Indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in rural communities

Marlize Malan van Rooyen

2015

"Wisdom is like a baobab tree; no one individual can embrace it"
(African Proverb)

Question: *What is important for a community to be good? What must happen in that community for it to be a good community?*

Answer: Is to sit down with a person who made a mistake and to show him the way.

(Older man participant from Limpopo)

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by

Marlize Malan van Rooyen

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First and foremost I want to thank my Heavenly Father for providing me the opportunity to develop myself as researcher and for giving me the ability and strength to do so. I honour His name through my work.

Whatever you do, do it all for the glory of God
1 Corinthians 10:31

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Please note:

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DATE	21 August 2014
CC	Jeannie Beukes
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ABSTRACT

This study formed part of the indigenous pathways to resilience (IPR) project which aim was to contribute to an indigenous psychology knowledge base on resilience. The focus of this comparative case study was to add to predominantly Western-oriented knowledge on resilience by studying indigenous pathways to adaptive coping. Indigenous psychology (IP) was used as the theoretical paradigm, the post-colonial research paradigm as the meta-theory, and participatory reflection and action (PRA) as the methodological paradigm. Participants (n=72) with non-Western worldviews were purposively sampled from two conveniently sampled rural research sites. The sample was stratified according to age (young adults = 48, older adults = 24), gender (women = 41, men = 31), and site (Limpopo = 34, Mpumalanga = 38). PRA data generation was done with stratified groups on site in two waves (eight days per site) over two years. The PRA data were documented as textual data (verbatim transcriptions of audio-recorded PRA activities translated into English) and visual data (photographs). Observation data were documented visually and textually (field notes and research diary).

An inductive in-case and cross-case thematic analysis revealed *indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) as pathways to values* as well as *indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions,* which appeared to be normative across site, gender, and age. Similarly to values documented in existing non-Western literature, IKS values *reverence for traditional authority* and *collective connectedness* underpinned indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions such as *hierarchical consultation* and *collective participation*. Compared to resources mentioned in existing non-Western literature, social and cultural coping resources predominated in the present study.

Similarly to documented Western literature, the identified indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions indicated primary control coping, mediation of negative emotions, spirituality, and future orientation, but not avoidance or secondary control coping. Contrary to individualistic Western values, but similar to findings in non-Western literature, the findings in the present study suggested a collectivist value system that influences the way in which indigenous pathways to adaptive coping manifest. An evidence-based conceptual framework for indigenous pathways to adaptive coping was developed.

Key words:

- Indigenous
- Western
- Indigenous knowledge systems (IKS)
- Indigenous psychology (IP)
- IKS values
- Coping
- Adaptive coping
- Indigenous pathways to adaptive coping
- Resilience
- Pathways to resilience

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1.1   INTRODUCTION

South Africa has high levels of inequality and poverty requiring citizens living in conditions of chronic poverty to adapt continuously. How people adapt, cope, and develop in the face of severe adversity is of special interest to resilience researchers and health care practitioners in understanding such people and assisting them. South African documented knowledge on coping and resilience is based largely on Western views and therefore does not always cover the development of these psychological phenomena in non-Western South African communities. Western theories are often dominant in research and practice and in the training of mental health care professionals despite the questionable applicability of these theories to clients in the global South. The result could be the provision of ineffective and irrelevant services, the asking of misdirected research questions, and the inappropriate training of professionals (Ebersöhn, 2012). Irrelevant research is a problem, especially in indigenous communities, according to Rotarangi and Russel (2009, p. 209):

> *"To be Indigenous is to be resilient. The maintenance and evolution identity and culture of Indigenous people in communities is premised on such resilience. Resilience thinkers have much to learn from the ways locally-based societies manage and respond to their local ecologies and natural resource perturbations."*

One way of learning how locally based indigenous societies manage their ecology, and consequently understanding how indigenous pathways to adaptive coping can promote resilience, is to access and understand indigenous knowledge systems (IKS). I accordingly endeavoured to access IKS in two indigenous South African communities and, through a process of inductive systematic inquiry (using *participation reflection and action* as a methodological paradigm, the *post-colonial research paradigm* as a philosophical paradigm, and *indigenous psychology* (IP) as a theoretical paradigm), I attempted to contribute to resilience research in several ways. Firstly, to the knowledge gap pertaining to an indigenous psychology unique to South Africa. Secondly, descriptions of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping may contribute to understanding of coping with chronic and continuous adversity in rural ecologies. Thirdly, the collectivist nature of Africology means that indigenous pathways to adaptive coping may contribute to a growing body of knowledge on collectivist resilience. In sum, I wanted to contribute to a South African IP knowledge base on adaptive coping and resilience that would improve psychological services in non-Western South African communities.

1.2   BACKGROUND TO THE INDIGENOUS PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE PROJECT

1.2.1   INTRODUCTION TO THE INDIGENOUS PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE PROJECT

The present study forms part of the *indigenous pathways to resilience* (IPR) project of the Centre for the Study of Resilience located at the University of Pretoria. The aim of the IPR is to contribute to a knowledge base on resilience through an indigenous psychology (IP) lens. Figure 1.1 below shows how the present study is positioned within the IPR research group of the University of Pretoria.

Indigenous Pathways to Resilience Research Group
Principle investigator: Prof Liesel Ebersöhn

Overall aim of IPR-project:
Contribute to a knowledge base on resilience through an
Indigenous Psychology lens

Focus of inquiry: Indigenous pathways to appraisal *Doctoral student (fieldworker):* Safia Mohamed	*Focus of inquiry:* **Indigenous pathways to adaptive coping** *Doctoral student (fieldworker):* **Marlize Malan van Rooyen**	*Focus of inquiry:* Indigenous pathways to wellbeing *Doctoral student (fieldworker):* Janna de Gouveia	*Focus of inquiry:* Indigenous pathways to Resilience Questionnaire *Doctoral student (fieldworker):* Raphael Akanmidu

Figure 1.1:   Outline of the Indigenous Pathways to Resilience Research Group

Figure 1.1 indicates Liesel Ebersöhn as the principle investigator in the IPR project. The IPR research group for 2012-2014 included Funke Omidire and Vanessa Scherman as co-researchers and, in addition to me, three other doctoral students, namely Safia Mohamed, Janna de Gouveia, and Raphael Akanmidu.

1.2.2   SITUATING ADAPTIVE COPING IN THE FIELD OF RESILIENCE

The focus of the present study within the IPR research group was to explore indigenous pathways to adaptive coping through an indigenous psychology (IP) lens. The aim of IP is to help people understand and manage daily problems more appropriately and efficiently (Hwang, 2012). In the IPR project, IP is viewed as *alternative knowledge that supplements Western knowledge*. Indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) (Odora Hoppers, 2008) provide the framework for IP. The IPR project aims to generate

psychological knowledge relevant to South African communities characterised by great adversity and wide diversity. The emphasis on the importance of relevant psychological knowledge amplifies the importance of the present study to adopt views of adaptive coping and resilience that will allow IKS to inform local meaning of these psychological phenomena and to consider the unique environment in which adaptive coping and resilience unfold. With regards to resilience, the socio ecological model of resilience emphasise the important role local meaning making and the environment in adapting to adversity (Ungar, 2011).

1.2.2.1   A Socio-ecological view of resilience

The current study's approach to resilience was informed by the socio-ecological resilience view. According to the socio-ecological view, the way in which people make meaning of adversity, resources, resources use and adaptive development will influence the way in which resilience manifest in various contexts (Ungar, 2012). This view's emphasis on local meaning making is evident in the socio-ecological definition of resilience:

"Where there is potential for exposure to significant adversity, resilience is both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to the psychological, social, cultural and physical resources that build and sustain their well-being, and their individual and collective capacity to negotiate for these resources to be provided and experienced in culturally meaningful ways " (Ungar, 2008, p. 225).

This definition reflects various principles for a social ecology of resilience that guided the current study to consider cultural and environmental factors in its contribution to the field of resilience. The first principle relates to cultural moderation which entails how individuals' resource navigation and negotiation are influenced by meaning making in a specific culture (Ungar, Ghazinour & Richter, 2013). According to this view the dual process of navigation and negotiation is central in positive development that unfolds between individuals and their social and physical ecologies (Ungar, 2011). Navigation refers to both personal agency, as well as movement towards resources made available and accessible in the environment whereas negotiation refers to the meaning ascribed to the available and accessible resources by individuals alone or in groups (Ungar, 2011). The latter implies that it is not only whether a person or a group of people have available and accessible resources that will determine whether they successfully adapt to adversity, but also whether the environment provides these health-enhancing resources in culturally relevant ways (Ungar, Brown, Liebenberg, Othman, Kwong, Armstrong & Gilgun, 2007). Resilience is more likely to occur when individuals and groups are able to successfully navigate their resources that provide psychological and physical support and if they are able to negotiate these resources in culturally relevant ways (Ungar et al., 2013).

The socio-ecological view of resilience approach resilience as both and individual and environmental quality and posits that although resilience is dependent on an individual's capacity, resilience is especially dependent on the physical and social ecology to potentiate positive development (Ungar, 2011; 2012). The latter reflects another principle of socio-ecology of resilience, namely equifinality which posits a decentred understanding of resilience where the role of the environment is amplified in terms of contributing to changes in outcome (Ungar et al., 2013). An emphasis on the role of the environment in resilience decentralises the individual as the primary unit of analysis and shifts focus to the role played by the social and physical ecology (Ungar, 2012). Considering that resilience is not only dependent on individual abilities suggests that there are different means to positive adaptation (Ungar et al., 2013). The principles of cultural moderation and equifinality suggest that a contextual and relevant understanding resilience will therefore require more than a mere investigation of positive transactions between people and their environments but will also demand sufficient attention to the role meaning making, as influenced by people's culture, play in resilience processes[1].

In the current study I view adaptive coping as a mechanism in resilience processes that could provide insight into how specific groups of people use health enhancing resources in meaningful ways[2]. Being informed by the socio-ecological resilience view imply that the current study considered the environment and culture in which adaptive coping unfolds. Skinner and Zimmber-Gembeck's (2011) conceptualisation of adaptive coping as part of resilience processes was useful to further situate adaptive coping in the field of resilience.

1.2.2.2   Adaptive coping in resilience processes

The IPR project conceptualises resilience processes in terms of Skinnner and Zimmer-Gembeck's (2011) concept of coping processes, and in particular adaptive coping processes that highlight the adaptive function of coping. Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck (2009) situates adaptive coping processes (dealt with later in this section) in resilience. According to this view, coping forms part of a complex adaptive system that includes stress, resilience, and competence (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007). Studying indigenous pathways to resilience will therefore necessarily also include studying indigenous pathways to adaptive coping (the focus of this study). The IPR project used a comparative case study design based on *participatory reflection and action* (PRA). Ungar (2008) argues that resilience researchers need to understand the contexts in which successful development and good coping strategies evolve and how they are characterised in these contexts. By studying adaptive coping in highly disadvantaged rural South

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[1] I elaborate on the socio-ecological resilience theory in Section 1.4.2 with regards to protective resources and positive processes.
[2] I elaborate on how insight into adaptive coping can contribute towards understanding resource use in resilience processes in Section 1.4.2

African communities, I was able to explore and describe one pathway to resilience, namely indigenous pathways to adaptive coping.

I agree with Skovdal and Daniel (2012) that coping and resilience are conceptually interconnected as both form part of an active process between people and their environment leading to successful adaptation. However, this does not mean that they are synonymous (Cicchetti & Rogash, 2009; Skovdal & Daniel, 2012). In order to clarify the relationship between adaptive coping and resilience, I will now highlight their interconnectedness by focusing on i) the adaptive functioning of coping; ii) adaptive coping as a prerequisite of resilience and iii) correlations between coping and resilience research. Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's (2011) conceptualisation of adaptive coping can be seen in the Figure 1.2 below.
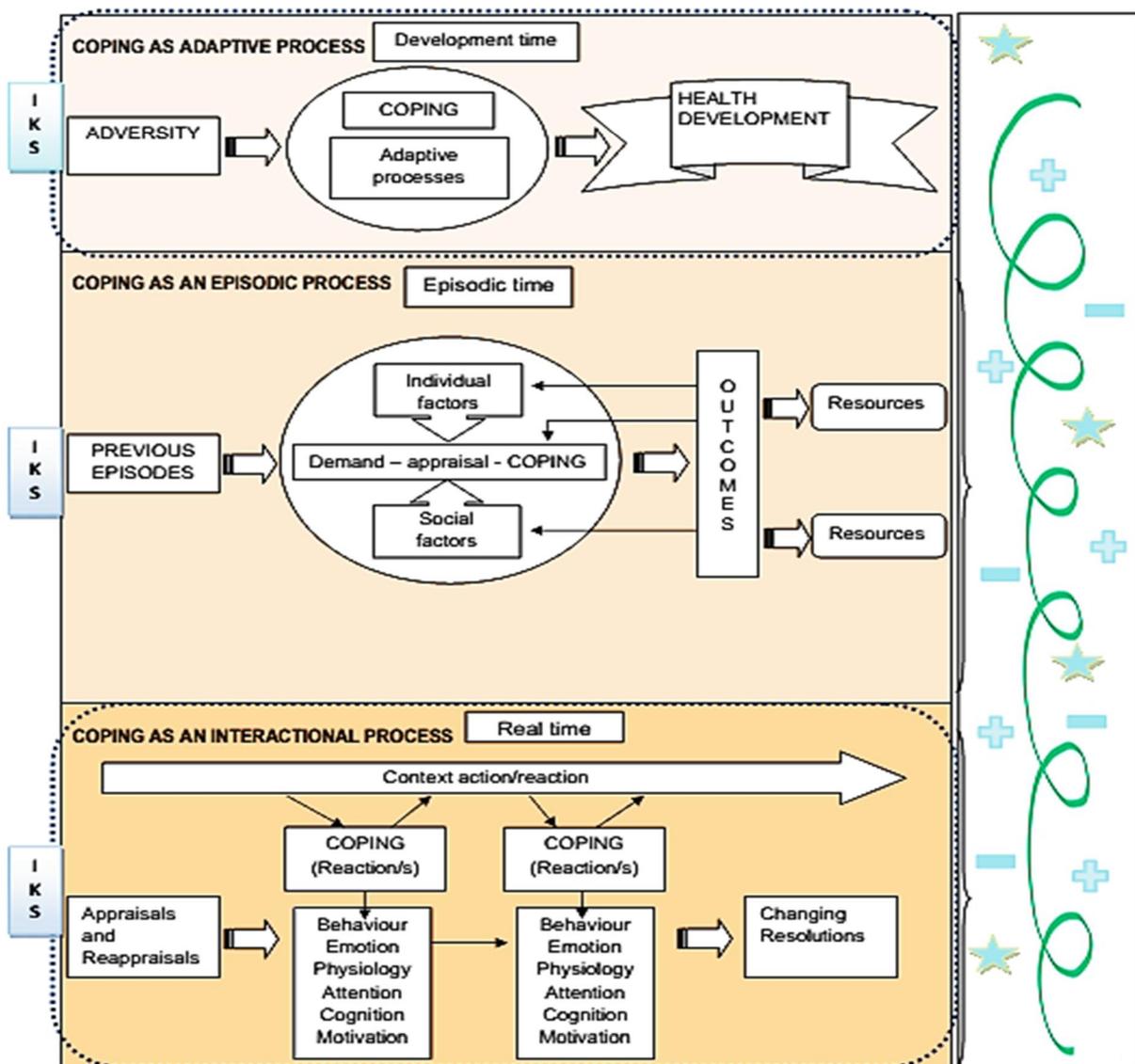
Figure 1.2: *Coping as part of adaptive processes* (adapted from Ebersöhn, 2013; Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2009)

As an *interactional process,* coping reflects the interaction between person and environment (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007, 2009), and this interaction is of central interest in coping research (Aldwin, 2011). Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck (2011) maintain that coping on this level is shaped by physiological, emotional, attentive, cognitive, motivational, and behavioural factors. The present study explored adaptive coping as an interactional process by seeing coping behaviour as reflecting human beings' attempts to manage their environment in the best way possible. As can be seen in Figure 1.2, indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) play a central role in coping processes. In non-Western environments, IKS underpins coping as an interactional process as it is an important resource that helps people daily (in real time) manage their environment and influences the way they deal with daily stressors (Roos, Chigeza & Van Niekerk, 2010).

Coping as an *episodic process* refers to coping occurring over a period of days and months (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007). Each episode is influenced by previous episodes, ultimately influencing how people cope (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011). These episodes are influenced by people's appraisal of adversity as well as by their social and individualistic resources (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2009). How episodes evolve can limit or expand short-term coping resources (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2009). Even on this level it is important to consider the context, specifically the social context (Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck, 2009), and how it shapes the evolution of coping behaviour. As the study involved three years of research site engagement, I could note adjustments in the participants' ways of coping. Figure 1.2 illustrates that IKS can also influence coping as an episodic process. IKS is often adapted and develops over time (Odora Hoppers, 2008) as indigenous people need to adapt the way in which they manage their environment and, accordingly, the way in which they cope over time.

Coping as an adaptive process is the fundamental focus of the present study. As *adaptive process*, coping is seen as more than something people do to deal with adversity as the adaptive function of coping can over time mediate adverse effects to the extent that positive development takes place (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2009; Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011). *Coping with adversity in such a way that positive development is promoted* suggests that coping is an important variable that can promote resilience (Cicchetti & Rogosh, 2009; Lopez*,* Prosser, Edwards, Magyar-Moe, Newfeld & Rasmussen, 2005; McCreary, Cummingham & Ingram, 2006). I concur with Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck (2011) that studying the adaptive function of coping can contribute meaningfully to research on resilience. In non-Western environments, IKS can underpin coping as an adaptive process where the way in which the function of coping is perceived is influenced by indigenous values and believes. In Figure 1.2, the spiral on the right-hand side situates adaptive coping and resilience in a poverty context similar to the research sites included in the IPR study. Ebersöhn (2013) states in this regard that "resilience in poverty mirrors a chain of successive adaptive coping strategies as numerous poverty risks follow each

other in a string of changes requiring chronic adaptation" (p. 15). In other words, adaptive coping looks different in a chronic poverty ecology as constant adaptive coping efforts are required to deal with ongoing adversity. Furthermore, the resilience process in poverty may not involve only adaptive experiences but also experiences of positive adaptation (illustrated by the + in Figure 1.2), maladaptation (illustrated by the - in Figure 1.2), and thriving (illustrated by the * in Figure 1.2) (Ebersöhn, 2013).

The idea that coping can promote resilience and may even be a requisite for resilience is also reflected in the criteria for resilience. Masten and Reed (2005) argue that the criteria for resilience require, firstly, that adversity is present and, secondly, that positive coping or adaptation takes place despite the adversity. Based on the latter criterion, it appears one way of overcoming adversity and becoming resilient is through positive coping or rather adaptive coping.

Lastly I would like to highlight the correlation between the purpose of both coping and resilience research. Coping and resilience research both endeavour to understand positive adaptation in the face of adversity. Resilience research explores health-enhancing capacities, and individual, family, and community resources, as well as developmental pathways of vulnerable individuals (Ungar, 2008). Resilience findings may not translate directly into clear prevention and intervention programmes, yet these findings do provide insight into what may be involved in overcoming adversity (Rutter, 2012). Coping research is a feature of psychological research mainly because of psychologists' desire to understand human well-being and adaption and why certain people fare better in stressful situations (Kuo, 2011; Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). Coping research investigates how people adapt in adverse situations and has links with resilience research as both focus on what people do to enhance their well-being despite adversity. Section 1.4.2 discusses how adaptive coping can contribute to existing pathways to resilience.

1.3   RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As discussed in the previous section, my thinking in the present study was informed by indigenous psychology (IP) (Section 1.7.1), resilience research, and coping research tenets. Within IPR project the present study aimed to contribute to Western-oriented knowledge on resilience by comparing indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in two highly disadvantaged South African communities. Comparison is useful for understanding psychological phenomena (Jackson, Drummond & Camara, 2007) and for asking what, how, and why research questions (Neergaard, Olesen, Andersen & Sondergaard, 2009). The IPR project included inductive data generation as did the present study (indigenous pathways to adaptive coping) (Braun & Clark, 2006). The comparative element in the study promoted understanding (Zartman, 2012) and robust data (Yin, 2013) on indigenous pathways to adaptive coping. The transferability of the findings is, however, limited (Hays & Singh, 2000; Willig, 2008) to contexts similar to the IPR project research sites.

The comparative nature of the present study is evident in the following objectives.

- To explore inductively indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in two South African communities living with rural adversities.
- To describe indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in two South African communities living with rural adversities.
- To compare indigenous pathways to adaptive coping processes across location, age, and gender in the selected sites.
- To compare South African indigenous pathways to adaptive coping processes with existing Western knowledge bases on pathways to coping.
- To compare South African indigenous pathways to adaptive coping processes with existing non-Western knowledge bases on pathways to coping.

The following primary question guided the exploration of the research phenomenon (adaptive coping): *How can an understanding of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in two rural South African communities contribute to knowledge on indigenous pathways to resilience?* The following secondary questions supported the primary research question.

- *What is the nature of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in the two South African communities?*
- *How do indigenous pathways to adaptive coping compare across location, age, and gender in the two South African communities?*
- *How do South African indigenous pathways to adaptive coping compare with existing Western knowledge on coping?*
- *How do South African indigenous pathways to adaptive coping compare with existing non-Western knowledge on coping?*

1.4   RATIONALE

Indigenous pathways to adaptive coping can contribute to two lacunae in resilience research. Firstly, few studies have been done in South Africa on indigenous psychology (IP). Secondly, globally knowledge is skewed towards Western influences – indigenous conceptualisations of adaptive coping and resilience may therefore enrich this knowledge base. Knowledge on collective resilience (Ebersöhn, 2013) is available, and studies on indigenous pathways to adaptive coping, informed by the collective nature of Africology, may contribute to this knowledge.

1.4.1 NEED FOR INDIGENOUS PSYCHOLOGY

In this section, indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) and indigenous psychology (IP) are discussed in relation to a psychology dominated by Western tenets. IP globally is dealt with first and then its need in the South African context.

1.4.1.1 Indigenous psychology in terms of supplementing Western psychology

IP production entails questioning knowledge hegemony in a way that existing theory is enriched with alternative ways of knowing (Odora Hoppers, 2008). Psychological knowledge is currently dominated by Western conceptualisations (Kuo, 2012) that have been applied to various non-Western contexts in the belief that these imported conceptualisations are relevant in such contexts (Evenden & Sandstrom, 2011). The problem with applying Western psychological theories to non-Western environments is that Western psychology often fails to promote understanding of non-Western contexts (Allwood & Berry, 2006; Evenden & Sandstrom, 2011), and this is largely because Western psychology represents a Western worldview grounded in an individualistic worldview.

An individualistic worldview emphasises the role of the personal or intra-psychic factors of individual behaviour, placing the self at the centre of understanding psychological phenomena (Mpofu, 2002). Non-Western contexts, such as South Africa, on the other hand, often have a more collectivistic orientation in which the relational self is valued (Kim & Park, 2006; Mpofu, 2002). Based on the individualistic worldview, Western psychology is interested in identifying and understanding decontextualised universal facts, principles, and laws of human behaviour (Goduka, 2012; Kim, Yang & Hwang, 2006). Current psychological theories are, however, not universal as the uniqueness of people and their contexts are frequently not taken into account (Kim & Park, 2006). A lack of considering and understanding non-Western contexts has meant that Western psychology has largely failed to successfully address problems specific to non-Western cultures (Allwood & Berry, 2006).

The reasons for the need to develop a South African IP are similar to those that sparked the development of IP in countries such as Mexico, Japan, China, Philippines, India, and Taiwan (Hwang, 2004). Generally speaking, IP developed in these countries as an attempt to create a psychological science relevant to non-Western cultures following Western psychology's failure to fully understand these cultures (Allwood & Berry, 2006; Evenden & Sandstrom, 2011). The rationale for indigenous knowledge production therefore relates to the production of knowledge that is contextually and culturally relevant to manage the environment (Wilson, 2008). Figure 1.3 below shows IP as an alternative way of understanding psychological phenomena in non-Western contexts.
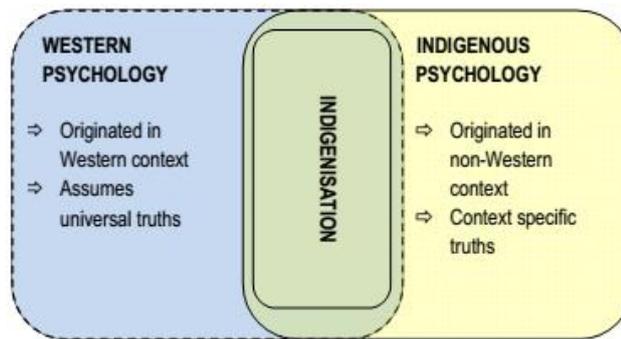
Figure 1.3:   Positioning Indigenous Psychology within Psychology

Figure 1.3 also illustrates the role of indigenisation where Western psychology is not directly applied to non-Western contexts but is adapted first. Despite the adaptations, the psychology still has a Western philosophical basis, which limits its relevance to non-Western contexts (the concept of indigenisation is discussed in Section 1.3.1.2).

1.4.1.2   Need for a psychology relevant to South Africa

The relevance of psychology in South Africa has been debated since the 1980s, and especially after 1994 (Macleod, 2004), yet the psychological experiences of indigenous African communities are either non-existent or underrepresented in psychological literature (Mpofu, 2002). De La Rey and Ipser (2004) argues that the application of Western theories to psychology in South Africa could lead to irrelevant as well as unequally distributed psychological services and to the mechanistic viewing of culture. These concerns raised by De La Rey and Ipser (2004) support the rationale for this study. If social researchers attempt to understand indigenous people's responses to chronic adversity according to Western theories, without taking the people's unique context and culture into account, the interventions based on the research could be irrelevant. Macleod (2004) confirms that culture has a profound influence on psychological experiences and should not be overlooked. Ebersöhn (2012) adds that overlooking culture can lead not only to providing ineffective and irrelevant services but also to asking misdirected research questions and training professionals to deliver services to clients who are different to those in the population in which they will work.

I believe that De La Rey and Ipser (2004) and Panday (2011) are correct when they say that indigenous people require recognition of their own psychology as there are concepts unique to their culture that need to be accounted for when researching social theories in a specific culture. South African scholars have begun to create an IP knowledge base (Ebersöhn, 2012; Maree, Ebersöhn & Molepo, 2006; Odendaal & Moletsane, 2011). Efforts include determining to what extent mainstream psychology theories, concepts, and methods apply to South African cultures and then adapting these theories, concepts, and methods

(Ebersöhn, 2012; Matoane, 2012). This has a bearing on indigenisation, which involves a process whereby psychology (e.g. mainstream psychology theories, concepts, and methods) is changed into a form that is more culturally appropriate (Aidar, 2006). The problem with indigenisation is that non-Western psychological concepts have meanings different to those in Western concepts, and merely adapting Western psychology could lead to misunderstanding of psychological concepts and phenomena in non-Western countries (Hwang, 2010). I concur with Georgas and Mylonas (2006) on the value of developing psychological concepts unique and meaningful to African communities. This could lead to the practical application of relevant theories and interventions (Goduka, 2012).

In terms of the developmental stages of IP, Maotane (2012) argues that South Africa has not yet moved beyond the fourth stage, namely indigenisation, and that an IP still needs to be documented. Table 1.1 illustrates the developmental stages of IP.

Table 1.1:   Developmental Phases of Indigenous Psychology

Pioneer period	Recognition by intellectual pioneers both inside and outside a culture that Western psychology has relevance for their culture (Maotane, 2012).
Introductory and modelling level	Introducing Western psychology to the culture, leading to the translation and modelling period (Maotane, 2012).
Indigenisation	Adapting Western psychology to non-Western cultures using existing psychological theories, concepts, and methods to study human behaviour, but modifying these theories, concepts, and methods to fit the local cultural context (Kim, 2000; Maotane, 2012).
Integration level	Developing an IP based on indigenous knowledge and culture as primary sources (Kim, 2000).

Moving to the fourth stage will require using indigenous knowledge as the primary source in the development of theories, concepts, and methods (Kim, 2000). Owusu-Ansah and Mji (2013) state that African knowledge is largely missing from academic literature and is unknown to many people indicating why South Africa has not yet moved beyond the indigenisation phase as indigenous knowledge is needed for the development of an IP. Documented indigenous knowledge could help us move beyond indigenisation and contribute to new concepts, theories, and intervention strategies that resonate with indigenous peoples' values and ways of knowing (Chilisa, 2012).

Scholars, practitioners, and clients need a psychology that is not merely adapted to meet the uniqueness of communities, but a psychology that is constructed from indigenous knowledge, ways, experiences, and culture that define these communities. This is also true for studying indigenous pathways to adaptive coping. Nilsson (2008) maintains that people in indigenous contexts draw on indigenous knowledge to manage their environments. Consequently, strategies of resilience, which I refer to as coping strategies, are deeply rooted in indigenous knowledge systems (Kirmayer, Dandeneau, Marshall, Phillips &

Williamson, 2011), and, in order to understand these coping strategies, access to indigenous knowledge is needed (Nilsson, 2008).

1.4.2 SITUATING ADAPTIVE COPING IN EXISTING PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE

In this section, I discuss existing knowledge (both Western and non-Western) of pathways to resilience and argue that an indigenous approach to adaptive coping can contribute to pathway discourses. I concur with McCreary, Cunningham, Ingram and Fife (2006) that coping is an important variable that can promote resilience. I further posit that investigating protective resource as a pathway to adaptive coping as well as positive transactions as a pathway to adaptive coping could contribute to knowledge on resilience. I should emphasise that I do not equate protective resources as conceptualised by resilience theory to protective resources as conceptualised in coping theory. Similarly I do not equate resilience processes with adaptive coping processes. In Chapter 2 section 2.5 I elaborate on how protective resources and processes in adaptive coping fit into protective resources and processes in resilience.

Throughout resilience research, the focus on protective resources and processes in order to understand resilience is clear (Ungar et al., 2004). Some researchers focused on the individuals as the locus of protective resources and processes (especially in developmental science) whereas other researchers started focusing on the environment as the locus of these resources and processes (Ungar, 2012). Although I acknowledge that resilience is a complex construct that entails far more than protective resources and processes (discussed in Section 1.4.2.2) for the purposes of this section, I will focus only on the mentioned pathways to resilience.

1.4.2.1 Protective resources as a pathway to resilience

Resilience research focuses on both risk and protective factors. Protective resources (often referred to as protective factors or assets) are defined as individual, group, or situational characteristics that promote positive outcomes and usually include human, social, or material capital used in adaptive processes (Masten & Reed, 2005; Masten, 2007). Rutter (2006; 2012) acknowledges that resilience research requires identification and measurement of risk and protective factors. However, I agree with Rutter (2006; 2012) that investigating risk and protective factors is not enough to gain understanding or resilience as a complex process. The reason for the latter is that when one focuses only on the identification of risk- and protective factors there is a possibility that one could appear to imply that if people are exposed to the same risk and have the same protective factors that they will respond to adversity in the same manner (Rutter, 2006; 2012). Never the less the identification of risk and protective factors is an important piece of the puzzle in understanding resilience processes that highlights the interaction between people and their environment. In Section 1.2.2.1, I discussed Ungar's (2007; 2008;

2011; 2012) perception of protective factors (which he refer to as protective resources), as part of the socio-ecological definition of resilience where protective resources are situated in resilience processes. According to the socio-ecological view of resilience, these protective resources can be psychological, social, cultural and physical in nature (Ungar, 2012).

An early trend in resilience research within developmental science focused on defining and measuring resilience which was accompanied by identifying individual characteristics and variables associated with resilience (Masten, 2007; 2011). An interest in identifying risk and protective factors is supported by the need to identify factors that will influence development in the face of adversity (Luther & Cicchetti, 2000). Such research focused specifically on the resilience in individuals and the identification of factors that characterise systems that will promote development despite the presence of adversity (Masten & Obradović, 2006). Masten (2007) created a short list of probable and general factors associated with good adaptation which is summarised in Table 1.2:

Table 1.2:   List of Protective systems

Protective system	Description
Learning systems of the brain	Problem solving and information processing.
Attachment system	Close relationships with caregivers, friends, romantic partners, spiritual figures.
Mastery motivation system	Self-efficacy processes and reward systems related to successful behaviour.
Stress response system	Alarm and recovery systems.
Self-regulation systems	Emotion regulation, executive functioning, activation and inhibition of attention or behaviour.
Family system	Parenting, interpersonal dynamics, expectations, cohesion, rituals and norms
School system	Teaching, values, standards and expectations.
Peer system	Friendships, peer groups, values and norms.
Cultural and societal systems	Religion, traditions, rituals, values, standards and laws.

What makes these protective factors significant in resilience research is that it gives an indication of what needs to be in place in order for resilience to manifest (Masten, 2007). Furthermore, protective systems, if they are working well, will promote development whereas compromised systems will hamper development (Masten, 2001). In sum, from a developmental psychopathology perspective, risk factors refer to factors that exacerbate the negative effects of risk condition and protective factors are those factors that modify the effects of risk in a positive direction (Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000). The interplay between protective and risk factors will influence the developmental course through the impact it has on the quality of the organisation of biological and psychological systems as the individual develops (Cichetti, 2010). Resilience literature in developmental science emphasises the individual as the locus of

resilience factors and processes and because of this individual focus did not inform my thinking with regards to resilience. However, the contribution of resilience research in developmental science cannot be overlooked.

Rutter's interactive view of resilience helped to shift the focus from the individual towards the context in which resilience unfold (Rutter, 2006). According to Rutter (2012) the influence of the environment needs to be considered since not everyone faced with the same risk factors and with access to the same protective resources will react in the same manner. Furthermore, the environment could have an effect on whether an assumed risk factor is actually a risk as various environmental mechanisms could mediate the influence of a so-called risk factor (Rutter, 2013). Rutter (2013) emphasises that in resilience research, the mediating mechanisms that underlie protective and risk factors should be considered. Mediating mechanisms are complex and call caution against broadly define risks, such as poverty, as it is important to understand exactly what aspect of a risk necessitates adaptation (Rutter, 2013). Despite Rutter's inclusion of the environmental context in resilience, my resilience thinking with regards to protective resources in resilience, was mostly informed by the socio-ecological view of resilience.

In Section 1.2.2.1, I discussed the socio-ecological view of resilience and elaborated on this view's decentred understanding of resilience where the environment's role in resilience is amplified and the individual is not seen as the main unit of analysis in order to understand resilience. According to the socio-ecological resilience view the environment is the locus for protective resources (Ungar, 2012). In Section 1.2.2.1, I discussed the two principles of socio ecology of resilience namely equifinality and cultural moderation. Another principle associated with the socio-ecology of resilience, namely differential impact, relates to the role of the environment (Ungar et al., 2013). According to the latter principle protective and promotive factors will have a differential impact across context and time and the impact these factors have is a result of both people's perceptions and the opportunities offered in the environment (Ungar et al., 2013). The influence of cultural meaning-making implies that protective factors cannot be understood without considering the meaning that a specific individual or groups of individual ascribe to these resources as cultural factors can actually determine whether a certain resources is indeed protective in nature (Ungar, 2012). In sum, the socio-ecological view of protective resources in resilience informed my approach to protective resources (or rather coping resources) in three ways.

Firstly, the current study acknowledge that protective resources, or coping resources in adaptive coping processes, varies as it could be psychological, social, cultural and physical in nature (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3.2). Secondly, since the environment is the locus of protective resources, the current study attempted to understand the uniqueness of the environment in terms of its unique protective resources as well as risks. Lastly, based on the central role of meaning making, as influenced by culture, the current

study was determined to understand protective resources from the participants' point of view. As adaptive coping contributes to optimal human functioning through the effective use of coping resources (protective resources) (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2009), the study of adaptive coping could contribute to existing knowledge on protective resources and processes as pathways to resilience.

I would also like to comment on the relationship between resilience and positive psychology based on the concept of protective resources. Although resilience should not be seen equivalent to positive psychology (Rutter, 2012), protective resources as pathway to resilience still relates to positive psychology tradition where protective resources are studied in an attempt to understand optimal human functioning (Lopez et al., 2005; Seligman, 2005). Based on the pillars of positive psychology, protective resources can be situated in positive subjective experiences, positive individual characteristics, and positive institutions and communities (Seligman, 2005.). Theron and Theron (2010) reviewed resilience studies focusing on at-risk South African youth and identified several protective resources within the individual, the family, and the community that could promote resilience, as illustrated in Figure 1.4.
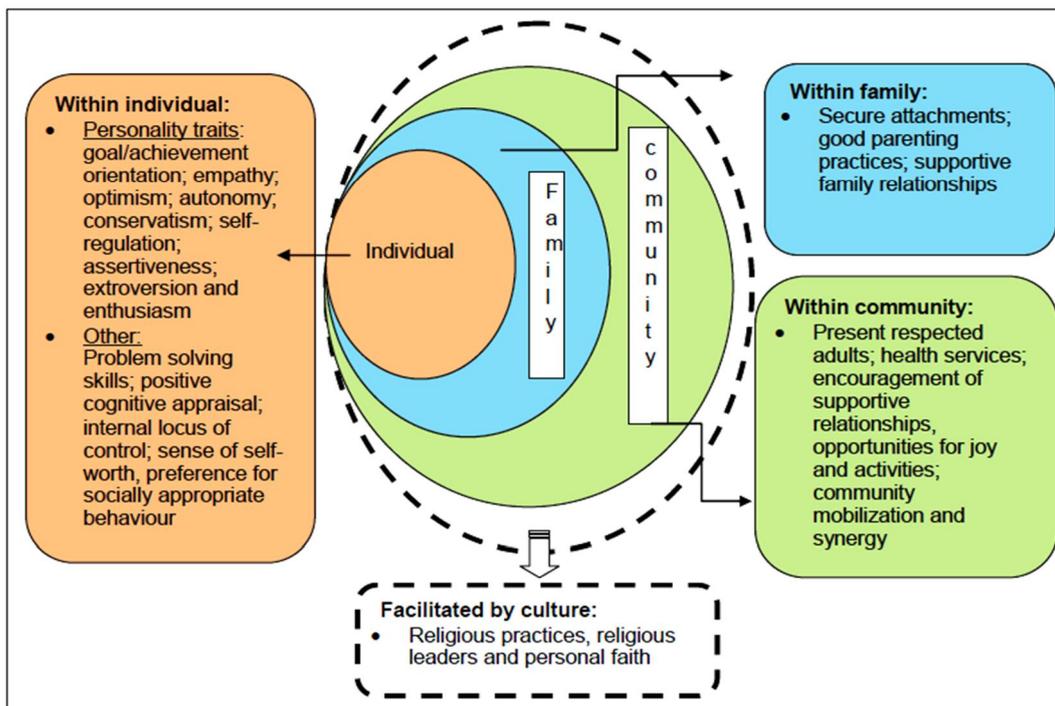
Figure 1.4: *Protective resources* (Theron & Theron, 2010)

Other South African resilience studies have also helped identify protective resources that can promote resilience in a South African environment. Ebersöhn and Ferreira (2012), for example, found that protective resources could be person-based (such as individual strengths), family-based (such as employment), school-based (such as infrastructure and expertise), community-based (such as institutions, services, and beliefs), and society-based (such as policies and structures). Relationships

(whether with family members, peers, or teachers) are protective resources identified by several South African resilience studies. Ebersöhn and Ferreira (2012) maintain that relationships can be a resource in their own right and can also provide access to other protective resources. Although the discussed South African studies mirror the components found in international studies, the protective resources portrayed by the South African studies' results still encompass unique qualities and characteristics of these protective resources in a South African context and of meaning making as it unfolds in South African local cultures.

Both individual focused and environment focused approaches to understand resilience have specific views on risk and protective resources in resilience but also reiterate the importance of understanding the processes and mechanisms that underlie these factors. Protective processes and mechanisms are discussed in the next section. In the course of the study, understanding how coping resources were used during the adaptive coping process also provided insight into the interaction between people and the environment, which forms part of the second pathway to resilience.

1.4.2.2 Positive transactions as a pathway to resilience

As I previously mentioned I view adaptive coping as a mechanism in the resilience process that entails how people use resources in order to adapt to adversity. Section 1.2 dealt with the conceptual correlation between resilience processes and adaptive coping and highlights how insight into adaptive coping processes can contribute to better understanding of adaptive transactions in resilience.

Positive transactions as a pathway to resilience acknowledges resilience as a process that takes place between the individual and the environment (Masten, 2007; Ungar et al., 2007; Rutter, 2012; Strümpfer, 2013; Theron & Donald, 2012). Investigating resilience processes formed part of resilience research throughout the past decades. However there is a difference between how resilience research with an individual focus and resilience research with an ecological focus view and approach the understanding of resilience processes.

Masten (2007, 2011) reports a second wave of resilience research in developmental science where the focus shifted from understanding individual protective and risk factors to understanding processes that underlie resilience. According to Masten (2001) resilience as a process is ordinary and does not involve individuals with extraordinary abilities. From a developmental science point of view resilience processes are dynamic and represent mechanisms that underlie protective and risk factors (Chicchetti, 2010; Luthar & Chicchetti, 2000, Masten, 2007). Masten and Wright (2010) identified several positive transactions (reflecting resilience processes) associated with resilience which is summarised in Table 1.3:

Table 1.3: *Transactions related to resilience* (Masten & Wright, 2010)

Transaction	Description
Constructive attachments	The ability to build a relationship with supportive others.
Self-regulation	Regulating behaviour and emotions according to the pro-social demands of a particular ecology.
Meaning making	Making meaning out of hardship.
Problem solving	Capitalising on personal or social resources to find solutions.
Agency mastery	Experiencing success and growth as an outcome of goal-directed behaviour.

The positive transactions, as captured in Table 1.3, reflects the individual as primary agent in resilience processes where the individual builds relationships, regulates behaviour, makes meaning and capitalises on resource. Although resilience literature in developmental science acknowledges the role of the environment, through viewing resilience processes as transactions between the individual and the environment, the influence of the environment on the mentioned transactions is not clear. It should be noted that focusing on either the individual or the environment as the primary unit of analysis are not mutually exclusive and merely emphasises different aspects of resilience as a process (Ungar, 2012). One can assume that a difference in emphasis will in the end result in different understanding of resilience as a process. Resilience views where the environment is emphasised as the main unit of analysis better serve the purpose of the current study.

