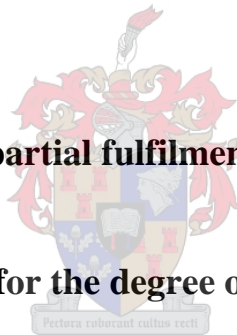# EXPLORING THE RESILIENCE IN YOUTH LIVING IN A HIGH-RISK COMMUNITY

CATHERINE NORMAND

Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Education (Psychology)

at Stellenbosch University

Supervisor: Mr Q Adams

March 2007

DECLARATION

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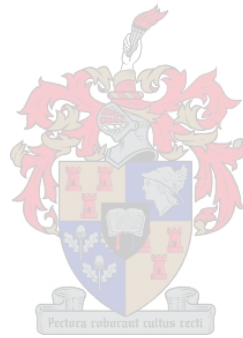
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SIGNATURE   **DATE**

DEDICATION

For my husband, Bryan,

my daughter, Emma,

my parents, Patrick and Yvonne,

and the young people who made this study possible.

ABSTRACT

This study is aimed at exploring the resilient attributes of youth in a high-risk community. The primary aims were to identify the challenges that youth perceived to be significant to them in their community and then to identify their coping strategies and other supports that helped them to deal with these challenges and to maintain their positive lifestyle. A basic interpretive, qualitative research design was used. Data were gathered through six semi-structured individual interviews, a focus-group interview, observations and a literature study. The participants comprised four boys and two girls, their ages ranging between 14 years and 19 years. Content analysis was used to analyse the data.

The findings of this study indicate that the youth perceived their environment as posing challenges to them in a number of areas, these included community resources, safety, barriers to community development, the negative stereotyping of youth and the specific dangers to the well-being of youth. Furthermore, the participants identified several coping strategies that they employed in dealing with these challenges. These strategies were related to their choices about friendships, to the strategies that they used to protect themselves, to their attitude to others, to respect, to their orientation towards the future, to work ethic, to successful role-models and to education. In addition, individual, family and community resources emerged as factors that supported the youth in maintaining their positive lifestyle. The individual resources that were identified were the belief of the youth in the value of friendships, their view of their family, religion, their ability to deal with difficulties, an altruistic attitude, self-awareness and self-esteem, their personal beliefs, personal attributes and their attitude to life. The family resources that were identified were effective parenting and family communication. The community resources that were identified were support from a positive adult. These findings confirm that many factors influence an individual's resilience and that resilience should therefore be understood as a dynamic and fluctuating process that is best understood from an ecosystemic perspective.

The implications of these findings are that, in order to support youth in a high-risk environment to cope with their challenges, the focus should be on reducing risk and increasing assets and protective factors. This could be achieved through, for example, the provision of resources for extracurricular activities, programmes for the support and development of parental skills, training and support for schools in order to increase their effectiveness as a source of support and mechanisms for the community to support community members to care for their youth.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie het ten doel gehad om die veerkragtige eienskappe van die jeug in 'n hoërisikogemeenskap te ondersoek. Die hoofoogmerke was om die uitdagings te identifiseer wat die jeug as beduidend vir hulle in hul gemeenskap beskou, en om dan die jeug se hanteringstrategieë, asook ander vorms van steun, te identifiseer wat hulle help om hierdie uitdagings die hoof te bied en hul positiewe lewenstyl te handhaaf. 'n Basiese vertolkende, kwalitatiewe navorsingsontwerp is gebruik. Data is by wyse van ses semi-gestruktureerde individuele onderhoude, 'n fokusgroeponderhoud, waarnemings en 'n literatuurstudie ingesamel. Die deelnemers het uit vier seuns en twee meisies bestaan waarvan die ouderdomme tussen 14 en 19 jaar gewissel het. Inhoudsanalise is gebruik om die data te ontleed.

Die studie se bevindings dui daarop dat die jeug voel dat hul omgewing op 'n verskeidenheid terreine uitdagings vir hulle inhou, met inbegrip van gemeenskaphulpbronne, veiligheid, struikelblokke tot gemeenskapontwikkeling, die negatiewe stereotipering van die jeug, en spesifieke gevare vir die jeug se welstand. Voorts het deelnemers verskeie hanteringstrategieë geïdentifiseer wat hulle gebruik het om hierdie uitdagings die hoof te bied. Hierdie strategieë het verband gehou met hul keuse van vriendskappe, die strategieë wat hulle gebruik het om hulself te beskerm, hulle houding jeens ander, respek, hul toekomsoriëntasie, werksetiek, suksesvolle rolmodelle en onderrig. Hierby het individuele, gesins- en gemeenskaphulpbronne na vore getree as faktore wat hierdie jeugdiges in die handhawing van hul positiewe lewenstyl ondersteun. Die individuele hulpbronne wat geïdentifiseer is, het ingesluit die jeug se geloof in die waarde van vriendskap, hul siening van hul gesin, godsdiens, hul vermoë om probleme die hoof te bied, 'n altruïstiese houding, selfbewussyn en selfagting, hul persoonlike oortuigings, persoonlike eienskappe en hul ingesteldheid jeens die lewe. Die gesinsbronne wat geïdentifiseer is, sluit in effektiewe ouerskap en gesinskommunikasie. Die gemeenskaphulpbron wat geïdentifiseer is, is ondersteuning deur 'n positiewe volwassene. Hierdie bevindings bevestig dat baie faktore 'n individu se veerkragtigheid beïnvloed en dat daardie veerkragtigheid daarom as 'n dinamiese en fluktuerende proses gesien moet word wat die beste vanuit 'n ekosistemiese perspektief begryp kan word.

Die implikasies van hierdie bevindings is dat, ten einde steun aan die jeug in 'n hoërisiko-omgewing te verleen sodat hulle hul uitdagings die hoof kan bied, die fokus op die vermindering van risiko en die vermeerdering van bates en beskermende faktore moet wees. Dit kan bereik word deur, byvoorbeeld, die volgende te voorsien: hulpbronne vir buitekurrikulêre aktiwiteite, programme vir die ondersteuning en ontwikkeling van ouers se vaardighede, opleiding en ondersteuning aan skole om hul doeltreffendheid as 'n bron van steun te verhoog, en meganismes vir die gemeenskap om mekaar in die versorging van hul jeug te ondersteun.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the following people with gratefulness for their valuable contributions to this project:

- My supervisor, Quinton Adams, whose support, guidance and patience are much appreciated.

- My friends and colleagues, especially Donna and Leizel: Your advice, encouragement and support have been invaluable.

- Sharon Steyn for sharing her knowledge.

- My husband, Bryan, for his emotional and financial support.

- My parents for their unwavering support and encouragement.

- The youths who participated in this study with so much enthusiasm: Thank you.

We must look on children in need not as problems but as individuals with potential to share if they are given the opportunity. Even when they are really troublesome, there is some good in them, for, after all, they were created by God. I would hope we could find creative ways to draw out of our children the good that there is in each of them.
Desmond Tutu, 2002
(cited in Brendtro, Brokenleg & van Bockern, 2002)

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CHAPTER 1

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

South African youth from previously disadvantaged communities are facing considerable challenges, such as poverty, unemployment, substance abuse, violence and crime, within their communities. The youth in South Africa live in an environment of high unemployment and limited resources. Many youths and their families live with the stressors of hunger, overcrowded unhealthy accommodation, a lack of recreational facilities and high levels of violence and crime, including high rates of sexual abuse. These challenges are a threat to the physical, social and emotional development of the youth. Yet, in their fight against this tide of adversity and challenge, many youths thrive despite their circumstances.

Poverty in South Africa is widespread and affects many young people. According to Donald, Lazarus and Lolwana (2002), in 2000 it was estimated that 28.5% of household units in South Africa earned below the "poverty line" of R800 per month and that six out of 10 youths live in poverty (Allsopp & Thumbadoo, 2002). Donald *et al.* (2002) note that social and interpersonal problems occur within all societies but that, in South Africa, because of the widespread effects of poverty, the range of problems is greater. Poverty in South Africa has to do with a history of power relationships that has disadvantaged particular groups in society. The legacy of apartheid has left South Africa with a history of discrimination, repression and a neglect of the needs of the majority. This history of oppression has undermined the dignity and self-worth of South African youth and has led to the breakdown of traditional family life, which has resulted in the high incidence of single parents and a lack of parenting support for the youth. According to Donald, Dawes and Louw (2000), deprivation, violence, malnutrition, poor health, inferior education and discriminatory social-security systems have created profound inequalities and have put the physical, social and emotional development of many youth "at risk". In a survey on youth risk behaviour in South Africa, Reddy *et al.* (2003) conclude that South African youth are constantly exposed to risks that may promote substance use, unprotected sex, unhealthy eating habits and violence. These youths are considered to be at risk. Despite these circumstances, however, not all youths who are living in difficult circumstances resort to these types of behaviours.

Benard (1997a) identifies poverty as the factor most likely to put a youth "at risk" of drug abuse, teen pregnancy, child abuse, violence and school failure. Worldwide, 1.1 billion people live in

poverty (World Bank, 2002) and, of these, a vast number are youths who are "at risk" due to poverty. Millions of young people around our world are growing up in circumstances that are far from ideal. Living in poverty is putting them "at risk" of dropping out of school, of beginning to abuse substances or of becoming involved in illegal activities. Donald *et al.* (2002, p. 238) note that "particularly among the youth in poor communities, feelings of frustration, despair, and anger may contribute to substance abuse, violence and/ or crime, and irresponsible sexual behaviour".

Benard (1997a) states that the concept of "at-riskness" has, at times, been personalised in that it has been seen as an issue stemming from within the youth, their families and their cultures. Benard (1997b) maintains that this "has led to stereotyping, tracking, lowering expectations for many students in urban schools, and even prejudice and discrimination". Furthermore, looking at children and families through a deficit lens obscures the recognition of their capacities and strengths and of their individuality and uniqueness (Benard, 1997b). Brendtro, Brokenleg, & van Bockern (2002) note that alienated youth are assigned a multitude of labels, most of them unfriendly: they are described as aggressive or anxious, as attention-disordered or affectionless, as unmotivated or unteachable and as drug abusers or drop-outs. Most terms assigned to these youths are either "overly hostile or covertly patronizing in the long established tradition of blaming the victim" (Brendtro *et al.*, 2002, p. 7). These labels are likely to have an effect on the youths' positive sense of self and to hinder their chances of improving their situation. In combination with this, the contexts that many youths develop in are not conducive to their healthy development. Yet, there are youths who survive, even thrive, despite the challenges that they face.

1.2   MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

In my experience of working with youths who live in high-risk communities, I have become acutely aware that many youths appear to cope well in the face of dire and challenging circumstances, such as violence, abuse and inconsistent parenting. However, there are also youths who find themselves in conflict with the system because of their behaviour and attitudes and who do not appear to be coping. Often, these youths are marginalised and excluded on the basis of their behaviour and/or race, colour and socio-economic status. Consequently, this may result in a negative experience of school, which may lead to these learners dropping out, achieving badly or being expelled from school. In addition, their behaviour may result in conflict within their homes and communities.

While working in schools and doing practical work during my psychology training, I have found that the situation exists in South Africa where many children and youths encounter severe difficulties. According to Smith, Polloway, Patton and Dowdy (1998), these difficulties include poverty, abuse, malnutrition and single parenting. In addition, they note that "these youth are

predominantly from historically disadvantaged contexts, with low-income single-parent homes, where drug and alcohol abuse is rife, as well as teenage pregnancies, and where youth are often considered socially maladjusted" (Smith, Polloway, Patton, & Dowdy 1998, p. 4). Greene (2002, p. 2) notes that there is "a growing need to understand how people positively respond to adverse situations". In light of this, my motivation for engaging in this study is to understand the experiences of resilient youths who are living in high-risk communities.

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

A brief review of literature on youth resilience will provide an overview of this research topic while highlighting some of the prominent themes. The theoretical understanding of what constitutes resilience emerged, in a large measure, from research of "children at risk" (Greene, 2002). For some time, there has been an interest in understanding what factors contribute to or prevent problem behaviours. According to Nash and Fraser (1998), a number of studies have tried to determine the percentage of at-risk children who will experience problems in their future. These studies have identified potential causative agents, the distribution of problems and possible preventative, control and treatment measures (Nash & Fraser, 1998). Most of the resilience research has focused on the study of the risks of growing up in dysfunctional families. Owing to this focus on pathology, Glantz and Sloboda (1999), among others, have suggested that the common concept of resilience should be altered from that of an undefined inner personal trait to that of resilience as adaptive or compensating (positive) behaviours and factors. Consequently, there appears to be a shift from the traditional approach of locating issues and problems within the individual to a salutogenic or health perspective, which means that the focus is now on a positive, strengths-based approach.

Research is now beginning to examine how families cope successfully with neighbourhood poverty and how they attempt to shield children from its effects (Masten & Coatsworth, 1998; Rutter, Quinton & Yule, 1977). Currently, resilience research with a focus on children and youth is exploring the health-enhancing capacities, individual, family and community resources and the developmental pathways of vulnerable children and youth, who, against all odds, manage not only to survive unhealthy environments but to thrive (Ungar, 2003a).

Studies of children at risk have indicated that, although some children may have adverse reactions to negative or traumatic experiences, adverse events in childhood do not inevitably lead to adult pathology (Garmezy, 1991; Luthar, 1991; Rutter, 1997; Werner & Smith, 1995). According to Benard (1993), resilient children have a strong capacity to form relationships, to solve problems, to develop a sense of identity and to plan and hope. In addition, Reed-Victor and Pelco (1999) suggest

that achievement orientation, school success, sociability, responsible behaviour and active involvement in school are associated with resilient children.

Living in a challenging environment can, however, have a negative effect on youth. Brendtro *et al.* (2002) note that negative environments and expectations can and do produce failure and futility in both young people and in the adults who share their lives. According to Wallach (in Greene 2002), children who are exposed to chronic danger may live in anxiety and fear and see themselves as having limited futures, feel that they have little control over their lives and develop learning difficulties. In addition, they may have difficulty in concentrating, suffer memory impairments, display aggressive play, act tough, show uncaring behaviour and constrict their activities. Literature highlights both the factors that are likely to put a youth at risk of negative outcomes and the factors that support and protect youths from the challenges that they face. Thus, in conceptualising the phenomenon of resilience, it should be understood that "resilience is determined by the balance between the stresses and risks youth are exposed to on the one hand and the protective factors which might be operating on the other" (Rutter, 1985, in Donald *et al.*, 2002, p. 222). Therefore, when resilience is explored, the focus cannot be just on the individual but must also be on the context of the individual and on the interactions between the individual and her or his environment.

1.4   PROBLEM STATEMENT

Youths living in impoverished, high-risk communities in South Africa are facing significant challenges, such as a lack of resources, impoverished social situations, substance abuse, crime and violence. These challenges contribute to their marginalisation and alienation and to an increase in their dropping out of school, in substance abuse and in crime. The Second Country Report South Africa: Convention on the Rights of the Child (1997) states that "despite policy and programmatic interventions by the South African government the prevailing socio-economic conditions do not support the normal healthy development of the majority of children in South Africa." Regardless of this bleak scenario for "normal healthy development", many youths in these communities do not succumb to these challenges and can be considered to be resilient.

In exploring risk and resilience, literature emphasises the need to move away from a deficit approach and towards a positive, strength-based, resilience approach (Benard, 1997; Donald *et al.*, 2002; Greene, 2002; Ungar, 2003). Resilience has begun to be understood as a dynamic process rather than as an individual trait in which a person achieves good outcomes despite adaptation (Luthar, Cicchetti & Becker, 2000; Masten, 2001). Despite these developments overseas in the understanding of resilience, Donald *et al.* (2000, p. 19) suggest that, in South Africa, child research and intervention capacity, particularly in respect of children living in high-risk environments, is

very limited. In South Africa, little research has indeed been conducted on the resilient attributes of the youth in a high-risk community. Therefore, in order to understand the pathways to youth resilience, we need to hear from the youth about the attributes that have enabled them to maintain a healthy lifestyle within their context. The aim of this research is to gain a contextual understanding of the resilient attributes of youths in a high-risk community in order to contribute to the development of effective intervention and support programmes.

The following research questions were formulated:

1. What do the youths consider the most significant challenges within their community?

2. How do the youths describe their coping strategies in dealing with these challenges?

3. What supports the youths in a high-risk community in maintaining their positive lifestyle?

1.5   RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design is the planning of a scientific inquiry and the designing of a strategy for finding something out (Babbie & Mouton, 2001, p. 72). Babbie and Mouton (2001) note that there are two major aspects of research design: the first is to specify as clearly as possible what needs to be found out and the second is to determine the best way to do this. In order to explore the resilient attributes of youth in a high-risk community, a basic interpretive, qualitative research design will be used. Merriam (2002) describes qualitative research as a search for meaning and understanding. Similarly, Patton (2002) describes qualitative research as an effort to understand situations in their uniqueness as a part of a particular context and of the interactions that occur within that context. Furthermore, the aim is to understand the nature of the setting rather than to predict what may happen in the future (Patton, 2002). The value in the use of a qualitative research design is that it is considered "a powerful tool for learning more about our lives and the socio-historical context in which we live" (Merriam, 2002, p. xv). According to Merriam (2002), the key to understanding qualitative research lies in the idea that meaning is socially constructed by individuals in interaction with their world.

In the interpretive paradigm, reality is viewed as an internal reality of subjective experience; in other words multiple realities exist for individuals. The theory of knowledge or the nature of the relationship between the researcher and what can be known is inductive (Merriam, 2002). According to Merriam (2002), in basic interpretive qualitative research, there is an attempt first to understand and then to come up with a hypothesis and a theory. There are a number of characteristics to interpretive qualitative research. The process starts with the researcher being interested in understanding how participants derive meaning from a situation or a phenomenon. This meaning is then mediated through the researcher as an instrument; the strategy used is

inductive and the outcome is descriptive (Merriam, 2002). Merriam (2002) reiterates that central to the interpretive paradigm is a concern with subjective meanings, in other words how individuals and members of societies comprehend and make sense of events and situations. The interpretive paradigm provides an appropriate perspective from which to research the contextual understanding of the attributes of resilient youth in a high-risk community.

1.5.1   Setting: Selection and access

According to Erlandson (in De Vos, 2002), once the research problem has been identified, the researcher should identify a site that maximises the opportunity to engage with the problem. The research site that was identified for this research can be considered a high-risk community. A community on the Cape Flats was identified as a suitable setting in which to conduct this study. A community-situation analysis conducted in 2002 indicated that the alleviation of poverty was a high priority for this particular community (Adonis, Alexander, & Jacobs, 2000). In addition, South African Police Service statistics (Crime Information Analysis Centre, 2001/2002-2004/2005) indicate that crime and violence are prevalent in this community and data from Census 2001 show that 43.71% of economically active people in this community are unemployed. The preceding information confirms that this is a high-risk community.

Strydom (in De Vos, 2002) recommends that the research field should be one that is easily accessible, where cooperation with respondents can easily be achieved, where the researcher can move about freely and where required information can easily be obtained. Consequently, the research site should be easily accessible not only in terms of its geographic location but also in terms of the willingness of the community to be involved in the research process. De Vos (2002) emphasises the importance of collaboration with the representatives in the setting, as this supports a sense of ownership in the research process. He elaborates further by saying that, working together with those who can facilitate access, researchers gain the necessary cooperation and support. Krathwohl (1993) notes that, to gain entry into a community, the researcher often seeks the help of friends or colleagues who are part of the setting. A number of programmes are running in this community through Stellenbosch University. Through these programmes, members of the community (key informants) who are likely to support this research process were identified. A meeting then took place with the key informants during which the purpose of this study was explained and their potential role in the process was discussed.

1.5.2   Population and sampling

Population, according to Strydom and Venter (in De Vos, 2002), is a term that sets boundaries on study units. It refers to individuals in the universe who possess specific characteristics. Fouche (in Henning, van Rensburg, & Smit, 2004) states that, as research studies are usually undertaken in

order to generalise to larger populations rather than to make statements about samples, a succinct statement describing the population is needed. The population in this study is youth between the ages of 14 and 19 who live in this specific high-risk community and who are considered by key informants within their community to be successful.

A qualitative inquiry seeks to understand the meaning of a phenomenon from the perspectives of the participants; it is therefore important that a sample be selected from which the most can be learned. Merriam (2002, p. 12) calls this purposive sampling. According to Johnson and Christenson (2000, p. 175), purposive sampling is a method whereby "the researcher specifies the characteristic of the population of interest and locates individuals with those characteristics." To begin purposive sampling, Merriam (2002) suggests that the researcher should first determine which criteria are essential in choosing who is to be interviewed or which sites are to be observed. The type of purposive sampling that was used is what Patton (1987, p. 56) calls snowball or chain sampling. Patton (1987) explains this process as asking people "who knows a lot about …?" By asking people whom to talk to, the snowball gets bigger as more information-rich cases are identified.

The sample for this study is youth between the ages of 14 and 19 who have been identified by key informants from their community as being successful. Youth participants were chosen because of their many different experiences of risk, the strengths that they show and their coping strategies. The youth participants have all faced a number of common problems, such as having seen violence and living in a high risk community.
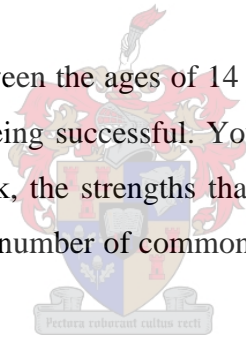
1.6 RESEARCH METHODS

1.6.1 Data collection

Qualitative data-collection methods stem from the sociological and anthropological traditions where interviewing and observation are central (Krathwohl, 1993). According to Merriam (2002), in a basic qualitative interpretive study, data are usually collected through interviews, observations or document analysis. In this study, I collected data through individual interviews, a focus-group interview, observation and a literature study.

1.6.1.1 Individual interviews

I conducted semi-structured individual interviews with the six participants. According to Greef (in De Vos, 2002), researchers use semi-structured interviews to gain a detailed picture of a participant's beliefs about or perceptions or accounts of a particular topic. The use of semi-structured interview questions allows the researcher and participant much more flexibility. Merriam (2002) notes that this type of interview allows the researcher to select a general list of topics to be

covered without formalising a specific sequence or the wording that should be used. The topics that were used were adapted from the International Resilience Project interview guide by Ungar *et al.* (2003). The youths who were identified as successful by the key informants were individually interviewed in accordance with a semi-structured interview technique. The interview was recorded on tape and later transcribed.

1.6.1.2 *Focus-group interview*

I facilitated a focus-group interview with five of the six participants. A focus-group interview is a type of group interview. Greef (in De Vos, 2002) states that a focus-group interview is a means of better understanding how people think or feel about an issue, product or service. A focus-group interview was conducted with most of the participants in order to elaborate on and deepen the discussion that had occurred during the individual interviews. The topics that were used were adapted from the International Resilience Project interview guide by Ungar *et al.* (2003). The focus-group interview provided an opportunity for both me and the participants to clarify questions. In addition, some new information also emerged. This interview was recorded on tape and then transcribed.

1.6.1.3 *Observation*

While conducting the interviews and moving around the community, I made notes of my observations. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) state that researchers observe both human activities and the physical settings in which such activities take place. Marshall and Rossman (1999) explain that participant observation immerses the researcher in the setting, allowing the researcher to hear, see and begin to experience reality as the participants do. I kept notes on my reflections and comments on my experiences and observations while at the research site and collecting data. These notes were used to corroborate the information gathered from the individual interviews and the focus-group interview and to augment the description of the findings.

1.6.1.4 *Literature study*

I studied literature in the field of resilience and used this information as a tool to provide a framework for this study and to corroborate or refute the findings of this study. Merriam (1998, p. 55) emphasises the importance of a thorough literature study, saying that "... a familiarity with previous research and theory in the area of study is necessary for situating your study in the knowledge base of the field." Similarly, Patton (2002) notes that reviewing literature can bring focus to a study. Creswell (1994) cautions that literature used in a qualitative study should be used inductively, in other words it should not direct the questions that are asked.

1.6.2 Data analysis

In a basic interpretive study, data are inductively analysed to identify recurring patterns or common themes that cut across the data (Merriam, 2002). A rich descriptive account is presented and discussed using references to literature that framed the study from the start. Data from the individual interviews and the focus-group interviews were coded using open-coding, axial-coding and selective-coding techniques. This process, according to Merriam (2002), facilitates the inductive analysis of data in the identification of recurring patterns or common themes that cut across the data.

1.7 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

A number of strategies can be used in qualitative research that can promote the validity of a study. Merriam (2002) states that the best-known of these strategies is triangulation. Merriam (2002) suggests that, from an interpretive perspective, triangulation remains a principle strategy to ensure validity and reliability. Denzin (1970, in Merriam, 2002) identifies four types of triangulation: multiple investigators, multiple theories, multiple sources of data and multiple methods to confirm emerging findings. Merriam (2002) notes that the most common approach is the use of multiple methods of data collection. In this research, triangulation took place, as there are multiple sources of data: individual interviews, a focus-group interview, observations and a literature study.

Reliability refers to the extent to which research findings can be replicated. Merriam (2002) maintains that, in the social sciences, reliability is problematic because human behaviour is never static and neither is what many people experience more reliable than what one person experiences. Merriam (2002) emphasises that the more important question for the qualitative researcher is whether the results are consistent with the data collected. In qualitative research, reliability rests with others agreeing that, on consideration of the data collected, the results make sense; that is that the results are consistent and dependable. Merriam (2002) suggests that the strategies that the qualitative researcher can use to ensure consistency and dependability or reliability are triangulation, peer examination, investigator's position and an audit trail. In order to ensure this study's reliability, I made use of multiple sources of data (triangulation), an audit trail through showing the data analysis process and peer examination via the study supervisor.

1.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A "good" qualitative study, says Merriam (2002), is one that has been conducted in an ethical manner. She asserts that ethical dilemmas are likely to emerge with regard to the collection of data and to the dissemination of findings. The following ethical concerns were discussed with both the research supervisor and the key informants: Could the participants be hurt in any way by taking part

in this research? Had informed consent to the research been given? Did the participants understand the purpose of the study? Was there a place for the participants to go if they felt uneasy or upset during the research? Whom did the participants go to for support? What would be given back to the community? All the participants were required to sign or have their guardians sign consent forms. In addition, it was clearly explained to all the participants that they could withdraw from the study at any time and that all the information that they shared would be anonymous and kept confidential.

1.9   CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

Concepts are the terms that are used in our thinking language to refer to the things around us (Krathwohl, 1993, p. 147). Creswell (1994) states that researchers define terms (concepts) so that readers can understand the context in which the words are used:

- Resilience: Resilience is the concept that individuals, in spite of adverse circumstances or stress, do not develop negative outcomes but overcome life's hazards (Rutter, 1987, in Howard & Johnson, 2000).

- At risk: Risk involves a number of factors associated with negative outcomes, including personal characteristics, such as birth weight, and familial or neighbourhood characteristics, such as poverty (Greene, 2002, p. 17).

- Risk factors: Risk factors are characteristics thought to present a group of people with a higher probability of an undesirable outcome, such as dropping out of school (Greene, 2002, p. 32).

- Youth: Youth are young people who are seen by their communities as being at the point of moving from childhood to adulthood.

- High-risk community: Disadvantaged communities are high-risk environments that produce ill health and social problems (Ahmed, Seedat, Van Niekerk, & Bulbulia, 2004, p. 387).

1.10 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

A brief structural outline of the chapters in this research report follows:

Chapter 1: This chapter provides an outline of the study and it describes the aims and objectives of the research and the research design and methods that were used.

Chapter 2: In this chapter, a study of the literature is presented that illustrates the main issues within the field of resilience research and provides a context in which to frame the research.

Chapter 3: This chapter provides a comprehensive description of the research design and research methods used.

Chapter 4: This chapter presents a description of the participants, a detailed explanation of the process of data analysis and a presentation of the findings.

Chapter 5: This chapter offers a discussion of the findings and of the potential limitations of these findings and it makes recommendations on the basis of the findings and suggestions for further study.

1.11 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

The goal of this chapter was to orientate the reader by offering an overview of the aims and the objectives of this study. The global and local situations that the youth are currently living in and the challenge that this poses for them were discussed. In addition, the research questions were made explicit and were contextualised within the problem statement. A succinct description of the research design and the research methods was given and a brief review of literature identified the current focus of resilience studies. The issues of validity, reliability and ethical considerations were briefly alluded to. Finally, the concepts that form the foundation of this study were clarified.
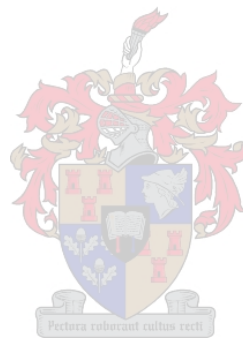
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE STUDY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of a literature study is to serve as an overview of the area of study. Researchers, according to Mouton (1998), have an obligation to acquaint themselves with any publications on major research already conducted in the field, with the most widely accepted theoretical positions and with the most recent debates. Therefore, I will discuss the socio-political circumstances in South Africa in an effort to place this study within a context. Next, I will briefly discuss adolescent development and its relationship with resilience and then explore the concept of high-risk communities and poverty and the impact that this has on the youth. Finally, I will elucidate on the concept of resilience by looking at the history of resilience research and by exploring contemporary perspectives concerning resilience and at-risk youth, particularly resilient youth living in high-risk communities.

2.2 SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT AND ITS IMPACT ON YOUTH

The social and political climate that many South African youths are growing up in is one of conflict and adversity (Allsop & Thumbadoo, 2002; Donald *et al.*, 2000). This is partly due to the legacy of apartheid, which resulted in years of political violence, migratory labour, forced removals, rapid urbanisation and the resulting breakdown of traditional family units, discriminatory labour practices and inferior education systems, severely impacting the lives of South African youth (Allsop & Thumbadoo, 2002). In South Africa, there has been structural deprivation, unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment in the previously disadvantaged communities. In addition, many communities are affected by high levels of violence and crime. Lewis (1999) states that, although hunger, poverty and unemployment do not automatically lead to violence, in combination with other factors they can contribute significantly to increased levels of crime. Issues such as poverty, violence and crime have an impact on South African youth. Allsop and Thumbadoo (2002) argue that, in South Africa, the culture of violence has become pervasive and that widespread poverty and a lack of resources of all kinds have forced the youth into commercial exploitation at the cost of their development.

The socio-political context described above would have an impact on South African youth, not only on their physical development but also on their mental, social and emotional development. Lewis,

Lewis, Daniels and D'Andrea (2003, p. 96) refer to the effects that demarginalisation and the devaluation of human life has on people, stating that "such treatment often leads to erosion in these groups' sense of personal power, and increases a sense of powerlessness and a heightened vulnerability to a host of physical and mental health problems." It seems that many historically disadvantaged youth in South Africa are growing up in a social and political context that is not optimal to their growth and development. Researchers such as Luthar, Doernberger and Zigler (1993), Rutter (1985) and Garmezy (1991) have pointed out that the social environment and political context that the youth live in can adversely affect their development and their ability to cope with stress. Similarly, Donald, Dawes and Louw (2000) suggest that the degree of social disorder in a youth's community, including signs of physical deterioration, garbage in the streets and dilapidated buildings as well as drinking, drug-dealing and violence on the streets, increases the danger and stress for both children and their caregivers. Donald *et al.* (2000) caution that, in addition to the threats that these pose to an individual's safety, they also provide opportunities for the youth to be socialised into violent and deviant subcultures, particularly as they move into adolescence. It is evident that South Africa's socio-political context would affect the youth. Closely linked with this, however, is the impact that socio-economic status also has on the youth. In particular, the issues of socio-economic status and poverty are frequently identified by authors such as Benard (1997), Garmezy (1991), Luthar (1991) and McWhirter *et al.* (1993) as a risk factor for the youth. Consequently, it is essential to expand on this particular challenge for the youth.

2.3   SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: IMPACT OF POVERTY ON YOUTH

Millions of South African youths live in environments of urban poverty, which, according to Donald, Dawes and Louw (2000), are powerful predictors of negative psychological outcomes. The youth in South Africa play an important role in both the family and the economy. Family structures in South Africa vary greatly, as does the amount of responsibility that the youth have within the family. In the Youth 2000 Report (Case, 2000), which surveyed a sample of people aged between 15 and 35, half the respondents stated that their parents made the financial decisions in the family. However, it was found that 17% of the youth had the primary responsibility for financial decisions (Palmary, 2003). The youth in South Africa are significantly affected by poverty. An overview of key poverty indicators provides a structure for understanding the effects that poverty has on the youth of South Africa. The key poverty indicators for South African youth are as follows: 60% of the youth live in poverty, mostly in rural areas; an estimated 5% of the youth between the ages of 10 and 16 are not in school; 42% of the youth under the age of seven live only with their mother and 20% do not live with either parent; in 1998, the Child Protection Unit dealt with 37 352 crimes against the youth, of which 57% were sexual offences; and, in April 2002, there were 2 334 youths

awaiting trial in South African prisons and 1 812 serving sentences (Allsop & Thumbadoo, 2002). A significant number of South African youth are being negatively affected by poverty.

Furthermore, poverty exacerbates problems for at-risk youth (McWhirter *et al.*, 1993). McWhirter *et al.* (1993) suggest that changes in economic and political trends are particularly stressful to at-risk youth. The trends identified by McWhirter *et al.* (1993) that most affect at-risk youth include the increasing incidence of paternal job loss, the economic stagnation of the working poor, poverty among young families, single mothers and homeless families. In addition, McWhirter *et al.* (1993) suggest that, if individuals are exposed to ongoing stressors from the economic and the political environment, the individual's personal resources, such as coping skills, self-esteem, social support and the personal power that is derived from one's cultural group, will be overburdened. The effects on the youth of living in poverty are therefore significant. Mash and Wolfe (2002) cite research by Ross, Shillington and Lochhead (1994) indicating the impact of poverty on the youth: youth from poor and disadvantaged families show almost three times the conduct disorders, almost twice the chronic illnesses and more than twice the rate of school problems, hyperactivity and emotional disorders than youth who are not poor. Studies have pinpointed specific risk factors that are typical of low socio economic status families. These factors are low-status parental occupation, low maternal education, large family size, membership of a minority group and the absence of one parent (Luthar, 1991).

Living in poverty has been associated with a number of negative outcomes, such as poorer academic performance (Keogh, 2000; McWhirter *et al.*, 1993), behavioural and adjustment problems (Gest, Neeman, Hubbard, Masten & Tellegen, 1993; Keogh, 2000; McWhirter *et al.*, 1993) and emotional distress (McWhirter *et al.*, 1993). Furthermore, research conducted by McLoyd (1998), Wison (1996), Wiltfang and Scarbecz (1990), cited in Palmary (2003), indicates that the youth living in poverty are more vulnerable to depression, low self-esteem and post-traumatic stress symptoms. In addition, Palmary (2003, p. 33) points out that the positive social, moral and behavioural development of these youths is compromised because they must focus on day-to-day survival. As a result of living in poverty, the youth look to alternatives to provide them with a sense of belonging and of safety. According to Joseph (in Palmary, 2003), research conducted in the United Kingdom suggests that poverty is strongly associated with a youth's decision to become involved with gangs and crime.

Masten (2001, p. 235) suggests that the youth who contend with the greatest adversities, such as poverty, do not have the protections provided by basic resources or the opportunities and experiences that foster the development of adaptive systems. Following this, Rutter (1988) states that, against a background of chronic psychosocial adversity, acute stressors have a more significant

impact in terms of emotional disturbance. "It was not just that the adverse effects summated but rather that they potentiated one another so that the combined effects of the two together was greater than the sum of the two considered separately" (Rutter, 1988, p. 22). Masten *et al.* (1999) confirm that the development of competence is based on psychosocial resources and note that good resources are less common among children growing up in poverty. They found that "if reasonably good resources are present then competence outcomes are generally good, even in the context of chronic, severe stressors."

Furthermore, Masten *et al.* (1999) point out that effective parenting does not directly ameliorate the negative effects of adversity. "Under conditions of severe adversity, poor cognitive skills and parenting appear to increase the risk of bad outcomes, particularly in the form of anti-social behaviour ..." (Masten, 2001, p. 232). What is more, recent research indicates that the impact of poverty is more severe when the child experiences chronic poverty or poverty early in life (Barbarin in Palmary, 2003). It is clear that socio-economic status and poverty have the potential to impact on the youth's behaviour and on their ability to cope with difficulties. However, these factors should not be considered in isolation, as frequently associated with poverty and low socio-economic status is the challenge of living in a high-risk community.

