the data. This involves line-by-line scrutinising of transcripts and noting in the margins of the texts. This in turn inspires another set of refined codes that focus on the structure and content of the interview (see addendum for an example). In the following phase the relationships between the codes and categories are explored. This is called axial coding (Strauss, 1987). This phase entails the highlighting of

commonalities and contradictions and the consideration of possible causes and consequences of the participants' views on family resilience. Central themes can thus be identified and explored. During the process of selective coding interrelationships between the central themes are explored. These themes and their interrelationships, together with illustrations from the data, are used in the discussion section where identified themes have been integrated with theoretical and empirical literature. Grounded theory opens a space for line-by-line scrutiny, reflection, thematic exploration and analysis and thus provides groundwork for developing exploration and theory of previously unexplored territories.

In order to facilitate comparisons between cases, the material was organised according to the following qualitative questions:

- If I say family, what pictures come to mind / what do you see in your mind's eye?
- In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?'
- In your opinion what helped your family through difficult times?

Quantitative data: The concern of this study was to identify and explore the potential factors associated with resilience in Xhosa-speaking families. As the study focussed on identifying several metric predictors associated with family adaptation (dependent variable) and consequently viewed as resilience factors, numerous potential independent variables were identified based on the literature review. Potential independent variables, as postulated by the literature, were measured by quantitative instruments, for example The Family Hardiness Index (FHI) (McCubbin et al., 1996); The Social Support Index (SSI) (McCubbin et al., 1996); The Relative and Friend Support Index (RFS) (McCubbin et al., 1996); The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales (F-COPES) (Olson et al., 1985); The Family Time and Routine Index (FTRI) (McCubbin et al., 1996); and The Family Problem Solving and Communication Scale (FPSC) (McCubbin et al., 1996). To measure the level of family adaptation, the dependent variable, the Family Attachment Changeability Index 8 (FACI8) (McCubbin et al., 1996) was utilised.

The use of both grounded theory and statistical analysis complement the complexity of the topic.

Based on the concept of quantification, the notion that the codification of data into numbers could enhance their understanding, all data were statistically analysed. In this regard qualitative data were quantified in terms of how many times a certain category was mentioned in addition to reporting important categories with a discussion accompanied by illustrative quotations. Quantitative data were analysed predominantly according to correlation and regression analysis techniques. All empirical analyses were planned and executed in collaboration with a senior statistician at the Statistical Consultation Service of the University of Stellenbosch. The sample was characterised descriptively using demographic data obtained from

each participant. This section was included in the questionnaire to obtain baseline data of the participants and their immediate family members.

Biographical data were codified and analysed alongside data obtained from statistical instruments.

3.7 Validation

The method of triangulation was used to enhance the validity of this research. This entails assuming varied points of view from which research material may be considered and interpreted: “Triangulation makes use of combinations of methods, investigators, perspectives ... thus facilitating richer and potentially more valid interpretations” (Tindall, 1994, p.145). Quantitative and qualitative data gathered from the same participants on the same research question offered the potential of comparison, methodological combinations and multiple perspectives.

Chapter 4

RESULTS

'If you have one child you would often hear them saying "the pillar of the home has arrived" for they trust the child would one day come to help them when in need' (question 1, line 55-61, parent 5).

The above declaration carries tones of cultural values ('them saying'), definitions of family ('one child') and associations between family and resilience ('help ... when in need'). This is an example of the rich data obtained and reported in this text. The quotation is functional as it illustrates the connection between the central themes of the study (family, resilience and culture) that naturally emerged from participants' dialogue when enquiring about Xhosa familial perspectives. It, therefore, validates the relatedness and existence of such themes among members of the relevant population and provided motivation inherent to the population. The importance of the study and the obtained results are thus not merely motivated by external Western psychological theorists, for example Veroff and Goldberger's (1995) declaration that: "psychology has given [little attention] ... to the role of culture in human behaviour and development" (p.4); Shuda's (1990, p. vii) finding that families, a framework of group dynamics, is "often left impotent" in the South African psychological context; or Hawley and De Haan's (1996) plea advocating resilience and the ability to rise above adversity and survive hardships, but also internally motivated by the declarations of participants. Xhosa culture and the participants uphold the existence of resilience, for example 'Generally, they (AmaXhosa) say an elephant is able to pull its trunk. Human beings can deal with their challenges; there is no doubt' (question 3, line 215-220, parent 20).

This exploration traces the construing of resilience in the everyday lives of Xhosa-speaking black South African families. This view involves an illumination of factors contributing to coping, despite adversity.

Data gathering was a threefold endeavour: After the initial gathering of biographical data, qualitative and quantitative data gathering phases were introduced. Although some instances of missing data did occur, the data obtained by this study was rich and many interesting findings emerged. Data obtained in these phases will be reported consecutively and discussed in the next chapter.

4.1 Results: Quantitative and biographical findings

Biographical findings were employed to describe the population and reported in the participant demographics section (see Section 3.3.2, Tables 1 to 4). Quantified biographical findings showing positive correlations with family adaptation, as measured by the FACI 8, are reported in this section. All quantitative findings are reported consecutively. Scatterplots for significant correlations are provided.

Quantitative findings: To determine the independent variables' relationship with the dependent variable statistically, the hypothesis was tested that the independent variables are associated with the dependent variable (family adaptation). With each testing the H_0 hypothesis was assumed, that is the assumption that the independent variable in question is not correlated with the dependent variable (family adaptation). Spearman's correlation coefficients were determined as measure of non-parametric analysis. This quantified the degree of relationship between each independent and the dependent variable. Pearson's correlations were also determined and little difference between parametric and non-parametric analysis results was found. A second phase of the statistical analysis entailed the exploration of the co-joint

influence of several independent variables on the dependent variable. To determine this, regression analyses were employed.

To assess the significance of the determined correlation coefficients the 0.05 probability level was adopted. In cases of a probability of 0.05 or less, the H_0 hypothesis was rejected. To enable comparison and enhance transparency all quantitative correlations and their probability levels will be reported in table form. For similar reasons results derived from the adult and adolescent participants will be provided separately. To report these findings a summary of correlations obtained are provided in Table 5. Scatter plots of significant correlations will be provided thereafter.

Table 5

Pearson and Spearman Correlations between the Measured Independent Variables and the Dependent Variable Family Adaptation (FACI 8 scores)

Participant Code	Independent Variable	Pearson's Correlation (r)	Probability Level (p)	Spearman's Correlation (Sr)	Probability Level (p)
P	FHI total	0.4413**	0.0015	0.38*	0.01
A		0.4959**	0.0100	0.58**	0.00
P	SSI Total	0.3466**	0.0137	0.50**	0.00
A		0.1706	0.4048	0.20	0.33
P	RFS total	-0.0729	0.6146	0.02	0.87
A		0.1299	0.5272	0.10	0.64
P	FC SOC	-0.0494	0.7336	-0.04	0.76
A		0.3497	0.0799	0.30	0.13
P	FC RE	0.3403**	0.0156	0.30*	0.04
A		-0.1559	0.4469	-0.05	0.79
P	FC SPIR	-0.1796	0.2119	-0.11	0.43
A		0.0432	0.8339	0.07	0.75

(table continues)

(Table 5 continued)

Participant Code	Independent Variable	Pearson's Correlation (r)	Probability Level (p)	Spearman's Correlation (Sr)	Probability Level (p)
P	FC MO	0.0243	0.8671	0.01	0.95
A		0.1956	0.3383	0.16	0.43
P	FC PA	0.0958	0.5080	0.05	0.74
A		0.0046	0.9821	-0.02	0.93
P	FPSC total	0.4219**	0.0023	0.29*	0.04
A		0.6156**	0.0008	0.62**	0.00
P	FTRI total	0.1237	0.6480	0.11	0.68
A		0.4368	0.0907	0.38	0.15
P	FTRI: Child routines	-0.2291	0.3934	-0.14	0.61
A		0.4339	0.0931	0.40	0.12
P	FTRI: Couple togetherness	0.1402	0.3367	0.11	0.43
A		0.2506	0.2169	0.30	0.13
P	FTRI: Eating meals together	-0.0337	0.8898	0.09	0.74
A		0.4257	0.1002	0.49*	0.05
P	FTRI: Parent-child togetherness	0.2168	0.1345	0.21	0.16
A		0.2587	0.2020	0.23	0.26
P	FTRI: Parent-family togetherness	0.2518	0.0810	0.20	0.17
A		0.2583	0.2027	0.25	0.21
P	FTRI: Parent-family contact	0.3676	0.1613	0.44	0.09
A		0.0707	0.7946	0.10	0.70
P	FTRI: Parent-family tasks	0.2256	0.3988	0.38	0.15
A		0.3887	0.1368	0.42	0.11
P	FTRI: Parent-family management	0.0130	0.9618	0.04	0.89
A		0.2242	0.4038	0.26	0.33

(table continues)

(Table 5 continued)

Participant Code	Independent Variable	Pearson's Correlation (r)	Probability Level (p)	Spearman's Correlation (Sr)	Probability Level (p)
P	FTRI: Length of marriage	-0.0653	0.7053	-0.12	0.48
A		0.5387*	0.0211	0.050	0.03
P	Biographical data: Age of parent	0.0291	0.8408	0.01	0.97
A		0.2339	0.2604	0.31	0.14
P	Age of child	-0.0524	0.7995	-0.01	0.96
A		0.1539	0.6713	0.05	0.89
P	Income	0.2007	0.1667	0.27	0.06
A		-0.1290	0.5481	-0.20	0.34
P	Own qualification	0.3193*	0.0253	0.39**	0.01
A		-0.2422	0.2434	-0.26	0.20
P	Partner qualification	0.2064	0.2653	0.26	0.15
A		-0.3552	0.1770	-0.36	0.17

Note.

P = Parent/Adult participant

A = Adolescent participant

Significance code (p): * p < 0.05
 ** p < 0.01

Quantitative instrument codes:

FTRI = Family Times and Routines Index (McCubbin et al., 1996)

FTRI subscales: Child routines; Couple togetherness; Eating meals together; Parent-Child togetherness; Parent-family togetherness; Parent-family contact; Parent-family tasks; Parent-family management

FHI = Family Hardiness Index, total score (McCubbin et al., 1996)

SSI = Social Support Index (McCubbin et al., 1996)

RFS = Relative and Friend Support Index of McCubbin, Patterson, & Glen (quoted in McCubbin et al., 1996)

FC SOC = The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales, social support subscale (Olson et al., 1985)

FC RE = The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales, redefining and ascribing meaning subscale (Olson et al., 1985)

FC SPIR = The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales, spiritual support subscale (Olson et al., 1985)

FC MO = The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales, mobilising community support for the family subscale (Olson, et al., 1985)

FC PA = The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales, passive appreciation subscale (Olson, et al., 1985)

FPSC = The Family Problems Solving and Communication Scale (McCubbin et al., 1996)

Biographical data: Age of parent/adolescent; Annual family gross income; Own/partner adult qualification

The following conclusions are portrayed by Table 5. Consecutively the following independent variables could be identified as statistically significantly associated with family adaptation:

- Family hardness as measured by The Family Hardiness Index (FHI) (McCubbin et al., 1996), adult results ($r=0.4413$; $p=0.0015$); adolescent results ($r=0.4959$; $p=0.0100$);
- Social support as measured by The Social Support Index (SSI total) (McCubbin et al., 1996), adult results ($r=0.3466$; $p=0.0137$);
- Redefining and ascribing meaning as measured by The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales, redefining and ascribing meaning subscale (FC RE) (Olson et al., 1985), adult results ($r=0.0403$; $p= 0.0156$);
- The family's ability to communicate and solve problems as measured by The Family Problem Solving and Communication Scale (FPSC) (McCubbin et al., 1996), adult results ($r=0.4219$; $p=0.0023$); adolescent results ($r=0.6156$; $p=0.0008$);
- Eating meals together as measured by a subscale of The Family Times and Routines Index (FTRI) (McCubbin et al., 1996), adolescent results (Spearman's $r =0.49$, $p=0.05$); and

- Length of marriage, adolescent results ($r=0.5387$, $p=0.0211$) and own qualification, adult results ($r=0.3193$; $p=0.0253$) as obtained from biographical information.

The following scatterplots illustrate the above significant correlations: The Family Hardiness Index (FHI) (McCubbin et al., 1996), total score, was identified by both adult ($r=0.4413$; $p=0.0015$) and adolescent ($r=0.4959$; $p=0.0100$) results as statistically significant when correlated with the Family Attachment Changeability Index 8 (FACI 8) (McCubbin et al., 1996). The following two graphs illustrate this finding. The FHI total score's relation to the FACI 8 (adult group) is portrayed by Figure 2.1, while the adolescent group's results are shown by Figure 2.2.

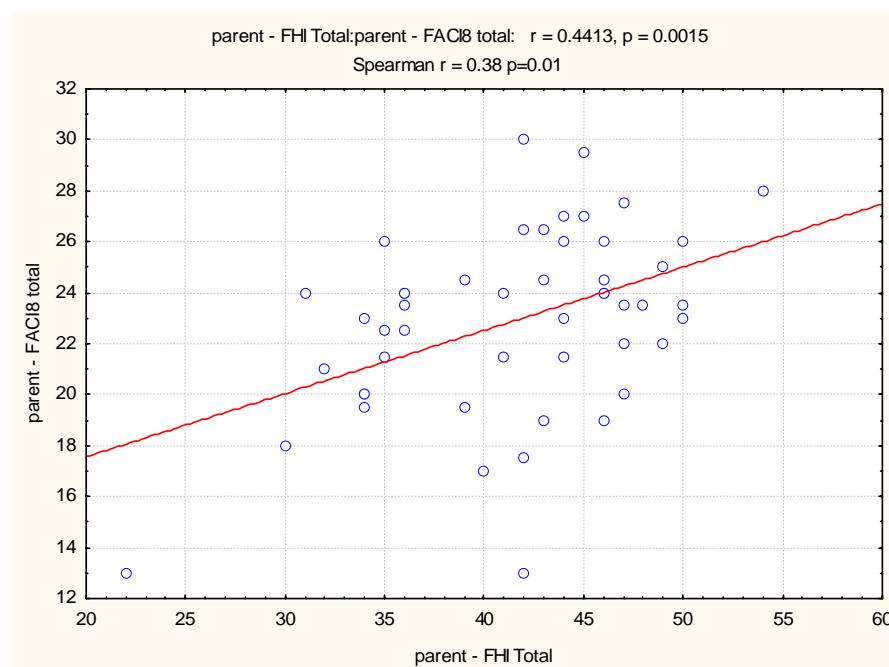


Figure 2.1. Adult/parental findings regarding the association between findings on The Family Hardiness Index (FHI) (McCubbin et al., 1996) and results on The Family Attachment Changeability Index 8 (FACI 8) (McCubbin et al., 1996).

Figure 2.1 illustrates that the measurements of The Family Hardiness Index and The Family Attachment Changeability Index 8 (FACI8) (adult group) are strongly correlated. Similar findings are evident from the adolescent results as shown by Figure 2.2.

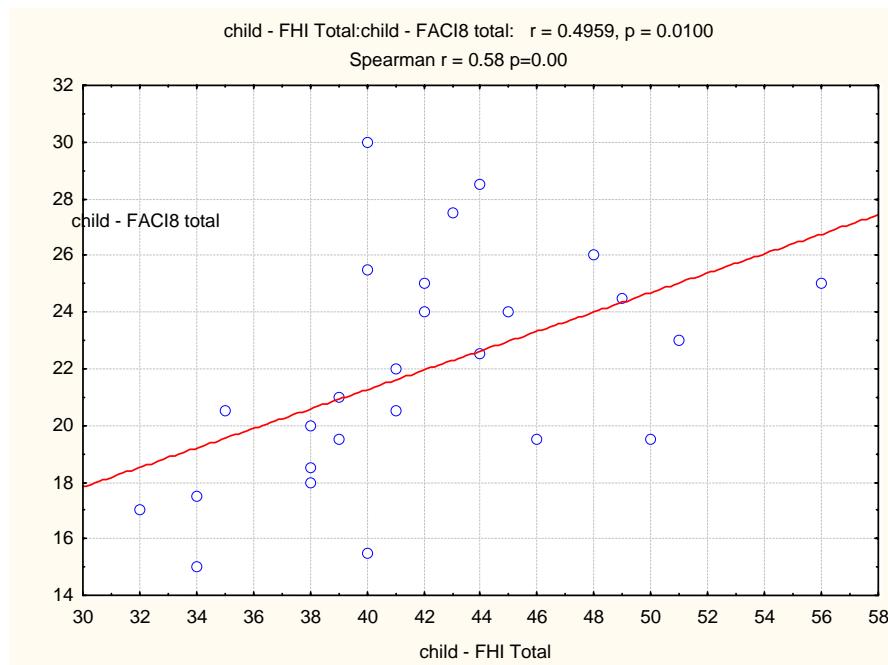


Figure 2.2. Adolescent findings regarding the association between findings on The Family Hardiness Index (FHI) (McCubbin et al., 1996) and results on The Family Attachment Changeability Index 8 (FACI 8) (McCubbin et al., 1996).

The rest of the correlation analysis compiled the relationships and probability levels of each independent variable in relation to the dependent variable (family adaptation) as measured by The Family Attachment Changeability Index 8 (FACI 8) (McCubbin et al., 1996).

The following two graphs illustrate the very strong positive correlation between The Family Problem Solving and Communication Scale (FPSC) of McCubbin et al. (1996) and family adaptation. Figure 3.1 illustrates the adult findings while Figure 3.2 summarises the adolescent results.

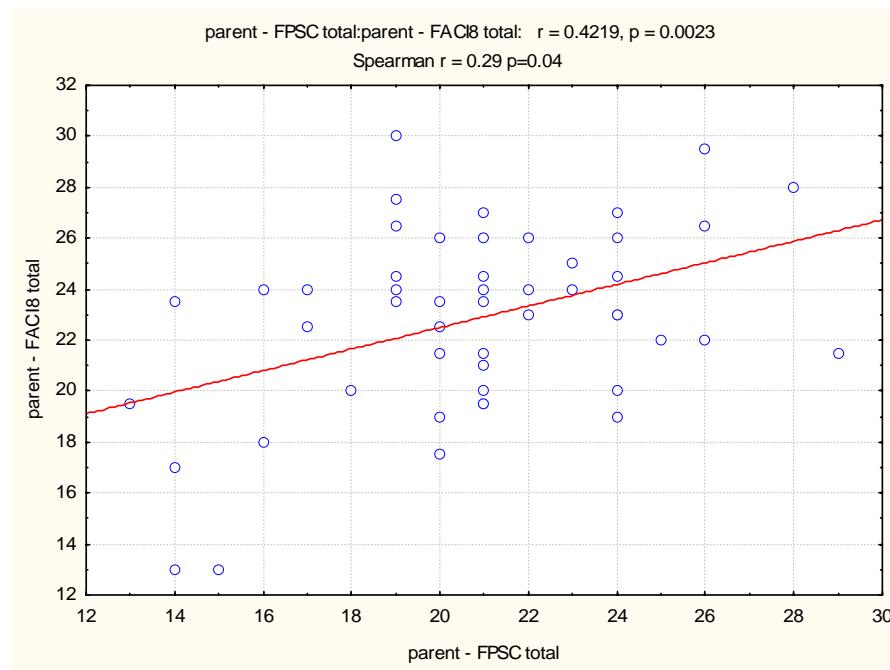


Figure 3.1. Adult/parental findings regarding the association between measurements on The Family Problem Solving and Communication Scale (McCubbin et al., 1996) and family adaptation.

A clear positive correlation between communication and family adaptation is evident from Figure 3.1. Consecutively Figure 3.2 shows similar findings among adolescent participants.

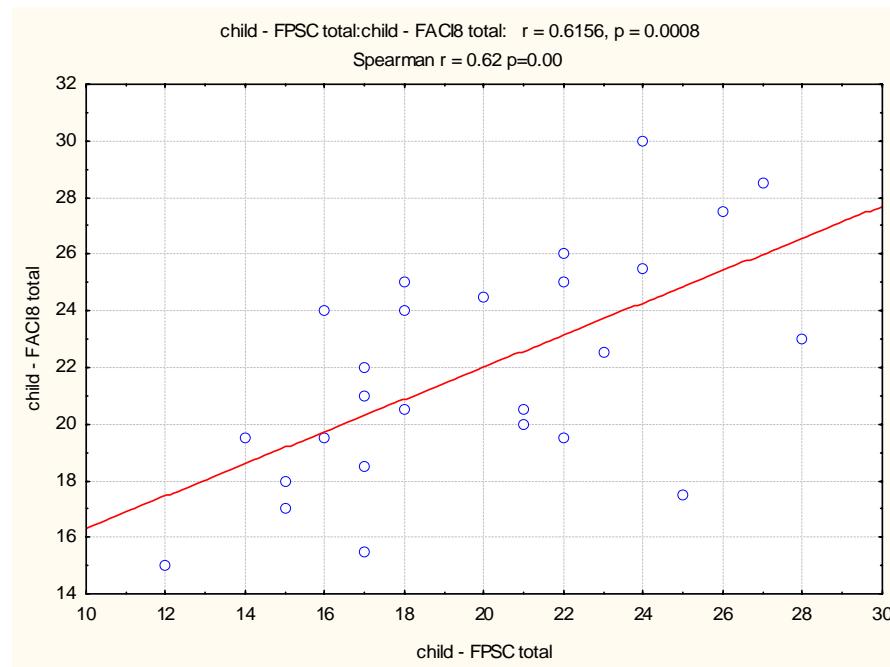


Figure 3.2. Adolescent findings regarding the association between measurements on The Family Problem Solving and Communication Scale (McCubbin et al., 1996) and family adaptation.

Figure 3.2 shows an even stronger positive correlation between communication and family adaptation among adolescent participants than that of the adult grouping portrayed by Figure 3.1.

Figure 4 shows the association (according to the adult results) of redefining and ascribing meaning to problems, as measured by The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales (F-COPES) of Olson et al. (1985), internal coping subscale (FC MO), with family adaptation.

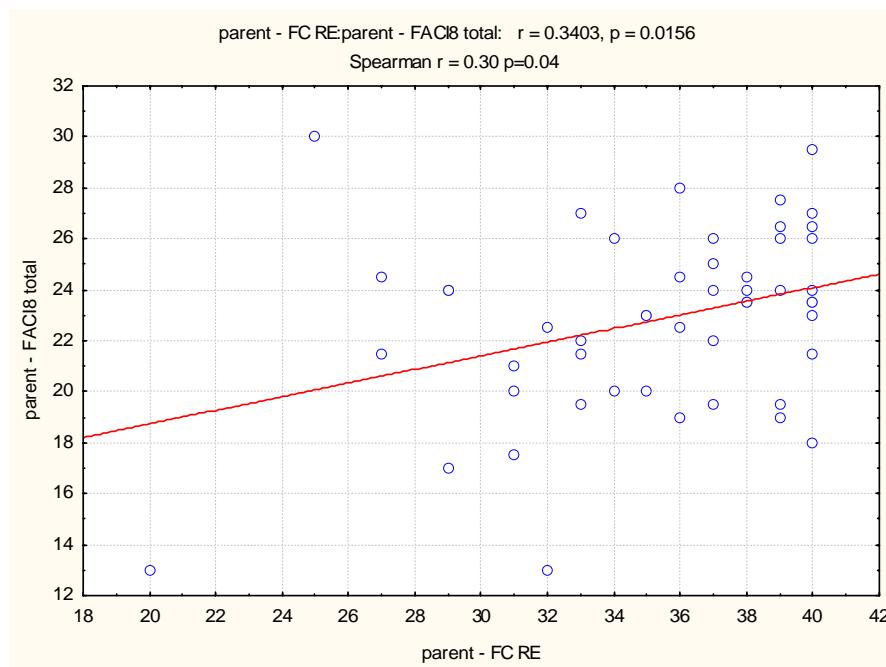


Figure 4. Adult/parental findings regarding the association between measurements on The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales, redefining and ascribing meaning subscale (FC RE) (Olson et al., 1985) and family adaptation.

It is evident from Figure 4 that the adult/parental results indicate a statistically significant correlation between redefining and ascribing meaning, a subscale of The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales (FC RE) (Olson et al., 1985) and family adaptation ($r=0.340$; $p=0.016$).

Another statistically positive correlation was found when considering the relation between the Social Support Index (SSI) (McCubbin et al., 1996) and family adaptation. The following figure, Figure 5, illustrates the adult/parental findings regarding the SSI total score versus family adaptation.