Rutter (2006) acknowledges the importance of not only focusing on protective and risk factors in resilience but to also focus on processes or mechanisms that underlie these factors. Rutter (2013) highlights two characteristics of processes or mechanisms in resilience. Firstly, the processes or mechanisms that underlie interactions between protective and risk factors are mediated by both environmental characteristics and individual characteristics such as genetics (Rutter, 2013). Secondly, these processes operate over a life-time which imply that experiences long after the initial adversity may reflect resilience outcomes (Rutter, 2013).

According to the socio-ecological view of resilience, the mechanisms of resilience are situated in transactions between people and their environment (Theron, Cameron, Didkowsky, Lau, Liebenberg & Ungar, 2011), which entail navigating and negotiating for resources (Ungar, 2008) as discussed in Section 1.2.21. Ungar (2011; 2012) further elaborate by mentioning that these transactions entail sets of behaviour that over time will reveal interactions between people and their environment and specifically the opportunities for personal growth that are available and accessible. According to Ungar (2011) resilience processes are complex and in order to account for these processes the focus should be on the social and physical ecology in which these processes unfold. In order to elaborate on the ecology in

which resilience processes are situated Ungar (2011) drew on the ecological model from Bronfrenbrenner (1979) that structures the environment into various systems as illustrated in Table 1.4:

Table 1.4:   Multi-level resilience processes embedded in ecology

System	Description
Microsystems	Microsystem in ecology represents activities, roles and interpersonal relations in which a person is directly involved with and could include interactions with family, school, the neighbourhood or church (Ungar et al., 2013). With regards to resilience, individual protective factors are influenced by interactions between the individual and other structures in the micro-system (Ungar, 2011).
Mesosystems	Mesosystems specifically refers to interactions between the microsystems (Ungar, et al., 2013). Interactions between the multiple systems form complex triangles in which microsystems such as the family, community organisations and peer groups exchange resources that affect the development of the individual (Ungar, 2011).
Exosystems	The exosystem refers to social interactions that the child might not be directly involved with but will still influence the development of the child (Ungar et al., 2013). For instance the parents' involvement in the working world might result in a lack of financial resources which in the end affect the child (Ungar et al., 2013). Thus the exosystem influences the quality of the microsystemic and macrosystemic interactions (Ungar, 2011).
Macrosystems	Macrosytems refer to those aspect of the social ecology involve factors such as laws, customs and cultural practices that influence a child's development (Ungar, 2011; Ungar et al., 2013)..

An improved understanding of mechanisms of resilience (sets of behaviours) as they unfold between person and environment interaction will naturally lead to a better understanding of resilience (Ungar, 2008). However, as illustrated in Table 1.4, understanding of resilience processes or resilience mechanisms require a multi-level approach to reveal how these processes or mechanisms unfold in the various systems of the environment. Furthermore the way in which these processes or mechanisms unfold is influenced by macrosystem factors such as culture that lead to differences in the experience and manifestation of resilience in different environments (Ungar, 2004). As informed by the socio-ecological view of resilience processes, as embedded in the various systems of the environment and as influenced by cultural variables, the current study aimed at understanding adaptive coping processes as a mechanism in resilience in the same manner. In other words the current study were aware that adaptive coping processes unfolded in interactions between various groups of people, institutions such as the church and cultural variables such as values.

In Section 1.2.2.1, I discussed Ungar's (2008; 2011; 2012) perception of that meaning making, as influenced by culture, as part of resilience processes. The influence of culture on resilience leads to differences in the experience and manifestation of resilience in different environments (Theron & Theron,

2010; Ungar, 2004; Ungar, Ghazinour & Richter, 2013). The latter implies that resilience might manifest different in Western versus non-Western cultures. Furthermore risk factors and protective resources unique to a specific context could further contribute to context specific manifestation of resilience such as the IPR research sites where resilience is manifested in a poverty context. Such resilience may differ widely from that in other contexts. In the next section, I discuss indigenous pathways to resilience in terms of Ebersöhn's (2013; 2014) alternative pathways to resilience in poverty contexts.

1.4.2.3   Conceptualising indigenous pathways to resilience in South Africa

More resilience research has been conducted in South Africa (Tchombe, Shumba, Lo-Oh, Gakuba, Zinkeng & Teku, 2010) in recent times largely because of the continuing adverse conditions, especially in rural areas (Tchombe et al., 2010). However, the meaning of resilience still differs according to contexts and African contexts in particular (Theron, Theron & Malindi, 2013). According to Theron and Donald (2012), several South African studies on resilience have indicated that traditional cultural practices and philosophies influence the way in which resilience is conceptualised, experienced, and manifested in unique South African environments (Theron & Donald, 2012; Theron et al., 2011). A study by Theron and Malindi (2010) investigated resilience as conceptualised and experienced by Basotho youth and identified the following core concepts of black youth resilience: having a resilient *personality*, having the capacity to *dream*, *educational* progress, acceptance of current *challenges*, *value-driven* behaviour, and having an active *support system*. Studies such as this can help advance resilience-promoting cultural values and practices (Theron et al., 2013).

Ebersöhn (2013) also highlights the importance of positive transactional ecological processes and relationship-based resources in fostering relationship resourced resilience (RRR). The RRR framework forms part of resilience thinking, posits an alternative indigenous pathway to resilience, and aims at understanding how individuals collectively engage with their environment by building on interpersonal resources to promote positive adaptation (Ebersöhn, 2013, 2014). An element of "flocking" is added to the usual stress response of "flight" and 'fight" (Ebersöhn, 2014). Flocking refers to a response to adversity where people come together and share resources to achieve collective positive outcomes. The RRR framework foregrounds the collective resilience concept. Collective resilience is defined as "the result of accessing, mobilising, networking, and nurturing sustained resource use for communal positive adaptation because of collectively appraised stressors" (Ebersöhn, 2013, p. 110). Another significant contribution of Ebersöhn (2014) is that resilience as a process in the context of poverty is not necessarily a once-off incident but rather a sequence of adaptations that progress over time forming a lifeline chain of resilience.

1.4.3 TOWARDS AN INDIGENOUS PSYCHOLOGY IN SOUTH AFRICA: CONCEPTUALISING INDIGENOUS PATHWAYS TO COPING AND RESILIENCE

Lastly, I would like to discuss the need in IP to conceptualise "adaptive coping" from an indigenous perspective. Although a psychological phenomenon such as coping is universal, cultural and environmental factors influence the way in which people cope (Kuo, 2011). I concur with Lazarus (2006) and Nilson (2007) that understanding the context forms an important part of understanding coping. Over the past two decades, coping research has focused more on the influence of contextual factors on coping, yet insight into the relationship between cultural context and coping is still lacking (Taylor & Stanton, 2007; Kuo, 2011). Theories on cultural pathways of stress and coping are rare, and the demand for more culturally and contextually informed stress-coping paradigms is consequently still high (Kuo, 2011).

Existing literature on indigenous conceptualisations of coping tends to highlight how the collective orientation of indigenous cultures influences the way in which indigenous people cope. Bearing in mind that African societies are among the most collectivist (Mpofu, 1994), I had to consider the influence of collective cultural orientation on adaptive coping. Few conceptual attempts have been made to explain the effects of collectivism on stress and coping processes experienced by racially and ethnically diverse individuals (Kuo, 2012). Examples of such attempts can be seen in the definitions of collective and collectivistic coping, which informed my approach towards understanding adaptive coping within the indigenous South African context.

Collective coping behaviours are conceptualised as a constellation of multifaceted stress responses shaped and enhanced by collectivistic norms, values, and tendencies (Kuo, 2012). Collective coping refers to coping strategies where an individual mobilises group resources while collectivistic coping refers to a normative coping style of collectivistic individuals (Wong, Wong & Scott, 2006). The latter type of coping contributes to indigenous understanding of coping by highlighting the relational and cultural dimensions of coping that influence the way people cope as well as the physical and psychological well-being of culturally diverse individuals (Chun, Moos & Cronkite, 2006; Kuo, 2012; Wong et al., 2006).

Just as indigenous conceptualisations of coping are generally rare in scientific literature, so also are indigenous conceptualisations of resilience due to the limited research on the construct of resilience in non-Western cultures (Ungar, 2008). Research on resilience tends to focus on Westernised conceptualisations of resilience with limited attention paid to contextual and cultural factors (Ungar, 2008). There is consequently a need to include cultural dimensions and holistic concepts that define indigenous communities in social-ecological resilience (Rotarangi & Russel, 2009). This is especially true for South African communities, and in particular indigenous South African communities, since these

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communities have different resources they can use to build resilience, and their culture influences the way in which they use these resources. This is confirmed by Ungar (2011) who states that resilience researchers need to understand these complex environments with their unique cultures and resources.

Theron et al. (2013) believe a promising way to understand resilience in indigenous African communities is to explore collectivistic philosophies. I concur with Ungar (2008) that resilience is "an indication of coping in ways that are valued by those who represent the dominant culture". This suggests that understanding ways of coping as found in the dominant culture, which in the present study was African collectivistic culture, can provide insight into indigenous collective conceptualisations of resilience. Exploring adaptive coping from an indigenous perspective can then contribute to the indigenous collective resilience field of study. The next section deals with the concept of collective resilience.

1.5   CONCEPT CLARIFICATION

1.5.1   INDIGENOUS

1.5.1.1   General conceptualisations of "indigenous"

I drew mainly on indigenous psychology (IP) and indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) to conceptualise the term "indigenous". According to Seeland (2000, p. 28), indigenous refers to "something [that] is originating locally and performed by a community or society in a specific context". Odora Hoppers (2001, p. 76) states, similarly, that indigenous refers to "the root of something" that is "natural or innate" but adds culture as an element by suggesting that indigenousness is "an integral part of culture". Hodgson (2002) also maintains that indigenous implies a phenomenon that arises in a specific context. Aikman (2010) correctly says, in my view, that the "specific context" pertains to what is specifically non-Western in nature, and Hart (2010) confirms that the "indigenous phenomenon" falls outside the dominant Western worldview. In IPR, indigenous is considered "non-Western".

1.5.1.2   Indigenous knowledge systems embedded in indigenous voices

What IKS entails precisely is uncertain due to its complex nature and the fact that IKS (IK) is ever evolving and differs according to gender, age, occupation, and so on (Sillitoe & Marzano, 2009). However, various conceptualisations of IKS have been documented. For example, according to Odora Hoppers (2008, p. 29), IKS is "the total knowledge and skills a specific group of people in a specific location possess which enables them to manage and benefit from their environment as much as possible". Mapara (2009) also believes that IKS systems originate naturally and are unique to a certain culture and society. Owusu-Ansah and Mji (2013) maintain that IKS is passed on from one generation to another, specifically within the context of community living and activities. Odora Hoppers (2008) adds that

it is important to understand the context in which IKS is generated as IKS reflects the internal cultural cognitive categories of the particular community.

Like many post-colonial societies (Ebersöhn, 2014), South Africa has Western and non-Western views co-existing in the same geographical spaces. In the IPR project, the non-Western, indigenous groupings were represented by Venda and Swati communities. As a non-Western environment, South Africa has different indigenous groups (Mearns, Du Toit & Mukuka, 2006) whose African way of living is informed by the indigenous nature of their contexts (Chilisa, 2012).

Since IKS is part of "indigenous culture, social structure, economy, livelihoods, beliefs, traditions, customs, customary law, health and their relationship to the environment" (Nilsson, 2008, p. 13), accessing IKS will provide further insight into the concept "indigenous". In the IPR project, IKS was accessed by creating a space where the drivers of indigenous knowledge (the participants) could share their expertise. This led to deeper understanding of indigenous ways of dealing with adversity through use of the environment for collective and physical survival (Aikman, 2010; Bohensky & Maru, 2011; Roos et al., 2010). I also concur with Bohensky and Maru (2011) that IKS can be a source of resilience in that it can reveal pathways to adaptive coping processes in resilience.

1.5.2 ADAPTIVE COPING AND RESILIENCE

Section 1.3.2 dealt with the literature on adaptive coping and its relation to resilience. In Chapter 2, I elaborate on adaptive coping and resilience by means of a review of the existing literature. In this section, I focus on the conceptualisation of adaptive coping and resilience in this study.

1.5.2.1 Adaptive coping as a process with a specific function

Firstly, coping is acknowledged as an interactional process between individuals and the environment that develops over time (Aldwin, 2011; Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011). If this interactional process contributes to a person's well-being and promotes resilience, the function of the coping process is considered to be adaptive, and mere coping becomes "adaptive coping" (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011). Effective use of coping resources generally leads to adaptive coping (Chaudoir, Norton, Earnshaw, Moneyham, Mugavera & Hiers, 2012; Kuo, 2011; Kuo, 2012).

In the present study, I also saw adaptive coping as being underpinned by IKS as IKS determines the way in which community members manage adversity arising from their environment (Roos, Chigeza & Van Niekerk, 2010). In line with the developmental nature of IKS (Odora Hoppers, 2008), the way in which a community copes also develops over time, which further characterises adaptive coping as a developmental process (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011). In the same way that IKS is unique to a

specific environment, so the way in which communities cope is also linked to a specific context. Adaptive coping can differ according to the social, cultural, natural, and physical resources available in a particular environment. In the present study, pathways to adaptive coping were revealed by the data, which encompassed IKS as shared by the participants regarding how they dealt with continuing adversity.

1.5.2.2   Resilience

Resilience has been conceptualised as a trait, a process, and an outcome (Pooley & Cohen, 2010). Despite the various conceptualisations of resilience throughout the development or resilience research, most resilience scholars seem to agree on the process view of resilience. The socio-ecological definition (Ungar, 2008; 2011; 2012) I discussed in the beginning of this chapter (Section 1.2.2.1) reflects a multi-dimensional process view of resilience which informed my understanding of resilience as a process in several ways. Firstly the resilience is interactional in nature which suggests transactions that take place between people and their social and physical ecology as the locus of resources for personal growth (Ungar, 2012). Resilience is therefore not confided to processes in an individual but should be viewed as a complex reciprocal process that unfolds between people and their environment as well as a process that will change as the social and physical ecology change. Secondly the socio-ecological definition of resilience emphasises that these transaction involve the use of protective resources and opportunities that are available and accessible within the environment. Thirdly, the resilience process is contextually-relevant since meaning making (bounded to a specific context and culture) plays an important role in whether and how people will make use of protective resources as well as opportunities in their environment and whether the outcome of transactions is adaptive or maladaptive (Ungar, 2012; Ungar et al., 2013).

Other than resilience as reflected by the socio-ecological definition, I concur with Ebersöhn (2014, p 2) that resilience is not a once-off incidental process but rather "a sequence of mini-processes of adaptation that are progressively linked to form a life chain of resilience". In the present study, resilience was reflected in the data as instances where adaptive coping promoted positive development. I further agree with Ebersöhn's view (discussed in section 1.2.2.2) that resilience over time in a context of poverty will not only reflect instances of adaptation but also instances of maladaptation and flourishing (Ebersöhn, 2014).

1.5.3   PATHWAYS

1.5.3.1   Indigenous pathways

One pathway to resilience is the "indigenous pathway", and I concur with Ungar et. al. (2007) that pathways are culturally embedded. In the indigenous pathways to resilience project, indigenous pathways were conceptualised as cultural practices, beliefs, norms, and worldviews reflective of African phenomena through Afrocentric perspectives (Africology) (Conyers, 2005). The present study acknowledged that pathways could have both emic and etic dimensions. Emic dimensions refer to psychological phenomena, such as adaptive coping, that are unique to a culture (Wong et. al., 2006). Conversely, similarities, or universalities, can also exist among cultures and are referred to as "etic" cultural phenomena (Kim et. al., 2006; Wong et al., 2006). In the present study, emic and etic pathways to adaptive coping were revealed in the literature control as part of the data interpretation based on both Western and non-Western literature on coping.

1.5.3.2   Pathways to adaptive coping processes in resilience

Pathways to resilience reflect what people rely on to navigate health in the face of adversity (Masten, 2001; Masten, 2007; Ungar, Liebenberg, Boothroyd, Kwong, Lee, Leblanch & Makhnach, 2008). Based on the discussion of the relationship between adaptive coping and resilience in Section 1.3.2 and Section 1.3.3, I posit that pathways to adaptive coping also reflect what people rely on (such as coping resources and coping behaviour) to navigate health in the face of adversity. In the present study, coping resources were seen as resources people draw upon when they need to cope, and these resources influence a specific way of coping (Thoits, 2013; Taylor & Stanton, 2007; Zhang & Long, 2006). In the study, coping resources were divided into social, cultural, physical, and natural coping resources (discussed in detail in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2). Coping behaviours are acknowledged as ways of coping (Skinner, Altman, Sherwood & Edge, 2003), and coping strategies are expressed through a range of coping behaviours (Tan, Teo, Anderson & Jensen, 2011). Pathways to adaptive coping were accordingly reflected in the data in the form of coping resources and ways in which these resources were used to deal with adversity. I also saw adaptive coping as a possible pathway to resilience as the effective use of coping resources can promote positive development despite continuing adversity (adaptive coping as a pathway to resilience is discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.2.2).

The last concept requiring clarification is "rural". As mentioned earlier, adaptive coping in its totality takes place in a specific environment. In the study, I needed to consider the non-Western nature of the context as well as the rural environment. The rural environment entailed specific adversity that the community members had to deal with.

1.5.4 RURAL

1.5.4.1 Characteristics associated with rural areas

According to Matsumoto, Bowman, and Worley (2012), there is no internationally valid definition of "rural"; however, some common variables are often used to conceptualise the term, such as population size, population density, location (geographically isolated in terms of closeness to city limits), and distance factors specifically in relation to care access (Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012; Matsumoto, et al., 2012; Ryan-Nicholls, 2004). Demographic variables such as median household income, proximity to education services, community patterns, and concentration of the workforce relative to the population are also often considered when defining a rural area (Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012; Matsumoto, et al., 2012; Ryan-Nicholls, 2004).

1.5.4.2 Characteristics associated with rural communities

People living in rural areas is often considered to live in high risk areas as they have to face ecological, social, economic, and demographic risk factors that can lead to poorer health status (Ryan-Nicholls, 2004). Mapesela, Hlalele and Alexander (2012) state that adversity faced by rural South African communities includes geographical isolation, poverty, sparsely populated areas, inadequate funding and resources, gender stereotypes, and HIV/AIDS. These risk factors generally lead to lower health literacy, less access to health care, geographic isolation, depopulation, population aging, environmental decay, and depletion of natural resources (Mapesela et al., 2012). If one considers these risk factors in rural environments and adds to them a country (South Africa) characterised by an unequal, transitioning society with an emerging economy, it becomes clear why rural poverty in rural communities requires continuous resilience processes (Ebersöhn, 2014).

The present study did not equate indigenous communities with rural communities with, yet IKS is often found in rural communities (Roos et al., 2010). One could argue that if IKS represents information on the environment as well as on management of the environment, then accessing IKS in a rural community could reveal information about that specific rural environment, including its variables and the management of the environment. Environmental management in rural areas often focuses on managing adversity.

1.6 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND WORKING ASSUMPTIONS

Generally speaking, the working assumptions in the present study were based on the complex structure and multidimensional nature of adaptive coping (Connor-Smith & Flachsbart, 2007; Torres, 2010). In Figure 1.5, I illustrate the conceptual framework that brings together key concepts to consider when

exploring indigenous pathways to coping in resilience. Concepts related to adaptive coping that reflect its complexity include indigenous knowledge systems (IKS), pathways to adaptive coping (including coping resources and coping behaviour), coping as an interactional process, functions of coping (adaptive versus maladaptive functions), coping as an adaptive process, and coping as a pathway to resilience. Throughout the discussion on the conceptual framework, I incorporate my working assumptions on the mentioned central concepts of adaptive coping.
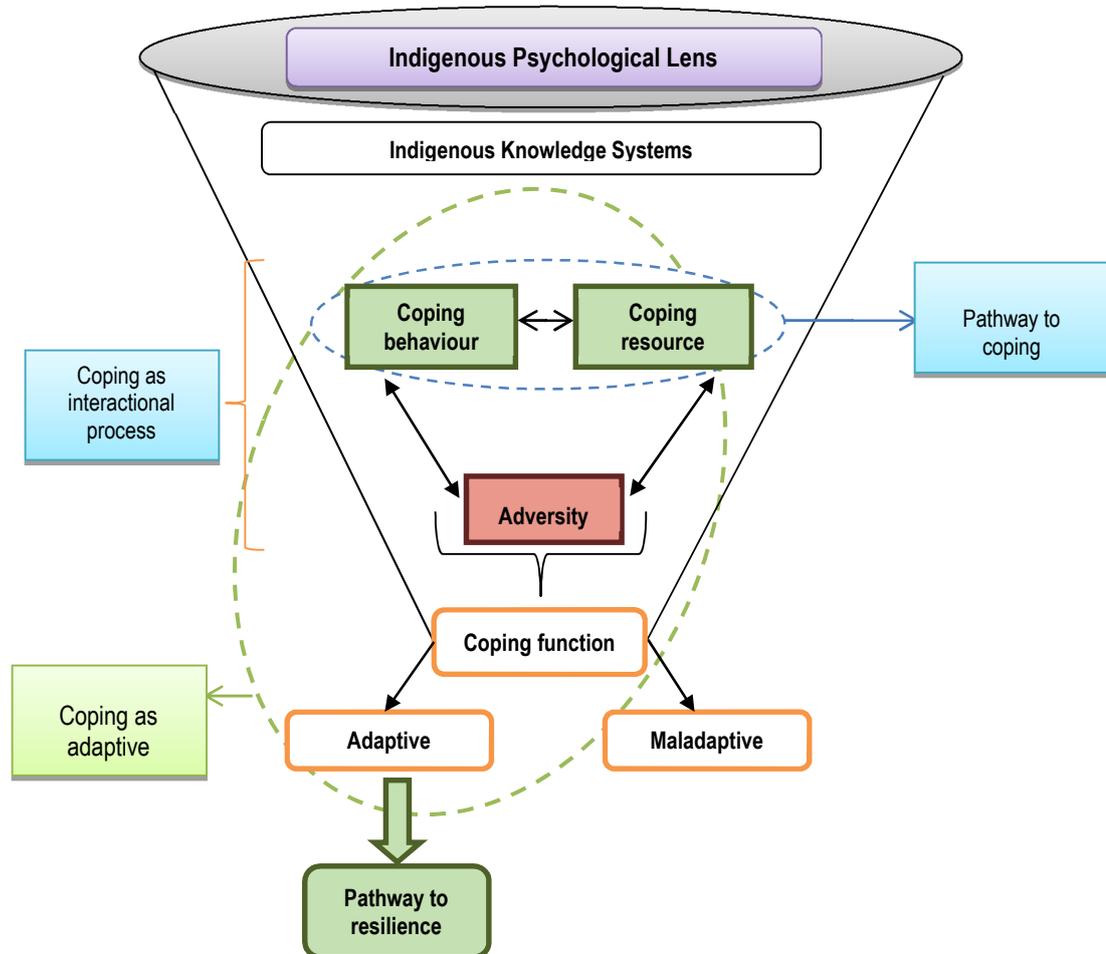
Figure 1.5:   Conceptual framework for indigenous pathways to adaptive coping

Figure 1.5 shows the complexity of adaptive coping as seen through an indigenous psychology (IP) lens. IKS underpins the way in which non-Western communities cope. The first working assumption in the present study relates to the view that IKS will reveal information on how indigenous people manage their environment (Roos et al., 2010).

Exploring IKS through an IP lens can reveal pathways to adaptive coping. Such pathways involve coping resources (what communities use to cope) as well as coping behaviour (how communities use coping resources) to mediate adverse effects. Accordingly the first working assumption was that *accessing*

indigenous knowledge will reveal pathways to adaptive coping that will reflect indigenous coping resources as well as indigenous coping behaviour.

The second working assumption was that *adaptive coping is conceptualised as an interactional process that has a specific function.* Pathways to adaptive coping includes an interactional process between people and their environment that results in coping having a certain function in people's lives, which can be either adaptive or maladaptive. In the case of an adaptive function, adverse effects are mediated to such an extent that positive adaptation is promoted. Conversely, a maladaptive function suggests that the adversity was not dealt with successfully.

The third working assumption concerned what effective mediation of adversity would look like. *The assumption is that effective mediation of adversity will entail either resolving the adversity or reducing the adverse effects in such a way that positive development is evident.* Adaptive coping involves effective identification and utilisation of coping resources to manage adversity so that adverse effects stemming from the environment are mediated and positive development is promoted. The idea that adaptive coping can promote positive development is linked to the next working assumption, namely that *indigenous pathways to adaptive coping will contribute towards existing pathways to resilience.*

The fifth working assumption was that adaptive coping is influenced by the context in which it takes place (Alwood & Berry, 2006; Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Hwang, 2010; Lazarus, 2006; Nilson, 2007). The assumption was that *adaptive coping, as a process and function, will be influenced by the physical, natural, cultural, and social resources unique to a specific environment.* One example, relevant to the current study, might be that a collectivistic culture will influence the way people appraise adversity and use resources to cope with adversity (Aldwin, 2007; Chun et al., 2006; Hobfoll, 2001; Kuo, 2011; Kuo 2012; Ye, Arora & Wu, 2006). The idea that adaptive coping is unique to a specific environment leads to the sixth working assumption, namely that *adaptive coping, as experienced in indigenous communities, will reflect unique emic dimensions.* There may, however, be similarities between Western and non-Western ways of coping. Based on the universality of adaptive coping (Kuo, 2011), the seventh working assumption relates to etic dimensions of such coping (Kuo, 2012), namely that *adaptive coping, as experienced in indigenous rural resource-constrained communities, will reflect characteristics similar to existing non-Western and Western pathways to adaptive coping.*

In Chapter 6, Section 6.4, the conceptual framework is revisited together with the working assumptions. I revisit the latter only after answering the secondary and primary research questions that allowed me to refine and amend the working assumptions as well as the conceptual framework.

1.7   PARADIMATIC LENSES

In this section, I discuss the paradigmatic lenses that assisted me in answering the research questions. *Indigenous psychology* is discussed as theoretical paradigm, *post-colonial research paradigm* as philosophical paradigm, and *participatory reflection and action* as methodological paradigm.

1.7.1   THEORETICAL PARADIGM: INDIGENOUS PSYCHOLOGY

As stated earlier, the IPR project represents a shift away from merely adapting and applying Western conceptualisations of resilience towards adding to existing knowledge through systemic inquiry into indigenous knowledge systems (IKS). Indigenous psychology (IP) can be seen as a theoretical lens that supports this shift. Firstly, IP questions universal psychology theories of mainstream psychology (Kim et al., 2006). Secondly, IP is more than indigenisation, that is, merely adapting existing Western theories so that they are more culturally appropriate (Aidar, 2006).

Existing psychology theories also provide insight into the similarities and differences between cultures. To avoid inappropriate application of Western psychology theories, we need to understand these theories (Mpofu, 2002). Insight into coping and resilience based on Western psychology helped me better understand adaptive coping as a pathway to resilience.

The fact that IP forms part of transactional and cultural science facilitated my search for indigenous South African conceptualisations and understandings of adaptive coping in resilience. IP thus allowed me to explore adaptive coping as a process used by people to manage their environment when faced with adversity (Kim & Park, 2006). True to the transactional paradigm, exploring the participants' environment was crucial to understanding how they functioned, that is, coped, in their environment (Kim & Park, 2006). IP focuses on discovering psychological facts and principles within social, cultural, and ecological contexts (Kim et al., 2006).

IP also forms part of the cultural science tradition, including cultural and cross-cultural psychology, as it emphasises the importance of culture, people, and their physical environment in understanding psychological phenomena (Georgas & Mylonas, 2006; Hwang, 2005; Kim et al., 2006; Wallner & Jandl, 2006). Table 1.5 summarises the essence of cultural and cross-cultural psychology from which IP stemmed.

Table 1.5:   Cultural and cross-cultural psychology

Psychological paradigm	Focus	Contributions
Cultural psychology	Focuses on culture and emphasises that every culture is unique and can be understood only within that culture (Kim, 2000). The interaction between person and environment is highlighted as a continuous process of action and reaction where culture is constantly created and recreated (Smith, 2010).	Cultural psychology has made significant contributions to understandings of how people view the self and their relationship with others (Kim, Sherman & Taylor, 2008).
Cross-cultural psychology	Developed from cultural psychology as it uses information from cultural psychology to study different cultures and nations. In cross-cultural psychology, the influence of the environment is emphasised more than the person's influence on the environment (Smit, 2010).	Cross-cultural psychology contributes to deeper understanding of universal psychological phenomena (etic) and culture-specific psychological phenomena (emic) (Wong et.al., 2006).

IP can be seen as a branch of cross-cultural psychology as it emphasises the in-depth study of the cultural context in which psychological phenomena occur (Georges & Mylonas, 2006) and contributes to a better understanding of cultures and psychological phenomena (Ratner, 2011). IP can be distinguished by its focus on establishing a psychology based on the totality of the context (especially the context's resources including culture) rather than emphasising culture only (Allwood & Berry, 2006; Evenden & Sandstrom, 2011; Kim et al., 2006). This characteristic of IP is confirmed by Kim et al. (2006, p. 4): *"Indigenous Psychology advocates examining knowledge, skills and beliefs people have about themselves and how they function in their familial, social, cultural and ecological context."* It is this holistic focus that further motivated my decision to use IP as a theoretical lens to study adaptive coping in resilience taking into account the social, cultural, and ecological context of people (Hwang, 2010; Kim et al., 2006).

I concur with Goduka (2012) that a psychology can be regarded as indigenous only if it is informed by the local context when developing theories and concepts. IP acknowledges that every society has its own science rooted in its own unique worldview, philosophies, cultural values, and languages (Goduka, 2012). Furthermore, I consider the documentation of an IP for South Africa as a way to achieve the main goal of IP, which is to develop a knowledge system that can help people deal with daily problems more effectively (Hwang, 2012). Indigenous knowledge is an important resource that helps people deal with daily stressors (Roos et al., 2010) and can be seen as a possible source of resilience (Bohensky & Maru, 2011).

Lastly, I would like to discuss the informative nature of IP, which further motivated its use as a theoretical lens in the present study; it also informed the selection of the research and methodological paradigm.

Indigenous research is transformative as it brings indigenous voices (indigenous knowledge) to the fore, allowing their scientific documentation (Coburn, 2013; Dei, 2013). Since IP relies on the documentation of indigenous voices in order to build a relevant and meaningful psychology, any research that aims at contributing towards IP should entail accessing indigenous voices. In Section 1.7.2 I elaborate on a research paradigm that correlates with the indigenous scientific inquiry. Indigenous voices are often excluded as they do not conform to Western theories of science (Porr & Bell, 2012). The same applies to African indigenous knowledge (Forster, 2012), which needs to be understood, contextualised, taken seriously, and documented as an independent and recognisable voice in scientific literature (Porr & Bell, 2012).

IP faces various challenges that require consideration. Firstly, a lack of documented IKS makes it difficult to integrate IKS with existing scientific knowledge. Also, indigenous psychology is built on IKS, which represents indigenous people's values, concepts, and belief systems (Bohensky & Maru, 2011; Shams & Hwang, 2005). This bottom-up approach can lead to scepticism about the "scientific nature" of IP, which is further reinforced by limited understanding from an outsider perspective (Shams & Hwang, 2005; Sillitoe & Marzano, 2009). Secondly, non-Western researchers often find it difficult to break away from a Western orientation – they should refrain from studying non-Western populations in a Western theoretical context (Hwang, 2014). I responded to these two challenges by choosing an epistemological paradigm that scientifically justified the inductive approach I used to contribute towards the development of IP. The last challenge I wish to deal with is non-Western researchers' reluctance to move beyond the notion of collectivism in their study of psychological phenomena among indigenous people (Hwang, 2014). Although collectivistic culture tenets informed my understanding throughout the study, I went beyond considering the cultural dimensions of the context in which adaptive coping took place. I also considered the social, physical, and natural dimensions of the coping context (discussed in detail in Chapter 2). Existing challenges should motivate rather than discourage research attempts. The advancement and refinement of more effective methodologies to increase the success of participatory approaches should help overcome the challenges inherent in IP (Sillitoe & Marzano, 2009). Indigenous research should also be guided by a research and methodological paradigm that incorporates the unique ontological and epistemological assumptions of the indigenous context in which it takes place. According to Louis (2007), doing research in an indigenous context using Western paradigms and methodologies differs from doing research using an indigenous research and methodological paradigm that integrates indigenous voices (Owusu-Ansah & Mji, 2013). Li (2012, p. 849) maintains that indigenous research is essential in understanding local phenomena and can be defined as "any study on a unique local phenomenon or a unique element of any local phenomenon from a local perspective to explore its local implications, and, if possible its global implications as well". The indigenous focus of this study called for an indigenous

research paradigm – the use of any of the major Western paradigms might have involved underlying epistemological and ontological assumptions that could be hard to remove (Wilson, 2008).

1.7.2   PHILOSOPHICAL PARADIGM: POST-COLONIAL RESEARCH PARADIGM

I chose the post-colonial research paradigm for the study as its philosophical assumptions support the ethically and culturally appropriate study of indigenous people (Botha, 2011). Botha (2011) confirms the need for indigenous research methodologies to go beyond current qualitative methods. Combining current qualitative methods and indigenous aspirations could help develop appropriate indigenous methods. The following extract from my researcher's diary contextualises my decision to use a post-colonial research paradigm.

> *"I need to find a research paradigm that will limit Western-dominated influences in my study. Initially I decided on constructivism because of its acknowledgement of multiple realities. I thought that because constructivism acknowledges multiple realities, it will make space for non-Western realities. The more I read on constructivism the more I became aware of embedded Western and more specifically individualistic orientations. Notions such as knowledge is constructed didn't necessarily reflect the notion of indigenous knowledge being passed on through generations. Furthermore the idea of co-construction between the researcher and participants seemed problematic as respectful and accurate representation of indigenous knowledge systems shouldn't involve co-construction but rather documentation of authentic indigenous knowledge. I also felt uneasy with the idea of "socially constructed" knowledge as knowledge being socially constructed doesn't really portray the collective slant, traditional structure or long term engagement with an environment embedded in indigenous knowledge. Overall I realised that choosing the incorrect research paradigm could lead to misrepresenting indigenous knowledge."*

My engagement with the research sites was informed by the philosophical assumptions of the post-colonial research paradigm and by the recognition that the holistic context in which adaptive coping takes place should be acknowledged. Influenced by the ontological assumptions of the post-colonial paradigm, I acknowledged the relationship between the living and the non-living. Information on African culture facilitated my understanding of the research sites and helped prepare me for engagement with the participants. A review of African cultural practices as influenced by *Ubuntu* the African worldview helped me know what to expect from the research sites and their associated culture. The wholeness, community, and harmony evident in their values was a crucial aspect of understanding how to engage with the communities in the research sites (Letseka, 2013; Owusu-Ansah & Mji, 2013).

1.7.2.1 Ontology – the nature of reality

The post-colonial research paradigm posits a relational ontology where social reality is understood through the relationship between the living and the non-living (Chillisa, 2012). The African worldview holds that the world is an indivisible cosmic whole consisting of the macro-cosmos (the level where God exists), the meso-cosmos (the level where the ancestors exist), and the micro-cosmos (where individuals exist within the context of the collective) (Maotane, 2012). The spiritual realm and religion (relationships with the non-living) play an important role in how people in African cultures cope (Ye, et al., 2006),

I acknowledged the relational worldview and, throughout the study, was cognisant of the importance of relationships in truly understanding the phenomenon I was studying, namely adaptive coping. I concur with Chilisa (2012) that whatever indigenous knowledge was shared during the study needed to be explored, described, and compared as it unfolded in the relationship between the participants, their environment, and their culture, which helped me better understand the complex nature of adaptive coping. Knowledge of what relationships in African cultures entail deepened my understanding of the types and nature of relationships I needed to consider in understanding how adaptive coping takes place. Views on the effect of African culture on relationships are presented in Table 1.6.

Table 1.6:   Representation of African relationships

View of the self	"Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu" – a person is a person because of others (Masango, 2006). - Identity cannot be seen individually but rather relationally (Forster, 2010). - A person cannot be seen or see the self as a separate entity (Forster, 2010). - A person has a godly dimension (made in God's image) and a spiritual dimension (African spirituality) (Forster, 2010). - A person should relate to others in a positive way in order to develop humanness (Metz & Gaie, 2010). - Sharing values with others creates a good personality (Masango, 2006).
View of others	- People should engage in a proper way and live in harmony (Metz & Gaie, 2010). - Relationships are the essence of human nature (Masangu, 2006). - Sympathetic relationships are important (Metz & Gaie, 2010). - Others and especially elders should be respected (Masangu, 2006). - Socialising is important as it teaches younger children to take responsibility in their family and community (Nsamenang, 2006).
View of spirituality	- Spirituality is a source of coping (Ye et al., 2006). - People practise African spirituality, or Christianity, or a combination of the two (Masangu, 2006). - According to African spirituality, a good person becomes an ancestor who lives in heaven and serves as a bridge between the living and God (Masangu, 2006).

View of environment	• Culture and management of the environment are intertwined (Church, 2012).
	• It is a human right to live in an environment that promotes health and well-being and a good relationship with natural resources (Church, 2012)
	• According to principles of *ubuntu,* property should be distributed in such a manner that communal relationships are highlighted (Metz & Gaie, 2010).

The quality of relationships is equated with a good life, and, if a harmonious relationship exists between these levels (others, spirituality and environment), the outcome is wholeness and good health (Maotane, 2012). The African worldview emphasises collective values and harmony and operates according to a collective ethic (Owusu-Ansah & Mji, 2013).

1.7.2.2   Epistemology – nature of knowledge

According to the post-colonial research paradigm, knowledge is relational and reflects a relationship with the environment and relationships among people within which knowledge is shared (Chilisa,2012; LaFrance, Nichols & Kirkhart 2012; Nsamenang, 2006; Owusu-Ansah & Mji, 2013; Roos et al., 2010). African indigenous knowledge itself is based on a relational worldview and contains a lot of information on people's relationships with one another, their environment, their way of living and, of specific relevance to this study, how they deal with adversity (Battiste, 2008; Kincehloe & Steinberg, 2008; Nilsson, 2008; Owusu-Ansah & Mji, 2013; Roos et al., 2010).

Accessing indigenous knowledge (IK) was central to the study, and, in order to respect its nature, I had to be fully aware of its key characteristics. I concur with Du Toit (2005) that disregarding the unique nature of non-Western knowledge can lead to conceptualisations where the persona and environment are detached. The first key characteristic of IK is that it is born from the environment (Odora Hoppers, 2002). A relational element of IK is its origin from the environment and long-term interaction with the environment (Goduka, 2012). I accessed IK mainly through interacting with its drivers, namely indigenous people (Bohensky & Maru, 2011). The interaction included building a trusting relationship with the participants and asking them to share their unique experiences (Chilisa, 2012). I also adopted a stance where I could learn from the participants as the creators of their IK (Bohensky & Maru, 2011; Odora Hoppers, 2001).

The second key characteristic of IK is that it is embedded in indigenous culture (Battiste, 2008). Knowledge of African culture guided my thoughts in terms of what I needed to consider when accessing IK. It should be remembered that indigenous people create IK and are in charge of its dissemination (Odora Hoppers, 2001). I had to see IK not as created by an individual in isolation but rather as a collective resource created through relationships. In the African context, the following factors underpin IK

systems: people's relationship with the environment, human agency, and human solidarity (Odora Hoppers, 2008).

The final key characteristic of IK, of particular importance to adaptive coping, is that it represents indigenous people's way of living and, specifically, how they deal with challenges. Indigenous knowledge refers to unique traditional knowledge that has evolved over time and is aimed at helping people adapt to their environment by utilising resources in the best way possible (Roos, et al., 2010). Indigenous people can play an active role in adapting to their environment by drawing on IK to manage their resources (Church, 2012; Nilson, 2007). In order to understand the unique ways in which the participants utilised their IK to deal with adversity, I had to view IK as separate from Western assumptions about knowledge (Chilisa, 2012).

Relational epistemology as proposed by the post-colonial research paradigm is needed to document and expand African IK (Chilisa, 2012). Accessing IK could be useful in learning about the relationship between people and the environment and the adaptive coping that takes place within this relationship. If IK could reveal a community's unique way of living, and especially how it adapts to the environment, it could help in the study of adaptive coping in indigenous communities.

1.7.2.3   Axiology – Values

The Four R's (relational accountability, respectful representation, reciprocal appropriation, and rights and regulation) in the post-colonial research paradigm guided my approach to the present study (Chilisa, 2012). Table 1.7 summarises these four values and shows how they were integrated in the study (Louis, 2007):

Table 1.7:   The Four R's of the post-colonial research paradigm 1

Value	Description of value	Realisation of the value during the research process
Relational accountability	The participants shared their indigenous knowledge that included information about their relationship with one another as well as with the non-living. A researcher should take accountability for nurturing all relationships implied by the research process including relationships between the living and non-living.	I acknowledged that I was an outsider and that the participants were the experts on the indigenous knowledge they shared. I needed to facilitate the relationship in a manner that the participants and their relationship with the living and non-living were respected.
Respectful representation	Respectful representation entailed listening to participants as experts and accurately representing what they shared.	As the participants were the creators of their indigenous knowledge, I checked my understanding of what they shared throughout the data collection process. Member checking was incorporated to ensure that the participants felt that the indigenous knowledge interpretations were accurate.

Reciprocal appropriation	The research process should benefit the researchers as well as the participants.	Part of my responsibility was to ensure that both parties, the researcher and the participants, benefited from the research. As a researcher, my benefit was in obtaining valuable data, and, for the participants, the emancipatory nature of indigenous research created a space where their voices could be heard in the scientific world, leading to more relevant psychological or resilience-related assessment, prevention, and intervention methods.
Rights and regulations	The indigenous knowledge belonged to those who shared it in the study, and they should be consulted on how to present it.	From data collection to results dissemination, the shared knowledge was acknowledged as that of the participants. This knowledge needed to be respected and represented in a way that its true meaning was conveyed.

With regard to relational axiology, information on values embedded in *Ubuntu* helped prepare me for engagement with the research participants. *Ubuntu* is about communal interconnectedness, common humanity, interdependence, and membership of a community (Letseka, 2013). Important values in *Ubuntu* are humanness, caring, sharing, respect, kindness, generosity, altruism, courtesy, benevolence, compassion, and ensuring a happy community and family life (Letseka, 2013). These values in African culture shape how members of this culture view themselves, view others, view their environment, and view the divine (religion, spirituality) as well as how these components interact. *Ubuntu* also encompasses the integration and interdependency of economic growth, social equity, and environmental integrity, which are often referred to as the three pillars of sustainable development (Church, 2012). In African ethics, the only way to develop one's humanness is to relate to others in a positive way (Metz & Gaie, 2010). Seeking community implies respecting the community and promoting harmony, and this respect should guide behaviour (Metz & Gaie, 2010).