2.4   CONTEXT OF YOUTH LIVING IN A HIGH-RISK COMMUNITY

It is important to discuss the effects and influences that living in a high-risk community has on the youth, as this study is situated in such a community. First, what a high-risk community is will be defined and then the particular challenges that the youth face in these high-risk communities will be discussed.

2.4.1   Definition of a high-risk community

In order to have a framework for understanding the youth in a high-risk community, it is important to discuss what constitutes a high-risk community. In this case, a community is considered to be "high risk" when poverty is rife, unemployment is high and incidences of violence and substance abuse are prevalent. Terms from literature that are linked with a "high-risk community" are adversity, poverty, violence, a lack of resources and socio-economic status (Donald *et al.*, 2000; Mash & Wolfe, 2002). Ahmed *et al.* (2004) note that disadvantaged communities may be conceptualised as high-risk environments that produce ill health and social problems. Thus, living in a high-risk community is potentially harmful to the youth's healthy development.

2.4.2   Challenges posed to youth by high-risk communities

Living in a high-risk community poses many challenges to the youth, which may place these youths "at risk". McWhirter *et al.* (1993, p. 6) clarify the term "at risk", explaining that it is used to indicate a set of "presumed cause and effect dynamics that place the individual in danger of negative future events". Furthermore, Lewis *et al.* (2003, p. 15) note that the youth who are exposed to stressors, such as living in a high-risk community, for extended periods are commonly referred to as "vulnerable" or "at risk". It is important to remember that "risk" does not stem from the person but rather from the environment. Brendtro *et al.* (2002) suggest that this conceptualisation avoids blaming the child and points our attention towards the environmental hazards that need to be addressed.

The youth and families from highly stressed communities have a much more difficult time in their development towards adult success (Doll & Lyon, 1998b, p. 348). Risk factors, such as poverty, dysfunctional and chaotic families, substance abuse by caregivers, neglect, physical and emotional abuse and violence, have been identified as some of the challenges that the youth face in high-risk communities (Mash & Wolfe, 2002; Montgomery, Burr & Woodhead, 2003; Ungar, 2003; Walker & Sprague, 1999). In addition, stressors, such as chronic poverty, inequality, prejudice and discrimination, family conflict, single parenting, homelessness and inadequate child care for working parents are recognised as having adverse effects on the youth's well-being in terms of both their physical and their psychological health (Mash & Wolfe, 2002; Woodhead *et al.*, 2003). Luthar and Goldstein (2004) point to evidence that the youth living in violent communities are at high risk of both internalising and externalising problems. According to Walker and Sprague (1999), these risk factors provide an excellent environment for the development of antisocial attitudes and coercive behavioural styles among the children exposed to them. Similarly, Garbarino (1999) refers to the effects of growing up in a "toxic environment". He asserts that growing up in a "toxic environment", in other words where the social context is poisonous to the development of the youth, is one of the reasons that increasing numbers of young people are displaying serious emotional and behavioural problems.

It is apparent that there are significant challenges that the youth living in high-risk communities are confronted with. In addition to the challenges from their environment, the youth may face further challenges that stem from being in the adolescent developmental stage. It is therefore important to discuss this developmental stage and its associated challenges.

2.5 ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

It is important to define adolescence, as the term "youth" is used in this study to refer to young people in this life stage. It is therefore essential to explore the developmental issues that are common during adolescence in order to systematise the issues and the developmental tasks that young people face and to conceptualise potential barriers to their development.

2.5.1 Definitions of adolescence

The terms "youth" and "adolescence" are sometimes used synonymously. Dumont and Provost (1999, p. 344) describe adolescence as a transitional period in which individuals experience major physical, cognitive and socio-affective changes. The generally accepted period of adolescence is the youth between the ages of 10 and 20. However, in South Africa, policy states that the youth are between the ages of 14 and 35 (Palmary, 2003). The period of adolescence is marked by physical, social and cognitive development. Physical changes often result in social changes by putting adolescents into new social roles. Furthermore, Rodriguez, Morrobel and Villarruel (2003) note that an individual's ability to think, to reason and to make decisions also changes dramatically through adolescence. Adolescence is a stage in the life cycle in which individuals begin the journey of forging an adult identity – an identity that provides them with self-definition and a sense of personal boundaries (Erikson, 1968, in Bowen & Chapman, 1996). This process, referred to as individuation, means that they start to form intimate relationships with others and later start to assume more adult roles and responsibilities (Bowen & Chapman, 1996). Rodriguez, Morrobel and Villarruel (2003) note that, because there are no meaningful biological markers to signify the end of adolescence, social factors such as joining the workforce and getting married have traditionally been used in industrialised societies to define entry into adulthood. In addition, Compas, Hinden and Gerhardt (1995) note that the search for universal descriptions for all adolescents has been replaced by a recognition of the wide variability that characterises psychological development during the second decade of life. It is clear that adolescence is a time of great change and stress. Adolescence can therefore be conceptualised as a challenging life stage, during which many physical, emotional and social changes occur at different stages for different individuals. During this developmental stage, there are potential barriers that may pose a risk to an adolescent's development.

2.5.2 Adolescence: Potential barriers to development

Various barriers exist with the potential to have a negative effect on the development of adolescents. Adolescence as a developmental stage poses a challenge to some youth. Conger and Conger (2002) note that the transition from childhood to adolescence can create biological, social, emotional and cognitive demands on children that may increase the risk of children both

internalising and externalising problems. In addition, during adolescence, children move from the somewhat restricted environment of their home and classroom into a broader social environment. Adolescents may become increasingly aware, via newspapers and television, of conditions that could affect their own lives and futures. The messages received by adolescents are often relatively pessimistic, for example that the world is becoming overpopulated, that humans are using up their resources too fast, that crime is increasing, that the government is unable to solve national and international conflicts without violence and that the type of violence that can be unleashed is destructive beyond imagination (Maccoby, 1988). Consequently, adolescents must find it difficult to sustain their coping efforts in the face of these strongly negative messages about the future, as adequate coping requires hope (Maccoby, 1998).

Besides this potentially disheartening view of their future that may pose a barrier to the healthy development of adolescents, they also have specific needs that have to be met. Brendtro *et al.* (2002) provide a useful explanation of the consequences of an adolescent's needs that are not met:

> Adolescents need a sense of belonging as this facilitates feelings of trust and attachment. If this is distorted or absent they may crave affection, develop gang loyalty or feel vulnerable. They need to experience feelings of competence in order to be motivated and successful. If this is absent or distorted they may display arrogant, dishonest behavior or be unmotivated and lack perseverance. They need to experience the feeling of personal independence as this allows them to be assertive and practice self discipline and inner control. If this experience is distorted or absent they may display aggressive, bullying behavior or feel inferior and lack self-confidence.

Therefore, unless adolescents are adequately cared for and there are opportunities for their needs to be met, their healthy development may be put at risk. Furthermore, factors such as chronic poverty, community violence, parental conflict, chronic adversity, acute stressful situations, care-giving deficits, parental psychopathology, the death of a parent, community disasters, homelessness, family break-up and perinatal stress have all been identified as potential risk factors or barriers to an adolescent's healthy development (Mash & Wolfe, 2002).

It is clear from the discussion above that youth development can be negatively influenced in various ways and from a variety of sources. Killian (2004) classifies the factors that could potentially influence youth development into four interacting dimensions. The first is person factors: these include the individual biological, temperamental, intellectual and personality characteristics of the child and significant others in the child's life, such as parents, siblings and teachers. The second is process factors: these include the forms of interaction that take place between individuals (supportive, destructive, informative, inclusive, power-based etc.). The third is contextual factors: these include families, communities, cultures and ideologies. The fourth is time variables: these

take into account the changes that occur over time. Killian suggests that the person, process and contextual variables change over time as a child matures and as the environment changes:

> The way in which an individual's development is influenced by these dimensions depends on how the various person, process and contextual dimensions interact with each other and with external influences. In addition it appears that the way in which children and key role players understand and think about events and circumstances is critically important in determining their impact (2004).

In this discussion, a number of potential barriers to adolescent development have been highlighted. It is evident that numerous factors from various sources could potentially have a negative effect on an adolescent's development. This should be taken into account when the resilient attributes of youth in a high-risk community are explored. This then suggests that, when youth resilience is explored, context is an important variable to be considered.

2.6 CONTEXTUALISING RESILIENCE

In order to gain a holistic and comprehensive understanding of resilience, it is first necessary to unpack the historical development of resilience research. The history of research on resilience will be discussed in three parts by making use of the conceptualisation by Doll and Lyon (1998b) of research in resilience as being divided into three generations. Reference will be made to the challenges and issues in researching resilience, as this adds to the understanding of the progress that has been made in this research area. Contemporary perspectives on resilience will then be explored by focusing on the implications of using the ecosystemic perspective in researching and of understanding resilience and on how resilience is currently being conceptualised. Particular constructs that relate to understanding resilience will also be explored. Finally, the finding of how resilience manifests across an individual's lifespan and the understanding of resilience as an ordinary phenomenon are discussed, as these ideas are particularly useful in contextualising and broadening our understanding of resilience.

2.6.1 Historical development of resilience research

2.6.1.1 *First generation of resilience research*

The concept of resilience has been in existence and has been of significance to researchers and the average person for many years, although the term "resilience" has not always been explicitly used. Ungar (2003) claims that people's fascination with the concept of resilience is ever-increasing, not only among researchers but also in popular literature. He refers to novels such as Anne Frank's *Diary of a Young Girl* and Frank McCourt's *Angela's Ashes* as examples of this. Rutter (1985) notes that resilience research arose from the study of risk, as risk researchers often found that significant

numbers of children reared in the most unfavourable circumstances developed into successful adults. Such youngsters were called invulnerable, stress-resistant, superkids and invincible (McWhirter, McWhirter, McWhirter, & McWhirter, 1993). Furthermore, Masten (2001) explains that early images of resilience implied that there was something remarkable or special about these children; they were described as invulnerable or invincible.

Doll and Lyon (1998b) explain that the historical context of risk and resilience research comprises three generations of studies. The first generation of studies focused on disadvantaged children and their risks. These studies of risk went through three phases.

The first phase of study included the studies of Bowlby and Spitz, who were concerned primarily with infant attachment. Attachment theories emphasise that the quality of children's attachment to parents determines the eventual identification of the children with parental values, beliefs and standards. Secure bonds with parents promote a sense of closeness, shared values and identification with the social world. Attachment theories argue that children avoid antisocial behaviour because they have something to lose if they do not obey the rules (Mash & Wolfe, 2002). According to Bowlby (in Greene, 2002), a strong pattern of attachment is necessary for competent functioning and is a model for all future relations and affectional bonds throughout a person's life cycle. Attachment, the initial mother-child bonding, is often addressed in resiliency literature. According to Dent and Cameron (2003), one of the central aspects of a child's social competence and confidence is the security of attachment.

The second phase of study used longitudinal and case study methods and explored how single risk factors contributed to outcomes. An often-cited example of this is the 1950 investigation by Werner and Smith into the factors that protected some children from risk. They conducted a longitudinal study on high-risk children on the Hawaiian island of Kauai. They focused particularly on the risk and protective factors associated with children's long-term vulnerability and resilience. In their research, emphasis was given to children's own roles in the processes that shaped their resilience and vulnerability and to the ways in which the characteristics of the children, such as temperament and disposition, interact with the characteristics of their caregivers. Their study showed how children's temperaments interact with family and community factors to determine whether they are vulnerable or resilient (Woodhead *et al.*, 2003). In addition, studies of children of schizophrenic mothers played a central role in the emergence of childhood resilience as an important topic. Evidence that many of these children thrived despite their high-risk status led to increasing empirical efforts to understand individual variations in response to adversity (Garmezy, 1974; Masten, 1990, in Luthar *et al.*, 2000).

The third phase of study examined the multiple influences and interactions of risk and protective factors on child and adult adjustment. Luthar (1993, p. 441) gives an overview of the progression and focus of resilience studies in this third phase. She notes that "subsequent to Werner and Smith's groundbreaking studies on children in Hawaii, research on resilience expanded to include multiple adverse conditions such as socio-economic and associated risk (Garmezy, 1991, 1995; Rutter, 1979; Werner & Smith, 1982, 1992), parental mental illness (Masten & Coatsworth, 1995), maltreatment (Cicchetti & Rogosch, 1997), urban poverty and community violence (Luthar, 1999), chronic illness (Wells & Schwebel, 1987), and catastrophic life events (O'Dougherty, Wright, Masten, Northwood & Hubbard, 1997)." The aim of this third phase of research was a "systematic search for protective forces, that is, those factors which differentiated children with healthy adaptation profiles from those who were comparatively less adjusted" (Luthar *et al.*, 2000, p. 544).

This first generation of resilience research produced a list of the characteristics of better adaptation in children at risk due to disadvantages or adversities (Osher, Kendziora, Van den Berg, & Dennis, 1999). However, Scott *et al.* (1993) note that there was little information about the processes that link these characteristics to children's experiences of their own responses to adversity over time. As a consequence of this focus on an individual's characteristics, a paradigm shift occurred in order to start accounting for the possibility of other factors influencing resilience. This has been called the second generation of resilience research.

2.6.1.2 *Second generation of resilience research*

The paradigm shift occurred during what Doll and Lyon (1998b) refer to as the "second generation of studies". This shift occurred because of a need to begin recognising the influence of an individual's social context. Lewis *et al.* (2003) state that the social context was traditionally overlooked and, as a result, three major forces – psychodynamic, cognitive-behavioural and existential-humanistic –led people to believe that problems reside within individuals. Similarly, Osher *et al.* (1999) note that, during the first generation of resilience research, something was missing from the understanding of resilience: the *social context* that either supports or discourages resilience. "The individualized conceptualization of resilience does not take into account how the organization of institutions in particular and society in general places some individuals at greater risk than it does others" (Gore & Eckenrode in Osher *et al.*, 1999). The outcome of this disregard of the social context is what Ryan (1972, in Osher *et al.*, 1999) calls the "victim blaming" approach to resilience, which permits the lowering of expectations and the consequent write-off of individuals or groups of individuals. As a result of this, it is believed that youth who are not "smart enough" or "tough enough", in other words not resilient enough, will ultimately fall through the cracks and fail (Osher *et al.*, 1999).

The paradigm shift allowed the focus to move not only from the individual to the environment but also to the positive, health-enhancing capacities of the individual. Authors such as Luthar *et al.* (2000), Doll and Lyon (1998b), Ungar (2003) and Garmezy (1988) note that there was a shift from identifying protective factors to understanding underlying protective processes. During this phase, researchers were increasingly trying to understand how such factors contribute to positive outcomes. It was during this stage that researchers began to realise that attention had been focused on the ways that adversities can harm children and that this had led to a neglect of situations where children appear to thrive despite adversity (Montgomery *et al.*, 2003, p. 19). Similarly, Garmezy (1988, p. 73) notes that "with the growth of risk research in psychopathology attention has shifted from the already disordered individual to the potentially disordered individual and from the adult patient to the non-patient child. The previous emphasis on risk factors has been joined by a growing concern about 'protective' factors." In the first generation of studies, resilience research focused on the identification of vulnerability and of protective factors; the second generation of studies progressed to exploring the processes and their underlying effects (Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000, p. 859). The paradigm shift resulted in momentum to focus research on coping rather than on risk, on opportunity rather than on fatalism, on wellness and self-repair rather than on illness and disability (Norman, 2000). Likewise, Ungar (2003a) suggests that this paradigm shift has moved the resilience researcher's focus to the factors that contribute to healthy development. This is supported by the following explanation by Benard of the changes that occurred due to this paradigm shift:

> More youth-serving practitioners and policy makers have been turning their focus from what has been, for the most part, a futile obsession with problem-behaviour prevention – risk factors, high risk youth, and problems – to an alternative approach that has been proven in research to be far more effective: resiliency and positive youth development. The assumption of this approach is that positive developmental outcomes result when a youth's basic need for safety and structure, love and belonging, self awareness, accomplishment, power and meaning is met. (1997a, p. 29).

The paradigm shift that took place during this second generation of studies moved the focus of resilience research and the understanding of resilience to that of looking at strengths rather than deficits and at protective factors rather than risk factors. Consequently, the ecosystemic perspective of resilience began to emerge.

2.6.1.3   Third generation of resilience research: Recent perspectives

Two perspectives have guided much of the research into resilience thus far. The first is the conceptualisation by Garmezy (1988) of the protective and vulnerability processes affecting at-risk children as operating on three levels, these being the levels of the community, the family and the child. According to Luthar *et al.* (2000), this triarchic framework has served to organise much research on resilience. The second is the focus on transactions between the ecological context and the developing child. According to Luthar *et al.* (2000), in the ecosystemic model, contexts (such as culture, neighbourhood and family) are conceptualised as consisting of a "number of nested levels varying in proximity to the individual, these levels transact with each other over time in shaping development and adaptation." Recent resilience research has focused on successful coping and on the ability to overcome risk and adversity. According to Doll and Lyon (1998b), the major focus is on how children become competent and productive adults and on how adults maintain healthy functioning. Doll and Lyon (1998b, 358) note that:

> ... as a result it is understood that for people to overcome adversity, they may face a constellation of risks and may have multisystemic protective factors such as family, school, and neighbourhood. Therefore people must be understood within an ecological context. In addition, the subjective meanings that people attribute to adverse life circumstances are critical determinants of success.

A significant feature of recently published research on resilience has been the identification of both the internal assets of the individual and the external strengths occurring within the individual's social context; both are frequently referred to in literature as internal/external protective factors or mechanisms (Garmezy, 1991, Rutter, 1988, in Howard & Johnson, 2000). Similar to Garmezy's triarchic framework, Luthar (1993) has suggested that an approach to defining risk that carries promise for resilience research involves the simultaneous consideration of multiple indices at the level of the individual, the family and the community. As such, a review of recent research will be based upon this perspective and will be discussed under the headings of individual, family and community factors.

2.6.1.3.1   Individual factors

Resilience may show up in psychological and/or social aspects of an individual's life (Ungar, 2003b). According to Montgomery *et al.* (2003), internal protective factors related to temperament, a sense of humour, feelings of purpose, a belief in a bright future and spirituality can protect children from some of the effects of adversity. In research conducted by Smokowski, Reynolds and Bezruczko (1999) to investigate adolescent resilience and protective factors within inner-city Chicago youth, the participants reported the factors that they associated with their positive

development. Those seen as important internal attributes included future optimism, future expectations and goals, perseverance, determination and the ability to look back on life to identify past experiences of overcoming adversity (Smokowski *et al.*, 1999). Garbarino reasoned that children can maintain resilience under adversity if they have enough psychological and social resources and have an ideology or activism about their situation (Greene, 2002, p. 6). Furthermore, Dumont and Provost (1999) found that resilient adolescents had higher self-esteem and problem-solving coping strategies than did vulnerable adolescents. Research conducted by Gordon Rouse (2001) showed that resilient students believe very much in their own ability to have control over their high-school life and that they believe in this ability even in the face of some non-supportive environmental situations.

Rutter (in Greene, 2002) states that research suggests that children who are cognitively competent, who experience self-confidence, who are goal-orientated and who have active coping styles can be more resilient. According to Rutter (1988), there is strong evidence that good intelligence and good scholastic attainment may exert a protective effect in the presence of psychosocial adversity. Results from a study conducted by Masten *et al.* (1999) indicate that IQ is one of the markers of fundamental adaptational systems that protect child development in the context of severe adversity.

Although the qualities of children are important in understanding resilience, so are the experiences that children encounter and how they process those experiences (Gilligan, 2000). A person's understanding of a life event is known to be important but it seems that the crucial elements of this understanding involves not only the perception of the meaning of the event but also a cognitive set reflecting the anticipation of what can be done about it (Rutter, 1988). Ungar (2003b) notes that, when youths explain their experience of mental health within the context of the challenges that they face, young people labelled "vulnerable" show remarkable similarities to resilient youths. It appears that both groups engage in the same processes to maintain their sense of well-being and social relatedness.

2.6.1.3.2 *Family factors*

Rutter (in Garmezy, 1988) identified a number of family variables that increases a child's risk of psychiatric disorder: marital discord, low socio-economic status, large family size with overcrowding, paternal criminality, maternal psychiatric disorder and admission of the child into the care of a local authority. Results from a study conducted by Masten *et al.* (1999) indicated that parenting is one of the markers of fundamental adaptational systems that protect child development in the context of severe adversity. Similarly, Masten (2001) suggests that parenting plays a key mediating role in the linking of major life stressors to child behaviour.

2.6.1.3.3   Community factors

Social supports for at-risk youth, such as the attendance of school and recreational activities that provide the youth with alternatives to street gangs, are considered important for their coping with adversity and stress (Ungar, 2001). Research by Gordon Rouse (2001 p. 470) found that "having an environment that supports one's social ability, believing in one's social control and having an environment that supports general extracurricular activities enhance resilience". In addition, Woodhead *et al.* (2003) suggest that external protective factors, such as an adult or a peer who shows an interest in a child, may also promote the child's resilience. Similarly, Smokowski *et al.* (2000) note that resilient adolescents reported being grateful to family members, especially mothers, and teachers who provided positive role models, consistent caring and motivational support. Research conducted by Buysse (1997) on Dutch adolescents showed that social support can operate either as a protective or as a risk factor for behavioural problems, depending on the other characteristics of the subsystems involved. So, support from a "non-deviant" system reduces the development of behavioural problems while support from a "deviant" system may increase behavioural problems.

2.6.2   Challenges and issues in resilience research

A number of challenges and issues in the research of resilience has recently been highlighted by authors, such as Garmezy (1988), Rutter (1988), Luthar (2000), Luthar *et al.* (2000), Masten (2001), and Ungar (2001, 2003b). These include issues of definitional ambiguity, the social and cultural context in which resilience occurs and is researched, the values of the researcher and the multidimensional nature of resilience.

Ungar (2001, p. 9) notes that, despite the growing body of research on risk and resilience, a definitional ambiguity of the terms "risk factors", "protective mechanisms", "vulnerability" and "resilience" has resulted in a large and inconsistent set of variables being used to study these phenomena. Ungar (2003b) suggests that, although there are numerous definitions of risk and resilience, there is a concern that there is little consensus on their definition. He refers to the "arbitrariness" of the resilience construct. There are a number of scientific concerns and challenges in respect of the construct of resilience (Luthar *et al.*, 2000; Masten, 2001; Ungar, 2003b). Both theoretical literature and research literature reflect little consensus on definitions, with substantial variations in the operationalisation and measurement of key constructs (Luthar *et al.*, 2000). However, Luthar *et al.* (2000, p. 545) argue that "reviews of the literature indicate complementary evidence regarding many correlates of resilience (protective factors) across multiple studies. The themes that reoccur are the importance of close relations with supportive adults, effective schools, and connections with competent, prosocial adults in the wider community." This, according to

Luthar *et al.* (2000), counteracts concerns regarding definitional ambiguity and the measurement of key constructs.

The arbitrariness in the selection of outcome variables and the challenge of accounting for the social and cultural context in which resilience occurs are also key issues in resilience research (Ungar, 2003). Questions of whether all children in seemingly high-risk contexts are really at risk or, alternatively, whether some well-functioning children may not be resilient at all but may actually have faced low-proximal risk are being asked (Luthar *et al.*, 2000). Qualitative studies by Gilgun (1999), Taylor, Gilligan and Sullivan (1995) and Klevans and Roca (1999), cited in Ungar (2003b), counter this concern. These studies examined the phenomenon of resilience and produced a number of trustworthy accounts of individual and group experiences of risk and resilience. The experiences demonstrate that individuals, families and communities create highly specific understandings for themselves of their health and the risks that they face, based on their race, ethnicity, class, gender, ability, sexual orientation, age, geographical location and health status. Massey, Cameron, Ouelette and Fine (in Ungar, 2003a, p. 12) write "there may be disagreement between the values of the researcher and those of the researched ... valuing social competence and compliance over expressions of personal agency would bias who gets the label resilient toward those most likely to conform, overlooking those most likely to critique." Thus, Ungar (2003a, p. 12) suggests that "culturally based storied indicators of health may lie hidden beneath chaotic behaviours that are described by youth and their families as functional in environments where health resources are scarce." Much of the research into resilience and vulnerability has been conducted in North America and Europe. According to Montgomery *et al.* (2003), two issues need to be considered: how far both risk and protective factors need to be seen as context-specific and whether too much attention is placed on the individual and not enough on community mechanisms for dealing with risk. Perhaps the most important caution against the oversimplification of notions of resilience is the research finding that vulnerability factors are extremely context-specific. For example, high intelligence is usually a protective factor and results in better outcomes. However, where children have few career and academic opportunities, it can be a risk factor for increased involvement in crime and violence (Luthar, Ciccheti, & Brcker, 2000).

Luthar *et al.* (2000) point out that the concept of resilience is multidimensional in nature: at-risk children who are labelled resilient on the basis of particular competence criteria can reflect considerable variance in their functioning across other adjustment domains. Studies have shown that, among adolescents who experience significant adversities, those who overtly reflect successful adaptation often struggle with covert psychological difficulties, such as depression (Luthar *et al.*, 2000). Luthar *et al.* (2000, p. 548) argue that "evidence of uneven functioning across different

domains does not in itself invalidate resilience as a construct; it does carry a critical message for researchers – the need for specificity in discussing resilient outcomes. Investigators must specify the particular spheres to which their data apply and must clarify that success in these domains by no means implies positive adaptation across all important areas." Evidence that at-risk children excel within particular adjustment domains should never obscure the possibility of significant problems within other spheres. It is therefore suggested that investigators should avoid overly global statements while describing their findings, limiting their conclusions to the precise domains in which resilience is manifested (Luthar *et al.*, 2000).

Research on individual factors has often been criticised for implying that a young person either has or lacks resilience and for creating the impression that resilience is an innate quality (Palmary, 2003). Perhaps one of the dangers of a focus on resilience is that, in popular discourse, it has come to be associated with a trait or a set of behaviours that a young person either has or lacks. It is therefore used to blame young people who do not fare well in the face of adversity. Luthar et al. (2000) suggest that resilience can only ever be seen as a process or a relationship between the person and her or his environment. One should therefore avoid using phrases like "a child is resilient" or "fostering resilience", as this implies that, if only young people had certain traits, they would withstand their problems. This shifts the responsibility back onto the young person, which is contradictory to the notion of understanding positive outcome (Palmary, 2003).

Many children and youths experience multiple stressors and are placed at risk of poor social outcomes (Bowen *et al.*, 1996). A focus on resilience can help to improve the outcomes for these children and youths. It can move us beyond an exclusive focus on pathology and provide insight into the variability of individual outcomes and remind us, in the words of Werner (1998), that "not all development is determined by what happens early in life" (Norman, 2000). As helpful as the concept of resilience can be, we must always be on guard against a resurgence of the individualised model (Osher *et al.*, 1999).

2.6.3 Contemporary perspectives on resilience

2.6.3.1 *Ecosystemic perspective: Implications for understanding and researching resilience*

The ecosystemic perspective of resilience has allowed this phenomenon to be understood as a dynamic and interactive process rather than as a personal trait. In the past, the importance of social context was disregarded and resilience was regarded as a personal trait. Osher *et al.* (1999) argue that the individualised model of resilience takes responsibility and power away from families, schools, communities, the state and the nation and places the burden of survival squarely on the shoulders of those who are placed at risk by both social and individual circumstances. However, the paradigm shift has helped to develop the understanding of what the risk factors are for young

people. This paradigm shift has encouraged a movement away from "viewing vulnerabilities as discrete, intrapsychic factors to seeing them as an interlocking set of factors that is heavily influenced by the contexts within which young people live" (Blum, McNeely, & Nonnemaker, 2002, p. 38). This is supported by Greene (2002), who asserts that the study of resilience has its origins in developmental theory, that it is grounded in an ecological context and that it builds on the strengths perspective. Corroborating this, Doll and Lyon (1998a) suggest that resilience is a systemic phenomenon that cannot be understood adequately outside the system. Similarly, Greene (2002, p. 17) states that, because "the phenomenon of resilience occurs in the context of person-environment interaction, and the circumstances that influence resilience are embedded in family, school, neighborhood, and the larger community, resilience can be understood from an eco-systemic perspective."

Reinforcing this notion, Fraser and Galinsky (in Ungar, 2003b) suggest that the factors that predispose an individual to risk are best understood from an ecological perspective. Their conceptualisation of risk factors as "keystone" risk factors is particularly useful in understanding the interdependence of risk factors. Ungar (2003b) notes that this view allows one to consider risk as an embedded, complex and interdependent structure. Furthermore, the ecosystemic view of resilience suggests that there is rarely a direct causal pathway leading to a particular outcome; instead, there are ongoing interactions between protective and vulnerability factors within the child, between the child and her or his surroundings and among particular risk factors (Ungar, 2003b). Masten (2001, p. 233) concurs, stating that "most resilience researchers in the past decade have assumed that resilience arises from many dynamic interactions within and between organism and environment, but the systematic study of such patterns and pathways is in the early stage." In addition, Masten (2001) suggests that the new focus for resilience research is in trying to understand the adaptive processes at multiple levels, from genes to relationships, and in investigating how the individual as a complex living system interacts both effectively and ineffectively over time with systems in which it is embedded.

Apart from providing a framework from which to conceptualise and research resilience, the ecosystemic perspective also has implications for how youth can be understood. The ecosystemic perspective provides a viewpoint of adolescents that connects their individual psychological development to their social context and the systems within it. Donald *et al.* (2002, p. 50) explain that "different levels of a system in the social context are seen to influence, and be influenced by one another in a continuous process of dynamic balance, tension and interplay." In addition, Donald *et al.* (2002) note that this perspective provides a framework for understanding why the general challenges of individual development cannot be separated from the more specific challenges of

social issues and barriers being addressed. Furthermore, Donald *et al.* (2000, p. 4) suggest that the ecosystemic perspective has "helped to foreground children's developmental contexts as central influences in the formation of their psychological capacities." Brofenbrenner's finding, in Donald *et al.* (2000, p. 3), that it is the "enduring proximal interaction processes that are commonly the most important in shaping stable aspects of development," supports this. These proximal processes are explained by Donald *et al.* (2000, p. 3), as "face-to-face interactions between children and other people." The importance of an adolescent's context is noted by Buysse (1997, p. 647), who argues that the ecosystemic model suggests that "a well-functioning family, a favourable school career, a positive peer group, and a positive personal disposition may have a restraining influence on the development of behaviour problems." Similarly, Garmezy notes that:

> ... the role of the family and the specific interactions of parent and child are powerful determiners of the social, emotional and cognitive development of the child. If these relationships are comparatively free of a sustained negative quality, if family life is stable, economic distress is minimized, relationships supportive and intimate, affection and love offered and reciprocated, then development can proceed along a normal and comparatively unstressful path (1988, p. 65).

To conclude, the result of resilience being viewed from an ecosystemic perspective is demonstrated in our understanding of resilience as a dynamic and interactive process, in that "resilience in children is likely to develop through both internal and environmental factors, although in describing them they are seen as two separate factors, in reality they are intertwined in that they interact and affect each other as the child develops" (Lewis, 1999, p. 10). In addition, risk and resilience are not characteristics of children in isolation. Rather, risk and resilience are characteristics of the child living within the context of the family, neighbourhood, community and school (Doll & Lyon, 1998a; Keogh, 2000). The usefulness of the ecosystemic perceptive being used in the conceptualisation of resilience is that it "situates risk in the broader social context of racism, war, and poverty – not in individuals, families, and communities – and asks how it is that youth successfully develop in the face of such stressors" (Benard, 1993). In addition, the ecosystemic perspective offers a view of adolescence that sees young people as both influencing and being influenced by their environment. In other words, there is no direct cause-and-effect relationship; rather, the person – the adolescent in this case – has an effect on and is being affected by multiple factors in various contexts. Therefore, any exploration of the resilient attributes of youth cannot take place without the consideration of their environment and of the other contexts that have a reciprocal effect on their functioning.

2.6.3.2   Resilience as a dynamic process

There have been significant changes and developments in how resilience is understood. It is therefore important to consolidate the information and to discuss how resilience is conceptualised at present. The outcome of the paradigm shift that occurred during the study of resilience resulted in a change from resilience being understood as an individual trait to resilience being understood as a dynamic process. However, Luthar and Cicchetti (2000) note that discrepancies have existed in conceptualisations of resilience as a personal trait versus a dynamic process. They point out that the term has been used interchangeably to refer to each of these. In order to clarify this, Luthar *et al.* (2000, p. 546) suggest that "when the term resilience is used to refer to a trait, one cannot assume that the child has actually experienced or been exposed to adversity. Where resilience is conceptualized as a process, the experience of adversity is a given." Similarly, Masten *et al.* (1999) argue that, if a child is described as "resilient", we can infer that a) the child is doing reasonably well on major developmental tasks important for children of that age and culture and that b) the child has experienced extraordinary adversity. Luthar *et al.* (2000) caution that representing resilience as a personality trait can create a situation where the perception is that some people just do not "have what it takes" to overcome adversity. In order to counter this, Masten (in Luthar *et al.*, 2000) recommends that the term "resilience" be used exclusively when referring to the maintenance of positive adjustment under challenging life circumstances.

In conceptualising resilience, Dyer and McGuinness (in Greene, 2002, p. 41) suggest that resilience be considered "a fluid, dynamic, and not fully understood process that allows individuals, families and communities who have experienced difficulties to go on with life." In addition, resilience may refer either to the state of well-being achieved by an at-risk individual, in other words she or he is resilient, or to the characteristics and mechanisms by which that well-being is achieved, in other words she or he shows resilience in a particular task (Ungar, 2003a). Furthermore, Ungar (2003a) suggests that the ability to cope and hope is inextricably linked with resilience. He suggests that to cope effectively means to live in at-risk situations and still to do well. Masten (2001) defines resilience as a class of phenomena characterised by good outcomes in spite of serious threats to adaptation or development. In a similar vein, Luthar *et al.* (2000, p. 559) suggest that "resilience usually means positive adaptation despite adversity and it is therefore concerned with the successes, social competence, good academic adjustment and sometimes simply the absence of maladjustment in young people in the face of factors that are known to be associated with adjustment problems."

Garmezy (1988) notes that there are many case reports of individuals who function adaptively in the face of appalling situations, while there are others who undergo a marked disruption of behaviour even under conditions that most would consider to be minimally threatening. However, in order for

an individual to be characterised as being resilient, there must be "demonstrable" risk (Masten, 2001). Resilience can therefore be conceptualised as a "dynamic process wherein individuals display positive adaptation despite experiences of significant adversity or trauma – it is a two-dimensional construct that implies exposure to adversity and the manifestation of positive outcomes" (Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000, p. 858). Scott *et al.* (1993) concur, asserting that any characteristic that may promote resilience is likely to be part of multiple processes involving adversity and individual adjustment. To conclude, when the term "resilience" is used, two coexisting conditions are referred to. Firstly, the presence of threat to a given individual's well-being and, secondly, evidence of positive adaptation despite the adversity encountered (Luthar *et al.*, 2000; Norman, 2000).

2.6.4 Constructs related to resilience

A number of constructs exist that relate to resilience. These are regularly discussed and researched and have been shown to impact on the occurrence of resilience. These constructs are risk and adversity, protective and vulnerability factors, and stress and coping. Although the constructs have been grouped in this way, they should not be thought of as discrete variables; there is a reciprocal relationship between the effects of each of these constructs that makes it difficult to differentiate among them in practice. A number of authors note that there is little consensus around central terms used within models of resilience (Garmezy, 1988; Masten, 2001; Ungar, 2003). It is therefore important to make use of recent literature to clarify these constructs.

2.6.4.1 Risk and adversity

The terms "risk" and "adversity" are often used synonymously. According to Luthar and Cicchetti (2000, p. 858), adversity, which is also referred to as risk, typically encompasses negative life circumstances that are known to be statistically associated with adjustment difficulties. Furthermore, risk factors are used to identify individuals with a high probability of subsequent problems. However, Compas *et al.* (1995) caution that risk factors do not help to explain how or why problems develop. According to Doll and Lyon (1998b), common features of risk factors are that they are chronic life conditions rather than acute hazards, that these hazards are largely beyond the control of the children and that the risk factors tend to be interconnected so that these children grow up with multiple interconnected life hazards.