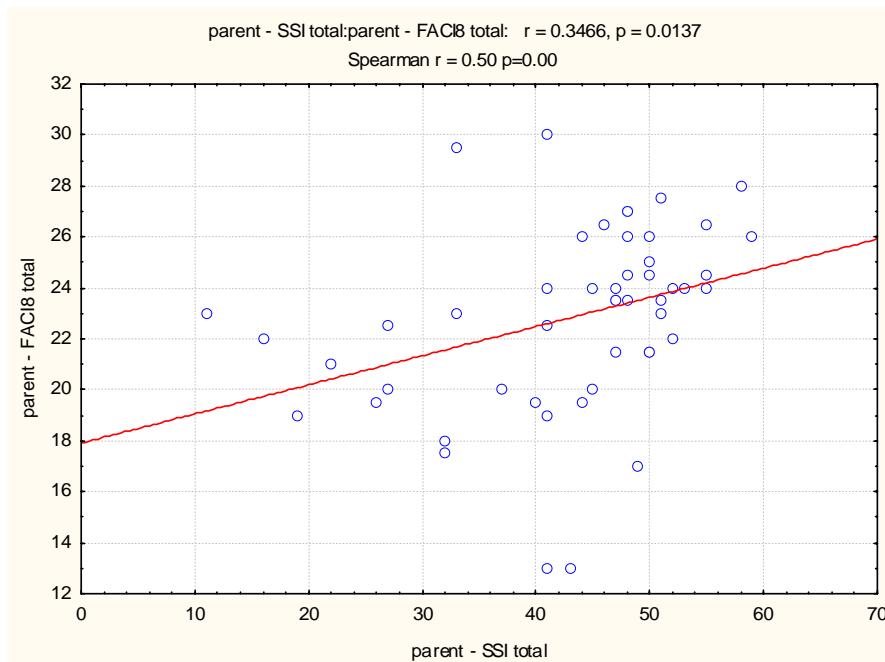


Figure 5. Adult/parental findings regarding the association between measurements on The Social Support Index (SSI) (McCubbin et al., 1996) and family adaptation.

It is evident from Figure 5 that there is a positive correlation between adult results on the Social Support Index (SSI) (McCubbin et al., 1996) and family adaptation. The SSI of McCubbin et al. (1996) assesses community integration and the family's use of community resources for emotional support, esteem support (affection) and network support (relationships with relatives).

Positive correlations were also found between measurements on The Family Times and Routines Index (FTRI), eating meals together subscale (McCubbin et al., 1996) and family adaptation. The following figure, Figure 6, illustrates this finding.

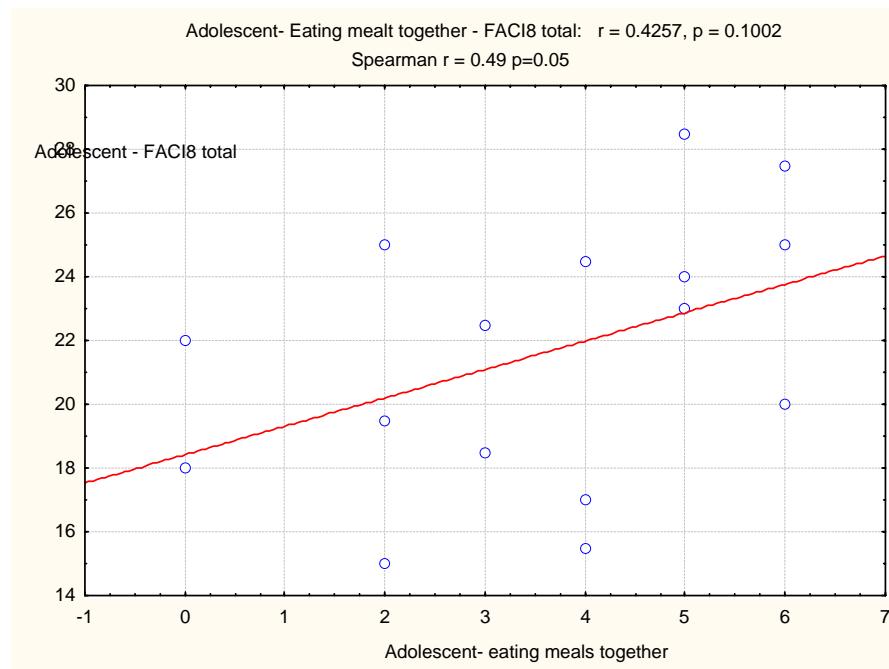


Figure 6. Adolescent findings regarding the association between measurements on The Family Times and Routines Index (FTRI), eating meals together subscale (McCubbin et al., 1996) and family adaptation.

The above figure shows a clear positive correlation between eating meals together on a routine basis (adolescent results) and family adaptation. Similarly the following biographical finding, portrayed by Figure 7 indicated a positive correlation.

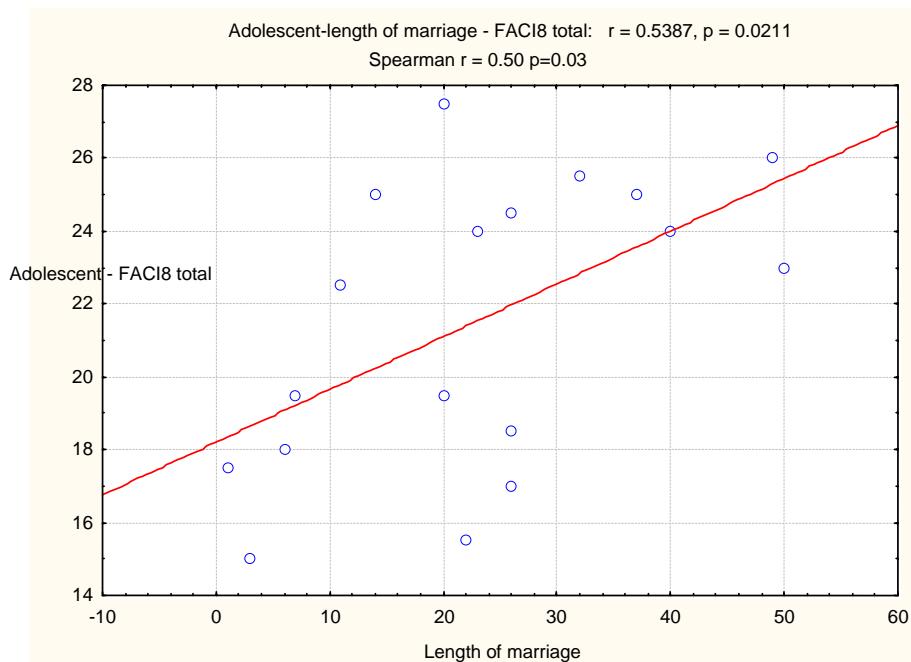


Figure 7. Adolescent findings regarding the association between length of marriage and family adaptation.

According to Figure 7 adolescent results showed a positive correlation between length of parental marriage (biographical information) and family adaptation.

The impact of gender constitutes another interesting biographical finding (see Table 6).

Table 6

Adult/parental Gender Differences when comparing unweighted mean Scores for Family Adaptation (Family Attachment Changeability Index 8; McCubbin et al., 1996)

Gender Parent	Unweighted mean Scores				n
	Parent FACI 8 Total Mean	Parent FACI 8 Std. Err.	Parent FACI 8 –95.00%	Parent FACI 8 +95.00%	
Male	25.750	1.442	22.850	28.650	6
Female	22.442	0.538	21.359	23.525	43

Note.

Std. Err. = Standard Error

FACI 8 = The Family Attachment Changeability Index 8 (McCubbin et al., 1996)

Table 6 shows that, when comparing unweighted mean scores for family adaptation, adult male participants achieved a higher self estimated family adaptation score (FACI 8 =25.7) than their female counterparts did (FACI 8 = 22.4, p=0.03675).

The following graphs illustrate gender influences when comparing unweighted (see Table 6) and weighted mean scores for family adaptation (see Figure 8). Figure 8 illustrates parental gender differences when comparing weighted means scores for family adaptation.

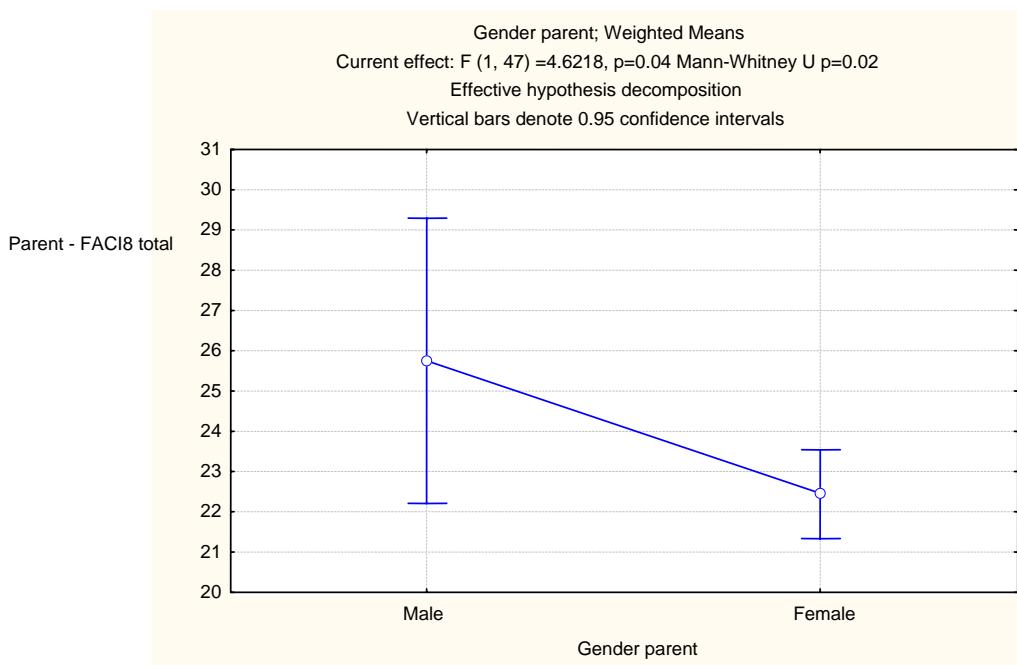


Figure 8. Adult/parental gender differences when comparing weighted mean scores for family adaptation (Family Attachment Changeability Index 8; McCubbin et al., 1996).

The unweighted decomposition (Table 10), as well as the weighted graph (Figure 8), illustrate a broader interval range among males than females. Male scores range between 22.8 and 28.6, while female scores follow a narrow spectrum between 21.3 and 23.5.

The significance of the above findings was of such a nature that it was perceivable on an individual/separate basis, as determined by correlation analyses. The second phase of the statistical analysis entailed the exploration of the co-joint influence of several independent variables on the dependent variable as determined by regression analysis. The following Tables (Table 7.1, parental results; Table 7.2, adolescent results) show the results obtained from the regression analysis and performed on the basis of the parents' and adolescents' data.

Table 7.1

Summary of Regression Analysis for Independent Variables on Family Adaptation (FACI 8) for the Parents' data (N=50)

	Beta	Standard Error of Beta	t(44)	p-level
Intercept	10.270	5.078	2.022	0.049
Parent-SSI total	0.119	0.038	3.107	0.003
Parent RFS total	-0.075	0.054	-1.391	0.171
Parent FC RE	0.261	0.107	2.513	0.016
Parent FC SPIR	-0.328	0.187	-1.749	0.087
Parent FPSC	0.305	0.125	2.440	0.019

Note.

SSI = Social Support Index (McCubbin et al., 1996)

RFS = Relative and Friend Support Index of McCubbin, Patterson, & Glen (quoted in McCubbin et al., 1996)

FC RE = The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales, redefining and ascribing meaning subscale (Olson et al., 1985)

FC SPIR = The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales, spiritual support subscale (Olson et al., 1985)

FPSC = The Family Problems Solving and Communication Scale (McCubbin et al., 1996)

According to the above findings (Table 7.1) the adult results revealed the family's solving of problems and communication, their redefining and ascribing of meaning and social support to be statistically significant contributions to the prediction of the dependent variable, namely family adaptation, as measured by the Family Attachment Changeability Index 8 (FACI 8) (McCubbin et al., 1996). Table 7.2 illustrates the results of the regression analysis done with adolescent data.

Table 7.2

Summary of Regression Analysis for Independent Variables on Family Adaptation (FACI 8) for the Adolescents' data (n=25)

	Beta	Standard Error of Beta	t(44)	p-level
Intercept	1.509	4.401	0.343	0.735
Adolescent FHI total	0.182	0.122	1.491	0.151
Adolescent FC SOC	0.144	0.075	1.935	0.067
Adolescent FC MO	-0.249	0.179	-1.394	0.178
Adolescent FPSC	0.576	0.145	3.961	0.001

Note.

FHI = The Family Hardiness Index (McCubbin et al., 1996)

FC SOC = The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales, social support subscale (Olson, et al., 1985)

FC MO = The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales, mobilising community support for the family subscale (Olson, et al., 1985)

FPSC = The Family Problems Solving and Communication Scale (McCubbin et al., 1996)

According to Table 7.2 the results of the regression analysis with the adolescent data indicated that the family's problems solving and communication to be statistically significantly correlated to family adaptation, as measured by the Family Attachment Changeability Index 8 (FACI 8) (McCubbin et al., 1996).

4.2 Results: Qualitative findings

Full transcripts of the qualitative findings are available in Addendum C:

4.2.1 Definitions of family

The participants were asked to explain what is meant by 'family'. The question: '*When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is...?*' allows for an exploration of personal definitions and images associated with the notion of family.

All the participants defined the concept. The following table summarises the aspects identified by participants as central to their conceptualisation of family. The findings incorporate personal and cultural perspectives, definitions and phenomenological experiences. Frequency distributions are provided to enable comparison. Within the explorative frame all reported associations are considered important and are reported. Participants focussed on the following aspects of family as portrayed by Table 8.

Table 8

Xhosa Participant's Definitions of and Associations with 'Family' according to the Adults (N=50) and the Adolescents (n=21)

Participants' primary themes and associations with 'family'	Frequency mentioned by adults	Frequency mentioned by adolescents	Percentage adults %	Percentage adolescents %
Family = ?				
<i>Ties and relations:</i>				
Biological	28	18	56	85.71
Marital	13	2	26	9.52
<i>Interpersonal relations & responsibilities:</i>				
Politeness	1	0	2	0.0
Responsibility & concern	14	2	28	9.52
Communication & transparency	4	2	8	9.52
Shared values and beliefs	2	0	4	0.0
Unity	6	1	12	4.76
Peace	3	0	6	0.0
Respect	3	1	6	4.76
<i>Emotional associations:</i>				
Love, warmth, belonging, close	8	6	16	28.57
<i>Functions & gains:</i>				
Problem solving & resilience	6	5	12	23.81
Emotional support	3	6	6	28.57
Financial support	23	7	46	33.33
& education				
Cultural development	6	1	12	4.76
& socialisation				
Identity & esteem development	0	5	0	23.81

The qualitative results thus indicated an association between family and genetic, biological and marital ties and the parent-child dyad.

4.2.2 Cultural perspectives on family

The following question was incorporated to specifically focus on Xhosa familial perspectives: '*In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?*'

The obtained findings (participants' perspectives on Xhosa cultural associations with family) are summarised in the same format as the previous results to enable comparison. A few additional themes emerged in relation to this question.

The obtained results are shown in Table 9.

Table 9

The Cultural Perspectives of Xhosa Participants regarding 'Family'

Participants' primary themes and associations with 'family' Family = ?	Frequency: mentioned by adults (N=50)	Frequency: Mentioned by adolescents (n=21)	Percentage adults %	Percentage adolescents %
Ties and relations:				
Biological	13	4	26	19.04
Marital	6	3	12	14.28
<i>Interpersonal relations & responsibilities:</i>				
Politeness	0	0	0	0
Responsibility & concern	5	2	10	9.52
Communication & transparency	4	2	8	9.52
Shared values and beliefs	6	0	12	0
Unity	8	3	16	14.28
Peace	2	0	4	0

(table continues)

(Table continued)

Participants' primary themes and associations with 'family'	Frequency: mentioned by adults (N=50)	Frequency: mentioned by adolescents (n=21)	Percentage adults %	Percentage adolescents %
Family = ?				
Respect	4	0	8	0
<i>Emotional associations:</i>				
Love, warmth, belonging, close	6	2	12	9.52
<i>Functions & gains:</i>				
Problem solving & resilience	10	3	20	14.28
Emotional support	2	1	4	4.76
Financial support	3	2	6	9.52
Cultural development & socialisation	6	0	12	0
Education, discipline of children	10	2	20	9.52
Identity & esteem development, you are who you are because of your family (forming the self), you can be yourself, feel valuable/important	11	2	22	9.52
<i>Other:</i>				
Identity of the family (upheld by the individual, shown to the outside world, own wishes less important than family name)	4	0	8	0
Personal submission to the other	1	0	2	0
Self-sacrifice: accept & bear predicaments	1	0	2	0
Existential theme: 'falling in a generation', a continuous family expanding into the future, ancestry, being followed by subsequent generations	13	2	26	9.52
Ubuntu, living through others	5	4	10	19.04
Extended family, family enlargement	4	2	8	9.52
Family members come before outsiders	1	0	2	0
Patriarchy, power relations	5	1	10	4.76
Cycle of giving & receiving help, reciprocal self-other relationships	13	3	26	14.28
Acculturation noted	2	0	4	0
Metaphoric speech	21	5	42	23.8

The above explanatory themes (see Table 9) were most often provided by adults; they were often voluntary explanatory reasons for mentioning biological and marital ties and were only provided when they were asked about Xhosa cultural perspectives on family.

4.2.3 Qualitative perspectives on family resilience

To obtain qualitative perspectives on family resilience, participants were asked to reply to the question: *'In your own words, what are the important strengths, which have helped your family lately?'* All the participants replied to the question. The participants' views regarding family strengths contributing to coping are summarised in Table 10.

Table 10

Xhosa Participants' Perspectives on Factors contributing to Family Resilience

Participants' primary themes and associations with 'family resilience' Family resilience = ?	Frequency: mentioned by adults (N=50)	Frequency: Mentioned by adolescents (n=21)	Percentage adults %	Percentage adolescents %
<i>Situational attributes:</i>				
Employment	3	0	6	0
Finance, money (self/familial obtained)	13	2	26	9.52
Education	3	4	6	19.05
<i>Interpersonal attributes:</i>				
Communication, transparency, the experience of being listened to	17	10	34	47.62
Emotional support, being loved, cared for, belonging	8	4	16	19.05
<i>Ubuntu</i> , unity, working together	9	1	18	4.76
Social support	3	2	6	9.52
Seek psychological help (social workers)	0	1	0	4.76
Ancestral beliefs	1	0	2	0
Christianity	16	7	32	33.33
Problem solving, advice	5	3	10	14.29
<i>Personal attributes:</i>				
Mental endurance, strength, perseverance & hope	6	4	12	19.05
Finding meaning in adversity	0	1	0	4.76

It would appear from Table 10 that participants identified the following factors as linked to their family's resilience:

- Situational circumstances, for example employment, finance/ having money and education;
- interpersonal attributes, for example communication, *Ubuntu*, unity and cooperation, problem solving and advice, social support, Christianity, ancestral beliefs, psychological and social help seeking, emotional support, belonging, being loved and taken care of; and

- intrapersonal aspects, for example mental endurance, perseverance, cognitive strategies, such as finding meaning in adversity and hope.

Despite differences in nuance regarding factors contributing to resilience, both adults and adolescents mentioned the same factor in the first most frequent position, namely communication. It could thus be concluded that communication is considered by most of the Xhosa participants as foremost in their minds when thinking of factors contributing to their family's resilience.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION

AmaXhosa say, "The elephant is able to bear its huge tusk" (question 3, line 22-25, parent 2).

The above declaration hints at Xhosa families' self perceived resilience. The following chapter is dedicated to an exploration of factors contributing to such resilience viewed within the cultural context and personal perspectives (as provided by the qualitative section) of the participants.

Results obtained and reported in the previous chapter will be discussed consecutively. The discussion opens with the qualitative findings as they were partly concerned with the defining of central concepts to the study (see Section 5.1). This discussion then culminates in an exploration of factors correlated to family adaptation as was evident from qualitative findings (remainder of Section 5.1), biographical findings (see Section 5.2) and quantitative results (see Section 5.3). Preliminary patterns identified will be discussed in terms of psychological theory. The following chapter, Integration of Findings, will be directed towards a general integration of findings.

5.1 Discussion: Qualitative findings

The qualitative section was incorporated to enhance validation of quantitative findings by means of comparison and triangulation, to allow for a more in depth phenomenological exploration of a traditionally neglected population and to respect and explore the cultural and personal perspectives and idiom of the population regarding the central concepts of the study: family, resilience and culture. The inclusion of qualitative questions exploring personal and perceived cultural perspectives on family and factors contributing to resilience provided:

- A personal voice to participants – essential in an explorative context;

- A cultural psychological stance (Veroff & Goldberger, 1995), that provided some sensitivity to the cultural nuances of a specific target population;
- A deeper understanding of the target cultural group's expectations of family life and resilience. This provided a benchmark to interpret the quantitative findings;
- Added to the cultural sensitivity of the research and consecutive theory building, as Landrine declares: 'Culture is not prime differences in behaviour, but rather in the meanings attached to [it]' (1995, p.745).
- Provided rich data adhering to the subtlety and 'inter-participativity' (Landrine, 1995, p.745) of cultural phenomena.
- Provided a glimpse of the inter-participative cultural dictionary that, according to Veroff and Goldberger (1995, p.11), offers 'a common lens for perceiving and structuring reality for its members'. This implies respect (giving voice to the participants' own definition of central concepts [for example family]). These definitions were incorporated in the terminological section of the study.

The provision of a culturally contextualised perspective is an important feat as Chagani (1998, p.2) concludes, "...there are no trans-historical or trans-cultural grounds for interpretation". The findings can be summarised as follows:

5.1.1 Definitions of family

The participants were asked to explain what is meant by 'family'. The question '*When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is...?*' allows for an exploration of personal definitions and images associated with family. The question was formulated in a completely open fashion so as to uncover images, phenomenological experiences and rich personal/familial associations. The open nature of the question fits the explorative nature of the research and allows respect of and freedom to the participants to reply in their own idiom. It also adds to cultural

sensitivity as the openness of the question allows participants to follow an oral tradition by narrating an exemplary story or orally portray visual images.

The findings (see Table 8) incorporate personal and cultural perspectives, definitions and phenomenological experiences. Enquiring after participants' personal views and their perspectives on their cultural group's definition of family was a most valuable starting point and highly suitable to the explorative design of the study. Although family research/psychology has been practiced in South Africa, posing this question has often previously been overlooked. When asked about their personal associations with family, the following patterns became evident:

- Ties and relations were foremost in participant's minds when confronted with the concept of 'family'. Participants distinguished between biological and marital ties, with the former receiving the most emphasis when comparing in-group responses of marital versus biological ties. Fifty six percent of the adult participants emphasised biological relations (for example 'I think of my mother...' (question1, line 35, parent 3); 'My sister, brother and cousins come first to my mind' (question 1, line 68-70, adolescent 3); 'The first thing that comes to my mind is that I see very close people to me, such as parents and grandparents' (question 1, line79-83, adolescent 2)) while only 26% mentioned marital ties (for example 'The first thing that comes to my mind is my husband' (question 1, line 124-125, parent 7)). Similarly more adolescents mentioned biological ties (85.71%) than marital ties (9.52%).

When comparing adult with adolescent results, a higher percentage of adolescents (85.71%) than adults (56%) mentioned biological ties and a smaller percentage of adolescents (9.52%) than adults (26%) thought of marital relations when thinking of 'family'. This may be related to personal experience and the adolescent developmental phase which may as yet not be inclusive of marital

experiences. Personal and developmental perspectives may thus be filtering perspectives. Aspects relating to the self (eye of the beholder) are thus relevant to the perspective obtained.

It is interesting to note that cultural and familial perspectives on family and marriage are also at play. Both of the adolescents (the only ones of their group) who did consider marriage as part of their definition of family had children out of wedlock. They both stated that marriage is a prerequisite for familial status of members who are not biologically related to them. Therefore, only their children and not their partners may be considered family (for example 'if you are having an affair, children or cohabitating, that is not a family. Only when you are into wedlock we can call you such' (question 1, line 278 – 283, adolescent 15). The cultural impetus for the above statement is reflected by the following declaration '... my eldest son who is now married made one girl pregnant... (pause), in our tradition that is disgraceful' (question 1, line 103 – 106, parent 4). Aspects relating to the other (family, culture) thus influenced the obtained perspective.

The role of the self (what is to be gained/received from family membership) is again evident in the second theme frequently mentioned by participants when they were asked about their foremost perspectives on family. Functions and gains were mentioned second most frequently by both adult and adolescent groupings. This is a most interesting finding as it may not have been acknowledged by more formal definitions. The functions and gains mentioned by participants as part of their immediate associations with family were the following:

- Financial support and education were mentioned second most frequently by both adult (46%) and adolescent populations (33.33%). An example is: 'When my father died, my husband decided to bury him from his own pocket.'