I concur with Kovach (2010) that when conducting indigenous research, the research paradigm should influence the chosen methods of investigation, as reflected in the following extract from my research diary (Appendix F).

> *"After integrating the post-colonial research paradigm I realised how important it is to make sure that once I have positioned myself as a post-colonial researcher, I needed to see it through to the end, I needed to practice what I am preaching. That meant I needed to make sure that the research methodology I chose actually accessed indigenous knowledge and as soon as I have indigenous knowledge in the form of data, I needed to ensure that the indigenous knowledge guided my analysis, interpretation and eventually documentation."*

In the present study, the post-colonial research paradigm required indigenous knowledge-driven research methodologies that could assist in documenting indigenous voices (Chilisa, 2012; Owusu-Ansah & Mji, 2013). Furthermore, the chosen methodological paradigm had to permit an alternative way of

investigation that allowed the emancipation of African people by uplifting African indigenous knowledge (Chilisa, 2012; Owusu-Ansah & Mji, 2013). I also needed to ensure that the methodological paradigm supported the philosophical underpinnings of the post-colonial research paradigm. As Kovach (2010) pointed out, the method itself does not make it indigenous but rather the level of congruence between the method and the indigenous worldview as well as the extent to which it supports indigenous philosophical assumptions. Participatory reflection and action (PRA) helps support the post-colonial research paradigm discussed in the next section.

1.7.3   METHODOLOGICAL PARADIGM: PARTICIPATORY REFLECTION AND ACTION (PRA)

Participatory reflection and action (PRA) research was part of the IPR project for two main reasons: i) PRA allows access to indigenous knowledge, and ii) PRA is congruent with and supports philosophical assumptions as proposed by the post-colonial research paradigm.

Accessing African indigenous knowledge (IKS) through engaging with and learning from the indigenous people's daily lives played a crucial role in the study, especially since African knowledge, due to a lack of documentation, cannot be accessed through scientific literature (Owusu-Ansah & Mji, 2013). In the IPR project, PRA served as an alternative method of investigation as it can document knowledge that does not reflect the dominant worldview (Smith, Bratini, Chambers, Jensen & Romero, 2010).

Participatory reflection and action (PRA) helped in the accession and exploration of African IKS as it gives insight into indigenous people's lives, environments, and adversities and how they cope with these adversities (Abedi & Badragheh, 2011; Chambers, 1995; Chambers, 2006, Chambers, 2007; Chambers 2010, Goodarzi, Tavassoli, Ardeshiri & Ahmadi, 2011). This entailed a process where the IPR group collected accurate data by learning from the participants themselves (Abedi & Badragheh, 2011; Chambers, 1994; Goodarzi et al., 2011). Participatory research accords preference to qualitative methodology and often follows an inductive reasoning approach (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Kim, Park & Park, 2000). Qualitative research relies on the verbal and written expressions of participants (Abedi & Badragheh, 2011), which, in the case of PRA, were facilitated through visual methods such as mapping and diagramming. These methods helped me overcome language barriers and gain access to the participants' realities (Chambers, 2007; Chambers, 2012; Chambers, 2013). Visual data collection methods facilitate expression of unconscious thoughts and deeply held beliefs as well as true assumptions (Mazetti & Blenkinsopp, 2012). The following extract from my research diary (Appendix F) reflects the reasoning behind using visual methods to access the participants' realities.

"Watching the participants draw their community maps was such an insightful and valuable experience. I felt myself becoming familiar, and in a sense comfortable, with an environment that just a few days felt overwhelming."

The nature of PRA enabled the participants to "drive" the data collection process (De Leeuw, Cameron & Greenwood, 2012), which gave me the opportunity to explore their realities through what they actually said (Nieuwenhuis, 2007a). The study benefited from the visual, flexible, open-ended, and democratic nature of the PRA that was done in small groups (Chambers, 2007). The flexibility of PRA methods makes them user friendly in different cultural contexts (Goodarzi et al., 2011), and the open-ended democratic nature of PRA methods/activities provides access to new categories of knowledge based on local realities as it allows participants to describe themselves and their context in an authentic way (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001; Smith, 2010). In the present study, the democratic nature of PRA activities created a space where different community members could give their individual inputs (Abedi & Vahidi, 2011). Chapter 3 covers the PRA methods that were used to access IKS.

I will now endeavour to explain how PRA supports the values contained in the post-colonial research paradigm. Epistemological assumptions about the nature of knowledge in this paradigm are embraced by PRA as ideas are shared in a democratic space and relationships are important (Abedi & Vahidi, 2011; Chambers, 2007; Maalim, 2006; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001; Smith, 2010). PRA promotes good relations between the researcher and participants where learning is reversed in the sense that the researcher learns from the participants and the participants are viewed as the experts (Chambers, 1994). The following extract from my research diary (Appendix F) reflects the moment when I realised that I needed to fully commit to the notion of viewing the participants as experts.

"As I was sharing lunch with the older men at the Mpumalanga research site I was admiring their beautiful community surrounded by big green mountains. I shared my observation by mentioning that the mountains are so beautiful and that it must be a blessing to see them every day. I was quickly interrupted by the one participant that the mountains are not a blessing as dangerous animals live there and the mountains are too dangerous for their cattle to graze. It was during this encounter that I realised that I don't know…but they do."

Table 1.8 summarises three values that guided the research and honoured axiology, as described in the post-colonial research paradigm. I concur with Chambers (2013) that these values are a prerequisite for realising the potential of PRA.

Table 1.8:   **Principles of PRA**

Principle	Influence on research conduct
Behaviour and attitude	The researcher does not rush but patiently listens to and learns from the participants using his/her best judgment at all times.
Sharing	The researcher should facilitate relationships where the participants feel free to share.
Methods	The methods should be visible and tangible and create a space for sharing contextual information. The methods used are described in detail in Chapter 3.

Throughout the study, I was aware that it was my responsibility to facilitate, support, and protect the research process so that the participants could safely share their knowledge (Chambers, 2013). In addition to sharing, there was an element of co-generation where the shared knowledge led to new insights and ideas (Chambers, 2012). PRA allowed me to access people in remote areas whose voices were not being heard (Chambers, 2007). Indigenous research, and specifically PRA, brings indigenous voices (indigenous knowledge) to the fore and allows the documentation of being and knowing (Chambers, 2013; Coburn, 2013; Dei, 2013). The following extract from my research diary (Appendix F) reflects my realisation of the responsibility that comes with documenting IKS.

> *"As the data collection progressed and as I was trying to write down as much as possible while the participants where sharing their knowledge, I became immensely aware of my responsibility of handling this valuable data. These were their voices which I needed to go and represent."*

Throughout the PRA process, I needed to be aware that information is shared between participants and researcher in a quick manner that could easily become unethical if not facilitated correctly (Chambers, 1995). If done incorrectly, asking about people's lives, thoughts, and emotions can be overly intrusive (Willig, 2008). However it was still necessary to make sure that we finished all the planned activities in time, especially at the Limpopo research site where the participants were only available for one day. The following extract from my research diary (Appendix F) reflects one instance where creative compromise was needed to ensure that the IPR-group stuck to the research schedule:

> *"The first PRA-discussion took longer than expected. In order to make sure that we still finished all the activities, without compromising the quality of the data, we decided that the participants did not have to create a poster for the second PRA-discussion. The participants were asked to tell us about a story they have solved in the past instead of first compiling a poster and then discussing."*

Close involvement with the participants could also raise local expectations regarding what they can benefit from participating in the data gathering (Chambers, 2012). A rigid mindset on the part of the

researcher regarding his or her role in the research process could also be a barrier to learning from the participants and documenting IKS accurately (Chambers, 2012). The participants' best interest should always be the first priority throughout the research process. The researcher's attitude and behaviour should reflect flexibility, creativity, patience, respect, and the willingness to listen and be taught by participants (Chilisa, 2012).

1.8 METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW AND CONSIDERATIONS

This section provides an overview of the study's methodology, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Table 1.9 summarises the key aspects of the methodology followed in the study.

Table 1.9:   Methodological overview and considerations

Methodological overview and considerations	
Design	Comparative case study design (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000; Creswell, 2009; Thomas, 2011; Willig, 2008; Zartman, 2012).
Data gathering and documentation	PRA activities (participatory diagramming and mapping). Documentation in auditory and visual formats (Chambers, 2006; 2007).
Data analysis and interpretation	Inductive thematic analysis (in-case and cross-case analysis) including coding and categorising (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Patton, 2002).
Ethical considerations	Relational accountability and reciprocal appropriation (Rambaldi, Chambers, McCalll & Fox, 2006). Respectful representation (including authenticity considerations) (Balandin & Goldbart, 2011; Chambers, 2006).
Ensuring rigour	Transferability (Polit & Bed, 2010). Credibility and confirmability (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Dependability (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011).

A comparative case study design (Cohen, et al., 2000; Creswell, 2009; Thomas, 2011; Willig, 2008; Zartman, 2012) was used so that data could be gathered over two years at two research sites – this enabled the comparison of the data over time and across locations. PRA activities including participatory mapping and diagramming (Chambers, 2006; 2007) were used to gather visual and audio data. Visual data (Chambers, 2008) included photographs of the interactions during the activities as well as of the products the participants produced. Audio data (Chambers, 2007) included conversations recorded during the activities, which were later transcribed (Emmel, 2008). The English conversations were transcribed by me while conversations in the local language were transcribed and translated into English (Esposito, 2001). Inductive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), usually favoured in indigenous research approaches, was done to analyse and interpret the data (Wong, Reker & Peacock, 2006). The data analysis had two phases. The first phase involved inductive thematic analysis that focused on in-case analysis (Yin, 2013) to gain in-depth understanding of adaptive coping in the two research settings.

The second phase involved cross-case analysis (Silverman, 2013) to allow comparison of the findings at the two research sites in order to provide richer indigenous conceptualisations of adaptive coping (Khan & VanWynsberghe, 2008). Throughout the research process, ethical considerations were prioritised (discussed in detail in Chapter 3, Section 3.9). For instance, relational accountability and reciprocal appropriation had to be established and maintained by ensuring sufficient time and effort were spent on establishing a respectful relationship with the participants (Chambers, 2005; Rambaldi et al., 2006). Informed consent formed part of such a relationship (Ponterotto, 2010). The IKS shared by the participants had to be respected by ensuring accurate representation and authenticity of the data (Balandin & Goldbart, 2011; Chambers, 2007). How such representation was achieved is discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.9.2. Lastly, to ensure rigour, I attended to issues of transferability (Polit & Bed, 2010), credibility, confirmability (Babbie & Mouton, 2001), and dependability (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011), all of which are discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.10.

1.9   OVERVIEW OF SAMPLED RESEARCH SITES AND PARTICIPANTS

This section covers the conveniently sampled research sites as well as the purposively sampled participants. I first describe the Limpopo and Mpumalanga research, and, as part of my description of the sites, I also include statistical information on the district and local municipalities under which the Limpopo and Mpumalanga research sites fell at the time of the study. The aim of including statistical information is to provide a rich description of the scarce resources and adversity faced in these communities. The statistical information gives an idea of the population size, the population groups, and the types of households.

1.9.1   RESEARCH SITES

Convenience sampling was used in the research sites (the sampling process together with the limitations and delimitations are discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.3). PRA methods were applied in two indigenous resource-constrained South African communities. The one research site was Mpumalanga and the other Limpopo. Both sites, which formed part of the IPR project, are considered "rural" based on their geographical location. Their rurality is also evident in their isolation and lack of physical coping resources such as health care services and infrastructure (Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012; Mapesela et al., 2012; Ryan-Nicholls, 2004). Both research sites meet the criteria for low-resource ecologies, that is, ecologies with limited availability of or access to resources (Ebersöhn, 2013). The resources scarcity is often manifested in physical disrepair, lack of support services (learning, health, and social), and individuals, families, and neighbourhoods with low household incomes and high health, education, and socioeconomic needs. The Limpopo and Mpumalanga research sites are discussed below.

1.9.1.1 Limpopo research site

The Limpopo research site consists of 19 villages of which four formed part of the IPR project. The site falls under the local Mutale municipality, which is part of the Vhembe district municipality and is considered one of the poorest districts in South Africa (Rietveld, Haarhof & Jagals, 2009). Photo 1.1 shows the Limpopo research site on the South African map.
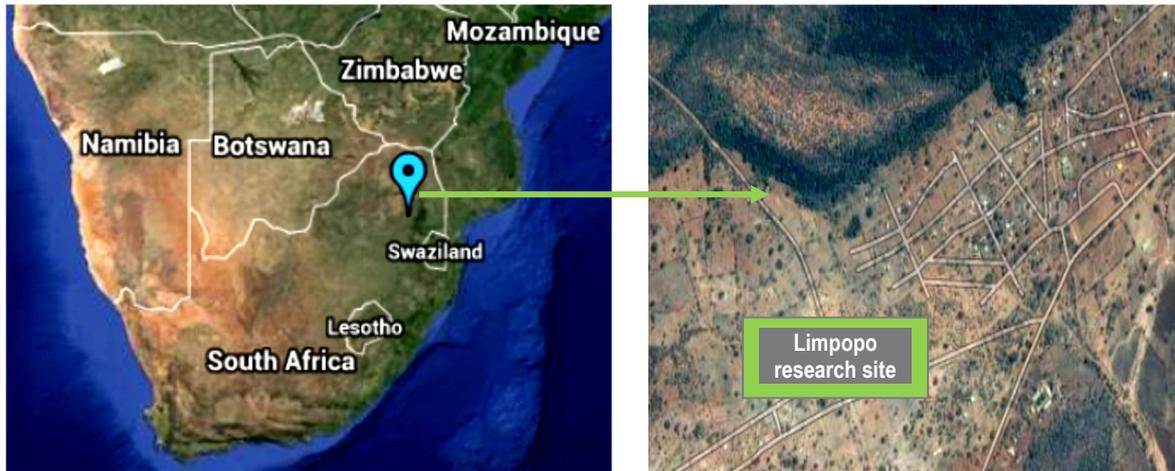
Photo 1.1: Limpopo research site

The Limpopo research site, where the local language is Venda, is located in the far north-east of Limpopo province on the boundary of the Kruger National Park, close to the Zimbabwe and Mozambique borders. Thirteen participants took part in the first data gathering in 2012, 27 took part in the second data gathering in 2013, and 15 participants attended the member checking in 2014, as shown in Figures 1.7 - 1.9.
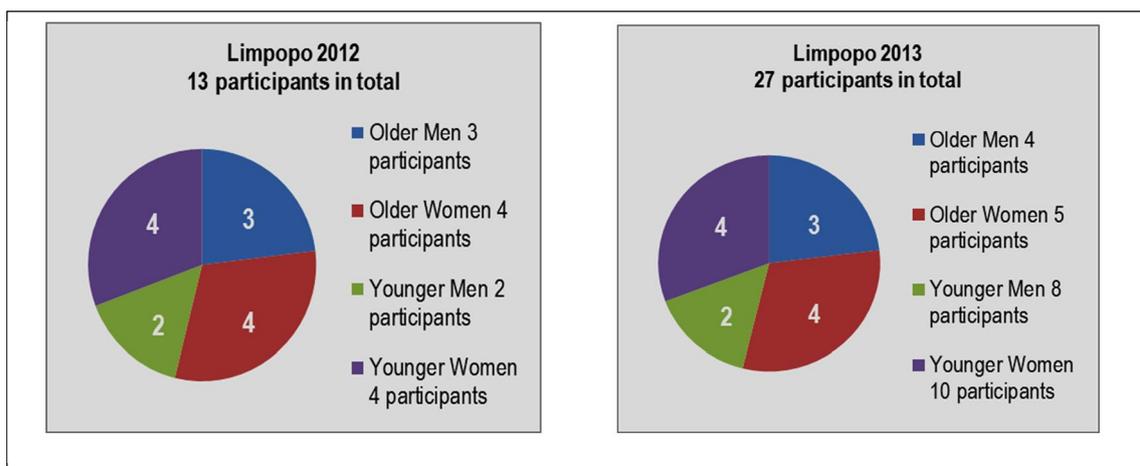
Figure 1.6:
Sampled Limpopo participants 2012

Figure 1.7:
Sampled Limpopo participants 2013
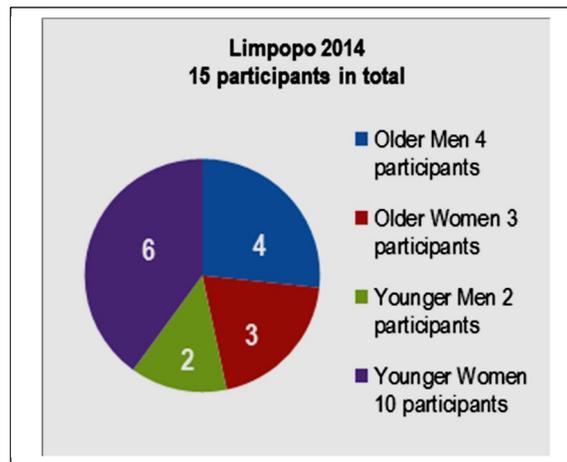
Figure 1.8:
Sampled Limpopo participants 2014

Before I went to the research site, I was informed that the community was beset with ongoing adversities such as drought, water scarcity, poor water quality, and food scarcity. Water scarcity is a major problem in this area although the Mutale river runs through the district (Brooks & Abney, 2013). The total population of the Vhembe district in 2011 was 1 294 722 consisting mainly of women. Most of the population fell in the age group 15-64 years, and black Africans constituted 98.3% of the population. Population growth in the Vhembe district was 1.8% from 1996 to 2001 and 0.8% from 2001 to 2011.

With a population of 91 870 in 2011, the Mutale municipality, at the time of the present study, was the second smallest municipality in the Vhembe district. It had more female than male members, and most of the population fell within the age range 15-64 years. Black Africans numbered 91 222. The Mutale district's population grew from 73 313 in 1996 to 91 870 in 2011. Table 1.10 provides more statistical information on both the Vhembe district and the Mutale municipality. Although the district as well as the local municipality is included in the table, I will focus more specifically on the Mutale municipality (the local municipality) in the Limpopo research site).

Table 1.10: *Statistical description of the population in the Vhembe district and the Mutale local municipality* (Statistics South Africa, 2011a)

Description of profile	Specification of profile	Vhembe district municipality		Mutale local municipality	
		1996	2011	1996	2011
Distribution of functional ages	*0-14 years*	43.5%	34.5%	33 067	35 086
	15-64 years	50.5%	58.9%	33 784	51 079
	65 years and over	5.8%	6.3 %	4 672	5 705
Education level of members 20 years and older	*No schooling*	36.3%	17.8%	170 430	124 434
	Some primary	ND	ND	49 960	66 425
	Complete primary	ND	ND	22 146	24 241
	Some secondary	ND	ND	98 788	200 854
	Gr 12/Matric	13.3%	21.7%	52 864	121 757
	Higher	6.00%	6.2%	20 139	48 084
School attendance		77.3%	82.7%	27 265	36 388
Unemployment		48.2%	37.3%	10 561	9 150
Distribution of households by type of dwelling	*Formal*	47.8%	87.7%	4 795	20 726
	Informal	2.1%	2.4%	28	196
	Traditional	50%	9.5%	8 955	2 693
Distribution women-headed households	*Percentage*	53.2%	52.6%	54%	54.8%
	Number of households	ND	ND	13 908	23 751
Distribution child-headed households	*Percentage*	2.3 %	1.7%	2.9%	1.8%
	Number of households	ND	ND	398	419
Distribution of the population groups	*Black African*	98.5%	98.3%	72 461	91 222
	Coloured	0.1%	0.1%	65	86
	Indian/Asian	0.4%	0.4%	24	69
	White	1.4%	1.1%	209	416

Table 1.10 indicates that of those aged 20 years and older, 124 434 reported having no education; 66 425 reported having some primary school education; 24 241 reported having completed primary school; 200 854 reported having some secondary education, 121 757 reported having completed Grade 12, and 48 084 reported having some form of higher education. School attendance in the Mutale municipality increased from 1996 to 2011 while the unemployment rate decreased from 10 561 in 1996 to 9 150 in 2011. Most Mutale municipality residents resided in formal dwellings while those residing in traditional dwellings decreased between 1996 and 2011. The number of women-headed households and child-headed households also increased with 418 women-headed households and 416 child-headed households in the Mutale municipal area. Table 1.11 provides information on resource access in both the Vhembe district and the Mutale municipality.

Table 1.11: Statistical description of resource access in the Vhembe district and the Mutale local municipality (Statistics South Africa, 2011a)

Description of profile	Specification of profile	Vhembe district municipality		Mutale local municipality	
		2001	2011	2001	2011
Percentage of households with access to:	Radio	72.2%	64.6%	13 464	15 171
	Television	38.1%	72.2%	4 030	15 813
	Computer	1.9%	12.1%	215	1 828
	Refrigerator	34.2%	67.5%	4 318	15 153
	Landline	6.4%	2.9%	319	310
	Cell phone	24.9%	89.7%	2 541	21 005
	Internet	ND	23.7%	ND	5 078
		1996	2011	1996	2011
Percentage of households using electricity for:	Lighting	30.8%	87.2%	1 110	19 782
	Cooking	16.7%	33.8%	605	4 636
	Heating	17%	35.6%	632	4 048
Percentage of households with access to piped water	Piped (tap) water inside dwelling/yard	33.0%	43.5%	2 601	6 386
	Piped (tap) water on a communal stand	52.2%	44.8%	7 248	14 553
	No access to piped (tap) water	14.1%	11.7%	3 941	2 812

Table 1.11 suggests there was an increase in access to resources such as water and electricity with a significant increase in the use of cell phones. My first impressions of the research site included being awed by the beauty of the surrounding nature and the traditional villages and wondering how people could survive in such isolation. The following extract from my research diary reflects my first impressions of the Limpopo research site.

"I went to the research site a little later than my fellow researchers. My husband volunteered to take me. As we were driving to the data gathering venue we gave a lift to one of the community members who seemed to have been walking for a while already. He didn't speak English but seemed to ask, based on his explanation using his hands, where we are going. My husband gave the name of the data gathering venue. He seemed to recognise the name and nodded. After driving for quite a while we hadn't reached our destination yet. After a bit more driving we reached a police station and the man indicated that he wants us to drop him off there. Once we climbed out of the car he started walking purposively again. I realised that if we didn't drive past him (on a road that seemed extremely quiet) and gave him a lift, he would probably spent most of his day walking to where he needed to be. I became immensely aware of the isolated

location of the Limpopo research site and that navigating one's way to services doesn't involve what I am used to namely a five minute drive to where I needed to be."

Photos 1.2-1.7 illustrate the characteristics of the Limpopo research site including its rural nature, its infrastructure, and some of its means of transport. The photos also gives an idea of the difficulties faced by the residents regarding water access. The boreholes often run dry and community members have to fetch water from the river on a daily basis requiring them to walk long distances with heavy water drums. The photos illustrates a formal and a traditional dwelling confirming the statistics that both types of dwellings are found in the community.

Photo 1.2: Limpopo Infrastructure

Photo 1.3: Limpopo Transport

Photo 1.4: Limpopo Borehole

Photo 1.5: Limpopo Water Drums

Photo 1.6: Limpopo Formal Housing

Photo 1.7: Limpopo Traditional Housing
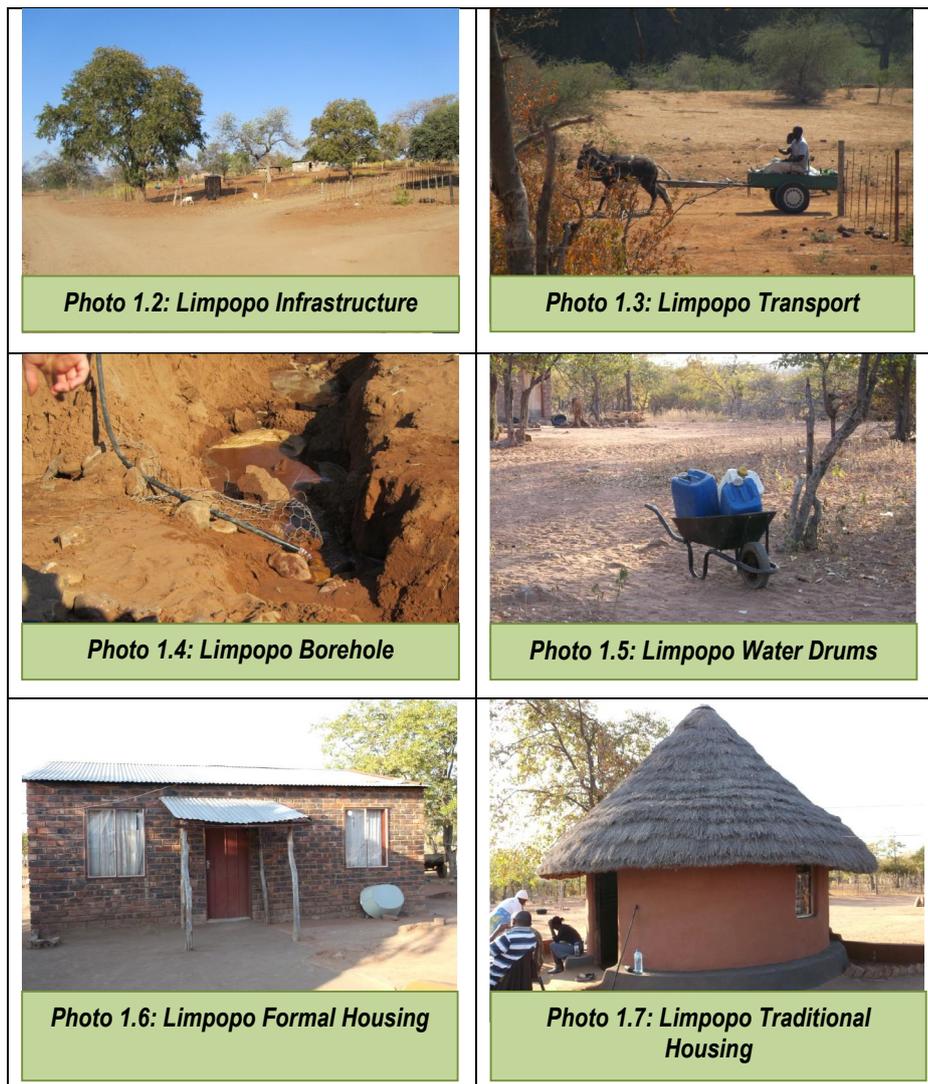
1.9.1.2   Mpumalanga research site

The Mpumalanga research site falls under the Albert Luthuli local municipality, which forms part of the Gert Sibande district municipality. The geographic location of the Mpumalanga site is illustrated in Photo 1.8.
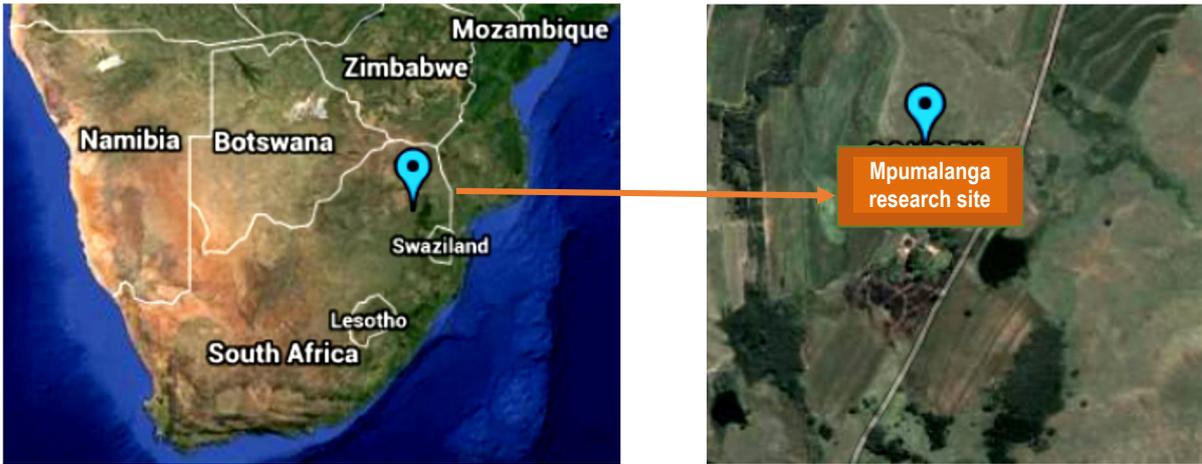
Photo 1.8: Mpumalanga research site

The Mpumalanga site, where the local language is Swati, is located in Mpumalanga province near the Swaziland border and falls under the Gert Sibande district municipality and the Albert Luthuli local municipality. Figures 1.9-1.11 illustrate the sampled Mpumalanga participants during the three site visits.

Figure 1.9:
Sampled Mpumalanga participants 2012

Figure 1.10:
Sampled Mpumalanga participants 2013

Figure 1.11:
Sampled Mpumalanga participants 2014
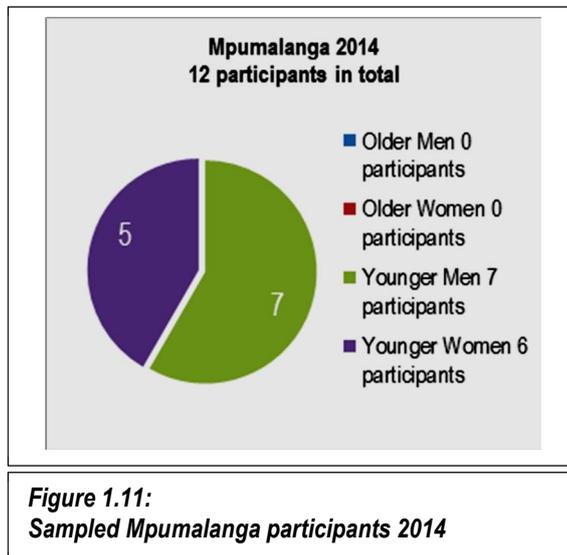
Twenty-four participants took part in the first data gathering in 2012, 19 took part in the second data gathering in 2013, and 12 participants attended the member checking in 2014, as shown in Figures 1.9-1.11. Chapter 3 contains a detailed discussion of the research sites and the participants.

The region has a low population density with high proportions of younger children (Aitken, Rangan & Kull, 2009). Figure 3.3 indicates the distribution of the population by age and sex in the Gert Sibande district. The population of this district in 2011 was 1 043 194. Most of the population were women, and most of the population fell in the age group 15-64 years. Most of the residents in 2011 were black Africans who made up 88.8% of the population. The population growth in the Gert Sibande district was 2.4% from 1996 to 2001 and 1.5% from 2001 to 2011.

With a population of 186 010 in 2011, the Albert Luthuli municipality was the second largest municipality in the Gert Sibande district. The Albert Luthuli municipality had, at the time of the study, more female than male residents, and most of the population fell in the age range 15-64 years. Black Africans accounted for 181 531 of the total population. The Albert Luthuli district's population grew from 182 719 in 1996 to 186 010 in 2011. Table 1.12 provides more statistical information on both the Gert Sibande district and the Albert Luthuli municipality. Although the district and the local municipality are included in the table, I will focus more specifically on the Albert Luthuli municipality (the local municipality in the Mpumalanga research site).

Table 1.12: *Statistical description of the population in the Gert Sibande district and the Albert Luthuli local municipality* (Statistics South Africa, 2011b)

Description of profile	Specification of profile	Gert Simbande district municipality		Albert Luthuli local municipality	
		1996	2011	1996	2011
Distribution of functional ages	*0-14 years*	35.2%	31.6%	77 348	67 801
	15-64 years	60.9%	63.9%	94 656	108 342
	65 years and over	3.9%	4.5%	8 254	9 868
Education level of residents 20 years and older	*No schooling*	29.4%	13.3	31 986	18 622
	Some primary			11 789	12 600
	Complete primary			5 065	4 146
	Some secondary			19 682	26 865
	Gr. 12/Matric	13.4%	28.5%	8 113	25 217
	Higher	5.2%	9.1%	2 715	5 905
School attendance		69.7%	73.6%	68 812	66 700
Unemployment		32.7%	29.9%	22 038	15 878
Distribution of households by type of dwelling	*Formal*	48.4%	72.4%	17 693	36 497
	Informal	21.3%	16.8%	39 726	2857
	Traditional	30.3%	9.9%	42 462	7 994
Distribution of women-headed households	*Percentage*	32%	38%	47.3%	49.3%
	Number of households			35 543	47 705
Distribution of child-headed households	*Percentage*	1%	0.7%	1.9%	1.1%
	Number of households			35 543	47 705
Distribution of population groups	*Black African*	87%	88.8%	177 862	181 531
	Coloured	0.7%	1.0%	240	434
	Indian/Asian	0.8%	1.1%	273	755
	White	11.5%	9.1%	3 272	2 938

Table 1.12 indicates that of those aged 20 years and older, 18 622 reported having no education; 12 600 reported having some primary school education; 4 146 reported having completed primary school; 26 865 reported having some secondary education, 25 217 reported having completed Grade 12, and 5 905 reported having some form of higher education. School attendance in the Albert Luthuli municipal area decreased from 1996 to 2011. Unemployment decreased from 22 038 in 1996 to 15 878 in 2011. At the time of the study, most of the Albert Luthuli municipality residents resided in formal dwellings while residents residing in traditional dwellings decreased between 1996 and 2011. The number of women-headed households and child-headed households also increased with 47 705 women-headed households and 47 705 child-headed households in the Albert Luthuli municipal area. Table 1.13

summarises the information on physical resource access in both the Gert Sibande district and the Albert Luthuli municipality.

Table 1.13: Statistical information on access to resources in the Gert Sibande district and the Albert Luthuli local municipality (Statistics South Africa, 2011b)

Description of profile	Specification of profile	Gert Sibande district municipality		Albert Luthuli local municipality	
		2001	**2011**	**2001**	**2011**
Percentage of households with access to:	Radio	75.8%	70.6%	29 779	33 529
	Television	48.3%	75.3%	15 896	34 262
	Computer	5.1%	16.4%	586	4 321
	Refrigerator	42.9%	67%	15 668	31 114
	Landline	16.1%	7.6%	3 590	1 284
	Cell phone	29.3%	90.1%	10 015	42 616A
	Internet	ND	31.7%	ND	11 339
		1996	**2011**	**1996**	**2011**
Percentage of households using electricity for:	Lighting	44.6%	83.4%	8 814	41 734
	Cooking	31.2%	49.4%	4 591	24 256
	Heating	33.2%	62.9%	4 014	18 297
Percentage of households with access to piped water	Piped (tap) water inside dwelling/yard	60.2%	81.3%	14 251	33 510
	Piped (tap) water on a communal stand	31.2%	49.4%	8 977	5 506
	No access to piped (tap) water	33.2%	62.9%	11 807	8 690

Table 1.13 suggests there was an increase in access to resources such as water and electricity with a significant increase in the use of cell phones. Prior to my first visit to the Mpumalanga research site, I was aware of the high unemployment in the community. I also knew that farming played a central role in the area. The following extract from my research diary (Appendix F) reveals my impressions of the Mpumalanga research site.

"I was somewhat familiar with the research setting as I have been here about three years ago. It did however feel as if we were driving further than the previous time. The trip there created an awareness of the geographical isolation of the site. I remember thinking that if you have a car driving to the nearest town isn't a challenge but in a community where the unemployment rate is high, and most people do not have cars, this means isolation from important services and goods. As we took the off ramp to the research site I was once again awestruck by the beauty of the community surrounded by lovely mountains. My awareness of the beauty of the

community was quickly interrupted when I saw a woman carrying two very large buckets of water to her home which made me realise that a community that is appealing to the eye might in itself cause adversity."

Photos 1.9-1.14 show features of the Mpumalanga research site. The Mpumalanga site infrastructure (view of some of the streets) and services (such as the cell phone tower) are illustrated in the collage. Photos 1.11 and1.12 also show the farming fields that play a key role in the site's livelihood as well as the formal housing in the community.

Photos 1.9 & 1.10: Mpumalanga Infrastructure

Photos 1.11 & 1.12: Mpumalanga Farming Fields

Photos 1.13 & 1.14: Mpumalanga Housing
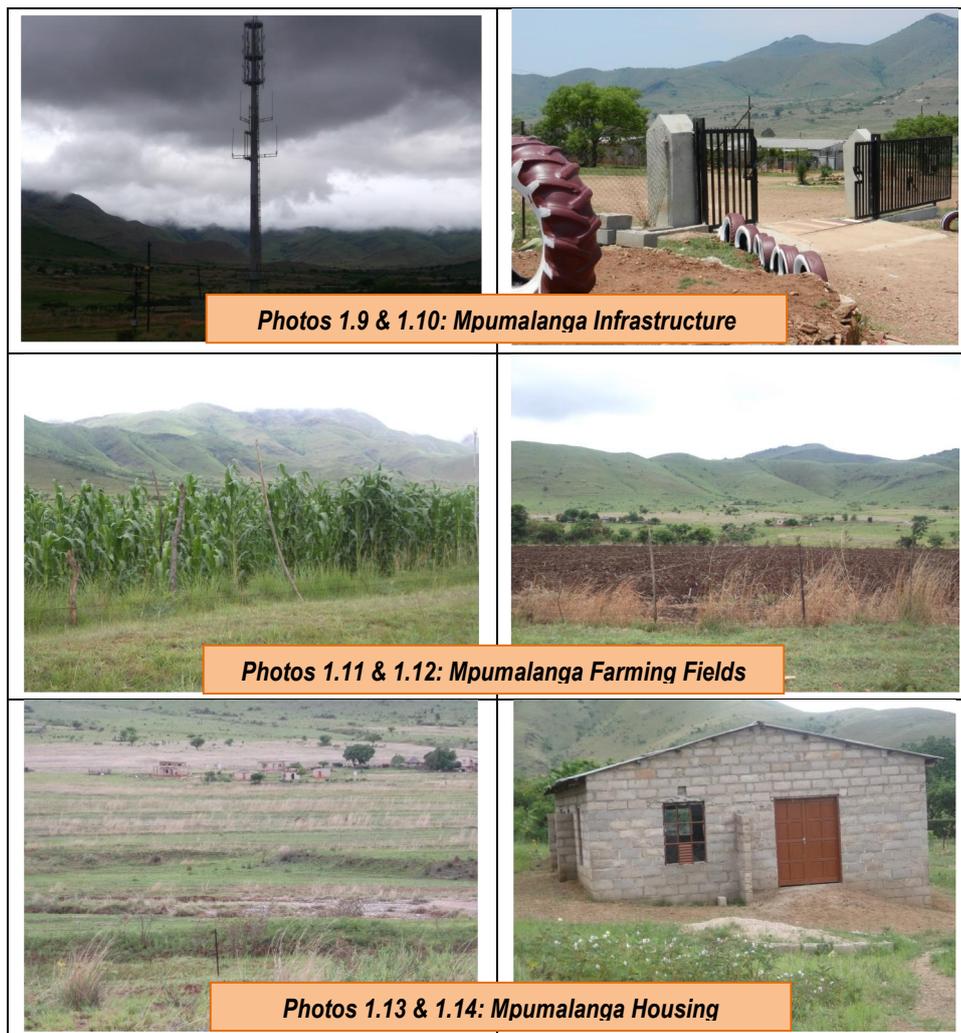
1.9.2   DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLED PARTICIPANTS

Purposive sampling was used in the selection of the participants (the sampling process is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, Section 3.3 together with limitations and delimitations). The IPR project involved only adult participants as the inclusion of minors could have been problematic in terms of obtaining consent, especially since child-headed households were a reality in these communities. Furthermore, due to the school hours, the availability of minors would have been limited.

Existing relationships with local residents enabled the IPR research group to access voluntary research participants. During our first visit to the Mpumalanga site, we relied on existing partnerships with the Flourishing Learning Youth (FLY) research programme and the high school in the community to gain access to participants. Leveraging on FLY activities, I networked with an older man who assisted me with snowball (Cohen et al., 2000) selection of participants from two villages. At the Limpopo site, the IMAGINE (International Mentorship of Advanced Graduates in Interdisciplinary Excellence) partnership assisted the IPR research team to get access to participants through a community member who invited participants from four villages. Table 1.14 summarises the planned sampling of the IPR research group.

Table 1.14:   Summary of sampling

Research settings	Based on availability and accessibility	Based on coherence with the purpose of the study	Based on diversity in terms of age and gender
Research setting 1: *Limpopo province*	Ongoing research partnership (IMAGINE)	Rural resource-constrained Venda	6 x older men; 6 x older women 6 x younger men; 6 x younger women
Research setting 2: *Mpumalanga province*	Ongoing research partnership (FLY)	Rural resource-constrained traditional Swati	6 x older men; 6 x older women 6 x younger men; 6 x younger women

Table 1.14 shows that the purposive sampling method used in the IPR study adhered to principles of stratified purposive sampling by selecting two sites and pairing the participants according to specific characteristics in order to create samples within samples (Suri, 2011; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). The sampled participants were stratified in respect of age (above 21 years) and gender. We[3] wanted to sample the following groups from each site: six older men and six younger men as well as six older women and six younger women all residing in one of the two research settings. We hoped to have a total of 48 participants. Stratified purposive sampling promoted comparability and allowed for the investigation of variations in the manifestations of the phenomenon under study (Suri, 2011; Palinkas, Horwitz, Green, Wisdon, Duan & Haagwood, 2013), namely indigenous pathways to adaptive coping. Table 1.15 shows the number of participants sampled for each research site and research visit:

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[3] "We" refers to the IPR research group members

Table 1.15:   Number of participants sampled per visit for each site

Research site	Groups an total per visit	Visit 2012: first data collection		Visit 2013: second data collection		Total per group for data gathering[4]	Visit 2014: member checking
Limpopo	Older men	3		4 (2)[5]		**5**	4
	Older women	4		5 (1)		**8**	3
	Younger men	2		8 (1)		**9**	2
	Younger women	4		10 (2)		**12**	6
	Total Participants	**13**		**27**		**34**	**15**
Mpumalanga	Older men	Day 1[6]	2	Day 1	2 (1)	**5**	0
		Day 2	4	Day 2	2		
	Older women	Day 1	5	Day 1	5 (4)	**6**	0
		Day 2	5	Day 2	5		
	Younger men	Day 1	3	Day 1	4 (0)	**12**	7
		Day 2	8	Day 2	2		
	Younger women	Day 1	7	Day 1	9 (1)	**15**	5
		Day 2	7	Day 2	9		
	Total Participants	**24**		**20**		**38**	**12**

As illustrated in Table 1.15, 27 participants were sampled in Limpopo over the two years of data gathering and 20 participants in Mpumalanga. During the 2012 data gathering visit in Limpopo a total of 13 participants participated in all four data gathering activities. These 13 participants represented more participants from the older generation (1 more participant) and more female participants than male participants (3 more female participants). The 24 Mpumalanga participants were represented by more participants from the younger generation (6 more participants) than participants from the older generation and by an equal amount of male and female participants. During the 2013 data gathering visits a total of 27 Limpopo participants and 20 Mpumalanga participants attended. From the 27 Limpopo participants a total of 6 participants (2 older men, 1 older woman, 1 younger men and 2 younger women) were present during the 2012 data gathering. The 27 Limpopo participants further represented more female participants (3 more) than male participants and double the amount of participants from the younger generation than the participants from the older generation. From the 20 Mpumalanga participants a total of 6 participants (1 older man, 4 older women and 1 younger women) attended the data gathering during 2012. The 20 Mpumalanga participants further represented more female participants (8 more) than male participants and more participants from the younger generation (6 more) than participants from the older

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[4] Please note that the totals in the "total per group" represents the amount of community members who attended the data gathering over two years without counting those who participated both years twice.