Rutter (1988, p. 23) asserts that the "negative psychological consequences of experiencing two or more of the risk factors in combination are better described as multiplicative rather than additive." Therefore, resilience factors have a cumulative impact, with greater levels of risk requiring greater accumulated protective factors to address them (Doll & Lyon, 1998b). In order to understand resilience, it is important to understand the processes and mechanisms by which individuals

successfully negotiate risk situations (Rutter in Doll & Lyon, 1998b). In addition, Doll and Lyon (1998b) suggest that the subjective meanings that an individual attributes to what seems to be a challenging situation have the potential of greatly altering the experience of "risk". Consequently, it is important that both risk and resilience factors are evaluated within their context (Palmary, 2003).

2.6.4.2   *Protective and vulnerability factors*

It is important to explore the concepts of protective and vulnerability factors, as they play a fundamental part in the conceptualisation of resilience. In addition, there has been some confusion as to the meaning of these terms. Luthar *et al.* (2000) note that researchers use terms such as "protective" and "vulnerability" factors in varied and inconsistent ways. In order to manage this confusion, Luthar *et al.* (2000) suggest that the terms "protective" and "vulnerability" should be used to describe overall effects that are beneficial versus detrimental. Similarly, Blum *et al.* (2002) note that the relationship between vulnerability and protective factors is complex and that the ways in which these two processes interact differ across contexts. Ungar (2003, p. 59), however, states that "the literature on vulnerability and resilience in children tends to view both concepts as opposite ends of a continuum with a lengthy list of risk factors as the intervening variables that influence a child's growth and development. Predictably the interplay between risk factors and a child's strengths and weaknesses correlates with the amount of vulnerability or resilience a child experiences." Furthermore, protective and vulnerability factors should be thought of as processes rather than as absolutes, since the same event or condition can function as either a protective or a vulnerability factor, depending on the overall context in which it occurs (Rutter in Mash & Wolfe, 2002).

Factors that tend to reduce the effect of stressors are termed "protective" factors and those that serve as catalysts and tend to increase the effect of stressors may be called vulnerability factors (Rutter, 1988). Rutter (1988) notes that researchers have increasingly focused on the possible importance of social networks and of close personal relationships as protective factors. Evidence that good personal relationships and social supports may lessen the effects of stressful life events and that a lack of such intimate relationships may increase the negative effects of stressors is starting to emerge (Rutter, 1988).

A protective factor describes a characteristic associated with sustained adequate functioning under adversity only for people with high levels of the characteristic. A vulnerability factor describes a characteristic associated with a decrease in functioning under adversity only for people with high levels of the characteristic (Luthar, 1993; Scott *et al.*, 1993). Garmezy, Masten and Tellegen (1984, p. 109) define protective factors as those "dispositional attributes, environmental conditions, biological predisposition, and positive events that can act to contain the expression of deviance or

pathology." In addition, protective factors are those factors that modify the effects of risk in a positive direction (Dent & Cameron, 2003; Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000). External protective factors, such as a good school, secure attachment to caregivers and meaningful participation, and internal resources, such as self-efficacy, self-esteem, problem solving, a future orientation and good communication, have all been suggested as domains to study in order to understand resilience (Ungar, 2003a). Rutter (in Garmezy, 1988, p. 73) defines protective factors as "those attributes of a person, environments, situations, and events that appear to temper predictions of psychopathology based upon an individual's at-risk status. These factors provide resistance to risk and foster outcomes marked by patterns of adaptation and competence."

A clear and concise way of understanding protective resources is the conceptualisation by Garmezy (1991) of a "protective triad of resources and health promoting events". This involves the strengths of the individual (good intellectual functioning, an appealing, sociable, easygoing disposition, self-efficacy, self-confidence, high self-esteem, talents and faith), the family (a close relationship to a caring parent figure, authoritative parenting, warmth, structure, high expectations, socio-economic advantage and connections to extended supportive family networks) and the school and community (adults outside the family who take an interest in promoting the child's welfare, connections to social organisations and attendance at effective schools).

Vulnerability factors are those that worsen the negative effects of a risk condition (Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000). Dent and Cameron (2003) refer to these as "adverse factors". According to Garmezy (1988), the importance of individual and environmental factors that can influence vulnerability in relation to stress has now been accepted. The adaptation by Lewis *et al.* (2003, p. 95) of Albee's equation gives a clear depiction of the balance between people's resources (protective factors) and their life circumstances (vulnerability factors and stress):

$$\text{psychological health} = \frac{\text{coping skills} + \text{self-esteem} + \text{personal power}}{\text{organic factors} + \text{stress} + \text{powerlessness}}$$

2.6.4.3 *Stress and coping*

The concepts of stress and coping play an important role in understanding resilience; Leiderman puts this as follows:

> The stress and coping paradigm has been used widely to explain an individual's reaction to threatening events, both internally and externally derived. Physiological, behavioural, and social adaptations need to be made by the individual in order to cope with stress factors. Thus, the basic stress and coping paradigm consists of a

person living in, and interacting within an environment in which multiple, rather than single, factors are brought to bear (1988, p. 133).

According to Rutter (1988), coping mechanisms include individuals' attempts to alter threatening conditions themselves directly and attempts to change only their appraisal of them so that they need not feel threatened. Furthermore, it is evident that some coping processes may increase the risk of maladaptation or disorder, while others may improve adaptation and reduce the risks of a deviant outcome (Rutter, 1988). Individuals' relationships play an important role in how they manage a stressful event. According to Rutter (1988), much of the stressful quality of an event lies in its effects on patterns of family interactions and relationships. This corresponds with the environmental-interactional model of stress, which asserts that a person's assessment of a stressful event in terms of its potential risk and the person's ability to cope mediate its impact (Romano in Lewis *et al.*, 2003). This definition suggests that stress-related problems occur when individuals interpret events or situations as personally threatening. Similarly, Lewis *et al.* (2003, p. 62) state that "the degree to which individuals perceive situations as stressful depends on a number of factors, such as their sense of competence to handle the stressor, previous success in dealing with similar situations, the degree to which they feel in control of events, their perceptions of being overloaded or having conflicting needs, and expectations that are either self-imposed or imposed by others."

In addition, stressors often relate to contextual factors, such as gender, age, socio-economic class and cultural or ethnic and racial background (Lewis *et al.*, 2003). Furthermore, early events may "operate through their action in altering sensitivities to stress or in modifying styles of coping which then protect from, or predispose towards, disorder in later life only in the presence of later stress events" (Rutter, 1988). Rutter (1988) says that, although the evidence is not as strong as one would wish, there is evidence that stress events in childhood may serve to provoke at least short-term disturbance. Stress events have been considered in a general, common-sense way in terms of the happenings that may prove upsetting to people. Rutter presents a useful breakdown, below, of the various interactions and variables that may affect how stress is managed:

> The personal qualities and characteristics that an individual brings to stress interactions are likely to be important. Relevant variables of this type include age (age is an important variable for some stress events), sex (boys appear to be more vulnerable than girls to most kinds of stress events), genetic factors (hereditary influences may affect the extent to which individuals respond to environmental variables and sometimes the direction of their responses, genetic factors also play a part in determining individual differences in both the development and susceptibility to disorder), temperament (may play an important part in determining individual-environmental interactions, a child's temperament may protect them or put them at risk by virtue of its effect on the parent-child interaction), intelligence and other

problem-solving skills (there is a slight but consistent tendency for children with above average intelligence to have lower rates of psychiatric disorder and socio-behavioral deviance) (1988, pp. 18-22).

2.6.5   Resilience across the lifespan

The current understanding of resilience is that it is a variable rather than a fixed attribute, that it is specific to an individual and her or his circumstances rather than a universal characteristic and that it is a fluctuating rather than a static phenomenon.

In this vein, Rutter cautions as follows:

> The phenomenon of resilience requires attention to a range of possible psychological outcomes and not to an unusually positive outcome or to supernormal functioning. Similarly, there is no necessary expectation that protection from stress and adversity should lie in positive experiences, nor indeed is there any assumption that the answer will lie in how the individual copes with a negative experience at the time. The starting point then is simply that in all studies of risk experience, children's responses vary enormously (2001, p. 13).

Likewise, Luthar *et al.* (2000) note that resilience is not a universal, categorical or fixed attribute of a child; it varies according to the type of stress, its context and similar factors. Individual children may be resilient to some specific stressors but not to others and resilience may vary over time (Luthar *et al.*, 2000). Luthar (1993) argues that labels implying "overall" resilience are of questionable value, since children at risk often show widely varying levels of success across different adjustment domains. Most contemporary studies, such as Masten and Garmezy (1985), Rutter (1985, 1988, 2001) and Masten (1994), show that neither risk nor resilience is absolute but that both fluctuate and change relative to new circumstances and developmental periods in life (Doll & Lyon, 1998b, p. 358). Results from the study by Luthar *et al.* (1993) indicate that children who are exposed to high levels of stress and who have shown remarkable behavioural competence are highly vulnerable to distress over time. They remark that "disadvantaged youth who appear resilient, on the basis of high social competence despite extremely stressful life circumstance, may often be at risk for difficulties in some spheres of adjustment even as they cope remarkably well in others" (Luthar *et al.*, 1993). Evidence of high emotional distress underlying apparently successful coping can have important implications for understanding childhood resilience (Luthar *et al.*, 1993).

According to Luthar *et al.* (2000, p. 544), as research has evolved, it has become clear that "positive adaptation despite exposure to adversity involves a developmental progression such that new vulnerabilities and/or strengths often emerge with changing life circumstances." Therefore, the concept of resilience is more a relative than a fixed concept (Luthar *et al.*, 2000). Luthar (1991) examined factors that allowed children to maintain socially competent behaviour despite stress. One

of the outcomes of this study was that children who were labelled as resilient were significantly more anxious and depressed than were competent children from low-stress backgrounds. Luthar *et al.* note that there can be considerable instability in the phenomenon of resilience in that individuals at high risk rarely maintain consistently positive adjustment over the long term:

> There is no question that all individuals, resilient or not, show fluctuations over time within particular adjustment domains. However, there is increasing evidence that, overall, at-risk children who excel in critical domains continue to reflect generally positive adaptational profiles over time (2000, p. 551).

2.6.6 Resilience as an ordinary phenomenon

The idea that resilience is, in fact, an "ordinary" phenomenon has started to emerge in literature. The understanding that resilience is a characteristic of successful adaptation and not something that a select few exhibit has been suggested. Masten (2001) suggests that the greatest surprise of resilience research is the "ordinariness of the phenomenon". She states that "resilience seems to be a common phenomenon that results in most cases from the operation of basic human adaptational systems. If those systems are protected and are in good working order, development is robust even in the face of severe adversity" (Masten, 2001, p. 227). Similarly, Brendtro and Larson argue that resilience is a natural human phenomenon:

> When the concept of resilience first was studied, the view of some was that this was a rare and remarkable trait of a few invulnerable superkids. Now we realize that humans by nature are resilient, for we are the descendants of survivors. Even children exposed to great trauma can turn their lives around, if they can develop certain inner strengths and rely on supports from caring persons in their lives. The other side of the coin is that there are no invulnerable humans, for if our basic needs are frustrated, we all are at risk (2004, p. 199).

2.7 ATTRIBUTES OF RESILIENCE

A number of attributes are frequently associated with the phenomenon of resilience. These attributes demonstrate that several factors have an effect on an individual's resilience. These factors are not only the individual's personal traits but also external factors, such as the family and the community. Garmezy (1988) refers to them as "dispositional factors", Gilligan (2000) calls them "sources of resilience" and Masten (2001) uses the phrase "global factors related to resilience". Masten in Ungar (2003b), notes that researchers are starting to come to a tentative consensus on a shared set of common risk and protective factors (attributes) that predispose children to specific outcomes across many different contexts. Currently, resilience research has defined "three sets of factors implicated in the development of resilience: attributes of the child themselves, aspects of

their families, and characteristics of their wider social environments" (Luthar *et al.*, 2000, p. 544). Benard highlights various attributes of resilience:

> The research on resilience, on how youth growing up in severe adversity and trauma, have developed successfully despite these risks, outlines the personal attitudes, beliefs and competencies associated with healthy development. Social competence (empathy, flexibility, communication skills, and a sense of humor), problem-solving skills (planning, critical consciousness, and resourcefulness), autonomy (sense of identity, self-agency, accomplishment, and detachment), a sense of purpose and a bright future (goal directedness, achievement motivation, persistence, optimism, spiritual connectedness, and meaning) (1997b, p. 29).

According to Masten (2001), evidence from early and recent studies of resilience (Garmezy, 1985; Luthar *et al.*, 2000; Masten *et al.*, 1990; Masten & Coatsworth, 1998) seems to corroborate the importance of a relatively small set of global factors associated with resilience. These include connections to competent and caring adults in the family and community, cognitive and self-regulation skills, positive views of self and motivation to be effective in the environment. Garmezy (1988) suggests that a triad of dispositional factors is related to resilience. They are: dispositional attributes of the child, family cohesion and warmth, and support figures in the environment and in the schools who can serve as identification models for the child. Similarly, Gilligan (2000) identifies three sources of resilience – a secure base, self-esteem and self-efficacy – and says that they can be influenced by key contexts of everyday living. Likewise, Rutter (in Garmezy, 1988) identified certain protective factors. These factors provide a triad of categories: positive personality dispositions, a supportive family environment and an external societal agency that functions as a support system for strengthening and reinforcing a child's coping efforts. Donald *et al.* (2000) note that the factors that promote resilience and that protect a child from negative outcomes include capacities that are part of a child's physical and psychological makeup and features of the social ecology in which the child is involved.

These attributes of have been were condensed into a table format (see Appendix A). This information was adapted from Fongagy, Steele, Higgit and Target (1994), Greene (2002) and Norman (2000). The attributes were divided into categories: individual attributes, family attributes, characteristics of resilient children, protective features in the environment and psychological characteristics. This gives a clear indication of the multidimensional and ecosystemic nature of the phenomenon of resilience.

2.8   RESILIENCE AS AN INTEGRATED PHENOMENON

As has been discussed, the ecosystemic perspective provides a helpful viewpoint for the conceptualisation of resilience. The underlying assumption of the ecosystemic perspective is that an

individual's environment consists of several co-occurring levels that interact to influence development. Becker and Luthar (2002) state that this perspective can be helpful in the understanding of the multiple contexts affecting youth at risk. Contextual factors are critically important in the determination of the type of childhood experienced. Killian provides a helpful description of the ecosystemic perspective in action:

> A child usually lives in a family. A family lives in a neighbourhood, within a community. Communities in turn form sub-cultural groups within particular socio-political systems. Political and cultural systems adopt particular ideologies about how to raise and value children and make decisions about how resources are to be used and disbursed. Each of these systems (family, community, political party or culture) consists of an "organised collection of activities and resources that exist within definable social and physical boundaries". Each has a purpose and regulates social exchanges. Each also has rules, roles and power relations, which determine activities and the use of resources. These systems, and the relationships between them, change over the course of a child's development (2004).

People continually interact with their surroundings in ways that either help or harm them. As people develop, they rely on their environment as a source of learning and support, meeting their needs mostly through their interactions with others. Even so, the environment can also affect them negatively, stunting their growth and limiting their development (Lewis *et al.*, 2003). Lewis *et al.* (2003) state that, when communities are referred to as systems, it means that they have unity, continuity and predictability. Individuals, groups and organisations that compose a community are interdependent. Communities serve as a medium through which individuals can act on the world and through which society as a whole transmits norms. Community members have a direct and an indirect impact on one another and the experiences that individuals have within these communities affect their psychological health and well-being in many ways.

Psychologists, such as Brofenbrenner, see context as a socially constructed system of external influences that is mediated by individual minds. Whatever influences local environments have on children must be seen as a product of how these environments are perceived and interpreted by both parents and children (Donald *et al.*, 2000). Montgomery *et al.* (2003) assert that risks to children's well-being do not inevitably follow from living in poverty or in disturbed family relationships. They say that these risks frequently result from a complex combination of children's vulnerability, difficult circumstances and events in their lives as well as their interpretations of these circumstances and events. Negative structural characteristics of a neighbourhood, for example the demographics of the area and physical features, produce stress in caregivers, who, in turn, either cannot cope or create conditions needed for positive emotional outcomes for their children. Nevertheless, even in very poor communities, exposure to at least some well-functioning families can protect children against the deprivations of their situation (Donald *et al.*, 2000). Children facing

accumulative and additive risks associated with disadvantaged environments face increased vulnerability to emotional problems (Becker & Luthar, 2002).

The problems that are faced by youth are mediated not only by their social, family and school environments but also by the skills that they possess and develop to overcome their difficulties (McWhirter *et al.*, 1993, p. 94). Perceptions of youth of their context are central to an understanding of how they engage with their developmental settings. The environment therefore does not simply impact on youth. Rather, youth are active participants in their own development. The way in which they perceive their circumstances influences the way in which they respond to the human and physical contexts (Donald *et al.*, 2000). Rutter explains as follows:

> All children are likely to experience many potentially stressful life events as they grow up, and it is most unlikely that the long-term effects will depend largely on the number of such stressors encountered. Rather it is more probable that the long-term outcome will be determined by how the stressors are dealt with at the time, and especially on the outcome of the stress encounter whether "successful adaptation or humiliating failure" (1988, p. 31).

Adversity is about situations or events that fail to meet children's needs, that violate their rights and that threaten their well-being. Resilience is about the ways in which children react to adversity. Both the adversities that children face and their vulnerability or resilience in the face of those adversities must be understood by looking closely at the specific circumstances of individual children as well as the broader social and cultural factors (Montgomery *et al.*, 2003). Sometimes, these adversities overwhelm children: their health deteriorates, their learning is disrupted and they become disturbed, depressed or defiant and aggressive (Montgomery *et al.*, 2003). Youths who survive risky environments because of their strong self-confidence, coping skills and abilities to avoid risk situations may be considered resilient. These youths are also likely to show sustained competence when under stress or to rebound to a previously healthy level of competence following traumatic or stressful experiences (Mash & Wolfe, 2002).

Garmezy (1988) and others have identified individual characteristics of resilient students in high poverty areas who succeeded despite their disadvantaged circumstances. These characteristics include a wide array of social skills, positive peer interactions, a high degree of social responsiveness and sensitivity, intelligence (measured by IQ), empathy, a sense of humour and critical problem-solving skills. Additional characteristics of resilient children identified by Garmezy (1988) include the following: positive peer and adult interactions, low degrees of defensiveness and aggressiveness and high degrees of cooperation, participation and emotional stability (teachers' ratings), a positive sense of self, a sense of personal power rather than powerlessness and an internal locus of control (a belief that they are capable of exercising a degree of control over their

environment). Furthermore, Winfield (1994) notes that resilient children also tend to have parents who are concerned with their children's education, who participate in that education, who direct their children's everyday tasks and who are aware of their children's interests and goals.

Lewis *et al.* (2003) summarise the factors that characterise youth who successfully adapt to trying conditions. Firstly, successful youth tend to have strong social support systems. The availability of a supportive network serves as a buffer against the effects of stressful situations. These relationships provide both personal validation and practical assistance. Secondly, successful youth tend to have a sense of control over the environment. They believe that their actions can have an effect on the world. Some call this self-efficacy and others an internal locus of control. Thirdly, successful youth tend to have the information and tools needed for effective problem solving; this involves general life competencies and situation-specific knowledge. Finally, successful youth tend to be confident that they can adapt to new situations. Realistic feelings of confidence come from the availability of adequate personal and financial resources and from having coped successfully with similar situations in the past.

When attempting to conceptualise youth resilience, Killian (2004) recommends that it should be understood that, in all aspects of a youth's life, there is a constant, simultaneous juggling of advantages and disadvantages, of strengths and difficulties.

Taking this into account, Luthar cautions as follows:

> If maladjustment of some sort is inevitable in the face of marked adversity, it may be useful to consider a somewhat qualified definition of the term "resilience", wherein it simply refers to the "'least detrimental" of all possible symptoms. In other words, one might argue that while some youngsters faced with high stress react with emotional distress as well as behavioral difficulties, others, even though depressed and anxious, are able to function successfully in terms of societal expectations (1991, p. 613).

"Compared to non-resilient youth, a resilient youth can resist adversity, cope with uncertainty, and recover more successfully from traumatic events or episodes" (Benard, 1993). Allusions to resilient children are most accurately interpreted as implying a two-dimensional characterisation that encompasses aspects of the children's life circumstances and evidence of positive adaptation among these children across one or more domains of functioning (Luthar *et al.*, 2000).

2.9   SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

The aim of this chapter was to give a comprehensive overview of the contexts and concepts, theories, issues and challenges that are considered to be important in order to explore the resilient attributes of youth in a high-risk community.

The socio-political context in which many previously disadvantaged South African youths are growing up in is not an environment that engenders an ability to cope well with adversity and stress. Indeed, this environment may have a negative effect on their growth and development. In relation to this, many youths are growing up in poor environments. Numerous studies have been conducted that demonstrate the negative effect that growing up in poverty has on youths and on their families, especially on their ability to cope with stress. The concept of adolescence and the developmental tasks and challenges that adolescents may face in their development were discussed. This discussion highlighted the fact that this particular developmental stage is fraught with challenges and difficulties and that, if particular factors are not in place, youth can be placed at risk. The effects of living in a high-risk community were detailed; particular attention was given to the effects of socio-economic status and poverty. It emerged that living in a high-risk community and that the effects of poverty have a significant impact on the behaviour of youth and on their ability to cope with difficulties. In fact, the socio-political context, living in poverty and particular developmental challenges can place youth at risk.

In order to conceptualise the concept of resilience, an overview was given of resilience research to date, with particular emphasis on the attributes of resilience. What materialised from this review of literature is that resilience is not an individual trait but rather a dynamic process involving interactions among various domains and factors (individual, family and community factors). Moreover, resilience is not an absolute but can fluctuate across an individual's lifespan. Finally, it was maintained that resilience is, in fact, an ordinary phenomenon and not an extraordinary response to a situation.

Bearing this information in mind in order to explore the resilient attributes of youth in a high-risk community, the focus was on exploring what youths consider to be the most significant challenges within their community, how youths describe their coping strategies in dealing with challenges and what supports youths in a high-risk community in maintaining their positive lifestyle.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

3.1   INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to explore the resilient attributes of youth in a high-risk community. In this chapter, the following will be discussed: The research design underpinning this study and the processes used for site selection, the gaining of access to the site and sampling as well as the methods used for data collection and data analysis. Finally, the issues of validity and reliability, researcher bias as well as ethical considerations will be addressed.

3.2   RESEARCH PARADIGMS

A paradigm is a world view, a way of thinking about and making sense of the complexities of the real world (Patton, 2002). A paradigm, says Neuman (2000), is a basic orientation to theory or research. Usher (1996) argues that all research is based on an epistemology, although it is not always made explicit. Epistemology is the study of how knowledge is constructed about the world, who constructs it and what criteria are used to create meaning and methodology (Usher, 1996). Creswell (1994) says that there are two main paradigms for study: qualitative and quantitative. Seale (1999) refers to these paradigms as "guiding ideals" and Merriam (1998) refers to them as "philosophical orientations". The quantitative paradigm is termed the traditional, the positivist, the experimental or the empiricist paradigm and the qualitative paradigm is termed the constructivist or naturalistic approach, the interpretive approach or the postpositivist or postmodern perspective (Creswell, 1994). Similarly, Usher (1996) and Neuman (2000) divide these paradigms, or ways of knowing the world, into three types: positivism/empiricism, hermeneutism/interpretivism and critical theory.

Positivism sees social science as an organised method for combining deductive logic with precise empirical observations of individual behaviour in order to discover and confirm a set of probabilistic causal laws that can be used to predict general patterns of human activity (Neuman, 2000, p. 66). The assumptions underlying the positivist epistemology are that the world exists independently of "knowers" and that it is objective (Usher, 1996). Reality is viewed as objective and independent of the researcher (Creswell, 1994, p. 4). Positivists, says Mouton (1998), believe that there are enough similarities in the behaviour of all beings to justify the pursuit of a similar epistemology and methodology in all sciences. The goal of research based on positivist

epistemology is to develop general and universal laws that explain the world (Usher, 1996; Creswell, 1994).

The hermeneutical/interpretivist epistemology argues that, in social research, knowledge is not concerned with generalisation, prediction and control, as in positivism, but rather with interpretation, meaning and illumination (Usher, 1996). According to Mouton (1998), constructivists, interpretivists and phenomenologists believe that the differences between the social world and the natural world are so fundamental that there can be no basis for the use of the same methods and techniques in the human sciences. Interpretive social science criticises positivism for failing to deal with the meanings of real people and their capacity to think and feel and for ignoring the social context (Neuman, 2000). Within this paradigm, reality is seen as subjective and is constructed by the individuals involved in the research (Creswell, 1994). Furthermore, this epistemology assumes that all human action is meaningful and, consequently, should be understood within the context of social practices (Usher, 1996). An interpretive scheme or framework helps researchers to make sense of what they are researching; human action is given meaning through these frameworks (Ungar, 1996). The interpretive approach is the systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds (Neuman, 2000).

Critical theory challenges both the positivist and interpretivist traditions of social research. It has criticised positivist social science as being narrow, anti-democratic and non-humanist in its use of reason and the interpretivist approach as being too subjective and relativist (Neuman, 2000). The term "critical" here refers to the detecting and unmasking of beliefs and practices that limit human freedom, justice and democracy (Usher, 1996). In the critical-theory tradition, research is not confined to unmasking or consciousness-raising but is also about taking action to change situations (Usher, 1996). From this perspective, social science is seen as a critical process of inquiry that goes beyond surface illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world in order to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves (Neuman, 2000).

3.3   RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design is an exposition or plan of how a researcher plans to structure a research problem that has been formulated (Mouton, 1998). Creswell (1994) notes that the design of a study begins with the selection of a topic and a paradigm. For this study, a basic interpretive qualitative research design was selected. This research design seemed to be the most appropriate in terms of the nature and aims of this study, as, according to Merriam (2002), a basic interpretive stance is particularly

suitable if one's primary interest is in understanding a phenomenon. In this case, the aim of this study is to understand the resilient attributes of youth living in a high-risk community.

3.3.1 Qualitative research

Punch (2005, p. 134) asserts that there are two main perspectives that inform contemporary qualitative research: feminism and post-modernism. Feminism, Punch (2005) says, stresses the role of power in research, especially in the traditional hierarchical relationship between the researcher and the researched. Punch (2005) continues by saying that feminism often has emancipation as its goal. A central idea in post-modernism is the disbelief in and debunking of all "grand narratives" or "metanarratives", the supposedly universal, absolute or ultimate truths that are used to legitimise various social, religious or political projects. Foucault (in Punch, 2005) states that, in post-modern thinking, reality is a text that is subject to multiple interpretations, multiple readings and multiple uses. Knowledge is not at all disinterested but is inextricably bound with power. Post-modernism emphasises the way in which we create our worlds by means of language (Punch, 2005).

Qualitative research aims to understand the nature of a setting and what it means for participants in that setting. Merriam (1998) notes that a key philosophical assumption underlying qualitative research is the notion that reality is constructed by individuals interacting with their environment. According to Merriam (1998), qualitative research seeks to answer questions about people: what their lives are like, what is going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like to them. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 71) describe the primary goal of studies using qualitative research as "describing and understanding rather than explaining human behaviour." A major goal of qualitative research is the accurate identification of the "indigenous" concepts or conceptualisations of the subjects being investigated (Mouton, 1998, p. 130). Creswell (1994, p. 2) defines a qualitative study as "an inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducted in a natural setting". Qualitative research is designed to build concepts, hypotheses and theories inductively rather than to test them (Merriam, 1998). Creswell (2003) reminds us that, during study, qualitative researchers are open to new interpretations, new information and challenges to their predictions.

Silverman (2000) suggests that the methods used in qualitative research provide a more encompassing understanding of social phenomena than would be obtained from purely quantitative data. Some positive characteristics of qualitative research are, according to Silverman (2000), that it includes observations of everyday situations and that the researcher attempts to understand people in terms of their own definition of their world. Furthermore, Babbie and Mouton (2001) note that qualitative researchers always attempt to study human action from the perspective of the social

actors themselves. The essential characteristics of all qualitative research are that: the goal is to elicit understanding and meaning, the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis, fieldwork is used, there is an inductive orientation to analysis and the findings are richly descriptive (Merriam, 1998).

Authors such as Merriam (2002) and Scott (1996a) state that many approaches, paradigms, schools and movements are encompassed within what is broadly termed qualitative research. According to Creswell (1994), these vary in terms of the ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions on which they are based. In the selection of a research paradigm for this study, the point by Creswell (1994) that the nature of a problem is one of the criteria to be considered in such selection was taken into account.

A qualitative research design was selected. Morse and Richards (2002) state that qualitative research methods are the most suitable methods in a number of cases. One of these cases is when the purpose of research is to learn from participants in a setting or process how *they* experience it, what the meanings are that *they* put to it and how *they* interpret what they experience. Furthermore, Morse and Richards (2002) emphasise the importance of the fit between the research question and the research method. In this case, the research questions are: What do the youths consider the most significant challenges within their community? How do the youths describe their coping strategies in dealing with challenges? What supports the youths in a high-risk community in maintaining their positive lifestyle? It is clear that a qualitative research design, with its focus on subjective knowledge and the generation of understanding and meaning from a contextual perspective, is the most suitable design to use for this study.

3.3.2   Basic interpretive qualitative research

The type of qualitative research design that is used is a basic interpretive study. Gubrium and Holstein (in Denzin & Lincoln, 2003) describe interpretive practice as a practice that engages both the "hows" and the "whats" of social reality; it is centred both in how people methodically construct their experiences and their worlds and in the configurations of meaning and institutional life that inform and shape their reality-constituting activity. According to Merriam (2002), researchers conducting a basic interpretive study would be interested in: how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds and what meanings they attribute to their experiences. Rossman and Rallis (1998, p. 35) concur, saying that interpretive research typically tries to understand the social world from the perspective of the individual experience; the locus of understanding shifts from the positivist's focus on the objective observer to an interest in subjective world views. Learning how individuals experience and interact with their social world – the meaning that it has for them – is considered an interpretive qualitative approach (Merriam, 2002). Merriam (1998) explains this type

of study as seeking to discover and understand a phenomenon or process, or the perspectives and world views of the people involved. In this study, the aim is to gain a contextual understanding of the resilient attributes of youth in a high-risk community in order to contribute to the development of effective intervention and support programmes.

The qualitative interpretive approach is underpinned by the constructionist paradigm. Merriam (2002, p. 37) states that "constructionism underlies interpretative qualitative study". Donald *et al.* (2002, p. 41) explain constructionism as a view that sees knowledge as actively constructed (by individuals, groups and societies) and not simply as transferred. Gergen (2003, p. 15) says that social constructionist enquiry is concerned principally with explicating the process by which people come to describe, explain or otherwise account for the world that they live in. Gergen offers an explanation of social constructionism that is appealing in the sense that it gives a clear perspective on the value of this perspective, particularly within the field of research and psychology:

> It begins with radical doubt in the taken-for-granted world and in a special way acts as a form of social criticism. Constructionism asks one to suspend belief that commonly accepted categories or understandings receive their warrant through observation. Thus, it invites one to challenge the objective basis of conventional knowledge (1985, p. 267).

This constructionist paradigm and the use of a basic interpretive research design require a researcher to ask questions and to look a little more deeply than just on the surface; in fact, it requires the researcher to engage with the research participants from a position of "not knowing" and to respect the fact that they are the keepers of their knowledge.

Merriam summarises the process of a basic interpretive qualitative study:

> The researcher seeks to discover and understand a phenomenon, a process, the perspectives and worldviews of the people involved. Data is collected through interviews, observations or document analysis. This data is then inductively analyzed to identify recurring patterns or common themes that cut across the data. A rich, descriptive account of the findings is presented and discussed, using references to the literature that framed the study initially (2002, p. 7).

3.3.3 Qualitative research: Implications for researching resilience

As this study uses a qualitative research design, it is important to understand the implications of this research method in the research of resilience. Ungar (2003b) suggests that qualitative methods can make a substantial contribution to how we understand the construct of resilience. He notes that developments in the field of qualitative research have been driven in large part by researchers needing to account for the complexity of people's experiences and relationships with one another embedded in social and political contexts (Ungar, 2003b). Ungar (2003b) claims that qualitative

methods are useful in five ways: they are well suited to the discovery of the unnamed protective processes relevant to the lived experience of research participants, they provide thick descriptions of phenomena in very specific contexts, they elicit and add power to minority voices that account for unique localised definitions of positive outcomes, they promote tolerance for these localised constructions by avoiding generalisation but facilitating the transferability of results, and they require researchers to account for their biased standpoints.

A characteristic of qualitative research is that it focuses on context. In the case of resilience, qualitative research celebrates the highly individual and contextual specificity of the solutions that at-risk populations find to cope with high-risk environments (Ungar, 2003b, p. 93). Furthermore, the methods used by qualitative researchers exemplify a common belief that they can provide a "deeper" understanding of social phenomena than would be obtained from purely quantitative data (Silverman, 2000, p. 89). It would seem that a qualitative research design is well suited to the study of resilience and that, in addition, a number of the challenges of studying resilience that were discussed above seem to be overcome by the use of qualitative research.

3.3.4   Setting: Selection and access

It is essential that the setting is one that allows for the opportunity to "engage with the problem" (Erlandson, 1993). It is therefore crucial that the research site is a high-risk community and that it is accessible in terms of both location and the willingness of the community to participate in the study. A community on the Cape Flats was identified as suitable. This community was selected for three reasons: firstly, it was close to the researcher's university, which allowed for quick and easy access, secondly, it was a high-risk community with significant levels of poverty and violence and, thirdly, a number of community projects were being run through Stellenbosch University, which helped to facilitate entry, via key informants, to the community. The facts that follow create a clear picture of a high-risk community in which the inhabitants are exposed to multiple risks and stressors.

The selected community is situated on the outskirts of Cape Town. It was established in 1989 as an integrated service land project (ISLP) for "coloureds" and "blacks". According to Census (2001), 73.29% of the population is coloured and 25.55% is black. The approximate population is between 25 000 and 92 000 inhabitants. The area is subdivided into five sections: the first three sections are predominantly "coloured", the fourth section is inhabited by both "coloureds" and "blacks" and the fifth section is predominantly "black". The main languages are Afrikaans and Xhosa (Adonis et al., 2000). In this community, unemployment is high and poverty is rife. According to Census (2001), of the economically active people between 15 years and 65 years, 43.71% are unemployed and the majority of the labour force is involved in blue-collar work: 27.35% in elementary occupations and

19.28% in craft and related-trades work. The income of 66.17% of the working population in the area is between R0 to R1 600 per month (Census, 2001). Many of the youth in this area are exposed to elements such as gangsterism, substance abuse, crime and domestic violence. Statistics from the South African Police Service (Crime Information Analysis Centre, 2001/2002-2004/2005) show that, in 2004/2005 in this community, there were 484 incidents of drug-related crime, 1 096 burglaries at residential premises, 35 culpable homicides, 43 incidences of the neglect and ill-treatment of children, 107 indecent assaults, 379 common robberies, 1 000 indecent assaults, 886 assaults with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm, 100 attempted murders, 184 rapes and 73 murders.

A community situation analysis conducted by Adonis *et al.* through the University of the Western Cape highlighted the following priorities for this area:

> The alleviation of poverty and unemployment, a support group for senior citizens and a service centre for the aged, to sensitise the youth to the needs of the community specifically the aged, the importance of sexuality education, for parents to receive lifeskills (parenting), and to increase the security and safety in the area. Accountable policing needs to be in place (management), to draw in police forum and organisations who have an important role to play in the development of the community and to acknowledge the importance of involving churches in community development as churches attract great numbers therefore they should be more involved (2000).

In order to gain access to this community, a key informant was identified. This gentleman, Mr Wessels (a pseudonym), already had contact with university personnel via another programme being run in the community. According to Krathwohl (1993, p. 326), key informants are selected for their sensitivity, knowledge and insights into a situation, their willingness to talk about the situation and their ability to help gain access to new situations. A meeting was arranged at the home of Mr Wessels, to which he invited Ms Walsh (a pseudonym), who was also very involved in the community. The purpose and rationale of this research were explained. They appeared excited about the project. They both felt that it was essential that "something was done to help the young people" and they seemed pleased that outsiders were interested in their community. They mentioned that most of the young people in their community attended one of the two local high schools but that, often because of poverty, gangsterism and substance abuse, they were at risk. It was decided that we would meet with the headmasters of the high schools in order to explain our research and gain access to participants.