'Therefore, I felt he is the greatest man I ever had' (question 1, line 163-140, parent 7);

- Similarly both adults (16%) and adolescents (28.57%) were inclined to mention emotional associations with family, such as love, warmth, belonging and closeness in the third position of frequency. A higher frequency of adolescents than adults were inclined to mention emotional associations when considering family, whereas adults were more inclined than adolescents to think of financial support and education (see the above finding). This may be a reflection of family responsibilities and nuance differences (parents are more likely to assume the role of care-takers and financial providers than their children). This hypothesis is reflected by the following data: 'The first and foremost responsibility is that of knowing you are educating the children' (question 1, line 11-14, parent 1); 'The first thing that comes to my mind is the way they raised me' (question 1, line 26-28, adolescent 1). Similarly a much higher percentage of adolescents (28.57%) than adults (6%) were inclined to associate family with emotional support. Again this may be indicative of nuance differences and role distinctions among parent and adolescent groupings.

Other functions and gains obtained by family membership and mentioned by participants were:

- Problem solving and resilience mentioned by 12% of the adult population and 23.81% of the adolescent population. For example: 'should one of the children go astray we gather together and discuss that issue, and attempt to resolve the matter constructively (question 1, line 87 – 93, parent 4); 'Problems one may have which you cannot share with anyone outside the family circle (question 1, line 199-201, adolescent 11); 'the way we come together when

solving problems', (question 1, line 342-343, parent 18); 'Because of the way we resolve issues or problems, and the way I express myself to them' (question 1, line 487-490, adolescent 32). As the topic of interest of this study, it is interesting to note the deep association between problem solving / resilience and family membership – so deep that the former is considered part of the definition of the latter.

- Cultural development and socialisation were mentioned by 12% of the adult and 4.76% of the adolescent population when thinking of family. Adults more frequently associated family with cultural issues and their statements were often educational, for example: 'Within the family, there are traditional customs as well as Christian beliefs' (question 1, line, 175-177, parent 9), or conveying pride, for example: 'The first thing that comes to my mind is ...a massive group of people who share common beliefs, values and norms' (question 1, line 214-220, parent 12), whereas the statements of those adolescents who mentioned cultural socialisation in their definition of family, carried tones of gratitude for gaining the latter through their parents and family members, for example: 'The first thing that comes to my mind is the way they raised me ... and how can I show how I appreciate that ... they sent me over to the initiation school to become a man' (question 1, line 26-41, adolescent 1).
- Identity, self esteem, self development and becoming were mentioned by 23.81% of the adolescent population, while none of the parental group gave any regard to this aspect in pondering on the concept of 'family'. For example the following quotation illustrates feelings of esteem and importance derived from family membership: 'It defines how important you are ...If it so happens that you are not at home, people should be able to feel it. They should feel that emptiness owing to your absence' (question 1, line 205-211, adolescent

11). The difference between adult and adolescent reference to identity and esteem when considering 'family' may be ascribed to different developmental tasks. According to the lifespan theory of Erikson (1959, p.101) adolescents' developmental tasks are mainly concerned with identity formation, while their parents supposedly have already completed this task and are in the generativity phase characterised by educating and mentoring the young as reflected by frequent educational responses, for example: 'Within the family, there are traditional customs as well as Christian beliefs' (question 1, line, 175-177, parent 9).

Interpersonal relations were lastly mentioned by the participants, namely:

- Politeness was mentioned by only 2% of the adult and none of the adolescent population. For example 'the first thing that comes to my mind when I speak of my family is ... politeness to your wife and children...' (question 1, line, 162-171, parent 9);
- Communication and transparency were mentioned equally by 9.52% of the adolescent and 8% of the adult groupings, such as 'The first thing that comes to my mind when I speak of my family is... transparency' (question 1, line, 162-171, parent 9);
- Shared value systems were mentioned only by the adult population (4%), such as 'A group of people belonging to a group such as a clan, beliefs, values and clan of the same family' (question 1, line, 168-171, parent 9).;
- Unity was mentioned by 12% of the adult and 4.76% of the adolescent population. For example 'I think of my husband and children and the thought that we should stay in harmony all the time with no hassles' (question 1, line 119-123, parent 6). Similarly 6% adults and no adolescents mentioned peace as primarily associated with family. The discrepancy between adult and

adolescent findings may be because of different developmental tasks. According to Erikson's proposition regarding adolescents' developmental tasks (1959, p.101), identity construction, individuation and autonomy could be regarded as central themes. If this is taken into account, harmony, unity, peace and conformity with the parental group are not in accordance with the proposed tasks. The lesser emphasis on unity when considering family may thus be related to adolescent developmental tasks.

- Although not strongly emphasised, representatives from both adult (6%) and adolescent (4.76%) groups mentioned respect in relation to their conceptualisation of family. For example: 'We just respect one another' (question 1, line 190-191, parent 11).

The qualitative results thus indicated an association between family and genetic, biological and marital ties and the parent-child dyad. Participants accentuated emotive (closeness, warmth, love, caring and belonging), cognitive (shared beliefs and value systems) and interpersonal values (such as unity, peace, communication, transparency and respect) associated with family in their respective definitions. The reciprocal self-other relationship was included in participants' definitions (such as 'a give and take basis') referring to duties, responsibilities of the self towards the other (namely, concern, responsibility, politeness, respect) and functions and gains received in return (such as emotional and financial support, cultural development and socialisation, identity, esteem and self development as well as problem solving and resilience). Problem solving and resilience are thus related to family in the personal thought patterns of the participants.

As the reciprocal self-other relationship was an important implicit pattern in participants' personal perspectives on family, the following qualitative question,

tracing participants' perceived cultural perspectives on family (impact of the other on the self), was a valid consecutive step in exploring Xhosa family resilience.

5.1.2 Cultural perspectives on family

Because of the traditional Western focus on individuality, familial and cultural perspectives are often negated in psychological studies (Stanley, Kuraski, & Srinivasan, 1999). Even the recent shift from individualistic perspectives to familial research in psychology often leaves cultural issues unaddressed. Hardy (1989) postulates that traditional psychology upholds the myth of sameness – a belief system he presumes to result in “ethnic, racial and gender blind spots” (p.3) and calls for the exploration of cultural phenomena. In a belated attempt to resolve this lapse, participants were required to provide personal and cultural perspectives on family. Because of the open nature of the questions, participants also provided cultural information in their answers to the previous questions. The following question was incorporated to specifically focus on Xhosa familial perspectives: *‘In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?’*

This question was not addressed by previous psychological studies in South Africa. An exploration of this notion is not only overdue, but essential if the social constructivist notion of a culturally construed reality is taken into account (Chagani, 1998). All participants, save one – an adolescent who declared that he was ‘not informed about Xhosa people’ (question 3, line 509 - 511, adolescent 35) – replied to the question. Acculturation processes may explain the above statement. The existence of acculturation among the Xhosa population was noted by the replies of 3.2% of the adult population.

The obtained findings (participants' perspectives on Xhosa cultural associations with family) are summarised in the same format as the previous results

to enable comparison (see Table 9). A few additional themes emerged in relation to this question:

- The adult population most frequently (26%) mentioned biological relations when asked about traditional Xhosa perspectives on family. The importance of having children and the association between marriage, children and family is evident from the following extracts in answer as to what Xhosa people say about family: ‘AmaXhosa generally say, youthful parents are precious together with their children’ (question 3, line 101-104, parent 28); ‘A female without children: they call her by names; bad ones’ (question 3, line 304-309, parent 29); ‘They say that the availability of a child in a family is mostly a blessing’ (question 3, line 47-59, parent 4). This is similar to their personal perspectives about family (56%). The prominence of the parent-child dyad is apparent.
- Participants again distinguished between biological and marital ties with the former receiving the most emphasis when comparing in-group responses of marital versus biological ties. Only 12% of the adult population mentioned marital ties as foremost in their minds when considering Xhosa perspectives on family ‘They usually say, a man without a family is no man... Men must marry, have children’ (question 3, line 123-126, parent 12). The dominance of biological relations and children (marriage to conceive children) is evident from the previous declaration. Similarly more adolescents mentioned biological ties (19.04%) than marital ties (14.28%). The following quotation clarifies the underlying existential reason behind the child-centred cultural impetus: ‘According to Xhosa people they say a family is not a family without children simply because they will carry the name of the family’ (question 3, line 519-524, adolescent 36). There is thus a similar pattern between participants’ perspectives on traditional Xhosa and their own ideas on family. Both adults

and adolescents mentioned biological and marital ties as foremost in their minds and in their culture when considering ‘family’; with biological ties mentioned by more participants. This may be because of an interaction between personal and cultural perspectives. It is interesting to note that personal perspectives are in accordance with perceived cultural notions – adolescents were less likely to mention biological and marital ties than their parents when they considered the construct ‘family’. They were also less inclined to mention these ties as foremost in their minds when considering Xhosa cultural perspectives on family. This may be because of less cultural knowledge or acculturation process. Family roles may also be at work. As previously hypothesised the data suggest different roles for parents and their children in terms of cultural transmittance. The latter seems to be mainly the task of the parent (educational theme) and children are considered to be culturally still learning/ subordinate and expected to be thankful as evident from the following extracts: ‘Eesh! Xhosa people say family members must be trained whilst they are still young so as to be able to obey your rules. It is because they believe their culture and not the culture of other people such as Whites, Coloureds or Indians. They believe in training family members according to their culture’ (question 3, line 385-396, parent 31). There is a saying that says ‘you must look or ask elders because of their experience in life’ (question 3, line 673-676, parent 47).

- It is also noteworthy that unlike the personal associations of biological and marital ties when considering ‘family’ (where parents often merely stated their association), they most frequently provided supportive arguments or explanatory lines when considering ‘family’ from a traditional Xhosa cultural perspective. These explanatory statements often provide links to other

important Xhosa values. This supports the hypothesis of a duty by parents to fulfil a cultural educational role (they need to explain why biological and marital ties are important). The educational parental role is evident from the following quotation: 'It is because of the time we are living in that is so wrong; so each and every parent has to sit down and teach his/her child the proper way to live' (question 3, line 611-616, parent 42).

- It also suggests that the emphasis on biological and marital ties found among both adult and adolescent groups are founded in cultural value systems. The following extract provides cultural clarification as to why children are an important association to family: 'A man without a wife, they say is not a complete man, once he has a family he is now a man. A female without children; they call her by names; bad ones. A family is important to Xhosa people meaning that there should be mother, father, and children. So, the name of the family will not die' (question 3, 304-315, parent 28).
- These Xhosa values, which are according to the adult population motivating their emphasis on biological and marital ties when thinking of family, are:
 - *Ubuntu*, living and being a person through other people;
 - The cycle of giving and receiving help (reciprocal self-other relationships);
 - Existential themes.

The above explanatory themes were most often provided by adults; they were often voluntary explanatory reasons for the mentioning of biological and marital ties and were only provided when they were asked about Xhosa cultural perspectives on family. It appears as though this information underlies the responses provided in their personal replies.

- *Ubuntu*, living and being a person through other people, was mentioned by 10% of adults and 19.04% of adolescents ‘Being a family is *Ubuntu* (humanity)’ (question 3, line 264-265, parent 25). When considering the raw data (because of voluntary selection fewer adolescents than adults took part in the study) an almost similar figure (5 adults, 4 adolescents) was obtained. *Ubuntu* is a traditional concept linked to the collective African value system. However, from the data *Ubuntu* seems to carry more nuances than a mere submission of the self for the sake of others. It carries existential values, the expanding of the self through the other and reciprocal self-other relationships. *Ubuntu* and collectivity, therefore, do not imply eradication of the self for the sake of the other, but carry implicit and often unseen tones of balance and self. Consider the following existential gain implicit to generativity: ‘They say a family is an extension in one’s life. It is because you grow from one generation to the other, it is the culmination’ (question 3, line 118-124, parent 11).
- The cycle of giving and receiving help (reciprocal self-other relationships) were mentioned by 26% of the adult population and 14.28% of the adolescent group as foremost in their minds when thinking about Xhosa perspectives on family. For example: ‘They are of the opinion that ‘ukuzala kukuzelula’ meaning that my children, one day they shall be grown-ups and they are going to take care of us. They will say such phrases because they are proud of their children’ (question 3, line 628-636, parent 44).
- Existential themes, such as a continuous family expanding into the future, ancestry or being followed by subsequent generations, were most frequently mentioned by adult participants (26%) in an explanatory capacity as to traditional Xhosa perspectives on family. For example: ‘The family is the head office of the ancestors’ (question 3, line 109-111, parent 9); ‘They say a family

is an extension in one's life. It is because you grow from one generation to the other, it is the culmination' (question 3, line 118-124, parent 11); 'Men must marry, have children and expand the clan name to infinity' (question 3, line 125-127, parent 12). This may be because of the adult educational role, the implied cultural value system underlying common personal and cultural associations with family and/or be representative of the adult life cycle's focus on existential conflicts. Potentially because of similar reasons existential themes were mentioned, but not as frequently, by the adolescent population (9.52%).

- Financial support and education were mentioned second most frequently by both adult (46%) and adolescent populations (33.33%) in their personal perspectives on family. When asked about traditional Xhosa perspectives a mere 6% of the adult and 9.52% of adolescents considered financial support to be foremost in their minds when considering traditional Xhosa perspectives on family. This discrepancy may potentially be ascribed to acculturation and a change in socio-economic structure. As one participant concluded: 'we live in a difficult time' (question 3, line 680-681, parent 48).
- Both adults (12%) and adolescents (9.52%) mentioned emotional associations with family, such as love, warmth, belonging and closeness as part of traditional Xhosa perspectives on family. However, a higher frequency (adolescents and adults) was inclined to mention emotional associations when personally considering family.
- As far as interpersonal relations and responsibilities are considered, the same categories, save one namely politeness, were mentioned by participants in their replies to cultural and personal associations with family, namely shared values and beliefs (12%, adult results), peace (4%, adult results), respect (8%,

adult results), responsibility and concern (10%, adult results; 9.52% adolescent results), communication and transparency (8% adult results; 9.52% adolescent results) and unity (16% adult results; 14.28% adolescent results).

The last four categories, respect, responsibility and concern, communication and transparency and unity were the only associations mentioned by both adult and adolescent populations as part of perceived Xhosa perceptions of family. These values have presumably been culturally transmitted to the adolescent generation.

- Other associations not previously mentioned by participants as part of their personal associations with family, but considered as belonging to traditional Xhosa perspectives on family, were: identity of the family/ the image shown to the outside world that should be upheld at times even at the cost of the individual (8% adult results), personal submission (2% adult results), self sacrifice and passive acceptance of predicaments (2% adult results), and patriarchy (10% adult population, 4.76% adolescent population). The latter was often accompanied by declarations of acculturation and changing familial systems, for example 'You see there is a term patriarch, meaning the father is the head of the family, the children and the mother are subordinate in the family and that is what Xhosa people believe in. You see, a father is the one who takes care of the family, but now things have changed for them... At least those who are civilised; they embrace those changes. But others are still traditional' (question 3, line 419 439, adolescent 31).

Considering globalisation and the increasing difficulty to understand human behaviour without reference to the intercultural contexts in which it occurs, Veroff and Goldberger (1995) identified a surprising "lack of attention that psychologists interested in culture have paid to intercultural effects" (p.7).

It was an interesting qualitative observation to note that a high percentage (42%) of the adult population employed metaphoric speech in answering the qualitative questions. Consider the rich metaphorical language of the following adult replies to questions regarding Xhosa culture: "About the family you shall hear them saying '*ubunye ngamandla*,' in English it is 'unity is strength,' so there is a belief that says a family must be close, that is why they have the phrase like '*ubunye ngamandla*'. If we do something together at the same time then we got more strength to do it, unlike doing it alone, you see?" (question 3, line 350 – 363, parent 29); "generally, they say an elephant is able to pull its trunk..." Human beings can deal with their challenges. This idiomatic information adds to the richness of the data, introduces Xhosa cultural idiom and imagery into the text and is in accordance with the rich oral and metaphoric tradition of the collective African culture. The presence of acculturation among younger generations, as hypothesised before, is potentially evident in both content, for example 'I'm afraid I'm not quite informed about Xhosa people' (question 3, line 509 – 511, adolescent 35), and also on the process: a much smaller portion of the adolescents employed metaphoric speech in their answers (23.8%) and some of the answers had a Western educational tone, for example: 'I think Xhosa people believe in extended family rather than a nuclear family' (question 3, line 530-532, adolescent 37).

5.1.3 Qualitative perspectives on family resilience

To obtain qualitative perspectives on family resilience, participants were asked to reply to the question '*In your own words, what are the important strengths, which have helped your family lately?*' All the participants replied to the question.

It would appear from the qualitative findings that participants identified the following factors as linked to their family's resilience (see Table 10):

- Situational circumstances, for example employment, finance/ having money and education;
- interpersonal attributes, for example communication, *Ubuntu*, unity and cooperation, problem solving and advise, social support, Christianity, ancestral beliefs, psychological and social help seeking, emotional support, belonging, being loved and taken care of; and
- intrapersonal aspects, for example mental endurance, perseverance, cognitive strategies such as finding meaning in adversity and hope.

Although all findings are considered valid and important within the explorative frame of the text, interesting patterns emerged when considering the frequency in which participants mentioned certain factors. The following summary of results list adult and adolescent findings in order of reported frequency. Results are reported separately for adult and adolescent groupings so as to enable comparison.

- The adult population listed, in order of reported frequency, the following factors as contributing to their family's resilience:
 1. Communication / being listened to (34%);
 2. Christianity (32%);
 3. Finance / having money (26%);
 4. *Ubuntu* / unity and working together (18%);
 5. Emotional support / being loved / cared for / belonging (16%);
 6. Mental endurance/ perseverance and hope (12%);
 7. Problem solving and advice (10%);
 8. Employment; education; and social support (6% each); and
 9. Ancestral beliefs (2%).
- The adolescent population listed, in order of reported frequency, the following factors as contributing to their family's resilience:

1. Communication / being listened to (47.62%);
2. Christianity (33.33%);
3. Education; emotional support, being loved/cared for/ belonging; problem solving / advise; and mental endurance/ perseverance / hope (19.05% each);
4. Social support; and finance / having money (9.52% each)
5. *Ubuntu* / unity/ working together; psychological help seeking; and finding meaning in adversity (4.76% each).

Considering the above, the largest portion of the adult and adolescent participants appears to value communication in the first and Christianity in the second most frequently reported position. Finance/having money were also frequently mentioned as an important factor contributing to resilience. This may be because of the association between adults and the parental role of financial provider/breadwinner. Adolescents mentioned finance in the fourth most frequent position, instead of third position as their parents did. This may be regarded as supportive of the aforementioned hypothesis. Participants also validate this finding by declarations such as: 'I found myself a little job recently, as a domestic worker so that I can at least buy for the children and myself food' (question 2, line 121-126, parent 11). In their qualitative responses adolescent participants did not link themselves to the role of being financially responsible to the family. It is also interesting that Christianity are rated much higher than ancestral beliefs; while different individualistic themes are presented (for example mental endurance, perseverance and hope, 12%) and at times mentioned more frequently than traditional collective values, for example ancestral beliefs (2%). A similar tendency, though even more distinct, is evident among the adolescent population where ancestral beliefs were not mentioned at all and Western values (for example education) and individualistic themes (for example

mental endurance, perseverance and hope, 19.05%) were mentioned in the second most frequent position. Western concepts, for example psychological help seeking/visiting social workers, were also introduced by the adolescent population. This may be ascribed to acculturation processes. Despite these differences in nuance regarding factors contributing to resilience, both groups mentioned the same factor in the most frequent position, namely communication. This factor was mentioned by more than a third of both adult and adolescent populations when asked about their family resilience. It could thus be concluded that communication is an important transgenerational value and considered by most of the Xhosa participants as foremost in their minds when thinking of factors contributing to their family's resilience. This is a particularly relevant finding when considered in the context of the biographical and quantitative results.

5.2 Discussion: biographical findings

Introduction to a generational perspective

'...as a person one needs to fall within a generation...' (question 3, line 15-17, parent/adult 1).

Based on the first adult participant's postulation (see above quotation) the introduction of a generational perspective is imperative to the contextualisation of findings and the creation of a longitudinal perspective carrying future and past propensities, for example: '....a generation ... delineates your roots and where you are heading' (question 3, line 17-20, parent 1). Viewing families through the lens of time is implicit to the discussion on systemic influences on loss. Generations mark a family's movement through time. Perspectives may also differ between generations (Tubbs & Boss, 2000). A generational perspective was included by inviting families to be represented by adult and adolescent representatives. Because of ethical considerations representation was voluntary.

A biographical scrutiny not only facilitates the potential for generational comparison, but also offers the possibility to trace attributes inherent to the participant (the beholder) that may be filtering his/her perspective, such as age, educational status and so forth. This facet is not always addressed by current dominant theory on resilience, such as McCubbin et al.'s 1996 model.

5.2.1 The eye of the beholder – factors of the self

'My mind ... I see' (question 1, line 80, adolescent 2)

Acknowledging that factors belonging to the individual participant are in alignment with the reciprocal self-other relationships, are acknowledged by the Xhosa participants' conceptualisation of family (see Chapter 2, Terminological exploration, Family; or Chapter 4, Table 8, Xhosa participants' definitions and associations with 'Family'). To explore the age of participants and their association with family adaptation is thus an important starting point to open the discussion and define the population.

A total of 76 participants (100%) indicated their age. The sample is composed of 50 adults (ages varying between 32 and 74) and 26 adolescents (aged 15 to 20 years). The results did not indicate a statistically significant correlation between the age of parents or adolescents and family adaptation in the relevant population (see Table 5).

Although not significant, interesting differences in nuance regarding the association of age with family adaptation are found and could be traced by future studies. It is, however, important to acknowledge that according to the quantitative findings neither parental nor adolescents' age is significantly associated with family adaptation. The assumed irrelevance of age implies that family resilience could stay intact despite the increasing age of its members. The latter could provide a sense of continuity and stability as is evident from the qualitative findings, where parents often

refer to their family of origin when discussing resilience. For example: 'I think of my parents who provided me with love and nurturing, and they still do the same to date' (question 1, line 377-388, parent 22) or the Xhosa oral tradition of ancestry, for example: 'Believing in the powerful forces of the dead, but look, their spiritual power is not dead. My other daughter has been sick for quite too long than I can remember, been to the doctors to no avail. But it took only one goat to make the matters back to normal' (question 2, line 144-150, parent 12) where family membership and contribution (to resilience) continues despite age or death.

Apart from age, employment, income and educational status were also traced in the biographical component of data gathering. Information obtained were quantified and statistically analysed.

In the qualitative section very few participants mentioned employment when asked about their perspectives on factors contributing to family resilience (Only 6% of the adults and 0 adolescents, see Table 10). However their financial position and receiving financial help from family members were often mentioned (26% of the adult and 9.52% of adolescent grouping, see Table 10), for example. 'My brother helped me a lot, he was in a better position at work and tried to organise bursaries for my two children to further their tertiary education (question 2, line 47-52, parent 4); 'My in-laws have helped me a great deal when I was bereaved. They had to pay for mortuary, food and coffin' (question 3, line 62-67, parent 7). This tendency may be because of a more collective view on financial matters: the latter (having money) is considered as contributing to resilience, but the means of finding it is considered from a collective familial instead of individualistic and personal perspective of their own employment. For example 'They were important, it is help from people, and I mean my family by the way, all in all. I must say it is working together in times of difficulty' (question 2, line 503-508, adolescent 44). Having money is considered important, but

more important is having family, being collectively united and receiving assistance from them. The finding may also be because of historical and socio-economical circumstances – many of the participants have a low income status and have to rely on one another for financial support. One participant concluded: 'we live in a difficult time' (question 3, line 680-681, parent 48). The reference to finance when defining family is an interesting finding.

The biographical section also investigated the income status and social economic position of participants. When correlations were calculated to trace the association of income and family adaptation (as shown by Table 5) the following results were obtained: Adult/parental results illustrate a slightly positive association between annual gross income and family adaptation. However, neither adolescent nor parental results showed income to be a statistically significant predictor of family adaptation (see Table 5). It was also evident from the qualitative findings (see Table 10) that adults/parents considered low income as an adversity but not a hindrance to resilience. 'My husband is a jobseeker, he is sick and we rely on neighbours and relatives for everything. But, nevertheless, life goes on well in my family' (question 1, line 52-57, parent 2). This finding again illustrates a more collective regard towards finance.

As a fundamental level of education enables individuals to know about and access health services (Ricks, 1999), knowledge of education in a community will facilitate understanding of health seeking patterns. When considering the statistical findings regarding the relationship between education and family resilience interesting patterns were obtained. Comparisons between adult and adolescent results regarding the association between education and family adaptation offer information that provides a new perspective on Ricks's (1999) seemingly clear cut

postulation. A stark difference between adult and adolescent results on association of education with family adaptation was evident from the data.

Adult findings indicated a statistically significant positive correlation between own education level and family adaptation where adolescents did not (see Table 5). Qualitative findings also indicate an association between resilience and education from adult/parental perspectives. Consider the following statement of a parent when asked about factors contributing to her family's resilience: 'Adult education has helped me, as well as my brothers and sisters (question 2, line 200-203, parent 16). Parents also appeared very concerned about the education of their children. However, no qualitative declarations were found among the parental group indicating that they believed that their children's educational level influenced their family's resilience. Quantitative findings showed a significant correlation between their own (parental) educational level and family adaptation (see Table 5; or the above mentioned qualitative citing). Instead of a resilience factor, parents appeared to regard their children's education as a parental goal, for example: 'I was able to take care of my children, and educate them' (question 2, line 523-525, parent 45). The education of children is thus considered a parental responsibility (potentially shared with formal educators, for example schools) and an achievement/outcome of successful parenting rather than a contribution to family resilience.