[5] The numbers in brackets represent the amount of participants who were part of the data gathering the previous year.

[6] Note that data was collected over two days at the Mpumalanga research site but in one day at the Limpopo research site.

generation. Although the actual sample of participants differed from the planned sample, we were still able to gather rich data from the older men, the older women, the younger men, and the younger women. The following extract from my research diary (Appendix F) records my experience of the sampling process.

> *"On the first day of data collection we waited a long time for our participants to arrive because it turned out that our first day of data collection fell on the day the community members received their pension. Once the participants arrived and they were grouped I was at first concerned because I had only three older men in my group instead of six. As the data gathering process continued and as the participants started sharing their indigenous knowledge they have obtained through living in Limpopo my concern turned into amazement and appreciation. I became aware of the wealth of knowledge embedded in one voice. I also became appreciative of the fact that I have the opportunity to listen to three indigenous voices."*

1.10 SUMMARISING THE RESEARCH PROCESS AND INVOLVEMENT OF THE IPR RESEARCH GROUP[7]

This section reviews the IPR process and discusses the three site visits from 2012 to 2013. Figure 1.1 shows that four doctoral students acted as fieldworkers under the supervision of the principal investigator (Liesel Ebersöhn) and two co-researchers (Funke Omidire and Vanessa Scherman). The aim of the first two site visits was to generate two waves of data collection (replicating the same PRA-driven discussions with the participants). The inclusion of the two waves is a hallmark of longitudinal research (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). Table 1.16 summarises the site visits.

Table 1.16: Data collection schedule

PRA data gathering	Limpopo	Mpumalanga	Data sources
Activity 1:	2012-06-05	2012-11-06	• Audio data (audio recordings of conversations between researcher, interpreter, and participants)
Community map (including identification of resources and adverse conditions)	2013-07-02	2013-11-12	
Activity 2:	2012-06-05	2012-11-07	• Textual data (verbatim transcriptions of audio-recorded PRA activities translated into English),
Solving a past problem	2013-07-02	2013-11-12	
Activity 3:	2012-06-05	2012-11-07	
Solving a future problem	Not repeated in 2013	Not repeated in 2013	• Visual data (photographs)
Activity 4:	2012-06-05	2012-11-07	
Identifying contributing factors to happiness and well-being	2013-07-02	2013-11-12	

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[7] Chapter 3 contains a detailed description of the research activities related to my study. The aim of this section is to give a broad overview of the IPR research process from 2012 to 2014.

During the first site visit, we[8] held four PRA-directed group discussions (described in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2.2 2). These data collection activities were used to generate data for each doctoral student's study. The four activities yielded data on appraisal, coping, and well-being, which contributed to the development of an indigenous pathways to resilience scale. Each doctoral student was assigned a group of participants to engage in discussion with and observe. The older men were assigned to me, the older women to Janna de Gouveia, the younger men to Raphael Akanmidu, and the younger women to Safia Mohamed. Interpreters, who spoke both English and the participants' mother tongue, were assigned to each group to facilitate discussions between the participants and each fieldworker. As indicated in Table 1.16, various data sources were used. PRA-directed group discussions were documented in audio and textual formats while observations were documented in visual and textual formats (Appendix D contains examples of the different data sources). During the second site visit, data on Questions 1, 2, and 4 were again collected.

Table 1.17 gives details of the third research site visit when member checking (Polit & Bed, 2010) was done with the interpreted data that the IPR research group had gathered during the first and second site visit (this is discussed in detail in Chapter 3, Section 3.9). Each doctoral student consulted with the participants on the data analysis results.

Table 1.17:   Member checking 2014

	Research site	Member-checking themes	Grouping
Indigenous pathways to resilience research process (2012-2014)		**2014**	
	Limpopo	Safia Mohammed: Appraisal	Participants were divided into the following groups: older men, older women, younger men, and younger women.
		Marlize Malan van Rooyen: Adaptive coping	
		Janna de Gouveia: Well-being	
		Raphael Akanmidu: Pathways to resilience scale	
	Mpumalanga	Safia Mohammed: Appraisal	Participants were divided into the following groups: older men, older women, younger men, and younger women.
		Marlize Malan van Rooyen: Adaptive coping	
		Janna de Gouveia: Well-being	
		Raphael Akanmidu: Pathways to resilience scale	

The participants could give their views on the accuracy of the data analysis and interpretation. During this research visit, the participants were not divided into groups, but all the older men, older women, younger men, and younger women formed one group. During the member checking, interpreters were available at both research sites to facilitate conversation between the researchers and the participants.

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[8] "We" refers to the IPR research group.

1.11   CONCLUSION

Early in the chapter, I stated the need for documented South African knowledge on indigenous pathways to adaptive coping through an indigenous psychology lens. I listed the research questions that had to be answered in order to document such knowledge using the post-colonial research paradigm as the philosophical paradigm and participatory reflection and action as the methodological paradigm. I then described the sites and the participants who provided access to indigenous knowledge systems, which inform indigenous pathways to adaptive coping. Chapter 2 covers Western and non-Western knowledge on pathways to adaptive coping.

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2.1   INTRODUCTION

Figure 2.1 shows the chapter's content and gives the reasoning behind the inclusion of the various sections. The chapter commences with a review of existing Western knowledge on coping. In order to determine knowledge of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping, multicultural models of coping and South African coping literature are reviewed. The chapter also includes a discussion of key concepts in adaptive coping that I needed to consider in my exploration of pathways to adaptive coping as a psychological phenomenon. This chapter is concluded with revisiting correlations between concepts associated with adaptive coping and resilience.
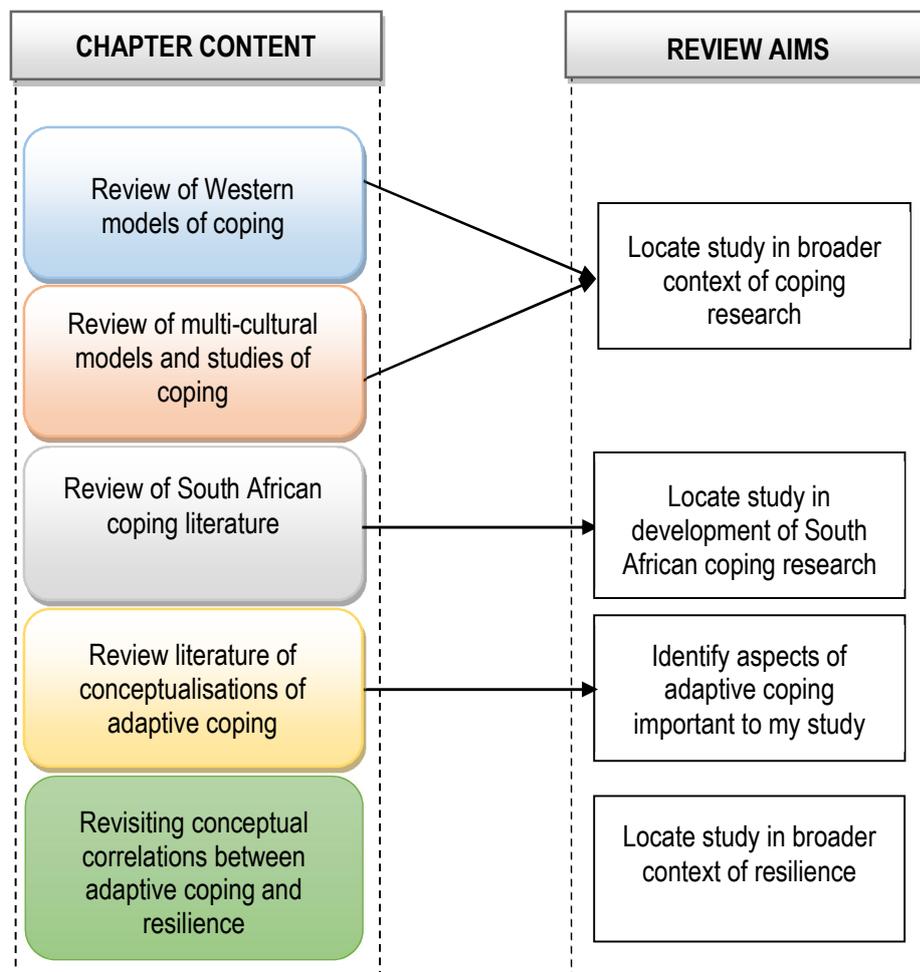
Figure 2.1:   Overview of Chapter 2

2.2 SITUATING THE STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF COPING RESEARCH

The purpose of Section 2.2 is twofold. Firstly, the section locates the present study within the history of coping research by reviewing the literature on how coping research has developed over the past few decades. Throughout the review process, I reflect on how the history of coping research could have influenced this study. I believed it was necessary to acknowledge prior coping research trends as I agree with Dei (2013) that coping research, including my own, does not take place outside history. Secondly, the section covers Western and multicultural pathways to coping that have created a comparative knowledge base for (South African) indigenous pathways to adaptive coping. Such a knowledge base creates a space to challenge exclusively Western-dominated coping literature with the view to adding alternative non-Western ways of understanding pathways to coping. In the course of the review, I discuss the development of coping research and highlight two prominent movements in coping research history. These movements are illustrated in Figure 2.2.
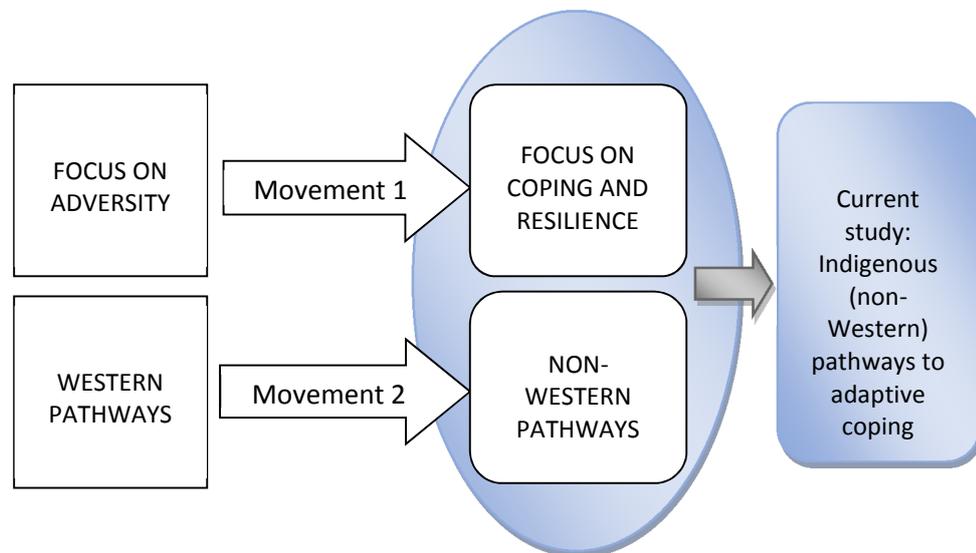
Figure 2.2: *Locating the study in coping research history*

Figure 2.2 shows the two dominant movements in coping research: i) movement towards an emphasis on coping and resilience, and ii) movement towards non-Western conceptualisations of coping. Both these movements are prominent in the present study as I was specifically interested in coping behaviours that promote adaptation (resilience) as viewed through an indigenous psychology (IP) lens. As stated in Chapter 1, the investigation of non-Western pathways to coping does not mean a replacement of theory, but rather an enrichment of theory by providing alternative perspectives on the subject.

2.2.1   MOVEMENT 1: MOVING FROM STRESS TO COPING

The first three decades (1960s-1990s) of coping research focused on undesirable outcomes of stress and emphasised negative emotions (Folkman, 2011). I first review the literature on Western pathways with the emphasis on stress.

2.2.1.1   Western conceptualisations of coping with the emphasis on stress

During the 1960s and 1970s, research on coping grew because of the heightened interest in stress (Lazarus, 1993). Most of the research during this time focused on ego-psychology and approached coping from Freud's psychoanalytical point of view with the spotlight on pathology, unconscious processes, and defence mechanisms (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Lazarus, 1993; Wong et al., 2006). Coping strategies were seen as rooted in defence mechanisms and emphasis was placed on internal conflict (Aldwin, 2007). Coping behaviours are no longer seen as defence mechanisms, yet coping research is still motivated by the same phenomenon as decades ago, namely adversity. Continuous adversity in South Africa (Tchombe et al., 2010) was a partial reason for the present study. I had to consider the types of adversity in indigenous contexts as the nature of adversity naturally influences coping behaviour.

Ego-psychology gave rise to the hierarchical view that some defences as more effective than others, with coping seen as the healthiest reaction to stress and ego failure as the most regressive reaction to stress (Lazarus, 1993). Although the hierarchical view conceptualised coping as a defence mechanism, the idea that certain reactions are more effective than others is still evident today. For instance, the literature on adaptive coping versus maladaptive coping reflects a hierarchical view where adaptive coping is seen as promoting positive development and maladaptive coping as hindering positive development. The hierarchical view of coping was followed by the view of coping as a stable aspect of personality in the form of traits and styles (Folkman, 2011; Wong et al., 2006). Coping conceptualised as a style suggests that it is influenced by personality or perceptual styles (Adwin, 2011). The role of personality in coping does not form part of my research focus, yet it nevertheless still plays a role in coping research.

A significant development in the 1970s, namely viewing coping as a process, had a major influence on future coping research (Lazarus, 1993). Lazarus's *contextual model* shifted the focus from defence mechanisms and pathology to the cognitive and behavioural responses people use to cope with daily problems (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). This was followed by the *transactional model* of Lazarus and Folkman (1984), which continues to play a key role in coping research by highlighting the coping process as it unfolds between person and environment. This process entails appraising a situation as a threat (when the threat adds strain or exceeds a person's coping resources) thereby causing negative emotions

that then evoke cognitive and behaviour coping responses that impact both the individual and the environment (Goh, Sawang, Oei & Ranaweke, 2012; Folkman, 2011; Lazarus, 2006; Levine, Schmidt, Kang & Tinti, 2012). Coping is quite rightly still conceptualised as a process and should be studied as a process (discussed in Section 2.4.2) that involves the study of individuals, their environment, and the interaction that takes place between individuals and the environment. In the present study, the participants shared indigenous knowledge about the coping resources in their environment and how they used these resources to cope with adversity. Another noteworthy aspect of *the transactional model* is the notion that coping has consequences. If the adversity is resolved, coping leads to positive emotions; if it is not, the unresolved adversity can lead to negative emotions (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). I do believe, however, that the consequences of coping go beyond positive and negative emotions as I explain later in my discussion on the adaptive function of coping.

The *transactional model* further contributed to the notion of categorising coping into types. Research on the classification of different ways of coping has escalated, leading to numerous distinctions between different types of coping (Carver & Connor-Smith, 2010). Of the various types of coping identified, emotion-focused coping and problem-focused coping (introduced first) remain popular (Carver & Scheier, 2009; Folkman, 2010). Approach and avoidance coping strategies as well as primary control and secondary control strategies are also well known (Carver & Scheier, 2009; Folkman, 2010). Primary control coping falls under the category of coping strategies aimed at modifying the environment in order to deal with adversity (Morling & Evered, 2006; Rothbaum, Weisz & Snyder, 1982; Skinner, 1996). These strategies are shown in Table 2.1.

The 1990s were characterised by a fundamental shift in coping research where principles of positive psychology, such as emphasising what contributes to well-being in stressful situations, came to the fore (Folkman, 2011). Although the present study forms part of and has been influenced by the history of coping research as a whole, it can be situated in the positive psychology movement as it focuses on adaptive coping that promotes positive development in the face of adversity. In the next section, Western-dominated literature is reviewed with its emphasis on coping and resilience.

2.2.1.2   Coping as part of the positive psychology movement

In the spirit of positive psychology, coping research began focusing on what people do to rise above challenges. Coping literature on positive processes identifies Western pathways[1] to coping including i) positive intrapersonal processes in coping, ii) future-oriented coping, iii) religious aspects of coping, iv)

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[1] I consider pathways involved in the coping process as what people use and how they use it in order to cope. Western pathways refer to pathways to coping that have been identified using Western research methodology in a Western context.

social aspects of coping, and v) developmental aspects of coping. Each of the above are discussed in more detail in the subsections that follow.

(a)   Pathway: positive intrapersonal processes

Coping research used to focus mainly on negative emotions provoked by adversity but soon realised that positive emotions can exist also in adverse conditions (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Folkman 2011). Control, emotional regulation, meaning making, and benefit have been identified as pathways as they reflect how people use positive intrapersonal processes to cope (see Table 2.1 for details). Of these pathways, self-esteem and sense of control (mastery) are individual resources often studied and found to promote positive development (Thoits, 2013). Taylor and Stanton (2007) also highlight coping resources that aid adaptive coping, including optimism, control, mastery, self-esteem, and social support. Secondary control coping is also used to describe efforts where individuals focus on changing the self instead of the environment in order to deal with adversity (Morling & Evered, 2006; Rothbaum et al., 1982). These concepts are shown in Table 2.1. Two well-known coping models that foreground positive emotions as pathways to coping are the dual process coping model and the broaden and build theory.

The dual process coping model focuses on the regulation of emotions as a pathway to coping during bereavement and sees adaptive coping as fluctuation between loss orientations and future orientations, between approach and avoidance coping, and between positive and negative reappraisals, all of which help in explaining adjustment to bereavement (Stroebe, 2008; Stroebe & Schut, 2010). The dual process coping model thus identifies three coping orientations, namely loss-oriented coping, restoration-oriented coping, and reappraisal (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Stroebe, 2008; Stroebe & Schut, 2010), which can be seen in Table 2.1. *The* dual process coping model has contributed to emotional regulation as a pathway to coping, yet I believe its specific focus on bereavement limits its applicability to other types of stressors.

According to the broaden and build theory*,* positive intrapersonal processes can broaden a person's thought-and-action repertoire during adversity, which builds his or her personal resources (Fredrickson, 2004; Fredrickson & Branigan, 2005). Personal resources, or pathways, can include physical, intellectual, social, and psychological resources that improve successful coping and consequently promote resilience over time (Fredrickson, 2004). I appreciate that the broaden and build theory goes beyond intrapersonal resources by including social and physical resources, however it still focuses on intrapersonal positive emotions. Overall, I agree that positive intrapersonal processes are involved in the coping process although I am aware that the abovementioned ways of coping and coping models evolved in Western individualistic cultures. I therefore question whether positive processes involved in the coping process will

be limited to the intrapersonal dimension in collectivistic cultures with their emphasis on interpersonal and interdependent processes.

(b)   Future orientation as a pathway to coping

Coping research on future-oriented coping explores how people prepare for and cope with potential stressors; in other words, how they cope proactively (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Greenglass & Fiksenbaum, 2009). Aspinwall and Taylor (1997) define five interrelated components of the pro-active pathways in the coping process, namely building a reserve of resources (which can include family and social resources), recognition of potential stressors, initial appraisals of potential stressors, preliminary coping and elicitation, and use of feedback on the success of one's efforts (Apsinwall, 2011). Examples of coping ways that reflect a future orientation are preventive coping and anticipatory coping, which are described in Table 2.1. I agree that coping efforts can be future oriented; however, I question whether future-oriented coping is always directed towards a potential stressor. Resource-constrained areas, such as the IPR project research sites, face continuous adversity. Coping efforts can be future oriented, not because of a potential stressor, but because continuous adversity requires long-term, ongoing coping efforts in the hope that they will in the future solve current adversity.

(c)   Spirituality as a pathway to coping

The literature suggests that spiritual coping can be part of the entire coping process as it plays a role in how people appraise and react to adversity (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Pargament, Feuille & Burdzy, 2011). According to Pargament et al. (2011), religion adds a dimension to coping not necessarily accounted for by the psychological, physical, or social dimensions of coping. Considering the spiritual dimension in coping was relevant to the present study as African cultures often use spirituality and religion as important sources of coping (Ye et al., 2006). Some individuals from African cultures adopt African spirituality, namely believing in ancestry, and others Christianity, which is associated with Western culture, while yet others combine the two spiritual orientations (Masango, 2006). The fact that some individuals from African cultures adopt a spirituality associated with Western spiritually opens the possibility that certain spiritual pathways to coping identified in the present study could correlate with Western-dominated coping.

Spiritually as a pathway in the coping processes is relevant to the present study because religious coping also foregrounds the social dimension of coping by considering connectedness with others (Aspinwall, 2011), which is a key component in African cultures. Research has also indicated that spiritual pathways can contribute to resilience (Ironson & Kremer, 2011), which further motivated me to review the literature on spiritual pathways to coping. Spiritual ways of coping are shown in Table 2.1.

(d)   Social relationships as a pathway to coping

A more recent development in coping research is consideration of the interpersonal pathway to coping, which is associated with improved well-being (Taylor, 2011). Coping researchers have begun acknowledging the social context in which coping takes place, realising that coping is not always an individual endeavour (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Wong et al., 2006). Research that includes the social dimension of coping has resulted in various theories and concepts highlighting the interpersonal nature of coping, and it appears as if social support as a pathway to coping has also received substantial attention.

Social coping was added to problem-, emotion-, and meaning-focused coping, with social coping involving mainly support (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). Thoits (2013) argues that social support can be viewed in a structural way (number and type of relationships and frequency of contact) and in a functional way (functions performed by other people for an individual). The concept of social support in itself reveals several pathways involved in the coping process such as seeking instrumental support or seeking emotional support as well as perceiving or actually experiencing support (DeLongis & Holtzman, 2005; Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Taylor, 2011). Taylor's tend and befriend theory adds a biological dimension to social support by positing that humans are biologically predisposed to seek affiliation in times of stress and when they experience their social support as inadequate. Befriending specifically refers to the creation and maintenance of social networks as pathways in times of adversity (Taylor, Klein, Lewis, Gruenewald, Gurung & Updegraff, 2000; Taylor, 2006). I do, however, believe that there is more to social support than using interpersonal relationships to overcome adversity.

I agree with Taylor and Stanton (2007) that at a community level social support can entail the experience of connectedness to others and implies mutual assistance and obligation. Consideration of the interpersonal dimension of coping played a central role in the present study as interpersonal relationships are highly valued in collectivistic African cultures (Odora Hoppers, 2002). However, I believe that the interpersonal dimension of coping is not enough to describe coping in collectivistic cultures as in these cultures the interpersonal dimension seems to be interdependent in nature. The conceptualisations of social support discussed earlier are based mainly on individualistic cultures. I concur with Zhang and Long (2006) that collective ways of coping are more complex than social support where the problem and its solution are shared.

Theoretical attempts have been made to move beyond limiting the social dimension of coping to social support. The *conservation of resource (COR) theory of stress and coping* and the multi-axial coping model, which developed from the COR theory, deal also with communal pathways to coping (Hobfoll, 2001; Hobfoll, 2011). The COR theory is considered one of the two leading theories on stress and trauma. The COR theory emphasises the communal appraisal of stress among people from the same

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culture, and, although this theory emphasises stress, it still falls under the emerging field of positive psychology as its concept of resource gain can contribute to the concept of resilience (Hobfoll, 2011). The COR theory posits that coping is initiated by threat or loss of resources and entails pathways to coping such as resource management including resource investment, resource replacement, resource substitution, and accommodative coping (Hobfoll, 2001; Hobfoll, 2011). These pathways to coping can be seen in Table 2.1. Kuo (2012) argues that the COR theory can apply even to non-Western cultures as it views the individual as nested in the family or tribe where he or she focuses on the group's well-being above his or her own needs in the process of resource management. The *multi-axial model of coping* also acknowledges culture as a resource that influences stress and coping responses and explores the concept of communal coping (Dunahoo, Hobfoll, Mannier, Hulsizer & Johnson, 1998; Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Kuo, 2011; Roussi & Vassilaki, 2001). Communal coping has two dimensions: the pro-social dimension where people join together to deal with a situation and the anti-social dimension where a person asserts his or her dominance during the coping process (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). Ways of coping with the emphasis on social coping can be seen in Table 2.1. Although I am aware of the potential of the COR theory and the *multi-axial model of coping* to guide conceptualisations of non-Western pathways to coping, I still question their true applicability as they were generated using Western paradigms and methodology.

(e)   Developmental processes in coping

The developmental aspect of coping can be seen in i) how coping processes and behaviour evolve over time to promote positive development, and in ii) how coping evolves over a person's lifespan. I am specifically interested in how coping processes and behaviour promote positive development. According to Zimmer-Gembeck and Skinner (2008), the way in which individuals manage the process of interaction between themselves and their environments (i.e. how they cope) evolves over time and can be either adaptive or maladaptive. One could then reason that pathways to coping develop over time because what they use to cope and how they use it also develops. In their model, Zimmer-Gembeck and Skinner (2008) conceptualise coping as a multilevel, dynamic set of processes that include interactional, episodic, and adaptive processes. These processes were discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.3.2 while the adaptive function of coping is dealt with in detail in Section 2.4.2.

The second developmental aspect of coping entails conceptualising coping as a dynamic and complex process that changes throughout a person's lifespan due to changes in stressors, coping resources, and the person himself or herself (Aldwin, 2011). Throughout one's lifespan, coping evolves through developments in the sense of control and changes in the process of perceiving control and experiencing control (Aldwin, Skinner, Zimmer-Gembeck & Taylor, 2011). I did not focus on this developmental aspect

of coping, but, since I worked specifically with adults, I took note of Aldwin's (2011) description of what coping looks like in adulthood. According to this view, coping in adulthood seems to be more selective, flexible, and efficient. More nuanced coping strategies seem to be followed – as coping resources are conserved, people become more domain-specific, and emotional regulations are better developed (Aldwin, 2011; Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011).

In Section 2.2, I referred to some of the leading scholars in coping research. Although their influence on coping research, such as identifying Western pathways to coping, is evident, its relevance to collectivistic contexts is questionable as these scholars conducted their research mainly in individualistic settings (Skovdal & Daniel, 2012). An individualistic cultural orientation is characterised by emphasis on individual identity, individual goals, individual responsibility, and independent relationships (Ye et al., 2006; Kim et. al., 2008). In individualistic cultures, the individual is the master and directs his or her behaviour to control the environment, which is seen as changeable, to fulfil his or her personal needs (Ye et al., 2006; Triandis, 2001). Individualistic cultures are often wealthier and have less hierarchy in the social system (Smith, 2010). In sum, Western individualistic pathways to coping (summarised in Table 2.1) may not be relevant to collectivistic cultures.

Table 2.1: ***Existing knowledge on Western pathways to coping***

Ways of coping with the emphasis on stress	
Coping	**Description**
Problem-focused coping	Coping strategies aimed at changing either the person or the environment in order to overcome adversity (Folkman, 2010).
Emotion-focused coping	Coping strategies that help to regulate negative emotions (Folkman, 2010).
Avoidance coping	Avoidance coping entails attempts to avoid dealing with adversity (Elliot, Thrash & Murayama, 2011). The concept of disengagement coping, which refers to coping aimed at escaping from the stressor, is also used (Carver & Connor-Smith, 2010).
Approach coping	Approach coping entails efforts to confront and deal with adversity (Elliot, Thrash & Murayama, 2011). The concept of engagement coping is also used when referring to dealing with adversity actively (Carver & Connor-Smith, 2010).
Primary control coping	Primary control coping refers to efforts to influence events or conditions (Skinner et al., 2003). In primary control coping, also referred to as personal control coping, the self is emphasised as an agent as is how the self's actions can contribute to changing the environment (Morling & Evered, 2006; Rothbaum et al., 1982).
Ways of coping emphasising positive intrapersonal processes	
Coping	**Description**
Secondary control coping	Secondary coping, more recently called accommodative coping, refers to maximising one's fit-to-fit conditions in the face of adversity (Skinner et al., 2003). The concept of secondary control has also been considered in non-Western cultures. Fit-focused secondary control is adaptive for coping and preferred in interdependent cultural contexts (Morling & Evered, 2006).

Mastery-focused coping	Refers to coping efforts aimed at obtaining positive coping outcomes by mastering one's environment (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011).
Meaning-focused coping	Appraised-based coping occurs when a person relies on his or her beliefs, values, and current goals to motivate and sustain coping during adversity (Folkman, 2008). Overall, meaning-focused coping regulates positive emotions (Folkman, 2010).
Loss-oriented coping (introduced by the dual process model)	Involves awareness as well as acknowledging loss and grieving (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Stroebe, 2008; Stroebe & Schut, 2010).
Restoration-oriented coping (introduced by the dual process model)	Refers to dealing with secondary stressors caused by loss (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Stroebe, 2008; Stroebe & Schut, 2010).
Benefit finding coping	Focuses on finding benefit in adversity, in other words, thinking about what is positive in the adversity being faced (Pakenham, 2011).

Future-oriented coping	
Coping	**Description**
Preventive coping	Coping efforts that entail building up coping resources that will promote effective coping in the future (Aspinwall, 2011). Entails efforts to prepare for uncertain events in the long term (Schwarzer & Knoll, 2003).
Anticipatory coping	Refers to coping efforts aimed at dealing with pending adversity (Schwarzer & Knoll, 2003).

Ways of coping with a spiritual focus	
Coping	**Description**
Spiritual coping	Examples of religious coping methods: ■ a secure relationship with God ■ belief that there is meaning to life ■ religious reappraisal ■ prayer ■ reading the Bible ■ religious rituals (Folkman & Moskowits, 2004; Pargament et al., 2011)

Ways of coping with a social focus	
Coping	**Description**
Social support	Social support can be either informational where other people help in understanding adversity better, or instrumental, where others provide tangible services to help cope with adversity (Taylor, 2011). Social support can also be explicit, where a person actively draws on his or her social networks; or it can be implicit, where a person capitalises on emotional comfort or reminds himself or herself that he or she has others in their lives to support them (Taylor, 2011).
Relationship-focused coping (falls under dyadic coping)	Is an interpersonal regulation function of coping and refers to cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage and sustain relationships during adversity; it requires a balance between the self and others (O'Brien, De Longis, Pomaki, Puterman & Zwicker, 2009; Revenson & DeLongis, 2011).
Positive dyadic coping (falls under dyadic coping)	Refers to supportive action by one partner towards the other, while negative dyadic coping refers to distancing oneself from one's partner (Berg & Upchurch, 2007; Revenson & DeLongis, 2011).
Collaborative coping (closely related to dyadic coping)	Refers to couples engaging in joint problem solving and active engagement in one another's resources when faced with adversity (Berg, Wiebe, Butner, Bloor, Bradstreet, Upchurch & Patton, 2008; Revenson & DeLongis, 2011).

Resource investment (from COR theory)	Investing or utilising resources to work against potentially negative effects of stress (Hobfoll, 2001).
Resource replacement(from COR theory)	Re-establishing the same resources (Hobfoll, 2001).
Resource substitution (from COR theory)	Re-establishing a lost resource with a resource of similar value (Hobfoll, 2001).
Accommodative coping (from COR theory)	Occurs when the costs of resource investment outweigh the benefits, and downgrading goals and reframing outcomes are needed (Hobfoll, 2001).
Resource investment (from COR theory)	Proactive coping (Hobfoll, 2001).

Ways of coping with potential adaptive functions	
Coping	**Description**
Family: Problem solving (adaptive function includes adjusting actions to be effective)	Ways of coping associated with problem solving include strategising, instrumental action, planning, and mastery (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011).
Family: Information seeking (adaptive function includes finding additional contingencies)	Ways of coping associated with information seeking include reading, observation, and asking others (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011).
Family: Helplessness (adaptive function includes finding limits to actions)	Ways of coping associated with helplessness include confusion, cognitive interference, cognitive exhaustion, and passivity (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011).
Family: Escape (adaptive function includes escaping from non-contingent environments)	Ways of coping associated with escape include behavioural avoidance, mental withdrawal, flight denial, and wishful thinking (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011).
Family: Self-reliance (adaptive function includes protecting available resources)	Ways of coping associated with self-reliance include emotion regulation, behaviour regulation, emotion expression, and emotion approach (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011).
Family: Support seeking (Adaptive function includes using available social resources)	Ways of coping associated with support seeking include contact seeking, comfort seeking, instrumental aid, and social referencing (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011).
Family: Delegation (adaptive function includes finding limits of resources)	Ways of coping associated with delegation include maladaptive help seeking, complaining, whining, and self-pity (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011).
Family: Social isolation (adaptive function includes withdrawing from unsupportive contexts)	Ways of coping associated with social isolation include social withdrawal, concealment, avoiding others, and freezing (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011).
Family: Accommodation (adaptive function includes adjusting preferences for options)	Ways of coping associated with accommodation include distraction, cognitive restructuring, minimisation, and acceptance (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011).
Family: Negotiation (adaptive function includes finding new options)	Ways of coping associated with negation include bargaining, persuasion, and priority setting (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011).
Family: Submission (adaptive function includes giving up preferences)	Ways of coping associated with submission include rumination, rigid perseveration, and intrusive thoughts (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011).
Family: Opposition (adaptive function includes removing constraints)	Ways of coping associated with opposition include blaming others, projection, aggression, and defiance (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011).

The next section covers leading scholars' work on coping research in a non-Western and mostly collectivistic context. It also covers the significant movement in coping research from Western conceptualisations of coping to non-Western, in other words indigenous, conceptualisations of coping.

2.2.2   EXISTING KNOWLEDGE ON NON-WESTERN (INDIGENOUS) PATHWAYS TO COPING

In this section, I discuss cultural models of coping generated through multicultural research on cultural pathways to coping. Multicultural models generally provide a deeper understanding of ethnic and cultural differences (Wong et al., 2006). The cultural models of coping considered here deal with the influence of culture on the coping process, coping resources, and ways of coping. I start by discussing the crux of each model and then reflect on the usefulness of the various models. Cultural pathways to coping are highlighted throughout the discussion of the models.

2.2.2.1   Resource congruence as a pathway

The review of the literature on coping resources in indigenous contexts revealed the role coping resources play in the coping process. I found the *resource congruence model* especially useful as it highlights coping rather than stress and considers cultural pathways to coping as well as what makes coping adaptive. According to this model, culture can influence the way the in-group appraises the significance of a stressor (primary appraisal) and how controllable the in-group perceives the stressor (secondary appraisal) (Kuo, 2011). The *resource congruence model* posits that adaptive coping requires congruence between resources and coping behaviours; in other words, sufficient resources and the appropriate use of the resources are necessary (Kuo, 2011; Wong et.al., 2006). Put differently, a pathway to adaptive coping involves using the appropriate coping resources in the correct way. The *resource congruence model* also identifies three coping strategies: creative (developing and transforming resources), reactive (using appropriate resources), and protective (conserving available resources) as pathways to coping (Kuo, 2011; Wong et al., 2006). Based on insight gained from the model, my exploration of adaptive coping in the non-Western research sites was refined by making sure I understood how the communities used their coping resources in the context of their culture.

2.2.2.2   Social cultural influence as a pathway to coping

Similarly to the *resource congruence model,* the *social cultural model of stress coping and adaptation* emphasises the influence of the cultural context on coping appraisal, coping resources, and coping behaviour (Kuo, 2011). However, this model adds the social context as embedded in the cultural context to its understanding of coping and accordingly views coping as influenced by the individual's appraisal of stress, available coping resources, existing social support, cultural resources, and the reactions of other

community members (Aldwin, 2007). This model also moves beyond the notion that culture influences the individual's perception of stress, coping resources, and coping behaviour by positing that the coping behaviour (reaction) impacts both the individual and the environment as the coping behaviour itself has cultural, social, situational, psychological, and physiological consequences (Kuo, 2011). I value the insight provided by the model as it holds that pathways to coping are not unidirectional and accordingly implies that one should not consider only the influence of the context on adaptive coping, but also the influence of adaptive coping on the environment. Although the *social cultural model of stress coping and adaptation* is useful for comprehending the influence of culture on coping, Kuo (2012) maintains that empirical research proving its validity is lacking.

2.2.2.3 Cultural orientation as a pathway to coping

The bidirectional influence of culture and the environment in the coping process is also reflected in the *cultural transactional theory of stress and coping.* This theory addresses the direct and indirect links between collectivism-individualism and stress coping by highlighting the interaction between the individual and the environment as well as the influence of culture on the coping process (Chun et al., 2006; Kuo, 2012). Collectivism and individualism are seen as the key cultural and psychological dimensions that influence the coping process (Kuo, 2011). I included a discussion of this theory because of its holistic view on the influence of culture on coping. The theory uses five panels to explain the coping process in the context of culture. The panels can be seen in Figure 2.3:
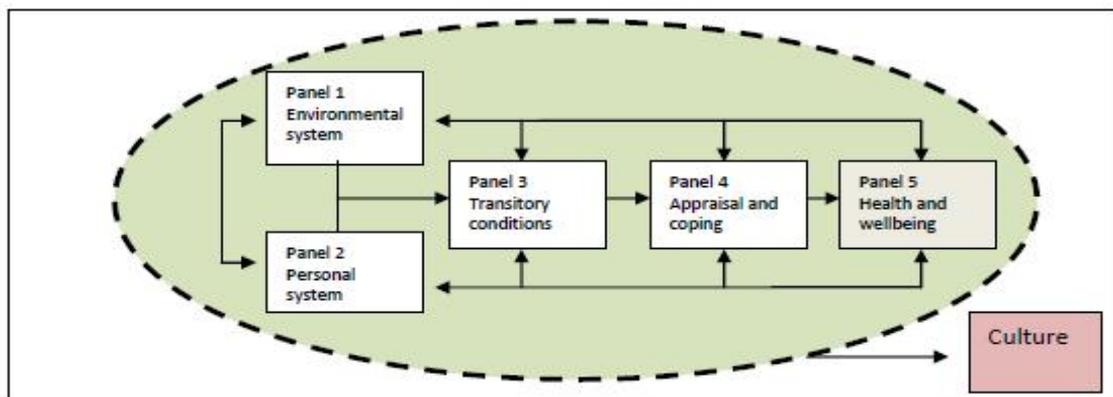
Figure 2.3: ***Cultural transactional theory of stress and coping*** (adapted from Chun, Moos & Cronkite, 2006)

Panel 1 highlights the interaction of culture and the physical environment and how this affects coping (Moos, 2002). According to this theory, culture affects the way the individual interacts with stressors and resources stemming from the environment (Chun et al., 2006). Panel 2 focuses on the individual including self-construal, personality traits, attribution, and motivation (Chun et al., 2006). The theory posits that culture influences these intrapersonal factors, which in turn affect coping (Chun et al., 2006).

Panel 3 represents life changes that can foreshadow life events (Moos, 2002; Kuo, 2011). The theory holds that culture influences which life events are appraised as stressful (Chun et al., 2006). Panel four represents cognitive appraisal and coping skills, which culture influences by determining how individuals appraise a situation and how they react to it (Chun et al., 2006). Lastly, Panel 5 represents the outcome of the coping process, namely health and well-being, and the theory posits that culture influences what is seen as positive outcomes (Kuo, 2011). Overall, culture is highlighted as a dominant pathway in coping.

I value the extent to which this theory addresses the influence of culture on coping, yet I believe the emphasis on culture downplays the role of, for instance, the physical environment. This is an important point for consideration as the same culture may be found in different contexts with different physical characteristics, such as adverse conditions and coping resources, which also influence how coping manifests in a specific context. Accordingly, I believe that all dimensions of a particular context, including the social, physical, natural, and cultural dimensions, should receive equal attention. Kuo (2012) maintains that *cultural transactional theory of stress and coping* has not been analysed empirically but shows great potential as the five well-defined panels can help in the understanding of collective coping. This model seems conceptually strong (Kuo, 2011) and can serve as a good launch pad for exploring adaptive coping in the complex context in which it evolves.

2.2.2.4   Cultural norms and values as a pathway to coping

The *theoretical model for collectivistic coping* focuses on cultural norms and values as pathways to coping by highlighting the cultural dimensions of collective coping (Yeh et al., 2006). The model identifies several ways of collective coping as can be seen in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2:   Cultural norms and values in coping

Cultural norms and values	Description
Respect for authority figures	Elders and authority figures are often consulted before dealing with adversity.
Intracultural coping	Intracultural coping refers to the use of supportive networks and goes beyond social support in that multiple group members work together to solve a specific problem.
Relational universality	Relational universality refers to the view that a person cannot be understood when removed from his or her social context. A sense of interconnection leads people to seek support, advice, and guidance from those around them who are similar and have had similar experiences, all of which relates to collective coping strategies.
Forbearance	Forbearance entails not disclosing one's personal problems and placing another's problems as the first priority in the face of adversity.
Social activity	Social activity is seen as an important means of coping, especially because of the role played by interconnectedness with others.
Fatalism	Collectivistic cultures often view control as something that lies within the environment or within external forces.

The theoretical model for collectivistic coping made a valuable contribution indigenous pathways to coping by identifying different ways of collective coping. I agree with Chun et al. (2006) that the collective dimension can contribute to understanding coping behaviour in non-Western collective cultures. Understanding of coping in such cultures is promoted by considering collective characteristics such as traditional hierarchy, interdependent self-construal, connectedness, relationships, interdependence, and putting group goals before individual goals (Kim et al., 2008; Smith, 2010; Ye et al. Wu, 2006). Kuo (2012) argues that viewing collectivism in the coping context could help us move away from coping research dominated by the individualistic worldview with its overemphasis on intrapersonal dimensions of coping and could give us insight into the physical and psychological well-being of culturally diverse individuals. I value the role that collective cultural orientation plays in understanding the coping process, especially since most of the African cultures in the present study were collectivistic. However, I believe there is more to understanding indigenous pathways to adaptive coping than emphasising culture and cultural orientation.