3.3.5   Population and sampling

To define the population, a researcher specifies the unit being sampled, the geographical location and the temporal boundaries of populations (Neuman, 2000). The population for this study is youths

between the ages of 14 and 19 who live within this high-risk community and who are considered by the community, as represented by the key informants, to be resilient.

In order to identify youth to be interviewed, purposive sampling was used. Purposive sampling is a type of non-probability sampling in which individuals who will "put the ideas to the test" are chosen deliberately (Krathwohl, 1993, p. 138). Patton (2002) explains purposive sampling as a focus on the selection of information-rich cases, the study of which will illuminate the questions under consideration. According to Bernard (2000), in purposive sampling, you decide on the purpose that you want the informants to have and you then go out and find such purpose. Krathwohl (1993) elaborates, saying that this type of sampling involves some type of conceptualisation, often based on demographic data, of the characteristics of the target population that could critically influence what is being studied. Merriam (2002) states that, in qualitative research, the natural and the subjective components of the sample are emphasised. In qualitative research, a sample is selected on purpose to yield the most information about the phenomenon of interest. Criteria are usually specified for selection (Merriam, 2002). The type of purposive sampling that will be used is what Merriam (1998) and Patton (1987) call snowball or chain sampling. This strategy involves asking each participant or group of participants to refer you to other participants (Merriam, 1998).

Key informants (local people who have something important to say about the youth in their community) identify the youth participants to be interviewed. Patton (2002) explains key informants as people who are particularly knowledgeable about the inquiry setting and who are articulate about their knowledge. The use of key informants is important in that the informants define and select the youths who are accessible. The community itself therefore decides which youths are considered resilient. Through a discussion with the key informants, it was decided that youth participants would be chosen because of their different experiences of risk, the strengths that they show and their coping strategies. Mr Wessels and Ms Walsh identified a group of youths of the right age (moving from childhood to adulthood), who were handling life's problems in different ways. They had all faced a number of common problems, such as having seen violence and having lived in a dangerous community.

The sample included six young people between the ages of 14 and 19 who were considered by the key informants as young people who were successful within their community. The minimum age of 14 was set, as this is about the age that most young people begin their high-school career and close to the time when they are no longer legally required to be in formal education. The maximum age of 20 was set, as 21 is the age when youths are commonly seen to be entering adulthood. Of the six participants, four were male and two were female.

Participants were informed that they would be participating in an interview and to talk about their lives. It was made clear that the information that they shared would remain confidential and that the purpose of this study was to gain an understanding of their experiences of living in their community. They were free at any time to stop the process and not to answer a question if it made them feel uncomfortable. It was explained that participation in this study was voluntary and that those who were willing to participate were required to have a consent form signed.

3.4   RESEARCH METHODS

Research methods and techniques are task-specific and the task is defined by the research goal. Furthermore, it is essential that the techniques are appropriate for the task (Mouton, 1998, p. 38). In this case, the aim is to explore the resilient attributes of youth living in a high-risk community. Krathwohl (1993) explains that qualitative methods are inductive, in other words they let the problem emerge from the data or they remain open to interpretations of the problem that are different from those initially held; they are used to explore a particular point of view in explaining human behaviour. Methods refer to the instruments by which data are collected (Scott, 1996, p. 61). The specific research methods that were employed in this study are individual interviews, a focus-group interview, literature study and observations.

3.4.1   Methods of data collection

A first principle in data collection is that the inclusion of multiple sources of data in a research project is likely to increase the reliability of findings, the underlying assumption being that, because various methods complement each other, their respective shortcomings can be balanced out (Mouton, 1998). Merriam (2002) concurs, stating that researchers are encouraged to use more than one method of data collection, as multiple methods enhance the validity of findings. Merriam (1998) says that qualitative inquiry, because it focuses on meaning in context, needs methods of data collection that are sensitive to the underlying meaning when data are gathered and interpreted. In this study, the methods of collecting data were individual interviews, a focus-group interview, observations and a literature study.

A number of methodological criteria were considered during the process of data collection. Mouton (1998) says that these should include the suspension of personal biases, the systematic and accurate recording of observations, the establishment of trust and of a rapport with interviewees and the creation of optimal conditions in terms of location or setting for the collection of data. All interviews were recorded and then transcribed and observation notes were kept. In order for this investigation to be ethically sound, all interviews were anonymous in order to protect the privacy of the individuals involved.

3.4.1.1   *Individual interviews*

According to Silverman (2000), the features of an interview, as a qualitative research method, are that it is relatively unstructured and open-ended, with the aim of understanding the experience. The interview, says Punch (2005), is a good way of assessing people's perceptions, meanings and definitions of situations and constructions of reality. In addition, Bernard (2000) suggests that each interview be considered a unique situation and that the researcher's responses should be dictated by intuition: sometimes your responses may need to be clinical and at other times less so, depending on what the respondent needs you to say. There are times when the participant may share personal information and it is not appropriate to respond clinically.

Interviews are held with the aim of learning more about a specific topic. These "conversations" are guided by the research questions. To help the interviews under discussion stay focused, use was made of an interview guide; this was a list of open-ended questions that was set up prior to the interviews. It is important to emphasise though that it was a guide only and that the interviews were fluid discussions, where at times various topics were raised that deserved further exploration. Merriam (2002) says that the semi-structured interview contains a mix of more or less structured questions. If only one opportunity to interview a person exists, semi-structured interviewing is best (Bernard, 2000).

The interview questions used were adapted and translated into Afrikaans from the interview guide by Ungar *et al.* (2003) from the International Resilience Project, which uses different types of research methods to examine what helps children and youths cope with the many challenges that they face in different multicultural settings. A written interview protocol was set up as an interview guide. The interview "catalyst questions" broadly covered themes relating to the attributes of resilience: individual, interpersonal, family, community and cultural. See Appendix B for the interview "catalyst questions".

Data were collected through individual interviews that lasted approximately 90 minutes. Participants were invited to take part in an interview where they were asked to share their experiences of growing up in their community. Two females and four males were individually interviewed with the use of the "catalyst questions". Four of the six interviews were conducted in Afrikaans and the remaining two were conducted in English. All the interviews were taped and transcribed. The interviews took place over a two-month period between August and September 2004.

To set the participants at ease and to create a relaxed and open environment, I introduced myself and explained a little bit about the purpose of the discussion. I also explained that my first language was English and that we would do the interview in Afrikaans; they could feel free to ask me to

repeat a question or explain it a little more. This interaction, I felt, put the participants and me on a more relaxed footing, as I was at a slight "disadvantage" in terms of language.

3.4.1.2 *Focus-group interview*

In order to broaden and deepen the information gained from the individual interviews, a focus-group interview was also conducted. Focus-groups interviews encourage people to sit together and to talk about the challenges that they face either individually or collectively. This method of data collection can be explained as a type of group interview with a small group of individuals to examine in detail how the group members think and feel about a topic (Johnson, 2000). According to Ungar (2003), individual interviews access individual stories but miss cultural or community issues. The group-interview method was chosen, as it allows for flexibility and as it offered an opportunity to understand the experiences, attitudes and feelings that surround the participants' experience of resilience. The researcher acted as the moderator and led the discussion with the participants. The role of the researcher changes in a group interview, the researcher functioning more as a facilitator and less as an interviewer (Punch, 2005). This method allowed for the discovery of any patterns or themes surrounding the participants' experiences of the attributes of youth resilience.

Focus groups typically have six to 12 members, plus a moderator. Bernard (2000) suggests that smaller groups are better when you are trying to get really in-depth discussions going about sensitive issues but warns that, if a group is too small, it can be dominated by one or two members of the group. Well-facilitated group interaction, however, can assist in bringing aspects of a situation to the surface that might otherwise not have been exposed. The group situation can also stimulate people to be explicit about their views, perceptions, motives and reasons (Punch, 2005).

The focus-group interview took place at Stellenbosch University in September 2004. The participants were collected from their community and brought to Stellenbosch by the researcher. There were four boys and one girl; unfortunately, Rose was unable to attend this meeting. This was a pity, as she seemed to have a lot to say about her community and about the challenges of growing up there. Walter seemed to "take over" and the facilitator had to work hard in order for the other members of the group to have a say.

3.4.1.3 *Observations*

Qualitative approaches to observation are generally unstructured. The researcher does not use predetermined categories and classifications but makes observations in a more natural and open-ended way. The logic here is that categories and concepts for describing and analysing

observational data emerge later in the research, during analysis, rather than being brought to the research or being imposed on the data from the start (Punch, 2005). Mouton explains as follows:

> We must constantly remind ourselves that the human senses are our "first-order" measuring instruments. On the basis of our visual, auditory and tactile observations and perceptions we begin to classify responses, people, actions and events. But, because we aim for truthful representations of the social world, we must supplement our observations with other instruments (1998, p. 67).

Rossman and Rallis (1998) note that observations are fundamental to all qualitative inquiry; it takes the researcher inside the setting and helps the researcher to discover complexity in social settings by being there. Furthermore, observations can either be tightly prefigured or be a more holistic description of events and activities (Rossman & Rallis, 1998).

Informal observations were noted about the community, the setting and the interaction between the participants. This information was used to enrich and add depth to the data gathered in the individual and focus-group interviews. The individual and focus interviews are the primary source of data; the data from the observations are supplementary.

3.4.1.4   *Literature study*

According to Merriam (2002), in qualitative research, the problem of the study must be situated in literature. Merriam (2002) suggests that researchers need to orientate themselves in terms of the theoretical framework where the topic is anchored, in terms of what they already know about the phenomenon and in terms of what the gap in their knowledge is. Furthermore, Mouton (2004) states that the importance of a literature study lies not simply in reviewing literature but in learning from other scholars about how they have theorised and conceptualised on issues, what they have found empirically, which methods they have used and to what effect. Researchers use scholarly literature in a study to present the results of similar studies, to relate the current study to the ongoing dialogue in literature and to provide a framework for comparing the results of a study with those of other studies (Creswell, 1994, p. 37). The idea is to "come out of a literature study with a more definitive notion about the area, the important variables, how they are interrelated, what the good questions are and what research methods have been used" (Krathwohl, 1993, p. 98).

In order to orientate myself and this exploration of the resilient attributes of youth in a high-risk community, I included a description of the socio-political circumstances in South Africa in Chapter 2 of this thesis in an effort to place this study within a context. I then discussed adolescent development and its impact on resilience, I explored the concept of high-risk communities and of poverty and the influence that this has on youth and, finally, I elucidated the concept of resilience by: tracing the history of resilience, exploring the current theories concerning resilience and at-risk

youth, and looking at related studies, particularly of resilient youth living in high-risk communities. In conclusion, I attempted to place the study within the context of present research in this field.

3.5   DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis, says Merriam (2002), is essentially an inductive strategy. The data from the individual interviews, the focus-group interview and the observations were analysed by comparing one unit of data with another unit of data and so on, while looking for common patterns across the data. These patterns were given codes and refined and adjusted as the analysis proceeded. Identifying the main elements in your data according to a theoretical scheme should be only the first stage of your data analysis. By examining how these elements are linked together, you can bring out the active work by both the interviewer and the interviewee (Silverman, 2000). During data analysis, information was organised into themes. The themes were linked with information from the literature study in order for a deeper understanding to be gained about the participants' experiences of resilience. According to Silverman (2000), a researcher should not be concerned if the data that have been collected are considered "partial"; rather, the researcher should ensure that they do not claim to give the "whole picture" and should focus on thoroughly studying the information gathered. According to Mouton (1998), the overall coherence and meaning of data are more important than the specific meanings of their parts. This leads to the use of methods of data analysis that are more holistic, synthetic and interpretive (Mouton, 1998). He continues by saying that qualitative data analysis focuses on: the contextual understanding of social action rather than explaining it and on a contextually valid account of social life rather than on formally generalisable explanations.

According to Mouton (1998), the analysis is complete when you feel that you can share with others what your interpretation means for policy making, for theory and for understanding the social and political world. A rich descriptive account of findings will be presented and discussed. The aim is to describe the participants' specific experience in rich detail and to identify essential characteristics that describe the individuals' experiences across their different contexts within the field of youth resilience.

3.6   RESEARCHER BIAS

Merriam (2002) warns that a researcher, being a human being, has a number of shortcomings and biases that might impact a study. She advises that, rather than trying to eliminate these biases or subjective viewpoints, it is important to identify them and to monitor them as to how they may be shaping the collection and interpretation of data. Similarly, Lewis *et al.* (2003) caution that, when working with people from geographic regions that are different from your own, it is important to

reflect on possible stereotypes and biases that you may have developed about such people and regions. This is particularly important when working with people who use a different dialect or language in interpersonal communications. Studies on the influence of a research setting have shown that a researcher's impressions of a participant's home or place of work frequently lead to significant data bias (Mouton, 1998). In this case, I was conducting research in a community that was different from my own. I was brought up in a white middle-class community and, entering this predominantly "coloured" and "black" community that, in terms of culture and socio-economic status, is very different from my own, brought along with it some entrenched fears and prejudices. Initially, when visiting this community, I felt worried about my safety and the safety of my possessions. At times, I felt quite unsure of myself and the fact that Afrikaans, the main language in the community, is my second language added to my feelings of insecurity. There were times when I felt ashamed about my relative economic stability compared to that of the participants in this study. I monitored and attempted to keep these issues in check by discussing them with a colleague.

3.7 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

The pursuit of objectivity in research is based on taking decisions and making judgements to avoid certain pitfalls that would lead to bias and error (Mouton, 1998). According to Mouton (1998), some of these pitfalls or "threats" to objectivity and validity would include vague research statements, biased instruments, biased sampling, samples that are too small and conclusions that are not supported by evidence. Research as the pursuit of "valid knowledge" is, according to Mouton (1998), the search for truth. He (1998) maintains that the endless pursuit of true knowledge is an "elusive ideal". Mouton discusses what he calls ontological constraints; these are features of the "object of the study". He says that, because social actions and events take place in open systems, it is impossible to predict future behaviour (Mouton, 1998, p. 29). A response to this is a statement by Ungar (2003b, p. 93) that, "because qualitative research seeks to describe, or explain, a phenomenon grounded in people's experiences, studies strive to bolster the transferability, not generalizability of their findings."

Denzin and Lincoln (2003) explain that internal validity is the degree to which findings correctly map the phenomenon in question and that external validity is the degree to which findings can be generalised to other settings similar to the one in which the study occurred. Reliability is the extent to which findings can be replicated or reproduced by another inquirer and objectivity is the extent to which findings are free from bias. According to Mouton (1998), reliability demands consistency over time. In other words, reliability refers to the fact that different research participants being tested by the same instrument at different times should respond identically to the instrument. One of

the weaknesses of qualitative research is that data are less easily generalised (Patton, 2002) as a result of studying a particular group in a particular community or having a contextual focus.

The object of data collection is to produce reliable data. This means, according to Mouton (1998), that such data are consistent over time and place. However, he cautions that the very fact that human beings are being studied leads to atypical behaviour. This study has taken cognisance of advice by Ungar (2003b) that data are most credible when they reflect the "voices" of participants. With this approach, a deeper description of a particular reality construction is more likely to produce data that reflect the standpoints of marginalised people and their less-privileged social discourses (Ungar, 2003b).

Triangulation refers to the attempt to get a "true" fix on a situation by combining different ways of looking at data (Silverman, 2000, p. 177). Babbie and Mouton (2001) explain that triangulation or the use of multiple methods is a plan of action that raises sociologists above the personal biases that stem from single methodologies. By combining methods and investigators in the same study, observers can partially overcome the deficiencies that arise from one investigator or method (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). In this study, multiple methods of data collection were used.

Resilience research has the potential to inform the theory of health, health policy and practical interventions built on what is already working in the lives of children and youths coping with adversity (Ungar, 2003). However, in any research effort, the rights of the community and the participants must be considered and respected.
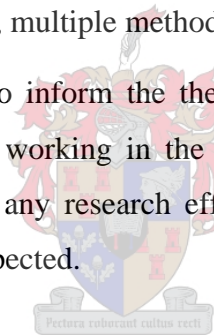
3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical problems are inevitable in qualitative research (Krathwohl, 1993). Scott explains as follows:

> Hermeneutical/interpretive researchers argue that data collection is a social activity, with the researchers in the field being confronted by methodological dilemmas the solutions to which determine the data that are collected. Those fieldwork dilemmas involve researchers making decisions about how they should conduct themselves and are therefore concerned with the rights and responsibilities of both researcher and researched (1996, p. 68).

Mouton (1998) states that research ethics are concerned with the protection of the rights and interests of research participants. The rules of research conduct regulate the behaviour of social scientists and ensure the protection of the rights of participants. These rights include the right to privacy, informed consent and confidentiality (Mouton, 1998). As has been discussed, these ethical considerations were taken into account and the participants' right to privacy was respected, the information that they shared was treated confidentially and all the participants gave informed consent.

The following factors were considered in order to ensure that this study was conducted ethically: informed consent, confidentiality, privacy and access to the data.

Informed consent is particularly important when: there is the possibility of risk, minors are involved, privacy may be invaded and potentially distasteful self-knowledge may result from participation (Krathwohl, 1993). In addition, Mouton (2004) advises that the aims of the research should be explained to the participants as clearly as possible. All the participants where therefore given a letter in which the aims of the study were explained and the parents or a legal guardian had to sign consent to the study if the participant was under the age of 18. This information was also explained verbally.

Confidentiality refers to the control of access to information; ensuring confidentiality of data is good practice (Krathwohl, 1993). Data should be kept confidential so that individuals and communities cannot be identified in ways that may be harmful (Krathwohl, 1993). Informants have the right to remain anonymous. This right should be respected both where it has been promised explicitly and where no clear understanding to the contrary has been reached (Mouton, 2004). The participants' right to confidentiality and anonymity was explained. All participants chose pseudonyms and no reference has been made to the name of their community in this report.

The right to privacy is expressed in an individual's right to refuse to be interviewed, to refuse to answer any question and to be interviewed at times convenient to that individual (Mouton, 2004). In the solicitation of individual and personal stories, Ungar (2003) cautions that there is a need in some contexts to pay attention to the dangers of personal disclosure. This was at the forefront of my mind and there was, in fact, disclosure of a personal nature. This was referred to the research supervisor, who is also a registered psychologist. Privacy refers to a person's interest in controlling boundaries between self and others (Krathwohl, 1993). This issue was explained before the participants agreed to take part and before both the individual and focus-group interviews.

In terms of the ownership of data, it has become important for researchers to keep their data so that others may use them to check their findings (Krathwohl, 1993). All transcriptions and observation notes have been kept. However, Krathwohl (1993) cautions that this can compromise the confidentiality of the data.

3.9   SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

This chapter has provided a detailed description of the research process. An overview of the research paradigm that underpins this study was given, as was a discussion on the nature of basic interpretive qualitative research and its suitability for the study. A thorough description of the data collection process was presented, along with the details of how the setting and sample were

selected. An explanation of the researcher's biases was offered and an account of the data analysis process was given. Finally, the issues of validity, reliability and ethical considerations were discussed.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to explain clearly the process employed to analyse the data and then to present the findings that resulted from this process of analysis. Accordingly, this chapter will serve to introduce the procedure for analysis and will demonstrate how systematic the analysis is. In addition, the manner in which the codes, categories and core categories were derived from the data will be revealed.

To begin with, the way in which the data were collected, organised and analysed will be explained. A description of the participants will then be given, followed by the findings, which will be presented by relating the core categories to the research questions.

4.2 DATA COLLECTION

Data were collected through six semi-structured individual interviews, a focus-group interview, observations and a literature study. All the individual interviews were conducted in the community at the local church hall and the focus-group interview was conducted at Stellenbosch University. The individual interviews took approximately an hour and a half and the focus-group interview took approximately two hours. All the interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. A detailed description of this process is provided in Chapter 3.

4.3 DATA ORGANISATION

The six individual interviews and the focus-group interview were taped and transcribed. The participants' pseudonyms and the dates of the interviews were written both on the tapes and on the copies of the transcribed interviews. Copies were made of the transcribed interviews and were safely stored. The second copy was used in the coding process. Notes of the observations were kept and were stored with the copies of the transcribed interviews. Observations pertaining to a particular participant were stored with that person's interview data.

4.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis is a complex process that involves moving back and forth between concrete bits of data and abstract concepts, between inductive and deductive reasoning and between description and interpretation (Merriam, 1998). In attempting to understand the meaning that a phenomenon holds

for those involved, qualitative researchers build towards theory from observations and intuitive understanding develops from being in the field (Merriam, 2002). Preparing data for analysis is a process of transformation, although ideally this process keeps the data as close to the actual events as possible (Morse & Richards, 2002). According to Merriam:

> In basic interpretive research the analysis of data involves identifying recurring patterns that cut through the data. Findings are a mix of these recurring patterns supported by the data from which they were derived. The overall interpretation will be the researcher's understanding, mediated by his or her particular disciplinary perspective, of the participant's understanding of the phenomenon of interest. (2002, p. 38)

Methods of data analysis need to be systematic, disciplined and able to be seen and described (Punch, 2005). The type of data analysis that is used is what Merriam (1998) and Patton (1987) call content analysis.

4.4.1 Content analysis

In content analysis, the content is analysed qualitatively for themes and recurring patterns of meaning (Merriam, 1998). Patton (1997) explains that the analyst looks for quotations or observations that go together, in other words that are examples of the same underlying idea, issue or concept. In qualitative content analysis, the focus is on the communication of meaning (Merriam, 1998). The process involves the simultaneous coding of raw data and the construction of categories that capture relevant characteristics of the document's content (Merriam, 1998).

4.4.2 Coding

Coding is two simultaneous activities: the reduction of mechanical data and the analytic categorisation of data into themes (Neuman, 2000). Coding, states Punch (2005), is synonymous with analysis and also refers to the specific and concrete activity that starts the analysis. According to Morse and Richards (2002), the goal of coding is getting from the unstructured data ideas about what is going on in the data. It is important to remember that coding is guided by the research questions (Neuman, 2000). As such, the research questions should be reviewed while in the process of data analysis (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 1987).

Neuman (2000) explains the process of coding as reviewing the data on three occasions using a different coding each time and coding the same raw data in three phases. These phases are open coding, axial coding and selective coding.

Open coding is performed during the first pass through data. The researcher locates themes and assigns initial codes or labels in a first attempt to condense the mass of data into categories (Neuman, 2000). Merriam (1998, p. 179) explains that "the initial themes will be generated while

reading through the data. After coding a list of themes will be made. Code labels are assigned to the themes. These categories or themes are concepts that are indicated by the data and not the data itself." To begin the process, all the interviews were read through for orientation purposes and for an overall picture of the conversations. Data from two interviews were first coded; data from the four remaining interviews were then coded with the same codes. However, at times, themes arose that were new and then additional codes were created. See Table 1 in Appendix D for the open coding of the individual and focus-group interviews.

Axial coding is the "second pass" through the data, when the researcher moves towards organising ideas or themes and identifies the axis of key concepts in analysis (Neuman, 2000). During this process, the researcher looks for categories and concepts that can be grouped together (Neuman, 2000). In this stage, the main categories that have emerged from the open coding of the data are interconnected with each other (Punch, 2005). Merriam (1998) asserts that these categories are, in effect, the answers to the research questions. Making use of the codes that were derived during the open-coding process, connections were made among the data in the study. This interrelation among codes allowed for categories to be developed. See Table 2 in Appendix E for the axial coding.

Selective coding is the final pass through the data. This involves scanning the data and previous codes, looking selectively for data that illustrate themes and making comparisons and contrasts (Neuman, 2000). Punch (2005) describes this as a stage when a core category is deliberately selected. Taking into account both the categories and the research questions, core categories were created for the study that organised the categories and that provided a coherent response to the research questions.

4.5 PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS

According to Mouton (2004), a discussion of the sample and its characteristics is essential in order to understand the nature of the findings.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS:

Name	Sex	Age	Educational level	Family profile
*Steven	Male	18	In Grade 12	Is youngest child; has older sister. Lives with parents, who are married. Father is employed, mother is unemployed.
*Alan	Male	17	In Grade 11	Is youngest child; has older brother and sister. Lives with mother. Mother is employed.
*Rose	Female	17	In Grade 10	Is oldest child; has younger sister. Lives with parents, who are married. Father is employed; mother is unemployed.
*Walter	Male	19	Attained Grade 11; about to start welding course	Parents are deceased; lives with aunt and uncle. There are 4 younger children in the house. Both adults are employed.

Name	Sex	Age	Educational level	Family profile
*Amy	Female	14	In Grade 9	Is youngest child; has older brother. Lives with parents. Both parents are employed.
*Sam	Male	16	In Grade 10	Is youngest child; has older brother. Lives with parents. Father is employed and mother is unemployed.

*The names are pseudonyms.

Steven was 18 years old and in Grade 12 at a local school at the time of the interview. He presented as a shy young man who was particularly focused on his school work and on furthering his education. He spoke of his close relationship to his parents, of his strategies for keeping out of trouble and of his focus for his future. Steven often spoke of his feelings about living in this particular community. He appeared to be a young man who was in touch with his emotions and was perceptive of the feelings of others. Steven's dream was to study "social studies" because he loved people and then to travel the world and meet other young people. Steven has an older sister, who has finished school and who was working. Steven's father used to be a well-known gangster in the area but had removed himself from that life and was working. Steven's mother was unemployed.

Alan was 17 years old at the time of the interview. Ms Walsh suggested that he be interviewed as he had, for a time, been getting into trouble in the community; he had been drinking a lot and keeping company with a "bad crowd" for a while. However, he was back on track and doing well at school. Alan arrived with hair dyed red and initially seemed not keen to participate. Nonetheless, as we began talking, a delightful young man emerged who was keenly aware of his strengths and his weaknesses and who had very definite ideas about his community and about the challenges of growing up there. As an example, he shared his experience of being robbed and threatened with a gun. Alan was living with his mother and an older brother and sister. Both have finished school and both are employed. Alan was in Grade 11 at a school in the neighbouring community. It had been decided that he would attend that school, as it was safer than the local schools. Alan was dedicated to finishing school and to doing as well as he could. His dream was to work in the IT industry.

Rose was 17 years old and in Grade 10 at the time of this interview. She was living with her parents and a younger sister; her father was employed and her mother was unemployed. She was attending a school in another area. She was a dedicated Muslim and was very proud of the traditions associated with this. Rose was very open about the challenges that she was experiencing. Her home was marred by domestic violence between her parents and she attributed her failing a grade twice to this. She also shared that her father regularly abused mandrax. Rose spoke in detail about her relationship with her mother and what was helpful to her in overcoming some of the challenges in her life. Rose's dream was to become a paramedic so that she could help others.

Walter was 19 years old at the time of the interview and unemployed. He was beginning to get involved with helping young men to stay off the streets by starting a soccer club; he was also very involved with his church's youth programme. Walter was orphaned at the age of 15: his father died when he was seven and his mother when he was 15. He was living with his maternal aunt and uncle and their four children, two boys and two girls, all of whom were younger than him. He considered his aunt and uncle to be his mother and father. Walter had attended a drug rehabilitation programme and had been on the periphery of gang activity two years previously. However, he was no longer involved in these activities and, at the time of the interview, was about to start a welding course. He spoke eloquently about the challenges that youth face in his community and about the pivotal role that his relationship with God plays in helping him to live a good life.

At the time of the interview, Amy was a Grade 9 pupil at one of the bigger high schools in the area. She was living with her mother and father and her older brother. Both her parents were employed and her brother was in Grade 11. She was a vivacious young lady who expressed herself well and was definite about what she stood for. She talked openly about what it was like for her growing up in her community and about some of the challenges that she and other youths of her age were facing. She clearly expressed her love and her respect for her parents. She was also frank about her dislike of some of the things that were happening in her community. She had recently been robbed of her belongings while sitting on the school field and she still seemed to be angry and upset by this. Her goal for her future was to be lawyer. In addition, she said that she would like to help the youth in her community and to be able to play a role in her community.

Sam was 16 years old at the time of the interview and in Grade 10 at the local high school. Sam was living with his parents and older brother, who was unemployed. Sam's father was employed and his mother had stopped work in order to care for her ailing mother. Sam was fairly shy and was hesitant about opening up about some of his experiences during the individual interview; he was far more expressive in the focus-group interview. Sam's parents had both been substance abusers when he was younger but have been "clean" for many years. They were active members of their church. Sam's dream was to study computers or engineering at university.

4.6   FINDINGS

In basic interpretative qualitative research, the findings are a mix of the recurring patterns (identified during the coding process), supported by the data from which they are derived (Merriam, 2002, p. 38). Bernard (2000, p. 423) suggests that an important part of data analysis is laying out all the data in table or matrix form, as this is a potent way of communicating what is being derived

from the data. The table below offers a depiction of the core categories and of the related categories and codes that emerged from the data.

TABLE 4.1: SELECTIVE CODING

Core categories	Categories	Codes	References					
			Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
Challenges in community	Community resources	Community lacks resources	#	#	#			#
		Programmes to support youth	#	#				
	Issues concerning safety	Ineffective protection	#	#	#		#	#
		Threats to safety/dangers in community	#	#	#	#	#	#
		Unsafe in community	#	#	#	#	#	#
		Safety at school	#	#	#	#	#	#
	Barriers to community development	Economic marginalisation	#	#		#	#	
		Hopelessness in community	#	#	#	#	#	
	Negative stereotyping of youth	Youth are labelled	#	#	#		#	
		People in community accept youth's negative behaviour	#		#	#		
	Specific dangers youth face	Gangsterism in community	#	#	#	#	#	
		Youth's talents are not developed	#	#		#	#	
		Youth are sexually active		#	#		#	#
		Substance abuse	#	#	#	#	#	#
		Negative upbringing has detrimental effects	#	#	#	#	#	
Coping strategies	Strategies to protect self	Protection strategy	#	#	#	#	#	
		Limits and boundaries	#		#		#	#
		Extracurricular activities	#	#	#	#	#	#
		Doesn't draw attention to self/lives simple life	#		#			#
		Actively tries to avoid trouble	#	#	#	#		#
		Eager to get involved in new things/grasps opportunities	#	#			#	#

Core categories	Categories	Codes	References					
		NB to be physically and mentally healthy			#		#	
	Choices about friendships	Negative influence of friends	#	#	#	#	#	
		NB of choosing right friends	#	#	#	#	#	
	Attitude to others	Approach to dealing with others	#	#	#		#	#
		Care and concern for others	#	#	#	#	#	#
		Importance of respect	#	#	#	#	#	#
		If you live a good life, you're respected	#				#	
		NB to respect yourself	#					#
		Reciprocal nature of respect			#		#	#
	Future orientation	Has specific goals and aims for life	#	#	#	#	#	#
		Aim high	#		#	#		
	Work ethic	Must work hard for future/drive to succeed	#	#	#	#	#	#
		NB to stay focused	#	#	#	#	#	#
	Successful role models	Successful people serve as motivation	#	#	#	#	#	#
		Perception of success	#	#			#	
	Education	Importance of education	#	#	#	#	#	#
Individual resources	Value of friendships	Positive influence of friends	#		#		#	
		Importance of friendship/connecting with people	#				#	#
	View of family	Positive view of parent/s	#	#	#	#	#	#
	Religion	Important role of religion	#	#	#	#	#	#
		Religious beliefs	#	#	#	#	#	#
		Effect of religious beliefs	#	#	#	#	#	#
	Ability to deal with difficulties	Talk to people about problems/feelings	#	#	#	#		#
		Approach to dealing with difficulties/challenges	#	#	#		#	#
		Internal locus of control	#	#	#		#	#
	Altruistic attitude	Desire for community to become better place	#	#	#	#	#	#
		Desire to have positive effect	#	#	#	#		#
	Self-awareness/self-esteem	Know self	#	#	#		#	#
		Confidence in self	#		#	#	#	
		Importance of believing in self	#	#	#	#		#
	Personal beliefs	NB to make right decisions	#	#			#	
		Rules are important	#	#	#		#	

Core categories	Categories	Codes	References					
		In control of life and decisions made	#		#	#	#	
	Personal attributes	Positive personality characteristics	#	#	#			#
		Wants to help others	#	#			#	#
		Tries to do right thing	#	#	#		#	
		Learns from watching other people/open to learning from others	#	#	#		#	#
		Assertive	#		#	#	#	#
	Attitude to life	Excited by new opportunities	#	#				#
		Positive view of life	#	#	#	#		#
Family resources	Effective parenting	Parents provide for basic needs	#	#	#		#	#
		Parent/s or adults encourage and support	#	#	#	#	#	#
		Parent/s set rules and boundaries	#	#	#	#	#	
		Parents protect their children/concerned for them	#	#	#	#	#	#
	Family communication	Communication in family is vital	#	#	#	#	#	#
		Relationship between parent and child very NB	#	#		#	#	#
		Family shares vision/belief	#	#				#
Community resources	Support from positive adults	People in community who are concerned with youth	#		#	#		
		Influence of teachers		#	#		#	
		Has an adult/s who is supportive	#	#		#	#	

In writing up findings, Merriam (2002) makes it clear that each finding must be supported by the raw data from which the finding was derived. These data must be in the form of exact quotes from people interviewed, episodes from field observation and references from supporting documents (Merriam, 2002). In addition, Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (2004, p. 107) suggest that processed data do not have the status of "findings" until the themes have been discussed and argued to make a point and that the point to be made comes from the research questions. Similarly, Merriam (2002, p. 23) stresses that findings must be "directly responsive to the problem of the study." Therefore, a discussion of these findings will take place with specific reference to the research questions that directed this study.

4.6.1 Challenges in the community

Themes such as issues concerning safety, barriers to community development, the negative stereotyping of youth, specific dangers that the youths face in their particular community and community resources all emerged in answering the questions about what the participants consider to be the most significant challenges that they face in their community.

i. Issues concerning safety

The issue of safety was one that appeared to concern all the participants. All six spoke about the fact that their community was unsafe. They talked about people being stabbed and being shot in the streets where they lived: *"... ons hoor alweer dinges het vir dinges gesteek ... Ja nee ai die mense skiet baie die mense daar by ons."* (Walter). They also all had accounts of criminal and/or violent incidents that had happened to them or to their friends and families. It was clear that being outdoors after a certain time in the evening was risky and that even walking with certain people was risky: *"Ek was hier geskiet in my been 1996. Net oor iemand wat, wat betrokke was in 'n bende, deur saam met hom te loop tot op die hoek".* (Walter). Related to this, the participants spoke of not feeling safe in their community even while going about their daily business. Walter and Alan explained that people needed to walk in a group, as that offered some form of protection. Steven talked about the regular incidents of crime in his community: *"Ek voel nie veilig nie, want verstaan, waar ek woon is daar omtrent, sê maar elke aand word daar geskiet. Almal word gejag op die pad. Of daar word ingebreek in sekere mense se huise en ek is like, like bang veral wanneer ek gaan slaap ..."* (Steven). Amy described the experience of never really feeling safe: *"... as jy kerk toe gaan, even as jy winkel toe gaan wat oorkant die pad is, jy, loop in vrees want jy weet nie wat kan gebeur nie."* (Amy). Their concern for their safety and the fact that their community was not safe was a theme that clearly emerged from the data.

Furthermore, all the participants identified particular threats that posed a danger to them in their community. The fact that women were a target for violence was highlighted by Walter, Steven, Amy and Rose: *"Ons is baie worried oor die meisiekinders wat so gerape word."* (Walter). Related to this, it seemed that the youth of the community were the targets of some of this violence, as the participants talked about children being murdered, assaulted and just disappearing. People being robbed of their possessions while walking in their community was highlighted as a threat by everybody. The fact that, on the streets and in the buses and taxis, people were robbed of their possessions made the participants wary for their safety, as sometimes violence was used. Alan told the story of how he was threatened with a gun when a group of young men wanted his Addidas jacket and explained that if you wore "labelled" clothing you were a target: *"Jy dra miskien 'n Caterpillar. Dan sal hulle miskien jou die middag inwag. Hulle wil jou roof."* (Alan). Steven

believed that the specific dangers in his community were that "... *die dogter raak swanger van verskillende mansmens. Seuns wat inmeng met gangsters, dwelms, al die misbruik wat hulle gebruik*." A particular concern that was mentioned by all the participants was the fact that schools were not safe. The participants talked about children being robbed at school and about gangs having easy access to schools. Amy shared her and her friends' experience of being robbed at school while sitting on the school field: *"Gangsters gaan in en uit soos hulle wil. Hulle is amper soos skoolkinders daar"* (Amy). Steven noted that a large percentage of the children at his school were affliated with gangs in some way or another: *"Op skool is daar omtrent dertig tot veertig persent gangsters by ons skool"* (Steven). Gangsterism, drugs, teenage pregnancies and crimes such as theft and assault were all identified as particular threats that these participants faced in their community.