Unlike parental findings, adolescent results showed own education levels to be irrelevant and even adverse to family adaptation (see Table 5). The findings may be ascribed to:

- Adolescents in general do not assume the leadership/provider positions in their families. Their regarding of their own educational levels as irrelevant to family functioning could provide a sense of continuity and stability – no matter my own educational status – as a family we are functional and resilient.

- Adolescents were not asked about their perspectives on their parents' educational status; only their own educational status was explored.
- Adolescent education appears to be regarded (by both groups) as a parental responsibility/task and an outcome of family success, causing parental pride and adolescent gratitude, rather than contributing to family resilience. In the qualitative section the education of adolescents is regarded as an important developmental goal (by both parents and adolescents) that families attempt to achieve. For example: 'My brother helped me a lot, he was in a better position at work and tried to organise bursaries for my two children to further their tertiary education' (question 2, line 47-52, parent 9); 'I only wish my children to make good progress at school' (question 2, line 130-132, parent 11); and '...my mother, she was very strong, encouraging us to get education or educated' (question 2, line 437-430, adolescent 36). The qualitative findings also indicated a tendency among adolescents to regard receiving education as a product of their parental financial support (that is something gained from family membership) and a focal point of their gratitude, for example 'It is because of the way they are taking care of me, especially my mother I'm here because of her, at school because of her support' (question 1, line 578-582, adolescent 38); and 'The first thing that comes to my mind is the way they raised me...and how can I show how I appreciate that' (question 1, line 26-29, adolescent 1). There is thus a tendency to regard adolescent education as an outcome/goal rather than a resilience factor while parental education are regarded by the adult population as contributing to family resilience.
- The identification of family resilience factors may be influenced by the generational position of the participant.

Generational discrepancies were also found between adult and adolescent results on the association between eating meals together, a subscale of The Family Times and Routines Index (McCubbin et al., 1996) and family adaptation (see Table 5, Summary of quantitative results). It is evident from the above that there are differences in results on factors associated with family adaptation between adult and adolescent groupings. These differences could be ascribed to biographical differences (such as differences belonging to the participant, for example age; that is belonging to the self) or culturally assigned generational differences (for example, adolescent education is considered a parental task and not a resilience factor, while adult education is contributing to resilience). It is clear from the biographical findings that the relationship between the self (for example the participant) and the other (for example cultural influences) and its influence on perceived resilience factors is not simple and needs to be further explored.

5.2.2 The eye of the other: internalised others inside the self

'...us the process that does not stop anywhere' (question 4, line 99-100, adolescent 8).

The above declaration carries tones of inter-relatedness, collectivity and cultural connection, conveyed as a Xhosa cultural perspective on family. Regarding culture as an unstoppable process of connection, the deduction of related thinking can be made. Following the definition of Helman (1994, p.3) of culture as a socially shared "lens" through which the individual perceives the world, Ricks (1999) found one aspect of the cultural lens to be the division of the world into categories. According to Tshotsho (1993) there is a tendency in Xhosa culture to ascribe differential status and norms of behaviour according to age and gender.

Within the social constructivist movement perspectives are coloured by social and cultural contexts. Perspectives on the impact of gender and age could thus be

filtered by social and cultural others, such as adherence to gender roles. Gender provides a means of defining the perspective of the beholder. However, identification with gender roles implies an internalised meeting between the self and the other. The gender distribution of the sample was explored in the biographical component of the data gathering. By means of correlation studies the association thereof with the dependent variable was explored.

The following section explores the association of gender (adult participants) with family adaptation in terms of unweighted (see Table 6) and weighted (see Figure 8) mean scores. When comparing unweighted mean scores for family adaptation, adult male participants achieved a higher self estimated family adaptation score than their female counterparts did (see Table 6).

The unweighted decomposition (Table 6), as well as the weighted graph (Figure 8), illustrate a broader interval range among males than females, with male scores ranging between 22.8 and 28.6, while female scores followed a narrow spectrum between 21.3 and 23.5. It is interesting to see that male scores were notably higher than female scores. The difference is of such a nature that even the lowest male rating (22.8) is close to and slightly higher than the female average (22.4).

The reported difference could be explained by several potential factors. Although the findings could correspond to an actual higher level of family resilience of the families with male representatives, it could be indicative of the empirically noted tendency of a gender bias regarding self-estimated functioning. Empirical literature on estimated IQ-scores shows similar tendencies of potential male over and female underestimation of their own potential or achievement. Comparing male and female self-estimations of own emotional intelligence to measured competencies, Petrides and Furnham (2001) found a potential pattern of self-enhancement among males and self-derogation among females. A similar gendered pattern was found regarding self-

estimations of performance (Beyer, 1990) and intelligence (Furnham & Rawles, 1995). The postulation of male overestimation is further supported by the finding that neither adult nor adolescent groupings mentioned gender in their perceptions of factors contributing to resilience. Adults and adolescents praised both genders in their accounts of family resilience. For example: 'Because of my mother, she was very strong, encouraging us' (question 2, line 427-429, adolescent 36); 'My Uncle played a major role' (question 2, line 156-158, adolescent 12); and 'I brought my brothers and sister to discuss the matter' (question 2, line 276-278, parent 21). Although participants did not mention gender to be associated with family resilience (see Table 10, Xhosa participants' perspectives on factors contributing to family resilience), male representatives tended to rate their family's adaptation higher than female representatives did. The findings could be because of a skew representation of males ($n=6$) and needs to be further assessed by large scale future studies with equal male and female representation designed to trace this preliminary finding. However as a preliminary finding, adult male representatives evaluated their family's resilience as higher than female participants did. Should this be a true representation it could have several implications:

- Should the potential gender bias in self-estimations of family resilience be true it could be considered as supportive of the postulation of a filtering of perspectives based on own attributes, such as age and gender.
- Personal identification with stereotypes (for example the female gender stereotype) broadens the influence of the finding from individual to group level.
- Should the potential gender bias in self-estimations of family resilience be true it may also be indicative of a cross-cultural pattern of gender roles influencing self-estimations of family adaptation. As a potential cross-cultural

phenomenon, this finding needs to be further explored by future studies. Such explorations could use comparative approaches where male and female representatives of the same family's estimations of resilience are compared. Comparative cross-cultural findings comparing gender biases among different populations could also provide a more in-depth scrutiny of the above findings. Future within group (all male/ all female) studies assessing gender role identification would add to an understanding of the obtained findings. Such an exploration is particularly valuable in the light of the following:

- Should the gender role bias in estimating family resilience be true, it could impact on actual resilience by means of recursivity and the social constructivist concept of a narrative construction of reality (Pearce 1995);
- If the gender role bias in estimated resilience is founded, it opens a debate on gender roles and cultural issues. Within the social constructivist perspective gendered perspectives and roles could be regarded as cultural constructions. Should particular populations (for example an ethnical or gender group) harbour a tendency of under estimation, a double under estimation effect could be formed for those belonging to both groups. This could have an adverse effect if the influence of cognitive constructions or narrative reality's (Pearce, 1995) be taken into account. Future cross cultural comparisons tracing cultural bias in self estimations of resilience could offer valuable insights in this debate, as well as the relative value of culture and gender in influencing self estimated performance.
- A potential gender bias in adult estimations of family resilience may also be related to gender roles and the adult/parental male patriarchal system. Participants mentioned the existence of the patriarchal system as part of

traditional Xhosa culture, for example: 'You see, there is a term 'patriarch' meaning the father is the head of the family, the children and the mother are subordinate in the family and that is what Xhosa people believe in' (question 3 , line 419-425, adolescent 31). This could explain why adult patriarchs may view their family's adaptation level as related to their own leadership enabling the empirical postulation of a male gender role bias in over-estimation of self functioning (Beyer, 1990; Furnham & Rawles, 1995; Petrides & Furnham, 2001). The patriarchal system as well as African cultural values of relationship centeredness and *Ubuntu* could render African men particularly prone to self-identification with family functioning. Cross-cultural studies comparing African and European men adhering to an individualistic culture could offer an interesting contribution to this hypothesis.

- African women adhering to the cultural traditions of *Ubuntu* could be particularly prone to relationship centeredness, as the female gender stereotype also fosters the latter. There appears to be a cultural impetus relating females to childbearing and relation, 'A female without children; they call her by names, bad ones' (question 3, line 307-309, parent 28). Feminist researchers and theorists, such as Gilligan (1993), believe the female gender stereotype to be characterised by relationship centeredness, while the male gender stereotype is traditionally characterised by autonomy – a double impetus to value the family and potentially to connect their welfare to the well-being of the self, may be operational for women adhering to Xhosa culture. Why do adult females then not value their family's resilience as high as their male counterparts? According to the hypothesis of a gendered bias in terms of self-estimations: should females connect their family's resilience to their own functioning, a tendency to underestimate performance would be

evident when comparing findings to those of their male counterparts. This pattern is potentially evident in the obtained data (see Figure 8, Adult/parental gender differences when comparing weighted mean scores for family adaptation).

- The gender role postulation in estimating family resilience should be taken into account when considering the rest of the study's findings. As the adult population of this study is predominantly female and according to the gender bias theory inclined to underestimate resilience achievement/functioning, resilience scores could be higher than reflected and correlations stronger than portrayed. This potential bias must be noted, but is addressed by means of comparison with the adolescent population who has an even gender distribution.

The potential gender bias in self-estimation could become larger because of uneven representation of males ($n=6$) and females ($n=44$) in the adult sample. The enlarged potential of out-shooters could skew findings. More formal future studies could offer valuable information regarding these interesting preliminary findings.

The next section explores the quantitative findings to uncover potential dependent variables associated with family adaptation, thus family resilience. The section provides an interesting contribution to the above postulation. Throughout the discussion the abovementioned generational perspective is provided and integrated into the discussion.

5.3 Discussion: Quantitative findings

Results on the following measures indicated variables that could be identified as statistically significant role players associated with family adaptation:

- Family Hardiness Index (FHI) (McCubbin et al., 1996), adult results ($r=0.4413$; $p=0.0015$); adolescent results ($r=0.4959$; $p=0.0100$);

- The Social Support Index (SSI total) (McCubbin et al., 1996), adult results ($r=0.3466$; $p=0.0137$);
- The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales, redefining and ascribing meaning subscale (FC RE) (Olson et al., 1985), adult results ($r=0.0403$; $p= 0.0156$);
- The Family Problems Solving and Communication Scale (FPSC) (McCubbin et al., 1996), adult results ($r=0.4219$; $p=0.0023$); adolescent results ($r=0.6156$; $p=0.0008$);
- The Family Times and Routines Index (FTRI) (McCubbin, Thompson & McCubbin, 1996), eating meals together subscale, adolescent results (Spearman's $r =0.49$, $p=0.05$); and
- Biographical information: Length of marriage, adolescent results ($r=0.5387$, $p=0.0211$) and own qualification, adult results ($r=0.3193$; $p=0.0253$).

It is evident from the above summary that, apart from one independent variable (communication as measured by the FPSC total), adults and adolescents differed regarding the importance of all other independent variables associated with family adaptation (see Table 5).

The first measure, the Family Hardiness Index (FHI) (McCubbin et al., 1996), was included to validate the Family Attachment Changeability Index 8 (FACI8) (McCubbin et al., 1996) as a measure of the dependent variable, family adaptation, as both instruments attempt to compile a score reflecting family hardiness/resilience. The rest of the listed instruments measured independent variables in relation to the FACI8.

The Family Hardiness Index (FHI) (McCubbin et al., 1996), total score, was identified by both adults (see Figure 6.1) and adolescents (see Figure 6.2). The results are statistically significant when correlated with the Family Attachment

Changeability Index 8 (FACI 8) (McCubbin et al., 1996). The importance of The Family Hardiness Index (FHI) (McCubbin et al., 1996) is accentuated by its high significance levels (see Figure 2.1; Figure 2.2) and by the process of triangulation: both adults and adolescent results indicated a positive correlation between the FHI total score and resilience as measured by The Family Attachment Changeability Index 8 (FACI8) (McCubbin et al., 1996).

The rest of the correlation analysis compiled the relationships and probability levels of each independent variable in relation to the dependent variable (family adaptation) as measured by The Family Attachment Changeability Index 8 (FACI8) (McCubbin et al., 1996).

The only independent variable indicated as statistically highly significant by both adolescent and adult results was The Family Problems Solving and Communication Scale (FPSC) (McCubbin et al., 1996). In both cases the latter independent variable, communication patterns, strongly correlated with family adaptation. Probability levels were very high (See Figures 3.1 and 3.2). This highlights the importance of its value. Both adult and adolescent groupings showed similar results. This variable traced by the FPSC seems to be impacting on family resilience in a longitudinal fashion, regardless of the age or life phase of the participants.

5.3.1 Communication: a meeting between the self and others

The Family Problem Solving and Communication scale (FPSC) of McCubbin et al. (1996) assess family communication patterns. The FPSC scale with its Likert format has two subscales, namely incendiary and affirming communication. A clear positive correlation between communication and family adaptation is evident from adult results (see Figure 3.1). An even stronger positive correlation between communication and family adaptation is found in the adolescent results (see Figure 3.2). In both cases positive correlations between communication and family

adaptation are strong and probability levels are high. Based on these findings it could be concluded that family communication and problem solving are highly important mechanisms in fostering family resilience. This corresponds to the reported empirical findings of DeFrain, (1999), Stinnett and DeFrain (1985) and Der Kinderen and Greeff (2003). Similarly Greeff and Van der Merwe (2004) found open communication between family members as an important means of adaptation after divorce. As both groups (adolescents and parents) in the current investigation value this independent variable, there is a suggestion of an apparent irrelevance to life stage or timelessness to this finding that necessitates some additional exploration. The importance of this is intensified by family communication being the only independent variable regarded by both groupings as very significant in predicting adaptation.

A theoretical understanding of this finding may be derived from the social constructivist movement. According to Pearce (1995, p.47) human knowledge and experiences of “knowing” are inseparably socially constructed and to some extent linguistic. This implies that families could construe their experiences of problems, their solving of such problems, their family’s capabilities and resilience in terms of language. Communication between its members enhances this ability and fosters the potential of a shared reality and communal family beliefs. From the social constructivist perspective resilience is socially (for example familial) construed in language – a concept at the heart of the narrative movement.

Considering the findings, both adults and adolescents strongly indicated with high probability levels the importance of conversation in family resilience. As language and communication plays an important role in construing resilience (according to the quantitative findings and social constructivist theory), tracing the qualitative findings for potential resilience and problem solving narratives are relevant. Such a tracing offers valuable insight regarding the quantitative hypothesis:

In the qualitative section, despite differences in nuance regarding factors contributing to resilience, both groups again mentioned the same factor in the most frequent position, namely communication (see Table 10). This factor was mentioned by more than a third of both adult and adolescent populations when asked about their family resilience. It could thus be concluded that communication is an important trans-generational value and considered by most of the Xhosa participants as foremost in their minds when thinking of factors contributing to their family's resilience.

From the social constructivist and narrative perspectives, communication and language are not merely a reflection or function of resilience, but actually construe these. If the postulation that family resilience is construed within family communication is followed, power issues come to the fore. Family narratives and the influence of the linguistic group become particularly salient within this school of thought. Ochberg (1996) supports this assumption: "The tales we tell each other (and ourselves) about who we are and might yet become are individual variations on the narrative templates our culture deems intelligible" (p.214). The influence (positive or negative) of cultural/familial societies on the construction of narratives is evident from this declaration. When the African culture of *Ubuntu* (one is only a person through other people) and collectivity are considered in relation to the mentioned social constructivist postulations, social influence and language become even more salient for African populations.

As African culture follows an oral tradition and values, collectivity (the other/group before the self), a cultural impetus to follow the linguistic group and adhere to familial narratives may be embedded in African cultural templates. Accordingly there is a theoretical indication of a congruency between process (social constructivist postulation: meaning/resilience are construed in language within

familial and cultural groups) and content (narrative themes allowed by African cultural templates accentuates oral traditions and adhering to the group; such as we tell stories about the importance of telling stories and listening to the family) creating a double mechanism that may not be as salient in other cultures. For example in the traditional Western culture a potential incoherence between process (social constructivist postulation: meaning/resilience are construed in language within familial and cultural groups) and content (narratives may be focussed on individual resilience, such as we tell stories about not telling or listening to the self instead of the family) may be operational. The postulation about a double mechanism at play or coherence between process and content in African populations enhances the power of language and social/familial groups in the construction and experience of family resilience. Both qualitative and quantitative findings of both adolescent and adult populations support a strongly positive correlation between communication (a socio-linguistic phenomenon) and family resilience.

It could be concluded from the above findings that adult and adolescent participants regard communication as an important contributing factor to family resilience. Resilience theories accommodating these intergenerational perspectives on Xhosa family resilience should thus include communication as an important process in its construction. But between whom and where does this communication occur?

The strength of this finding (the importance of communication), supported by the results, social constructivist theory and collective culture necessitate a revisiting of the theory described in the biographical section of this discussion. Hereby communication inside the self is considered as important. However, according to the data, perspectives on resilience are not only the product of the self or internalised others inside the self. To stop the theory at this point would imply a discrediting of the

other and uphold Western individualistic templates. There are also external others (such as friends, family, community, culture, society) to the self that are in communication with the self and may be influencing perspectives and narratives on resilience within the communication process. The self in communication with the other thus construes perspectives on resilience. The self (beholder) carries previous constructions/perspectives which are the result of previous meetings between the self (own attributes) and the (now internalised) other. Communication and narrative construction thus takes place inside the self, but also occurs between people.

The importance of communal narrative construction is accentuated by related findings of other quantitative instruments addressing cognitive/narrative variables, for example The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales (F-COPES) of Olson et al. (1985). The latter were used to assess family problem solving strategies in times of crises. The first section of subscales of the F-COPES is directed to so-called internal coping skills: the way individual members manage a crisis in terms of cognitive strategies such as: (a) redefining and ascribing meaning to the problem and (b) passive appreciation, that is passively accepting the problem and doing nothing about it.

Adult/parental results indicate a statistically significant correlation between redefining and ascribing meaning, a subscale of The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales (FC RE) (Olson et al., 1985) and family adaptation (see Figure 4). The adolescent results showed a slightly pessimistic relation between the internal strategy of redefining and ascribing meaning as measured by The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales (FC RE) (Olson et al., 1985) and family adaptation (see Table 5). The discrepancy between adult and adolescent findings is an interesting finding that may be traced by future studies.

Both parental and adolescent results showed the individual narrative strategy of passive acceptance (maintaining the status quo and not redefining the story) as not clearly associated with family adaptation (see Table 5).

When considering strategies defined as internal by The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales (F-COPES) (Olson et al., 1985), only adult results showed a positive correlation between the individual narrative/cognitive strategy of redefining and ascribing meaning to problems (see Figure 4) and family resilience. However, both adult and adolescent results showed problem solving and communication (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2) to be significantly correlated with family adaptation. This necessitates the inclusion of narrative construction inside the individual as well as between people (the latter deemed salient by both groupings according to the results; see Figures 3.1 and 3.2) in any theory on perspectives on resilience. This supports the social constructivist postulation that perspectives are construed via narratives and communication, within and between people (Ochberg, 1996). The qualitative (see Table 10) and quantitative findings (see Table 5) indicate some generational discrepancies. The fact that only communication is simultaneously upheld by both groupings (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2), thus achieving a trans-generational status, values its position as a potential theoretical supra-system.

5.3.2 Communication: an intra and interpersonal meeting

The postulation of communication within and between people may explain the generational differences obtained from the data. Ongoing communication between past and present settings may be influencing the perspectives of adults vs. adolescents. The communication that transpires between the self and the other may lie on different systemic levels, such as cultural and social systemic influences with which the individual interacts. These others (such as social/cultural groupings) may be in flux. The individual is not a blank slate moving through time, but rather a

dynamic agent interacting with others. Previous perspectives resulting from previous communication with others may be internalised in the self and now be in communication with current others. For instance an adult participant who grew up in a different social milieu with more traditional and fewer Western values may internalise these values with his or her own ideas (past communication between the self and other). Current communications with external others (new meetings with current Westernised groups/changes in social contexts) would interact with previous communications (internalised other-self meetings from the past). This could result in different perspectives than those found among groupings not sharing similar past communications (such as adolescents). Ongoing communication inside and between people becomes particularly salient in this theory. This could explain generational differences.

The data portray several generational differences in associations between independent variables and family adaptation. Unlike the positive correlations between both adult and adolescent results on The Family Problem Solving and Communication scale (FPSC) of McCubbin et al. (1996) and family adaptation, social support, as measured by The Social Support Index (McCubbin et al., 1996) were exclusively indicated by the adult findings to be statistically significantly correlated with family adaptation (see Table 5). Interesting findings emerged when adult/parental and adolescent results on this independent variable are compared.

The following findings explore on a deeper level the theme of communication and self-other dialogues identified in the previous section. The importance of acknowledging communication inside and between people, and the intriguing nuances of social support and the individual's interaction with cultural systems, become salient when considering the adult grouping's results on The Social Support Index (SSI) (McCubbin et al., 1996). A positive correlation between adult results on

the Social Support Index (SSI) (McCubbin et al., 1996) and family adaptation became apparent (see Figure 5). The SSI of McCubbin et al. (1996) assesses community integration and the family's employment of community resources for emotional support, esteem support (affection) and network support (relationships with relatives). Adult results (see Figure 5) indicate a positive correlation with relatively high probability levels between the SSI and family adaptation. According to Barkauskas et al. (1994) values, that is personal perceptions of what is good and acceptable, provide the foundations for beliefs and behaviours. Based on values, norms are rules and roles governing human behaviour and flowing from the cultural values of the group involved. For example, if modesty amongst women is valued, norms for dress may include long sleeved, loose fitting garments (Andrews & Boyele, 1995, p.11). According to Kluckhorn and Strodtbeck (1961) values reflect the personality of a culture and variation in value orientation is one of the most important differences among cultures. Understanding of the value system of the self and the other (for example participant) are thus of utmost importance. Viljoen (1994) found an important value among black families residing in the Eastern Cape to be the "family in relation to other families" (p.22). Community life is thus conceived in terms of family life. It may be concluded from this postulation and the study's findings that, according to adult/parental results, community resources and network (relatives) support positively contribute to resilience. In other reported research social support is often considered to be one of the most important crisis-meeting resources (Der Kinderen & Greeff, 2003; Lavee et al., 1985; McCubbin et al., 1996; Turner, Kessler, & House, 1991). This fits the McCubbin et al.'s 1996 model's inclusion of social support in their resilience equation.

It is, however, important to note that adult/parental results on other quantitative measures – for example social support as measured by The Family Crisis Oriented

Personal Evaluation Scales (F-COPES) of Olson et al. (1985) – did not indicate a similar positive correlation (see Table 5).

Adult/parental results indicated no significant correlation between social support, in terms of friends, family and neighbours (Olson et al., 1985), and family resilience. The discrepancy between F-COPES SOC (Olson et al., 1985) and the Social Support Index (SSI) (McCubbin et al., 1996) results may be indicative of inconsistencies in adult valuing of social support (see Table 5).

The contradiction may be an indication of uncovered nuance differences in social support. The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales, social support subscale (FC SOC) (Olson et al., 1985) regard social support as an external strategy to family problem solving, and distinguish between the external domains (friends; family; neighbours) from whom the support is obtained. In terms hereof the separate family unit thus comes to external resources and draws from it in times of need. A similar one-way direction is implied by the mobilising of community support subscale of The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales (F-COPES MO) (Olson et al., 1985). Again adult results showed no significantly positive correlation between mobilising community support for the family and family adaptation (see Table 5). The family as mobilising agent utilising existing community resources are implied herein. Examples of F-COPES MO items include seeking information and advice from others, for example doctors, counsellors, community organisations or families with similar problems. An apt metaphor for the measurements obtained from the social support (FC SOC) and mobilising of community resources (FC MO) subscales of The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales (Olson et al., 1985) would be regarding the family as *drawing water from a separate well in times of drought*. Separation and a one-way direction of help (from the helper to the helped) are implicit herein. The Social Support Index (SSI) of McCubbin et al. (1996) assesses

community integration and the family's employment of community resources for emotional support, esteem support (affection) and network support (relationships with relatives). The scale thus carries the implicit assumption of integration. Herein lies a potential two-way flow – being part of. This corresponds to collective cultural templates. Metaphorically the family and community could be considered as *part of an ongoing river*. An acknowledgement of communication would imply a consciousness of the connection between people and what transpires between them instead of considering them as separate with the one as helper and the other as receiver/user. The Social Support Index (SSI) of McCubbin et al. (1996) may thus be theoretically more compatible to *Ubuntu* values. Future studies addressing this interesting finding are called for.