The non-Western cultural models discussed above provide insight into cultural pathways opening a space for understanding coping in indigenous contexts. Although the identified pathways pave the way for exploring and understanding coping in indigenous contexts, the pathways were identified using models that specifically emphasise cultural factors. I doubt whether the identified indigenous or, rather, cultural pathways will be true for all collectivistic cultures in other unique contexts such as South Africa. Furthermore, it is also not known what similarities and differences there will be between the South African context and the international Western and non-Western context. In the next section, I review recent coping research in South Africa with a view to creating a basis for comparison to the present study's findings?

2.2.2.5   Cultural specific coping

In addition to the reviewed cultural models of coping, several international empirical studies and collective coping measurements have also broadened my understanding of coping strategies that appeared to be culturally embedded. The empirical studies included participants from indigenous Alaskan, Asian, and African-American cultures, and the measurements were developed using participants from Asian and African-American cultural backgrounds. I will first review the empirical studies and then discuss the non-Western coping assessment measures.

(a) **Cultural specific coping as revealed in empirical research findings using non-Western samples**

The first few research findings I review here relate to research on coping and resilience in indigenous arctic communities. A study by Wexler (2014) identified spiritual figures, family, culture, and cultural traditions as coping resources reported by elders and adults. The study also highlighted the importance of culture in directing coping actions (Wexler, 2014). Other indigenous pathways used to adapt to adversity and promote resilience in indigenous Alaskan communities include the following: family relations, oral traditions, traditional healing practices, spirituality, and cultural identity (Allen, Hopper, Wexler, Kral, Rasmus & Nystad, 2014). Research findings documenting the views of indigenous Alaskan youth also confirmed the importance of developing and maintaining relationships as well as acting responsibly, creating systems of reciprocity, and giving back to their families and community (Wexler, Jernigan, Mazzotti, Baldwin, Griffen, Joule & Garoutte, 2014).

Other studies focused on coping in Asian cultures (including Asian citizens and Asian-American citizens). For instance, a study by Yeh and Wang (2000), who used a sample of 470 Asian-American students, revealed that these students preferred to capitalise on interpersonal relationships when they needed to adapt to adversity and that consulting with family members was preferred to consulting with health care professionals. A study by Yeh, Inman, Kim and Okubo (2002) investigated collective coping strategies in response to the 9/11 tragedy, and the results revealed a variety of individualistic coping, familial coping, intracultural coping, relational universality, forbearance, fatalism, spirituality, and indigenous healing methods. Kuo's (2013) review of research on collective coping in Asian cultures (including Asians, Asian-Americans, and Asian-Canadians) as well as in African cultures (African-Americans and African-Canadians) revealed two important similarities in the ways the members of these non-Western cultures coped, namely i) through the influence of collectivist values, and ii) through interpersonal relationships when coping with adversity. Table 2.3 summarises the studies and their main findings in terms of coping.

Table 2.3:   Empirical research coping studies using non-Western samples

Culture	Study	Sample	Coping behaviour	Coping resource
African-American/Canadian culture	Wei, Heppner, Ku and Liao (2010)	Asian-American college students	Collective coping manifested in the form of family support	Family relationships
	Taylor, Welch, Kim, and Sherman (2007)	Asian-American college students	Seeking social support	Interpersonal relationships
	Utsey, Adams & Bolden (2000)	African-Americans	Cultural, communal, and spiritual coping strategies. Afrocentric culture plays a prominent role	Culture Interpersonal relationships Personality
	Constantine, Donnelly and Myers (2002)	African-Americans in high school	Spiritual-centred Africultural coping strategies	Culture Spirituality
	Joseph and Kuo (2009)	African-Canadian	Africultural and conventional coping strategies (problem- and emotion-focused coping), spiritual coping, ritual-centred coping, and collective coping	Culture Spirituality Interpersonal relationships
	Lewis-Coles and Constantine (2006)	African-American	Collective coping strategies and spiritual coping strategies	Interpersonal relationships Spirituality
	Gaylord-Harden and Cunningham (2009)	African-American youth (early adolescents)	Communalistic coping Spiritual coping	Interpersonal relationships Spirituality

In addition to research directed at identifying coping associated with non-Western cultures, several studies sought to develop collective coping measures that indicate how coping manifests in indigenous cultures.

(b)   Cultural specific coping as revealed by non-Western coping measures

Kuo (2013) reviewed various coping measures and confirmed the prominent role of communal/relational values and norms in coping. Kuo (2013) argues that existing knowledge on coping in non-Western cultures reveals coping responses that are value driven, interpersonally based, culturally conditioned, emotional and cognitive, and religiously and spiritually based. In this section, I discuss collective coping measures based on Kuo's (2013) review as well as my review of additional literature. Table 2.4 summarises the main tenets of each coping measurement, and I subsequently discuss the value of the coping behaviours indicated by each measurement.

Table 2.4:   *Measures of collective coping*

Measurement	Sample	Coping
Africultural coping systems inventory (Utsey et al., 2000; Utsey, Bolden, Lanier & Williams, 2004)	African-American and African-Caribbean	Collective coping (influenced by African-based culture as well as values and includes group-centred activities) Spiritual-centred coping (such as praying) Ritual-centred coping (includes African-based cultural practices that can involve participation in events to acknowledge ancestors or celebrate cultures) Cognitive/Emotional debriefing (such as hoping that things will get better)
Collectivistic coping scale (Yeh et al., 2006)	Diverse ethnic Americans	Respect for authority figures Forbearance Social activity Intracultural coping Relational universality Family support Fatalism
Collectivistic coping style measure (Moore & Constantine, 2005)	African, Asian, Latino international students in the United States	Seeking social support Forbearance
Cross-cultural coping scale (Heppner, Heppner, Lee, Wang, Park & Wang, 2006)	Asian-Americans, European-Americans Taiwanese nationals	Acceptance reframing and striving Family support Religious spirituality Avoidance and detachment Private emotional outlets
Cross-cultural coping scale (Kuo, Roysircar & Newby-Clark, 2006)	Chinese-American adolescents Chinese-Canadian adolescents Asian-Canadians	Collective coping (involves talking to, seeking advice from, and following the example of parents, family, authorities, and friends) Engagement coping (involves taking action such as relying on oneself and considering options. Also involves having optimism or engaging in leisure activities) Avoidance coping (involves forgetting through blocking thoughts, or unobtrusive actions such as keeping problems to oneself, or accepting circumstances as well as distractive activities)

Based on the coping ways included in the various measures reveal several pathways to indigenous coping such as cultural values, interpersonal relationships, spirituality, traditional practices, activities, and avoidance of active engagement. Despite the coping ways identified in the studies, I believe there is a need for a better understanding of what activities such as collective coping and communalistic coping actually entail. This uncertainty may relate to Kuo's (2013) view that current research findings on collective coping lack integration and clarity.

2.3 CONTEXTUALISING ADAPTIVE COPING: COPING WITH ADVERSITIES OF RURAL SOUTH AFRICA

This section covers statistical data and contextual facts of the South African context relevant to the present study. Two aspects of South Africa, namely post-colonialism and poverty (high risk and high need), are of central importance to the study and are discussed here including South African coping studies on how South Africans deal with poverty-related adversity. South Africa is reputed to be one of the most unequal societies in the world (Özler, 2007; Statistics South Africa, 2011a, 2011b, 2014a, 2014b; Van der Berg, 2011), and, consequently, not all South African population groups are affected by poverty-related adversity in the same way. Inequalities are apparent among South African racial groups in terms of income, education, health, basic infrastructure, and overall unequal distribution of resources and opportunities (Özler, 2007; Van der Berg, 2011). The South African population totalled 5 400 2000 in 2011 with black Africans making up 80.3% of the population (Statistics South Africa, 2011a, 2011b, 2014a, 2014b). Black Africans are the population group most affected by poverty (Statistics South Africa, 2011a, 2011b, 2014a, 2014b). Table 2.5 shows the mid-year 2014 population distributions by population group and gender.

Table 2.5: *Mid-year population distributions by population group and gender, 2014 (000s)* (Statistics South Africa, 2014 a)

Population group	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	% of population	Number	% of population	Number	% of population
Black African	21 169	80.3	22 165	80.2	43 334	80.2
Coloured	2 306	8.7	2 466	8.9	4 772	8.8
Indian/Asian	667	2.6	665	2.4	1 342	2.52
White	2 214	8.4	2 340	8.5	4 555	8.4
Totals	26 366	100.0	37 636	100.0	54 002	100.0

In South Africa, a complex relationship exists between poverty and inequality, where a reduction in poverty does not necessarily lead to a decline in inequality (Van der Berg, 2011; Statistics South Africa, 2011a, 2011b, 2014a, 2014b). Although inequality in South Africa has not improved, its nature has changed in that interracial income distributions have improved, but in-group distribution has worsened due to BEE policies that have led to a rapid growth in inequality within the black African group (Van der Berg, 2011). The racial dimension of inequality has softened somewhat (Van der Berg, 2011), but inequality remains a major problem in the country.

2.3.1   POST-COLONIAL SOUTH AFRICA

Since the end of apartheid in 1994, South Africa has been in a place of reconciliation where cultural negotiations between colonialism and post-colonialism have occurred (Fox, 2012). Two examples of such negotiations are the revival of indigenous knowledge systems (Kubow, 2007; Mkabela, 2005) and traditional governance structures (Beall & Ngonyama, 2009; Koelble & Li Puma, 2011).

During apartheid, indigenous knowledge systems were marginalised but, now in a democratic dispensation, South African knowledge had become more prominent in academic inquiry (Mkabela, 2005). An example of this is the recognition of Ubuntu as an indigenous value system in documented scientific literature (Kubow, 2007). Chapter 1, Section 1.7.2.3 deals with the values inherent in the African philosophy of Ubuntu.

Another characteristic of post-colonial South Africa is the important role traditional leaders and authority structures are playing in managing communities. Traditional authority is an integral part of African culture and, as is the case in many post-colonial countries, local government relies on chieftaincies (referring to the chiefs[2] in rural areas who have considerable influence) to help develop and manage hard-to-reach places in rural areas (Beall & Ngonyama, 2009). Accommodation of indigenous institutions in the new political order has been part of post-apartheid cultural negotiations (Beall & Ngonyama, 2009) where traditional leaders and chiefs often serve as links between indigenous communities and the government (Koelble & Li Puma, 2011).

The Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act (2003) acknowledges the role of traditional leadership in South Africa. The Act specifically states that the relationship between municipalities and traditional councils should be based on principles of mutual respect and recognition of the status and role of the respective parties and should be guided by and based on the principles of cooperative governance. Table 2.6 shows some of the Act's terminology used to describe indigenous governance as well as the role of some of the indigenous governance members.

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[2] Chiefs are traditional leaders in indigenous communities responsible for managing the communities.

Table 2.6:   *Description of South African traditional structures according to the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act (2003)*

South African indigenous member	Definition and role
Headman or headwomen	Refers to a traditional leader under the jurisdiction of a senior leader.
Headmanship	Refers to the position of the headman or headwomen.
Traditional communities	A community system that is subject to traditional leadership in terms of that community's customs and that observes a system of customary law.
Traditional council	A council that is chosen by the traditional community and is expected to administer the affairs of the community in accordance with customs and traditions. A traditional council supports the traditional leader in his functions and informs the municipality of the community's needs. It recommends, after consultation with the relevant local and provincial houses of traditional leaders, interventions that will contribute to development.
Traditional leaders	People who, in terms of the customary law of the traditional community, hold traditional leadership positions.
Traditional leadership	Customary institutions or structures, or customary systems or procedures of governance.

In sum, traditional leadership institutions have to promote freedom, human dignity, equality, traditions, and culture (Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act, 2003). Traditional institutions are also expected to derive their mandate and primary authority from applicable customary law and practices (Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act, 2003). Promotion of nation building, harmony, peace among community members, as well as the principles of cooperative governance are also part of traditional leadership institutions' responsibilities. Lastly, the promotion of effective and fair dispute resolution regulations and a fair system of administration of justice are also mentioned in the Act.

2.3.2   NATURE OF POVERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA

South African poverty is considered chronic as poverty is passed on from one generation to the next (Aliber, 2003). According to the global multidimensional poverty index (MPI), poverty is more than a lack of income as it also entails a range of deprivations (OPHI, 2015). The MPI can best be understood in terms of three dimensions and indicators as summarised in Table 2.7:

Table 2.7: ***MPI poverty dimensions and indicators*** (OPHI, 2015)

Dimensions	Indicators
Education	Years of schooling
	School attendance
Health	Child morality
	Nutrition
Standard of living	Electricity
	Sanitation
	Water
	Floor
	Cooking fuel
	Assets

In terms of the MPI, a person who is deprived in terms of at least a third of the indicators is considered poor (OPHI, 2015). According to the South African multidimensional poverty indicator (SAMPI), one out of six households was considered poor in 2001, which changed to less than one in every ten households in 2011. Despite the decrease in poverty, the number of people in South Africa faced with poverty is still very high. Table 2.8 illustrates the poverty headcounts in 2006, 2009, and 2011:

Table 2.8: ***Poverty headcounts in South Africa for 2006, 2009, and 2011*** (Statistics South Africa, 2014a)

Poverty headcounts	2006	2009	2011
Percentage of the population that is poor	57,2%	56,8%	45,5%
Number of poor persons (millions)	27,1	27,8	23,0
Percentage of the population living in extreme poverty	26,6%	32,4%	20,2%
Number of extremely poor persons (millions)	12,6	15,8	10,2

The South African statistics database indicates that black Africans are the most affected by poverty, followed by coloured Africans and then by Indian and Asian Africans (Statistics South Africa, 2014a). White Africans are the least affected by poverty (Statistics South Africa, 2014a). On a provincial level, Limpopo, the Eastern Cape, and KwaZulu-Natal have the poorest people in comparison to other South African provinces (Statistics South Africa, 2014a). In terms of settlement type, rural areas in South Africa have a higher poverty count than urban areas: more than two-thirds (68.8%) of rural dwellers are considered poor in comparison to less than a third (30.9%) of urban residents. High unemployment rates are generally associated with high poverty rates, and this is especially true of South African rural areas where lack of access to productive resources further aggravates poverty related to unemployment (Aliber, 2003). Despite its poverty and inequality, South Africa is still considered a growing economy as poverty rates declined between 2006 and 2011 (see Table 2.6). Economic growth was robust between 2004 and

2007 and slowed down and even declined between 2006 and 2009 due to the global economic recession.

2.3.3   COPING WITH RESOURCE CONSTRAINT

Various studies have focused on exploring how people cope with resource constraint, including food scarcity, drought, and other rural stressors. A study by Kaschula (2008) used a mixed-method design to collect data in two rural South African sites where food scarcity was prevalent. The study found that the two main coping strategies involved the use of natural resources and social capital networks (Kaschula, 2008). Ndhleve, Musemwa and Zhou (2012) investigated household food security and how the households concerned adapted. The results showed that the households coped with food scarcity by sourcing food from the environment, selling food sources from the environment, and using social grants (Ndhleve et al., 2012). Being employed served as a protective factor (Ndhleve et al., 2012). Social relationships, natural resources, and financial management thus seem to be preferred ways of coping with food scarcity.

Roos et al. (2010) investigated, with the help of qualitative focus groups, how indigenous knowledge is used to cope with drought. According to the results, indigenous knowledge of weather patterns served as a pathway to coping as it helped older people determine when to sow which type of plants (Roos et al., 2010). Other coping pathways involved drying and stockpiling food, water conservation, traditional beliefs and religious practices, and sharing resources (Roos et al., 2010). Natural resource management, social relationships, and religious practices again came to the fore as a way of coping. An earlier study also found these non-tangible resources to be significant. Greeff and Loubser (2008) explored spirituality as a characteristic of family resilience in a rural environment using qualitative semi-structured interviews and found that it was an important source of coping. Six categories were also identified that could facilitate adaptation, namely gifts from God, guidance, God's work, God's plan, prayer, and faith (Greeff & Loubser, 2008).

Natural resource management and social relationships as coping resources and coping strategies do not seem to be limited to adversity such as food scarcity and drought. The following studies focused on multiple stressors in rural adversity, which confirmed the importance of natural resource management and social relationships in rural communities. A study by Paumgarten and Shackleton (2011) investigated the coping strategies used by rural households to deal with resource constraint using PRA methods as well as household interviews. The study also focused on the influence of household wealth and gender and the results revealed that kinship was the most widely adopted coping strategy with other coping strategies including selling non-timber forest products, spending less, changing diet, selling livestock, and cashing in group saving schemes (Paumgarten & Shackleton, 2011). The study revealed that wealth

influenced the households' ability to cope and that there was a limited difference between male- and female-headed households with regard to how they coped (Paumgarten & Shackleton, 2011). Quinn, Ziervogel, Taylor, Tokama and Thomalla (2011) used qualitative interviews to investigate multiple stressors in rural South Africa such as drought, illness, and higher maize prices. The participants were asked to choose coping strategies from a list that included eating less preferred meals, reducing the number of meals a day, limiting portion sizes, borrowing food, eating somewhere else, relying on piecework, and purchasing food on credit (Quinn et al., 2011). The findings suggested that the participants did not necessarily choose one coping strategy but preferred to first prioritise the stressors and respond as needed (Quinn et al., 2011).

Hunter, Twine, and Johnson (2011) examined, using a mixed-method design, household strategies with regard to fuel wood and water among impoverished rural people in South Africa. The study found that the loss of an adult member as well as poverty had a crucial effect on coping strategies (Hunter et al., 2011). Although studies on coping in rural South Africa are scarce, the reviewed literature did contribute to understanding of the phenomenon of rural poverty. In the next section, I discuss some of the contributions made as well as questions that arose from the literature study on coping research in South Africa.

Ebersöhn (2012) made a valuable contribution to understanding resilience research in South African based on her longitudinal engagement with high-risk, resource-constrained, non-Western South African rural contexts. She acknowledged the influence of culture on appraising and responding to risk and posited the notion of collective experience, appraisal, and response to adversity. Collective response often includes "flocking" (where individuals come together to use relationship functionality) to deal with collectively experienced adversity such as a common lack of resources (Ebersöhn, 2012). Ebersöhn (2014) also investigated resilience among teachers working in chronic poverty contexts where flocking and networking formed an integral part of dealing with adversity and coping resources some of which were identified as indigenous in nature (such as collective heritage and indigenous knowledge).

Apart from the negative effect of resource constraint on poverty alleviation, the HIV/AIDS epidemic is also threatening economic growth (Whiteside, 2002). Poor households are deeply affected where the breadwinner falls ill and cannot work and where parents die leading to child-headed households (Whiteside, 2002; Piot, Greener & Russel, 2007).

2.3.4 COPING WITH HIV/AIDS-RELATED ADVERSITY

Many studies in rural areas have focused on how people cope with HIV/AIDS-related adversity. Coping resources and coping strategies identified by these studies reflect the importance of social relationships.

Schatz and Ogunmefun (2007) explored household coping strategies where HIV/AIDS-related adversity was high. The researchers used semi-structured interviews to gather data from 30 elderly women, and the results indicated receiving and using pensions as a pathway to coping for the older people and their families (Schatz & Ogunmefun, 2007). Cambell, Nair, Maimane and Sibya (2008) investigated, using interviews and focus groups, whether a social environment could support or hinder the coping abilities of people affected by HIV/AIDS-related adversity. The study identified support from families, neighbours, volunteer health workers, and missionaries as pathways to coping.

A study by Schatz, Madhavan and Williams (2011) examined, using qualitative interviews, the responses of female-headed households to adversity related to HIV/AIDS. The findings revealed financial, emotional, and physical support as pathways to coping (Schatz et al., 2011). The study also elaborated on the developmental nature of coping as the social relationships as well as the ways of coping were dynamic and could evolve as social relationships changed through time (Schatz et al., 2011). Khanare (2012) explored how schools either enabled or limited coping in school children affected by HIV in rural South Africa. The study used participatory photography, and the results indicated that identifying and mobilising resources were pathways to coping (Khanare, 2012). The studies discussed so far showed that social relationships could promote access to other resources needed to cope with adversity. The studies discussed below focused specifically on how the people concerned dealt with HIV/AIDS-related loss.

Demmer (2007) explored, using in-depth interviews, how South Africans view and cope with AIDS-related loss. The results revealed coping strategies such as reframing loss into something positive and meaningful, suppressing emotions, seeking comfort and strength from spiritual beliefs, and remaining positive about the future (Demmer, 2007). Dageid and Duckert (2008) conducted in-depth interviews with black rural South African women to gain insight into how they coped with HIV/AIDS-related loss. Although the study did not identify specific pathways to coping, it found that the women's overall coping aim was to promote physical, psychological, and social survival (Dageid & Duckert, 2008).

Somhlaba and Wiat (2009) studied, using the coping strategy indicator (CSI), the stress-coping relationships of black widowed spouses. The results showed that 58% used problem-solving coping strategies, 24% used support-seeking strategies, and 5% used avoidance coping strategies (Somhlaba & Wiat, 2009). Other coping strategies were escaping or minimising emotional distress that seemed to be adaptive for the specific circumstances (Somhlaba & Wiat, 2009). Ogina (2012) explored the life experiences of orphaned children through the use of drawings. The results revealed that relationships with caregivers, peers, and their siblings served as protective factors (Ogina, 2012). The findings also revealed that positive relationships promoted coping and that the orphaned children tended to cope by

being optimistic and hopeful about the future (Ogina, 2012). The studies on HIV/AIDS-related loss also highlighted social support as both a resource and a coping strategy. Future-oriented coping came to the fore as did escaping reality, which in some cases seemed to have an adaptive function (Ogina, 2012).

2.3.5   CONTRIBUTIONS MADE AND QUESTIONS RAISED

Pathways to coping are evident in the readings where people had to deal with adversities faced in rural South Africa. Table 2.9 summarises the contributions made with regard to understanding pathways to coping:

Table 2.9:   Coping resources and strategies related to rural adversity

Type of adversity	Study	Pathway	
		Coping resources	Coping behaviour
HIV/AIDS-related adversity	Demmer (2007)	Spirituality	Meaning making Optimistic future orientation
	Schatz and Ogunmefun (2007)	Financial support	
	Cambell et al. (2008)	Social relationships	
	Dageid and Duckert (2008)		Avoidance
	Kaschula (2008)	Natural resources Social relationships	
	Samhlaba and Wiat (2009)		Problem solving Support seeking Avoidance
	Shatz et al. (2011)	Social relationships Financial support Physical support	
	Khanare (2012)	Social relationships (school) Physical support (school)	
	Ogina (2012)	Social relationships	Optimistic future orientation

Resource constraint as adversity	Greeff and Loubser (2008)	Spirituality	
	Roos et al. (2010)	Indigenous knowledge	Sharing resources Natural resource management Traditional practices Spiritual practices
	Paumgarten and Shackleton, (2011)		Social relationships Natural resource management Dietary management Financial management
	Quinn et al. (2011)		Prioritise adversity
	Ndhleve et al. (2012)	Financial support	Natural resource management
	Ebersöhn (2014)	Existential support (including collective heritage and strength) Individuals' featured strengths Relationships Communal resources Institutions (schools and non-governmental resource) Structure (feeding programmes)	Flocking Networking

The coping resources and strategies summarised in Table 2.7 confirm the following important pathways to coping: spirituality (Demmer, 2007; Greeff & Loubser, 2008), social relationships (Cambell et al., 2008; Khanare, 2012; Ogina, 2012; Schatz et al., 2011), natural resource management (Kaschula, 2008; Schatz et al., 2011), and adequate finances (Schatz & Ogunmefun, 2007). Although these studies have made valuable contributions, most of them appear to use Western-dominated concepts in a non-Western environment. The problem with relying on Western-dominated ideas and concepts is that they may exclude certain types of knowledge on coping behaviour unique to South Africa.

There is some evidence that studies in South Africa are starting to embrace an indigenous psychology approach such as that in the study conducted by Roos et al. (2010) who explored, with the help of qualitative focus groups, how indigenous knowledge is used to cope with drought, and Ebersöhn (2012, 2013, 2014) who highlighted collective orientation and the influence it has on experience, appraisal, and response. The present study represents an attempt to move beyond the indigenisation phase (discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.3.3) in which South African research on coping and resilience currently finds itself.

The next section reviews the literature on existing pathways to resilience in order to situate this study on adaptive coping processes in the field of resilience research. The discussion on the correlation between adaptive coping and resilience presented in Chapter 1, Section 1.3.2 is taken further.

2.4   CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF ADAPTIVE COPING

In this section, I discuss the literature on the key concepts of adaptive coping that I needed to consider when exploring adaptive coping as a psychological phenomenon. Figure 2.4 illustrates these concepts:
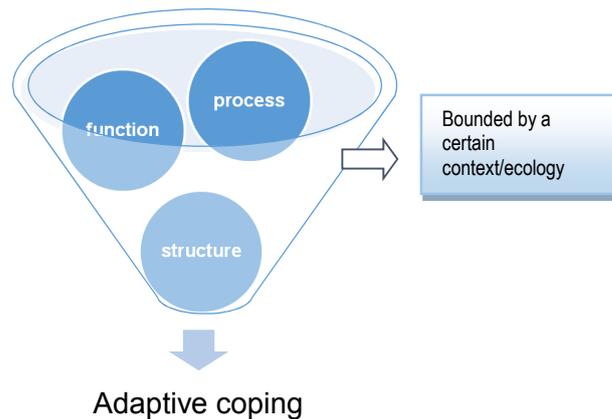
Figure 2.4:   Key concepts of adaptive coping as a psychological phenomenon

As shown in Figure 2.4, the main themes from the literature (Connor-Smith & Flachsbart, 2007; Skinner et al., 2003; Zimmer-Gembeck & Skinner, 2008; Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011) on conceptualising adaptive coping include adaptive coping as a process, the function of adaptive coping, and the structure of adaptive coping. Most of the literature discussed in this section is based on Western theories, yet I considered the concepts universal as each context (Western or non-Western) revealed adaptive coping as a process with a certain function and a certain structure. However, some aspects of the adaptive coping process are context-specific as each ecology comes with its own unique adversities, coping resources, and ways of coping (Matheson et al., 2007; Nilson, 2007). The adaptive role that coping plays, in other words the function of adaptive coping, is also context-specific making the exploration of the context another prerequisite for studying the phenomenon (Matheson et al., 2007; Chun et al., 2006).

Another important consideration, discussed in Section 2.4, is when coping is regarded as adaptive. I agree with Matheson, Skomorovsky et al. (2007) on the necessity of understanding what conditions make coping adaptive in order to study ways of adaptive coping. Some researchers conceptualise coping as adaptive based on the *type* of coping behaviour. For instance, *active* coping strategies such as trusting in divine help, trusting in medical help, searching for information and alternative help, and having a positive attitude are conceptualised as adaptive (Büssing, Ostermann, Neugebauer & Heussen 2010; Tan et al.,

2011). *Passive* coping strategies, on the other hand, are seen as maladaptive (Büssing et al., 2010; Tan et al., 2011). Voss, Müller and Schermelleh-Engel (2006) view adaptive coping as being able to adjust coping strategies instead of using rigid strategies that may not be successful in resolving adversity. Identifying adaptive ways of coping does not necessarily reveal what the "adaptive" in adaptive coping refers to. In general, the adaptive element of coping is reflected in both the coping process and coping function (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011), which are discussed below.

2.4.1   ADAPTIVE COPING AS A PROCESS

Viewing coping as a process is not new to coping research (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Folkman, 2011; Lazarus, 1993; Lazarus, 2006). However, I am specifically interested in *adaptive coping as a process.* Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck (2011) provide a multilevel framework that posits coping as a set of adaptive processes that can either limit or promote adverse effects and affect positive development. Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's (2011) framework of adaptive coping conceptualises coping an interactional, episodic, and adaptive process (discussed in Chapter 1). In this section, I discuss only Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's conceptualisation of coping as an adaptive process and add to it Ebersöhn's conceptualisation of coping in an ecology of chronic poverty. Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's model of adaptive coping provides an insightful conceptualisation of adaptive coping as a process by situating it in a resilience framework. I agree with Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck (2009) that adaptive coping can be distinguished from coping in that it implies more than something people do to deal with adversity (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2009). In other words, adaptive coping is more than merely coping. As an adaptive process, adaptive coping mediates the effects of adversity which, over time, influence positive development and promote resilience (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011). Accordingly, studying adaptive coping as a process creates a space to contribute to the field of resilience (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007).

Although coping with one instance of adversity does not constitute resilience (Skovdal & Daniel, 2012), people adapt over time by finding effective ways of coping, and eventually adaptive coping becomes a key component of the resilience process (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011; Zimmer-Gembeck & Skinner, 2008). In her work on indigenous pathways to resilience, Ebersöhn (2014) posits that a chain of adaptive coping strategies (which inherently involves adaptive coping processes) is reflected in resilience processes. Furthermore, people living in a high-risk, high-need environment will need to engage in chronic adaptation attempts that could involve both adaptive and maladaptive outcomes over time but nevertheless still form a trajectory of resilience (Ebersöhn, 2014). Certain ways of coping, such as problem solving, taking action, and information seeking, have been found to promote positive development whereas helplessness, passivity, escape, and opposition have been found to undermine

positive development (Zimmer-Gembeck & Skinner, 2008). In other words, effective coping strategies influence the short- and long-term effects of adversity and become more important for positive development and well-being than the number of stressors faced (Willers, Potgieter, Khumalo, Malan, Mentz & Ellis, 2013). Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck (2011) believe that exploring ways of coping is central to coping research and that a structure is needed to study adaptive coping. I will now discuss the literature on the structure of coping, which also guided my exploration of adaptive coping.

2.4.1.1 Structure of adaptive coping as a process

The first three decades of coping research reflect attempts to conceptualise the structure of coping (Folkman, 2011). Although various models attempt to describe this structure (Connor-Smith & Flachsbart, 2007), little consensus exists (Skinner et al., 2003). Skinner et al. (2003) analysed 100 coping assessments, and the findings of their analysis provided a useful structure for studying the adaptive coping process. According to Skinner et al. (2003), at least two levels of coping structures are needed to classify coping, namely higher order coping (families) and lower order coping (ways of coping and instances of coping). The latter two levels of adaptive coping are illustrated in Figure 2.5:
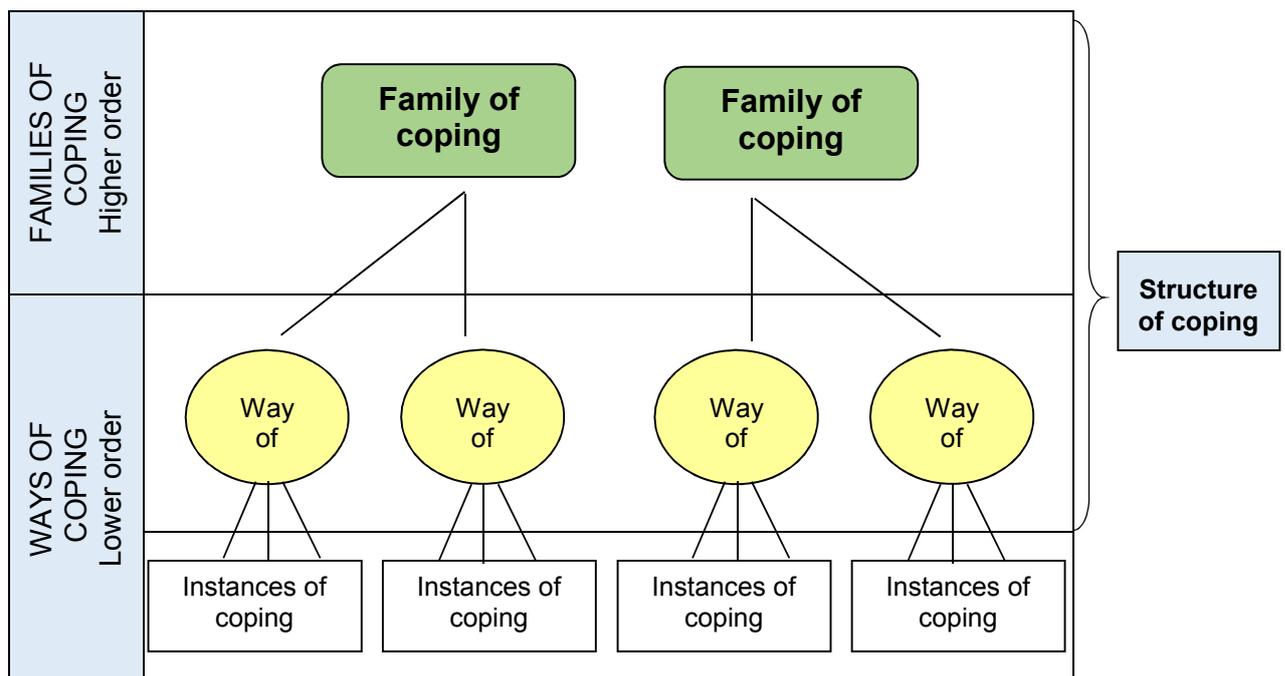
Figure 2.5: ***Adaptive processes and coping families*** (adapted from Skinner et al., 2003)

Coping families, illustrated in the figure as higher order coping, are used to classify coping. Each coping family contains ways of coping (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011). Ways of coping constitute lower order coping and can be further divided into instances of coping. Ways of coping refer to how people respond to stress, how they cope, and how they reflect adaptive and maladaptive responses, which manifest in coping instances that include behavioural, emotional, physiological, cognitive, and

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motivational reactions (Skinner et al., 2003; Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011). Figure 2.5 illustrates a coping family and the associated ways of coping.
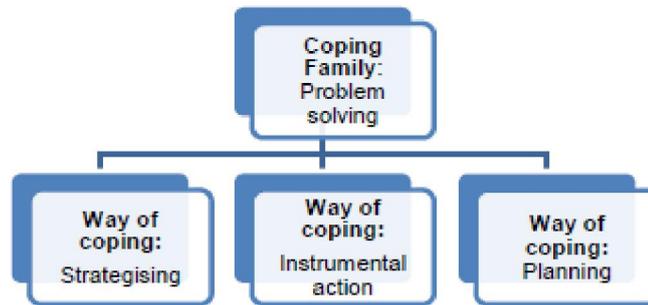
Figure 2.6:   Example of a coping family and ways of coping

Tan et al. (2011) distinguish between coping strategies and coping behaviours. A coping strategy is expressed through a range of coping behaviours (Tan et al., 2011), and various coping strategies can be grouped into coping families that have specific adaptive functions (Tan et al., 2011). For example, collectivistic coping can be seen as an overarching family, and collective coping strategies can be divided into the collective coping family. Specific collective coping behaviours can then be divided into coping strategies, as illustrated in Figure 2.7:
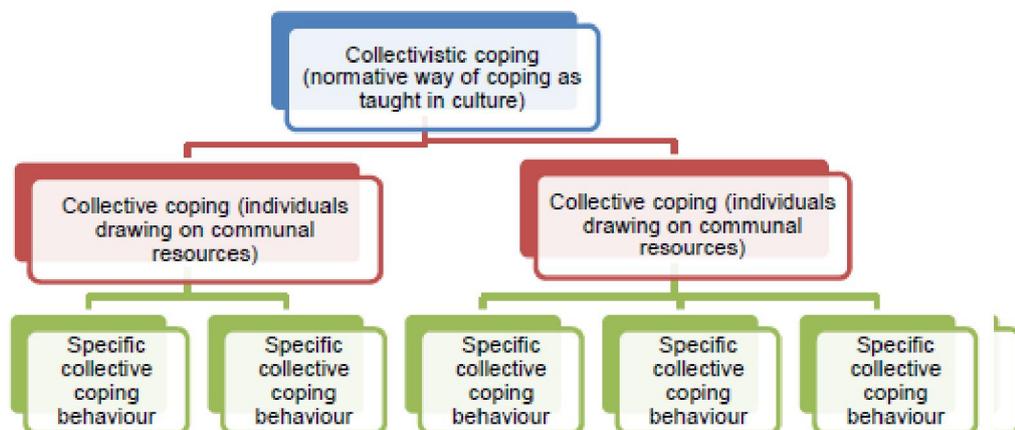
Figure 2.7:   Structuring coping on the basis of collective norms

Although the present study did not explore the adaptive coping structure, I acknowledge the multilevel structure of adaptive coping as an important aspect of coping as a complex psychological phenomenon. I concur with Taylor and Stanton (2007) and Skinner et al. (2003) that adaptive coping also signifies outcome or function discussed in the next section.

2.4.2　ADAPTIVE COPING AS AN OUTCOME OR FUNCTION

Taylor and Stanton (2007) argue that coping can be either adaptive or maladaptive depending on the outcome of the coping behaviours. If the outcome of coping reflects a positive impact on psychological well-being, the coping behaviour is considered adaptive (Matheson et al., 2007; Wong, 2008). Coping is also considered adaptive if the outcome promotes resilience (Utsey et al., 2007). Ebersöhn (2014) adds to coping outcomes in the context of chronic poverty by stating that in the process of resilience coping, outcomes can take the form of thriving outcomes, positive adaptation outcomes, expected adaptation outcomes, and maladaptive outcomes. I agree with the notion that the outcome of coping behaviour determines whether the coping is adaptive or maladaptive. However, the present study did not focus on coping outcomes but rather on the role coping played in two indigenous communities. I thus focused more on the function of coping.

Coping function refers to the purpose a certain coping strategy serves in the adaptive coping process (Skinner et al., 2003). Coping function is not the same as coping outcome and should rather be seen as the usefulness of a coping strategy in dealing with adverse effects (Skinner et al., 2003). Some coping functions contribute to positive development and healthier functioning (Zimmer-Gembeck & Skinner, 2008). Table 2.10 summarises adaptive coping functions in respect of certain coping families (situated in an adaptive process) as identified by Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck (2007; 2009; 2011):

Table 2.10:　Adaptive function of coping families (adapted from Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011)

Family of coping	Function	Adaptive process
Problem solving	Adjust actions to be effective	Coordinate actions and contingencies in the environment
Information seeking	Find additional contingencies	
Helplessness	Find limits of actions	
Escape	Escape non-contingent environment	
Self-reliance	Protect available social resources	Coordinate available reliance and social resources
Support seeking	Use available social resources	
Delegation	Find limits of resources	
Social isolation	Withdraw from unsupportive context	
Accommodation	Flexibly adjust preferences to options	Coordinate preferences and available options
Negotiation	Find new options	
Submission	Give up preferences	
Opposition	Remove constraints	

I will use an example from Table 2.10 to explain the function of adaptive coping. The adaptive function of, for instance, support seeking is that an individual is able to use available resources in such a way that

adverse effects are mediated. It should also be noted that the adaptive function of coping is context-specific as contextual factors play a role in shaping coping behaviours and what can be considered as adaptive coping (Matheson et al., 2007; Zimmer-Gembeck & Skinner, 2008). The notion that the context plays a role when coping is considered to be adaptive further motivated my focus on the unique context in which adaptive coping takes place.

In sum, adaptive coping can be considered a *process* that serves a certain *function* and has a certain *outcome*. The following example reflects the mentioned dimensions (process, function, and outcome) of adaptive coping. If a community is faced with high unemployment, it might start farming projects to create more employment opportunities (*coping process*) as a result of which unemployment is reduced (*coping outcome*) and positive development is promoted (*coping function*). The coping function and coping outcome of adaptive coping are closely related as an adaptive function implies a positive coping outcome. Lastly, I want to emphasise that the way in which the coping process unfolds, as well as the appraisal of the function and outcome of the coping, will depend on the context in which it unfolds.

2.4.3 CONSIDERING THE ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH ADAPTIVE COPING UNFOLDS

In the present study, I attempted to avoid a common weakness in current coping research, namely focusing on the individual as unit of analysis in order to understand coping (Allwood & Berry, 2006; Hwang, 2010, Folkoman & Moskowitz, 2004; Lazarus, 2006; Nilsson, 2008; Rutter, 2012). Ways of moving beyond this weakness in coping research included i) considering the collective nature of coping in indigenous communities, and ii) studying the environment in which adaptive coping takes place (Chun et al., 2006).

2.4.3.1 Uniqueness of the environment

The environment influences the coping process in two ways. Firstly, it can determine what adversities a person needs to cope with (Aldwin, 2007; Hobfoll, 2001) as different types of adversities may require different types of adaptive coping (Kuo, 2011; Yeh, Arora & Wu, 2006). This obliged me to explore the adversities unique to the indigenous environments the research was conducted in. The adversities of each research site are described in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2. Secondly, the environment can influence the way in which people cope (i.e. their adaptive coping style and adaptive coping strategy) (Kuo, 2011, 2012). The latter is usually determined by the resources (social, physical, or cultural) available for adaptive coping (Chun et al., 2006). For example, people from a collectivistic culture living in a rural area may have different resources they can use to cope than people from an individualistic culture living in an urban area (Ye et al., 2006). The present study went beyond considering only cultural coping resources

to understand indigenous pathways to adaptive coping by also considering social, physical, and natural coping resources.