In addition, five of the participants referred to the fact that there was ineffective protection for them in their community: *"... daar gebeur eintlik niks nie want daar word dan elke dag mense dood gemaak en daar word mense gerob"* (Amy). The fact that the police service in the area was ineffective was identified as a concern, as was the need for increased security within their community: *"Ek dink dis traag van ons polisie wat nie so alles insit nie"* (Steven). Walter noted that it was essential that there be more policemen in the community: *"Ek sal daai in hoogte punt sit dat hulle sal moet nog meer polisiemanne of sekuriteit of mense wat die neighbourhood watch ..."* (Walter). Along with their feelings of being unsafe in their community and of the specific threats that were identified, their belief that the protection offered in their community was ineffective surfaced.
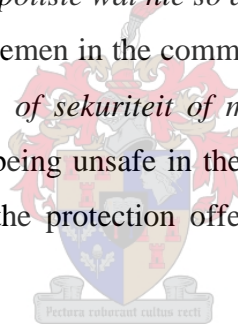
ii. Barriers to community development

Economic marginalisation and a related community attitude of hopelessness are barriers to community development. Five participants referred to several factors preventing their community from improving and developing. These factors were seen as a challenge, as they had negative effects on young people's safety and development. Four of the participants referred to economic marginalisation as a barrier to community development. The fact that poverty and unemployment were having a detrimental effect on the community was suggested: "... they have families but they don't have jobs. They're looking for jobs but they can't get jobs. Ja and then they like steal" (Sam). Alan spoke about the idea that living in poverty limited personal choice: *"... en ek dink vir die mense wat swaar kry, as hy 'n keuse gehad het om die regte ding te doen maar toe vat hy die ander keuse"* (Alan). This impact of poverty was confirmed by my observations. While in the community, I noticed a large number of people just sitting around on the streets during regular working hours; this seemed to suggest that they were unemployed (observation). I also noticed a group of women

sitting on upturned crates just sitting and watching what was going on in their street while the children played around them (observation).

Walter, Steven and Amy all commented on the fact that the government was not providing enough support and resources in their community, which added to their strained living conditions: *"... hier bly baie mense saam. So ek dink hulle doen te min en werkgeleenthede is ook een van die dinge*" (Walter). In particular, the issue of housing was identified, specifically the lack of housing and the size of the houses: *"Dis maar net, jy draai jou rug dan kyk jy al weer in die kombuis vas ..."* (Alan). I noticed that the houses were very small and did not allow for much privacy (observation). Related to the impact of poverty and economic marginalisation, five participants referred to the effects of hopelessness in the community attitude. Sam spoke about the fact that he felt that his community focused mostly on the negative and that people saw what was happening but did not say anything. Issues such as the community not being motivated to improve their environment and to support each other and the fact that some people were just surviving but not thriving was the sense that emerged: *"Dis maar net, ons wil nie try nie. En daai's wat die community afbreek"* (Alan). Walter noted that people were just working to survive: *"Daar is vyftig persent mense wat net leef. Soos ek moet werk en ek moet my kinders onderhou en that's it"* (Walter). Amy remarked that support was offered but that the community was not always prepared to accept it and did not always support change, as they believed that things had gone too far: *"Nee jy kan niks doen nie, want dis te laat en dis klaar te diep."* (Amy). The participants understood that barriers to their community's development were connected to the impact of poverty and economic marginalisation and to the related helpless attitude of some in the community.

iii. Negative stereotyping of youth

The community's view of youth was seen as a challenge. Four of the participants made mention of the problem of youth being labelled. The fact that some youths were poorly behaved mades things difficult for those youths who were trying to do the right thing: *"... dan dink hulle al die meisies is so en nou probeer jy hard om, om miskien nou iets in die lewe te wees, dan dink almal van so ..."* (Amy). Youths were labelled by members of the community and blamed for the bad that happened. The implication seemed to be that, if youths made a mistake, it was difficult for them to get back on the right path, as they were already judged: *"... as jy nou met slegte goed deurmekaar is, dan sal hulle altyd vir jou, hulle sal altyd vir jou blame vir die goed wat gebeur met die gemeenskap."* - (Alan).

The belief that people in their community accepted youth's negative behaviour and were not prepared to get involved or do anything about it was suggested by three of the participants: *"... die kinders word gerob en jy kan nie trust nie, verstaan? So, so, so eintlik die gemeenskap, hulle is*

geworried. Nou die feit dat niemand maak iets daaraan nie. Verstaan nou, worry hulle ook nie meer nie" (Walter). Sam referred to the issue of people in the community not supporting the youth: "They have something against you. It's almost like they bring you down. They're discouraging you. They are telling you that you're not gonna be successful one day ..." (Sam). Youth's disregard for adult authority was illustrated in Amy's description of youth smoking and swearing in front of adults and the fact that this has become "normal" and that nobody said anything about it. When asked how people in her community dealt with some of the young people's difficult behaviour, Amy responded as follows: *"Hulle worry net nie. Hulle dink OK daar's maar net dit. Dis amper soos 'OK daar is maar net nog 'n kind pregnant' of 'OK daar's maar net nog een dood van dwelms'"* (Amy). The community's view of youth, in terms of their acceptance of negative behaviour and the implications that they did nothing about it, and the issue of youth being labelled were a community challenge identified by the participants.

iv. Specific dangers that the youths face

The participants referred to the specific dangers that they and their peers faced in their community. All the participants spoke about gangsterism in their community and about the effects of substance abuse. When asked about the difficulties in her community, Amy said: *"Gangsterism is die hoof ding. Daar's drugs en daar is pregnancies"* (Amy). Every one of them felt that substance abuse was a significant challenge to youth: "There's a lot of drugs and people who smoke mandrax. So actually they are big. You grew up basically in front of them." - (Rose). In addition, it was noted that youths were pressured by their peers to use drugs and alcohol and that many youths thought that it was 'cool': "So this one boy told my friend 'if you don't tik you're not a man' " (Rose). Walter commented on the effect of shebeens and on the drinking that was done there: *"... smokkeljaarde, soos nou daar waar hulle drink. Hoekom? Uhm as jy mos klaar gedrink het, dan worry jy mos nie oor jouself nie en dan's waar die moeilikheid gebeur."* - (Walter). Related to this, Alan and Walter pointed out that drug abuse led to crime: *"Dan rob hulle die mense vir tik of rook. Hulle steel jou wasgoed van die lyn af ja. Ek meen maar hulle doen al die dinge vir die drugs, verstaan?"* (Alan).

Gangsterism in the community appeared to be of particular concern. Five of the participants addressed the challenge of gangsterism within their community. They noted that gangsterism was a way up and out for some of the youths in their community, a way of becoming something: *"Die gouste manier wat hulle wil gebruik om iets te kom is om 'n gangster te word"* (Steven). Walter remarked on the temptations that gangsters offered: *"Gangster sien kind om die draai en hy sê 'kom nou man. Hier in die pyp is 'n beter toekoms. Hier as jy nou vir hom steek met 'n mes, môre het jy 'n groot naam'"* (Walter). The fact that gangsters brought violence and crime into their community was seen as a threat to their safety: "... like opposite the road there's this guy. He's a gangster. Now

almost every time then there's police there. There's gangsters that come there looking for him, shooting at their house and all that stuff" (Sam). Alan spoke of the threat that gangsters posed: *"Hier by 8 o'clock se kant is ek in die huis in want ek weet, 8 o'clock dan hou die gangsters al vir jou dop"* (Alan). Steven pointed out that they had access to the schools and could do whatever they wanted: *"Hulle doen net wat hulle wil. Ek dink ons moet 'n stop sit op gangsterism. Dis amper soos hulle is die konings van ... Nou so. 'Jy kan my niks maak nie.'"* (Steven). Sam talked about how they destroyed the resources in the community: "They destroy the children's future as sportsmen and sportswomen. That's why they can't go on" (Sam).

The fact that youth were sexually active and the consequences of this were considered a challenge by four of the participants. It was noted that it has become a status symbol for some of the young girls: *"Tienerswangerskap vandag is iets groot in ons gemeenskap, want ons ouers weet nie meer wat om te maak nie met ons jongvroumense nie. Veral jong dogters wat pregnant raak. Vir hulle is dit amper soos uh uh 'Ja, ek gaan nou kwaai lyk'"* (Steven) and Amy noted that "*Die kinders kry net kinders soos, net soos enige daaglikse ding*" (Amy). The influence of alcohol and drug use in teen pregnancies was spoken about: "In our communities the girls, if they drink, they don't get drunk up here. They get drunk down there. Now obviously then one thing is going to lead to another and they're gonna like sleep together ..." (Rose).

A person's upbringing, in terms of what the individual is exposed to, can have a damaging effect. The detrimental effects of a negative upbringing were pointed out by four of the participants. The effects of parents who abused substances and/or neglected their children physically and/or emotionally were likely to be harmful, both to their children and to the community. Walter described an example of this: *"Ney man. My pa drink, my ma worry nie van ons nie, verstaan. Kyk hier, ons slaan sommer vir hom en vat van hom sy goeters af"* (Walter). Sam explained the effects of parents who were poor role models: "Small kids are going with their fathers to the liquor store. Just seeing the father, just, that's a, it's almost like he's bringing the child down. He's making the child what he is" (Sam). Rose talked about the effects of mothers who did not stand up for their children and told them that they were loved: "... they just want to hear 'I love you' ... We don't have that in _____. And that change into angry frustration, because it's almost like 'She don't love me anymore. What am I suppose to do?'". Related to this, Walter pointed out that you could make the wrong choices if you thought that people did not care about you: *"Soos toe ek 'n gangster raak ... Ek het altyd gevoel, nee niemand gee om vir my"* (Walter).

Finally, the fact that the youth's talents were not being developed was seen as a challenge to the youth. Youths were not making use of their talents either because of a lack of motivation – *"Jy sit daar met die talent en bly by die huis of jy raak 'n gangster en daar gooi jy jou talent in die drom*

..." (Steven) – or because they were prevented from developing their talents due to a lack of money and facilities. Knowing that you were good at something could help you onto the right track. Walter explained that "*Deur die community centre is daar waar ek die eerste keer gesien het ek kan kwaai teken, verstaan? En dis daar waar ek kon sien het dat ek kan iets bekom met die ...*" (Walter).

v. Community resources

Along with all these challenges within their communities, four participants considered the fact that their community lacked resources to be another challenge. Walter mentioned that there was a lack of facilities for youth to be entertained: *"Daar's nie nog baie veranderinge nie soos daar's niks facilities soos community centre vir die jong, verstaan?"* (Walter). Rose pointed out that, although there was a place in another area of their community to play soccer and basketball, it was very far to walk. It was suggested that the impact of the lack of facilities for youth was that they could not learn how to play with each other: *"... is nie genoeg community centres nie, so hulle sal nooit weet hoe is dit om met mekaar saam 'n game te kan speel, verstaan?"* (Walter).

In addition, two of the participants felt that the fact that there were no programmes to support youth in the community was a challenge. Both Walter and Steven talked about the need for programmes to start in their community to help youth. Keeping youth busy was seen as an alternative to gangsterism and drugs: "... needs a lot to keep the children away from drugs. But, to keep the children away from drugs and stuff, keep the children busy, man" (Rose). Steven noted that many youths had talents but that there was no place where these could be supported and developed: *"Want daar is klomp verskillende jong mense wat allerhande talente het en nie weet wat om met hulle talente te maak nie. Dis waar die program vir die jeug sal werk, vir die jongmense ... Ek dink om 'n program vir jongmense te begin is eintlik 'n ... groot stap na 'n baie groot mooi toekoms in ons toekoms"* (Steven).

To conclude, the participants identified a number of challenges that they faced within their community. These included issues such as community resources, safety, barriers to community development, the community's view of youth and the specific threats to the well-being of the youth.

4.6.2 Coping strategies

The themes that emerged that were related to the participants' coping strategies were the strategies that the partcipants used to protect themselves, the partcipants' attitude to others, the particpants' choices about friendships, the participants' orientation towards the future, respect, successful role models, work ethic and education.

i. Strategies to protect self

Four of the participants made direct references to the strategies that they used to protect themselves. Alan, for example, adhered to the limits that his mother set for him: *"... ek raak nie by die verkeerde vrinde bymekaar en ek luister vir my ma as my ma vir my sê ek moenie so laat buite loop nie."* - (Alan). Sam mentioned that he stayed away from violence by helping out at the church with his father and Steven made sure that he was indoors: *"Ek, ek is like, ek is nooit buite nie. As ek uit die skool uit kom dan is dit net in die huis elke dag. Dan is Saterdae wat ek kerk toe kom en dan Sondae kom ek kerk toe. Dan is ek maar weer by die huis, skool, by die huis, skool, by die huis."* - (Steven). Amy made sure that she was home at a reasonable hour to protect herself: *"... my ouers sê miskien vir my nine o'clock moet ek inkom, maar ek sal nooit, ek sal nie nine o'clock inkom nie want ek weet hoe's die gemeenskap."* - (Amy).

Furthermore, the importance of setting boundaries and limits for themselves was identified as a strategy by three participants. Walter refered to the importance of setting principles for himself: *"... enige ding wat ek in my lewe doen, wat ek mee besig is, ek stel vir my principles. Ek respek alles wat ek doen. En deur dit is ek in beheer van myself."* - (Walter). Amy made the point that it is important to know your boundaries and to separate yourself from certain people: *"Ek sal met hulle praat maar net, net, tot daai distance toe. Nie verder as miskien nou, miskien nou loop of so nie ... Ek sal net met hulle praat ek sal nie nog baie met hulle worry nie."* - (Amy). Both Rose and Alan talked about drinking with friends and having fun but about knowing that they must set themselves a limit: *"Ek vat miskien net 'n glasie of twee dan sal ek miskien nou gaan sit of miskien nou weer huistoe kom."* - (Alan).

The idea of living a simple life and not drawing attention to themselves was identified by three of the participants. Amy talked about the importance of living simply and of not putting yourself above others; this approach, she said, also helps you to still care about other people: *"... ek wil 'n sukses van my lewe maak, maar moenie vir jou hoog hou nie ... Dis hoekom ek sal eenvouding, ek sal hoog aim, maar ek sal eenvoudig lewe. Maar ek wil nie so baie popular wees nie, om te wys ek voel kwaai of so nie maar ek wil nie like uit die groep shine nie. Ek wil net vir my eenvoudig hou."* - (Amy). Rose said that she tried not to draw attention to herself: "I won't wear make-up or anything. Because then they are 'she's got make-up on'. I'm just not like that. No don't look at me like that" (Rose). Walter referred to the concept of living simply by emphasising the importance of focusing on basic needs and not on unnecessary things: *"Ek sal nie onnodige brille gaan koop of dingese gaan koop. Ek sal net die important dinge gaan koop wat ek makeer in die huis"* (Walter).

Four participants talked about their enthusiasm for being involved in new things and in grasping opportunities. The sense that they gave was of being excited about their lives and of being keen to

explore and extend themselves. The following quotes from Rose and Walter express these ideas: "Life is too short to keep to your own little world and be around ... you must go out and explore the world" (Rose). *"Ek is net head on. Ek vat 'n ding aan ... enige geleentheid wat kom na my toe, ek vat dit met twee hande"* (Walter).

The strategy of actively trying to avoid trouble was identified by five partcipants. Tactics such as staying indoors and keeping themselves busy featured clearly. Walter talked about keeping busy with the right things and not being distracted by other things that were going on; he noted that "*dis belangrik waarmee jy jouself besig hou*". Rose discussed how being busy gave her a reason to say "no": "Like I'm a very busy person so if you come to me, 'uhm, do you mind go drink tonight?' them I'm like, 'no duh, I'm going out'" (Rose). Being aware of what was going on but choosing another path was how Steven explained his strategy: *"Ek hou my besig maar nie met ander goeters nie, soos ek hou nie eintlik van uitgaan. Ek weet daar gebeur 'n klomp dinge in _____ maar ek steur nie vir my aan dit nie. As iemand vir my miskien druk, dan raak ek focused, dan doen ek daai. Ek sê nie iets snaaks wat vir hulle laat sal iets doen met my"* (Steven).

Being involved in extracurricular activities was a strategy that was identified by all the participants as a way of feeling good and of keeping busy. Amy ran and enjoyed reading, Rose swam, Alan played soccer and was involved in long-distance running and Walter was involved in youth activities through his church. Sam explained: "I play sports. Uh, I study a lot. Uh, I read. Uh, I'm always at church like people motivate me" (Sam). Steven noted that he enjoyed exercise: *"Ek hou daarvan om te oefen. Uhm soos weightlifting, skop 'n bal of speel musiek en dans of lees"* (Steven). Related to the importance of extracurricular activities, two participants mentioned that being physically and mentally healthy was important. Being physically fit and eating the right foods also emerged as considerations in looking after oneself: *"... jy moet na jou kyk om gesond te wees, mentally en physically"* (Amy).

ii. Attitude to others

How partcipants treated and approached other people seemed to be a way of coping with some of the challenges that they faced. Every one of the participants talked about their care and concern for others. The fact that they were prepared to help others and that they really wanted to offer their care and support was clear. Walter talked about how he collected food for some of the small children in his community who hadn't eaten that day. Alan enjoyed making others feel good: *"Ek hou altyd van 'n ander mens goed voel. Ek willie alleen goed voel nie"* (Alan). Amy spoke of her willingness to help others: *"... ek sal mense help wat help nodig het"* (Amy). Sam talked about how he and his family supported those who were facing difficulties: "... like I can give them something at my house

just too ... I can invite them for supper and we can speak to them, make them feel comfortable" (Sam).

In addition, the importance of respecting other people and other cultures was candidly expressed. Five of the participants talked about how they approached dealing with others in a respectable manner and about what their view of other people was. Alan talked about the fact that it was what was inside a person that counted: *"Hulle is nog altyd dieselfde mense as hulle daai klere uittrek en issie hoe hulle vir jou buite sien nie, is binne aangaan"* (Alan). Amy and Rose discussed the importance of not judging others: *"Ja, nou dis hoekom ek kyk eers na my lewe voor ek iemand anders kan judge"* (Amy); "... no matter who you are or what you are. I speak to you" (Rose).

iii. Choices about friendships

The importance of making the correct choices with regard to friendships was identified by five participants. The belief that friends may have a negative influence was related to the importance of choosing the correct friends. The fact that friends could sometimes be a bad influence was clearly stated by both Steven and Alan: *"... vriende wat hulle om die bos laat lei, waarin hulle eers nie wou gegaan het nie, maar dis die enigste keuse wat hulle gehad het, om vriende te volg"* (Steven); *"Moenie by die verkeerde groepe bymekaar raak nie. Hulle gat jou maklik verlei. En moenie die verkeerde goete gan doen om vrinde te impress nie"* (Alan).

Walter and Amy stressed the value of having the right friends and the fact that having the right friends was a good way of protecting yourself: *"... ek is besig met ordentlike vriende. Wat hulle doen is eintlik 'n inspiration vir my ..."* (Walter). Amy referred to the fact that it was easy to be misled: *"Jy moet weet in watter groepe jy is, want uhm die kinders van vandag word so gou verlei. Uhm dis hoekom jy kan nie met enige vriend meng nie"* (Amy).

iv. Future orientation

Being orientated towards their future appeared to be a coping strategy for all the participants. They all referred to their specific goals and aims in life. All the participants had a vision of what they would like to do in their future and, along with this, had a strong belief that this could become a reality. Rose noted that "... you must actually put goals for yourself. I see myself as, uhm, working in my community, motivate the children to be somebody man and I'll have children, a normal family with a normal life" (Rose). Walter stated that he knew where he wanted to go: *"Ek het vision, ek het sight waar ek nou is en waar ek oormôre wil wees"* (Walter).

The importance of aiming high, of not limiting yourself and of stretching the possibilities of what could be achieved was suggested by three partcipants. Walter said that one should think big and

should set principles: *"Stel vir jouself hoë principles in die lewe ... Dink altyd groot."* (Walter); Amy noted that "... *ek sal hoog aim, maar eenvoudig lewe. Ek wil laat hoog aim in die lewe*."

v. Respect

Respect was a concept that was seen as significant by all the participants. The importance of respect for oneself and for others was a theme that emerged throughout all the interviews. Rose explained that, if you wanted to live successfully in her community, *"... you must have respect and self-respect and be honest yourself if you want to live in _____"* (Rose). Amy explained how she showed respect to others: *"... as ek miskien nou na my vriendin se huis toe gaan en die ouers daar is, ek groet. Ek vra hoe gaan dit en hoe was u se dag en so"* (Amy). A problem in their community, according to Walter, was that the youths did not respect the adults, that they simply did what they wanted: *"... van respek nommer een, goes a long way, enige plek waar jy kom. _____ het baie min respek vir groot mense vir ou mense"* (Walter).

Three participants spoke of the reciprocal nature of respect. Amy spoke about the mutual respect between her and her parents: *"... sommige jong mense sê as jy nie respek het vir my nie dan sal ek nie respek het vir jou nie."* (Amy). Rose discussed how respect could help you to survive in her community: "... if you don't have respect people will just start swearing you out and don't respect you, which you don't want. I can't respect you if you don't respect me" (Rose).

The perception that an outcome of living a good life was respect was something that both Alan and Walter discussed. Alan felt that respect could help to build a better community: *"... jy is respectful aan hulle, dan sal hulle ook miskien vir jou respect betoon. Dan sal hulle miskien 'n beter community bou op daai respek"* (Alan). Walter mentioned that his involvement in youth activities has resulted in people respecting him: *"... die mense kyk baie op na my. Hoekom? Ek doen nooit verkeerde dinge nie"* (Walter).

The importance of respecting yourself was suggested by both Walter and Rose. According to Walter, respecting what you do gave a sense of control over life and of managing the unexpected: *"Ek respek alles wat ek doen. En deur dit is ek in beheer oor myself ... Alles wat ek doen. Ek stel principles. Ek respek dit. Ek lees dit uit. En doen it in sy volle."* (Walter). Rose talked about the importance of women having self-respect: "If it comes to the girl man, if you don't have self-respect, and again he comes there, you don't respect your body that man is not going to respect your body" (Rose).

vi. Successful role models

In response to questions concerning successful people in their community, all the participants considered successful people to be a motivation to them: *"Basically om te sien dat 'n volgende*

persoon 'n sukses van hulle lewe gaan maak is eintlik vir ons 'n asteem, 'n hupstootjie ook vir ons, vir jouself te sê dat nee ek kan dit ook doen" (Steven). Alan felt that people in his family achieving success was motivating for him: *"... as iemand miskien nou in jou familie sukses behaal. Daai moet jy vat as 'n motivering vir jou."* (Alan). Sam explained that, when someone achieved success, "... it feels like a challenge. It feels like a challenge because you want, you want to become, like you have your goals. Now you think of it as he reached his goal, now I can do better. I can do mine too" (Sam).

Three participants discussed their perceptions of success. People who were employed, who had finished school and who had achieved their goals were some of the examples of success, along with money and driving good cars, that the participants referred to. The fact that a person needed others' support to make success accessible was observed by Steven: *"... ek kan dit nie alleen doen nie. Ek het mense nodig om vir my uhm gefokus te bly hou op my doel waarop ek gerig is"* (Steven). Walter stressed that those who were successful had a belief: *"So, maar wat ek eintlik kan sê van sulke mense wat dit altyd deurmaak en suksesvol kan wees, dat hulle is mense wat glo ..."* (Walter).

vii. Work ethic

The partcipants' work ethic was another theme that became apparent from all their interviews. All discussed their belief that one must work hard for one's future and all displayed a drive to succeed. Alan spoke about his goal to become an IT specialist: *"My goal is om eendag 'n IT specialist te wees. Ek weet dit is baie harde werk. Dis seker maar drie, vier jaar study. Daarom dit hou my by my skoolwerk"* (Alan). Rose talked about not giving up: "... live your life to the fullest and if you can't, try. If you fall, if you fail, stand up and try again because what don't kill you makes you stronger" (Rose). Amy explained that her reason for working hard was so that she could become something one day: *"... dis hoekom ek werk hard om, om, om 'n hoë, om 'n hoë iets te hê, iets te wees in die lewe. Miskien nou soos ek gesê het, ek wil 'n regsverteenwoordiger wees"* (Amy). Steven spoke of his focus on becoming successful: *"Ek sal enige iets probeer en doen om 'n sukses te maak. Net om positiewe goeters te doen wat my behoeftes sal behels, my behoeftes sal bevredig"* (Steven).

The importance of staying focused was referred to by all the participants. Sam spoke about how to be successful despite the challenges in the community: "... they're just focused on their goal and they're ignoring everything around them. They're just going forward with what they want" (Sam). Steven noted that it is your own responsibility to focus on what you want to achieve: *"Dit begin met jouself. Die hoeveelheid wat jy insit, wat jy wil bekom in die lewe. So al wat jy moet doen is jy moet net focus, gefocus wees op die spesifieke iets wat jy graag wil doen in die toekoms ..."* (Steven).

viii. Education

The importance of education was highlighted by five of the participants. The value of finishing school and of remaining focused on school work seemed to be significant to all the participants. Alan spoke of the benefits of finshing matric: *"... en as ek matriek slaag, miskien met 'n vrystelling vir die college, dan kan ek aangaan en het ek nie 'n jaar te mors van my lewe om weer te gaan study matriek by 'n college nie"* (Alan). Walter mentioned that, if you passed at school, your chances of being successful increased: *"... as jy 'n graad slag in _____ dan het jy 'n groot kans dat jy suksesvol in die lewe sal wees"* (Walter). Despite being robbed at school, Amy was sure that she wanted to remain at school: *"Dis my skool. Ek voel net baie ... Hoe kan ek sê? Ek voel at home daar, maar OK daar is nou goete wat nou nie reg is nie soos die mense word net so gerob dan maak die mense niks nie maar ek sal nie weg van daai skool sal wil aan bly. Ek sal regtig nie"* (Amy). For both Sam and Steven, their main focus was their education: *"En ek probeer nou my beste te doen in my skoolloopbaan ... ek moet ook 'n sacrifice maak en focused bly. As ek klaar met skool is dan kan ek maar gaan sien vriende wat in die kerk is ..."* (Steven); "I think my school. My education is very important" (Sam).

To conclude, during the interviews with the participants, as well as through observations, a number of coping strategies emerged that seemed to support the participants in dealing with the challenges that they faced. These strategies are that they have specific strategies to protect themselves: setting themselves limits and boundaries, trying not to call attention to themselves, their attitude to others (as demonstrated by their treatment of and approach to others), their understanding of the potentially negative aspects of friendhips (such as peer pressure), being orientated towards their future through having specific goals, a belief in not limiting their opportunities, their awareness of the importance of respect for themselves and for others, their perceptions of success and their reactions to the success of others, their work ethic, and their belief in the importance of their education.

4.6.3 Individual, family and community resources

The core categories of "individual resources", "family resources" and "community resources" provide a response to the supports that these youths identified in helping them to maintain their positive lifestyle.

4.6.3.1 Individual resources

The themes that emerged under "individual resources" are: the value of friendships, the participants' view of their family, personal attributes, religion, the participants' ability to deal with difficulties, an

altruistic attitude, self-awareness and self-esteem, personal beliefs and the participants' attitude to life.

i. Value of friendships

The value of friendships was identified by all the participants as being an important support to them. Three of the participants spoke about the positive influence that friends can have. The fact that positive friends can help one to resist peer pressure and to do the right thing was an idea that emerged. Amy spoke about how the right friends could encourage you: *"Dis hoekom dis goed as jy sulke vriende het want soos hy gesê het, hulle encourage jou eintlik om ... ook om goals te stel in jou lewe sodat jy ook daar kan uitkom"* (Amy). Alan said that his friends helped him to make positive changes: *"Ek het baie goeie vriende wat miskien wat as ek nou 'n verandering toepas in my lewe, dan kan hulle my help deur my veranderinge."* - (Alan).

Every one of the participants refered to liking people and to enjoying meeting and interacting with people. Three participants specifically referred to the importance of friendship and of connecting with people. Rose spoke about the diversity of her friends: "I've got different groups of friends. I've got my school group, I've got African friends, I've got Christian friends, I've got lots of friends man" (Rose). Walter talked about the mistrust among people in his community; his solution was for people to try and connect with each other: *"Try miskien. Hulle sê altyd as jy nie begin nie waar gaan jy wees. Try, try om te praat met hom. Miskien hou hy nie vir hom so soos jy dink nie."* (Walter).
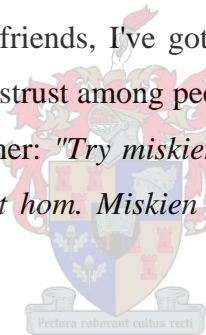
ii. View of family

The participants all viewed their parent or parents in a positive way and mentioned that they were their role models. Amy talked about wanting to be like her parents in terms of some of their characteristics: *"... ek wil soos my ouers wees, maar nie exactly in hulle voetstappe nie, maar ja, ek wil hulle maniere hê"* (Amy). Walter shared how grateful he felt for his family: *"... my rolmodel is my familie. En ek is dankbaar vir die Here dat ek sulke ouers het."* Alan described some of his mother's traits: *"Nou is dit my ma. Sy is altyd 'n positiewe mens en as daar iets negatief kom na haar toe ... dan sal sy daai ding nou reg hanteer"* (Alan). The fact that it was good to have parents was expressed: *"Ek sal sê ouers, dis lekker om ouers te hê."* - (Steven).

iii. Personal attributes

A number of personal attributes surfaced from the interviews and were backed up by observations that appeared to serve as a resource for these young people. These were positive personality characteristics: being assertive, wanting to help others, trying to do the right thing and learning from others. Positive personality characteristics emerged from four of the participants' interviews. Walter

described himself as a loving and understanding person: *"... ek is 'n baie liefdevolle person, verstaan, 'n verstaanbare persoon. Ek is openlik, verstaan? ... ek sal vir jou dinge wil doen ... ek is 'n hulpsame jongman ..."* (Walter). In explaining how people saw her, Rose said that she "... was a very conservative girl, she was very nice to people, she always talked to people no matter who she was or what they were.". In addition, she saw herself as "... very trusting ... I can trust easily. I'm very happy ... I'm not hopeless. I always put a smile on everyone's face in the house" (Amy). In addition, humour was important to Rose, Steven and Amy. Steven noted that he laughed a lot: *"Ek lag baie, baie, baie"* (Steven). Amy suggested that you could not be "sour" the whole time: *"... as jy nie humor het nie, jy kan nie mos nou 'n suur persoon wees die heeltyd nie"* (Amy). Observations confirmed these positive characteristics; all the participants presented as friendly and engaging. A 'lust for life' was the general impression that they left (observation).

Five participants talked about the importance of being assertive and of being able to stand up for yourself: *"... ekke staan baie op vir myself, want as jy nie opstaan vir jouself dan bedoel jy niks nie want jy laat ander mense jou lewe rule en so"* (Amy). Rose told a story of her friend being pressured to use tik and of how she stood up for him. She explained how she believed that people forced you to do things to prove "you're a man" and Walter spoke about the fact that, if you stood up for yourself, people would leave you alone. Alan talked about how he made decisions in order to protect himself: *"... ek sal miskien vir hulle sê, 'Dis OK, ek gaan nie saam met julle loop nie'. Hulle sal my verstaan. Hoekom? Dis my eie keuse."*

Wanting to help others was something that four of the participants talked about. Steven spoke of his dream to support the youth in his community: *"... my eie studiegebou waar ek jongmense sal klasse gee. Die logo wat op my gebou gaan staan is 'The Youth of Tomorrow'"* (Steven). Walter talked about how he tried to get youth involved in youth activities to keep them off the street and how he helped a young boy whose mother was a prostitute: *"... sy ma was hom baie min. Nou eergister was ek vir hom, toe was ek mos nou sy hare"* (Walter). Rose and Steven shared stories of how they cared for and comforted others: "... if someone gets sick or stabbed or so, I run first. I'm the first to be on the scene. I help them" (Rose); *"Sy huil net en sy huil aaneen. En ek probeer om vir haar te troos dan help dit"* (Steven). The fact that some of the participants showed care and concern and a willingness to help others was evident from their responses and anecdotes.

The attempt to try to do the right thing was identified by four of the participants. Steven explained that he was trying to mix with the right people: *"... ek probeer om in te meng met hulle. Nou dit vat vir my 'n bietjie lank. Dit vat tyd en ek weet dit sal werk"* (Steven). Alan discussed how he tried to do the right thing: *"Ek gaan baie skool of ek is betyds by die huis, ek leer, ek help my suster miskien nou, vee die blad af en al daai goete, dan dink ek daai's 'n positiewe ding man"* (Alan). Walter

talked about his desire to live a good life: *"Vir my sal ek nou sê ek wil my lewe vir ewig en vir altyd wil ek net goeie stappe, net goeie dinge in my lewe doen"* (Walter).

The fact that they were prepared to learn from watching others and were open to learning from others was revealed by five of the participants. Steven and Alan talked about witnessing how other people were behaving and about not wanting to be like them: *"... want nou sien jy hulle dronk, dan vang hulle sulke goed aan man. Dan weet jy, naai, jy gaan nie drink nie"* (Alan). Walter spoke about how he has learned from his community through the opportunities that he has been offered and both Rose and Steven explained how they learned from others. For Rose, it was exciting to learn from others: "For me it's exciting because you can learn from somebody ... I mean you can learn from someone if someone speaks to you man" (Rose). Steven explained that he approached people when he needed to find something out: *"... as ek onseker is van iets dan vind ek uit by iemand wat meer geleerd vir hierdie spesifieke iets [is] ..."* (Steven).

iv. Religion

All the participants referred to the significance of religion in their lives. They all spoke of how important religion was to them and of how it offered them support, guidance and an explanation for what happened in their lives and in their community. The fact that you had nothing without religion was suggested: *"Dit speel 'n groot rol want ek meen nou, as jy nie godsdiens het nie, wat is nou eintlik jou doel op die aarde?"* (Amy). The idea that being involved with religious activities brought a good feeling was identified: *"As ek by die kerk is, ek voel, ek voel vry. Ek voel veilig, want ek weet hier's mense wat ek ken, wat altyd vir my 'n drukkie sal gee of sal sê, 'Ek is lief vir jou' ..."* (Steven). The concept of religion offering support and guidance was refered to: "... my father always tells me. When there is a problem talk to me. If I'm not there, you can go on your knees and pray" (Sam). Rose talked about her religion providing her with hope: "My culture is my religion ... He give me hope ... Even though I can't see Him, I can feel Him" (Rose). For Walter, religion offered him guidance on how to live: *"... en as ons by die huis kom dan moet ons die Woord wat ons ontvang het, ons moet leef hom uit."* (Walter).

Participants spoke about their religious beliefs offering them a sense of safety and security through the knowledge that God supported them in difficult times: *"... ons Vader is altyd daar om vir ons te help in probleme ..."* (Steven). Walter believed that God protected him and would reward him: *"Ons moet ook glo in 'n Man van Bo, en deur gebed kan dinge verander. Ek weet die Here sal my beloon aan die einde van die dag met alles wat ek nodig het"* (Walter). Rose believed that Allah provided the help that she needed: "The Man who I pray to, who I ask for help every time when I'm in need, only He can give me" (Rose). The effects of their religious beliefs were also significant to all the participants. Amy explained that her religion gave her a purpose: *"Die Here gee vir jou so baie. Hy*

gee vir jou asemhaling. Hy doen so baie vir jou en as jy niks vir Hom doen nie, wat is jou doel eintlik" (Amy). For Sam and Alan, being involved in religious activities kept them away from negative influences: *"... en ek gaan kerk toe, dan weet ek ek gaan nie by die huis bly en iets sleg doen nie en ek gaan daarem miskien iets leer daar by die kerk"* (Alan). Rose explained that it offered a higher reason for some of the challenges in her life: "... you can't say every time something happens 'why me God?' God alone knows. What if He put you in the circumstances? He put you in there for you to open your eyes and you must look at life ..." (Rose).

v. Ability to deal with difficulties

Their approach to dealing with difficulties appeared to be a resource that supported these youths in coping. Five participants discussed the notion of talking to people about problems or feelings: *"As ek probleme het sal ek dit nie inhou nie ... Dis hoekom as ek problem het, die fynste problem, ek praat hom uit"* (Amy). Walter explained that one had to ask for help: *"As jy gehelp wil wees dan moet jy uitvra. Moet nie skaam nie"* (Walter). Rose described her ideas about dealing with a problem: "So if I have a problem I just feel I must express myself. What's the use I keep it in? You get stress and get a relapse and what happen?" (Rose). When confronted with a difficulty, Sam said, "I speak to people like my pastor, I speak to my parents, I pray." - (Sam).