It could be concluded from the above findings that social support, viewed from the cultural prerequisite of integration and connection, are according to adult findings a contributing factor to family adaptation (see Figure 5). Resilience theories accommodating adult perspectives on Xhosa resilience should, therefore, include a respect for integrative social, collective and *Ubuntu* values. The other should be regarded as part of and in interaction with the self (*Ubuntu* principle).

Because of obtained generational differences resilience theories should also be dynamic enough to accommodate potential cultural flux and different generational perspectives.

Adherence to collective values may be responsible for differences in adult findings on The Social Support Index (SSI) (McCubbin et al., 1996) and the Social Support Subscale (FC SOC) of The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales (Olson et al., 1985). If this postulation is true, discrepancies between adult and adolescent findings may hold interesting cultural possibilities. When compared to the adult group it is interesting to note that the adolescent group did not reveal a

similar high estimation of community and relative related support (see Table 5). Neither adolescent findings on the SSI nor adolescent results with the FC SOC indicated significant correlations to family adaptation (see Table 5).

Tracing the adolescent's results between social support as measured by The Social Support Index (SSI) (McCubbin et al., 1996) and family adaptation is a positive tendency (see Table 5), but not as strong as the correlation obtained from the adult results (see Figure 5).

The discrepancy between adult and adolescent results is particularly interesting when considering the adolescent developmental phase presumably characterised by social and peer driven influences (Erikson, 1959). Considering the above the unexpected tendency among adolescents to place less emphasis on social support than their parents needs to be explored. Although other factors may be at play, based on the data two possible explanations for the discrepancy between adult and adolescent findings may be offered: a tendency to focus on the primary family and cultural flux.

When considering the aspects of family functioning valued most by adolescents as contributing to family adaptation, namely: problem solving and communication (see Figure 3.2); eating meals together (see Table 6); and length of marriage (see Table 7), a tendency to focus on the primary/resident family may be evident among adolescents. This tendency is also characteristic of the Western tradition of the nuclear family and may be linked to the second postulation of acculturation.

Analysis of other quantitative measures corresponds to a potential lower emphasis among adolescents on social support. Social support in terms of friends, family, and neighbours forms part of the measured external coping strategies of The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales (F-COPES) of Olson et al. (1985). The latter were used to assess family problem solving strategies in times of crises.

When tracing the adolescent results on association between social support as measured by The Family Crisis Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales (Olson et al., 1985) and family adaptation, a similar pattern as obtained from the adolescent results on The Social Support Index (SSI) (McCubbin et al., 1996) (see Table 5). Once again adolescent results did not show a significantly positive correlation between social support and family resilience. However, similar to the SSI findings, a positive inclination is evident, but the tendency is not regarded as significant.

Analysis of biographical data corresponds to the potential explanatory postulation. Unlike their parents, adolescent results did not show positive correlations between either income or education and family adaptation (see Table 5). The adult/parental results, a group potentially assuming the care-taking and providing roles in the family unit, showed both as positively correlated to family adaptation (see Table 5). This may be considered as supportive of the influence of a family hierarchical position or family roles on family resilience (such as roles of parents vs. those of adolescents). Family resilience theory in general tends to disregard different systemic positions when considering factors contributing to the construct. The discrepancy between adult and adolescent findings highlights the importance of a systemic approach when approaching an understanding of family resilience. The focus on the nuclear family is, however, reminiscent of the Western tradition and opens the potential to a second possible explanation, namely acculturation processes and traces of individualism among adolescent participants.

Assuming a cultural systemic position, discrepancies between adolescent and adult findings may be indicative of a flux in socio-cultural patterns. Should adults be more inclined to follow a collective trend directed towards the extended family and community (see adult results on The Social Support Index of McCubbin et al., 1996; Figure 5) and younger groups (adolescents) be inclined to be focussed on the

primary family, as is evident in the Western culture, acculturation processes may be at work. Future more formal studies may trace this preliminary finding.

Chapter 6

INTEGRATION OF FINDINGS

An integrated view of the findings demonstrates a link (perceivable among the participants' declarations) between the central concepts of the study, namely culture, family and resilience. According to the qualitative accounts of participants, the definition of family carries associations with culture and resilience. In a recursive association culture is construed and transmitted by family members, but paradoxically, family membership is determined by cultural prerequisites. There appeared to be a complex link between:

- Self and other (consider the following: 'They say a family is an extension in one's life. It is because you grow from one generation to the other, it is the culmination' (question 3, line 118-124, parent 11)
- Individual, family and culture, for example: 'Eish! Xhosa people say family members must be trained whilst they are still young to be able to obey your rules. It is because they believe their culture, and not the culture of other people such as Whites, Coloureds or Indians. They believe in training family members according to their culture' (question 3, line 385-396, parent 31); and
- Family and resilience, for example: 'about the family you shall hear them saying "*ubunye ngamandla*". In English it is "unity is strength", so there is a belief that says a family must be close, that is why they have the phrase like "*ubunye ngamandla*". If we do something together at the same time then we got strength more to do it, unlike doing it alone, you see?' (question 3, line 350 – 363, parent 29).

The identified relation between culture, family and resilience validated the exploration of these notions. Participants' personal view of family and their view of

Xhosa cultural perceptions of family were explored. Several interesting findings were made, namely:

- Complex self-other relationships and a paradoxical co-existence between collectivity and individualism were present according to the data;
- The link between resilience and family was so strong that themes of resilience were present in many participants' defining of family;
- A list of factors contributing to family resilience could be deduced from quantitative and qualitative data;
- Some factors, for example gender, cultural values and generational position, appeared to be filtering perspectives on resilience; and
- Communication appears to be a nodal point in the qualitative and quantitative findings of the study.

The above findings will be addressed in the remainder of this chapter. The next chapter, Chapter 7, is dedicated to a discussion of a constructed model based on these findings, future commendations and some conclusion remarks.

6.1 Reciprocal self-other relationships: a hidden individuality among patterns of collectivity

Under the apartheid system, characterised by white domination and racial separation, the South African population was divided into four groups, namely whites, blacks, coloureds and Asians. The black South African population consists of four major ethnolinguistic groups, namely Nguni, Sotho, Venda and Tsonga. The Nguni, constituting sixty percent of the South African population, include the Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi and Ndebele peoples (Ricks, 1999). Currently the restructuring of health services are directed toward integration, resulting in diverse cross-cultural settings. This calls for culturally sensitive insight and understanding. Leininger (1976) stated

that 'superficial [cultural] knowledge will not surface if health workers are to be successful in helping others' (p.109).

It is clear from the findings of this study, merely defining the Xhosa population as belonging to a collective culture (considered in the simplistic sense), would imply superficial and over-simplified knowledge. The following summary indicates the existence of hidden individualistic themes alongside an overt collectivity. A more complex perception of collectivity and respect for the complexity of self-other relations is called for.

Themes of collectivity are clearly present in the findings, for example:

- Ancestry was mentioned by 2% of the adult participants in the qualitative section of the study, for example 'Believing in the powerful forces of the dead, but look, their spiritual power is not dead. My other daughter has been sick for quite too long than I can remember, been to the doctors to no avail. But it took only one goat to make the matters back to normal' (question 2, line 144-150, parent 12). The collective notions of ancestry imply that family membership and contribution (to resilience) continues whether or not the family members are dead or alive.
- Shared value systems were mentioned by 4% of the adult population during the qualitative section of the study, for example: 'The first thing that comes to my mind is love, peace and happiness amongst members of such a massive group of people who share common beliefs, values and norms' (question 1, line 214-220, parent 12). Hereby being part of the group is integrated into the personal thought process/cognitive level resulting in collective value systems.
- Unity was mentioned by 12% of the adults and 4.76% of the adolescents in their conceptions of family carries tones of collectivity, for example 'You know,

when my father in-law died we all came together as a unit to bury him, my siblings and in-laws' (question 1, line 261-265, parent 14).

- The primacy of biological relations in the family definitions of participants (mentioned most frequently by adults and adolescents when asked about their personal and cultural associations with family) is linked to existential and collective themes: the individual reaches infinity and transgresses mortality through genetic links to others, such as having children, being part of a family.
- *Ubuntu*, living and being a person through other people, was mentioned by 18% of adults and 4.76% of adolescents, for example 'Being a family is *Ubuntu* (humanity)' (question 3, line 264-265, parent 25). *Ubuntu* is a traditional concept linked to the collective African value system.
- Similarly the name of the family/clan is rated before the name of the individual. One has no esteem without children, one gains importance through relations to others, for example: 'A man without a wife, they say is not a complete man, once he has a family, he is now a man. A female without children, they call her by names, bad ones. A family is important to Xhosa people meaning that there should be a mother, father, and children. So, the name of the family will not die' (question 3, 304-315, parent 28). The existential meaning and collective theme is evident.
- The cycle of giving and receiving help (reciprocal self-other relationships) was mentioned by 26% of the adult population and 14.28% of the adolescent group as foremost in their minds when thinking about Xhosa perspectives on family, for example: 'They are of the opinion that "ukuzala kukuzelula" meaning that my children one day shall be grown-ups and they are going to take care of us. They will say such phrases because they are proud of their children' (question

3, line 628-636, parent 44). Again the theme of collectivity and the related existential meaning is clear.

Collectivity, as associated with the African culture and expected among those adhering to Xhosa culture, was clearly present in participants' conceptions of family.

However, reality is often more complex. When the data were considered, traces of individuality were also present, though less apparent than the above, for example:

- Explicit notions of self-agency and feelings of personal pride attached to it were at times present in the qualitative data, for example: 'I managed to pay the debt and we were saved...' (question 2, line 9-10, parent 1); 'I'm the one who is able to mend things that have fallen apart' (question 2, line 428-430, parent 27); and 'My not relying heavily on my husband helped me a great deal. However, as a matter of fact, I managed to buy myself a new house without my husband's help whatsoever' (question 2, parent 16, line 194-200).

Traces of individualism alongside collective tendencies may be explained by acculturation influences. It may also be reflective of more complex processes – the co-existence of elements of hidden and often overlooked individuality underlying dominant values of collectivity. This is an important finding as the traditional perception of collectivism may be an oversimplified perspective that could result in cultural misunderstanding. A paradoxical co-existence between collectivity and elements of individualism is present. Future research may trace this interesting finding.

Based on the findings not only culture, but also resilience, are linked to family.

6.2 The link between family and resilience

The concept of resilience appears to be central to Xhosa participants' conceptions of family. Problem solving and resilience were mentioned by 12% of the adult and 23.81% of the adolescent population in their definition of family (see Table 8), for

example: 'should one of the children go astray we gather together and discuss that issue, and attempt to resolve the matter constructively (question 1, line 87 – 93, parent 4); 'Problems, we do have as a family, but we do have a particular way of dealing with those problems. Problems, one may have which you cannot share with anyone outside the family circle' (question 1, line 199-201, adolescent 11); or 'the way we come together when solving problems', (question 1, line 342-343, parent 18). In fact, some participants consider their unique way of solving problems as a predominant feature of their family. Consider the following reply in answer to the first thing that comes to mind when thinking of 'family': '... the way we resolve issues or problems, and the way I express myself to them' (question 1, line 487-490, adolescent 32). This important finding is often overlooked by resilience studies as participants are seldom required to provide their personal and cultural definitions of family. This finding validates the link between family and resilience and necessitates the exploration of resilience factors perceived by members as residing in their family.

6.3 Factors reportedly contributing to perceived Xhosa family resilience

Several factors, based on the quantitative and qualitative data, could be identified (Chapter 5, results) and discussed (Chapter 6, Discussion) as contributing to Xhosa family resilience. The following list provides a concise summary of perceived resilience factors. Examples and more information (scatter plots, correlations, Figures and data comparisons) regarding these factors may be found in Chapters 5 (results) and 6 (discussion). The following factors could be identified from the qualitative and quantitative data as perceived contributors to Xhosa family resilience, namely:

- Situational circumstances, for example:
 - Finance/ having money (quantitative findings, see Table 5; qualitative findings, see Table 10). Very few participants mentioned employment when asked about their perspectives on factors contributing to family

resilience (Only 6% of adults and 0 adolescents; See Table 10, qualitative findings). However, financial position and receiving help from family members were more often mentioned (26% of adult and 9.52% of adolescents; See Table 10, qualitative findings), for example, 'My in-laws have helped me a great deal when I was bereaved. They had to pay for mortuary, food and coffin' (question 3, line 62-67, parent 7). Finance and money appeared to be perceived as contributing to family resilience (see Table 10, qualitative findings), but it was often regarded from a collective/familial perspective, for example obtaining money through familial support instead of individualistically perceived as directly related to individual income, employment or educational status. Consider the following declaration, 'My husband is a jobseeker, he is sick and we rely on neighbours and relatives for everything. But nevertheless, life goes on well in my family (question 1, line 52-57, parent 2). Participants often ignored finance when compared to other values, for example having familial support;

- parental employment (see Table 10, qualitative findings); and
- parental education (see Table 10, qualitative findings; Table 5, quantitative findings);
- Interpersonal attributes, for example:
 - Communication (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2; quantitative findings; Table 10, qualitative findings). Communication was mentioned most frequently by both adults (34%, see Table 10, qualitative findings) and adolescents (47%, see Table 10, qualitative findings) as a predominant contribution to their family's resilience. The following factors were also mentioned, but not as frequently (see Table 10, qualitative results) or as

strongly correlated (see Table 5, quantitative results) as the former, namely:

- *Ubuntu*, unity and cooperation (18% adult; 4.7% adolescent results, see Table 10, qualitative findings);
- problem solving and advice (10% adult; 14.29% adolescent results, see Table 10, qualitative findings; Figures 3.1 and 3.2, quantitative findings);
- social support (6% adult; 9.52% adolescent results, see Table 10, qualitative findings, Table 5, quantitative findings);
- Christianity (32% adult; 33.33% adolescent results, see Table 10, qualitative findings);
- ancestral beliefs (2% adult results; see Table 10, qualitative findings);
- psychological and social help seeking (4.7% adolescent results, see Table 10, qualitative findings);
- emotional support, belonging, being loved and taken care of (16% adult; 19.05% adolescent results, see Table 10, qualitative findings); and
- Intrapersonal aspects, for example
 - Mental endurance, perseverance, cognitive strategies such as finding meaning in adversity and hope as contributing to their family's resilience (see Table 10, qualitative findings; Figure 4, quantitative findings).

Apart from situational factors, the presence of complex self-other relations is identifiable in the above listing (such as inter- and intrapersonal phenomena).

It was evident that potential factors were impacting on participants' identified perceptions on culture, family and resilience. The following summary provides a

perspective on these filtering factors. Again the complex and interactional self-other relationship became evident. These underlying filtering processes are often not addressed by resilience studies and theory.

6.4 Factors filtering perspectives on resilience

Adolescent and adult perspectives on the identified resilience factors (see Table 10, qualitative findings; Table 5, quantitative findings) appeared to be filtered by reciprocal self-other relationships, such as aspects belonging to the self (eye of the beholder), for example:

- Personal experiences, for example unmarried adolescents, did not link marital status to their definitions of family (mentioned by only 9.25%) to the same level of frequency as their parents did (26%) (see Table 8, qualitative findings);
- Generational position, for example adolescents regarded their own education as something to be gained from family membership and good parenting and not contributing to family resilience. For example, 'My brother helped me a lot, he was in a better position at work and tried to organise bursaries for my two children for further tertiary education' (question 2, line 47-52, parent 4) while only adult results indicated a correlation between their own education and family adaptation (See Table 5, quantitative results). Similarly adolescents concerned with the developmental task of identity construction (Erikson, 1959), mentioned identity, esteem formation and self development as part of their definition of family (see Table 8, qualitative results), while their parents in a different (generative) phase (Erikson) did not. Consider the following qualitative examples of adolescent associations between family, esteem formation and identity, 'It is them... [my family] ...that come to my mind, they gave me education and now I am what I am because of them and their teachings' (question 1, line 690-698, adolescent 46); 'It defines how important

you are ...If it so happens that you are not at home, people should be able to feel that it emptiness owing to your absence (question 1, line 205-211, adolescent 11). This could be indicative of an association between self and family.

Family was also associated with aspects belonging to the other, for example

- Cultural values appeared to exert an influence on definitions of family membership, for example unmarried non-genetically related partners are not considered family: 'if you are having affairs, children or cohabitating, that is not a family. Only when you are into the wedlock that we can call you such' (question 1, line 278 – 283, adolescent 15); or 'The first thing that comes to my mind is my parents, my half-brother and my son, even though he is discouraged to call me thus, because I do not have a wife. I am still young' (question 1, line 148-145, adolescent 8). The cultural impetus for the above statement is reflected by the following declaration: '... my eldest son who is now married made one girl pregnant... (pause), in our tradition that is disgraceful' (question 1, line 103 – 106, parent 4). Aspects relating to the other (family, culture) thus appear to have an influence on the obtained perspective.
- Cultural development and socialisation are linked by the participants (12% adults; 4.76% adolescents; see Table 8, qualitative findings) to 'family' in their defining thereof. The influence of the cultural other filters through to the individual via family membership.
- Shared value systems were mentioned by 4% of the adult population (see Table 8, qualitative findings), for example '... [family is]... a group of people belonging to a group such as a clan, beliefs, values and clan of the same family' (question 1, line, 168-171, parent 9). This implies the participants' consciousness of the influence of others on personal perspectives.

6.5 Communication

Reported research on factors contributing to resilience refers to the value of communication (DeFrain, 1999; Der Kinderen & Greeff, 2003; Stinnett & DeFrain, 1985; Greeff & Van der Merwe, 2004). Communication appears to be a nodal point in the findings of this study. Communication was mentioned by both adults and adolescents in their definitions of family (see Table 8, qualitative findings). For example: 'The first thing that comes to my mind when I speak of my family is... transparency' (question 1, line, 162-171, parent 9); '...because when I speak they listen' (question 2, line 39-40, parent 3). This highlights the importance of communication as a trans-generational phenomenon that is so essential to family membership that it is considered part of the definition.

Communication was also identified by means of statistical analysis as strongly correlated to family adaptation. The Family Problem Solving and Communication scale (FPSC) of McCubbin, Thompson and McCubbin (1996) assess family communication patterns. Highly significant positive correlations were found between communication and family adaptation for both adult and adolescent groupings - again a trans-generational finding (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2, quantitative results).

Based on these findings it may be concluded that both adolescents and parents value family communication and problem solving as highly important mechanisms in fostering family resilience. As both groups value communication, there is an apparent irrelevance to life stage or timelessness to this finding. The importance of this is intensified by family communication being the only independent variable indicated by both groups as positively associated with family adaptation (see Table 5, quantitative findings).

Similar to the quantitative findings, the qualitative results indicated that participants appear to differ in nuance regarding factors associated with resilience.

Nevertheless both adults and adolescents (see Table 8, qualitative results) mentioned the same factor in the first most frequent position, namely communication. For example 'Whenever the problem arises, we often sit down and discuss matters' (question 2, line 39-44, adolescent 3); 'It is prayer and communication within my family' (question 2, line 359-361, parent 33); and 'I think communication, partly because I and my sisters talk about everything that concerns us. We are open to one another' (question 2, line 457-462, adolescent 38). This factor was mentioned by more than a third of both adult and adolescent participants when asked about their family resilience. It could thus be concluded that communication is an important trans-generational value and considered by most of the Xhosa participants as foremost in their minds when thinking of factors contributing to their family's resilience.

A theoretical understanding of this finding could be derived from the social constructivist movement. According to Pearce (1995, p.47) human knowledge and experiences of "knowing" are inseparably socially constructed and are to some extent linguistic. This implies that families could construe their experiences of problems, their solutions of these problems, their family's capabilities and resilience in terms of language. Communication between its members enhances this ability and fosters the potential of a shared reality and communal family beliefs. From the social constructivist perspective resilience is socially (for example through familial communication) construed in language (Pearce, 1995). This agrees with Gergen's (1990) assumption that adaptation is influenced by the meaning of experience, which is socially constructed.

The notion that resilience could be a familial social construct highlights the importance of family communication and the ability of the family to linguistically construe matters. This mirrors an essential social constructivist assumption:

meanings are construed within conversation (Pearce, 1995). Considering the findings, both adults and adolescents in the current investigation strongly indicated with high probability levels the importance of conversation in family resilience. This finding is similar to the empirical findings of a host of reported research (Bloch, Hafner, Harari, & Szmukler, 1994; DeFrain, 1999; Gilbert & Smart, 1992; Jordon, Kraus, & Ware, 1993; Stinnett & DeFrain, 1985; Van der Merwe & Greeff, 2003; Wolin, 1998). From the social constructivist, narrative perspectives, communication and language are not merely a reflection or function of resilience, but actually construe it (Pearce, 1995). Families develop shared belief systems that are connected to cultural values and influenced by their position in the social world over time (Falicov, 1995). This broadens the value of communication to include interaction between individuals, as well as between individuals and cultures – the essential link binding the themes of culture, resilience and family. Communication, viewed from the social constructivist perspective, thus expands from interaction between individuals to include the value of cultural truths and beliefs about resilience. For Walsh (1998) beliefs have a filtering effect on how we view the world as we move through life, influencing who we are, what we see and how we make sense of the world. This explains the value of hope and a future story in resilience. Not only theorists such as Walsh (1998), but also participants in this study mentioned how they derived pride and beliefs of strength accompanying survivor status. Consider for example, 'Recognising my strength' (question 2, line 271, parent 21); 'It is not an easy call, but I feel positive though' (question 3, line 287-288, parent 22); 'It is perseverance, knowing that eventually everything will be fine' (question 2, line 356-358, parent 32); 'believing that things can happen for the better, it is because of the Lord Jesus' (question 3, line 390-393, parent 34); 'and hope is the key' (question 2, line 400-401,

parent 38). This reminds of the ‘survivor’s pride’ identified by Wolin and Wolin (1993, p.8) in the anecdotes of individuals who have overcome alcoholism.

Mihaly Czikszentmihalyi (1990) found that a large number of individuals who became paraplegic because of an accident described the accident as one of the most negative and most positive aspects of their lives. Learning to live again became a source of pride. Similarly participants describe their experiences of resilience as a paradox of pain and rebirth. Metaphors describing resilience or surviving/recovering from adversity in Xhosa idiom is often related to giving birth or being born. The birth process carries tones of pain and happiness, of individuality (new person) and relationships to others, of family and of the hope of a new life/beginning. These aspects potentially associated with resilience are contained in the metaphoric wisdom of the Xhosa culture. Consider the following reply referring to loss, hope, family and resilience: ‘The Xhosa people usually say, you do not throw away the womb because you have lost a child. They say this because you are born with others. You then rebuild yourself once again’ (Question 3, line 171-178, parent 16).

Discovering one’s family’s resilience adds to one’s esteem and future constructions of resilience. This postulation is not included in the well-known theory of McCubbin et al.’s 1996 model, where recursivity and circularity are focussed again predominantly on the pathological/negative: the pile-up of stressors, while the salutogenic perspective of a potential pile of resilience narratives (evidence founded in survivor status to create future tales of hope and, according to social constructivist principles, create resilience) is omitted. Similar findings are evident from the mentioned explorative work of Wolin and Wolin (1993) who described the ‘survivor’s pride’ (p.8) of individuals who overcame adversity.

Understanding resilience and treating clients facing adversity implies the knowledge of paradox – not acknowledging a side of its dual nature could imply

disrespect or a lack of compassion. Resilience carries the paradox of hope and growth alongside pain, as one adolescent participant concludes:

'It is like I'm a pregnant woman. After birth, there will be joy but before it was pain. So it's like that to me' (question 2, line 448-456, adolescent 37).

Chapter 7

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Recommendations

The Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin et al., 1996) depicts the primary factors contributing towards adaptation following adversity. Using the model as a theoretical basis, the current investigation aimed at identifying factors that contribute to family resilience. Not only does this enhance the further development and operationalisation of resilience variables within South African research, but it also seeks to promote recovery by encouraging the salutogenic perspective of families as adaptive. The value of a pro-active health-orientated perspective is particularly important in the South African context where resources are limited (Der Kinderen & Greeff, 2003). It is recommended that future studies explore salutogenic perspectives in other South African contexts.

The results of this study indicate the significance of several resilience factors (see Table 5, quantitative results; Table 10, qualitative findings): namely, communication; problem solving and advice; emotional support, belonging, being loved and taken care of; Christianity; ancestral beliefs; finance/ having money; parental employment; parental education; social support; psychological and social help seeking; *Ubuntu*, unity and cooperation; mental endurance, perseverance, cognitive strategies such as finding meaning in adversity and hope.

These results compare favourably with those obtained by other studies, for example Stinnett and DeFrain (1985) have studied family strengths in different countries. Their cross-cultural research identified similar qualities as contributing to members' sense of personal worth and feelings of relationship satisfaction, for

example: communication, problem solving ability and stress management, emotional support, belonging, being loved and taken care of and a sense of spiritual well-being. Similar results were obtained by DeFrain (1999) who studied family strengths among Australian families. The findings that financial management and employment (see Table 5, quantitative results; Table 10, qualitative findings) contribute to family resilience correspond to other findings in reported research (Der Kinderen & Greeff, 2003; McCubbin & McCubbin, 1988; Olson et al., 1989). Social support is considered to be one of the most important crisis-meeting resources (Der Kinderen & Greeff, 2003; Lavee et al., 1985; McCubbin, Thompson, & McCubbin, 1996; Turner et al., 1991). Similarly the findings of the current investigation indicated the importance of social support as contributing to successful adaptation (see Table 5).