2.4.3.2 Understanding the unique environment in terms of coping resources

Coping resources are seen as those resources that people draw upon when they need to cope and that influence a specific way of coping (Thoits, 2013; Taylor & Stanton, 2007; Zhang & Long, 2006). Coping resources together with coping processes support adaptive coping as congruence between coping resources and coping responses is a prerequisite for adaptive coping (Chaudoir et al., 2012; Kuo, 2011, 2012). The *resource congruence model*, which was discussed in greater detail in Section 2.2.1.1, provides a useful framework for understanding the concept of congruence. This model was derived from the cognitive relational theory of stress and coping by Lazarus and Folkman (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Kuo, 2011). According to the resource-congruence model, adaptive coping is conceptualised as congruence between coping resources and coping responses to match the demands of the stressors (Kuo, 2011). Sufficient resources and their appropriate use lead to effective coping (Wong et al., 2006). Figure 2.8 illustrates the notion of congruence:
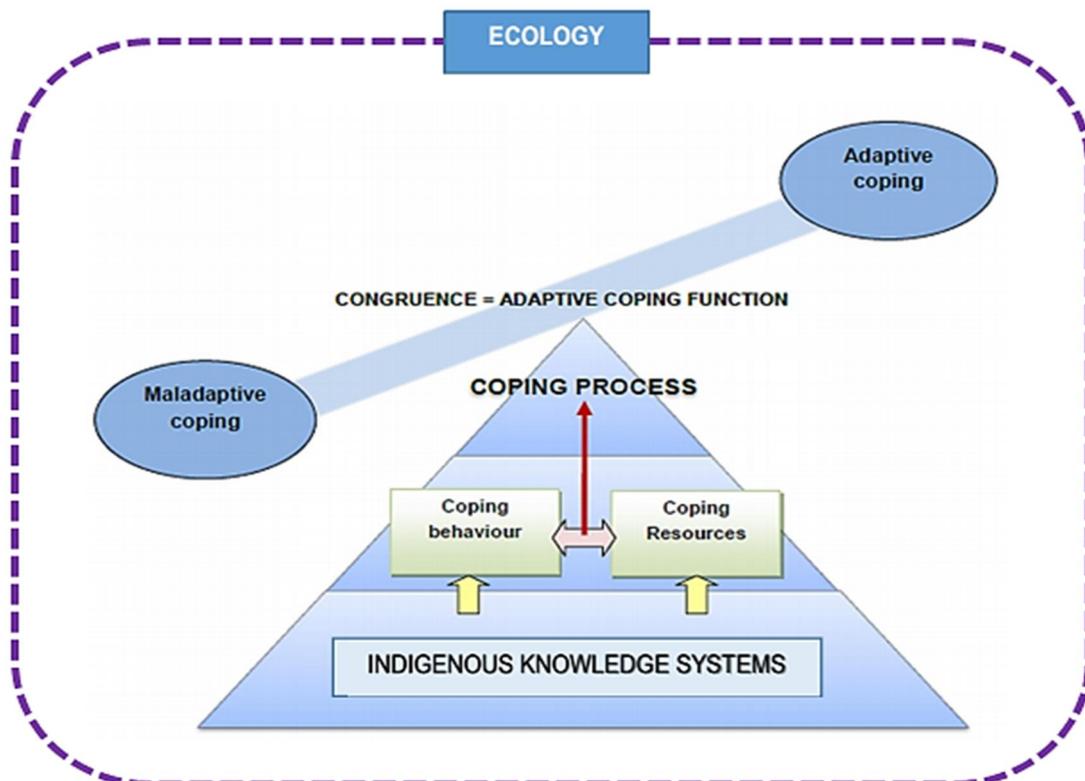
Figure 2.8: Adaptive coping congruence

As illustrated in Figure 2.8, indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) underpin coping pathways (coping behaviour and coping resources when coping is considered to be adaptive) and in themselves become a

coping resource as they guide the coping process in order to manage the environment. IKS as a coping resource guides what is seen as coping resources and what is seen as acceptable coping behaviour (the relationship between IKS and adaptive coping is discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.8 and Section 1.9). Tolan and Grant (2009) reiterate the necessity of understanding the holistic environment (represented in Figure 2.8 by the dashed line that illustrates the unique ecology that needs to be considered when doing research on coping) in coping, which involves moving beyond considering only the cultural factors. Coping resources are closely related to protective resources in resilience thinking as discussed earlier in Chapter 1, Section 1.2. Based on her relationship resourced resilience model, Ebersöhn (2013; 2014) identifies the following protective resources that promote resilience.

Table 2.11: **Protective resources identified in South African resource-constrained areas** (Ebersöhn, 2013; 2014)

Existential support	Collective heritage and strength related to cultural and indigenous knowledge capital; spirituality.
Individual's featured strengths	Hope; optimism; perseverance; positive affect; self-esteem; and self-determination of children, teachers, parents, volunteers, and business people.
Relationships	Knowing someone with access to a required resource, flocking, and networking.
Communal resources	Collectively using resources.
Institutions	Schools, clinics. non-governmental organisations.
Structures	Social grants, feeding/nutrition programmes, school policies.

The identified resources shown in Table 2.11 represent social coping resources (an individual's featured strengths and relationships), cultural resources (existential support), and physical resources such as infrastructure and services (institutions and structures). The exploration of coping resources (divided into social, cultural, and physical resources) contributed to my understanding of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping.

(a)   Social coping resources

In the present study, social coping resources were viewed as interpersonal social resources (relationships) and intrapersonal social resources (what an individual has to offer to the community). My conceptualisation of social coping resources was linked to social capital, which, in turn, refers to social networks (Kikuchi & Coleman, 2011; Portes, 2006). Ledogar and Fleming (2008) distinguish between community social capital and individual capital.

Community social capital includes community networks, civic engagement, local civic identity, reciprocity, norms of cooperation, and trust in the community (Ledogar & Fleming, 2008). According to Bacchus (2008), social coping resources at community level can include friends, family members of your own age,

older family members, mentors, spouses, church people, children, and professional organisations such as support groups. Whitley and McKenzie (2005) further distinguish between structural social capital (relationships, networks, associations, and institutional structures that link people together) and cognitive social capital (values, norms, reciprocity, altruism, and civic responsibility). I viewed social coping resources on an interpersonal level as any relationship with another community member, be he or she a neighbour, family member, other community member, or traditional authority member.

Bonding social capital and networking social capital, seen as aspects of social capital, also reflect the notion of communal capital (Adger, Huq, Brown, Conway & Hulme, 2003). Bonding social capital refers to relationships established within a specific group (such as kinships and friendships) while networking social capital refers to building relationships outside a specific group (such as networking with legal or formal institutions) (Adger et al., 2003). The abovementioned aspects of social capital reflect a strong sense of connectedness between people, inside as well as outside the community. Pretty (2003) lists three types of connectedness that are important for networking within, between, and beyond communities. The three types are bonding (social cohesion within groups based on ethnicity, location, religion, shared values, reinforced by working together); bridging (structural relationships or networks that go beyond social grouping indicating collaboration, social support, and sharing of information); and linking (the ability to engage with external agencies such as linking between poor groups and authority) (Pretty, 2003; Ratner, Meizen-Dick, May & Haglund, 2013).

According to Ebersöhn and Ferreira (2012), establishing networks (partnerships and relationships) promotes resilience in vulnerable communities. In her relationship resourced resilience (RRR) model (discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.4.2.2), Ebersöhn (2013) states that a relationship is i) a vessel of available resources, ii) a mechanism to mobilise resources, and iii) a structure to sustain resource mobilisation for resilience. The notion of collective action involved in bonding, bridging, and linking affects a community's ability to adapt (Ratner et al., 2013).

Individual social capital refers to individuals and their ability to build social networks and other social structures to pursue benefits (Ledogar & Fleming, 2008). Individual social capital can include individual cognitive tendencies such as optimism, psychological control or mastery, self-esteem, spirituality, and social skills (Bacchus, 2008; Chaudoir et al., 2012). I viewed individual social capital, or rather intrapersonal social coping resources, as skills or knowledge any community member possesses that can benefit another community member. Grunnestad (2006) also highlights the importance of networks and adds the concept of existential support where meaning, values, and faith can also promote resilience and guide adaptations

The interpersonal or social dimension was important in the present study as African cultures are considered collectivistic, and interpersonal relationships in collectivistic behaviours often direct a community's behaviour, including ways of coping. Ledogar and Fleming (2008) as well as Skofdal and Daniel (2012) investigated what constitutes an enabling environment that fosters resilience. They reviewed 11 studies conducted in African countries, including South Africa, and identified the coping resources shown below in Table 2.12.

Table 2.12:   African coping resources

Social ecologies (enabling environments)	Coping resources
Home environment and the extended family	Protection from abuse and security of property and land assets
	Agricultural inputs and skills
	Family bonds
Community-led factors (indigenous community networks)	Peer social networks
	Livelihood support from community members
	Public acknowledgement of children as social assets
Community-level factors (facilitated support)	Knowledge and skills training
	Space for reflection and transformation
	Home visits and support from community health and loyalty of support workers
Political economy	Cash transfers
	Antiretroviral therapy access
	Education

Migone and O'Neill (2005) maintain that the social capital (social coping resources) of a community can be accessed by exploring the bonding (relationships within the community), bridging (relations with other communities), and linkage (relations with formal institutions) in the community. I was also able to explore the social resources of the communities in the present study by interacting with community members at the research sites. This interaction gave me insight into their culture and how they used their culture as a coping resource.

(b)   Cultural coping resources

Culture is part of people's essence and contributes to their understanding of themselves, what they find meaningful, how they relate to one another, and how they view and manage their environment (Kim et al., 2006). According to Aldwin (2007), culture can affect coping in four ways: i) culture can shape the types of stressors that an individual is likely to experience; ii) culture can affect the appraisal of the stressors; iii) culture can affect the choice of coping strategy, and iv) culture can provide different institutional

mechanisms to help an individual cope with stress. Because of the role culture can play in coping, it was essential to explore cultural factors in the two research sites (Tweed & Conway, 2006). I viewed cultural resources as cultural beliefs, values, traditions, and knowledge that direct the way people cope.

According to Grunnestad (2006), culture infiltrates protective resources such as networks (by influencing the way in which networks are established), abilities and skills (by determining what abilities and skills are seen as important), and meaning, values, and faith, which are considered expressions of culture. Ebersöhn's (2014) relationship resourced resilience (RRR) framework (discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.4.2.2) illustrates how culture can influence adaptation. In the RRR framework, Ebersöhn (2014) posits that a collective culture adversity can be experienced collectively, appraised collectively, and responded to collectively. Throughout the present study, my awareness of the indigenous African culture (discussed in Chapter 1) helped deepen my understanding of ways of coping in indigenous African communities.

(c)   Physical and natural coping resources

Because the research sites in the study were located in rural and resource-constrained areas, my attention was directed towards exploring natural and physical coping resources in these environments. Rural communities are often, because of their geographical location, isolated from physical coping resources, including health care (Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012; Mapesela et al., 2012; Matsumoto et al., 2004). Accordingly, "rurality" is considered "risky", with rural areas associated with poorer heath status (Ryan-Nicholls, 2004).

In the present study, physical coping resources referred to infrastructure (including structures such as houses, churches, schools, roads, and cell phone network towers), services (such as water and electricity supply), and financial resources (such as income-generating activities). According to the sustainable livelihood framework (SLF) of the Department for International Development, physical capital includes infrastructure and producer goods such as tools and equipment that support livelihoods (DFID, n.d.; Hinshelwood, 2003; Scoones, 2009). King (2011) describes physical capital as human-made capital, which includes assets created through economic production such as infrastructure, tools, and agricultural technologies. The SLF aptly describes financial resources as financial capital, which includes available stock such as cash or livestock and the inflow of money such as income, pension, and social grants (Hinshelwood, 2003; Scoones, 2009; DFID, n.d.). I also agree that financial capital can include credit (King, 2011).

Natural resources were important in the study as rural communities often rely on natural resources to counter poverty, especially when related to physical resource constraint (Babulo, Muys, Nega, Tollens, Nyssen, Deckers & Mathijs 2008; Twine, Moshe, Netshiluvhi & Siphugu, 2003). My view of natural

resources correlates with natural capital as described by the SLF. According to the SLF, natural capital refers to resources from the natural environment such as water, trees, and land (DFID, n.d.). I also consider wild herbs, fruit, grass, insects, animals, and medicinal plants as natural resources (Twine et al., 2003).

2.5   ADAPTIVE COPING IN RESILIENCE

Throughout Section 4.2, I discussed the components of adaptive coping (coping processes, coping resources and coping function) that needs to be considered when studying coping. In Chapter 1 Section 1.4.2 I posited that investigating protective resources in adaptive coping can contribute to literature on protective resources in resilience and that investigating positive transactions or processes in adaptive coping could contribute to knowledge on positive processes in resilience. I further emphasised that I do not equate adaptive coping with resilience but rather view adaptive coping as a mechanism in resilience. In this section I revisit the components of adaptive coping and resilience as presented throughout literature in order to identify points of integration that will highlight how coping research can be integrated into resilience research in a meaningful way.

In Figure 2.9 I illustrate components of both adaptive coping and resilience which I highlighted throughout Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 as portrayed by resilience theory and coping theory. In Figure 2.9 coping, together with its associated components, is situated in the centre of the components associated with resilience. The central placement of coping do not suggest that coping is at the centre of resilience or the most important component in resilience, but rather a mechanism of resilience that could contribute towards understanding key components in resilience. Throughout Chapters 1 and 2 I drew correlations between coping processes and positive transactions in resilience, coping resources and protective resources in resilience as well as between coping outcomes and resilience outcomes using existing literature on adaptive coping as my starting point. However in Figure 2.9 I illustrate how adaptive coping (including coping behaviours, coping resources and the function of coping) fits into resilience using resilience theory as my starting point.
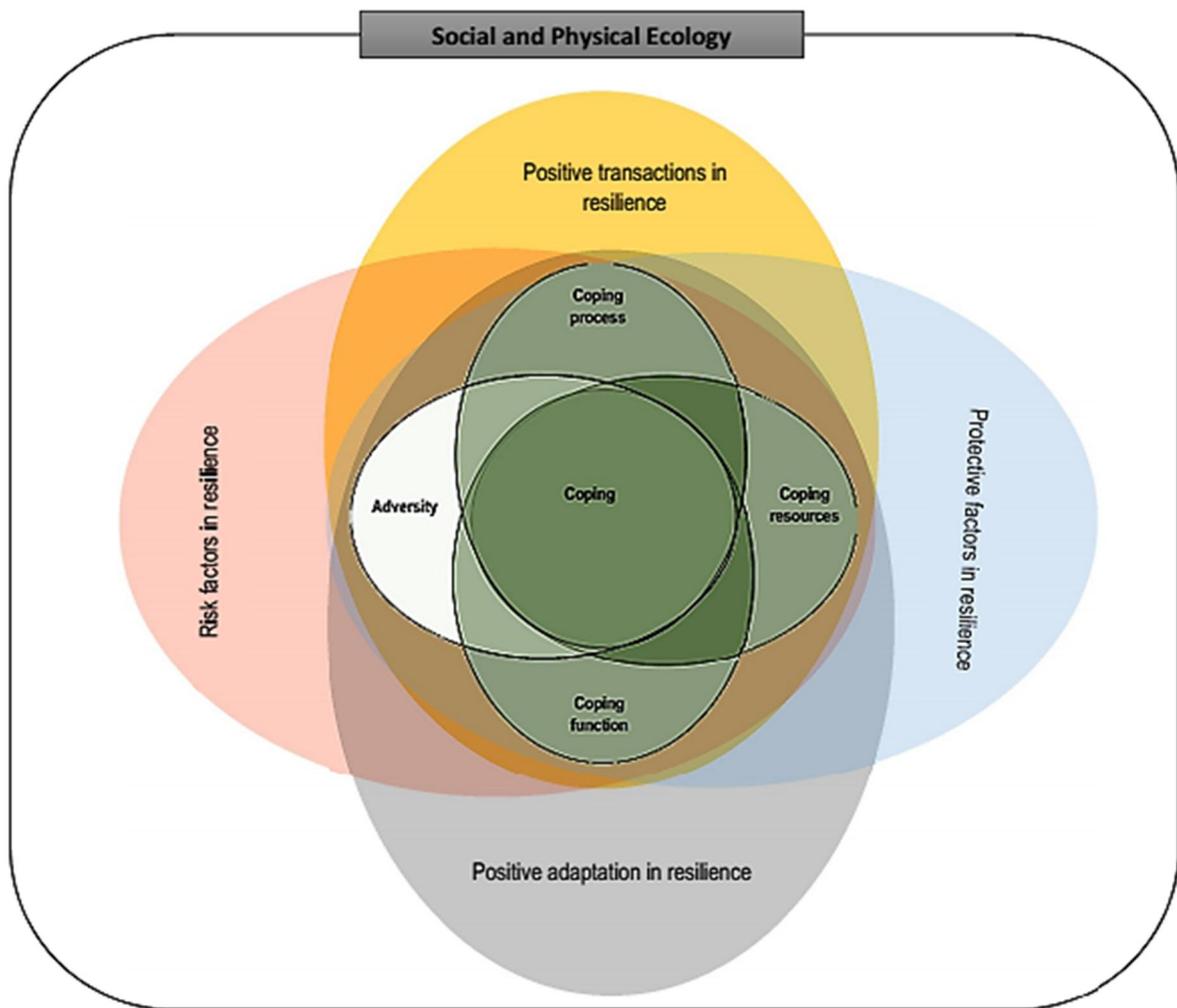
Figure 2.9:   Adaptive coping situated in resilience

In Figure 2.9 I situate coping within protective factors in resilience. Although I stated in Chapter 1 Section 1.4.2 that the study of coping resources could contribute towards a better understanding of protective resources in resilience I do agree with Rutter (2006) that coping in its totality is a protective factor that could promote positive outcomes in resilience. From a resilience point of view, successful coping efforts (which will naturally include adaptive coping processes in which people use resources in order to overcome adversity in such a manner that adaptation promoted) in itself becomes a protective factor as it reflects what people do in order to cope with adversity (Rutter, 2012). Rutter (2006) further states that in order to understand resilience researchers should consider how people actually cope with adversity. It should be noted though that coping is only one protective factor of the many in resilience (Rutter, 2006; 2012) and accordingly only focusing on understanding of coping as a protective resource, although valuable and necessary, will not be sufficient to understand the complexity of protective resources in resilience. In Figure 2.9 I also position coping as part of risk factors in resilience illustrating that unsuccessful, or maladaptive coping (Taylor & Stanton, 2007) could actually serve as a risk factor by hampering positive adaptation associated with resilience.

The next feature in Figure 2.9 I want to focus on, is the positioning of coping in protective transactions associated with resilience. In Chapter 1 Sections 1.2.2.2 and 1.4.2.2 I mentioned how adaptive coping processes, based on adaptive coping literature, could contribute to understanding resilience processes. From a resilience point of view, coping is considered a protective process or mechanisms in resilience (Rutter, 2006). Protective transactions in resilience processes refer to mechanisms that underlie protective and risk factors (Chicchetti, 2010; Luthar & Chicchetti, 2000; Masten, 2007). Adaptive coping as a process reflect interactive processes between person and environment, and between adversity and coping resources (Skinner & Zimmber-Gembeck, 2009) which relates to the idea of mechanisms that underlie protective and risk factors. Where adaptive coping processes, in its most basic form, entail coping behaviours that reflect the successful use of coping resources to overcome adversity (Chaudoir et al., 2012; Kuo, 2011, 2012), resilience processes entail more than understanding positive transactions or mechanisms that underlie interaction between risk and protective factors (Rutter, 2012). Based on the latter, caution should be taken not to assume that understanding coping as a resilience mechanism will be sufficient to understand the complexity of resilience processes. Ebersöhn's (2014) conceptualisation of adaptive coping strategies in resilience also highlights adaptive coping as a component of resilience where resilience in poverty reflects a chain of adaptive coping strategies in an attempt to establish a pattern of chronic adaptation that will foster resilience.

In Figure 2.9 I also positioned coping in positive adaptation associated with resilience outcomes. From an adaptive coping point of view, the function of coping promote resilience in that adversity is mediated to such an extent that adaptation and positive development is possible (Zimmer-Gembeck & Skinner, 2008). Similarly resilience outcomes refers to positive development that takes place despite adversity (Rutter, 2012). It should be noted, however, that from a resilience point of view the adaptive function of coping, successful mediation of adversity, is only one form in which positive adaptation presents itself in resilience outcomes. For instance, from a developmental science perspective positive adaptation involve meeting developmental tasks (Cicchetti, 2007; Masten 2001). According to Rutter (2012) resilience outcomes do not necessarily imply achieving superior functioning but rather being able to continue on normal life trajectory despite adversity. According to Ungar (2011) adaptation is socially facilitated and what is perceived as adaptive is influenced by the context. Resilience outcomes, in the context of poverty, could also involve thriving outcomes, positive adaptation outcomes, expected adaptation outcomes, and maladaptive outcomes (Ebersöhn, 2014) Regardless of how adaptation or positive development is viewed in resilience it is more complex than the adaptive function involved in adaptive coping. Consequently understanding the adaptive function of coping could contribute but not fully account for adaptation or positive development in resilience.

Lastly I should point out the final feature in Figure 2.9, namely the surrounding line indicating that adaptive coping, as a component of resilience, is should be understood as located in a unique social and physical ecology or environment. As presented in coping literature, the context in which coping unfolds will determine how coping manifests, as I explained in Section 2.4.3. In Chapter 1 Sections 1.2.2.1 and 1.4.2 I already discussed the influence of culture on resilience. Here I want to locate adaptive coping within the notion that the physical and social ecology which determines the opportunities available to individuals to mediate adversity. As presented in resilience literature (Ungar, 2011; 2012) the environment determines positive development through providing certain opportunities to individuals or groups of individuals. One such opportunity might be the opportunity to successfully cope with adversity through the provision of the necessary coping resources as well as cultural values on how to use the coping resources in a meaningful and adaptive way (Ungar, 2008).

2.6   CONCLUSION

The reviewed literature revealed various trends in coping research as well as the different ways Western and non-Western cultures cope with adversity. In sum, a strong individualistic slant is evident in Western coping where the individual acts as agent (without excluding instances of relying on social support) in resolving adversity usually related to individual needs (without excluding instances where one individual helps another to overcome adversity). In the non-Western literature, a collectivistic slant was evident where collective effort and communal adversity were the main focus. In other words, a clear distinction between Western and non-Western pathways to coping was whether the emphasis was on the individual or on the community during the coping process. Although the present study focused specifically on coping in indigenous contexts, I did not disregard all Western influences as irrelevant. I relied on universal aspects of coping (such as understanding coping as a process serving a specific function), influenced by both Western and multicultural literature, to understand adaptive coping and pathways to adaptive coping. The relatively large corpus of literature available on coping in Western contexts indicates clearly that coping literature is dominated by Western conceptualisations. The present study forms part of an endeavour to move away from such conceptualisations of coping towards expanding indigenous knowledge systems in South Africa and indigenous coping pathways unique to indigenous South African communities. How this endeavour was approached is discussed in Chapter 3.

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3.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers the research design and decisions related to the research sites as well as the procedure for gathering, documenting, and analysing data as part of the IPR (indigenous pathways to resilience) project. The chapter ends with a discussion of the limitations and delimitations of the research design, the sampling strategies, and the methods of data analysis and interpretation Figure 3.1 illustrates the content of the chapter.

COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY DESIGN
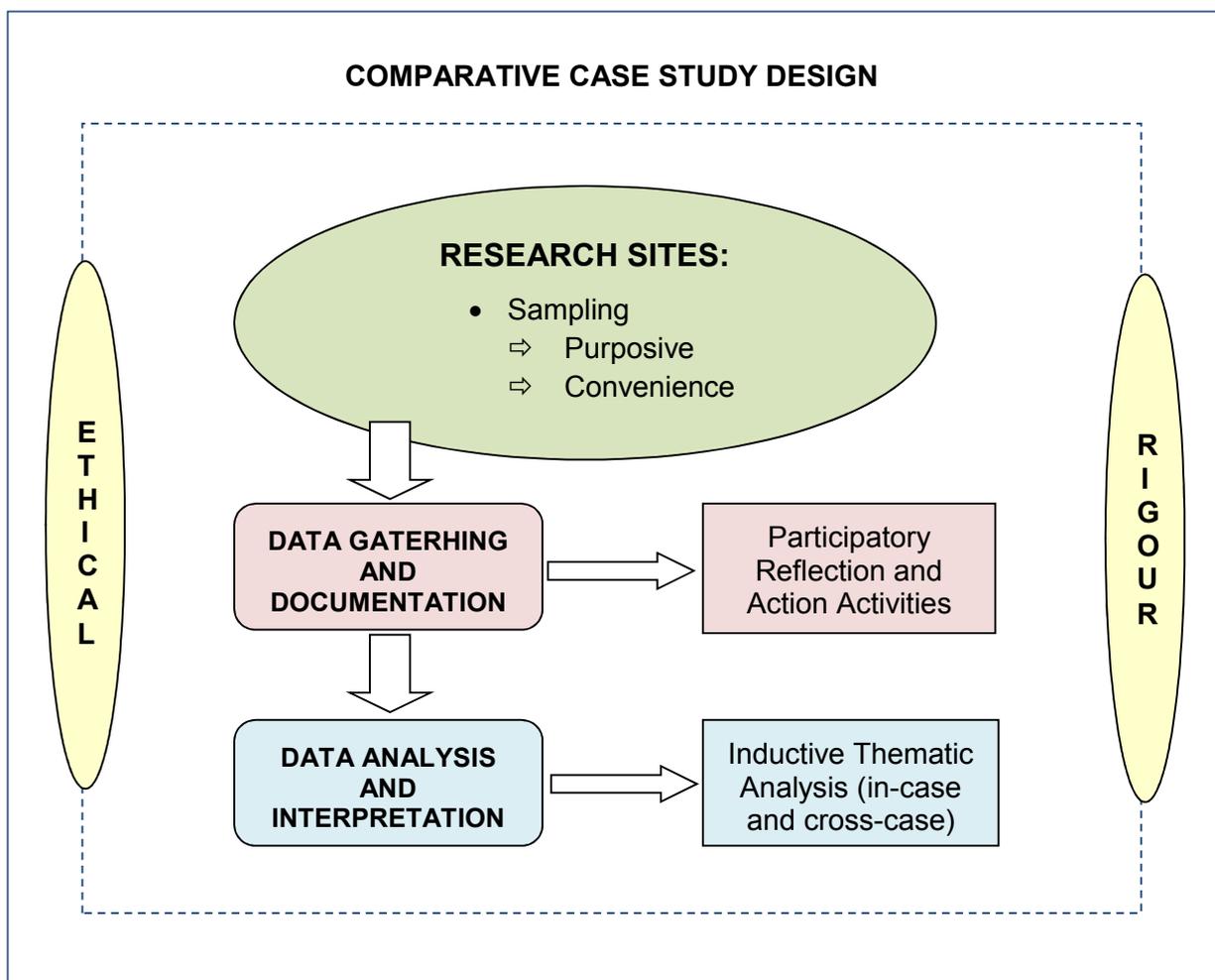
Figure 3.1:   Content of Chapter 3

As discussed in Chapter 1, a longer term (2012-2014) comparative case study design was chosen (Zartman, 2012) for the IPR project. Convenience sampling (Abrams, 2010) was used to select participants (older men, older women, younger men, and younger women) suitable for the IPR project. Participatory reflection and action (PRA) methods (Chambers, 2013) created a space to engage with the

participants in order to obtain data. Data sources included audio data (audio recordings of conversations between the researcher, translator, and participants), textual data (verbatim transcriptions of audio-recorded PRA activities, translated into English), and visual data (photographs). These data sources were analysed using in-case and cross-case methods according to principles of inductive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Throughout the research process, I ensured that the research followed the necessary ethical principles and met the necessary requirements to ensure rigour. The chapter ends with a discussion of the limitations and delimitations of the study.

3.2   RESEARCH DESIGN: COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY DESIGN

The comparative case study (Zartman, 2012) in the IPR project extended over three years. The conveniently selected cases for comparison were defined as South African bounded systems of non-Western adaptation to high risk and high need associated with rural contexts (described in Section 3.3.1). Comparative case studies are often used in social science research similar to the present study where multiple research sites are involved (Thomas, 2011). The aims of this study were in line with the aims of comparative case studies, which were, firstly, to gather in-depth information on individual cases and, secondly, to compare the cases (Rihoux & Lobe, 2009). Comparisons were made on the basis of regions (the one research site was in the Limpopo province and the other in the Mpumalanga province), age (younger generation and older generation), and gender (men and women).

With regard to gathering in-depth information, a comparative case study allows in-depth exploration of a psychological phenomenon in its natural context (Thomas, 2011). In the present study, it was important to explore indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in depth as it is a complex psychological phenomenon with various components such as adversity, coping resources, coping behaviours, and coping function. A comparative case study design also allowed me to explore indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in the context in which they occurred, which was essential for the study. The holistic approach of a comparative case study design together with its principle of comparison was also essential to the study (Patton, 2002).

The second aim of comparative case studies was equally important in the study as comparing indigenous pathways to adaptive coping at the two research sites provided further understanding of this psychological phenomenon (Zartman, 2012). The benefit of comparing the findings at two research sites went beyond deepening understanding of indigenous pathways to adaptive as it also helped me identify similarities and differences between the adaptive coping as it took place at the two research sites, which led to more robust data and greater confidence in the findings (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Yin, 2012; Yin, 2013).

3.3   CONVENIENTLY SELECTED CASES OF HIGH RISK, HIGH NEED SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNITIES

In the IPR project, convenience sampling, often employed in comparative case study designs (Cohen et al., 2000), was used to obtain samples in two rural (resource-constrained) South African communities with predominantly non-Western populations. Convenience sampling was used as it makes provision for sampling populations that are usually hard to reach (Abrams, 2010). In order to gain access to indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) that would reveal indigenous pathways to adaptive coping, the sampled research sites had to meet two main criteria. Firstly, they had to reflect continuous high need and high risk that would probably necessitate adaptive coping. Secondly, they had to represent indigenous (non-Western) worldviews. Chapter 1, Section 1.9, describes in detail the Limpopo and the Mpumalanga research sites.

Both the IPR research sites are located in rural areas far from most services. High adversity, as rural geographical isolation implies removal from already scarce services (Ryan-Nicholls, 2004) necessitating resilience (adaptive coping processes). The two sites formed part of ongoing research projects in the ERA Unit, making them readily available and accessible, a criterion for convenience sampling (Abrams, 2010).

Both sites chosen for the IPR project could be considered indigenous because of the culture of their residents. The residents of the Limpopo research site spoke Venda and shared the VhaVhenda culture while the residents of the Mpumalanga site spoke Swati and shared the AmaSwati culture. VhaVhenda and AmaSwati are considered indigenous cultures, and the languages Venda and Swati are official indigenous languages of South Africa (Hammond-Tooke, 2002; Toms, 2005). Both sites were observed to have a collective-oriented culture (as described in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5), a common characteristic of indigenous cultures.

I should however mention that although the selected sites and accordingly participants are viewed as indigenous, I am aware that the sampled indigenous participants will differ to other indigenous people whom have formed part of international indigenous coping studies. I acknowledge that one cannot assume high levels of similarities in the way which people, from indigenous cultures, adapt to adversity based on literature that indicates that most indigenous cultures have a collective cultural orientation. People from different indigenous cultures could be expected to be different in various ways due to the unique ecology in which they find themselves. People from indigenous cultures can be found across the world, for example in Mexico, Japan, China, Philippines, India, and Taiwan (Hwang, 2004). The physical and social ecology in which they live is different from indigenous people in South African which could be reasoned to account for differences between different indigenous cultures. In order to explain the latter I

would like to revisit the ecological view of Bronfrenbrenner (1979) as incorporated in the socio-ecological view of resilience (Ungar, 2011; 2012). Differences in the various ecological systems could contribute towards possible differences between different indigenous cultures. In other words, unique characteristics of the microsystems (activities, roles and interpersonal relations in which a person is directly involved); mesosytems (interactions between the microsystems); exosystems (social interactions that the individual might not be directly involved with but will has an influence on the individual) and macrosystems (aspect of the social ecology involve factors such as laws, customs, religion and cultural practices) could manifest in differences among indigenous cultures. With regards to characteristics within these systems, it is especially unique cultural characteristics (such as values and gender roles), socio-economic factors and characteristics of people within the microsystem (such as literacy levels) that could manifest in differences among different indigenous cultures. Furthermore physical characteristics of the environment in which these systems interact (for instance rural versus urban communities) (Donald, Lazarus & Lolwana, 2010) also play a role in differences among indigenous communities.

In Chapter 1 Section 1.4.2.2 I discussed how these systems could manifest in differences in the manifestation of resilience in different context. Although the current study did not specifically focus on exploring and describing differences among different indigenous cultures, some level of acknowledgement thereof is needed to account for ways in which adaptive coping might present differently between South African indigenous cultures and international indigenous cultures.

3.4   PURPOSIVELY SAMPLED PARTICIPANTS

The IPR project used purposive sampling to select the research participants that would provide best insight into the purpose of the various studies that formed part of the IPR project (Cohen et al., 2000). Sampling criteria included i) people living within the bounded system of the sample sites, and ii) people with a non-Western (indigenous) worldview. It was hoped that the participants would share in-depth data that would deepen understanding of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). A detailed description of the sampled participants is given In Chapter 1, Section 1.9.

During the data-gathering sessions, the participants completed a demographic questionnaire that yielded detailed descriptions of themselves (Appendix C contains an example of the demographic questionnaire as well as a summary of the participants' responses). At the Limpopo site, all the participants indicated that Venda was their home language while the participants at the Mpumalanga site identified Swati as their home language. At both sites, the participants reported high levels of unemployment and said that where there was employment, it was usually only temporary employment. A lack of education seemed to be a barrier at both research sites as the majority of the participants in Limpopo had not completed high school and none had higher training. In Mpumalanga, most of the participants reported having some high

school education. Although access to electricity did not seem to be a problem in Limpopo and Mpumalanga, easy access to water appeared to be a problem. Most of the participants did not have personal transport. The demographic questionnaire thus indicated that the participants experienced a lack of access to education, unemployment, and limited access to water and transport.

3.5　RESEARCH PROCESS AND CONTEXT OF DATA GENERATION

3.5.1　RESEARCH SCHEDULE

Each site was visited three times, the first two times for data generation and the third time for member checking. Table 3.1 shows the research schedule as well as the duration of each site visit.

Table 3.1:　Research schedule

Site		First visit: 2012	Second visit: 2013	Third visit: 2014
Limpopo	*Duration of stay:*	31 May – 9 June	30 June – 6 July	28 – 30 April
	Goal of research visit:	Data collection	Data collection	Member checking
Mpumalanga	*Duration of stay:*	12 – 15 November	11 – 14 November	2 May
	Goal of research visit:	Data collection	Data collection	Member checking

The generation of data twice from two communities over two years was in line with principles of cross-sectional studies. Although the present study was not designed to be a cross-sectional study, but rather a comparative case study (discussed later), certain cross-sectional features were evident. For instance, cross-sectional studies usually involve taking a "snapshot" of a certain population at a specific point in time (Cohen et al., 2007), and the present study, as part of the IPR project, also involved taking two snapshots at each research site repeatedly over two years. Cross-sectional studies often involve taking a snapshot of a certain population using a survey in order to estimate the prevalence of the outcome of interest (Levin, 2006; Mann 2003). Data in cross-sectional studies can also be gathered for inferring causation where associations between risk factors and the outcome are of interest (Levin, 2006; Mann 2003).

The present study did not use a survey, neither did it focus on inferring causation, yet an element of considering risk and outcome was evident. The adversity faced by the participants was identified during the first research visit, and the second research visit was undertaken to determine the extent to which the adversity had been mediated. Taking snapshots of communities is time-efficient (Levin, 2006), which was important in the study as sufficient data had to be generated without disrupting the daily activities of the participants. Taking repeated snapshots of the communities, as the IPR team did, promoted

understanding of the research topic and is a distinguishing characteristic of longitudinal (Cohen et al., 2007).

3.5.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA GENERATION VENUES

The first research site was in Limpopo where a camp site was set up for the data generation. The various community members were collected from their villages and taken to the camp site to participate in the data-gathering activities. A roofed open space next to the Mutale river served as the venue where the researchers and the participants could work together. The venue had enough space for the participants to work in four separate groups while still having a cohesive ambiance. Photo 3.1 shows the Limpopo venue:

Photo 3.1:
Data-gathering venue at the Limpopo research site
(2013 data collection)

A high school served as the venue for data generation at the second research site in Mpumalanga. The high school was ideal as it was easily accessible to the community members who participated in the study.

During the first research visit, we used one of the classrooms, but the quality of the audio recordings was not good, so we opted for a roofed open space on the school premises for the second and third visits. Photos 3.2-3.4 show the high school and the spaces where we gathered data.

Photo 3.2:
Data-gathering venue at the Mpumalanga research sit

Photo 3.3:
Data-gathering venue at the Mpumalanga research site 2012

Photo 3.4:
Data-gathering venue at the Mpumalanga research site 2013

3.5.3 PARTICIPANT GROUPS AND TRANSLATORS

In the indigenous pathways to resilience (IPR) project, several team members (including four doctoral students) were involved as fieldworkers in collecting data. Each doctoral student facilitated similar PRA activities simultaneously with a group of participants assigned to him or her (discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.5). The photographs below show each doctoral student with a group of participants. Each doctoral student used the data from all four groups. The older men can be seen in Photo 3.5, the older women in Photo 3. 6, the younger men in Photo 3.7, and the younger women in Photo 3.8.

Photo 3.5:
Limpopo older men 2013

Photo 3.6:
Limpopo older women 2012

Photo 3.7:
Limpopo younger men 2013

Photo 3.8:
Limpopo younger women 2013

During the research activities, we needed the help of translators (the word "translators" in this section should be understood also to mean "interpreters") as the participants from Limpopo spoke Venda and those from Mpumalanga spoke Swati. We did, however, find that the Mpumalanga participants were more familiar with English than their Limpopo counterparts. The use of translators is common in cultural research (Wong & Poon, 2010). Translators are expected to bring one language as closely as possible to another (Chen & Boore, 2010). At the Limpopo site, the translators had to translate English into Venda and then back into English while the translators at the Mpumalanga site had to translate English into Swati and then back into English.

Translating is, however, more complicated than merely switching between languages as it involves interpretation as well as (Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson & Deeg, 2010) mediation between the cultural worlds of the researchers and the participants (Wong & Poon, 2010). Mediating between cultural worlds requires translators to consider cultural nuances (Chen & Boore, 2010) in order to limit miscommunication between researcher and participants, which could lead to flawed data (Choi, Kushner, Mill & Lai, 2012; Wong & Poon, 2010). Translators should therefore be fully bilingual and understand the culture as well as the experiences of the participants (Chen & Boore, 2010). Translators should understand the culture of the participants as a major challenge in translation is translating specific "culturally bound" words (Van Nes et al., 2010). The use of translators who are fully bilingual and who share the same culture as the participants can limit the risk of miscommunication, oversimplification, and flawed data (Choi et al., 2010). All the translators in the study were bilingual and shared the same culture and experiences as the participants.

Four translators were used at the Limpopo site, one for each group. These translators had often been used in similar projects and were therefore familiar with what was expected of them. The main investigator and each doctoral student nevertheless took time before the research activities commenced to explain to the translator of his or her group what the activities were and what his or her role as translator would be. Photos 3.9 and 3.10 show the translators being prepared for the PRA activities:

Photo 3.9:
Main investigator preparing translators for the data-gathering activities

Photo 3.10:
Shows me preparing a translator for the data-gathering activities

The translators were told that they should provide only direct translations of what the participants said as, otherwise, the translators could influence the trustworthiness of results (Squires, 2009). In order to further limit the possibility of the translators influencing the trustworthiness of the results, all the conversations were transcribed and translated, which gave us the opportunity to determine whether our instructions and the participants' responses had been accurately recorded. At the Mpumalanga research site, we had one translator for our initial visit, but when we realised that there was at least one English-speaking participant in the older men, younger men, and younger women group, the translator was allocated to the older women group. During the second and third visits, each Mpumalanga group had a number of English-speaking members who helped to overcome language barriers between the participants and the researchers. The translated versions of the transcriptions once again helped us determine whether the messages had been accurately conveyed.

3.6   DATA GENERATION AND DOCUMENTATION

3.6.1   PRA Methods Used to Generate Data

As stated in Chapter 1, a key aim of the IPR project was to access indigenous knowledge systems (IKS). PRA methods were used to generate data which, according to Wallner and Jandl (2006), gave access to IKS. The present study benefited from the PRA methods as their inductive nature guided the exploration of the participants' stories (voices) in which their IKS was embedded (Dunbar, 2008; Kim et al., 2000). Based on my experience of these methods and the type of IKS I accessed, I agree with Chambers (2007) that such knowledge provides insight into participants' realities, the adversity they face, how they deal with the adversity, what they find meaningful, and what their priorities are. PRA is discussed as a methodological paradigm in Chapter 1, Section 1.4.3. The generated data were then documented in the form of visual data, the field notes of the four doctoral students, and the verbatim transcriptions of the

audio recordings made during the PRA activities. Table 3.2 summarises the data generation and documentation for each research visit:

Table 3.2:   Data generation and data documentation

Research site	Research visit	Data generation	Data documentation
Limpopo	First data collection	Four PRA activities and observation of context and interaction between participants by four field workers documented in field notes.	▪ Audio data (audio recordings of conversations between researcher, translator and participants)
	Second data collection	Three PRA activities and observation of context and interaction between participants by four field workers documented in field notes.	▪ Textual data (verbatim transcriptions of audio-recorded PRA activities translated into English),
Mpumalanga	First data collection	Four PRA activities and observation of context and interaction between participants by four field workers documented in field notes.	▪ Visual data (photographs).
	Second data collection	Three PRA activities and observation of context and interaction between participants by four field workers documented in field notes.	

The PRA methods in the IPR project were designed in such a way that the participants' realities and relationships could be shared through visual representation of their stories, making provision for unique cultures, and using multiple research methods (Chambers, 2013). These three key principles of PRA were evident in the present study and played a key role in obtaining and documenting indigenous knowledge on adaptive coping. Firstly, the PRA activities allowed the participants to share IKS on the type of adversities they faced, the type of resources they had at their disposal, and their use of these resources to cope. The visual nature of the PRA activities allowed the participants to express and share their realities even though their language differed from ours[1] (Chambers, 1994; Chambers, 2007; Chilisa, 2012; Van der Riet & Boettiger, 2009; Worth, 2010). The following extract from my research diary reveals my thoughts on seeing the participants as experts.

> *"During the one data gathering activity the participants shared how they solved a problem in the past. I realised that viewing the participants as experts actually felt so natural because the participants shared information on THEIR environment, THEIR adversity and how they deal with it in a way appropriate to THEIR culture that they know. The information revealed was THEIR indigenous knowledge they chose to share. Furthermore the indigenous knowledge shared was for me to learn from and understand and not to co-construct."*

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[1] "Ours" refers to the IPR- research group

The second key principle of PRA concerns its person-centred and culturally sensitive nature, which required me to listen to and be taught by indigenous people in order to better understand the topic under investigation (Chilisa, 2012). In other words, my view of the participants as experts on their environment and how they coped with adversities in this environment gave me the opportunity to explore indigenous pathways to adaptive coping without making assumptions about how they adapt to adversity. The insights I gained on indigenous adaptive coping were based on their indigenous voices. The third key principle of PRA that was evident in the present study was the use of multiple research methods (Chambers, 2013; Chilisa, 2012). Methodological diversity created more opportunities for the participants to share indigenous knowledge on adaptive coping. Initially, only three of the four research were directed towards the inquiry on adaptive coping, but, due to the integrated nature of the activities, I later used the data gathered from the fourth activity as well (discussed later).