Five participants described their approaches to difficulties that appeared to indicate that they had an internal locus of control. The idea of accepting that difficulties sometimes arose and that challenges were a part of life was linked with this, as was the concept of taking responsibility for your life and for your decisions. Amy noted that life was life and that you could not always prevent things from happening: *"... die lewe is die lewe. As dit met jou gebeur dan moet dit maar net met jou gebeur."* Rose explained that she used the negative experiences from her home life as a learning experience: "I'm living in a domestic-violence home ... This is my world I'm living in. I'm taking that experiences with me." The belief that you could not blame others for your mistakes was expressed: *"Ek kan nie sê my vriende force my om 'n ding te vattie. Ek kan net sê dis ek self wat die glas vat en ek wat self drink."* - (Alan). The idea of being responsible for the decisions that you made was stated: *"So jy jouself moet die veranderinge maak. Dis of jy dien die duiwel of jy dien die Here."* - (Walter).

In addition, reference was made to their various approaches to dealing with difficulties and challenges by five of the participants. The concepts of working with what you have and of not blaming others for difficulties were central: *"... ons waardeer die stukkie wat ons kry. En ons maak gebruik, verstaan, van dinge wat ons onsself gee"* (Walter). Furthermore, Walter explained that he used difficult situations to learn from. Alan believed in "what goes around comes around": *"... as*

iemand iets sleg doen aan jou, hy gaan dit dubbel terug kry" (Alan). The importance of not jumping to conclusions and of listening to both sides of a story was also talked about by both Amy and Alan.

vi. Altruistic attitude

During the interviews and through their personal narratives, every participant revealed an altruistic attitude and a desire to have a positive effect. Rose wanted to help others in her community through working as a paramedic. Walter often talked about wanting to help the youth in his community to do the right thing. Steven and Amy also spoke about how they would like to contribute to their community: *"... ek is bereid om iets te doen, om 'n program te begin, 'n program vir jongmense, om uit te reik na jongmense ..."* (Steven); *"Ek wil eintlik 'n regsverteenwoordiger word want daai, somtyds dan dink ek dat daai beroep sal help om die gemeenskap van die gangsters ..."* (Amy).

Five of the participants expressed their desire for their community to become a better place. Walter told of his concern for his community and said that this was the reason for him taking part in youth activities. When talking about gangsters and about what he did, Walter explained: *"... die effek op ons lewe is ons bid vir hulle. Ons gaan na hulle ma's toe. Ons sê vir hulle ma's, 'Praat met hulle.'. Miskien kan hulle 'n verandering in hulle lewe bring"* (Walter). Everyone talked about their desire to be involved in helping their community to change positively: *"As ek 'n bydrae kan lewer in my gemeenskap dan sal ek want soos ek kan sien dis baie swaar in my gemeenskap ..."* (Alan); *"Daar's baie sulke dinge in _____ in wat ons moet rêrig moet, moet, moet sit om net iets daarvan te maak dat dit beter plek kan word"* (Amy).
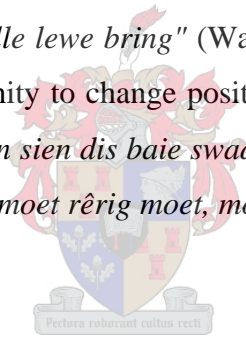
vii. Self-awareness and self-esteem

All the participants refered in some way to the importance of being self-aware or of having confidence or believing in yourself. Five of the participants referred to the value of knowing yourself. Sam explained why he thought that it was important to know yourself: *"... so if you don't know yourself, you can't overcome challenges"*. Steven explained that, in order to cope with difficulties, you must know your strengths and weaknesses and know what you are comfortable with and the types of people that you like: *"... jy moet eintlik met jouself begin. Om meer tyd met jouself te spandeer, om vir jou 'n raamwerk op te stel om jou sterk punte en jou swak punte uit te vind ..."* (Steven).

Four of the participants discussed the significance of having confidence in yourself. For Rose, you should be able to be yourself: *"... everyone knows everyone. There in _____ you must be yourself. You must just be yourself"* (Rose). Sam spoke of having control in life and of how this allowed you to have the confidence to do things: *"... if you don't have control over your life, then you can't help somebody else of their life. So you must first get yourself together and your mind-set and

everything" (Sam). Amy discussed standing up for herself when people wanted her to smoke; this was a demonstration of her self-confidence: *"That's why I know that I don't wanna do that stuff because I know the results"* (Amy).

The importance of believing in yourself was touched upon by five of the participants. The idea of feeling proud of yourself was connected with this theme. Alan referred to the fact that he knew that his future would be all right. Walter described how believing in yourself gave you the drive to make things happen: *"Jy moet glo in wat jy wil wees ... ek glo nie in' kannie'. 'Kannie' is al lankal dood"* (Walter). Similarly, Steven described how his belief in himself would help him to make a success of his life: *"... ek is nou besig om 'n sukses van my lewe te maak en ek kan dit doen deur in myself te glo. En ek voel ook om verder te gaan"* (Steven). For Rose, belief in self helped her to get over difficulties: "A lot of people tell me I'm a very strong person ... But the truth is I do cope" (Rose).

viii. Personal beliefs

Participants' personal beliefs came out as resources that supported them in coping. Three of the participants highlighted the importance of making the right decisions. It was suggested that nobody is perfect but that living in the right way keeps you on the right path: *"Almal het foute en vlekke maar as jy die regte pad kies, dan glo ek jy sal nie aan die ander kant van die pad, jy sal nie nog weer verdwaal nie ... As jy net op die regte wyse lewe sal jy 'n suksesvolle mens aan die einde van die dag uitkom"* (Walter). Steven mentioned that youth may need help in making the right decisions: *"... 'n program vir jongmense ... om vir hulle te waarsku dat die wêreld daar buite is woes, is baie woes en dat hulle nie 'n verkeerde keuse sal maak nie en hulle 'n regte choice in hulle lewe sal maak"* (Steven).

Four of the participants shared the opinion that rules were important. Rules not only in the home but throughout their lives appeared to serve a supportive and protective function: *"Reëls is ook baie belangrik. Veral reëls in jou huis, in jou woonbuurt, in jou kerk, skool, waar ookal jy is. Moenie probeer om die reëls voor te gaan nie."* - (Steven). To survive successfully in his community, Alan talked about how families should implement rules for their children: *"Jy moet voor die tyd die reëls neerskryf en jy moet hulle leer om gehoorsaam te wees aan jou ..."* (Alan). Amy spoke about the rules that her parents have set for her in terms of her freedom to go out: *"... meestal wat my ouers vir my leer is goed en dit help my."*

The feeling of being in control of their lives and of the decisions that they made was described by four of the participants. The idea of making decisions about your behaviour for yourself was noted: *"... jy moet decide of jy 'n goeie vision gaan wees vir die community of as jy 'n slegte vision gaan wees vir die community"* (Alan). Amy talked about standing up for her beliefs and about not allowing herself to be pressured into things that she did not want to do: *"Dis hoekom jy moet*

opstaan vir jouself om te wys jy is 'n persoon en jy is in control van jou eie lewe en jy is in control van jou eie decisions ..." (Amy).

ix. Attitude to life

They way in which the participants viewed their lives and, as a result, approached their lives seemed to be an individual resource that strengthened them in terms of their ability to cope with difficulties and stress. Five of the participants' responses indicated that they had a generally positive view of life. Both Amy and Sam said that they would describe themselves as optimistic about their lives. Walter and Rose also described being positive about their lives: *"So ons bly net positief en hou net by die reëls van die lewe ... ek het 'n sign by die huis ... 'Stay Positive. Feel Positive. See Positive.' "* (Walter); "... from that day on I took a negative and turned it into a positive ... take that negative, no matter how negative that is in your life. Take that negative and turn it positive. Because it is the positive that will always keeps you living" (Rose).

Three of the participants talked about their feelings of excitement when presented with new opportunities. Walter and Steven explained how they derived pleasure from the opportunities that they were offered: *"Ek gaan uit om ander mense te help en net deur daai is daar baie opportunities wat na my toekom. So heelwat opportunities vat ek met twee hande"* (Walter); *"Eerstens is my lewe baie exciting, want elke dag dan meet ek verskillende soort mense ..."* (Steven).

4.6.3.2 Family resources

Themes linked to "family resources" that emerged were effective parenting and family communication.

i. Effective parenting

This theme was one that seemed to have particular significance for every participant. The idea of parents or adults encouraging and supporting them was one that all the participants talked about. In addition, the participants spoke about their parents showing them love and respect: *"... hulle het respek vir my. Hulle het my lief. Hulle sal my nooit verkeerd lei nie."* - (Amy); *"... hulle encourage jou altyd. Hulle druk jou nooit af nie."* (Sam); *"... my ma altyd gesê het, 'Jy kan nog strewe tot daar waar die groot manne sit.' "* (Alan); *"Hulle staan vir my honderd persent. Hoekom? Hulle weet waarmee ek besig is ..."* (Walter). Steven and Rose spoke specifically about how their parents encouraged them in terms of their school work.

Parents protecting their children and being concerned for their children was a concept that all six the participants talked about. Amy talked about her mother stopping her from spending time with certain people, as they were a bad influence. Steven's father talked to him about choosing the right friends: *"Hy het baie met my gesels dat ek moenie met verskillende vriende ... as ek sien ek kan nie*

inmeng met daai vriende nie, maar dit los en self aangaan waarmee ek besig is." - (Steven). Rose shared how her mother protected her from her father: "She protects us man. My daddy, he puts up a performance in the house. She will stick up for us no matter how wrong we were or what we did" (Rose). Both Steven's and Sam's parents bought them cell phones so that they could stay in touch and let them know where they were.

The importance of parents setting rules and boundaries was discussed by five of the participants. Walter, Sam and Alan explained how rules worked in their homes: *"... en waar reëls betref, verwag hulle van my dat ek en elkeen van my kleiner boeties in die lyn trap. En deur om dit te doen, ek vat al regte stappe in die lewe ..."* (Walter); *"... as hulle saam met jou skel ... is net dat hulle wil nie hê jy moet seerkry nie. Jy sal miskien dink naai jou ma wil nie hê jy moet daai doen nie, maar dit is die regte way wat sy jou leer ..."* (Sam); *"... ek weet my ma sal nie onnodig vir my sê ek moenie so laat buite loop nie ..."* (Alan).

The fact that their parents provided for their basic needs was something that five of the participants mentioned: *"So alles wat 'n jong mens nodig het in die lewe, sorg hulle vir my."* - (Walter). Amy explained that her parents provided shelter, food and love: *"... hulle is altyd daar vir my om my lief te hê. Hulle het respek vir my. Hulle gee 'n dak vir my oor my kop. Hulle sit kos op die tafel. Hulle doen eintlik baie vir my."* - (Amy).

ii. Family communication

Family communication was a notable theme under family resources. All the participants referred to the significance of communication within their families. Walter's family had a rule that any disagreement had to be discussed and sorted out before anyone left the room. Sam and Alan talked to their mothers when they had problems: "... if it's something personal I go to my mother ... and she would like tell me what to do. How to solve the problem and what I should do and I would do it" (Sam). Steven noted that, if families did not communicate properly, problems could arise: *"As ouers en kinders nie communicate met mekaar nie, dis daar waar dit inkom, die dogter en die seun afhanklik raak van die ouers af om die verkeerde pad te stap ... En my ouers gesels baie met my oor wat ek wil doen en wat ek wil bekom ... "* (Steven).

Five of the participants emphasised the importance of the relationship between parents and their children: *"Positiewe verhoudings tussen ouer en kind is baie belangrik"* (Steven). Walter spoke about the fact that, if you had a good relationship with your mother and father, you were able to handle situations better. Alan said that living a good life and doing the right thing depended on what was happening at home: *"Ek dink dit begin eerste by die huis. Om te hoor na jou ma is altyd reg"* (Alan). Rose made the point that being loved unconditionally made her feel worthy and connected

to her mother: "... my mommy tell me every day, 'I love you very much no matter what problems you bring to my house, you stay my child and I stay your mother.' " (Rose).

Three of the participants felt that it was crucial for the family to share a vision or beliefs. The fact that, in Walter's family, everyone believed in the same thing allowed them not only to spend time together but also to live a similar lifestyle and to support each other: *"... ons familie is almal nou bekeer en so ... hulle weet hulle is almal op die regte pad."* - (Walter). Steven talked about the difficulties of parents managing their children and that it made like easier in a family if a vision was shared between parents and children: *"... al twee moet een visie he sodat dit 'n sukses sal wees"* (Steven). Rose shared how her family spoke regularly about their religious beliefs: "... we basically believe in everything the same and we speak, we make it actually our duty to speak about it once a week ..." (Rose).

4.6.3.3 Community resources

The theme that emerged under "community resources" was support from a positive adult.

i. Support from a positive adult

The community's support for youth was seen as important by some of the participants. Four of the participants referred to an adult other than a parent who was supportive of them. These adults were teachers, people from their religious community, neighbours and family friends. Steven shared the effect of an adult's concern for him: *"Ek was 'n persoon wat altyd lief was om uit te gaan en _____ het vir my gesê daar's sekere tye en plekke wat ook vir jou, jou siel sal omdraai, sal deurmekaar maak en ek het 'n paar van daai goeters gelees en dit het eintlik gehelp met my probleme. Hy's eintlik die een wat vir my inspireer om vas te hou en nooit, nooit te los nie"* (Steven). Sam explained that knowing that people in his community cared helped him to feel safe: "... know that your neighbours care about you and that if you're in trouble, they'll come help you ..." (Sam). Alan described an incident when he overheard his headmaster tell someone how good he was at maths: *"... toe voel ek sommer bly want ek weet nou dat die hoof hy kyk wat ek doen."* - (Alan). Alan, Walter, Sam and Steven all spoke of the support and encouragement offered by their pastors: *"Die pastor by die kerk hy sal altyd vir my motiveer"* (Alan); *"... die pastor, vir hom kan jy enige tyd opbel. Hy sal altyd 'n positiewe iets in jou lewe [wees] ..."* (Walter).

Three participants discussed the important influence of teachers. Alan and Sam spoke about how their teachers have encouraged them, particularly in terms of setting goals for their educational future. Amy and Steven spoke of how teachers could be their role models but Amy qualified this with examples of teachers who were not always supportive: *"... dan vloek hulle [onderwysers] net sulke groot woorde en jy voel net ... maar as jy nou iets sê dan is dit 'n groot ding"* (Amy). It

seemed that teachers had the potential to be good role models and supporters but that this was not always the case.

Three participants spoke about the people in their community who were concerned with youth. Sam talked about some people in the community standing together and organising events like fundraisers to provide for the youth. Walter discussed how some people in his community tried to do something about the negative behaviour of youth: *"Hulle sal gaan praat met jou, 'Kyk hier, gisteraand het jy dié gedoen. Ek hou nie daarvan nie. Hoekom? Ek hou jou dop ..."* (Walter). Amy, Walter and Sam mentioned that there were people in the community that kept an eye on the youth and talked to them or to their parents if they were aware of any negative behaviour. Steven made the point that, in fact, the discipline of young people in his community should be the responsibility of the whole community.

To conclude, in addition to their specific coping strategies, participants identified other resources – individual, family and community resources – that help them to maintain their positive lifestyle. Individual resources stem from within the person and include the participants' generally positive view of their family and the supportive role of religion. Family resources include effective parenting and communication within the family. Community resources refer to factors within the community such as supportive adults and the community's care and concern for its youth.
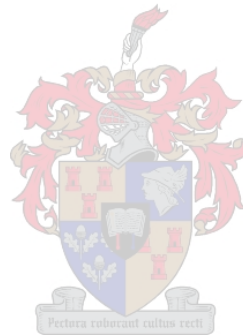
4.7   OVERVIEW OF THE FINDINGS

The findings that emerged through the analysis of the individual interviews and the focus-group interview, supported by my observations in the field, showed, firstly, that the participants have a perception of their environment as posing numerous challenges to them, particularly in terms of their safety, secondly, that they have developed specific coping strategies, skills and attitudes in order to deal with these challenges and, thirdly, that, in addition to their specific coping skills, individual, family and community resources play an important role in supporting them to maintain their positive lifestyle.

4.8   SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

This chapter has given a description of the data collection process and a profile of the participants. A detailed explanation of how the data were analysed, including a depiction in the form of tables, and of the outcomes of the coding process was offered. Finally, a comprehensive presentation of the themes that arose from the data was undertaken by the linking of these themes to the research questions.

A detailed discussion of the findings and of how they are linked to literature will be presented in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

> Hope is something that brings sunshine into the shadow of our lives. It is our link to a better tomorrow. When hope is gone, so too is our life force. And when hope is kept alive, so too is our determination to go on (Halberstam & Leventhal, 1997, p. 27).

5.1   INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to draw together the findings of and to present the conclusions for this study. In order to facilitate this, the findings that were presented in Chapter 4 will be related to literature, offering a discussion and a conclusion of the results of the study. In addition, a synopsis of the study will be provided and reference will be made to the limitations of the study. Finally, recommendations that stem from the findings and discussion will be suggested, as will opportunities for further research.

5.2   DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Merriam (2002) maintains that, when findings are discussed, care should be taken that the findings are positioned in terms of literature and previous research, that the implications for practice are clearly stated and that suggestions for future research are noted. The overall interpretation will be the researcher's understanding, mediated by the particular disciplinary perspective, of the participants' understanding of the phenomenon of interest (Merriam, 2002, p. 38). In the discussion of the findings here, connections will be made to the literature that was studied.

The purpose of this study was to gain a contextual understanding of the resilient attributes of youth in a high-risk community. One of the key findings is that the term "attributes" does not refer to a discrete trait possessed by an individual but rather that the term is conceptualised as meaning the various aspects, both internal and external, that can be considered factors that have an influence on youth's resilient behaviour. Furthermore, in the conceptualisation of the phenomenon of resilience, the observation by Rutter (1985, p. 598) that "resilience is determined mainly by the balance between the stresses and risks children are exposed to on the one hand, and the protective factors which might be operating on the other" is an important point to remember. This corresponds with the idea, discussed by Masten (2001) and Luthar *et al.* (2000), that, in order for someone to be considered resilient, that person should have been exposed to significant challenges.

Five core categories emerged from the data in answer to the research questions. These were "challenges in the community", "coping strategies", "individual resources", "family resources" and "community resources". The youth participants indicated a variety of resources in response to questions on what they felt had supported them in maintaining their positive lifestyle. In order to categorise these responses, use was made of the triad of resources by Garmezy:

> ... a protective triad of resources and health promoting events, involving strengths of the individual (good intellectual functioning, appealing, sociable, easy-going disposition, self-efficacy, self confidence, high self-esteem, talents, faith), the family (close relationship to a caring parent figure, authoritative parenting, warmth, structure, high expectations, socio-economic advantage, connections to extended supportive family networks), and the school and community (adults outside the family who take an interest in promoting the child's welfare, connections to social organizations, attendance at effective schools) (1991, p. 420).

Consequently, the identified resources were categorised into individual resources, family resources and community resources.

The five core categories mentioned above will be used as a framework to discuss the findings.

5.2.1 Challenges in the community

Information relating to the challenges within the participants' community offered some insight into the context in which the participants lived and into the particular challenges that they faced. Researchers, such as Luthar *et al.* (1993), Rutter (1985) and Garmezy (1991), have pointed out that the social environment and the political context that youth live in can have an adverse affect on their development and their ability to cope with stress. Furthermore, Donald *et al.* (2000) note that youths' perceptions of their context are central to an understanding of how they engage with their developmental settings and therefore the way in which they perceive their circumstances influences the way in which they respond to the human and physical contexts. Therefore, the information on the challenges that the participants faced in their community provided some insight into their particular contexts and information on how they perceived these difficulties and tried to cope with them.

Poverty, violence, lack of resources and social disorder are risk factors to a child's successful development (Donald *et al.*, 2000; Luthar & Goldstein, 2004; Masten *et al.*, 1999). The participants in this study all referred to the crime and violence that they, their friends and their families were regularly exposed to within their community. The fact that they did not feel safe in their community and did not feel protected in the streets and in their schools was a particular concern for all the participants. This is likely to create a sense of insecurity and stress for youths in this community, as there are few places where they can feel safe and secure. In addition, the impact of poverty in terms

of a lack of adequate housing, unemployment and the influence that these factors have on crime and substance abuse was noted. The participants linked living in poverty to some of the community's feelings of despair. These feelings of despair were explained as some people not caring about what was happening within their community and these individuals then not playing a role in trying to improve things. In addition, issues such as a lack of facilities and opportunities to develop their talents, gangsterism, substance abuse and teenage pregnancy were also considered particular dangers to their and their peers' successful development within this community.

The participants described an environment where youths faced multiple challenges with very few resources and support to overcome these challenges. The desire for programmes in their community that could support youths and that could facilitate their talents was suggested by some of the participants as a way to keep youths positively engaged. The idea that emerged was that, if youths were offered a positive alternative, some would grasp the opportunity. The community's negative stereotyping of youths was a theme that emerged as a challenge within this community. The fact that youths were labelled as "bad" and that, even if they tried to do "the right thing", the worst was assumed was raised as an issue. The claim by Benard (1997, p. 32) that "looking at children through a deficit lens obscures recognition of their capacities and strengths, as well as their individuality and uniqueness" appears to support the participants' view of this being a challenge for them and for other young people in their community. The idea that, because of this negative stereotyping, youths just gave up was reflected in some of the participants' stories about their peers' behaviour and in their understanding of why youths in their community became involved in gangsterism and substance abuse, as little belief was shown in them by some people in the community.

In conclusion, the participants painted a picture of their community as living under the constant threat of violence and of crime, where they and their parents had to be particularly watchful about their safety and be cautious about getting to and from school, church and the shops, as this could pose a danger to their safety. In addition, gangsterism and substance abuse were identified as significant sources of concern, as they not only brought crime into the area but were also a temptation for youths to escape into from their difficult environments. Furthermore, the community itself was neglected, as, for example, there were no resources or facilities with which the youths could keep themselves safely occupied and could develop their talents. The fact that many people in the community were not interested in attempting to improve the environment and to support the youths was also a concern for the participants.

5.2.2   Coping strategies

A number of themes surfaced that provided an insight into the strategies that these youths employed to cope with the challenges that they faced. All the participants talked about the specific strategies

that they used to keep themselves out of trouble. The ideas of actively avoiding trouble, setting limits and boundaries for themselves and trying not to draw attention to themselves were interesting strategies employed by some of the participants. These strategies appeared to indicate that these youth made a conscious effort to avoid interaction with negative influences in their community. The finding by Reed-Victor and Pelco (1999) that responsible behaviour is associated with resilient children and the suggestion by Masten (2001, p. 234) that self-regulation skills are important support this finding. In addition, the participants demonstrated their enthusiasm for being involved in new opportunities and for taking part in activities. This coping strategy is backed up by Gordon Rouse (2001), who suggests that having an environment that supports general extracurricular activities enhances resilience. Similarly, Werner and Smith (1992, in Benard) found that:

> ... resilient survivors took pleasure in interests and hobbies that brought them solace when things fell apart in their home lives. They also engaged in activities that allowed them to be part of a cooperative enterprise as well as active involvement in a church or religious community – activities that connected them to a group that became a surrogate family (1997, p. 31).

The importance of choosing the correct friends and the idea that friends could have a negative influence on them was an issue that was highlighted by most of the participants. The fact that the participants were conscious of this seemed to indicate that this was a strategy that they made use of in order to protect themselves from peer pressure and from being negatively stereotyped or getting into trouble merely for associating with the wrong crowd. This finding indicated that the participants actively tried to connect with positive friends and were aware of the potentially negative consequences of friendships. This is supported by research on adolescents by Buysse (1997) showing that social support (friendships) can have either a positive influence or a negative influence depending on the characteristics of the subsystems involved.

Brendtro and Larson (2004) note that studies show that resilient youths are able to find meaning in their lives by investing in a purpose beyond themselves. This idea was corroborated by the finding that all the participants explicitly referred to their care and concern for others and to the importance of treating all people with respect and with dignity. Although they did not specifically mention human rights, their description of how they believed that people should be treated implied that a respect for human rights was a world view that underpinned the way in which they lived their lives and treated others. In addition, the concept of respect, both respect for themselves and respect for others, was something that all the participants mentioned. This reference to the importance of respect was not only a way of avoiding conflict and difficulties but also appeared to give them a sense of value in their community.

Resilient youths have an orientation towards, a belief, in their future (Benard, 1997a; McWhirter *et al.*, 1993; Rouse, 2001; Smokowski *et al.*, 2000). Benard (1993) talks about "a strong capacity to plan and to hope" and "a sense of purpose and a bright future" and Smokowski *et al.* (2000) refer to attributes such as future optimism, future expectations and goals. Every one of the participants spoke of their plans for the future. They all appeared to have a clear vision of what they would like to achieve and how they would do this. In addition, the concepts of working hard for their future and of remaining focused on their goals surfaced during the interviews. This appears to be confirmed by the findings by Smokowski et al. (2000) that perseverance, determination and the ability to look back on one's life to identify past experiences of overcoming adversity are associated with positive adolescent development. Similarly, Rutter (1989) and Reed-Victor and Pelco (1999) assert that resilient youths are focused on their goals. Most of the participants attributed their avoidance of difficulties and their staying on the right path to their focus on hard work and on their goals.

All the participants appeared to be doing reasonably well at school, as evidenced by the fact that they had all reached high school and were aiming to complete Grade 12. The exception was Walter, who had left school after Grade 11. This would seem to indicate that the participants possessed the ability to be reasonably successful at school. It is suggested that intelligence is strongly associated with resilient children (Garmezy, 1983; Rutter, 1988). Likewise, Reed-Victor and Pelco (1999) note that school success and active involvement in school are associated with resilient children. In addition, all the participants expressed their belief in the importance of their education and particularly in the furtherance of their education. Furthermore, although this was not explicitly explored, all the participants appeared to possess what Goleman (2005) calls emotional intelligence. Goleman (2005) states that emotional intelligence refers to how a person manages her or his feelings and to how well she or he gets along with and empathises with others. Goleman (2005) asserts that this is a key skill and that, apart from helping people to manage their emotions, it can help them to learn better. According to Goleman (2005), a person's ability to master the skills of self-awareness, self-management, social awareness and relationship management translates into success in the workplace (Emmerling & Goleman, 2003). This is conceptualised as emotional intelligence. All the participants in this study demonstrated some combination of these skills, such as demonstrating care and concern for others, having an internal locus of control, having goals and dreams for their future, and maintaining positive relationships with their family and with their peers. Many of these skills are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

5.2.3 Individual resources

The participants' ability to make friends and their belief in the importance of friendship and in connecting with people were identified as a resource. Some of the participants talked about how their friends had a positive influence on them. Again, this finding links with research by Buysse (1997) showing that social support (friendship) can have either a positive or a negative influence. McWhirter *et al.* (1993) suggest that adolescents who have positive peer relationships are more willing to engage in social interaction and that they provide positive social rewards for one another. Furthermore, a number of researchers have referred to the ability of resilient youth to connect with others: Garmezy (1983) talks about positive peer interactions, Benard (1993) says that they have a strong capacity to form relationships, Reed-Victor and Pelco (1999) talk about their sociability and Turner (2000) talks about good social and connection skills. Additionally, the suggestion by Luthar (1993) that, when youths who have confidence in their social skills are exposed to stress, they may turn to their peer group for positive experiences appears to corroborate the findings that participants placed a high value on friendships and on connecting with others.

The importance of positive adult interactions is highlighted by Garmezy (1983). The participants all spoke about their connection with their parents, each one mentioning that their parent or parents were their role models. This connection with a parent was considered a resource because all the participants had a positive connection at their home and had a place where they felt loved, supported and understood, which seemed to allow them to cope with some of the challenges that they faced.
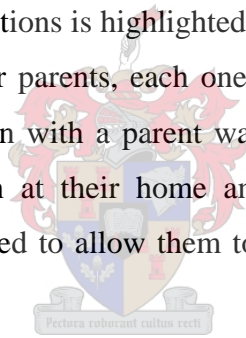
Furthermore, every one of the participants explicitly referred to the importance of religion in her or his life. It appeared to offer them a way of living a good life and explanations for some of the difficulties that they experienced. In addition, religion seemed to protect them from some of the dangers in their community: it kept them busy but it also afforded them some respect in that people would not approach them to get involved in bad things, as it was known that they were involved with the church or the mosque. The importance of religion is supported by Benard (1997b) and Woodhead *et al.* (2003), who note that spirituality can play an important role as a protective resource. Furthermore, the description by Williams of the importance and effects of spirituality resonates with some of the themes that emerged in the findings:

> The development of resilience is reportedly tied to the ability to have hope and find reassurance in the face of distress. For many people, this support and nurturance can be found within an organized spiritual community or within a personal relationship with a higher power. For survivors of violence and trauma, spirituality is a significant ingredient in the healing process for many in that it gives people a sense of connectedness to self and others and an ability to see larger meaning or purpose to the events of their lives. Spirituality deepens and expands a person's values and

perspectives, allowing for the possibility of viewing adversity as an opportunity for personal growth and development (2002, p. 205).

The majority of the participants, in describing their approach to managing difficulties, indicated that they were proactive problem solvers and that they had an internal locus of control. The participants took responsibility for issues and difficulties in their lives, they believed that they were in control of what happened and that they could make choices about what they would like to do. This finding is corroborated by the research of Dumont and Provost (1999), who found resilient adolescents had better problem-solving and coping strategies than did vulnerable adolescents. In addition, Garmezy (1983) and Lewis *et al.* (2003) talk about critical problem-solving skills, a sense of personal power rather than powerlessness and an internal locus of control as characteristics of resilient youth. Rutter (1989) suggests that children with active coping styles can be more resilient. Benard (1993) refers to a strong capacity to solve problems and Gilligan (2000, p. 41) identifies self-efficacy as a source of resilience.

All the participants demonstrated what I call an "altruistic attitude". All the participants talked of their desire for their community to become a better place and of their wish to have a positive effect on other people and on their community. Through these conversations, their kind and unselfish nature emerged; this seemed to be a personal resource that they all shared. This finding is similar to the finding by Werner and Smith (in Benard, 1997a, p. 31) that "acts of required helpfulness were associated with positive developmental outcomes". Along with this compassionate attitude to others, each one of the participants demonstrated self-awareness and positive self-esteem. These characteristics have been identified by researchers as important protective resources. Masten (2001, p. 234) calls this having a "positive view of self", Benard (1993) talks about "a strong capacity to develop a sense of identity", Garmezy (1983) refers to "a positive sense of self", Rutter (1989) refers to self-confidence and Gilligan (2000) identifies self-esteem as one of the sources of resilience. Furthermore, Dumont and Provost (1999) found that resilient adolescents had higher self-esteem, Lewis *e*t al. (2003, p. 98) note that resilient people tend to be confident that they can adapt to new situations and Turner (2000, p. 31) suggests that a "sense of high self-esteem or self-efficacy is an important resiliency trait." These findings confirm the findings of this study in that the participants' self-awareness and self-esteem were resources in supporting their positive development.

A number of the participants' personal beliefs surfaced during the interviews and the subsequent analysis of the data that appeared to play an important role in supporting their positive lifestyle. These included the belief that making the right decisions was important, that rules were important and that they were in control of their life and of the decisions that they made. These findings are

corroborated by Benard, who notes that "autonomy", which she describes as a "sense of identity, self-agency, accomplishment, and detachment" (Benard, 1997a, p. 29), is an attribute of resilient youth. In addition, personal attributes such as positive personality characteristics (being loving, sociable, humorous etc.), the wish to help others, trying to do the right thing, learning from others and being assertive emerged as characteristics that the participants shared and these, too, seemed to play a role in protecting and in supporting their positive life trajectories. Numerous researchers and authors have identified similar characteristics as individual resources. Garmezy (1983) identifies "a high degree of social responsiveness and sensitivity, empathy, and a sense of humour" as important, Benard (1997a, p. 30) refers to the importance of "social competence", this encompassing attributes such as "empathy, flexibility, communication skills, and a sense of humour", and, according to Woodhead *et al.* (2003), internal protective factors related to temperament and a sense of humour are significant factors in resilient youth.

An observation that was made during data collection and that was subsequently confirmed during analysis was that the participants had an attitude to life that was framed by a positive and an enthusiastic outlook. Maccoby (1988) has suggested that, in order to cope, one requires hope and Woodhead *et al.* (2003) state that feelings of purpose and a belief in a bright future are important attributes. Thus, seeing their lives as generally positive, being willing to grasp opportunities and being grateful for the opportunities offered to them appear to be important resources for these youths.

5.2.4   Family resources

The theme of parenting concerning what their parents provided for them in terms of love, care, support, encouragement, rules and boundaries was a topic that every one of the participants talked about. The fact that they felt loved, supported and encouraged at home was clear. This finding is corroborated by the study of Smokowski *et al.* (2000), in which resilient adolescents reported being grateful to family members, especially mothers, and teachers who provided positive role models, consistent caring and motivational support. Furthermore, the importance of parents setting rules and boundaries emerged as an important way of the participants being kept safe and of a demonstration of their parents' care and concern for them. The concept of effective parenting is one that has been identified by a number of researchers as significant in supporting at-risk youth and so confirms the finding on the importance of parenting. Rutter (in Garmezy, 1988) finds that a supportive family environment is an important protective factor. Gilligan (2000) identifies a secure base as one of the sources of resilience. Furthermore, Gilligan (2000, p. 39) notes that "a young person's sense of a secure base is cultivated by attached type relationships to reliable and responsive people, and by routines and structures in their lives." Similarly, Winfield (1994) suggests that "resilient children

tend to have parents who are concerned with their children's education, who participate in that education, who direct their children's everyday tasks, and who are aware of their children's interests and goals." This is supported by the finding of Luthar and Goldstein (2004, p. 503) that "among families living in conditions of poverty, positive parenting, which involves high monitoring, support and cohesiveness, can help children maintain adequate levels of adjustment."

In addition to positive and effective parenting, participants identified family communication as being an important factor in helping them to maintain their positive lifestyle. It was noteworthy that all the participants discussed the fact that, if they had a problem, they would discuss it with one or with both of their parents. The idea that communication in a family helped the family dynamic to remain healthy also emerged, as did the ideas of discussing problems, of respecting your parents' authority and of the family having a shared vision. The finding by Masten (2001, p. 232) that "parenting appears to play a key mediating role linking major life stressors to child behaviour" corroborates the finding by this study that parents play an important role in helping their children to deal with difficulties. In addition, the fact that participants talked about discussing problems and about getting their parents' advice when faced with difficulties supports Masten's finding. Furthermore, Howard and Johnson (2000, pp. 16-17) found that "what children want is parents' attention, they want to be talked and listened to." In support of this, Ungar (2003, p. 19) refers to the importance of "meaningful family relationships." This was demonstrated through the participants' descriptions of the spending of quality time with their family and of the sharing of a vision or a belief, as this created common ground for discussions and for activities in the family. According to Dent and Cameron (2003), one of the central aspects of a child's social competence and confidence is the security of attachment. Through their descriptions of their family life and of their view of their parent or parents, all the youths in this study appeared to have a secure attachment with at least one of their parents.

5.2.5   Community resources

The notion of the community being a resource in helping them and in supporting them in their positive lifestyle was something that the majority of the participants discussed. This perception is supported by McWhirter *et al.* (1993), who assert that resilient youths derive support from their social environment: their school, their community and their culture. The concept of supportive community networks has been identified by Rutter (in Garmezy, 1988, p. 78), who notes that "an external societal agency that functions as a support system for strengthening and reinforcing a child's coping efforts is an important protective factor." Supporting this, Gilligan (2000, p. 39) suggests that "a young person's sense of a secure base is cultivated by a sense of belonging within supportive social networks." Furthermore, Blundo (2002) notes that personal social networks and

school, church, day-care facilities and other community organisations are important in the promotion of protective factors and of resilience. Expanding on this, Ungar (2003) identifies social supports for at-risk youth as a factor important in coping with adversity. This includes, for example, actions such as the attendance of school and participation in recreational activities, which provide youths with alternatives to street gangs. The participants in this study identified a number of community factors that they believed supported them. The knowledge that some people in their community were concerned about their well-being appeared to make them feel cared for and supported. Linked with this, most of the participants specifically refered to the support of an adult other than their parent whom they felt was significant in their lives. This corroborates a number of researchers' findings on the important role that a significant adult can play in at-risk youths' lives. In support of this, Lewis *et* al. (2003) suggest that successful people tend to have strong social-support systems and, according to Masten (2001), a connection to competent and caring adults in the family and in the community is a factor that is associated with resilience. Garmezy (1988, p. 75) notes that the children in his study "had at least one adequate identification figure among significant adults who touched their lives and these youngsters held a more positive attitude towards adults and authority in general."