The current study identified mental endurance, perseverance and cognitive strategies, such as finding meaning in adversity and hope, as contributing to the resilience process (see Figure 4, quantitative findings; Table 10, qualitative findings). This corresponds to reported empirical findings (Czikszentmihalyi, 1990; Der Kinderen & Greeff, 2003; Wolin & Wolin, 1993) and resilience and cognitive theory. The cognitive theorist, Lazarus (cited in Olson et al., 1989), states that the cognitive appraisal process determines the intensity of emotional reactions and concludes that it is only possible to adjust in the face of hardships after some cognitive sense has been made or meaning has been attached to the problem. Perception was a key element in the ABCX model originally proposed by Hill (1949) and is still accentuated by McCubbin et al.'s (1996) most recent expansion of the model, the Resiliency Model of Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation.

Although results compare favourably with international findings, it would be valuable to be able to compare these to further South African studies. This

explorative study should be regarded as such and further explorations of similar and different South African populations are recommended.

Various limitations in the current project need to be acknowledged. Although the sample is ample for statistical analysis, it was still relatively small. The selection of the sample was based on voluntary participation because of ethical considerations. As the study entailed quantitative and qualitative analysis, founded in the explorative nature of the research, practical time limitations were also considered. The outcome of the findings suggests research potential for larger, more representative samples. Such samples of South African Xhosa families would allow for greater generalisation as well as within-group variations often neglected in literature. Future research that draws on this study would contribute more fully to a culturally variant understanding.

Although the questionnaires have not been standardised on the particular South African population, it was implemented successfully in this explorative study. The combination of a quantitative and qualitative design offered a means of preliminary validation of results. The shortage of South African standardised psychometric measures, however, remains a limitation. Future projects aimed at this standardisation are recommended.

Many adolescents were unable to attend the interviews conducted in this study. When attempts were made to accommodate them at later stages, they could not be traced. This is regarded a limitation of this study. As the findings indicated a generational perspective to be valuable (see the many generational discrepancies summarised in Table 5, Results), it is recommended that future studies follow a similar generational approach and attempt to find better adolescent collaboration.

It is recommended that future studies focus exclusively on distinct non-normative stressors, e.g. death of a child; divorce; and so forth. Different non-normative stressors, as explored in this study, may have different patterns of reacting and

coping. Future research may trace this possibility by means of a specified focus and comparative designs.

Despite these limitations and caveats, the study clearly augments the rather meagre research literature on Xhosa family resilience. As noted in recent literature (Taylor, Chatters, Tucker, & Lewis, 1990) social scientists have just begun to acknowledge and investigate cultural variants in family patterns. These findings could inform research communities to the need to consider the above which provide potential variables to uncover in more formal studies.

This study contributed to the scientific understanding of resilience by providing an intergenerational and intercultural perspective. As far as the former is considered, the findings indicated the presence of filtering effects influencing the perspective of the beholder, for example generational differences. This finding is often neglected by family resilience studies. This highlights the importance of contextualisation, the reciprocal self-other relationship (individuals have their own perspectives, but are in interaction with their environments and with other persons, for example family members or cultural groups) and communication as means of interaction between these spheres (person, family, culture) and passage of entrance for the therapist, researcher and relevant person alike.

From an intercultural perspective Veroff and Goldberger (1995) declare: "...individuals and their cultures are so intimately interrelated that the creation of one or the other is necessarily an outcome of the interaction between the culture and the individual" (p.18). This study contributed to the identified lapse in South African psychological studies by investigating a traditionally neglected South African population, namely Xhosa families residing in the Alice area of the Eastern Cape. A specified focus on cultural value systems and the relation thereof to definitions of family was made. The relations between the latter and resilience were traced. This

rather belated accomplishment was not previously undertaken in family resilience studies. Interesting findings emerged that could have important implications for understanding and respecting the participants' value systems and cultural expectations of resilience and family. These findings should be traced by larger future studies to test the generalisation ability thereof and could be valuable in educational settings. An understanding of the association between culture, individual, family and resilience could sensitise therapists for a deeper respect of their clients' cultural background as well as the potential for resilience residing in families. Such sensitivity is always needed, but particularly essential in cross-cultural settings where therapists could fall into the trap of universalism (and thereby disregard culture), of individualism (and disregard African culture) or simplified notions of collectivity (and thereby disregard the individual or the complexity of self-other relationships).

Barkauskas et al. (1994) lists the following as ways to enhance cultural sensitivity:

- Recognise the existence of cultural differences;
- Demonstrate respect for people as unique individuals;
- Respect the unfamiliar;
- Identify and examine your own cultural beliefs;
- Be willing to modify health care delivery in keeping with the client's background;
- Do not expect all members of a cultural group to behave in the same way;
- Appreciate that each person's cultural values are ingrained and, therefore, very difficult to change. (p.150)

The answer to the universalism/relativism split perhaps is evident in a paradoxical movement of similarity and difference. This may be a profound paradox of human nature and psychology as a discipline as Otto Rank (1941) observed: "Psychology,

by its nature is ambiguous in explaining all men as fundamentally alike and yet stressing their differences as personalities" (p.61).

Following Rank's declaration any theory attempting to define an individual (or family) on the basis of generalised principles is bound to encounter limitations. Similarly Westernised psychological theories, carrying hidden tones of individuality and pathology centeredness, may be problematic on which to base generalisations, without scrutiny, regarding diverse cultural populations. Some similarities and differences are bound to come to the fore. In revisiting the current predominant theory in the family resilience field of Western psychology, certain lapses become evident. Figure 9 provides a graphic summary of the current dominant Western model for family resilience, namely McCubbin et al.'s 1996 model.

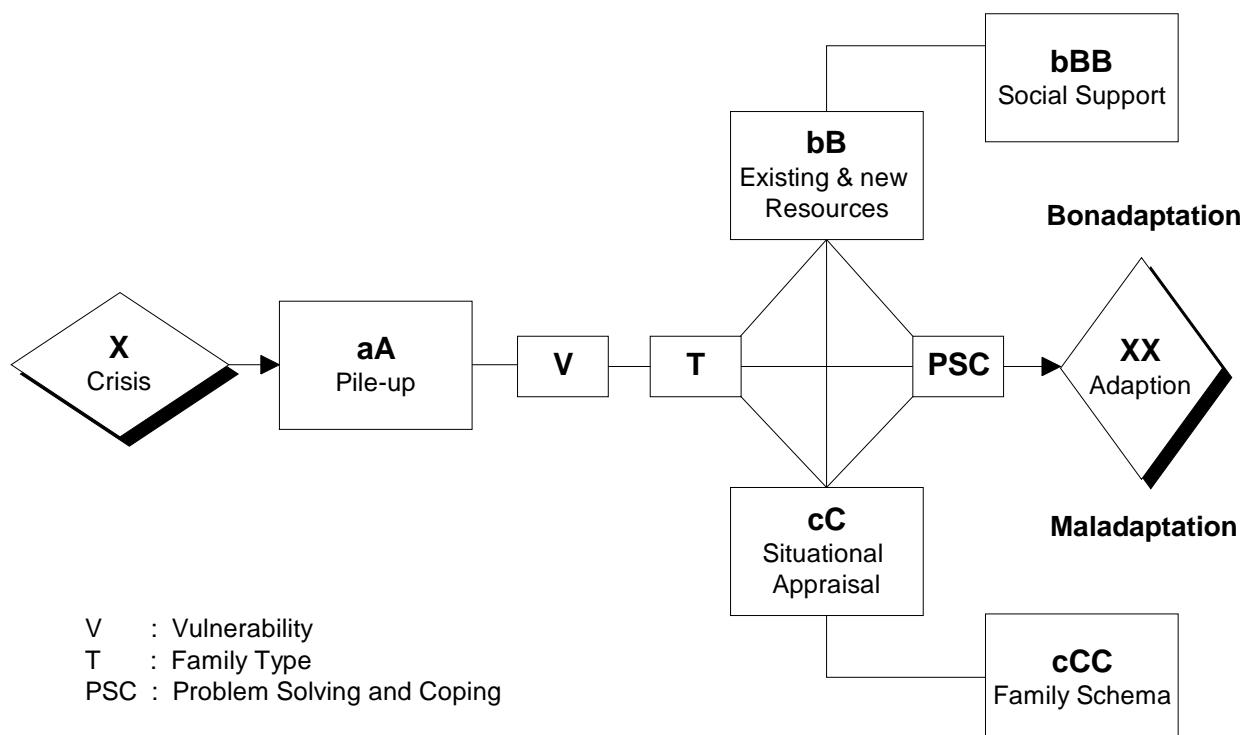


Figure 9. Revisiting the Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation (McCubbin et al., 1996).

Although the above model (summarised in Figure 9) is regarded as a salutogenic stance, the patterns of recursivity exclusively focus on pathology (V) and a pile-up of stressors (aA). The potential recursivity and pile-up of resilience narratives – as found in the cultural Xhosa metaphors or the personal narrative accounts of participants and the impact of narrative construction (as identified by the findings) on resilience – are not explicitly included in the model. All other resilience factors are grouped under the ‘unknown’ category of ‘existing and new resources’ (bB). This study contributed to the perceived omission by exploring resilience factors (bB) as perceived by Xhosa participants to be residing in their families.

Although social support was mentioned by the participants of this study (6% adult and 9.52% adolescents; see Table 10, qualitative findings; Table 5, quantitative findings), social support was not as highly correlated to family adaptation as communication (see Table 5, quantitative findings). Social support was only significantly correlated with family adaptation according to the findings obtained from adult participants (see Table 5), and not by both adults and adolescents as was the case with communication (compare Figures 3.1 and 3.2, quantitative results; see Table 10, qualitative findings). Uncovering the associations with communication versus social support, traces of one-sidedness are evident. While communication carries tones of mutual interaction and pluralism, in other words a give and take relationship between the family and others, social support on the other hand may be linked to an individualistic privileging of the individual family. The family is supported by others, and no reciprocal relationship is evident. This conception also carries tones of pathology: the family is ill and supported by others and no salutogenic qualities of mutuality (self and other give and receive in an interactional setting) are included, as implied by communication. Belonging to a collective African culture, the Xhosa participants predominantly focussed on communication as a resilience factor,

which was evident in qualitative and quantitative findings in a trans-generational capacity (see Tables 5 and 10).

The model's omission of communication is problematic as it is linked by the population to the definition of family (see Table 8) and is inter-generationally considered a central aspect contributing to family resilience. This was clear from the qualitative and quantitative data (see Tables 5 and 10). Communication also appears to be a trans-cultural phenomenon as it could refer to communication on different levels, such as cognitive intrapersonal communication between own, cultural and personal ideas, representative of a more individualistic stance, as well as interpersonal communication validating the self and the other as valid, existing and externally interacting agents representing a more collective perspective. Communication as an interactional phenomenon could be used as a nodal point as it enables a meeting between the self and the other, between individual, family and culture and represents communal and individual narrative constructions of resilience. Communication could be considered a nodal point in the complex self-other relationship identified on different levels (definition; identified resilience factors; and filtering processes influencing the perceptions of participants on resilience) throughout this study. Its inclusion in any theory attempting to understand Xhosa family resilience is thus strongly recommended.

Figure 10 represents a postulation for a circular and salutogenic adaptation of McCubbin et al.'s 1996 model. The postulated Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Strength, Adjustment and Adaptation is a theory based on current leading models (McCubbin et al., 1996) and the empirical findings of this study.

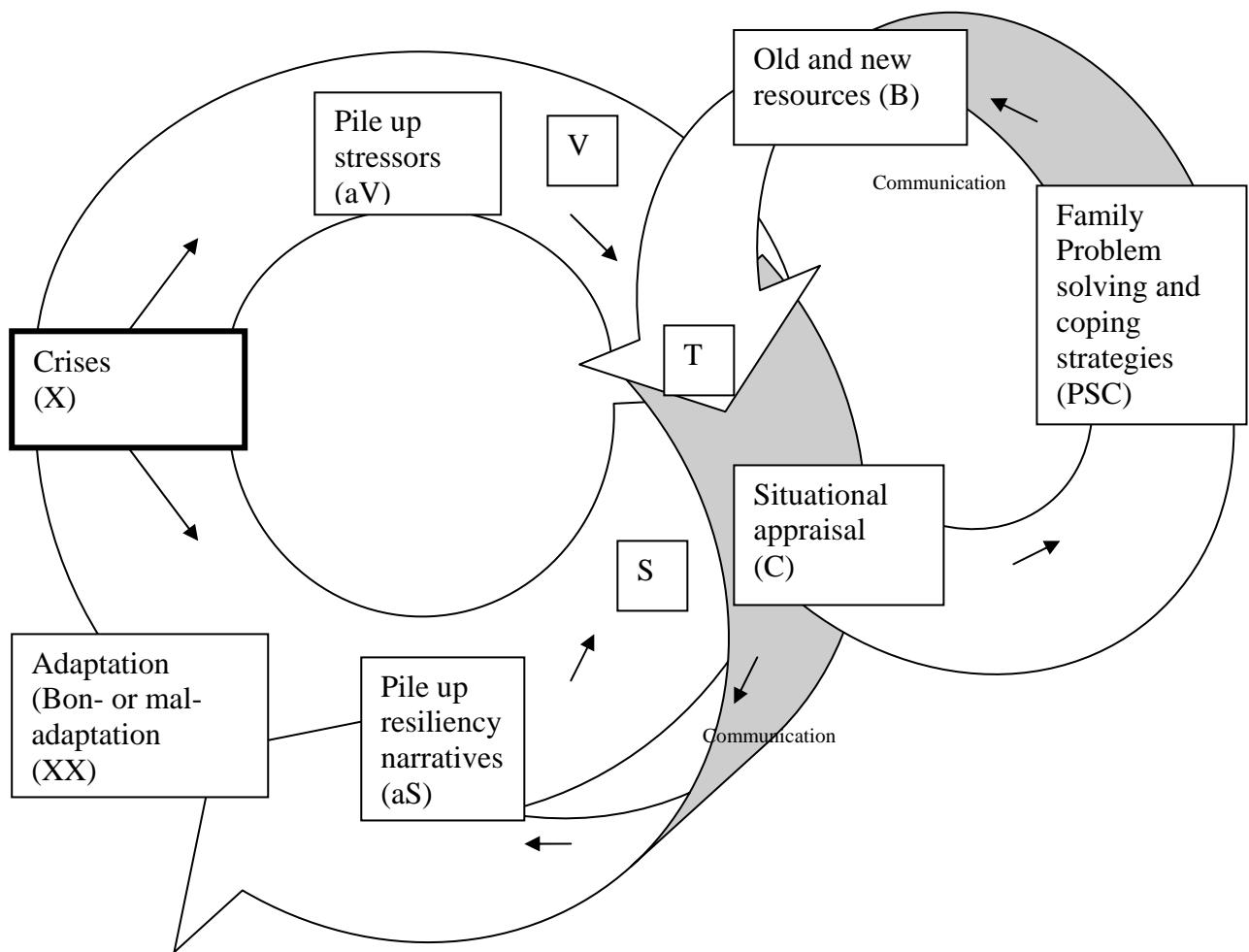


Figure 10. The Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Strength, Adjustment and Adaptation – a circular and salutogenic adaptation of McCubbin et al.'s (1996) The Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation.

The adapted model (see Figure 10) illustrates the role of a pile-up of stressors and resilience narratives on stress, adaptation and coping. The pile-up of stress and resilience narratives could be considered the residue of past experiences. The postulated inclusion of resilience narratives in the equation adds to the salutogenic perspective and balances binary opposites by including the potential of knowledge of previous resilience and future hope, mentioned by participants (strength), whilst acknowledging the negative potential of a pile-up of stress (vulnerability). The existing and evolving family vulnerability (V), caused by a pile-up of stressors (aV),

and the existing and evolving family strengths (S) (caused by a pile-up of past resilience experiences/narratives, aS) influence the current family typology of established patterns of functioning (T). Families appraise the situation (C), i.e. define the problem as minor, moderate or a catastrophe, and use existing and new resources (B) in attempting to reach adaptation. Based on the findings of the text, this appraisal is coloured by a meeting between the individual, family and culture (reciprocal self/other relationships), facilitated by communication and filtered by the eye of the beholder. Appraisal is thus defined as both individual and communal narrative construction and communication. This acknowledges traces of individualism and collectivism and variations because of acculturation. Family appraisal interacts with the family's problem solving and coping strategies (PSC), for example seeking social support, communication. Through the process of recursivity, indicated graphically by the circular compounds of the figure 8, this again may redefine the current family typology of established patterns of functioning (T) and may influence existing family strength and resilience narratives. All of these components interact to shape the level of adjustment. The latter may be positive (bon-adaptation) or negative (mal-adaptation). Mal-adaptation may be a new crisis reopening the circular effect of the model; while bon-adaptation may interact as a resilience narrative in future adversity, spurring a new, but related cycle of adaptation. Communication is emphasised by the proposed model as an important resource in the process of reaching adaptation.

This model is regarded as a theoretical postulation in conversation with past and future theory.

This project contributed to scientific knowledge and theory on its own accord and functioned as a valuable role-player within a larger international endeavour to explore, compare and conceptualise knowledge on family resilience within diverse

cultural and ethnic settings. This study and the larger corresponding project could contribute to scientific theory building, facilitate understanding and offer valuable knowledge to be incorporated in psychological and social training programmes, preventative community interventions and remedial therapeutic settings. Social policy makers and developmental initiative agents could also benefit from the publication of these findings. A theoretical orientation that considers resilience as a developmental pathway (Walsh, 1996) calls for therapists to look both forward and backward in time as they assess families. According to Hawley (2000) therapists tend to be tuned to discovering deficits in family functioning rather than strengths and their view on clients tends to focus on inadequacies. Consciously looking for evidence on past successes can provide all members of the therapy system with a different, more hopeful view of clients (Hawley, 2000). An example of this approach is the solution-oriented genogram proposed by Kuehl (1995). Hereby clients, after constructing a standard genogram, are required to focus on patterns in their families of origin that have contributed to current successes in functioning. This reminds of DeShazer's (1985) solution focussed therapy and White and Epston's (1989) narrative therapy. Both therapies are interested in how clients use their strengths to move past a particular problem. They facilitate such movement by assuming that the client is in a process of adaptation and possess the resources to overcome problems (DeShazer, 1985; Walter & Preller, 1992). Finally knowledge and communication of factors contributing to family well functioning and resilience within diverse settings could contribute to a deeper understanding, respect for and enhancement of familial resources and ethnical diversity.

7.2 Conclusion

'AmaXhosa think of the family as ... extended family members working together during trying and good times.

They treat a family as a unit, ...nobody where no one can come and break that family unity.

They say it emanates from their customs; they cannot break their forefathers' trend' (question 3, line 197-211, parent 19).

The above declaration calls for respect of cultural and familial bonds – a phenomenon regarded by the participants as so strong that it is conceived of as 'unbreakable' and the mechanisms considered to be underlying 'working together during trying and good times', thereby creating a timeless continuation despite adversity or prosperity. The concept of connection, relatedness and continuation appears to be deeply embedded in Xhosa cultural and family truths, for example: '... as a person one needs to fall within a generation...this delineates your roots and where you are heading. Nobody wants the end; they want the family to extend' (question 3, line 15-21, parent 1).

The findings of this study calls for respect of the relatedness of culture, family and resilience and the implied necessity of considering participants and clients within cultural and familial contexts. The knowledge of the perceived connection role that communication plays in the meeting of these concepts (culture, family and resilience) facilitates hope, not only for understanding but also for entering the world, experiences of self, family and culture of the other (family member / participant / client), as far as it is at all possible.

In communication lies the existential theme lingering in the spirit of collectivism: the ability to transcend the self by meeting the other; ideas by being transformed; and mortality by being remembered. As the philosopher concludes:

When you meet your friend on the roadside...

Let the voice within your voice speak to the ear of his ear;

For his soul will keep the truth of your heart

As the taste of wine is remembered

When the colour is forgotten and the vessel is no more. (Gibran, p.69. 2000)

POSTSCRIPT

Revisiting the analogue with the obtained findings in mind entails a metaphoric understanding of the paradoxical propensities of adversity, namely the potential of pain and growth, and respecting the existence of flow.

Although this text is concerned with an understanding of Xhosa family resilience, the answers obtained remain perspectives and the final word is postponed; it is like hearing the roar of a river that flows. For Kristeva (1986) analysis means the exploration of participants/cultures/concepts in process, a paradoxical perspective on the identifiable (language) and the unfathomable (participant). Kristeva advocates respect for the crisis of analysis by postponing the final answer and by embracing the paradox of seeing and not seeing. As Eliot (1994) concludes:

If we had a keen vision and feeling of all ordinary human life;

It would be like hearing the grass grow and the squirrel's heart beat,

And we should die of that roar which lies on the other side of silence. (p.194)

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ADDENDUM A**Semi-structured qualitative questions**

If I say family, what pictures comes to mind / what do you see in your mind's eye?

'In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?'

'In your opinion what helped your family through difficult times?'

ADDENDUM B

Qualitative interview guidelines

To be conducted and recorded in Xhosa or English according to the preference of the participant.

- Ask the three questions in the provided sequence.
- Do not rush. The first question has imagery, projective and very open nature. Give the participant time to respond. Should any questions be unclear to the participant, please explain it.
- Record the response to each question separately.
- Record word for word what the participant replied to each question.
- Should the response be very short or unclear, probe, ask for clarification or ask the participant to provide an explanatory example.
- Record your probing question and the participant's response word for word.

English translations of the interview should be word for word and as close to the original Xhosa response as possible (not a summary).

ADDENDUM C

Full qualitative interview transcripts

Interviews with reference to family resilience project

Family 1 Adolescent (1a)

Interviewer: When I speak about family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: The first thing that comes to my mind is the way they raised me... and how can I show how I appreciate that.

Question: Can you think of an instance about which you showed them your appreciation?

Answer: I can mention two highlights on that. One is the fact that they sent me down to a tertiary institution, I now have a job. Secondly, they sent me over to the initiation school to become a man.

Question: In your own words what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: My mother and father have been the most important strengths to me. They helped me with the money to attend tertiary education, which, like I said helped me get a job.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: It means looking after your parents, brothers and sisters.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: Because they have sent you to school, spent the last penny they had to send me to school, for you to look at them when you are working.

Family 1 Parent (1p)

Interviewer: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: It is essentially responsibility to your family. You think of many things to do, and you realise that you are not leading a single life, one tends to face quite lot of things.

Question: What could those things: perhaps be Mom?

Answer: The first and foremost responsibility is that of knowing you are educating the children, waking up early in the morning, boiling the water and lunch. You think of cases where without a lunchbox and what shall they eat after school. Staying with a husband who himself is unemployed is a responsibility to a housewife like myself, on its own.

Question: In your own words, what are the important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: By the time we had been retrenched by the University of Fort Hare, we owed money on the house, which we now live in. It so happened that we were compensated for with our package monies, I managed to pay the debt and we were saved ... but, look here we are, the rock hard family again.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: AmaXhosa say, having a family is extremely important, no man is an island.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: The reason they say this is that as a person one needs to fall within a generation...eehhmm... this delineates your roots and where you are heading. Nobody wants the end; they want the family to extend.

Family 2 Parent (2p)

Interviewer: When I speak of family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: Family is the biggest thing to me. Family needs to back up by both Mom and Dad through their workings within the family. We have children whom we educate and are able to send to the initiation school, but we have no income; we have never been civil servants. My husband is a jobseeker, he is ill and we rely on neighbours and relatives for everything. But, nevertheless, life goes on well in my family.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: Children on their own are good in my family for they play cricket at school. In that way, I think they can make good use of that sport, so that they become better people someday. Therefore, I am talking about opportunities. Their father is asthmatic, he no longer generates income. I used to work as a domestic worker, but Arthritis got the better of me. It's hard to pay for their R120 school fees each of my 3 kids.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: AmaXhosa say, "The elephant is able to bear its huge tusk".

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: You have to accept and bear predicaments you are faced with in all respects.

Family 2 Adolescent (2a)

Interviewer: When I speak of family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: The first thing that comes to my mind is that I see very close people to me, such as parents and grandparents.

Question: How did you realise that your family is close to you?

Answer: Of course, there was a funeral here at home, and the relatives were all here. I saw myself as one important member then.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths which have helped your family lately?

Answer: Most of the time, it is my Father, brother and sisters.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: They say, it is mainly responsibility.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: When you are all by yourself, you may not have problems, but when you live as a family, problems will chip in, always.

Family 3 Adolescent (3a)

Interviewer: When I speak about family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: My sister, brother and cousins come first to my mind when you speak of a family.

Question: Why?

Answer: Because there is this phenomenon amongst the youth of boozing and vibing during the evening. In many occasions I often wonder whether they are secure or not wherever they are.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: It is mostly my parents. Whenever the problem arises, we often sit down and discuss matters. For instance, I wanted money to go to school. I was really pressurised, considering that I am the first-born child.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people in general about family?