3.6.1.1   Observation

Chambers (2007) maintains that observation during PRA activities occurs within a context of interaction between the researcher and the participants and ads to the richness of the data collected. The purpose of the observations during the present study was to observe i) the rural context over time, and ii) the PRA activities as they took place. During the observations, the doctoral fieldworkers focused on observing the interaction between the participants and how they approached the activities (Angrosino, 2005; Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011; Marshall & Rossman, 2010). The observations consisted of detailed, non-judgemental, concrete descriptions (Marshall & Rossman, 2010).

The observations were also seen as a context in which the participants and I collaborated and shared views and in which I had the opportunity to reflect on the group dynamics (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011). In this context, I could monitor the role of the translator to ensure that he limited his interaction to translating and not to influencing what the participants said. Observing also helped me monitor the participation of the participants in order to identify if there were any participants who were not sharing their knowledge and to invite any such participants to participate fully. Furthermore, the observation context enabled me to observe the effect of my presence and interaction and make necessary adaptations when needed. All the doctoral students documented their observations in the form of photographs (Chambers, 2008) and their field notes (Chambers, 1990). The visual data consisted mainly of photographs. Following the guidelines of Chambers (2007), I took photographs of the interactions during the PRA activities and of the products produced by the participants. In addition, to ensure that the PRA activities were captured fully, all four doctoral students took photographs throughout the data generation process, which were shared afterwards. In Photo 3.11, the main investigator is taking photographs of the older women engaged in a PRA activity:

Photo 3.11:
*Main investigator taking photographs during a PRA activity
(2012 Mpumalanga data collection)*

Our field notes were not our primary data source, yet they helped us identify and follow steps in the research process by attending to what the participants were doing, what strategies they used, and what they were sharing about themselves and their environment (Silverman, 2013). Photo 3.12 shows me taking field notes:

Photo 3.12:
Taking field notes (2012 Mpumalanga data gathering,
older men)

3.6.1.2   Participatory mapping and diagramming

The PRA activities the IPR research team used as part of the IPR project fell under the category of participatory mapping and diagramming (Chambers, 2006; Chambers, 2007; Ghaffari & Emami, 2011). I will first discuss participatory mapping and diagramming in relation to the present study and then elaborate on the specific activities that were used to generate data.

The participatory mapping and diagramming basically involved asking the participants, as the experts in their environment, to draw maps that gave insight into their community life (Abedi & Badragheh, 2011; Chambers, 2007; Khodamoradi & Abedi, 2011). Many researchers agree that participatory mapping and diagramming can provide valuable information on what adversities participants face, what resources they have and use to deal with the adversities, and which adversities and resources they see as the most

important (Abarashi & Nikmanesh, 2011; Chambers, 2007; Khodamoradi & Abedi, 2011). Section 3.1.6.3 covers the specific participatory mapping activities used in the IPR project.

During the data collection, problem analysis formed part of the participatory mapping and diagramming, which provided useful information on how the participants coped adaptively with adversity. Problem analysis involves identifying and specifying problems participants face (Ghaffari & Emami, 2011). Emami and Ghorbani (2013) maintain that problem analysis creates a space where participants can express their views on the challenges they experience, what causes the challenges, what resources are available to deal with the challenges, and what role they play in dealing with the challenges. Ranking was used during the participatory mapping and diagramming.

Ranking is a PRA technique that indicates which dimensions of their environment participants attach more meaning to (Khodamoradi & Abedi, 2011). The participants in the present study were asked to rank their top three adversities and their top three coping resources through referring back to the adversities and coping resources they identified on their community maps. Throughout the PRA activities, I had to carefully think about my role as I wanted to promote sharing on the one hand without imposing my own thoughts on the other hand. In this regard, I followed the guidelines contained in the PRA literature. Table 3.3 delineates my role as researcher:

Table 3.3: *Role of researcher during participatory mapping and diagramming* (Chambers, 1994; Chambers, 2007; Khodamoradi, 2011)

Phase 1: Planning (takes place before mapping and diagramming)	
Guidelines	**Application to the present study**
▪ Plan who will be involved and what they will be doing. ▪ Plan what type of map is needed. ▪ Involve peers who can assist in the planning. ▪ Plan what materials will be needed.	Prior to conducting the data generation activities, our team of doctoral students together with our supervisors held several meetings to plan what activities we would include, how we would introduce them, and in what order. We also had to decide what we would need for the activities, such as pens and posters. Each fieldworker was allocated responsibilities in terms of what they needed to bring along. The planning of each activity relevant to the present study is discussed in Section 3.6.1.3.
Phase 2: Mapping and diagramming	
Guidelines	**Application to the present study**
▪ Minimise your own participation by trusting and allowing the participants to share. ▪ Ask open-ended questions to encourage richness of data. ▪ Do not rush the process. ▪ Be self-critical and make sure that your personal behaviour and attitude promote the effectiveness of the activities.	After the main instruction for each activity had been given, I kept quiet while making field notes allowing the participants to document their indigenous knowledge systems. I spoke only when the participants asked for clarification. Once the participants indicated that they had finished documenting their indigenous knowledge systems, I gave the translators and the participants the opportunity to explain. If anything was unclear to me, I asked for clarification using open-ended questions such as "Tell me more about this". I allowed the participants to work at their own pace and was constantly aware of how my behaviour influenced them. For instance, while they were mapping and diagramming, I tried not to look directly at what they were doing as it seemed to make them too aware of my presence. It appeared as if they were more comfortable when I sat back and attended to my notes while they discussed and drew.
Phase 3: After mapping and diagramming	
Guidelines	**Application to my study**
▪ Document the map (for example, do a simple drawing or take a photograph) ▪ Make sure you know whose map or diagram it is.	In order to document the notes, I made photocopies of all the posters, each labelled to indicate who had created the map, from which site, and in which year.

3.6.1.3   PRA group discussions

Four activities were included. Activity 1 is described in Tables 3.4. This activity was undertaken first to gain understanding of the participants' environment by focusing on protective resources and risk factors (adversities).

Table 3.4:   PRA Discussion 1

PRA Discussion 1: Community map (including identification of protective resources and risk factors)	
Type of participatory method	Participatory mapping
Probing question	"Imagine you are a bird and you are flying over your community. Think about everything that you would be able to see and draw that for us on your page."
Materials needed	Large poster, colour pens, pictures of cows and snakes, glue, voice recorder, photo camera.
Seating arrangements	The participants were divided into four groups according to age and gender: younger women, younger men, older women, and older men.
Description of activity	The participants drew a community map on a large poster using colour pens to indicate what their community looked like, what resources they had (indicated by pasting pictures of cows), what adversities they face (indicated by pasting snakes). After the risks/adversity and resources had been identified, the participants were asked to prioritise them. Active discussion also played a key role during this activity. After the group had discussed and completed the activity, they were given the opportunity to present what they had done to the researcher. Throughout the activity, the translator bridged the communication gap between the participants and the researcher.
Possible data	▪ Geographical information (what the community looks like) ▪ Coping resources (protective resources) ▪ Adversity/risks

Photos 3.13-3.16 show the first PRA activity at the Limpopo and Mpumalanga research sites. The photographs show the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants busy with Activity 1 as well as the community map they produced.

Photo 3.13:
Limpopo older men participating in a PRA activity during 2012 data gathering

Photo 3.14:
Community map drawn by Limpopo older men 2012
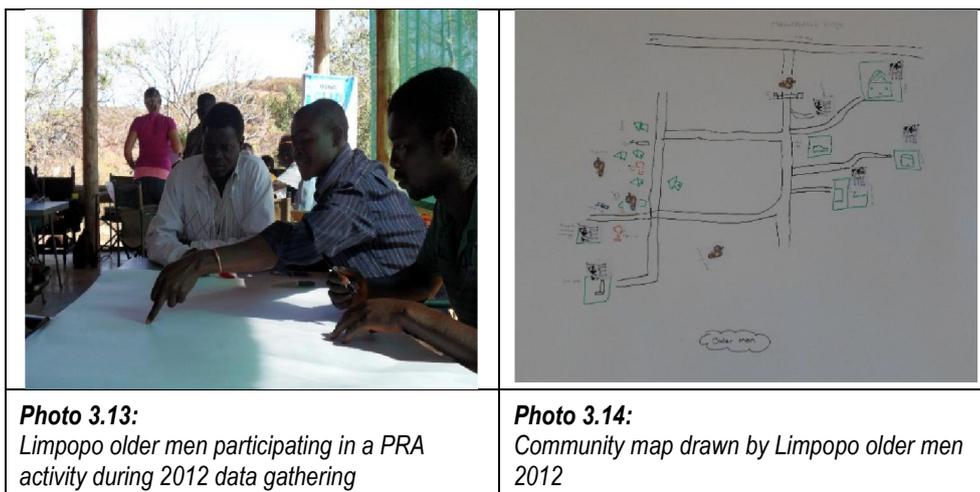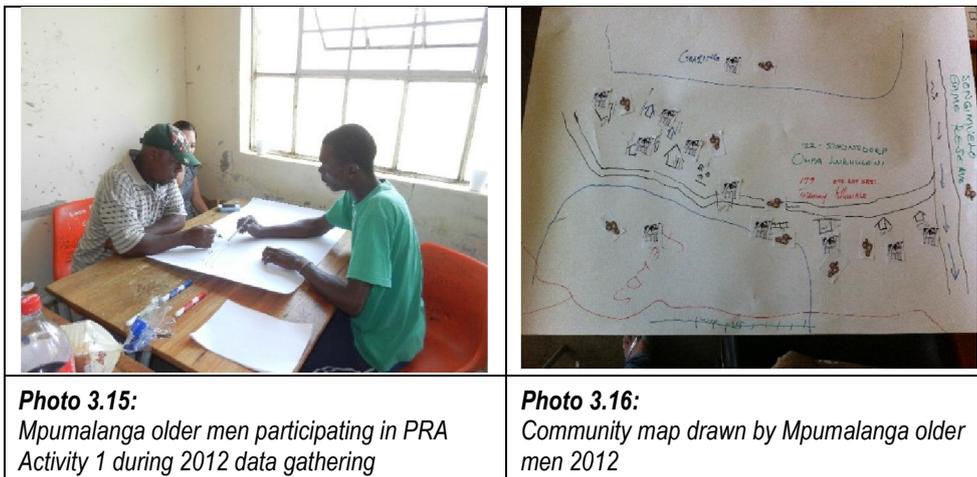
Photo 3.15: *Mpumalanga older men participating in PRA Activity 1 during 2012 data gathering*	**Photo 3.16:** *Community map drawn by Mpumalanga older men 2012*

Activity 2, described in Table 3.5, was undertaken to gain understanding of how the participants used protective resources to overcome adversity. After the description, some photographs taken during the activity are shown.

Table 3.5:   *PRA Discussion 2*

PRA Discussion 2: Story of a problem solved in the past	
Type of participatory activity	*Participatory diagramming (including problem solving)*
Probing question	The next thing I would like you to share with me is how you have solved a problem in the past. Was there any problem you have solved in the past that you would like to share with me? I am really interested in how you solved it.
Materials needed	Large poster, colour pens, voice recorder, photo camera
Seating arrangements	The participants were divided into four groups according to age and gender: younger women, younger men, older women, and older men.
Description	The participants illustrated on a drum poster how they solved a problem or problems in the past. They could illustrate this through either drawing or writing. The drum symbolised ways of communication. After the group had discussed and completed the activity, they were given the opportunity to present what they had done to the researcher. Throughout the activity, the translator bridged the communication gap between the participants and the researcher.
Possible data	▪ Ways of coping ▪ Coping resources ▪ Type of adversity

Photos 3.17-3.24 show the posters made by the participants during the second PRA activity. Photos 3.17-3.20 show the Limpopo participants' posters, and Photos 3.21-3.24 the Mpumalanga participants' posters.
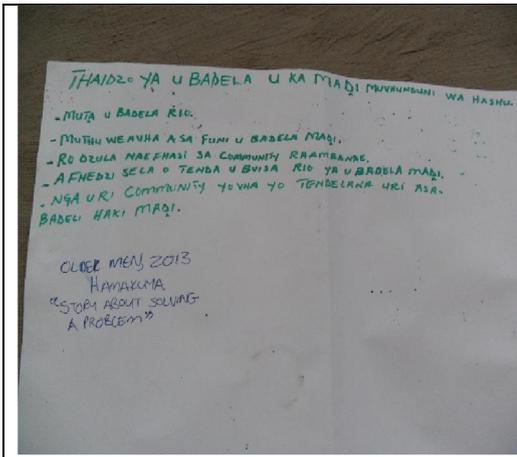
Photo 3.17:
Poster about solving a past problem created by Limpopo older men 2013
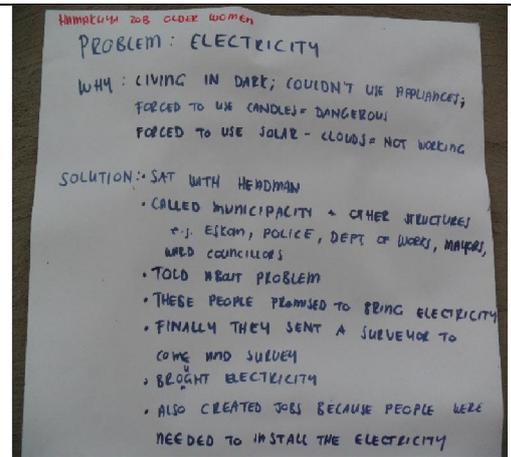
Photo 3.18:
Poster about solving a past problem created by Limpopo older women 2013
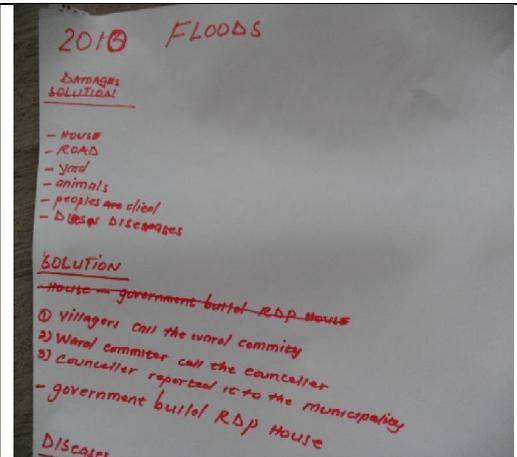
Photo 3.19:
Poster about solving a past problem created by Limpopo younger men 2013
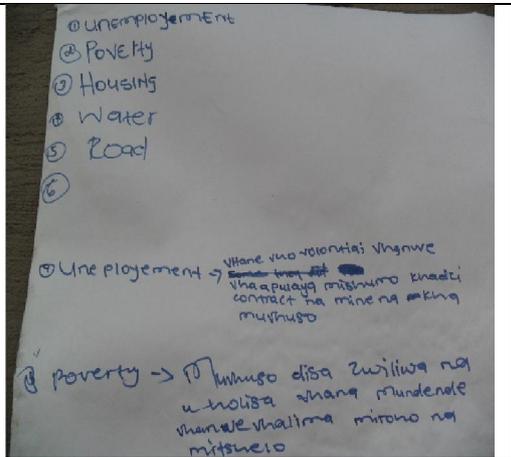
Photo 3.20:
Poster about solving a past problem created by Limpopo younger women 2013
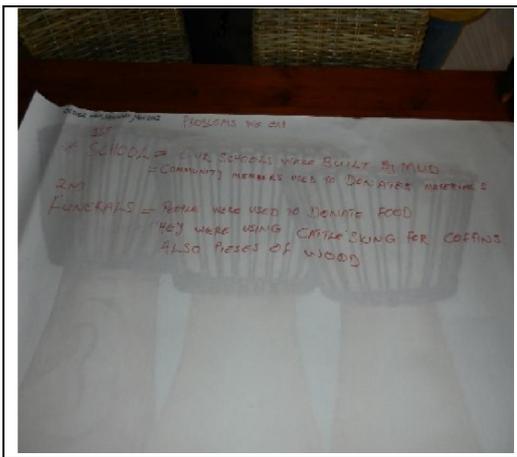
Photo 3.21:
Poster about solving a past problem created by Mpumalanga older men 2012
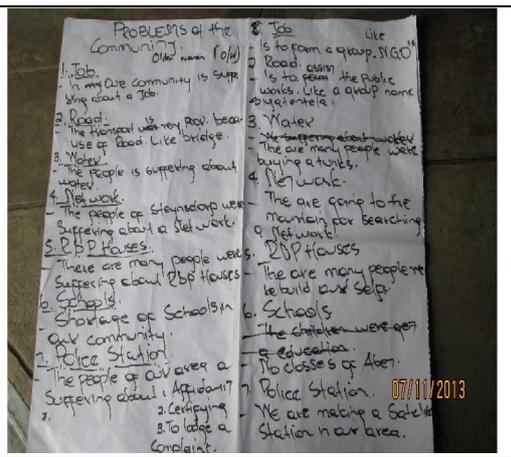
Photo 3.22:
Poster about solving a past problem created by Mpumalanga older women 2013
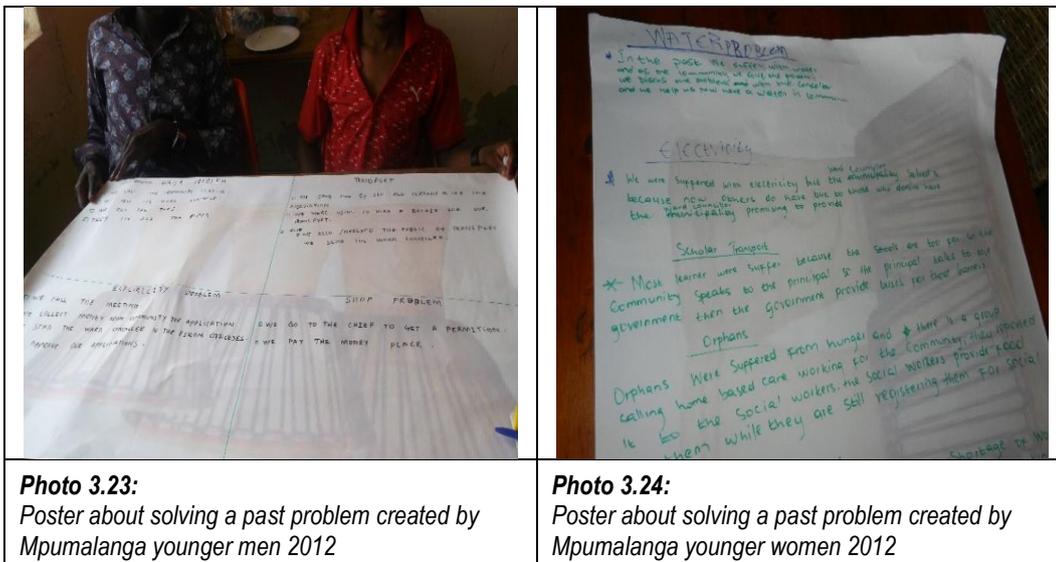
| Photo 3.23: Poster about solving a past problem created by Mpumalanga younger men 2012 | Photo 3.24: Poster about solving a past problem created by Mpumalanga younger women 2012 |

Activity 3, as described in Table 3.6, had a similar aim to Activity 2, but, instead of focusing on a previous problem, the focus was now on a current problem the participants would like to solve in the future.

Table 3.6:   PRA Discussion 3

PRA Discussion 3: Story about solving a future problem	
Type of participatory method	Participatory diagramming (including problem solving).
Probing question	"How would you or your community solve a future problem?"
Materials needed	Large poster, colour pens, voice recorder, photo camera.
Seating arrangements	The participants were divided into four groups according to age and gender: younger women, younger men, older women, and older men.
Description	The participants illustrated (by diagramming or writing) on a large poster of a "knobkierie" how they would solve future problems based on what had worked in the past and what they had learned. The reason why the image of a "knobkierie" was used is because this is a traditional African instrument usually used to fight. It was explained to the participants that it symbolises them going out to fight challenges. The participants were also asked to choose one plan of action (in case of having more than one action plan) to implement in their community. Active discussion also played a key role during this activity. After the group had discussed and completed the activity, they were given the opportunity to present what they had done to the researcher. Throughout the activity, the translator bridged the communication gap between the participants and the researcher.
Possible data	▪ Resources needed for coping ▪ Ways of coping ▪ Adversities

Photos 3.25-3.32 show the posters made by the participants during the third PRA activity. Photos 3.25-3.28 show the Limpopo participants' posters and Photos 3.29-3.32 the Mpumalanga participants' posters.

Photo 3.25:
Poster about solving a future problem created by Limpopo older men 2012

Photo 3.26:
Poster about solving a future problem created by Limpopo older women 2012

Photo 3.27:
Poster about solving a future problem created by Limpopo younger men 2012

Photo 3.28:
Poster about solving a future problem created by Limpopo younger women 2012

Photo 3.29:
Poster about solving a future problem created by Mpumalanga older men 2012

Photo 3.30:
Poster about solving a future problem created by Mpumalanga older women 2012

Photo 3.31: Poster about solving a future problem created by Mpumalanga younger men 2012	**Photo 3.32:** Poster about solving a future problem created by Mpumalanga older women 2012

Chapter 1, Section 1.4.2 and Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2 cover the literature on adaptive coping indicating how it can promote well-being. I found some of the data captured in Activity 4 (described in Table 3.7) very useful to the present study.

Table 3.7:   PRA Discussion 4

Activity 4: Well-being	
Type of participatory method	Participatory diagramming (including problem solving).
Probing questions	Prompt 1: "So, if you go to bed at night, and you close your eyes, and you go to sleep, and you think of everything that has happened in that day, what makes you think that this was a good day? Everything that you feel makes you happy. You can write, it can be a story or things that happened, whatever you choose." Prompt 2 "If someone passes away, and we are at the funeral of that person, how do we know that that woman or that man had a good life? So it's everything that if we think of a person's life we think this person had a good life, this happened to this person it was a good life. So these things are all the same, sometimes it happens in a day, sometimes it happens in a lifetime, the things that make us happy and that make our life good."
Materials needed	Large poster, colour pens, voice recorder, photo camera.
Seating arrangements	The participants were divided into four groups according to age and gender: younger women, younger men, older women, and older men.
Description	The participants illustrated (through diagramming or writing) on a large poster what made them happy as a community and as individuals. The participants were also asked to write down what made a good life.
Possible data	▪ Resources needed for coping ▪ Ways of coping

Photos 3.33-3.40 show the posters made by the participants during the fourth PRA activity. Photos 3.33-3.36 show the Limpopo participants' posters and Photos 3.37-3.40 the Mpumalanga participants' posters.

Photo 3.33:
Poster about a good community life created by Limpopo older men 2012

Photo 3.34:
Poster about a good community life created by Limpopo older women 2013

Photo 3.35:
Poster about a good community life created by Limpopo younger men 2012

Photo 3.36:
Poster about a good community life created by Limpopo younger women 2012

Photo 3.37:
Poster about a good community life created by Mpumalanga older men 2013

Photo 3.38:
Poster about a good community life created by Mpumalanga older women 2012

Photo 3.39: *Poster about a good community life created by Mpumalanga younger men 2013*	**Photo 3.40:** *Poster about a good community life created by Mpumalanga younger women 2013*

All the doctoral fieldworkers documented the data in visual (photographs, previously discussed) and textual formats (audio recordings of the PRA discussions that were transcribed verbatim and translated into English, as well as the field notes of the fieldworkers in which their observations of the PRA discussions were recorded). The PRA discussions between the researchers and the participants were audio-recorded and then transcribed (Emmel, 2008). Each doctoral student was responsible for transcribing the English conversation of his or her group after which the transcriptions were shared. No universal transcription format was available, yet we found some practical guidelines in the literature on technical formatting, for example, which content should be included and which content should be analysed and interpreted (McLellan, MacQueen & Neidig, 2003; Silverman, 2013). Since we had to share our transcriptions, we needed to ensure that all the transcriptions followed the same technical format (McLellan et al, 2003). We used the following format for the descriptive information at the beginning of our transcriptions.

Research site: Limpopo province
Venue: Limpopo camp site
Date: 2013
Type of transcription: Verbatim
Source: Audio recordings
Included information: English conversation between translator, fieldworker, and main investigator.
Goal: To identify Indigenous pathways to coping
Codes used:
OM/F (L-2012; 1) = Older Men/Fieldworker (Limpopo 2012; Activity 1)
OM/T (L-2012; 1) = Older Men/Translator (Limpopo 2012; Activity 1)
MI (L-2012; 1) = Main Investigator (Limpopo 2012; Activity 1)

To ensure that our transcriptions were uniform, we used the same descriptive information at the beginning of our transcriptions as well as the same codes to indicate the various speakers. Only the verbatim responses were included in the transcriptions to avoid misinterpretation of, for example, emotional content that could lead to misrepresentation of what was being shared and diminish the validity and trustworthiness of the findings (MacLean, Meyer & Estable, 2004). I considered this consideration particularly important in the present study as I was working with people whose cultures differed from mine. I needed to acknowledge that not all concepts shared and observed during the data collection were universal and translatable, and I was careful not to draw conclusions on linguistic patterns in the transcripts (Esposito, 2001; Marshall & Rossman, 2010). Photo 3.41 shows the use of audio recorders during the data gathering:

Photo 3.41:
Use of audio recordings during the data gathering

To further improve the quality of the documented data, the audio recordings were given to the Swati and Venda speakers to transcribe and translate. The same principles and challenges of translations discussed in Section 3.6.2.1 applied to translating the audio recordings. The translators who translated the audio recordings were responsible for helping the IPR research team access the ideas and experiences of the participants thus extending the opportunity for their voices to be heard (Wong & Poon, 2010). Including dual transcription enriched the documented data of the study and promoted transparency (Davidson, 2009; Nikander, 2008). Overall, I approached the transcriptions as a representational process (Davidson, 2009) by considering what was being presented (indigenous knowledge), who was presenting the content (the participants), and in what ways (verbatim) I could ensure respectful and accurate documentation of the indigenous knowledge.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

This section covers the analysis of the generated data. Figure 3.2 illustrates the process of data analysis in the study:
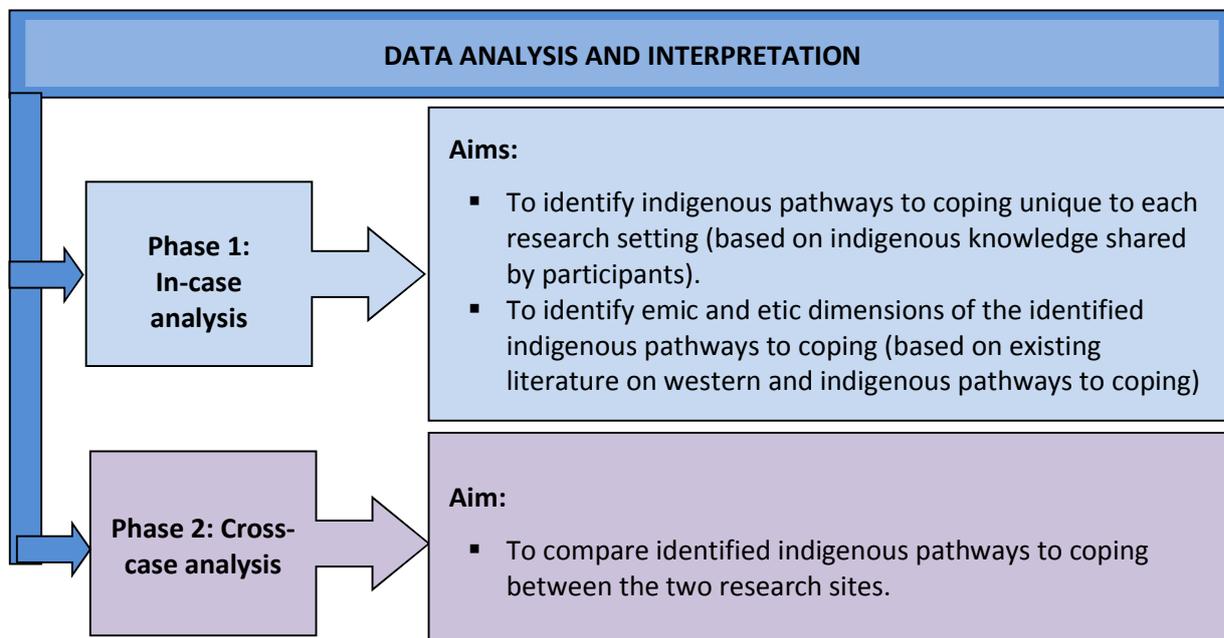
Figure 3.2: Data analysis and interpretation

The study involved two phases of data analysis, the first being an in-case analysis of the research sites and the second a cross-case analysis of the findings at the two research sites. The verbatim transcriptions as primary data source were analysed first. I subsequently enriched the data analysis by going through the verbatim translated transcriptions, photographs, and field notes to confirm the analysis and create the opportunity to identify additional themes.

3.7.1 PHASE 1: IN-CASE ANALYSIS

During the first phase, in-case analysis data gathered from each research site were analysed separately. In-case analysis focused on analysing the data from each research site separately with special attention given to IKS shared according to gender and age. The principles of inductive thematic analysis guided the analysis of the generated data.

3.7.1.1 Inductive thematic analysis

The main principle of thematic analysis is identification of themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the present study, I was specifically interested in themes on indigenous pathways to adaptive coping. In order to make sure that I identified themes correctly, I first had to ensure that I understood the concept of a

theme. According to Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2008), a theme has an organisational and descriptive function as it contains important information on a research question and promotes understanding of the phenomenon being studied. I thus understood that I had to pay close attention to the participants' responses, as documented in the transcriptions, which told me how they dealt with problems; in other words, how they coped. Since I wanted to ensure that my understanding of adaptive coping was based on the indigenous knowledge systems shared by the participants, I applied inductive reasoning during the identification of themes. The following extract from my research diary reflects some of my thoughts on inductive thematic analysis.

"As I was busy with inductive data analysis, I re-experienced the power of the indigenous knowledge shared by the participants. I realised that the influence of the participants' voices shouldn't and also won't stop after data collection. Their voices will direct me in analysis, interpretation and also documentation."

Inductive reasoning implies a bottom-up approach and entails identifying themes that are based on and linked to the data and not on existing theories (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Mouton, 2001). An inductive, bottom-up approach is recommended for indigenous research studies as it allows the documentation of themes (key phrases, terms, and practices) unique to indigenous people (Patton, 2002). To further strengthen the case for using inductive reasoning in the study, Wong, Reker and Peacock (2006) state that an inductive approach opens up the possibility to identify more coping strategies and can provide more accurate pictures of how people cope in specific situations. My intention was to conduct inductive thematic analysis in such a way that the world as experienced by the participants was correctly portrayed, which according to Braun and Clarke (2006) is a sign of a good thematic analysis. Despite the benefits of inductive thematic analysis, its flexible nature is often abused. It was therefore my responsibility to ensure that sufficient detail of what was included as themes was reflected and that the data analysis was complete and correct (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I accordingly used inclusion and exclusion criteria (based on the indigenous knowledge shared by the participants), which I discuss in the next section. I also wrote memos (Birks, Chapman & Francis, 2008) as I analysed the themes to record why a certain segment of the data was chosen for a specific theme. In addition, I shared my analysis with the other fieldworkers and the participants to ensure thorough and accurate analysis (Bazeley, 2009).

3.7.1.2   Coding and categorising

Figure 3.3 illustrates the steps followed during the in-case analysis. A detailed description of these steps is included together with photographs:

Step 1: Initial coding	• Aim: identify instances of coping. • Inclusion and exclusion criteria based on coping as a universal process.
Step 2: Recoding	• Aim: refine initial identified instances of coping. • Overarching inclusion and exclusion criteria based on initial identified instances of coping.
Step 3: Recoding	• Aim: identify specific coping behaviours. • Inductive codes.
Step 4: Categorising	• Aim: categorise identified coping behaviours into subthemes and themes. • Inductive inclusion and exclusion criteria based on regularities that emerged from the inductive codes.
Step 5: Literature control	• Aim: identify emic and etic aspects of the identified coping behaviour, coping strategies, and coping families. • Inductive inclusion and exclusion criteria based on regularities that emerged from the inductive codes.

Figure 3.3:   Steps in in-case analysis

The first step of the in-case analysis entailed reading through the transcriptions as a primary data source in order to identify possible instances of coping. In this first step of analysis, I was joined by my fellow fieldworkers. Each fieldworker had a copy of the transcriptions and colour-coded instances of coping using the colour green. Photo 3.42 illustrates some of the data marked in green:
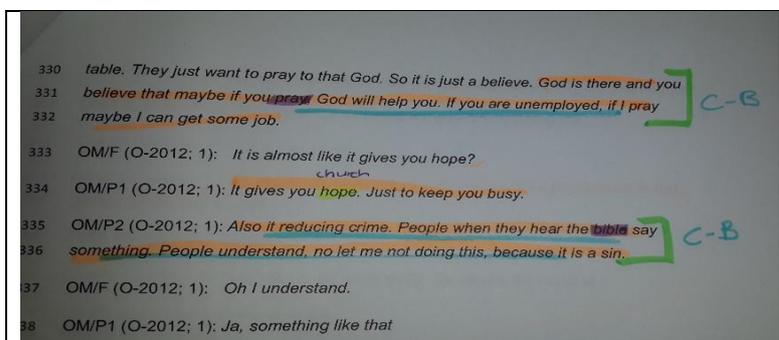
Photo 3.42:
Example of initial data analysis

In order to identify instances of coping, we read and reread the transcriptions looking for recurring words that reflected core meanings based on the participants' experiences (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2008;

Goduka, 2012; Maree & Van der Westhuizen, 2007; Patton, 2002) of dealing with adversity. During this initial process, we used coding to identify any instances of coping conceptualised as a universal process[2]. The inclusion criteria of coping as a contextualised process were the identification of the participants' responses that reflected i) the existence of adversity, ii) the use of a coping resource, and iii) behaviour that showed how the coping resource was used to deal with adversity. The exclusion criteria were identifying coping behaviour where the adversity or coping resource was not evident. I did, however, make exceptions with the participants' responses where the coping behaviour and coping resource were not evident, but the adversity was known due to prior knowledge of the types of adversity faced by the community. Examples of the latter, which applied to both communities, were poverty and unemployment, and it was already known that the Limpopo research site struggled specifically with water and food scarcity. This initial step of analysis ended once we could not find further instances of coping in the transcriptions; in other words, once we had reached saturation. After the fieldworkers had colour-coded instances of coping, we discussed our findings, and I compared everyone's analysis to ensure that no instances of coping had been left out. Involving my fellow fieldworkers allowed me firstly to confirm whether I had included all instances of coping and, secondly, whether what I viewed as instances of coping were indeed instances of coping. The initial coding process initiated the data analysis process by breaking the data down into manageable pieces to which codes were allocated (Schwandt, 2007).

In the second step of analysis, I reread the transcriptions and identified instances of coping in order to create overarching inclusion and exclusion criteria based on the indigenous knowledge shared by the participants. The goal of the initial inclusion and exclusion criteria was to make the initial identified instances of coping more manageable before continuing with a more formal process of coping that would reveal ways of coping. The overarching inclusion and exclusion criteria are summarised in Table 3.8:

Table 3.8:   Overarching inclusion and exclusion criteria

Concept: Coping as a contextualised process	
Inclusion	**Exclusion**
The coping involved dealing with adversity using coping resources in a certain way and was identified in the data if all of the following applied. ▪ Coping behaviour was evident. ▪ Adversity was evident. ▪ Use of coping resource was evident. Exception: The participants did not indicate the adversity, but the behaviour mentioned had previously been identified as a coping behaviour in the specific community.	Behaviour was not identified as coping if ▪ the behaviour was not directed at mediating adversity; ▪ the use of coping resources was not clear.

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[2] In Chapter 2, I said that coping as a process involved being faced with adversity and then reacting (coping behavior) to the adversity by using a coping resource. I added that these aspects of the coping process were universal.

Coping as adaptive (function of coping)	
Inclusion	**Exclusion**
▪ Coping was experienced as effective in dealing with adversity. ▪ The effects of the adversity decreased immediately and in the long term. ▪ Coping was future oriented and might decrease adversity in the future or dealt with anticipated future adversity. ▪ Coping was experienced by the community members as contributing to positive development and well-being.	Coping behaviour was reported but not experienced or evident as successfully dealing with the effects of adversity immediately, in the long run, or potentially.
Coping as maladaptive (function of coping)	
Inclusion	**Exclusion**
▪ Collectivistic/Collective coping behaviours that did not mediate either the immediate or long-term effects of adversity. ▪ Collectivistic/Collective coping behaviours that did not promote positive development of the community.	Collectivistic/Collective coping behaviours that might not seem to mediate immediate or long-term effects of adversity but might have an effective function in the future.
Collectivistic/Collective/Communal coping (cultural orientation)	
Inclusion	**Exclusion**
Coping behaviours were coded and categorised as collective when any of the following were evident. ▪ The community members coped in an intentional and normative way as taught in the community. ▪ The coping behaviour showed use of communal resources in a communal way and for communal purposes. ▪ Individual resources were used for communal purposes. ▪ Characteristics of collectivistic culture were evident such as emphasising the group effort, using togetherness as a strength, social context, relationships and interdependence, as well as giving first priority to group goals rather than individual goals (bearing in mind that this did not exclude individual benefits).	▪ Community members used personal resources for a personal goal to cope with adversity. ▪ Independence was evident.
Individualistic coping (cultural orientation)	
Inclusion	**Exclusion**
▪ Focus of the coping behaviour was solely to improve personal well-being. ▪ Personal resources were used for personal goals. ▪ Independence rather than interdependence.	▪ The well-being of the community was also evident. • Some form of interdependence was needed.

After the overarching inclusion and exclusion criteria had been created, I reread the identified ways of coping to determine whether the participants' instances of coping were adaptive or maladaptive. Although I focused specifically on adaptive coping, I believed it was necessary to be open to possible instances of maladaptive coping as well. Furthermore, the identified instances of coping clearly had a collective slant, usually associated with African culture. I then reread the initial identified instances of coping in order to identify collective orientations in the instances of coping but also kept an open mind for possible instances of individualistic-oriented coping. After the second step of analysis, I believed that I was ready

to engage in a more formal coding process that would eventually lead to identifying specific coping behaviours.

In the third step of the in-case analysis, I used codes that reflected my analytical thinking (Marshall & Rossman, 2010) of the adaptive coping process. Each code covered the coping resource and specific adaptive coping behaviour, for example *"SR:CM-C"* (social resource: church members-consultation). The codes were inductive in nature and developed as I coded the data; in other words, I allowed the codes to emerge from the data (Nieuwenhuis, 2007c). Inductive codes play an important part in analysing indigenous practices, which requires understanding of the indigenous context, that is, the local people in their language and within their worldview (Patton, 2002). Throughout the coding process, I wrote memos on why codes had been allocated and how categories and themes had started to emerge (Marshall & Rossman, 2010). To further ensure that I had represented the indigenous knowledge on coping accurately, I also read through the other data sources such as the translations, field notes, and photographs of the maps and diagrams of the participants. The latter helped me confirm the identified coping behaviour and allowed me to add any new coping behaviours I might have missed. Figure 3.4 shows examples of memos written during the analysis:

SOLVING A PAST PROBLEM

OM/F (L-2012; 2): *What I want us to do now is I want them to think of in the past a story of a problem the village solved. So there was a problem and how they solved it?*

OM/T (L-2012; 2): *They are saying the problem they had in the past time, Was power supply. It started around 2008. Around 2005/2006. They raised the problem in 2005/2006 and in 2008 they started working on it, but they stop there. But only in 2011 they solved it, they had power.*

OM/F (L-2012; 2): *Please ask them to tell how they solved it?*

OM/T (L-2012; 2): *It all started at a communal meeting, they had an agreement from there. So they wrote a letter and they all agreed on it. They sent it to the responsible municipality. And then they didn't attend to the letter in a very speed way, but the community saw that the municipality didn't care much so they when on to the region, the province. It is then when the problem got solved.*

> **Commented [M1]:**
> THEME 2: CONSULATION FOR COMMUNAL PROBLEM SOLVING
> Subtheme 2.1: Communal discussion

> **Commented [M2]:**
> THEME 2: CONSULATATION FOR COMMUNAL PROBLEM SOLVING
> Subtheme 2.1: Communal discussion

> **Commented [M3]:**
> THEME 2: CONSULATATION FOR COMMUNAL PROBLEM SOLVING
> Subtheme 2.3: Refer to authority

> **Commented [M4]:**
> THEME 2: CONSULATATION FOR COMMUNAL PROBLEM SOLVING
> Subtheme 2.3: Refer to authority

> **Commented [M5]:**
> 1) AC-PS/DI-CM (Adaptive Coping-Problem solving/ Discussion-Community Meeting)
> 2) AC-RE/DE-LM (Adaptive Coping – Refer/Defer-Local Municipality)
> 3) AC-RE/DE-GD (Adaptive Coping – Refer/Defer-Governmental Department)
> • Communal meeting (coping resource) creates the opportunity for discussion/problem solving (coping behaviour) to address adversity such as electricity shortage (adversity).
> ⇨ Coping might potentially be adaptive as communal discussion creates the opportunity to reduce adversity or the impact of adversity through engaging in active problem solving.
> • The electricity shortage (adversity) is referred (coping behaviour) to the local municipality (coping resource).
> • The problem of electricity shortage (adversity) is referred (coping behaviour) to the relevant governmental department (coping resource).
> ⇨Coping seems adaptive. The community members were able to adapt their coping behaviour by referring the problem to the relevant governmental department after the municipality didn't assist them. Coping has an adaptive function.

> **Commented [M6]:**
> THEME 4: COMMUNAL EXPERTISE IN SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL RESOURCE USE
> Subtheme: Resource navigation

> **Commented [M7]: FINAL**
> THEME 2: INDIGENOUS ADAPTIVE COPING ACTIONS
> SUBTHEME 2.1: HIERARCHICAL CONSULTATION
> Category 2.1.2: Consulting with indigenous authority
> Category 2.1.3: Consulting with governmental institutions
> SUBTHEME 2.2: PARTICIPATION
> Category 2.2.3: Participation in civic responsibility
> Subcategory 2.2.3.2 Communal meetings

Figure 3.4:   Example of coding and categorising

The fourth step of the in-case analysis involved categorising the identified coping behaviours in order to further promote indigenous conceptualisations of coping. Convergence entailed grouping codes together by looking for recurring themes in the data and sorting these themes into categories (Patton, 2002). Based on the recurring themes, I created more specific inclusion and exclusion criteria, which ultimately took the form of four major themes each with its own subthemes. The later inclusion and exclusion criteria are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Once all the categories had been completed, I verified them by reading through the initial transcripts and ensuring that all the key insights emerging from the data had

been included (Nieuwenhuis, 2007c). Rereading the initial transcripts led to further refining of the subthemes and categories.