The idea that schools and their teachers have the means and the opportunity to support, to encourage and to keep the participants on the right path also emerged as a community resource. In contrast, however, some of the participants suggested that some teachers were, in fact, having a negative or a negligible impact on them. Associated with this finding on the potentially supportive role that schools and teachers can have, Dent and Cameron (2003, p. 11) assert that "schools do make an essential difference for a pupil's attainment and behaviour and self-worth." Becker and Luthar (2002, p. 201) note that "much evidence has shown the protective effects of a positive school environment on disadvantaged students' psychosocial competence". Doll and Lyon (1998b, p. 357) write that "schools remain a key institution for promoting positive development of many at-risk children and youth". Similarly, Howard and Johnson (2000, pp. 16-17) found that "what children want is for their teachers to help them achieve and be successful at school."

5.2.6   Conclusions

These findings, supported by literature, indicate that a number of factors allow us to understand the attributes of resilient youth living in a high-risk community. The factors are much broader than simple traits or individual characteristics. Rather, these factors need to be understood from an ecosystemic perspective, as they occur at different levels and in various contexts of the individual's environment. The factors that have emerged are, firstly, that resilient youth have specific coping strategies that allow them to negotiate the challenges that they face successfully and, secondly, that

various resources from different contexts play a role in supporting youth in maintaining their positive lifestyle. These are individual resources, family resources and community resources.

The suggestion by Masten (2001, p. 228) that the term "resilience" be used to refer to the "maintenance of positive adjustment under challenging life circumstances" provides a helpful means of understanding the concept. This is also the reason for exploring the challenges that the participants faced to understand their context and their experiences of "challenging life circumstances." According to Luthar *et al.* (2000, p. 546), "when the term resilience is used to refer to a trait, one cannot assume that the child has actually experienced or been exposed to adversity. Where resilience is conceptualized as a process, the experience of adversity is a given." Consequently, the findings that these youths faced a number of specific challenges within their community support their identification as resilient youths.

The findings from this study, however, must be understood within the context of the findings by researchers such as Rutter (2001), Luthar *et al.* (2000), Luthar *et al.* (1993) that demonstrate that resilience is not a fixed attribute but rather that it varies over time, depending on factors such as context and levels or types of stress. This then suggests that youths may be vulnerable in certain contexts and resilient in others and that the phenomenon of resilience is a fluctuating process dependent on numerous variables.

5.3   SYNOPSIS OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to gain a contextual understanding of the resilient attributes of youths who live in a high-risk community. This aim was achieved through the selection of a community that was considered "high risk" and then, through key informants, the identification of youths who were thought to be doing well or to be resilient. Data were then collected through semi-structured interviews, use being made of the interview questions by Ungar *et al.*, of a focus-group interview, of observations and of a literature study. The findings of this study correspond with much of the research examined in the literature study. The participants identified the specific challenges that they faced within their community. These included issues such as community resources, safety, barriers to community development, the negative stereotyping of youth and the specific dangers to the well-being of youth. This information created a context for understanding their challenges and their perceptions of the difficulties that they had to cope with. In addition, the participants talked about the strategies that they used in order to cope with these challenges. These included specific strategies to protect themselves, the negative aspects of friendships, their attitude to others, respect, their future orientation, their work ethic, their understanding of success and education. Lastly, the

aspects that supported these youths in maintaining their positive lifestyle were identified. These sources of support included individual resources, family resources and community resources.

5.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The value of this study is somewhat constrained by various limitations. Creswell (1994) states that limitations identify the potential weaknesses of a study. In this study, the fact that the sample was made up of youths between the ages of 14 and 19 who all live in the same community means that the findings offer a limited perspective, as they reflect the view of particular age group in a particular community. This has implications for the generalisation of these findings to other communities and to other age groups. Another limitation is that the sample participants were all actively involved in the religious community. It is therefore possible that there is bias towards the importance of religion and of other views of living life synonymous with religion. In addition, the concept of resilience as a process rather than as a discrete trait and the fact that it is a variable phenomenon seem to suggest that research over a longer period may provide more detailed findings than interviews and observations over a short period.

5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

Despite the limitations of this study, the following recommendations are proposed. In order to support the resilience of youth in high-risk communities, one of the focuses should be on reducing risk and on increasing assets and protective factors. In addition, it is important that work is undertaken ecosystemically and at various levels of the system. Therefore, an attempt should be made to reduce risk factors, such as stressful life events or adverse environmental conditions, which increase the vulnerability of individuals and protective factors, such as the presence of personal, family and community protective factors. So, in the words of Krovetz (1999), the emphasis should be on the strengthening of the environment, not on the fixing of the children. Furthermore, Benard makes a useful comment, which can be used as part of the conceptualisation of support for youth:

> Resilience research has shown that healthy development is an ongoing process of meeting basic developmental needs through caring relationships, high expectation messages, and opportunities for participation. The fostering of resilience happens at a deep structural, systemic, human level: at the level of relationships, beliefs, and opportunities for participation and power that are part of every intervention no matter what the focus. (1997a, p. 32)

Firstly, the provision of resources for extracurricular activities, such as soccer fields, art classes, karate classes and youth-development programmes, should be investigated by the relevant authorities. The desire for resources in their community was highlighted by a number of the participants. The idea of having a programme of support and of activities to develop their talents

and to keep them productively occupied was suggested. Secondly, programmes directed specifically at parents may make available to them the knowledge, skills, resources and support that they need to provide their children with effective parenting. Thirdly, in-service training and support should be offered to schools to increase their effectiveness as a resource to youth in high-risk communities. Fourthly, mechanisms for the community supporting each other and their youth should be investigated. Ideas such as a "road mother", where unemployed women in the community cared for and watched the children in their roads after school, were aired. Fifthly, the merits of the concept of Brendtro *et al.* of a reclaiming environment should be investigated to see if it can work within certain community structures, in other words churches, schools and youth programmes:

> A reclaiming environment is one that creates changes that meet the needs of both the young people and society. To reclaim is to recover and redeem, to restore value to something that has been devalued. Among the features of powerful reclaiming environments are these: experiencing belonging in a supportive community, meeting one's needs for mastery, rather than enduring inflexible systems designed for the convenience of adults, involving youth in determining their own future, while recognizing society's need to control harmful behaviour, expecting youth to be caregivers, not just helpless recipients overly dependent on the care of adults (2002, pp. 3-4).

Through community building, community initiatives should be developed that can work to support youth, parents, teachers and any other role players, in turn, to support the positive and healthy development of youth.

5.6 FURTHER RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES

Despite this study's limitations, the resilient attributes of a specific cohort of youth in a particular South African community were demonstrated to be similar to those identified by overseas researchers as resilient attributes. It is suggested that further research include similar studies in other communities to see whether comparable findings emerge. In addition, it would be useful for this study to be broadened within the same community to see if these results could be replicated, as this would further strengthen the findings of the study. Longitudinal studies of resilient youth and of the factors that support them would also add depth to the current body of knowledge and would provide policy makers with important information on the provision of support for youth in high-risk communities. Finally, research that starts to identify what parents need and what the community needs, especially schools, to support youth in high-risk communities would be of significant value.

5.7 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

This chapter provided an overview and a conclusion to this study. To begin with, the findings were discussed by relating them to the literature and to the research questions that framed this study from the start. The particular limitations that affect this study were addressed and the recommendations that stem from the discussion of the findings were presented. Finally, suggestions were made for further research.
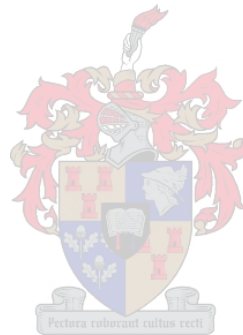
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APPENDIX A:

ATTRIBUTES OF RESILIENCE

Adapted from Fongagy *et al.* (1994), Greene (2002) and Norman (2000).

Individual attributes	Family attributes	Characteristics of resilient children	Protective features in environment	Psychological characteristics
• Is more cuddly and affectionate in infancy and beyond • No sibling is born within 20-24 months of birth • Has higher level of intelligence • Has capacity and skills for developing intimate relationships and seeks trusting relationships • Has achievement orientation in and outside school • Can construct productive meanings for events that enhance understanding of these events • Can disengage from home, engage with those outside home and re-engage with home • Is internally orientated, with internal locus of control • Was not seriously ill during adolescence • Is creative • Is persistent • Has sense of humour • Communicates effectively • Has good problem-solving skills • Controls impulses	• Extent and nature of fit or match between child and parents • Possession and maintenance of rituals in family • Family's assumption of proactive posture and confrontation of problem or stressor vs. passive and reactive posture • Absence of parent-child role reversals • Minimal conflict in home during infancy • Absence of divorce during adolescence • Substantial and productive relationship with mother • Selection of non-troubled person as mate	• Higher socio-economic status • Female gender before pre-pubescence, male gender after pre-pubescence • Absence of organic deficits • Easy temperament • Younger age at time of trauma • Absence of early separations and losses	• Competent parenting • Good (warm) relationship with at least one primary care giver • Availability (in adulthood) of social support from spouse, family or other figures • Better network of informal relationships • Better formal social support through better education and religious affiliation • Structure and rules at home • Parental encouragement of autonomy • Stable home environment • Access to health, education, welfare and security services • Emotional support outside family • Stable school environment • Good role models • Affiliated with religious organisation	• High IQ and problem-solving ability • Superior coping styles • Task-related self-efficacy • Autonomy or internal locus of control • Higher sense of self-worth • Interpersonal awareness and empathy • Willingness and capacity to plan • Sense of humour • Autonomy • Appealing temperament • Orientation towards achievement • Healthy self-esteem • Trust • Empathy and altruism • Sound locus of control • Intellectual skills • Spirituality • Hope • Faith • Belief in God • Sense of morality

APPENDIX B:

INTERVIEW GUIDE

The following themes served as a framework for the individual interviews:

Wat moet jy weet om in hierdie gemeenskap suksesvol groot te word?
- Watter rol speel religieuse organisasies in jou lewe?
- Wat dink ander lede van jou gesin oor die manier hoe jy jou lewe leef, en oor jou oortuigings (soos geslagsrolle)?
- Hoe hanteer jy verandering? Beide op 'n individuele vlak, en in jou gemeenskap?
- Hoe maak jy 'n bydra in jou gemeenskap?
- Hoe beleef jy dit as mense rondom jou sukses behaal?
- Het jy 'n lewens filosofie? Voel jy gemaklik om dit met my te deel?
- Identifiseer jy in enige manier met jou kultuur? Kan jy jou kultuur vir my beskryf? Kan jy jou daagliks aktiwiteite wat deel vorm van jou kultuur en die manier hoe dit in jou gemeenskap gedoen word, vir my beskryf?
- Hoe het dit verander van jou kindertyd af?

Hoe sou jy mense wat in hierdie moeilike omstandighede, maar tog suksesvol, groot geword het, beskryf? Watter woorde sal jy gebruik?

Wat beteken dit vir jou, jou familie en jou gemeenskap as slegte goed gebeur?
- Kan jy vir my voorbeelde gee van die slegte goed?
- Wat doen mense om te cope met dit?
- Wat se hulle oor die slegte goed wanneer die gebeur?
- Wie praat die meeste oor die goed? Minste? En wie kom eerste met probleem oplossings?
- Wat dink ander mense van die oplossings?
- Kan jy vir my voorbeelde gee?

Watter tipe goed is mees uitdagend vir jou, as 'n mens wat hier grootword?
- Het jy geleenthede vir ouderdoms-toepaslike werk?
- Is jy, of mense wie jy ken, aan geweld blootgestel? Hoe vermy jy dit in jou familie, gemeenskap en met vriende.
- Watter rol speel die staat in die voorsiening van jou veiligheid, ontspanning, behuising en werk geleenthede; nou en as jy ouer is?
- Het jy geleenthede om 'MEANINGFUL RITES OF PASSAGE' te ervaar? Wat is hulle? Bied hulle net die regte hoeveelhied risiko vir jou?
- Hoe tolerant is jou gemeenskap vir probleem gedrag onder mense van jou ouderdom? Verduidelik die tipes gedrag.
- Voel jy veilig in jou gemeenskap? Hoe beskerm ander mense vir jou?
- Voel jy gelykwaardig teen ander mense? Is daar ander mense teenoor wie jy nie gelykwaarding voel nie? Hoe laat hierdie ander mense jou voel? Wat doen hulle om jou so te laat voel?
- Het jy toegang tot skool en opvoeding, of enige ander informasie wat jy nodig het om sukselvol groot te word? Hoe kry jy hierdie toegang? Wie verskaf dit aan jou?

Wat doen jy as jy met moeilike tye gekonfronteer word?

Wat beteken dit vir jou, jou familie en jou gemeenskap om gesond te wees?

- Kan jy beskryf hoe jou ouers of vesorgers vir jou sorg?
- Hoe druk jou familie hulself uit en wat hulle oor jou dink?
- Hoe monitor jou gesin vir jou, en weet wat jy doen of waar jy is?
- Hoe weet jy hoe om jouself met ander mense te gedra? Hoe goed doen jy in sosiaale situasies? Is jy gewild met ander mense; dink hulle goeie dinge van jou?
- Het jy 'n rol model? Kan jy hulle beskryf?
- Het jy ander betekenisvolle verhoudings met mense by die skool, tuis of in jou gemeenskap?

Wat doen jy om, en ander mense wat jy ken, om geestelik, liggamlik, verstandelik en emosioneel gesond te bly?
- Is jy assertief? Hoe wys jy dit?
- Kan jy jou vermoe om probleme op te los beskryf? Is jou probleem oplossings vermoe beter of slegte as ander mense s'n? Hoe weet jy dit?
- Het jy 'n gevoel van beheer oor jou wereld? Hoe affekteer dit jou lewe?
- Met hoeveel onsekerheid kan jy lewe? Het dit oor tyd verander?
- Waardeer jy self bewustheid en insig? Hoe affekteer dit jou lewe en wat jy dag tot dag doen?
- Sal jy jouself as optimisties of pessimisties teenoor die lewe beskryf?
- Het jy persoonlike doele en vooruitsigte? Wat is hulle?
- Hoe onafhanklik is jy en hoe afhanklik aan ander is jy vir jou oorlewing?
- Hoe veel gebruik jy middele soos alcohol en dwelms? Wat dink ander mense rondom jou oor hierdie goed?
- Watter rol speel humor in jou lewe?

Deel 'n storie van 'n kind wat goed groot geword het in hierdie gemeenskap ten spyte van die uitdagings wat aan hom of haar gestel was?

Deel 'n storie van hoe jy in staat was om persoonlike uitdagings te oorkom in jou gesin, familie of in jou gemeenskap?

APPENDIX C:

EXAMPLE OF OPEN CODING

373		dinge, gaan hulle sê vir die polisie, "Nee hy is oud gewoond met die kar ry.
374		Vat hom., hy willie hoor nie". Verstaan. So die mense klassifiseer net vir jou
375		aan wat jy doen. So wat ek nou kan sê eintlik .... Dis belangrik waarmee jy
376		jouself besig hou, verstaan, ek ..... baie belangrik is, wees gehoorsaam aan
377		jou ouers. Hoekom? Want hulle is die mense wat die swaar deur gaan om
378		alles vir jou in die lewe voor te sit aan die tafel, sodat jy mooi kan aantrek,
379		dat jy geld het, dat jy hiernatoe kan gaan. So dis eintlik belangrik waarmee
380		jy besig is in die gemeenskap. So sal die mense jou ken.
381	R2:	Nog 'n punt. Reëls is ook baie belangrik. Veral reëls in jou huis, in jou
382		woonbuurt, in jou kerk, skool, waar ookal jy is. Moenie probeer om die reëls
383		voor te gaan nie. Sekere dinge wat jy nie moet doen nie. Daarom ..... die
384		volgende persoon gaan miskien sien wat jy doen, dan gaan hulle na jou
385		huistoe of hulle kan jou langs die pad kry en sê byvoorbeeld, "Ja dis daai
386		klonkie wat dit en dat doen en dit". Ja, so reëls is baie belangrik.
387	R4:	Ek sal dink in Delft is daar baie talente in sport want almal die jong kinders,
388		hulle hou van sport *but* daar is nie eintlik ..... hulle kan nie eintlik verder
389		gaan nie want daar's nie geld of soos die gangster ...... Miskien, die
390		gangsters breek af. Hulle breek die velde, soos die Louw ..... eintlik hulle ...
391		Hoe kan ek sê? *They destroy the children's future as sportsmen and*
392		*sportwomen. That's why they can't go on.*
393	R5:	Soos hy nou gesê het, daar is 'n klomp talente onder ons. Soos op
394		Rosendal. Uhm ek dink dit was 2002 toe was daar net 33 atlete op hulle
395		skool. Maar as die mense bank daar op die skool en alles, en die polisie
396		trek miskien op, dan kan die mense goed hardloop en alles, en oor die mure
397		*jump.* (almal breek hulle) Dan hardloop hulle weg van die polisiemanne
398		maar hulle willie hardloop vir die skoollie.
399	O:	(laggend) Dis 'n goeie punt eintlik.
400	R2:	Sekere mense weet nie hoe en waar om te begin nie. Uhm as ek jô! As ek
401		moes hierdie spesifieke talent moes gehad het, ek kon mooi sing jô! Ek sal
402		uitgegaan het na sekere plekke toe, gat sing by, ek sal begin by kerke en
403		daarvan af stuur hulle vir jou uit en jy gaan miskien oorsee. Uhm

APPENDIX D:

TABLE 1: OPEN CODING

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
1. Importance of respect	#	#	#	#		#	{143:5, 157:6}I1 {645:21, 910:31}I2 {168:6, 179:6}FG1	905:30, 921:30	8:1 {213:7, 222:8}FG1	67:3		15:1, 21:1, 42:2, 56:2
2. If you're living a good life, you'll be respected	#				#		{527:18, 544:18}I1 {26:1, 226:8}I2 {53:2, 148:5}FG1				107:4	
3. Respect can help build a better community				#							108:4	
4. NB to respect adults			#						364:12, 368:12, 372:12			
5. NB to respect yourself	#					#	{292:10}FG2					74:3, 91:3
6. Doesn't like it when others are disrespectful			#						373: 13			
7. Reciprocal nature of respect			#		#	#			324:11, 325:11		107:4	18:1, 39:2
8. Friends can cause problems	#	#	#	#			{855:29}I2	892:30	9:1,	91:3		
9. Has good friends					#						63:3	
10. Friends are supportive					#						65:3, 68:3	
11. Friends using drugs, smoking and drinking		#	#	#	#			43:1	518:17, 590:20	{74:3}FG1	128:5	
12. Friends are role models			#						438:15			
13. Tries to steer friends in right direction	#		#				{19:1, 288:10}I2 {82:3}FG1		377:13, 382:13			
14. Friends can be bad influence	#	#	#		#		{252:9}I2	67:3, 288:10, 315:11, 704:24, 885:29, 888:29	{22:1, 25:1}FG1		30:1 {30:1}FG1	

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
15. Friends can help do right thing	#		#		#		{230:8}FG1		{253:9}FG1		138:5	
16. Look out for and protect each other	#						{166:6}I1{755:25}I2					
17. Must have right friends	#	#			#		{20:1, 229:8}FG1 {44:2}FG2	803:27			20:1	
18. Don't worry about what your friends are doing		#						47:2				
19. Peer pressure	#	#	#		#		{447:15}I2	68:3, 311:11, 334:11, 517:17, 807:27, 892:30 {47:2}FG1	10:1, 13:1 {24:1}FG1		125:5	
20. Don't get involved with wrong people/NB not to mix with certain people	#	#	#		#		{88:3}FG1	185:6, 493:16	566:19, 578:19, 580:19		321:11, 360:12, 362:12	
21. Mixing with wrong friends leads you to do wrong thing				#							362:12 {32:2}FG1	
22. Stay away from bad influences	#		#	#			{10:1, 255:9}I2		13:1	{75:3}FG1		
23. Is affected and saddened by wrong choices friends make		#						189:7				
24. Children are sexually active		#	#			#		144:5	11:1			92:3
25. Pressure to use drugs			#			#			12:1			266:9
26. Used to drink a lot of alcohol				#							509:17	
27. At "game shop", there are people who can influence you			#						561:19			
28. You have nothing unless you're spiritually connected			#						262:9			
29. Trust in God/look to God in difficult times	#		#			#	{278:9}I1{64:3, 72:3, 240:8}I1 {235:8, 562:19, 575:19}FG1 {134:5}FG2		275:9			51:2
30. NB role of religion	#	#	#	#		#	{15:1} I1 {29:1, 52:2,	220:8, 387:13 {39:2}FG	29:1, 33:2, 433:14	29:1, 98:4		191:7, 200:7, 217:7,

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
							100:4, 264:9, 326:10, 342:12, 402:14, 536:18, 547:18, 669:22, 1059:36}I2 {35:2, 172:6, 351:12}FG1 {269:9, 271:9, 294:10}FG2	1				330:11
31. Religion changes you	#	#					{95:4}I2	222:8				
32. Religion gives you purpose	#		#				{133:5}FG1		30:1, 32:2			
33. Religion helps to deal with difficulties	#	#		#		#	{728:24}I2	{42:2}FG1		120:4		197:7, 229:8
34. Church offers safety, care and support		#		#				384:13 {49:2}FG1		33:2		
35. God is role model			#						437:15			
36. Religion/God protects	#				#		{281:10, 286:10}I1 {12:1, 15:1} I2				556:18	
37. Attends church	#			#	#		{30:1}I2			299:10	24:1	
38. If religious, get respect in community	#						{923:31}I2					
39. Church keeps participant out of trouble	#				#		{37:2}FG1				27:1	
40. Keeps busy with church activities		#		#				248:8		183:6		
41. Church teaches things	#				#		{403:14}I2 {240:8}FG2				28:1 32:2	
42. There is a pool and soccer fields in community					#						342:12	
43. Police service ineffective/takes long time to respond	#	#			#		{166:6, 767:26}I2	{523:17, 525:17}FG1			346:12	
44. Don't report incidences to police, fear reprisals		#			#			{519:17}FG1			225:8	
45. Community deals with crime	#				#		{881:30, 902:31, 9906:31}				228:8, 233:8, 236:8	

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
							I2					
46. Problems are discussed/talked about by community	#	#			#		{944:32, 951:32, 1044:35} I2	166:6			236:8	
47. Concerned about what is happening in community	#	#		#			{172:6, 767:25, 1061:36} I2	166:6 {515:17} FG1				
48. Bad areas within community	#			#			{775:26, 799:27 808:27,}I2			25:1	256:9	
49. Employment concerns	#			#	#		{96:4}I1{ 1054:36, 1088:37, 1114:37,} I2			171:6	311:11, 316:11	
50. Community watches those who do bad things	#						{831:28} I2 {379:135 33:18}FG 1					
51. Community should play role in disciplining youth				#						205:7		
52. Rough/dangerous community	#			#			{145:5, 152:5, 666:22}I 2				330:11	
53. Government does little for community		#		#	#			281:10		200:7	336:11, 349:12	
54. Need for security	#						{106:4}I 1					
55. Inadequate housing	#			#			{82:3, 95:4}I1				340:11	
56. Community accepts bad things that happen	#		#				{475:16} I2		246:8, 249:9			
57. Community doesn't notice good things youth do			#						247:8 250:9			
58. You are invisible until you do something bad			#						251:9			
59. Desire to be involved in supporting community	#	#	#			#	{919:31} I2 {144:5, 262:9, 560:19}F G1	74:3 {122:4}F G1	62:2 {306:10} FG1			328:11
60. Community doesn't always support change			#						64:3			
61. Desire for community to become better place	#	#	#	#			{171:6, 505:17, 673:22}I 2	{123:4}F G1	119:4, 138:5	63:3, 166:6		

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
62. There are people in community that are concerned with youth	#		#	#			{398:13, 762:25, 877:30}I2 {357:12, 368:12}FG1		125:5, 205:7	60:2		
63. Some people in community accept youth's negative behaviour	#		#	#			{763:25}I2 {183:6, 557:18}FG1		127:5	40:2		
64. Embarrassed to live in community and wants to leave			#						134:5, 152:5, 235:8			
65. People make community			#						136:5			
66. Things are difficult in their community	#				#		{1033:35}I2				84:3	
67. People don't care about their community	#		#				{367:12, 383:13, 394:13, 864:29}I2 {628:21, 658:22}FG1		156:6, 167:6			
68. Community lacks resources	#	#	#			#	{81:3}I1 {180:6, 184:6, 470:16}I2 {140:5, 423:14, 461:15}FG1	284:10	161:6			355:12, 363:12
69. Desire to contribute to their community	#	#	#		#	#	{46:2, 56:2, 673:22}I2 {17:1}FG2	{413:14}FG1	508:17		82:3	111:4, 113:4
70. Support is offered but community doesn't make use of it			#						162:6, 164:6			
71. Community not safe, is scared when goes places	#	#	#	#	#	#	{180:6, 210:7}I1 {164:6, 641:21, 750:25, 759:25, 775:26, 845:29,}I2 {552:18, 601:20, 605:20, 645:21, 659:22}FG1 {46:2}FG2	205:7, 339:11, 342:11, 343:12 {528:18, 761:24}FG1	177:6, 232:8, 233:8 {528:18, 761:24}FG1	{721:23}FG1 {722:23}FG1	{654:22, 674:22, 728:24}FG1	370:12
72. Youth are robbed at taxi ranks/schools,	#			#	#		{177:6}I1			212:7	90:3 98:4	

Codes		Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
	when walking on streets												
73.	Everyday people are exposed to crime and violence	#	#	#	#			{870:29}I2	339:11	179:6, 221:8	130:5, 176:6		
74.	Shocked/horrified/scared by experience of crime/violence			#	#					185:6 190:7	135:5		
75.	People in this community don't want to lift themselves out of their situation				#							393:13, 396:13, 401:13	
76.	Has no choice about where to live		#						852:28				
77.	No motivation to improve breaks down community				#							401:13,	
78.	People focus on negative in community		#		#				174:6		157:6		
79.	Successful people in community are role models			#			#			91:3			169:6
80.	Successful people serve as motivation	#	#	#	#	#	#	{471:16} I1 {228:8}FG1 {82:3}FG2	90:3, 92:3	92:3, 101:4	83:3	114:4, 119:4	166:6, 169:6
81.	Financial wealth is less NB than spiritual wealth	#		#				{523:17} I2		261:9			
82.	Success = money				#							188:7, 192:7	
83.	Opening business = success				#							194:7	
84.	Successful people can learn from poor people how to appreciate what they have	#			#			{525:17} I2				202:7	
85.	To be successful you mustn't allow yourself to be suppressed				#							214:7	
86.	Successful person works hard for success				#							547:18	
87.	Needs others' support to be successful		#						798:27				
88.	Happy for those who achieve success	#						{271:9, 286:10, 292:10}I2					

	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
89.	Stopping smoking/substance abuse is challenge					#						279:9, 281:10, 283:10	
90.	Living in poverty, people aren't used to working					#						287:10, 289:10, 292:10	
91.	Involvement with gangsters		#			#			58:2, 60:2, 61:2, 144:5, 182:6, 349:12, 354:12			208:7	
92.	Not safe to be out late	#	#	#				{641:21}I2	247:8, 258:9	305:10			
93.	Youth get into trouble because they have no aims/goals		#						57:2, 64:3				
94.	Poverty is challenge	#						{489:16}I1 {489:16}FG1					
95.	Gangsterism in community is challenge	#	#	#	#	#		{13:1}I1 {11:1, 48:2, 158:6, 206:7, 251:9, 303:10, 491:16}I2 {88:3, 473:16, 550:18, 556:1855 9:19}FG1 {135:5}FG2	55:2 {767:25}FG1	63:3, 113:4	128:5 {390:13}FG1	84:3 {654:22, 673:22}FG1	
96.	Gangsters make place unsafe	#				#		{424:14, 816:28}I2 {636:21}FG1				353:12	
97.	Gangsters have access to schools			#						66:3 {687:22}FG1			
98.	Drugs and alcohol abuse challenge in community	#	#	#	#		#	{13:1}I1 {11:1, 48:2, 303:10, 491:16, 495:17, 779:26, 788:27, 890:30, 1034:35}I2 {151:5, 479:16, 537:18}FG1 {128:5}FG2	147:5, 259:9, 288:10, 314:11, 321:11, 813:27, 825:26, 879:29	113:4	350:12		14:1, 82:3, 264:9, 363:12

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
99. Girls are raped/assaulted	#					#	{784:27} I2 {602:20} FG1					80:3
100. Houses are broken into		#						340:11 {515:17} FG1				
101. People are robbed	#			#			{827:28} I2 {607:20} FG1				{203:7}FG1	
102. Community is not safe	#	#		#		#	{822:27, 834:28}I2	340:11, 343:12 365:12 367:12 {526:17} FG1		112:4, 117:4		119:4
103. Youth use drugs/abuse substances to cope	#	#		#			{702:23} I2	324:11, 654:21		351:12		
104. Abuse of drugs leads to increases in crime and youth dropping out of school	#			#			{512:17, 849:29, 894:30, 899:30}I2				85:3, 373:13 {207:7}FG1	
105. Teenage pregnancies is challenge in community		#	#		#			144:5, 331:11 {191:7}FG1	113:4		357:12	
106. Teenage pregnancy is becoming common occurrence			#						114: 4, 589:19			
107. Children are murdered or disappear	#	#					{621:21, 653:22}I2 {621:21} FG1	317:11				
108. Exposure to violence and neglect has effects on youth	#	#					{538:18} FG1	677:23, 682:23				
109. Government doesn't provide for safety			#		#				219:8, 232:8			343:12
110. People who should protect them don't		#	#		#			{765:25} FG1	224: 8		{741:24, }FG1	
111. Youth are labelled because of others' behaviour	#		#				{958:32, 1068:36} I2		117:4			
112. Youth are trying to be something in life but are labelled			#						117:4			
113. If you're involved with bad things, you get labelled	#	#			#		{370:12, 373:13}F G1 {169:6, 171:6}FG 2	{383:13} FG1			368:12	
114. If something bad happens, you get blamed				#							370:12, 374:13	

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
115. Youth are in trouble because they don't listen/feel like no one cares	#	#			#		{138:5}FG2	54:2 {194:7}FG1			359:12, 361:12	
116. Teachers don't always treat youth well			#						337:11, 338:11, 345:12, 346:12, 349:12			
117. Feels education is good					#						446:15	
118. School enforces rules and teaches them to be disciplined					#						451:15, 452:15	
119. Achieve well at school					#						527:17	
120. Importance of education	#	#	#	#	#		{230:8, 474:16}I1{316:11}I2 {54:2}FG2	198:7, 236:8, 336:11, 417:14, 530:18, 538:18, 541:18, 877:29	145:5, 204:7	23:1, 233:8, 298:10	41:2, 116:4, {289:10, 724:24, 733:24}FG1	
121. Schools are not safe	#	#	#	#			{908:31}I2	346:12 {767:25}FG1	176:6 {687:22, 712:23}FG1	24:1		
122. Children are being robbed at schools			#		#				171:6		52:2	
123. Attends safer school in another community					#	#					54:2	373:13
124. Teachers give support			#		#				187:7, 199:7		{218:8, 227:8}FG2	
125. School is challenge		#						196:7, 203:7				
126. School is more NB than negative stuff that happens there		#	#					375:13	206:7			
127. Finishing school = success	#	#					{375:13}I2	94:4, 503:17				
128. Wants to stay at school		#	#					503:17	211:7			
129. Teachers are role models			#						438:15			
130. Parent/s are role models	#	#	#	#	#	#	{390:13}I1{480:16}I2 {189:7}FG2	939:31 {194:7}FG2	412:14 {195:7}FG2	267:9, 271:9 {196:7}FG2	484:16 {192:7}FG2	194:7, 463:15
131. Mother thinks child a bit wild					#						35:2	
132. Family employment		#			#	#		585:19			37:2	178:6

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
133. Mother compares child to siblings					#						39:2, 48:2	
134. Mother knows what child does					#						46:2	
135. Mother doesn't allow child to be too independent					#						55:2	
136. Mother wants child to learn from her					#						58:2	
137. Problem if parents don't spend enough time with children		#						66:1				
138. Parent/s give advice		#			#			46:2, 261:9, 490:16, 865:29			71:3	
139. Mother rewards good behaviour					#						142:5	
140. Family is role model for community/respected in community	#				#		{195:7, 203:7}I1 {195:7, 916:31}I2				147:5, 153:5	
141. Shares what's up to with mother	#				#		{80:3}I2				581:19	
142. Parent/s love and encourage	#			#	#	#	{498:17} FG1			240:8, 387:13	584:19	381:13
143. NB that parents discipline children		#	#					259:9	312:11, 314:11			
144. Enduring respect for parents	#	#	#				{294:10} I1	559:19, 917:30	331:11, 418:14			
145. Expected to do chores in house		#						563:19				
146. Parents provide for basic needs	#		#				{334:11, 342:11}I 1{529:18 }I2 {377:13} FG1		335:11, 412:14, 414:14			
147. Parents are there for child/support	#	#	#	#			{79:3}I2	862:29	413:14	278:9 {198:7}F G2		
148. Parents must raise you correctly/show how to live right way	#	#		#	#		{429:14} I1 {165:6, 167:6, 184:6, 540:18}F G1	605:20 {195:7}F G1		215:7 {156:6}F G1 {200:7}F G2	389:13	
149. Mother encourages child to have dreams and goals					#						415:13	
150. Mother is always positive					#						484:16	

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
151. Mother deals with difficulties in right way				#							485:16	
152. Mother helps others				#							489:16	
153. Don't let what's happening in family get to you/influence of issues in family	#				#	#	{483:16} I2				526:17	306:10, 451:15
154. Parent/s must know whom child is spending time with	#	#		#			{377:13} I1	139:5, 590:20, 595:20, {207:7}FG2		255:9		
155. Significant adults help child stay on track		#			#			23:1, 698:24, 707:24 711:24			557:18, 559:19	
156. Parents are surprised child's working so hard		#						21:1				
157. Adults show belief in him		#			#			767:26			564:19	
158. Parents/adults encourage child		#			#	#		772:26			564:19, 574:19, 577:19	479:16
159. Providing for children is expensive				#							304:10	
160. Children need money to be happy				#							309:10	
161. Follow rules of parent/s	#				#		{376:13} FG1				321:11 {29:1}FG1	
162. Time limits for going out				#							322:11	
163. Trust mother's reasons for rules				#							324:11	
164. Parental support	#	#	#	#			{304:10} I1{1118: 38}I2 {55:1}FG1	551:18, 553:18, 771:26	36: 2	50:2, 91:3		
165. Parents support child's beliefs		#						30:1				
166. Parents protect their children/concerned for them	#	#	#	#		#	{773:26, 835:28, 873:30}I2 {616:20, 641:21}FG1	600:20	38: 2	167:6, 255:9 {63:3}FG1 {199:7}FG2		476:16
167. It's difficult for parents to handle their children		#						157:6				
168. Family shares vision/belief	#	#				#	{195:7}I2 {53:2}FG	161:6				217:7