Answer: They say giving birth is blessing.

Family 3 Parent (3p)

Interviewer: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: I think of my mother who died in Victoria hospital in 1988. She loved me very much.

Question: Why do you insist on that?

Answer: My farewell at primary school. It was so good, lots of laughter, food and drinks.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: Understanding within the family has played a big role, because when I speak they listen.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say about family?

Answer: (laughs)....I really am not so sure, but I think they say a family is built through understanding

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: Well I would know, but AmaXhosa are a superstitious kind, I would guess.

Family 4 Parent (4p)

Interviewer: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: Family to my mind consists primarily of parents, grandparents, and of children, many children that make up the home to become a comfortable and warm place to live in.

Question: Why do you say that?

Answer: Ehmm.... back at home as a head of family, should one of the children go astray we gather together and discuss that issue, and attempt to resolve the matter constructively. In addition, we try to encourage the adolescents because they are still young and may be unsure of their actions.

Question: Do you perhaps remember one instance when your adolescent child went astray?

Answer: Yes, my eldest son who is now married made one girl pregnant...(pause), in our tradition that is disgraceful.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: My brother helped me a lot, he was in a better position at work and tried to organise bursaries for my two children to further their tertiary education.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: They say that the availability of a child in a family is mostly a blessing.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: The child will become an adult one day, give birth to more children in the family. That is why initially I said one needs to take good care of their family.

Family 5 Parent (5p)

Question: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Answer: The first thing that comes to mind is my children, because they make my family complete. I am responsible for them.

Question: Why do you say so?

Answer: I think of an incident where I lost through an accident, but I raised above all the odds.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: My nephew has helped me a lot during hard times, because I work temporarily on a contact basis

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Without a family, you will be looked down upon as nobody, even though you are a human being.

Question: Why do they say that, Mom?

Answer: For instance even if you have one child you would often hear them saying “the pillar of the home has arrived” for they trust the child would one day come to help them when in need.

Family 6 Parent (6p)

Interviewer: When I speak of my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: I think of my husband and children and the thought that we should stay in harmony all the time with no hassles.

Question: Can you single anything out that makes feel this way?

Answer: I do not know what to say, but all I can say is that reciprocity and harmony brings about a good family environment. However, this does not mean we are immune to problems.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: There are countless many, because there was nobody in my family employed at that point in time, but my Aunt came to our rescue.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa say in general about family?

Answer: Giving birth is a blessing.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: Children may be young, but they are also intelligent. For instance, if you should quarrel with husband the child may say “Mom, why are you shouting at each other?”. In that way as a parent, you would realise that this particular child would have a positive influence in years to come.

Family 7 Parent (7p)

Interviewer: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: The first thing that come my mind is my husband. We all are dependent on him even during stressful periods; he is the head of this household.

Question: What instance precipitates your thoughts in saying your husband is the principal individual in your home during stressful times?

Answer: When my father died, my husband decided to bury him from his own pocket. Therefore, I felt he is the greatest man I ever had.

Question: In your own words what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: My in-laws have helped me a great deal when I was bereaved. They had to pay for mortuary, food and coffin.

Question: How do you feel?

Answer: I feel good about it. Your arrival reminds me that IsiXhosa should not slip-off my mind, the concept of *Ubuntu*.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: They say family is expansion in the home.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: The household will not come to a standstill, even if I should die one day. My son will propagate.

Family 8 Adolescent (8a)

Question: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Answer: The first thing that comes to my mind is my parents, my half-brother and my son, even though he is discouraged to call me thus, because I do not have a wife. I am still young. However, I am very grateful to my parents. I do not think I would have been more grateful to having loving and considerate parents like them.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: I can single out my Father's obvious faith in God. From that we are able to observe his deep trust in God. My Father has been in and out of jobs, but the little money we had has been able to educate me in a tertiary institution. My mother has been loving, an enterprising person, a nurturer. I can just miss her the minute she is not at home.

Question: How do you feel?

Answer: Before I impregnated the girl, I was an ordinary human being and I have learnt a lesson; it turned to become a learning experience. One can almost say, it was predestination, I guess.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say about family?

Answer: AmaXhosa say a family is built through livestock and plantations.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: Hard work earns man credibility to manhood. A man as they say, is worthy of the name only when his deeds become positive to his parents, children, wife, and the in-laws. They say it us the process that does not stop anywhere.

Family 8 Parent (8p)

Question: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Answer: The first thing that comes to my mind is staying with my husband and children, education, sending and guiding.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: Speaking to the Almighty to give you the correct direction during unpleasant life circumstances. That has worked tremendously well in my family.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: They say giving birth to a child is a gift to the family.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: For instance if you gave birth to a daughter, she might substitute you in cooking.

Family 9 Parent (9p)

Interviewer: When I speak of my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: The first thing that comes to my when I speak of my family is love, caring, and politeness to your wife and children, as well as transparency?

Question: In your own experience what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: Well...ehhm, I think love, respect and being disciplined to each other. Loving of God and Jesus Christ as our saviour and provider. Believing in the Holy Spirit as the guiding spirit.

Question: How do you feel?

Answer: I feel so well, no doubt about that. Because I am still young and so is my wife.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa say in general about family?

Answer: AmaXhosa generally say, youthful parents are precious together with their children.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: I guess, youthfulness breeds love and peace.

Family 10 Parent (10p)

Interviewer: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: A group of people belonging to a group such as a clan, beliefs, values and clan of the same family. I see parents, grandparents and extended family.

Question: Can you tell me more?

Answer: Within the family, there are traditional customs as well as Christian beliefs.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: The strength is that of having to work together as brothers and sisters. Although I am unmarried, I take that my family works as a totality.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: A family is like a kraal where we worship the ancestors. The family is the head office of the ancestors.

Family 11 Adolescent (11a)

Interviewer: When I speak about family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: The first that comes to mind is, I see the rest of my family. My parents. Problems, we do have as a family, but we do have a particular way of dealing with those problems. Problems, one may have which you cannot share with anyone outside the family circle.

Question: What does it mean to be a member of your family?

Answer: It defines how important you are. If it so happens that you are not at home, people should be able to feel it. They should feel that emptiness owing to your absence. Even when in trouble your family makes you feel at home

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: My parents, no doubt. Everything that occurs revolves around and not outside. Parents also advise me on how to deal with other aspects of life.

Question: What could those be?

Answer: Money (saving and spending), friendships and relationships.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: They say a family is an extension in one's life.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: It is because you grow from one generation to the other, it is the culmination.

Family 11 Parent (11p)

Interviewer: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: I guess it is the peace that exists between my husband, the kids and me. We are a poor family in the socio-economic way of living though.

Question: Why do you say that?

Answer: I mean my child; even though we are both unemployed, there is no better way to describe my family than this one, indeed. We just respect one another.

Question: In your own words what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: It is the fact that I found myself a little job recently, as a domestic worker so that I can at least buy children and myself food. I do not earn much, but I am very grateful.

Question: How do you feel?

Answer: I have no regrets whatsoever. I only wish my children to make good progress at school.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Generally, they say no person is an island.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: Because of the fact that one needs love and affection, so one needs to belong with others

Family 12 Adolescent (12a)

Question: When I speak of my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Answer: The very close people like parents and siblings, together with my father's brothers, and sisters, and their cousins. All such people and their children make the concept of my family complete.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: The family supports each other. For instance, we shared the same pain when my Father died. My Uncle played a major role with his money, as well. Transporting people, buying groceries, and educating me as well, without longing for reimbursements as it were.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa say in general about family?

Answer: If I understand you well, they say it is somebody with a wife and children.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: It is the responsibility of having to support yourself, wife and children.

Family 12 Parent (12p)

Interviewer: When I speak of my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is.

Interviewee: The first thing that comes to my mind is love, peace and happiness amongst members of such a massive group of people who share common beliefs, values and norms.

Question: Can you perhaps think of an instance where you felt you shared common beliefs and values?

Answer: Well, that was the time when my grandfather died, an ox was slaughtered to bring him back to the ancestors. Families sharing the same clan name were all gathered in the kraal home brewed beer, as a custom.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: Believing in the powerful forces of the dead, but look, their spiritual power is not dead. My other daughter has been sick for quite too long than I can remember, been to the doctors to no avail. But it took only one goat to make the matters back to normal.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say about family?

Answer: They usually say, a man without a family is no man.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: Men must marry, have children and expand the clan name to infinity. We are not animals, man, we are humans. AmaXhosa are quite superstitious beings.

Family 13 Parent (13p)

Question: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Answer: I see my grandparents who raised me, despite all the problems we had as a family. My parents were in the Gold Reef to find employment. In life, really it is these small things we have to be grateful for.

Question: Why makes you say so?

Answer: I mean having grown up with my cousins and not much money at the time, we managed to have food on the table, go to school etc, etc.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: I can only single out the powerful force of the Almighty which has helped us during difficult times. Having faith and hoping in God.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: I am not so sure, but I think it is graduation from one stage to the next.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: Ohhh.... indeed I cannot be accurate on that one

Question: However, tell me the little you know.

Answer: I do not know what to say

Family 14 Parent (14p)

Question: When I speak of family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Answer: Both my wife and kids and both our parents.

Question: Would you tell me why they come first into your mind?

Answer: You know when my father in-law died we all came together as a unit to bury him, my siblings and in-laws.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: Saving money in the bank saved my family during difficult times.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say about family?

Answer: I think they say, family is a home where everybody can feel relaxed.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: There is nowhere you feel at ease than when you are at home.

Family 15 Adolescent (15a)

Question: When I speak about my family the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Answer: The first thing that comes to my mind when I speak of family is my parent, cousins etc. The elderly usually say, if you are having an affair, children or cohabitating, that is not a family. Only when you are into wedlock that we can call you such.

Question: Can you tell me more about your family?

Answer: No, that is all I have to say.

Question: In your own words, what are the strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: Physical strength, I think goes a long way. There is no other thing I can mention to have been a strength.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: They say it is a home and not merely a house.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: In order to build a home, you have to have a family. A boy cannot build a home, but a man can, so they say.

Family 15 Parent (15p)

Interviewer: When I speak of my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: The first thing that comes to my mind is my children. Even though I am divorced, being a single mom is a huge load to bear. You are all on your own with no husband to share the load with.

Question: In your own wisdom, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: Relatives and neighbours are the integral parties, which helped me when my daughter was sick, they have been very supportive, I cannot lie, indeed.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Well.....ehhh, I think (quiet)... what do Xhosa say about what?

Question: About family, yes?

Answer: Family is happiness and prosperity (shrugs) in one's life.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: I am not sure...ehhh, I don't know what to say

Family 16 Adolescent (16a)

Interviewer: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to mind is?

Interviewee: The first thing that comes to my mind when I speak of my family is the peace of mind once I think and get to my home.

Question: Tell me more, why you say that?

Answer: My family does not consist only of my parents, but people of whom we share the same clan names are part of my family. We are a highly religiously oriented family. We try to preserve peace in the house. Disputes are resolved through prayer.

Question: In your words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: God the Almighty has been the most the most turbulent times, above the rest

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: I do not know, but it is imperative that we marry.

Question: Why should we marry then?

Answer: Sex is intended for married adults, and they should remain such. Most young people indulge into it blindly. That is why there is such incurable disease like HIV/Aids etc

Family 16 Parent (16p)

Question: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Answer: The first thing that comes to my mind is the way live with my family, the treatment I receive from my both my husband and my children.

Question: Why makes you say that?

Answer: Because then my husband and I used to love each other, but things turned for the worst. Our marriage became sour; as a result, it lasted for only 6 months. He had affairs and flings outside the marriage.

Question: In your own words what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: My not relying heavily on my husband helped me a great deal. However, as a matter of fact, I managed to buy myself a new house without my husband's help whatsoever. Adult education has helped me as well as my brothers and sisters.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: The Xhosa people usually say, you do not throw away the womb because you have lost a child.

Question: Why do they say this?

Answer: They say this because you are born with others. You then re-build yourself once again.

Family 17 Parent (17p)

Interviewer: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: My Aunt's husband, Aunt, and their children. I grew up with in her house as her own child having lost my father.

Question: How did you lose him and why do you your Auntie's family is of such significance to you?

Answer: He married another wife in Swaziland and my mother married a man in Durban, and my Auntie took me into her family. She treated me like her own child; I had almost everything any child would desire to have, for example, clothes and toys.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: I am not so sure, but I think understanding between parents is essential for a successful family.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: They say, “stretching was forbidden by the wizard”, because you will give birth to children who will in turn have their own. This expands from one generation to the other.

Family 18 Parent (18p)

Interviewer: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: Myself, siblings, kids, husband, aunts, in-laws and the way we co-operate during good and bad times, the way we come together when solving problems that tend to crop up, and how we celebrate festivities.

Question: In your own words, what has helped your family lately?

Answer: Unity is definitely strength. When we lost my husband’s brother, his wife within a very short space of time organised us to meet to give him a decent burial and to see over their two children. Still we have a problem, because they are now adolescents, and are not easy to look after. Nevertheless, we are trying.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: AmaXhosa think of the family as all the above-mentioned, extended family members working together during trying and good times.

Family 19 Parent (19p)

Interviewer: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: It is ehmm...ehh...the responsibility to my family as I am the breadwinner at home.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: It is cooperation. Since we do not have parents, we learnt to obey each other. We are a big family: to such an extent that during Christmas times we organise and have family parties.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: They treat a family as a unit, one nobody where no one can come and break that family unity.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: They say it emanates from their customs; they cannot break their forefathers' trend.

Family 20 Parent (20p)

Question: When I speak of my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Answer: The first thing that comes to my mind is my husband and my children, whom I love and care for so much, even though we are not a well-to-do family. However, we try by all means to be well.

Question: Why mention that you love your family so much even though you are not a rich family?

Answer: You know, I never realised how much my family meant to me, until my leg was amputated because of diabetes. I now spend most of my time with them, washing for them, and so on, whilst I am life bound in this wheelchair.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: We try to make ends meet (pause)....

Question: How?

Answer: Both my husband and I are pensioners now. Nevertheless, I can tell we receive little favours from relatives, let alone neighbours.

Question: Why is that, neighbours of all people?

Answer: They ridicule and gossip about all your sufferings and failures, even before anybody from the relatives knows about it. I do not share my tribulations and sufferings nor concerns about them. They go about enjoying a cup of coffee about your failures.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say about the family?

Answer: Generally, they say an elephant is able to pull its trunk.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: Look, AmaXhosa are traditional people they have never been to school as you have, but what they prophesy occurs just exactly as they would have said. Human beings can deal with their challenges; there is no doubt on my mind. Hard work, I know pays off at the end of the day.

Family 21 Parent (21p)

Interviewer: When I speak of family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: The first thing that comes to my mind is marriage and my children. Therefore, we stay together as a family and my in-laws.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: Recognising my strength of helping my nephew who fell pregnant, I had to negotiate for that. When my sister had to get married, I brought my brothers and sister to discuss the matter.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say about family in general?

Answer: Xhosa people say family is about enlargement, as well as extended family and the in-laws.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: My uncle's children, for example, are my children. It is, however, respect you give people and the respect they give back to you.

Family 22 Parent (22p)

Interviewer: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: I think of my parents who provided me with love and nurturing, and they still do the same to date.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: Getting along well with all manner of people in the area in which I live, has helped my family and me considerably.

Question: How do you feel?

Answer: It is not an easy call, but I feel positive though.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say about family?

Answer: AmaXhosa say in a family, love does not stop anywhere

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: Because love is a gift from God, loving is natural, no one can deny that.

Family 23 Parent (23p)

Interviewer: When I speak of my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: The first thing that comes to my mind is my husband as the head of the household; he keeps the home fires burning in our family. He is a respected man and very considerate to his family members.

Question: Why do you say that?

Answer: A man in the home is strength of the family. He also acts as a security in the house.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: The fact that I have in-laws who care for me makes me feel good, besides your biological family. I had countless problems, but I am very grateful to them.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: They say prosperity is the priority in your family.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: Well ...I grew up the elderly saying such a sentiment, and I maintain it too.

Family 24 Parent (24p)

Interviewer: When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to mind is?

Interviewee: It is the day my husband and I got married in 1984 in Aliwal North. It was a total festival with lots of food and lots to drink. It felt like a brand new start in my life.

Question: In your own words what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: Having faith in the Almighty.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Family to the AmaXhosa means having responsibility to oneself and those around you.

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: You start to become responsible for your family, meaning children, cousins etc.

Family 25 Parent (25p)

Interviewer: When I speak of family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Interviewee: The first thing that comes to my mind is my children; they really come first to my mind.

Question: Why?

Answer: I received money from my pension package, and I felt I should gather them to find what each wanted. They are four of them: three daughters and a son.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important things, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: During difficult times what came as rescue is that, I applied for pension, and I was accepted.

Question: How do you feel?

Answer: A whole lot better.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Being a family is *Ubuntu* (humanity).

Question: Why do they say that?

Answer: The reason they say that is the harmony that should co-exist between a Mother, Father, Children, and grandchildren.

Family 26 Parent (26p)

Interviewer: thank you for your time you gave it to me.

Question: When I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: what comes is that my God, what this person is going to find out about my family, I wonder what is he going to do for me because I'm a parent who does not have anything and suffers.

Question: In your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: during difficult times it was very hard even when it was time for us to eat we ate half of a loaf as a family. She "then cried, weeping" I raised them hard and it was not easy. But, God took me to another level.

Question: In your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: They say it's good to raise your family, because tomorrow they are going take care of you when you are unable to do things for you by the time you are old.

Family 27 Parent (27p)

Interviewer: Thank you for allowing me to record this interview.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: to my mind it'sin me, to me it's ...me.

Question: why you in your mind?

Answer: it is because my family depends to me, everything I do I do it for them, I must say everything.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: things that were important to me ("she laughs") was to raise them alone until they are now, even if I say: "there is no food," they understand.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: I do no have recollection of what they said.

Probing: take your time think about Xhosa people.

Answer: they say family must help one another in everything they do, that is every member must help another member.

Question: why do they say that or so?

Answer: a family is something that helps one another, especially the one who is in a problem.

Interviewer: I thank you for your time that you gave me, and able to record data about your family.

Interviewee: I also thank you for coming to me.

Family 27 adolescent (27a)

Interviewer: Thank you for giving the opportunity to talk to you.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: I do. Eesh! My family, nee. Are people who are there for me, whenever I had a problem, are also people whom I trust them and they encourage me in everything

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: Ooh! You know at home, whenever we had a crisis or problem, we give it to Jehovah Almighty, so this is something we do; we were also taught or raised like that at home.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Xhosa people say a family is like an organisation. They share their problems and they should keep their culture and not to adopt another family's culture.

Interviewer: I thank you for your time you made it for my sister.

Interviewee: I also thank you my brother.

Family 28 Parent (28p)

Interviewer: thank you for your time you gave me to interview you on these questions.

Question: when I speak about your family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: what comes to my mind is my mother, father, and children but we as Xhosa people we have many families like relatives of my mother, father such as uncle, aunt, and in-laws they are part of family to Xhosas.

Question: how do you feel to be the member of your family?

Answer: I feel like a mother indeed, and to be the parent and happy because you know that you help them and do something for them.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: in my family is suffering, and co-operation, because at my home they raised my children during the time of unemployment, they also educated them as well.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: a man without a wife, they say is not a complete man, once he has a family is now a man. A female without children they call her by names, bad ones. A family is important to Xhosa people, meaning that there should be a mother, father, and children. So, the name of the family will not die.

Question: do you have any particular reason for Xhosas to say that or so?

Answer: we as Xhosas, we are people who share their drinks, eat in one plate and with one spoon. It is because that when a father is at work his food and flock is kept safe by the family.

Interviewer: thanks for your time you gave me.

Interviewee: thank you as well.

Family 29 Parent (29p)

Interviewer: I thank you for your time you made it for me.

Question: when I speak about your family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: the first thing that comes to my mind is unity, togetherness, as well as encouragement. Unity in a way that whenever we about to do something we meet up and we do that as a team.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: I would say togetherness, planning, working together to achieve whatever we want to achieve at the end of the day, warmth so that everybody can feel free, and the major beliefs in God.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: about the family you shall hear them saying “*ubunye ngamandla*,” in English it is “unity is strength” so there is belief that says a family must be close. That is why they have the phrase like “*ubunye ngamandla*”. If we do something together at the same time, then we got strength more to do it, unlike doing it alone you see.

Question: why are they saying that?

Answer: Xhosa-speaking people, they say that "umntu ngumntu ngabantu" or "ngabanye" meaning that you cannot be a person alone, so you need others to support you. So, Xhosa people are supportive, they do not let other people or persons to suffer alone. They are there for them.

Interviewer: allow me to send my big thank you to you for your time.

Interviewee: you are welcome, it's my pleasure.

Family 30 Parent (30p)

Interviewer: thank you mother for allowing me to ask you these questions.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: what comes is dependence of my family to me, because I'm the only one working and I'm doing it for them or because of them.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: it's working together. In other words, working together to assist each other.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: they say a family is something that is important.

Question: why do they say that or so?

Answer: because is something that work together or work for one another, and to be one thing.

Interviewer: thank you for your time and for answering these questions honestly.

Interviewee: I also thank you my child.

Family 31 Parent (31p)

Interviewer: I thank you for your time and your co-operation.

Question: when I speak about your family, the first thing that comes to your mind is what?

Answer: what comes to my mind is that a family must be protected, united, and kept safely. You protect them from evil things outside the family and to things they must do and must not do.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: Ooh! In times of difficulty, we helped one another because one person came with this input and the other one came up with another input.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Eish! Xhosa people say family members must be trained whilst they are still young to be able to obey your rules.

Question: why they say so or that?

Answer: it is because they believe in their culture, not to the culture of other people such as Whites, Coloureds or Indians. They believe in training their family members according to their culture. They say a female does not have to go to school to be educated; it is only a male who goes to school for a primary level or grades that are lower.

Interviewer: thank you for your co-operation.

Interviewee: I also thank you my child.

Family 31 Adolescent (31a)

Interviewer: O.K. thank you Siphelelo for allowing me to interview you, and thank you for partaking in this research.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is what?

Answer: is my mother and my two brothers, the reason why I say that because my mother is a single parent. My father passed away when I was five years old, so my mother helped me throughout my studies, and also my brother was there for me. That is why am saying my mother and my brothers.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: Yeah! My mother, she is a Christian, therefore, she prays whenever there is a problem.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: you see, there is a term called “patriarch” means the father is the head of the family, the mother and the children are the subordinate of the family, that’s what Xhosa believe in.

Question: why are they saying that?

Answer: you see, a father is the one who takes care of the family, but, now things have changed. Both of them are heads of the family.

Question: what do Xhosa people say about these changes?

Answer: you see, there are those who are civilised and those who are not civilised, at least those who are civilised, they embrace these changes. But, others are still traditional.

Interviewer: I wish to send out a big thank you to you for your time.

Interviewee: you are welcome.

Family 32 Parent (32p)

Interviewer: thanks for your time and for allowing me to ask you these questions.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: it is my husband or father of my home.

Question: why does your husband come in your mind?

Answer: it is because we share responsibilities with him, we sit down around the table to discuss issues, until we reach a solution with him.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: it is perseverance, knowing that eventually everything will be fine.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: they say a family is a unit where members work or share workload all the time.

Question: why do they say that?

Answer: they say it is important, because your children will help you when they are able to do so, and you will feel happy in your soul or be blessed.

Interviewer: I thank you a lot Mama for your co-operation.

Interviewee: I also thank you my child.

Family 32 Adolescent (32a)

Interviewer: thank you for allowing me to interview you on these questions.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: the thing comes, it's my parents and my sister and brother (siblings).

Question: why these people come to your mind?

Answer: because of the way we resolve issues or problems, and the way I express myself to them.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family recently?

Answer: it is working together and each and everyone have time or chance to express his/her opinion. And, you found that everyone has an input in the problem at hand. Lastly, we believe in God.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Xhosa people say a home is a home no matter what, everything one does reflect back at your home where you come from, when you are away from home.

Question: why do they say that or so?

Answer: Xhosa reveal that a person can't change home, his/her home, where she/he comes from, even how it is; it is his/her home.

Interviewer: I think we are done, I thank you so much.

Interviewee: I also thank you.

Family 33 Parent (33p)

Interviewer: I thank you for giving the opportunity to interview you on my four questions.

Question: when I speak about your family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: when I speak about my family, the things that come to my mind is gifts that God gave me, they are so important to me.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: it is prayer and communication within my family.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Xhosa-speaking people concerning family, they used to say an outside features nowhere in the family, and secondly, when they have a problem the parents should solve it without taking it to the outsider.

Question: why do they say that or so?

Answer: it is because they want to avoid such things as being separated in their marriage.

Interviewer: thank you for your co-operation.

Interviewee: I also thank you.

Family 33 Adolescent (33a)

Interviewer: thanks a lot for making time to talk to me concerning your family.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is what?