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
							1					
169. Is happy at home		#						563:19				
170. Parents are concerned about who children's friends are	#		#				{374:13}I1		39:2, 45:2			
171. NB to trust parents' judgment and be obedient	#		#				{500:17}I1		43:2			
172. Talk to people about problems/feelings	#	#	#	#		#	{560:19}FG1 {164:6, 168:6}FG2	455:15, 461:15 {205:7}FG2	275:9, 276:9, 279:9, 280:1	119:4, 162:6, 236:8, 343:12		236:8, 240:8, 249:9
173. Discusses issues with parent/s	#	#	#	#	#	#	{300:10}I1	572:19	203:7	97:4, 303:10	70:3	218:8
174. Parents love and respect their children	#	#	#			#	{354:12, 361:12}I1	{58:2}FG1	302:10, 321:11, 414:14			384:13
175. Do things together as family	#	#		#			{585:19}I2	570:19		183:6 {29:1}FG2		
176. Parent/s are good example and teach them how to behave	#		#	#	#		{435:15}I1 {625:21}FG1		302:10, 422:14, 430:14 {221:8}FG1	264:9, 358:12	132:5	
177. Can talk to parents about concerns		#	#					476:16	586:19			
178. Relationship between parent and child very NB	#	#			#	#	{53:2}I1	137:5, 936:31 {197:7}FG1 {210:7}FG2			{29:1}FG1	389:13
179. Communication in family is vital	#	#					{99:4, 597:20, 669:22, 681:23}I2	138:5, 302:10, 301:10, 688:23				
180. Parent/s set rules and boundaries	#	#	#		#		{365:12, 377:13, 383:13}I1{69:3, 373:13, 579:19, 591:20, 603:20}I2 {544:18, 647:21}FG1	{203:7}FG2	304:10, 312: 11, 422:14, 572:19, 575:19, 584:19	{199:7}FG2	560:19 {679:22}FG1	
181. Family has routines	#						{588:20}I2					
182. It's good feeling when people acknowledge and care for you				#	#					219:8	572:19	

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
183. Has adult/s who are supportive	#	#		#			{392:13} I1 {240:8, 245:8, 247:8}FG2	216:7, 692:23 {412:14} FG1		290:10, 381:13		
184. Alcoholic or disinterested parents are challenge				#							523:17	
185. Always try your best				#							527:17	
186. Knows must set limits for self	#				#	#	{291:10} FG2				513:17	506:17
187. Must work hard for future/desire to succeed	#	#		#	#		{67:3, 72:3}I1	910:30		226:8	501:17	
188. People should support each other				#							490:16	
189. Is realistic about options				#							497:17	
190. Committed to education		#		#	#			274:9, 326:11, 784:26		50:2, 89:3	499:17	
191. Tries not to jump to conclusions				#							460:15	
192. Involved in extracurricular activities	#	#		#	#	#	{68:3, 530:18}I1 {244:8, 259:9, 261:9}I2 {264:9}FG2	534:18 {273:9}FG2	{281:11} FG2	298:10	471:16 {277:9}FG2	437:15
193. NB to share your positive outlook				#							473:16	
194. Save money if you are healthy				#							476:16	
195. Feels equal to others	#			#	#		{78:3}FG2			225:8	378:13	
196. It's what's on inside of person that's NB					#	#					383:13	70:3
197. Set limits for yourself to protect yourself	#		#				{47:2}FG2		19:1, 20:1, 22:1			
198. Must know what you believe in/know yourself	#	#	#			#	{260:9, 264:9}FG1	610:20, 628:21	27:1			10:1, 152:5
199. Must accept change will happen/accept life as it happens		#	#			#		{69:3}FG1	51:2			225:8, 228:8
200. Accept some things are difficult but good can come of it	#		#				{550:18} I2		57:2			
201. Grateful for what has	#						{187:7, 356:12, 418:14}I					

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
							1{555:18}I2					
202. Feels relatively safe	#				#		{154:5}I1				352:12	
203. Believe you can always try to make things better	#		#				{660:22}I2		69:3			
204. Care and concern for others	#	#	#	#		#	{133:5, 211:7, 553:18, 1071:36}I2 {133:5, 481:16, 500:17, 580:19}FG1	636:21, 672:22 {58:2, 125:5}FG1	71:3, 129:5	113:4, 119:4		273:9, 331:11
205. Aware of others' emotions		#						668:22, 678:22				
206. Wants to help others	#	#			#	#	{20:1, 236:8, 492:16}I1 {46:2, 110:4, 221:8, 227:8, 643:21, 1019:34}I2 {95:4, 99:4}FG2	672:22 {277:9}FG1			557:18	118:4
207. Look at self before you judge others			#						81:3, 83:3			
208. Aims to have good life	#	#	#	#			{327:11}I2 {90:2}FG1	{274:9}FG1	86:3	{300:10}FG1		
209. Find way of dealing with difficulties/challenges	#		#			#	{125:5, 544:18}I2		94:4			126:5
210. Importance of believing in self	#	#	#	#		#	{239:8, 535:18}I1{323:11}I2 {260:9, 272:9, 576:19, 578:19}FG1 {165:6}FG2	924:31, 926:31	100:4	380:13		312:11, 417:14, 449:15
211. NB to make right decisions	#	#			#		{532:18}I1 {339:11, 345:12}I2 {88:2, 109:4, 497:17, 501:17}FG1, {51:2,	76:3, 185:6			215:7	

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
							88:3, 134:5}FG2					
212. Must motivate yourself					#						218:8	
213. Believes will find work	#				#		{261:9}I1				301:10	
214. Learn from your mistakes					#						72:3, 75:3	
215. Hard work to achieve something in life		#	#					33:1, 40:1, 209:7	141:5, 149:5			
216. NB to stay focused and work hard	#	#			#	#	{505:17, 509:17}I1{1081:36, 1115:37}I2{26:1}FG2	38:1, 905:30 {247:8, 280:10}FG1			{286:10}FG1	307:10
217. Has specific goals and aims for life	#	#	#	#	#	#	{330:11,}I2 {508:17}FG1 {22:1, 59:2}FG2	17:1, 100:4, 125:5, 211:7, 787:26, 791:26 {280:10}FG1	143:5, 145:5, 506:17 {254:9, 305:10}FG1	48:2, 83:3 {27:1, 297:10}FG1	495:16 {286:10}FG1	13:1, 113:4, 328:11
218. Focus on tfuture, not on past	#	#					{413:14}I1 {347:12, 735:24}I2	127:5				
219. Doesn't approve of crime					#						244:8, 247:8	
220. Has experienced crime	#				#		{635:21}FG1				253:9, 259:9, 263:9, 269:9	
221. Are more protected if you walk in group	#				#		{608:20}FG1				261:9	
222. Believe in what goes round comes round					#						272:9	
223. Tries to do right thing	#	#			#		{39:2, 321:11, 448:14}I1 {103:4, 113:4, 269:9}FG1 {56:2}FG2	432:14			144:5	
224. Wants to have positive influence on others	#	#				#	{48:2}I1	{242:8}FG1				185:6
225. Living in good way is motivation for others	#				#		{32:2, 226:8}I2				149:5	

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
226. Identifies with culture					#						155:5	
227. People living in poverty don't always have choice to do right thing					#						197:7	
228. Be aware of your limits and boundaries	#		#		#		{38:2}I1		578:19 {702:23} FG1		{679:22} FG1	
229. NB to learn from your mistakes	#		#				{289:10} FG2		598:20			
230. Accept life and deal with difficulties/don't blame others for problems	#	#	#			#	{110:4, 120:4, 533:18, 541:18}I2 {547:18} FG1	{517:17} FG1	195:7			296:10, 458:15
231. NB to have rules	#	#			#		{19:1}FG1	{381:13} FG1			10:1	
232. NB to teach children to be obedient and follow rules		#			#			605:20			11:1, 15:1	
233. Youth get involved in crime					#						18:1	
234. Is very certain about standpoint			#						524:17, 545:18			
235. Not concerned about what others think			#						534:18			
236. Aware of risks of using alcohol and drugs			#						536:18, 543:18			
237. Learns from watching others/open to learning from others	#	#	#		#	#	{139:5}I1	624:20 {260:9} FG2	544:18		{253:9} FG2	181:6, 297:10, 462:15, 467:16, 498:17
238. Humour is NB		#	#					836:28, 843:28	550:18, 555:18			
239. Not involved in using alcohol or drugs			#						510:17			
240. Excited by new opportunities	#	#					{418:14} I1{126:5, 147:5, 150:5}I1	405:14				
241. Believes in self and future	#	#	#				{369:12, 616:20}I2	18:1, 724:24, 760:25, 907:30, 913:30, 931:31 {16:1}FG 1	498:17, 503:17			
242. It's NB to value yourself			#	#		#			499:17	315:11		449:15

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
243. Positive view of self/believes in self	#	#		#		#	{128:5, 268:9, 522:17, 531:18}I1 {23:1, 250:9}FG2	{302:10} FG2		259:9, 379:13		72:3
244. Feels like handles social situations well	#		#				{139:5}I1		390:13			
245. Wants to present good side to adults			#						393:13			
246. Don't want to stand out socially			#			#			399:13			406:14, 423:14
247. Others perceive them to be good influences/well behaved	#		#				{416:14} I1 {32:2, 36:2}I2 {352:12} FG1		403:13			
248. Different behaviour with adults than peers			#						404:14			
249. Don't allow others to tell you what to do/be assertive	#		#		#	#	{297:10} FG2		445:15		327:11	150:5
250. Makes own choices	#				#	#	{89:3}FG1				328:11	12:1
251. NB to be physically and mentally healthy			#		#				290:10, 295:10		468:16	
252. Be aware of AIDS			#						297:10, 298:10			
253. Freedom needs to be balanced			#						308:10, 424:14, 427:14, 587:19, 593:20			
254. Challenges are part of life	#		#				{493:16} FG1		148:5, 490:16			
255. Don't put yourself above others/treat others nicely	#	#	#			#	{159:6}FG2	{243:8}FG1	267:9			28:1, 31:1
256. NB to help/support others	#	#	#				{469:16} FG1	{412:14} FG1	268:9			
257. Aim high, have goals	#		#	#			{350:12, 501:17, 504:17}I1 {353:12, 370:12}I2		271:9, 394:13	326:11, 335:11		
258. Has experienced depression			#						277:9, 278:9			
259. Problems build up and lead to stress			#						281:10			

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
260. Feels equal to others			#						257:9, 258:9			
261. Live simple life	#		#				{560:19, 572:19}I2		266:9, 270:9, 401:13			
262. Wants to make success of life		#	#					18:1	265:9			
263. NB to keep personal life and work separate			#						351:12			
264. Knows how to act with different people			#						360:12 {23:1}FG1			
265. Stands up for beliefs	#		#			#	{988:33} I2		375: 13, 444:15, 448:15, 457:15, 465:15, 519:17 524:17			269:9
266. Takes responsibility for own life/actions	#	#			#	#	{457:15} I2	472:16, 484:16			133:5, 135:5	304:10, 458:15
267. In control of your own life and decisions you make	#		#	#			{457:15, 454:15}I2 {102:4}FG1		449:15	324:11		
268. Must motivate yourself to stand up for yourself			#	#					453:15	105:4		
269. Must encourage yourself and persevere		#	#			#		{244:8}FG1	455:15			319:11
270. Physical violence is not answer			#		#				462:15		462:15	
271. Reflects on problems first			#						471: 16			
272. Uses problem-solving strategies	#		#				{309:10} I1		473:16, 476:16			
273. Respects others' points of view			#						480:16, 481:16			
274. Feels in control of life			#						488:16			
275. Belief in own power to decide				#							437: 15	
276. Control allows to overcome challenges			#						492:16			
277. NB to manage stress		#						649:21, 843:28				
278. Positive view of life	#	#	#	#		#	{228:8, 441:15, 444:15}I1{613:20, 660:22}I2	212:7, 305:10, 778:26	496:16	330:11		132:5, 138:5, 142:5, 487:16

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
							{187:7}FG1 {177:6}FG2					
279. Positive personality characteristics	#					#	{324:11}I1{128:5, 132:5, 231:8}I2					159:6, 256:9, 258:9, 486:16
280. Helps when people motivate you				#							160:6	
281. Like to make others feel good				#							166:6	
282. Shares what has	#			#			{159:6}I1				170:6, 176:6	
283. Importance of friendship/connecting with people	#			#		#	{157:6}FG2				176:6	239:8
284. Wants culture of sharing and respect, not of breaking each other down and violence				#							179:6	
285. Would like others to understand their culture				#							181:6	
286. What you put in is what you get out		#						9:1				
287. Keep focused on your goals	#	#		#	#	#	{524:17} I1	10:1, 15:1, 12:1, 500:17 511:17 {29310}FG1		105:4, 369:12	{292:10} FG1	173:6
288. Has changed and is proud of self		#						43:1				
289. Youth must be warned about dangers in world		#						76:3				
290. Programmes to support youth would work	#	#					{133:5}FG1	86:1, 149:5, 396:13 {133:5}FG1				
291. Life is exciting, enjoys meeting new people	#	#				#	{156:7}FG2	109:4, 113:4, 618:20, 762:25				288:10
292. Many youth have talents	#	#		#	#		{456:15, 461:15}FG1	152:5 {404:14}FG1		{387:13} FG1	{393:13} FG1	
293. Don't know what to do with their talents		#						153:5 {407:14}FG1				
294. Youth should help and motivate each other		#		#				171:6 {760:24}FG1		{73:3} FG2		

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
295. Make use of your skills and talents		#			#			192:7 {400:13, 408:14, 415:14}FG1			{396:13} FG1	
296. Too many responsibilities = pressure		#						208:7				
297. Protects self by staying indoors, doesn't go out much	#	#					{149:5, 191:7, 193:7}I2	247:8, 249:9, 252:9, 390:13				
298. Actively tries to avoid trouble	#	#	#			#	{182:6}I1{976:33}I2 {374:13} FG1 {60:2}FG2	418:14, 430:14	{704:23} FG1			146:5, 331:11, 465:12
299. Doesn't focus on negative		#		#				254:9		159:6		
300. Women are not treated right		#				#		443:15				95:4, 98:4
301. Feels uncomfortable with disrespectful attitudes/behaviour		#						445:15				
302. Is respectful of others' feelings and points of view	#	#					{997:34}I2 {337:11, 345:12}FG1	445:15				
303. Aware of how people deal with their feelings		#						451:15, 671:22, 675:23				
304. Has techniques to relax self when stressed		#						521:17				
305. Self-improvement is NB	#	#					{105:4}I2 {182:6}FG2	545:18				
306. NB to know yourself: strengths and weaknesses		#						754:25, 765:25 {16:1}FG1				
307. Eager to get involved in new things/grasps opportunities	#	#				#	{410:14}I1 {137:5, 1065:36, 1088:37 1100:37}I2 {149:5}FG2	762:25, 737:25				116:4, 281:10, 286:10
308. Uncertainty is difficult to cope with	#	#					{163:6}I1	748:25				
309. Takes initiative to find things out	#	#					{1008:34}I2 {16:1}FG2	741:25				

Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
310. Aware of own limits and spheres of influence		#						736:25				
311. Participates in youth activities	#						{13:1}I2 {85:3}FG 1					
312. Knows what is right and wrong/make right choices	#						{448:15} I1{94:4}I 2 {487:16, 491:16, 582:19}F G1					
313. Stays away from negative behaviour/doesn't get involved	#			#			{38:2, 198:7}I1			106:4, 150:5		

APPENDIX E:

TABLE 2: AXIAL CODING

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
Respect	Importance of respect	#	#	#	#	#	#	{143:5, 157:6}I1{645:21, 910:31}I2 {168:6, 179:6}FG1	905:30, 921:30	8:1, 364:12, 368:12, 372:12,373:13 {213:7, 222:8}FG1	67:3	108:4, 179:6, 181:6	15:1, 21:1, 42:2, 56:2
	If you live good life, you're respected	#				#		{527:18, 544:18}I1 {26:1, 226:8}I2 {53:2, 148:5}FG1				107:4	
	NB to respect yourself	#					#	{292:10}FG2					74:3, 91:3
	Reciprocal nature of respect			#		#	#			324:11, 325:11		107:4	18:1, 39:2
Choices about friend-ships	NB of choosing right friends	#	#	#	#	#		{10:1, 255:9}I2 {88:3}FG1 {20:1, 229:8}FG1 {44:2}FG2	47:2, 185:6, 493:16803:27	13:1, 561:19,566:19, 578:19, 580:19	{75:3}FG1	20:1, 321:11, 360:12, 362:12 {32:2}FG1	
	Negative influence of friends	#	#	#	#	#		{252:9, 447:15,855:29}I2	43:1, 67:3, 68:3, 288:10, 311:11, 315:11, 334:11, 517:17, 704:24, 807:27, 885:29, 888:29,892:30{47:2}FG	9:1, 10:1, 13:1 518:17, 590:20{22:1, 24:1, 25:1}FG1	91:3 {74:3}FG1	30:1, 125:5, 128:5 {30:1}FG1	

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
									1				
Value of friend-ships	Positive influence of friends	#		#		#		{230:8}FG1 {166:6}I1{755:25}I2		438:15{253:9}FG1		63:3 65:3, 68:3, 138:5	
	Importance of friendship/connecting with people	#				#	#	{157:6}FG2				176:6	239:8
Religion	Religious beliefs	#	#	#	#	#	#	{278:9}I1{64:3, 72:3, 240:8}I1 {523:17}I2 {235:8, 562:19, 575:19}FG1 {134:5}FG2 {281:10, 286:10}I1 {12:1, 15:1}I2	384:13 {49:2}FG1	261:9, 262:9, 275:9, 437:15	33:2	556:18	51:2
	Effect of religious beliefs	#	#	#	#	#	#	{30:1, 95:4, 728:24,923:31}I2 {37:2, 133:5}FG1	222:8, 248:8 {42:2}FG1	30:1, 32:2	120:4, 183:6 299:10	24:1, 27:1	197:7, 229:8

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
	NB role of religion	#	#	#	#	#	#	{15:1} I1 {29:1, 52:2, 100:4, 264:9, 326:10, 342:12, 402:14, 536:18, 547:18, 669:22, 1059:36}I2 {35:2, 172:6, 351:12}FG1 {269:9, 271:9, 294:10}FG2 {403:14}I2 {240:8}FG2	220:8, 387:13 {39:2}FG1	29:1, 33:2, 433:14	29:1, 98:4	28:1 32:2	191:7, 200:7, 217:7, 330:11
Com-munity resources	Community lacks resources	#	#	#			#	{81:3}I1 {180:6, 184:6, 470:16}I2 {140:5, 423:14, 461:15}FG1	284:10	161:6			355:12, 363:12
	Programmes to support youth	#	#					{133:5}FG1	86:1, 149:5, 396:13 {133:5}FG1				
Issues con-cerning safety	Ineffective protection	#	#	#		#	#	{166:6, 767:26}I2 {106:4}I1	{519:17, 523:17, 525:17,765:25}FG1	219:8, 224:8 232:8		225:8 346:12 {741:24, }FG1	343:12

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
	Threats to safety/dangers in community	#	#	#	#	#	#	{635: 21}FG1{424:14, 816:28}I2 {636: 21}FG1{145:5, 152:5, 666:22, 775:26, 799:27 808:27,}I2 {784: 27}I2 {602: 20}FG1{827:28}I2 {607: 20}FG1{621:21, 653:22}I2 {621: 21}FG1{177:6}I1	58:2, 60:2, 61:2, 144:5, 182:6, 349:12, 354:12340:11 {515: 17}FG1317:11443:15	66:3 {687: 22}FG1	25:1, 212:7	90:3 98:4, 208:7 253:9, 259:9, 263:9, 269:9, 330:11, 353:12 {203: 7}FG1	80:3, 95:4, 98:4
	Unsafe in community	#	#	#	#	#	#	{180: 6, 210:7}I1{164:6, 641:21, 750:25, 759:25, 775:26, 845:29,}I2 {822: 27, 834:28}I2 {552: 18, 601:20, 605:20, 645:21, 659:22}FG1 {46:2}FG2 {870: 29}I2	205:7, 339:11, 342:11, 343:12 {528: 18, 761:24}FG1 340:11, 343:12 365:12 367:12 {526: 17}FG1	177:6, 232:8, 233:8 {722: 23}FG1179:6, 221:8	112:4, 117:4 {721: 23}FG1 130:5, 176:6	{654: 22, 674:22, 728:24}FG1	119:4, 370:12

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
	Safety at school	#	#	#	#	#	#	{908:31}I2	346:12 {767:25}FG1	171:6, 176:6 {687:22, 712:23}FG1	24:1	52:2, 54:2	373:13
Barriers to community development	Economic marginalisation	#	#		#	#		{96:4}I1{1054:36, 1088:37, 1114:37,}I2{82:3, 95:4}I1{1033:35}I2{489:16}I1{489:16}FG1	281:10		171:6 200:7	84:3, 197:7, 311:11, 316:11, 336:11, 340:11 349:12, 287:10, 289:10, 292:10	
	Hopelessness in community attitude	#	#	#	#	#		{475:16}I2, {367:12, 383:13, 394:13, 864:29}I2 {628:21, 658:22}FG1	174:6	64:3, 162:6, 164:6, 156:6, 167:6, 246:8, 249:9	157:6, 205:7	393:13, 396:13, 401:13	
Negative stereotyping of youth	Youth are labelled	#	#	#		#		{958:32, 1068:36}I2 {370:12, 373:13}FG1 {169:6, 171:6}FG2	{383:13}FG1	117:4, 247:8 250:9, 251:9		368:12, 370:12, 374:13	
	People in community accept youth's negative behaviour	#		#	#			{763:25}I2 {183:6, 557:18}FG1		127:5	40:2		

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
Support from positive adults	People in community concerned with youth	#		#	#			{398:13, 762:25, 877:30}I2 {357:12, 368:12}FG1		125:5, 205:7	60:2		
	Influence of teachers		#	#		#			707:24	187:7, 199:7, 438:15337:11, 338:11, 345:12, 346:12, 349:12		{218:8, 227:8}FG2	
	Has adult/s who are supportive	#	#		#	#		{392:13}I1 {240:8, 245:8, 247:8}FG2	23:1, 216:7, 692:23,698:24, 707:24 711:24 {412:14}FG1		219:8, 290:10, 381:13	160:6, 572:19, 557:18, 559:19	
Specific dangers youth face	Gangsterism in community	#	#	#	#	#		{13:1}I1 {11:1, 48:2, 158:6, 206:7, 251:9, 303:10, 491:16}I2 {88:3, 473:16, 550:18, 556:18559:19}FG1 {135:5}FG2	55:2 {767:25}FG1	63:3, 113:4	128:5 {390:13}FG1	84:3 {654:22, 673:22}FG1	
	Youth's talents are not developed	#	#		#	#		153:5 {407:14, 456:15, 461:15}FG1	152:5 {404:14}FG1		{387:13}FG1	{393:13}FG1	

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
	Youth are sexually active		#	#		#	#		144:5, 331:11 {191:7}FG1	11:1, 113:4 114:4, 589:19		357:12	92:3
	Substance abuse	#	#	#	#	#	#	{13:1}I1 {11:1, 48:2, 303:10, 491:16, 495:17, 512:17, 779:26, 788:27, 849:29, 894:30, 890:30, 899:30, 1034:35}I2 {151:5, 479:16, 537:18}FG1 {128:5}FG2 {702:23}I2	147:5, 259:9, 288:10, 314:11, 321:11, 813:27, 825:26, 879:29,324:11, 654:21	113:4, 12:1, 536:18, 543:18	350:12, 351:12	85:3, 373:13 509:17, 279:9, 281:10, 283:10{207:7}FG1	14:1, 82:3, 264:9, 266:9, 363:12
	Negative upbringing has detrimental effects	#	#	#	#	#		{538:18}FG1{138:5}FG2	677:23, 682:23 354:2 {194:7}FG1	277:9, 278:9	215:7	359:12, 361:12523:17	
Successful role models	Successful people serve as motivation	#	#	#	#	#	#	{471:16}I1 {228:8}FG1 {82:3}FG2 {271:9, 286:10, 292:10}I2	90:3, 92:3{241:8}FG1	91:3, 92:3, 101:4	83:3	114:4, 119:4	166:6, 169:6

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
	Perception of success	#	#			#		{525:17}I2	798:27			188:7, 192:7, 194:7, 202:7, 214:7, 547:18	
Education	Importance of education	#	#	#	#	#	#	{230:8, 474:16}I1{316:11}I2 {54:2}FG2 {375:13}I2	198:7, 236:8, 336:11, 375:13 417:14, 503:17, 530:18, 538:18, 541:18, 877:29274:9, 326:11, 784:2 694:4, 503:17	145:5, 204:7 206:7, 211:7	23:1, 233:8, 298:10 50:2, 89:3	41:2, 116:4, 446:15, 451:15, 452:15, 499:17 527:17 {289:10, 724:24, 733:24}FG1	305:10
Effective parenting	Parents provide for basic needs	#	#	#		#	#	{334:11, 342:11}I1{529:18}I2 {377:13}FG1	46:2, 261:9, 490:16, 865:29, 585:19	335:11, 412:14, 414:14		37:2, 71:3, 304:10	178:6
	Parent/s or adults encourage and support	#	#	#	#	#	#	{304:10}I1{79:3, 1118:38}I2 {55:1}FG1 {498:17}FG1	30:1, 551:18, 553:18, 771:26, 862:29,767:26, 772:26	36: 2, 413:14	50:2, 91:3, 278:9 {198:7}FG2 240:8, 387:13	142:5, 564:19, 574:19, 577:19, 415:13, 584:19	381:13, 479:16

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
	Parents protect their children/concerned for them	#	#	#	#	#	#	{773:26, 835:28, 873:30}I2 {616:20, 641:21}FG1 {374:13, 377:13}I1 {354:12, 361:12}I1	600:20139:5, 590:20, 595:20, {207:7}FG2 {58:2}FG1	39:2, 45:2, 38:2, 302:10, 321:11, 414:14	167:6, 255:9 {63:3}FG1 {199:7}FG2, 255:9	322:11	384:13, 476:16
	Parent/s set rules and boundaries	#	#	#	#	#		{365:12, 377:13, 383:13, 429:14, 435:15, 500:17}I1 {165:6, 167:6, 184:6, 376:13, 540:18, 544:18, 625:21, 647:21}FG1 {69:3, 373:13, 579:19, 588:20, 591:20, 603:20}I2	157:6, 259:9, 563:19, 605:20 {203:7}FG2, 605:20 {195:7}FG1	43:2, 304:10, 312:11, 422:14, 572:19, 575:19, 584:19,302:10, 422:14, 430:14 {221:8}FG1	215:7, 264:9, 358:12 {199:7,200:7}FG2, {156:6}FG1	11:1, 15:1, 55:2, 58:2, 132:5, 321:11,324:11,389:13,484:16, 485:16,489:16, 560:19{29:1, 679:22}FG1	

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
Family communication	Family shares vision/belief	#	#				#	{195:7}I2 {53:2}FG1	161:6				217:7
	Communication in family is vital	#	#	#	#	#	#	{80:3}I2 {300:10}I1 {99:4, 597:20, 669:22, 681:23}I2	138:5, 302:10, 301:10, 476:16, 572:19, 688:23	203:7 586:19	97:4, 303:10	70:3, 46:2, 581:19	218:8
	Relationship between parent and child very NB	#	#		#	#	#	{53:2}I1 {585:19}I2	137:5, 936:31 {197:7}FG1 {210:7}FG2 66:1, 570:19		183:6 {29:1}FG2	{29:1}FG1	389:13
View of family	Positive view of parent/s	#	#	#	#	#	#	{390:13}I1 {480:16}I2 {189:7}FG2 {294:10}I1 {195:7, 203:7}I1{195:7, 916:31}I2	939:31 {194:7}FG2 563:19, 559:19, 917:30	412:14 {195:7}FG2 331:11, 418:14	267:9, 271:9 {196:7}FG2	484:16 {192:7}FG2 147:5, 153:5	194:7, 463:15
Work ethic	Must work hard for future/drive to succeed	#	#	#	#	#	#	{67:3, 72:3}I1 {105:4}I2 {182:6}FG2	9:1, 910:3 033:1, 40:1, 209:7, 545:18 {244:8}FG1	141:5, 149:5, 455:15	226:8	501:17, 527:17	319:11

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
	NB to stay focused	#	#	#	#	#	#	{347:12, 735:24}I2{413:14, 524:17}I1{483:16}I2{505:17, 509:17}I1{1081:36, 1115:37}I2{26:1}FG2	10:1, 15:1, 12:1, 57:2, 64:3, 127:5 500:17 511:17 {293:10}FG138:1, 905:30 {247:8, 280:10}FG1	351:12	105:4, 369:12	526:17{286:10, 292:10}FG1	173:6, 306:10, 307:10, 451:15
Strategies to protect self	Limits and boundaries	#		#		#	#	{47:2, 291:10}FG2{38:2}I1		19:1, 20:1, 22:1, 578:19 {702:23}FG1		513:17{679:22}FG1	506:17
	Extracurricular activities	#	#	#	#	#	#	{68:3, 530:18}I1{244:8, 259:9, 261:9}I2{264:9}FG2{13:1}I2{85:3}FG1	534:18 {273:9}FG2	{281:11}FG2	298:10	471:16{277:9}FG2	437:15
	Protection strategy	#	#	#	#	#		{608:20}FG1{641:21}I2{881:30, 902:31, 9906:31}I2{831:28}I2{379:13533:18}FG1	247:8, 258:9	185:6 190:7, 305:10, 462:15	135:5	228:8, 233:8, 236:8, 244:8, 247:8 261:9 462:15	
	NB to be physically and mentally healthy			#		#				290:10, 295:10		468:16	

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
	Doesn't draw attention to self/lives simple life	#		#			#	{560:19, 572:19}I2		266:9, 270:9, 399:13, 401:13			406:14, 423:14
	Actively tries to avoid trouble	#	#	#	#		#	{38:2, 198:7}I1 {182:6}I1{976:33}I2 {149:5, 191:7, 193:7}I2 {374:13}FG1 {60:2}FG2	247:8, 249:9, 252:9, 390:13, 418:14, 430:14,736:25	{704:23}FG1	106:4, 150:5		146:5, 331:11, 465:12
	Eager to get involved in new things/grasps opportunities	#	#			#	#	{410:14}I1 {137:5, 1065:36, 1088:37 1100:37}I2 {149:5}FG2	762:25, 737:25,192:7 {400:13, 408:14, 415:14}FG1			{396:13}FG1	116:4, 281:10, 286:10
Altruistic attitude	Desire for community to become better place	#	#	#	#	#	#	{171:6, 505:17, 673:22}I2 {46:2, 56:2, 673:22}I2 {17:1}FG2 {172:6, 767:25, 1061:36}I2	{123:4, 413:14}FG1 166:6 {515:17}FG1	119:4, 138:5, 508:17	63:3, 166:6	82:3	111:4, 113:4
	Desire to have positive effect	#	#	#	#		#	{919:31}I2 {144:5, 262:9, 560:19}FG1 {48:2}I1	74:3 {122:4}FG1 {242:8}FG11 71:6 {760:24}FG1	62:2 393:13{306:10}FG1	{73:3} FG2		185:6, 328:11

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
Attitude to others	Care and concern for others	#	#	#	#	#	#	{159:6}I1{19:1, 133:5, 211:7, 288:10, 553:18, 1071:36}I2 {82:3, 133:5, 481:16, 500:17, 580:19}FG1 {469:16} FG1 {32:2, 226:8}I2	636:21, 672:22 {58:2, 125:5}F {412:14}FG1G1	71:3, 129:5, 189:7, 268:9, 377:13, 382:13	113:4, 119:4	166:6, 490:16170:6, 176:6, 149:54,73:16	273:9, 331:11
	Approach to dealing with others	#	#	#		#	#	{997:34}I2 {337:11, 345:12}FG1 {159:6}FG2	445:15,{243:8}FG1	81:3, 83:3, 480:16, 481:16		383:13, 460:15	28:1, 31:1, 70:3
Self-awareness /self-esteem	Know self	#	#	#		#	#	{260:9, 264:9}FG1	610:20, 628:21,754:25, 765:25 {16:1}FG1	27:1		497:17	10:1, 152:5
	Confidence in self	#		#	#	#		{78:3}FG2, {139:5, 261:9}I1		257:9, 258:9, 390:13,534:18	225:8	301:10,378:13	

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
	Importance of believing in self	#	#	#	#		#	{128:5, 268:9, 239:8, 522:17, 531:18, 535:18}I1{369:12, 323:11, 616:20}I2{260:9, 272:9, 576:19, 578:19}FG1{23:1, 165:6, 250:9}FG2,	924:31, 926:3 118:1, 724:24, 760:25, 907:30, 913:30, 931:31 {16:1} FG1 {302:10}FG2	100:4, 498:17, 499:17 503:17	380:13 259:9, 315:11, 379:13		312:11, 417:14, 449:15, 72:3, 449:15
Personal beliefs	NB to make right decisions	#	#			#		{448:15, 532:18}I1{94:4, 339:11, 345:12}I2{88:2, 109:4, 487:16, 491:16, 497:17, 501:17, 582:19}FG1, {51:2, 88:3, 134:5}FG2	76:3, 185:6			215:7	
	Rules are NB	#	#	#		#		{19:1}FG1	{381:13}FG1	308:10, 424:14, 427:14, 587:19, 593:20		10:1	

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
	In control of life and decisions made	#		#	#	#		{457:15, 454:15}I2 {102:4}FG1		449:15488:16492:16	324:11	437:15	
Ability to deal with difficulties	Internal locus of control	#	#	#		#	#	{110:4, 120:4, 457:15, 550:18, 533:18, 541:18}I2 {493:16, 547:18} FG1	472:16, 484:16{69:3, 517:17}FG1	51:2, 57:2, 195:7, 148:5, 490:16		133:5, 135:5	225:8, 228:8, 296:10, 304:10, 458:15
	Talk to people about problems/feelings	#	#	#	#		#	{560:19}FG1 {164:6, 168:6}FG2	455:15, 461:15 {205:7}FG2	275:9, 276:9 279:9, 280:1	119:4, 162:6, 236:8, 343:12		236:8, 240:8, 249:9
	Approach to deal with difficulties/challenges	#	#	#		#	#	{163:6, 187:7, 309:10, 356:12, 418:14}I1{ 125:5, 544:18, 555:18}I2{ 289:10} FG2	521:17,649:21, 748:25, 843:28	94:4, 471:16, 473:16, 476:16 598:20		72:3, 75:3, 272:9	126:5
Personal attributes	Positive personality characteristics	#	#	#			#	{324:11}I1 {128:5, 132:5, 231:8}I2	451:15, 668:22, 678:22, 671:22, 675:2, 836:28, 843:28	550:18, 555:18,360:12 {23:1}FG1			159:6, 256:9, 258:9, 486:16
	Wants to help others	#	#			#	#	{20:1, 236:8, 492:16}I1 {46:2, 110:4, 221:8, 227:8, 643:21,	672:22 {277:9} FG1			557:18	118:4

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
								1019: 34} I2 {95:4, 99:4} FG2					
	Tries to do right thing	#	#	#		#		{39:2, 321:11, 416:14, 448:14}I1 {103:4, 113:4, 269:9, 352:12}FG1 {56:2}FG2 {32:2, 36:2}I2	432:14	403:13,		144:5	
	Learns from watching other people/open to learning from others	#	#	#		#	#	{139:5}I1	624:20 {260:9} FG2	544:18		{253:9} FG2	181:6, 297:10 462:15, 467:16, 498:17
	Assertive	#		#	#	#	#	{988:33}I2 {297:10} FG2, {89:3}FG1		445:15,453:15,524:17, 545:18375:13, 444:15, 448:15, 457:15, 465:15, 519:17 524:17	105:4	218:8, 327:1 1328:11	12:1, 150:5, 269:9
Attitude to life	Excited by new opportunities	#	#				#	{418:14}I1 {126:5, 147:5, 150:5}I1 {1008:34}I2 {16:1}FG2	109:4, 405:14,741:25				288:10

Categories	Codes	Individual and focus-group interviews						References					
		Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose	Walter	Steven	Amy	Sam	Alan	Rose
	Positive view of life	#	#	#	#		#	{228:8, 441:15, 444:15}I1{613:20, 660:22}I2{187:7}FG1{156:7, 177:6}FG2	212:7, 305:10, 778:26,109:4, 113:4, 618:20, 762:25254:9	69:3, 496:16	159:6, 330:11		132:5, 138:5, 142:5, 288:10, 487:16
Future orientation	Has specific goals and aims for life	#	#	#	#	#	#	{327:11, 330:11,}I2{90:2, 508:17}FG1{22:1, 59:2}FG2	17:1, 18:1, 100:4, 125:5, 211:7, 787:26, 791:26	86:3, 143:5, 145:5, 265:9, 506:17{254:9, 305:10}FG1	48:2, 83:3{27:1, 297:10,300:10}FG1	495:16{286:10}FG1	13:1, 113:4, 328:11
	Aim high	#		#	#			{350:12, 501:17, 504:17}I1{353:12, 370:12}I2		271:9, 394:13	326:11, 335:11		