Answer: it's solidarity and responsibility simply because we believe that without being solid and responsible for our action we are not a family enough, so to say.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: I think it is openness, so we must be open to one another so as to understand what is going on in their life. During the crisis, we turn to be patient because some of the things need patience. The other strength again is acceptance so we accept the situation we are faced with and accept each other.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: they say that charity begins at home, that is one has to be disciplined from home.

Question: why do they say that or so?

Answer: they say at home because it is where learning process begins. Because the person will learn some bad stuff or things on the street, but if you discipline a person or child, it is rare for him/her to bad things.

Interviewer: I think you have answered my questions, therefore thanks once again.

Interviewee: good luck in your research, thank you as well.

Family 34 Parent (34p)

Interviewer: Good morning, and thank you for buying time to be with me in terms of sharing the information with me.

Question: when I speak about the family, the first thing that comes to your mind is what?

Answer: towards my family it's unity because it is very important to be united and do everything together.

Probing: you made mention of unity. Can you elaborate a bit on that?

Answer: O.K., by means of unity being a parent or couple you must do everything together with the family, which is children, grandchildren, and grandparents. Besides that, you have to go to children and hear their opinion.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: I think our most important strength is prayer, because whatever we do we put Lord as our base, because without believing that things can happen for the better, it is because of the Lord Jesus. We pray as a family all of us, we join in prayer, young or old.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: you know generally, like I was young before, we used to see parents doing things on their own without consulting the children, which is why it is important for me to include children.

Question: why Xhosa people say this or that?

Answer: you know that before they used to say that a father is the head of the family, if he says something that was final, therefore, they believe in that. In other words, parents are the ones who finalise things.

Interviewer: I thank you once again for your time.

Interviewee: thank you for coming to my family.

Family 35 Parent (35p)

Interviewer: thank you for your time and co-operation

Question: when I speak about your family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: it is the parting of us with our brother, who was helping our mother in our home. The cause of the conflict was my grandmother.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family recently?

Answer: to share, listen, and trust, love one another, these things made us strong till today and we are able to console ourselves, and hope is the key.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Xhosa people say, it starts first to be dark before sunlight or light. And, they say a “bird builds with another’s hair”.

Question: why do they say that or so?

Answer: it is because they want the members of a family to share the responsibility or work. And a home is a home because of another home.

Interviewer: I thank you mama a lot.

Interviewee: I also thank you.

Family 35 Adolescent (35a)

Interviewer: thanks for your time.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: it is my father and my siblings at home.

Question: why you mention these particular people?

Answer: I think they are so special to me.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped you lately?

Answer: we get our strength from God, when we are faced with the crisis or problem we just pray to God for guidance over that problem.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: I’m afraid, am not quite well informed about Xhosa people.

Probing: take your time; think about your grandparents, and people in your community talking about family.

Answer: I really do not know, I do not have any experience about that.

Interviewer: thanks a million for your co-operation, and loyalty.

Interviewee: it was my pleasure, and good luck for your research.

Family 36 Parent (36p)

Interviewer: I thank you for your time.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: what come to my mind are children.

Question: why do your children come to your mind?

Answer: it is because I want them to be successful in their education, and be everything they wanted to be in their lives. My children and success are the two things that come to my mind.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family recently?

Answer: it is perseverance, hoping that at the end there would be a reward for that.

Question: in your experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: they say a family is a family, by helping out one another concerning a problem they are faced with.

Question: why do they say that or so?

Answer: because they say families help one another, and also people do the same thing of befriending each other.

Interviewer: thank you for your co-operation.

Interviewee: I also thank you.

Family 36 Adolescent (36a)

Interviewer: I wish to thank you for time to participate in this project.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is what?

Answer: it is my parents because when am at home, it is like I'm in heaven, and with my parents. To tell you for me, there is no place like home.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: you know at home we lost our father, after that we lost everything, even the house. Because of my mother, she was very strong, encouraging us to get education or educated, and saying that it is not the end of the world. Basically, I should say hope, patience, and unity above all that God. We believe in Him. My mother used to say to us that we must accept and understand the situation that we are in; these are our strengths, which have helped us during crisis.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: according to Xhosa people, they say a family is not a family without children, simply because they will carry on the name of the family and family is the only institution that retains culture. In other words, the name of the family will not die; man is the head of the family.

Interviewer: thanks a lot once again for your co-operation.

Interviewee: it was my pleasure, my brother.

Family 37 Parent (37p)

Interviewer: thank you for your time father.

Question: when I speak about your family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: firstly, when you speak of family, you speak of people who are united, for example, a man or husband, wife, and children who are a family. What comes next is unity.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: it is the support of friends. Comes the problem or trouble, the first thing is prayer, after that support.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: O.K.! AmaXhosa say a family is a group of people who are united, understand each other, and respect each other, a wife; children and respect is flowing within them.

Question: why do they say that or so?

Answer: it is because a family without respect, unity is not a family according to Xhosa people.

Interviewer: thank you for your co-operation.

Interviewee: I thank you as well.

Family 37 Adolescent (37a)

Interviewer: thank you very much for your time.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: it is my mother's efforts and her children's co-operation that comes to my mind.

Question: can you explain to me about your mother's efforts?

Answer: it is because I regard her as a hard-working person and because she is a single parent and I'm here or where I'm because of her. Some single parents give up on their children, and the children lose direction.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family recently?

Answer: yes, my strength or ours is prayer because I'm a Christian. I do not cry when we are faced with a crisis. It is like I'm a pregnant woman after birth, there will be joy, but before that it was pain. So, it's like that to me.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: about family, I think Xhosa people believe in extended family rather than nuclear family. They like relatives or to be related to others, also, should the clan names are the same, so they regard you a relative.

Question: why do they say that or so?

Answer: it is because they used to believe that a person is a person because of another person or a hand washes another hand.

Interviewer: thank once again for your co-operation.

Interviewee: I also thank you.

Family 38 Parent (38p)

Interviewer: thanks a lot for making time to share your experience with me.

Question: when I speak about your family, the first thing that comes to mind is?

Answer: my children, and husband, they all come to my mind as we speak.

Question: why specifically your children and husband?

Answer: the reason being that I have to take care, and responsibility in my family. By means of responsibility, I have to see to it that they eat properly, attend school without an empty stomach and they are being clothed.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: firstly, when I have a problem, we sit down with my husband to discuss it. We also include our parents to help us out. Basically, God, parents, husband and some of my colleagues at work are my strengths.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: in those early days, within the family the head of the family was the father and the mother had to listen to their husband. But, nowadays mothers are single parents too because of divorce.

Question: why do they say that or so?

Answer: I think it is because of their culture and the stereotype thinking of Xhosa people.

Interviewer: thank you for your co-operation.

Interviewee: you are welcome.

Family 38 Adolescent (38a)

Interviewer: thank you for your time you sacrificed to be with me.

Question: when I speak about your family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: I see my mom and my sisters.

Question: why do your mom and sisters come to your mind?

Answer: it is because of the way they are taking care of me, especially my mother I'm here because of her, at school because of her support. The thing is they treat me so specially; therefore, they are so important to me.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: basically, I think communication, partly because I and my sisters we talk about everything that concerns us. We are open to one another.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: basically, I think they say a family and a home it's where one should enjoy and be happy always, because there is no place like home.

Question: why do they say that?

Answer: I think it is because family and home are inseparable, and you get everything at those places and people.

Interviewer: thank you once again for your co-operation.

Interviewee: thank you for choosing me.

Family 39 Parent (39p)

Interviewer: thank you Mama for giving me your time.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: what comes to my mind is that a family is not just something that is light or easy.

Question: can you why are you saying that?

Answer: the reason for me to say this, is because there are many things or problems that come within us, some are small others are big or major. That is what makes it not easy; it is something that is material.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: things that were helpful in times of difficulty, our family in time of difficult I lost my husband, in that my family was with me in that. They stood with me, and my second family where am married to were supportive. Therefore, things were easier.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: like I said before, they say a family is not an easy or light institution.

Question: why do they say that?

Answer: the reason why is that Xhosa people saying a family isn't an easy institution, because it has various kinds of problems. By the time you are focusing on this side, there comes another problem again.

Interviewer: thank you for explanation and co-operation.

Interviewee: I also thank you.

Family 39 Adolescent (39a)

Interviewer: thanks for giving me your time to interview you.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: when I speak about family, my parents come to my mind, and my siblings and the whole family, I just remember them. It is because they are so important people to me or in my life. When I have a problem they are the ones I tell my problem to all of them.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: things that were important in my family, I'm a kind of person who had difficulties in my life, so my family helped me out and gave me support. Another thing is we sit down to discuss, that is communication

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Xhosa people are people with love, they like to be among other people. My own experience is that Xhosas like to see peace and joy.

Question: why do they say so or that?

Answer: Xhosa people had the belief that says: should people be not happy at home there would be a problem. You won't succeed if you are not happy as a family.

Interviewer: I thank you for your co-operation.

Interviewee: I also thank you.

Family 40 Parent (40p)

Interviewer: thank you for making time for this interview.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: it is my husband, as well as my children; they come to my mind because they are so important in my life.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: we take some members of my family to talk about the problem at hand or the existing one.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: they say when you are a family, you are able to talk, and they shall listen. You should as a family be able to solve your own problems, because no one will solve it for you.

Interviewer: thank you for your co-operation.

Interviewee: I also thank you my child.

Family 40 Adolescent (40a)

Interviewer: thanks for your time to answer these questions.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: I think of my brother, sister, and my parents, it is because it's nice to stay with them. It is because they are very important to me, especially my mother and my father, because they are always there for me supporting me. I'm at school because of them, and therefore, I appreciate that Sometimes also my sisters are so supportive as well, because sometimes I'm afraid to talk to my parents.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: during difficult time we seek help from social workers, friends, and neighbours. We choose the right advice because some are negative. But first we try to use our own advice.

Question: in your experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Xhosa people say a family ids something that works together, to reach an agreement within family. During difficult time they should assist each other. They also say "unity is power" because they believe in working together as a team.

Interviewer: thank you once again for your co-operation.

Interviewee: you are welcome, thank you.

Family 41 Parent (41p)

Interviewer: I thank you for your time you gave me.

Question: when I speak about your family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: what comes to my mind is respect.

Question: why do you mention respect?

Answer: it is because I just want my children to have respect and know an old person. Discipline is the key.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family recently?

Answer: we believe in prayer, we pray God because we trust Him.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Xhosa people say a family is a unit that must be disciplined, so that children or the members of the family should be able to respect. Because everything they do; it shows how are things back home or how they are being taught by parents.

Interviewer: thank you for your co-operation Mama.

Interviewee: I thank you as well my child.

Family 42 Parent (42p)

Interviewer: thank you for your time you made for me.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: what comes is staying just, well with my family.

Question: why comes staying well in your mind?

Answer: the reason is that I do not want to see them suffering, I wish we can stay very well.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family?

Answer: we sit down to pray God asking Him power and wisdom to overcome this problem. After we have prayed we feel that we are better in our souls, because He is the creator of all things on the world.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Xhosa people like to sit down to discuss as a family the problem that existed within the family.

Question: why do they say that or so?

Answer: it is because of the time we are living in that is so wrong, so each and every parent has to sit down to teach his/her children the right or proper way to live.

Interviewer: thank you Mama for your co-operation.

Interviewee: I thank you for coming to me.

Family 43 Parent (43p)

Interviewer: I thank you for your time you made for this interview.

Question: when I speak about family the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: the thing that comes to my mind is how I should parent my children, the way to feed, and educate them.

Question: why these things come to your mind?

Answer: because, they are all important to me. I just want to give them a future so that they could be able to improve our world.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: they were important, it is help from people, and I mean my family by the way, all in all. I must say it is working together in times of difficulty.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: I see they say “charity begins at home.” That is my experience about family.

Question: tell me why are they saying that or so?

Answer: I say if you are not disciplined you will never know how to behave well, so I want a child to be disciplined. If he/she is not, he/she is going to do whatever she/he wants.

Interviewer: thanks Mama for your co-operation.

Interviewee: I also thank you my child.

Family 44 Parent (44p)

Interviewer: I thank you Mama for your time.

Question: when I speak about family the first thing that comes to your mind is what?

Answer: the thing that comes to my mind is parents and children, who interact within our home.

Question: could you tell how they interact?

Answer: they interact by sharing problems within the family. In other words, what comes in my mind is interaction within my family.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family?

Answer: I should think its communication, and this will lead us to a solution or resolution of that particular problem. In our family, we communicate with one another, seeking a solution.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: they are of the opinion that “*ukuzala kukuzelula*,” meaning that my children one day shall be grow-ups, and they are going to take care of us and also if you behave in your vicinity. They will say such phrases because they are proud of their children.

Interviewer: thank you for your co-operation.

Interviewee: O.k., I thank you so much as well.

Family 44 Adolescent (44a)

Interviewer: thanks for allowing me to interview you.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is what?

Answer: it's my brother, because he is not here with us, he is in East London, and he does everything for me.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: my brother was not working, so we prayed. Thereafter he got a job. I must say our strength is prayer.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Xhosa people say that family is a unit that must be together, should a problem occur and discuss the problem.

Question: why do Xhosa people say that or so?

Answer: because when a father is confronted by a problem, and he went to other family for a solution, or he does things alone without family members.

Interviewer: thanks for answering my questions

Interviewee: thanks a lot brother.

Family 45 Parent (45p)

Interviewer: thank you for giving me your time.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: the thing that comes to my mind is what I'm going to do for my family, or how am I going to help them grow well, because I'm not working. And, I'm just nobody with nothing.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: during the time when I was rearing my children, God revealed Himself in my life and blessed me with a job. I was able to take care of my children, and educate them.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Xhosa-speaking people sit down with their children to show them the way to live, discipline and it's what Xhosa people say about family.

Question: why do they say that or so?

Answer: it is because we grew up in difficult period; therefore, we do not want our children to be like us in terms of not knowing, and no schooling.

Interviewer: thank you Mama for your co-operation.

Interviewee: thank you my child.

Family 46 Parent (46p)

Interviewer: thank you so much for your time.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is what?

Answer: what comes is my children, and the way I'm going to help them grow up.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family recently?

Answer: it is to sit down and we as family discuss the problem, which has occurred. We advise and support one another as a family.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: they say family is a unit that must preserve, and teach its children about life and everything that is going to help them in their lives.

Question: why do they say that or so?

Answer: it is because they got visions or dreams about their children; they want them to have better future.

Interviewer: thank you for your co-operation.

Interviewee: I thank you as well, and wish you success.

Family 46 Adolescent (46a)

Interviewer: thank you for time that you made for me to interview you.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is what?

Answer: it is the time when I was a young child, being looked after by my family, especially my grandmother and father. It is them that come to my mind, they gave me education, and now I am what I'm because of them and their teachings.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: we meet as a family to discuss the problem till we reach, or come out with a solution, and we help each other as a family.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: they say this about family, that if you are educated you must never forget your home, you should know your home, and how you grew up.

Question: why they say that or so?

Answer: it is because you are what you are, because you have been brought up in your home, so you must know that and help them.

Interviewer: thanks a lot for your co-operation.

Interviewee: I thank you as well.

Family 47 Parent (47p)

Interviewer: thanks a lot for making time for me to be able to interview you.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is what?

Answer: the thing that comes to my mind is that I should be their role-model to them, And, also to teach them the right way of behaving or living within our house and even outside.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family recently?

Answer: in my own experience, the thing which has helped us during crisis is the Word of God. Should I be in difficulty I just pray. Thereafter, I become encouraged, and I encourage them with the Word of God.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Xhosa people about family. They say children must look up to you, not you look up to them. There is a saying that says “you must look or ask elders because of their experience in life”.

Question: can you give a reason maybe for that?

Answer: eish! I can't, but there is such a saying with Xhosa people.

Interviewer: thank you for your co-operation Mama (mother).

Interviewee: I also thank you.

Family 48 Parent (48p)

Interviewer: thank you for giving me your time to interview you.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: the thing that comes to my mind is that I wish to see my family prospering, united especially when one member goes astray.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: things, which have helped in times of difficulty, is perseverance, when we are faced with difficult times.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: Xhosa people in my own experience, they say a family should be something that is united, and not torn apart.

Question: why do they say that or so?

Answer: the reason for that, they see the way we live; we live in a difficult time. They wish that we can wish one another such success as Xhosas.

Interviewer: thank you for your co-operation.

Interviewee: I thank you as well

Family 49 Parent (49p)

Interviewer: thanks for making time to be with me and to partake in this particular project.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: is love and responsibility that I would bear in my family, take everything as it comes and not to run away from the responsibility of my home.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: unity, understanding, and co-operation; working together as a team. It means we do not depart from one another during crises and these are some of our strengths at home, which are helpful. They help us going forward, no matter what.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: I think family is a change of status, but it does not mean you have to forget where you come from.

Question: why do they say that or so?

Answer: it is because of that, they want the family to continue not to die, and to know where we are going as Xhosa people.

Interviewer: thank you once again for our co-operation.

Interviewee: I owe you a thank you for choosing me, I feel honoured.

Family 50 Parent (50p)

Interviewer: thank for making time for me.

Question: when I speak about family, the first thing that comes to your mind is?

Answer: the first things that come to my mind are problems, and misunderstanding. Eventually this family won't reach the goal of prosperity and success, if they do not change this strategy.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: it's organising every member of the family to come in a family meeting discussing every problem and difficulties, hardship bad lucks and evil thoughts about each member of the family. And, requesting each and every member of the family's opinion to get together and start good works all over again.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: they say a family is a family because of other families. A "hand washes another hand". It is also a source of socialisation, discipline to begin with for their members.

Interviewer: thanks for your co-operation.

Interviewee: I also thank you for coming to me.

Family 50 Adolescent (50a)

Interviewer: thank for allowing me to interview you, my sister.

Question: when I speak about family, the first that comes to your mind is what?

Answer: my family, their lifestyle, social life and their future, simply because it is my concern to know what tomorrow brings for them, and they play important role in my life.

Question: in your own words, what are the most important strengths, which have helped your family lately?

Answer: my mother was very ill, each and everyone were close and we were united and concerned about each and everybody's personality. I must say it's closeness.

Question: in your own experience, what do Xhosa people say in general about family?

Answer: they say united we stand, divided we fall, because they want to be together, and be united as one family.

Interviewer: thank you for your co-operation.

Interviewee: it's my pleasure, brother.

ADDENDUM D

Example of Grounded Theory Analysis

1. When I speak about my family, the first thing that comes to my mind is?

Family nr Narrator	Line nr	Verbatim Dialogue	Line coding	Theme	Notes
Interviewer <i>I.parent</i>	1	It is essentially responsibility to your family. You think of many things to do, and you realise that you are not leading a single life, one tends to face quite lot of things.	Responsibility, things to give, self = giver	Def family: Essence = responsibility. Self-sacrifice	Perspective on implications for self, neg. view
	2				
	3				
	4				
	5				
	6				
	7				
	8				
	9	<i>What could those things perhaps be Mom?</i>	exploration		
	10				
	11	The first and foremost responsibility is that of knowing you are educating the children, waking up early in the morning, boiling the water and lunch. You think of cases where without a lunchbox and what shall they eat after school. Staying with a husband who himself is unemployed is a responsibility to a housewife like myself, on its own.	listing responsible: education, nutrition; listing sacrifices: less sleep, mental energy spent	Responsibility Sacrifice Duty Worry	Expectations: Complains about self as agent Linear effect: Self – giver No reciprocal dissatisfied
	12				
	13				
	14				
	15				
	16				
	17				
	18				
	19				
	20				
	21				
	22				
	23				
	24				
	25				
1a <i>(adolescent 1)</i>	26	The first thing that comes to my mind is the way they raised me...and how can I show how I appreciate that.	First mental image Becoming, identity	Central image What they have done for me What I can do for them	Perspective on implications for self Positive view Knowledge of reciprocal relationship (receive and give) Collective: other as agent. Thankful about it.
	27				
	28				
	29				
	30				
	31	<i>Can you think of an instance about which you showed them your appreciation?</i>	exploration	Validating argument:	
	32				
	33				
	34				
	35	I can mention two highlights on that. One is the fact that they sent me down to a tertiary institution, I now have a job. Secondly, they sent me over to the initiation school to become a man.	identifies 2 images things received: schooling, becoming who you are	Redirect focus: what they have done: better future, forming identity, cultural rituals	Negates own agency in: content Not answering question on own agency. Process; redirect focus to group agency. (irony; self as directive agent in conversation) Circular effect culture – family-
	36				
	37				
	38				
	39				
	40				
	41				

					culture (appreciate family as passport to culture to create self. Negates own agency) satisfied
2p	42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57	Family is the biggest thing to me. Family needs to back up by both Mom and Dad through their workings within the family. We have children whom we educate and able to send to the initiation school but, we have no income; we have never been civil servants. My husband is a jobseeker, he is sick and we rely on neighbours and relatives for everything. But, nevertheless, life goes on well in my family.	Family = central. Gender equality = NB Parents as givers Tasks: Education, cultural initiation, financial & material support. Financial position: receiving support from family & community positivist	Centrality of family Hierarchy: gender, parent-child Child centred tasks Giving & receiving Receiving help Satisfied	Family hierarchy Reciprocal Relationships Giving & receiving = satisfaction (who gives to whom) self as part of community initial focus: family of origin
3p	58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 67	I think of my mother who died in Victoria hospital in 1988. She loved me very much. <i>Why?</i> My farewell at primary school. It was so good, lots of laughter, food and drinks.	Centrality: mother, family of origin, love Proof of love: material support & happiness	Criteria for centrality: receiving love Proving receiving love: Emotional & physical	Focus on self as receiver Family of origin Measuring love
3a	68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78	My sister, brother and cousins come first to my mind. <i>Why?</i> Because there is this phenomenon amongst the youth of boozing during the evening. In many occasions I often wonder whether they are secure or not wherever they are.	Family = siblings, Blood relations, family of origin Caring, worry about safety of members	Defining family In terms of feeling responsibility / concern for Concern	Self responsible for others
2a	79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89	The first thing that comes to my mind is that I see very close people to me such as parents and grandparents. <i>How did you realise that your family is close to you?</i> Of course, there was a funeral here at home, and the relatives were all here.	Centrality: family of origin, closeness, blood relations Proof of closeness: Physical presence, Attending	Defining family: emotional & biological level Self importance/ esteem	Defining family: closeness, support, self validation Self esteem through membership

	90 91	I saw myself as one important member then.	gatherings, Giving support	through family, being part	
4p	92 93 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106	Family to my mind consists primarily of parents, grandparents, and of children, many children that make up the home to become a comfortable and warm place to live in.Ehmm.... back at home as a head of family, should one should one of the children go astray we gather together and discuss that issue, and attempt to resolve the matter constructively. In addition, we try to encourage the adolescents to because they still young and may be unsure of their actions. <i>Do you perhaps remember one instance when your adolescent child went astray?</i> Yes, my eldest son who is now married made one girl pregnant ... (pause), in our tradition that is disgraceful.	Defining family: List of members, hierarchy: parents, grandparents, children, Emotional values: comfort & warmth Astray, Gather, Discuss, Resolve, Youthfulness as excuse For straying culturally; Power of parent Marriage = culturally enforced	Defining family: Biological terms, Nuclear tendency, centrality of children, people giving warmth & comfort Self as head Family as agent Parental style Validating parental/adult power; youth not culturally as strong (may stray) Illegitimate grandchild, cultural disgrace	Family = biological & emotional Child centred Responsibility Democratic/ communal style, communication Problem solving = function & part of definition of family Cultural values, marriage central
5p	107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116	The first thing that comes to mind is my children, because they make my family complete. I am responsible to them. <i>Why do you say so?</i> I think of an incident where I lost through an accident, but I raised above all the odds.	Accentuating children, responsibility Resilience, self as agent of resilience	Nuclear family Child centred Self agency = resilience	Western values
6p	119 120 121 122 123	I think of my husband and children and the thought that we should stay in harmony all the time with no hassles.	Defining family: children & husband, harmony	Defining family biological terms, Nuclear family, hierarchy: husband, children Emotional values: harmony	Western nuclear values

7p	124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140	The first thing that comes to my mind is my husband. We all are dependent on him even during stressful periods; he is the head of this household. <i>What instance precipitates your thoughts in saying your husband is the principal individual in your home during stressful times?</i> When my father died, my husband decided to bury him from his own pocket. Therefore, I felt he is the greatest man I ever had.	Defining family: husband, hierarchy, dependence, head to lead in times of stress Dependability and financial support criteria for good husband	Patriarchal values Defining family: in terms of marriage & dependence. Responsibility differences in distress Validate argument with examples	Others responsible for self
8a	148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161	The first thing that to my mind is my parents, my half-brother and my son, even though he is discouraged to call me thus, because I do not have a wife, I am still young. However, I am very grateful to my parents, I do not think I would have been more grateful to having loving and considerate parents like them.	Family = parents, siblings, children Disgrace of illegitimate children Child treated as brother Youth Appreciate parents	Defining family: Biological ties, Hierarchy, family of origin, Family = marriage Cannot be called father when unwed.	Defining family in terms of biological ties, Nuclear Cultural/familial influences on naming & roles