In the fifth step of the in-case analysis, a literature control was conducted to identify emic and etic aspects of the identified ways of coping. Theorising about the data was important during this phase of the data interpretation. The following guidelines, as presented by Silverman (2007), were followed: i) theorising about the context of the data, ii) making every possible comparison, and iii) theorising about the implications of the data.

3.7.2 PHASE 2: CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

After the completion of Phase 1, cross-case analysis helped in comparing the findings of the two research sites in order to extend the in-case analysis and to support a broader pattern or conclusion (Khan & VanWynsberghe, 2008; Yin, 2012). Comparisons were made between regions (Limpopo and Mpumalanga), ages, and genders. Such comparisons helped ensure the rigour of the study and went beyond what was normally demanded (Silverman, 2013). The role of cross-case analysis in the study is shown in Table 3.9:

Table 3.9: *Role of cross-case analysis* (Khan & VanWynsberghe, 2008)

Role of cross-case analysis	Application to present study
Allows comparison between research settings.	The findings of the Limpopo research site and Mpumalanga research site were compared.
Promotes understanding of a construct in terms of differences and similarities across cases.	The comparison of the two research sites' findings included a comparison of i) types of adversities faced, ii) types of resources owned and used, iii) ways of adaptive coping, iv) indigenous conceptualisations of adaptive coping, and v) resilience manifested in the communities based on adaptive coping as a pathway.
Promotes conceptualisation, refinement, and understanding of constructs.	Consideration of what adaptive coping looked like in both research settings refined and enriched indigenous conceptualisation of adaptive coping as a pathway to resilience.

3.8 ROLE OF RESEARCHER: OUTSIDER AS FACILITATOR

My role as researcher has been discussed in relation to data gathering, documentation, analysis, and interpretation accompanied by extracts from my research diary. Positioning myself in the study required reflexivity (Patton, 2002) throughout the research process (see Appendix F for my research diary). I agree with Chilisa (2012) that constant reflection helps ensure the full involvement of the researcher. Reflexivity (reflective thinking) involves three types of reflection, which were evident in my reflections,

namely questions on the researcher, questions on the participants, and questions on the findings (Patton, 2002).

This section deals with my position as researcher. In the researcher-participant relationship, one or the other has the upper position, and one is considered the insider and the other the outsider. Having the upper position refers to being dominant in the context (Chambers, 2007). The insiders are those who are part of the social group, and the outsider is the non-member (Moore, 2012). In the present study, I considered myself the outsider coming to learn from the insiders who held the upper position as experts of their context. However, choosing PRA as methodological design transformed my role as pure outsider to outsider as facilitator (Chambers, 2007).

As an outsider as facilitator, the researcher goes from talking *to* the participants to talking *with* the participants (Smith et al., 2010) thus indicating a process of joint insider-outsider research where the researcher facilitates the process but where the participants remain the experts (Chambers, 2007). As a pure outsider, I would have entered the community to conduct research on community members, but, as a facilitator, I entered the community to form a partnership with the members (Smith et al., 2010).

However, as an outsider, there is always a part of the insider's context that cannot be accessed (Holloway & Biley, 2011) due mainly to limitations in terms of time spent in the context. The indigenous knowledge owned by the participants was obtained through generations of interacting and living in that specific context (Odora Hoppers, 2001). To assume that I accessed the full complexity of the participants' indigenous knowledge systems would be naïve. Another factor that limited full access as an outsider was that I brought the totality of myself, including my own biases and worldviews, to the research setting (Holloway & Biley, 2011). I agree that the self affects the research process and should be carefully considered and acknowledged (Smith et al., 2010).

Qualitative research methods usually require a common standpoint between the researcher and the participants where the insiders and the outsider both play roles in a space where co-construction can take place (Eide & Kahn, 2008; Karnieli-Miller, Strier & Pessach 2009). In the present study, I did not consider my position as one where I co-created knowledge with the participants. Their indigenous knowledge systems existed already, and I learned from them what needed to be documented about adaptive coping as an indigenous pathway to resilience.

As researcher, it was my responsibility to reflect carefully and think about how to negotiate my position in the research process in order to foster an optimal relationship (Hopkins, 2007; Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009). When the researcher handles his or her position as facilitator well, the result should be participants who express their emic realities in such a way that the study results are more reliable than those obtained by

an outsider (as opposed to a facilitator) (Chambers, 2007). Careful consideration of one's position in terms of how it will influence the research process is considered an ethical "must" (Hopkins, 2007). The relationship between the researcher and the participants has an ever-present power element that needs to be balanced in such a way that methods are not misused and the participants' and the researcher's voices are not distorted (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009). Considerations regarding my position and role as regards ethical conduct are discussed in the next section.

3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

I agree with Chilisa (2012) that ethical research should be built on the post-colonial indigenous paradigm that informs the research process, the choice of topic, the data collection, and the data analysis and interpretation. Every research activity should be based on ethical principles (Clegg & Slife, 2009). The four R's (relational accountability, respectful representation, reciprocal appropriation, and rights and regulation) proposed in the post-colonial research paradigm (Chilisa, 2012) helped me advance ethical research beyond general ethical guidelines. Ethical research usually implies using informed consent, acknowledging the unique context in which the research takes place, voluntary participation, confidentiality, anonymity, and ensuring that no harm is done to the participants (Silverman, 2013).

3.9.1 RELATIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY AND RECIPROCAL APPROPRIATION

Like Chilisa (2012), I view the relationship between the researcher and the participants as the cornerstone of ethical research. Respectful research directs the relationship between the two parties (Gibbon, 2002). It was important for me to invest time and resources to build a respectful and trustworthy relationship with the participants (Rambaldi et al., 2006). The IPR team used several strategies to build a good relationship with the participants. Firstly we followed Chambers (2007) guidelines and shared a meal with the participants. We started each site visit by sharing something to eat and drink with the participants and also, on occasion, enjoyed lunch with them. Secondly, we respected how the participants chose to spend their time by not rushing them during the activities. Allowing participants to pace their process is another important aspect of building a respectful relationship with them (Chambers, 2005; Rambaldi, et al., 2006). Thirdly, the activities included in the IPR project were flexible as well as democratic in nature. Democratic activities created a space where everyone's voice was respected, and the flexibility helped to accommodate the needs of the participants, especially since local values, needs, and concerns had to be the first priority (Rambaldi et al., 2006).

Another way to create a respectful relationship between researcher and participants is through honesty. Before engaging in the data-gathering activities with the participants, we were honest with them about what they would be doing, why they would be doing it, and what the information would be used for. This

was done in the format of informed consent which, according to Ponterotto (2012), implies being fully informed about what the research process entails, what is expected, and what the implications are (Rambaldi et al., 2006). I agree with Christians (2013) that participants have a right to be fully informed, especially to ensure voluntary participation. This required me to be honest about my own objectives, what was in it for the people, and what would be done with the results (Gibbon, 2002). Photo 3.43 shows informed consent forms on the table ready to be discussed with the participants:
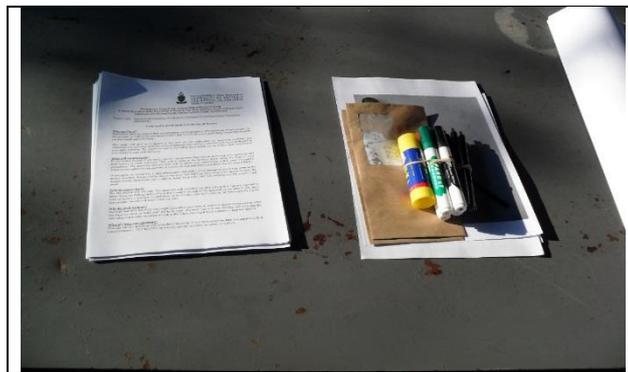
Photo 3.43:
Informed consent forms (Limpopo data gathering 2012)

Furthermore, everything that needs to be explained should be explained in the local language (Rambaldi et al., 2006). The translators translated the informed consent forms, and the participants were offered the opportunity to keep their identities confidential (Ponterotto, 2012); however, if they wished to be acknowledged, the researcher would ensure this happened (Rambaldi et al., 2006). Because we documented some of our observations as well as the PRA mapping and diagramming, we asked the participants whether they would mind if we took photographs and later used them. An example of the informed consent form can be seen in Appendix B.

3.9.2   RESPECTFUL REPRESENTATION AS WELL AS RIGHTS AND REGULATIONS

Part of my ethical conduct was also to respect the knowledge gathered and to use the photographs and products with respect (Chambers, 2006). As original products should be left with participants, we asked the participants whether they wanted to keep the PRA maps and diagrams they had made. We also gathered only information that was relevant to the study (Rambaldi et al., 2006). Throughout the study, I acknowledged that the indigenous knowledge gleaned should be protected and its ownership recognised (Ponterotto, 2012; Rambaldi et al., 2006). Ethical conduct should promote fairness where all participants' voices are heard freely without being influenced or compromised in any way (Chilisa, 2012). The researcher should at all times be aware of and acknowledge the relationships in the research setting (Chilisa, 2012). Member checking was done with the participants during the third visit to ensure accurate representation of the shared indigenous knowledge. Member checking in general refers to the process of

taking data analysis and interpretation back to participants so that they can give feedback on the accuracy of the themes and categories that emerged from the data (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Creswell, 2014; Onweugbuzie & Leech, 2010).

This feedback increases the credibility of the study by ensuring that the data analysis and interpretation are authentic (Petty, Thomson & Stew, 2012; Toban & Begley, 2004). In the present study, I viewed member checking as more than just a way to promote the credibility of the findings. For me, it was an opportunity to ensure that the indigenous knowledge shared by the participants was not misrepresented (Cho & Trent, 2006). I stated in Chapter 1 that there was a lack of documented indigenous knowledge on adaptive coping and that any attempt to document this knowledge should be done in such a way as to ensure accurate and respectful representation of the knowledge. I agree with Carlson (2010) that the process of member checking should involve giving participants the opportunity to edit, clarify, and elaborate on the analysed and interpreted data. According to Creswell (2009), member checking can be done individually or in groups, and Creswell and Miller (2000) state that it can take various forms where either transcripts or the specific categories and themes that emerged from the data are shared.

Because of the participatory nature of the study, the member checking was done in a group format where the older men, older women, younger men, and younger women sat together. The member checking was carried out in two phases. The first phase was aimed at ensuring that the themes and subthemes accurately reflected the indigenous knowledge on adaptive coping. I believed that the participants' approval of the subthemes and themes would ensure respectful and true documentation of the data. This also gave the participants the opportunity to add to and correct themes and subthemes, which made them a part of the data analysis and interpretation process. Creswell and Miller (2000) state that during member checking, quality assurance shifts from the researcher to the participants. During the second phase of the member checking, I asked the participants to clarify their statements, as documented in the transcriptions, which I either did not understand or which required elaboration. The second phase of the member checking prevented me from making assumptions about the information the participants shared, which otherwise could have led to misrepresentation of the indigenous knowledge.

Carlson (2010) aptly states that participants' dignity and voices should be the main focus during member checking. I accordingly followed principles similar to those followed during the PRA data-gathering activities, such as creating a space the participants could share and viewing the participants as experts. The participants and I sat down and shared ideas on the themes and subthemes that had emerged from the data. According to Carlson (2010) a pitfall in member checking is the possibility of miscommunication during member checking. To avoid this, the IPR team made use of translators, and I also followed Creswell's (2009) guideline on the importance of having properly formulated themes and subthemes.

If the researcher fails to create a research space where respect, trust, and empathy are present, the quality of the research will suffer; it is therefore crucial to make ethical research conduct the first priority (Chambers, 2007). Ethical conduct is further supported by considering authenticity criteria such as how accurately and fairly participants' constructions are reflected in the findings of a study (Balandin & Goldbart, 2011). Table 3.10 shows the criteria of authenticity (Balandin & Goldbart, 2011) together with the methods used to implement them:

Table 3.10:   Authenticity considerations

Criteria	Explanation	Method
Fairness	Honouring of different constructions in the evaluation process.	Member checking
Ontological authenticity	Level of participants' awareness of how they had been impacted (specifically their constructions of reality) by their involvement in the study.	Audit trial
Educative authenticity	Level of participants' awareness of how other stakeholders' constructions might differ from theirs.	Member checking
Tactical authenticity	Level of impact of participants' new understanding of their future actions.	Longitudinal studies

3.10   ENSURING RIGOUR

Throughout the study, I strove to achieve rigour in the research. Rigour implies being as thorough, exhaustive, and accurate as possible (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011). The quality criteria included transferability, credibility, and dependability.

3.10.1   TRANSFERABILITY

As mentioned earlier, the inclusion of only two research sites and the small number of participants in the study limited the transferability of the findings. Limited transferability implies limitations in terms of taking the findings of one study and applying them to a different environment (Polit & Bed, 2010). Although the aim of the study was not to transfer the findings but rather to understand a particular phenomenon, namely indigenous pathways to adaptive coping, the literature suggests several ways to improve transferability despite a small sample. One such a suggestion involves replication (Yin, 2013). Since the IPR project used a comparative case study design, the study was naturally replicated in two different research settings, which promoted rich data (Yin, 2013) and provided evidence of some level of transferability between the research sites. Polit and Bed (2010) maintain that thick descriptions of participants and context can also promote transferability of findings. Detailed descriptions of the research sites as well as the participants are given in Chapter 1, Section 1.7 and Chapter 3, Section 3.3. Another factor that can improve transferability is familiarity with the data. A researcher's understanding of,

engagement with, and reflection on data will also influence the analysis and interpretation of the data (Polit & Bed, 2010). During the analysis and interpretation process in the present study, writing memos (Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001) promoted reflection on what was being analysed and why as well as how certain interpretations were made. I also engaged in a rigorous process of in-case and cross-case analysis (discussed in Section 3.5) to ensure that the data from the two sites were accurately compared, which promoted understanding of the data beyond the single cases (Yin, 2013).

Conceptual and reflective thinking can also improve transferability and played a big role in the present study. Researchers should reflect on the key concepts of a study and present new concepts in a way that other researchers can benefit from them (Polit & Bed, 2010; Punch, 2005). The detailed literature review of the key concepts in the present study (see concept clarification in Chapter 1, Section 1.5 and Chapter 2, Section 2.4) provided insight into existing conceptualisations of such concepts. While the literature review confirmed understanding of concepts such as indigenous and adaptive coping, the inductive analysis allowed exploration of key concepts based on the indigenous knowledge systems of the participants. Identifying the etic and emic dimensions of these concepts promoted further understanding for both me and the other researchers.

3.10.2 CREDIBILITY AND CONFIRMABILITY

Credibility was important in the present study as I had the responsibility of accurately representing IKS as shared by the participants. Credibility refers to the comparability of the participants' reality and the perceived reality of the researcher (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Member checking was a good way to ensure that the study findings reflected IKS as intended by the participants (discussed in Section 3.6.2). Peer debriefing also helped to evaluate the credibility of the findings. Chilisa (2012) suggests that researchers should engage in discussions with peers to share the analysis and findings of a study and obtain their input. Having co-fieldworkers benefited the rigour of the present study as the analysis and interpretation of the findings could be shared with them.

Triangulation was important in the interpretive value (Maree & Van der Westhuizen, 2007) of the study's findings. Triangulation, which involves the use of different methods to collect data (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b), helped ensure more comprehensive data and better reflexive analysis (Mays & Pope, 2000). Four types of triangulation were used in the study: a) data triangulation (using various sources of data resources such as different research settings); b) investigator triangulation (using various researchers); theory triangulation (using multiple perspectives), and method triangulation (using various methods) (Chilisa, 2012; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2010). Firstly, data triangulation was achieved by using two research settings in which the study was replicated; secondly, various researchers involved in the project assisted

with the data analysis; thirdly, theory triangulation was done through an extensive literature review in which different theories on coping were considered.

Another guideline for improving the credibility of the findings was ensuring that the appropriate data collection method was used (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). Using suitable meaning units during analysis, that covers the data adequately, will also enhance the credibility of the study (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). PRA methods were useful because of their coherence with the philosophical assumptions of indigenous research. Lastly, prolonged engagement with the research sites also improved the credibility of the findings. Chilisa (2012) maintains that a researcher needs to engage with the research setting over a prolonged period of time, and, indeed, the IPR project engaged with the community members in the research sites for three consecutive years enabling the researchers to better understand the evolution of the community members' adaptive coping.

Closely linked to the concept of credibility is confirmability, which refers to the degree to which findings reflect the true product of the study and not the biases of the researcher (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). In the present study, process notes (aimed at promoting confirmability) and member checking helped to ensure that the participants' IKS was respectfully and truthfully reflected. Process notes took the form of writing memos (Yin, 2013) during the data analysis and interpretation thereby helping other researchers understand why and how certain codes, categories, and themes had been identified.

3.10.3   DEPENDABILITY

For a study's results to be dependable, the findings should be similar if the study is replicated in a similar research setting with similar participants (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The nature of the present study was comparative where similar activities were replicated in two settings which allowed the opportunity to see whether similar or different results would be obtain in two settings. Dependability further implies that another researcher will be able to follow the study conducted by the current decision (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011) and accordingly I kept an audit trial which outlined the decisions made during the research process (Houghton, Casey, Show & Murphy, 2013). A detailed account was kept of the purpose of the study, the sampling of the participants, the data collection, the data analysis, the interpretation of the data, how the findings were presented, and what techniques were used to determine credibility (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011).

3.11   LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

This section covers the limitations of the research design, the research methodology, the sampling methods, as well as the method of data analysis and interpretation. It also includes a discussion of the parameters of the study.

Regarding research design, several limitations are inherent in a comparative case study design, for instance, in the present study, my subjective role as a researcher. Subjectivity can introduce researcher bias in the research process (Cohen et al., 2007; Mouton, 2010). I needed to be reflexive (Patton, 2002) and aware throughout the study of my subjective involvement (see Appendix F for my research diary). I implemented member checking to ensure that I did not impose my own biases on my understanding of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping.

A major limitation was transferability (Polit & Bed, 2010) of the findings due to the uniqueness and limited size of the cases (Hays & Singh, 2007, 2000; Willig, 2008). I was able to explore indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in two indigenous communities, yet I could not assume that the same pathways would be true for other non-Western communities. With regard to the bounded cases that formed part of the comparative case study, and specifically the sampling method used to sample these cases, the use of convenience sampling and purposive sampling could be considered limitations regarding transferability.

Although convenience sampling was appropriate for the study as it allowed access to populations that were difficult to reach, working with specific communities limited the transferability of the findings as these findings might not be true for all non-Western communities in South Africa or elsewhere. A limitation inherent in choosing a sample that is "appropriate" for the topic and aim of a study is that research bias can easily be introduced (Babbie, 2013). I consequently had to reflect seriously on the influence of any bias of mine on the research outcome. Reflexivity is discussed in Section 3.7. For the same reasons as in the case of convenience sampling, transferability is limited in purposive sampling (Babbie, 2013). This is because the sample was chosen based on specific characteristics of the group, which might not be an accurate reflection of the population as a whole (Cohen et al., 2000). How these challenges were dealt with is discussed in Section 3.7.

However, as with most comparative case studies, the aim of this study was not to generalise the results (Cohen et al., 2000; Creswell, 2000; Willig 2008) but rather to gain in-depth understanding of adaptive coping. The parameters within which results are applicable can nevertheless be stated (Cohen et al., 2000; Creswell, 2007; Willig, 2008). The parameters in the present study were that the results might be applicable only in environments similar to the IPR research sites; in other words, environments that faced similar adversity, had similar coping resources, and reflected similar non-Western worldviews. In the

process of selectively choosing research sites, other research sites, such as urban non-Western high adversity settings, non-Western settings not exposed to high risk and high need were excluded. Consequently, the documented IKS might not necessarily represent the voices of all non-Western people which might call for different indigenous pathways to coping.

Another limitation was that because only a few community members were sampled, the documented IKS might not reflect the IKS of the other excluded community members. Excluded participants could have included participants in full-time employment and those who had migrated to urban settings for work. The sample therefore excluded the views of community members who might experience adversity differently from unemployed community members residing permanently in the villages. Excluded participant implied that the data do not necessarily provide insight into community members who were employed or community members who deal with other types of adversities.

Some of the participants could not attend all the data collection sessions due to other commitments, such as colleting social grants. In some instances, the participants had to leave before the completion of the PRA activities because they had to be back at work. Due to the voluntary nature of participation, the IPR team had to respect participants who could not commit to all the PRA activities. Participants who arrived after the PRA activities had commenced were taken aside, and the activities were explained to them, or the translator was asked to inform them about what was happening. Fluctuations in the participants' attendance limited their input to the PRA activities.

Fluctuations in the number of participants and in the represented gender and age per data gathering visit could have influenced the gathered data. For instance, during the first data gathering at Limpopo there were more participants from the older generation as well as more female participants representing the community and accordingly giving input with regards to the problems the community faces and how they adapt to these problems. During the 2013 data gathering at the Limpopo research site there were more female participants than male participants contributing to insight into how the community cope with adversity as well as more participants from the younger generation than older generation participants. A possible reason for a higher amount of female participants might relate to the possibility that more male community members are employed than female participants which might relate to gender roles where women run the household while men are responsible for generating income.

Fluctuations in participant attendance at the Mpumalanga research site were not limited to difference in participant numbers from one year to another since data were gathered over two days which lead to differences in participant numbers from one day to the next. Differences in participant attendance from the one day to the next meant that not the same amount of participants gave input on all the PRA activities per data gathering visit. For instance, during the 2012 Mpumalanga data gathering there were a

larger number off older men and younger men that participated on the second day than on the first day which means there were more participants who gave input on the activities about how the community solves problems than on the activity where the participants were asked to identify risks and protective resources. During the 2013 data gathering visit there were a smaller amount younger men on the first day than on the second day which imply that for the younger men groups there were more participants to give input on the activities about how the community solves problems than on the activity where the participants were asked to identify risks and protective resources.

Furthermore, as with the Limpopo research site, differences among participants in terms of gender and age affected participant views represented in the data. During the 2012 Mpumalanga data gathering there were more participants from the younger generation than the older generation although an equal amount of male and female participants were present. The latter implies that a larger amount of younger participants were able to give their input on adversity faced by the community and how the community adapt to the identified adversity. For the 2013 data gathering there were again a larger number of younger generation participants as well as more female participants again implying that the gathered data might reflect more strongly the views of the younger generation than the older generation and more strongly the views of female participants than male participants.

Differences in attendance during member checking also had an influence on ensuring that the data gathered were interpreted correctly. At the Limpopo research site, 15 participants attended and represented a good mixture of older men, older women, younger men and younger women. However, at the Mpumalanga research site, the 12 participants present at member checking consisted only of younger men and younger women and consequently depriving the process of feedback from the older generation.

Other than differences in participant numbers other factors, such as differences in language proficiency, literacy and familiarity with the PRA activities, could also have influenced the nature of indigenous voices represented in the gathered data. For instance, a larger number of Mpumalanga participants were able to understand and speak English in comparison to the Limpopo participants. The latter could have resulted in gathering richer data at the Mpumalanga research site.

Gathering richer data in the Mpumalanga research site could imply that the Mpumalanga data could portray more in-depth information on how the community adapt to adversity. Furthermore differences between participants within a specific group in terms of English proficiency also occurred where some of the participants in a specific group were able to converse and even write in English and others not. In both Mpumalanga and Limpopo it was found that some participants within a specific groups were more proficient in English than others. The latter could imply that some participants might have given more

input into the gathered data than those participants who were unable to understand or speak English and had to solely rely on the translator.

In both research sites differences in terms of literacy levels were noticed among the participants (between groups and within groups). The participants would usually nominate the person or people who are able to write to put down their responses (whether in English or in the participants' home language) on the posters. It would even happen that only one person was writing as the group was responding. There is a possibility that the person who wrote down the group's responses might have influenced the information written on the posters which again could have influenced whether all group participants' views were equally represented in the data. Furthermore some of the groups (especially referring to the older women groups) did not have any participant that were able to wright and then the fieldworker had to write the group's responses based on the translator's translations. Differences in literacy levels between groups could imply that those groups who were able to write their responses for themselves might have been in a better position to freely put down their views on how the community deals with adversity. One possibility why the older women group needed the fieldworker to note down their responses might be because (as mentioned by the participants) that it was only after 1994 that girls were allowed to attend school and become literate.

As mentioned in Chapter 1 Section 1.9.2 not all the participants who attended the 2013 data gathering in Mpumalanga and Limpopo also attended the data gathering in 2012. There is a possibility that those who did indeed attend the first data gathering could have played a more of a leading role in contributing to the data gathered in 2013 due to their familiarity with the nature of the PRA activities (as was observed with the older men groups in both Limpopo and Mpumalanga). Accordingly the 2013 could possibly to a greater extent represent the views of those participants who were familiar with the activities.

A limitation of cross-sectional studies, which could have been true for the present study as well, is that the short time spent in the field may limit the researcher's ability to account for all the variables that may influence the phenomenon under study (Mann, 2003). In other words, the benefit of time-efficient data-gathering strategies could have limited the extent to which I could account for all variables that played a role in indigenous pathways to adaptive coping as manifested at the research sites.

Regarding the limitations in the chosen research methodology, I believe that, despite the flexibility and diverse nature of the PRA activities, the participants as experts could decide what they wanted to share and what not, which could limit insight into the variety of indigenous pathways in the communities. The shared IKS was further limited by factors such language and the educational, cultural, socioeconomic, and urban-rural differences between the participants and members of the research team. Any experiences of differences that acted as barriers were noted in my research journal. The PRA activities'

visual nature and the presence of translators notwithstanding, language barriers still limited sharing as richer data emerged from the participants who could speak English. Furthermore, insight into the complex nature of IKS was limited by my perspectives as an outsider despite the open nature of the PRA activities. Member checking, to an extent, gave me the opportunity to ask the participants to clarify any uncertainties that arose during the data analysis. Another limitation of the PRA activities was that they could become time consuming with the result that the participants might spend more time participating than they had initially planned. The PRA literature indicates that rural people's time is often limited, especially during the harvest season (Chambers, 2006; Gibbon, 2002; Rambaldi et al., 2006). This meant that we frequently had to limit time spent on activities, which restricted the amount of IKS shared by the participants. However, the participants generally managed to complete the activities without feeling rushed.

Lastly, several challenges were experienced in analysing and interpreting qualitative data. First of all, I had to avoid heaped data descriptions instead of thick descriptions (Sandelowski & Leeman, 2012). Secondly, I had to ensure that I interpreted the data correctly and that I did not make assumptions during interpretation (Sandelowski & Leeman, 2012). Controlling the findings against the literature assisted in the true representation of the findings. In both the in-case and cross-case analysis of the current study the interpretations were based on the findings and literature control brought meaning and coherence to the themes, patterns, and categories and highlighted their significance (Marshall & Rossman, 2010). Thirdly, because of the uniqueness of the data, conclusions drawn from them might not be cross-culturally transferable (Willig, 2008). Another problem area that I needed to consider, specifically pertaining to cross-case analysis, were making sure that the uniqueness of the individual cases was not compromised by not considering the contextual uniqueness of each case (Khan & VanWynsberghe, 2008; Yin, 2013). The first PRA activity allowed me to gain insight into the uniqueness of the research sites which helped to me highlight similarities and differences between the two sites (discussed in Chapter 6).

3.12   CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I discussed how I gathered the data in a process where the participants, as experts and IKS holders, shared information that provided insight into how they coped with adversity. The chapter also included a detailed discussion on the analysis and interpretation of the collected data, considerations regarding ethical and rigorous research, as well as the limitations concerning the sampling of the sites and the participants, methodological limitations, and limitations regarding the selected data analysis and interpretation methods. Chapter 4 covers the findings on the identified indigenous pathways to coping.

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4.1 INTRODUCTION

The research results are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Each results chapter includes a description of a theme, subthemes together with each theme, and each subtheme's inclusion and exclusion criteria. The overarching inclusion and exclusion criteria discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1.2 were used to organise the initial themes, and the inclusion and exclusion criteria exclusive to each subtheme were used to refine the subthemes and categories. The results are substantiated by means of extracts from PRA discussions, extracts from conversations during member checking, and visual data (photographs). Each results chapter ends with a literature control.
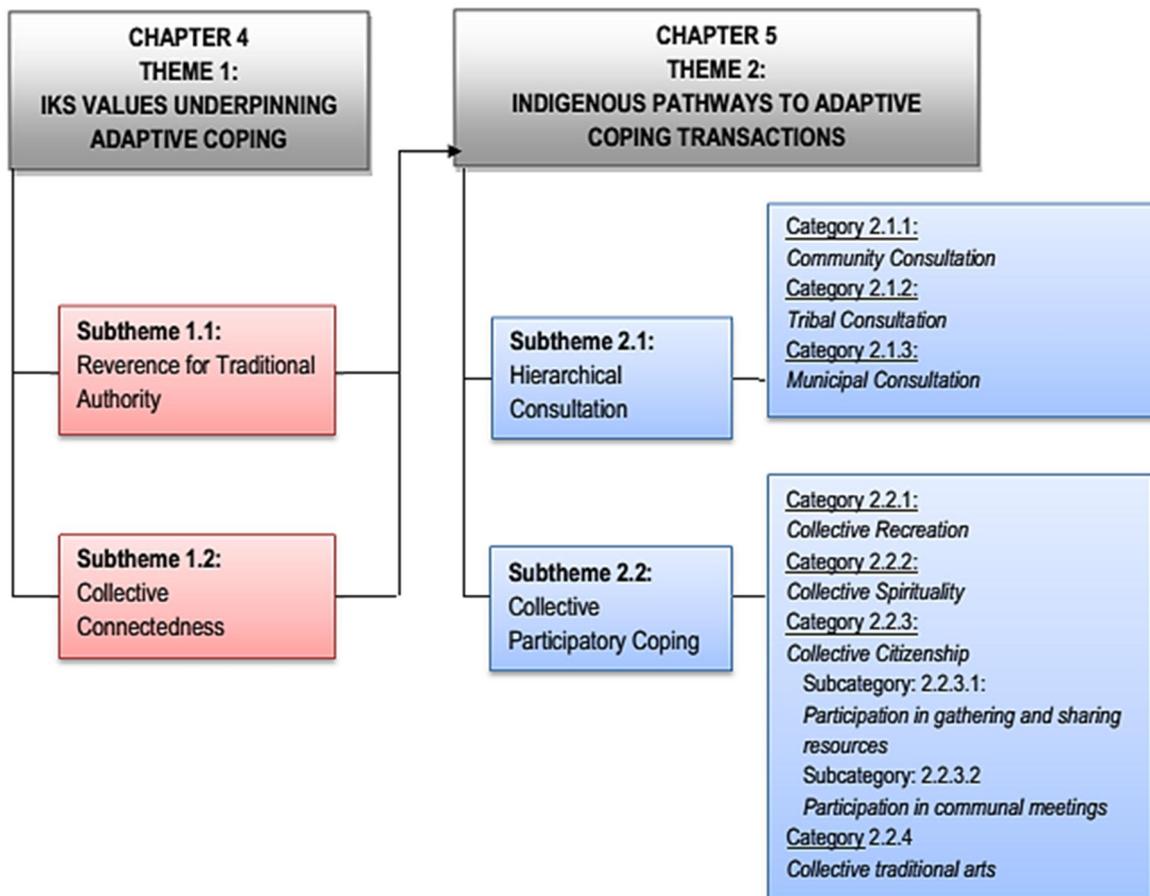
Figure 4.1: Outline of results chapters

Chapter 4 focuses specifically on the IKS values that emerged from the data shared by the participants from the Mpumalanga and Limpopo research sites. These IKS values appeared to underpin adaptive coping, as experienced by the participants, and represented a philosophical foundation for IKS pathways

to adaptive coping. An important consideration during the analysis of such coping was whether the pathways were indigenous or a result of living with chronic poverty. Poverty did not form part of the initial criteria used to identify themes. It was only after a few rounds of refining the themes and subthemes that it became evident that some ways of adaptive coping were more likely motivated by resource scarcity than indigenous values.

Since the present study focused specifically on indigenous pathways to coping, I included only ways of adaptive coping behaviour based on IKS. Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1.2 covers the inclusion and exclusion criteria for coping with a collective orientation which is, as indicated in the literature (Kuo, 2011), strongly associated with indigenous communities. Accordingly, one way to determine whether the identified pathways to coping were indigenous was to consider the following: i) whether the pathway to coping was normative in the community (Kuo, 2012); ii) whether the use of communal resources for communal purposes was clear (Wong et al., 2006); iii) whether characteristics such as group effort and interdependence were clear (Wong et al., 2006); and iv) whether the benefit of the coping behaviour extended beyond the individual (Kuo, 2012).

In this chapter, I consider the following secondary research questions (stated in Chapter 1, Section 1.3) as I share results: *How do indigenous pathways to adaptive coping compare across location, age, and gender in two South African communities?* The results and the literature review provide insight into the nature of indigenous coping pathways, leading to another secondary question: *What is the nature of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in two South African communities?* Lastly, the literature review covers both etic Western and non-Western coping literature, leading to further secondary questions: *How do emic indigenous pathways to adaptive coping compare with existing etic Western knowledge on adaptive coping? and How do emic indigenous pathways to adaptive coping compare with existing etic non-Western knowledge on adaptive coping?*

4.2   THEME 1: IKS VALUES UNDERPINNING ADAPTIVE COPING

IKS contains values that direct IKS holders in the way they are expected to adapt to their environment (Roos et al., 2010). Based on the data shared by the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants, two prominent IKS values came to the fore as worldview imperatives, namely *reverence for traditional authority* and *collective connectedness*. Traditional authority involves indigenous authority structures consisting of different ranks including chiefs, headmen, appointed counsellors, and a tribal secretary (Ntsebeza, 2004). In general, traditional authority structures liaise with governmental structures, such as municipalities, and are responsible for daily procedures in the community such as managing community capitals and promoting sustainable livelihoods (King, 2011). *Reverence for traditional authority* therefore refers to a normative value of respect for the leadership of indigenous authority structures.

With regard to the second identified IKS value, *collective connectedness*, connectedness entails strong use of social coping resources and consists of attributes such as trust, reciprocity, collective action, and participation (Ledogar & Fleming, 2008). *Collective connectedness* is considered an essential element of well-being in indigenous communities (Hill, 2006; King, Smith & Cracey, 2009). Connectedness and relatedness in a community reflect a sense of belonging among members (Hill, 2006). This sense is associated with individuals' ability to cope (Ungar, 2008). *Collective connectedness* refers to meaningful relationships that create a space where adaptive coping can be fostered.

Not all IKS values in the participants' responses were considered pathways to adaptive coping. Table 4.1 summarises the overall inclusion and exclusion criteria for Theme 1:

Table 4.1:   Inclusion and exclusion criteria for Theme 1: IKS values as an indigenous pathway to adaptive coping

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
▪ Values based on the IKS shared by the participants that directed adaptive coping behaviour.	▪ Values based on the IKS shared by the participants that did not direct adaptive coping behaviour.

IKS values were thus included only when they clearly guided ways of adaptive coping. Chapter 5 covers the indigenous adaptive coping behaviour guided by the two identified IKS values *reverence for traditional authority* and *collective connectedness*. The next section deals with Subtheme 1.1: Reverence for traditional authority.

4.2.1   SUBTHEME 1.1: REVERENCE FOR TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY

As indicated earlier, *reverence for traditional[1] authority* refers to IKS values related to the communal belief that the community is governed by its indigenous authority leaders and that it should follow their leadership. The following inclusion and exclusion criteria were identified for Subtheme 1.1.

Table 4.2:   Inclusion and exclusion criteria for Subtheme 1.1: Reverence for traditional authority

Inclusion criterion	Exclusion criterion
▪ Reverence for traditional authority is evident and directs adaptive coping behaviour.	▪ Reverence for traditional authority is mentioned but does not appear to direct adaptive coping behaviour.

Members of both the Limpopo and Mpumalanga research sites shared IKS revealing indigenous values linked to *reverence for traditional authority*. Table 4.3 and Table 4.4 provide comparisons between year,

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[1] Although I do not equate "indigenous" with "traditional" but purely view "indigenous" as "non-Western", I chose to use the word "traditional" as the participants, as holders of the shared IKS, used the term "traditional authority", and existing South African literature also uses this term for the indigenous governance structures mentioned in the study,

age, and gender for the Limpopo research site based on the information shared by the participants on *reverence for traditional authority.* Answers can then start to be given to the secondary question: "*How do indigenous pathways to adaptive coping compare across location, age and gender in two South African communities?*" Each table contains data from the various data sources including the English transcriptions, the home language translated transcriptions, the field notes, and the photographs.

Table 4.3 shows that *reverence for traditional authority* was a prominent Subtheme in both 2012 and 2013. During the 2012 data gathering, all the groups (older men and women as well as younger men and women) reported on *reverence for traditional authority*. In 2013, all the groups, except for the younger women, shared information on *reverence for traditional authority*. Combining the data gathered during 2012 and 2013, the Subtheme: Reverence for traditional authority was reported most frequently[2] by the older women and least frequently by the younger women.

Table 4.4 summarises information for Subtheme 1.1 from the data gathered during 2012 and 2013 at the Mpumalanga research site. The men from Mpumalanga (older and younger) were the groups who more frequently shared information on this subtheme. The Mpumalanga older women referred to *reverence for traditional authority* only once during the 2012 data gathering and not at all during the 2013 data gathering. Similarly, the younger women from Mpumalanga had little to say on *reverence for traditional authority* as they were silent on this subtheme during the 2012 data gathering and referred only once to it during the 2013 data gathering.

When the data from the two research sites were compared, no significant differences were evident. However, a small difference seemed to be the constitution of the traditional authority systems in the two research sites, which is discussed in more detail after Tables 4.3 and 4.4. Another difference was that the older women from Limpopo were one of the groups that reported most on *reverence for traditional authority* while the Mpumalanga older women were one of the groups that shared the least information on this subtheme. Overall, though, with regard to Subtheme 1.1, the information shared by the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants was very similar.

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[2] The frequency of the identified IKS values was subject to the amount of IKS the participants were willing to share and could have been influenced by the fieldworker's particular approach to asking probing questions.

Table 4.3: Subtheme 1.1: Reverence for traditional authority – Limpopo research site

Age and gender	Data source	INDIGENOUS VALUES UNDERPINNING ADAPTIVE COPING: REVERENCE FOR TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY			
		2012		2013	
Older men	English transcriptions	A2 ; A3	Total = 2	A1	Total = 1
	Venda transcriptions	A2 ; A3	Total = 2	A1	Total = 1
	Field notes	A2 ; A3	Total = 2	A1	Total = 1
	Photos	0[3]	Total = 0	A1: Chief's kraal	Total = 1
Older women	English transcriptions	A1; A1; A1; A2; A2; A2; A3	Total = 7	A1; A1; A2; A2; A2	Total = 5
	Venda transcriptions	A1; A1; A2; A2; A3	Total = 5	A1; A1; A2; A2; A2	Total = 5
	Field notes	A1; A1; A2; A2; A2; A3	Total = 6	A1; A1; A2; A2; A2	Total = 5
	Photos	0	Total = 0	A1 = Royal house (x2); A2 = Part of problem solving (x2)	Total = 4
Younger men	English transcriptions	A2; A2	Total = 2	A2 ; A2 ; A2	Total = 3
	Venda transcriptions	0	Total = 0	A2	Total = 1
	Field notes	A2 L45-48; A2 L49-51	Total = 2	A2; A2	Total = 2
	Photos	0	Total = 0	A2 = Part of problem solving (x2)	Total = 2
Younger women	English transcriptions	A2; A2; A2; A2; A3	Total = 5	No	Total = 0
	Venda transcriptions	A2; A2; A2; A3	Total = 4	No	Total = 0
	Field notes	A2 ; A2	Total = 2	No	Total = 0
	Photos	0	Total = 0	No	Total = 0

[3] It should be noted that in certain cases when "0" is reported with regard to particular data sources, it may be because the specific data source (such as the translated versions of the posters) did not include an identified IKS value as the identified IKS value came to the fore in the discussion of the poster rather than in the poster itself.

Table 4.4: Subtheme 1.2: Reverence for traditional authority – Mpumalanga research site

Age and gender	Data source	INDIGENOUS VALUES UNDERPINNING ADAPTIVE COPING: REVERENCE FOR TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY			
		2012		2013	
Older men	English transcriptions	A1; A1; A2; A3	**Total = 4**	A2; A2	**Total = 2**
	Swati transcriptions	n/a	n/a	A2;	**Total = 1**
	Field notes	A1; A1; A2	**Total = 3**	A2; A2	**Total = 2**
	Photos	A1: Tribal office	**Total = 1**	A2: Part of problem solving	**Total = 1**
Older women	English transcriptions	A2 L X	**Total = 1**	No	**Total = 0**
	Swati transcriptions	n/a	**n/a**	No	**Total = 0**
	Field notes	No	**Total = 0**	No	**Total = 0**
	Photos	No	**Total = 0**	No	**Total =0**
Younger men	English transcriptions	A2; A2; A3; A3	**Total = 4**	A1 ; A1 ; A2; A2	**Total = 4**
	Swati transcriptions	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	Field notes	A2; A2; A3; A3	**Total = 4**	A1	**Total = 1**
	Photos	A2: Part of problem solving (x3); A3: Part of problem solving (x2)	**Total = 5**	No	**Total = 0**
Younger women	English transcriptions	No	**Total = 0**	A2; A2	**Total = 2**
	Swati transcriptions	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	Field notes	No	**Total = 0**	A2	**Total = 1**
	Photos	No	**Total = 0**	A2: Part of problem solving	**Total = 1**

The data indicated that the indigenous authority in the Limpopo and Mpumalanga research communities consisted of various community members in leadership positions who played important roles in governing the communities. What I needed clarification on was who was included in the indigenous authority system and how the ranking system worked. The member-checking visits provided an opportunity to clarify the indigenous authority structures in each of the researched communities. The following extract shows the prompt used to get the Limpopo participants to clarify their traditional authority structures.

Fieldworker:	*Ok. That is what I was wondering about. Then only one more thing from my side. I 'm going to talk to you first. We hear the people talk about the chief and headman and elders and things like that. So we want to know who is on top and who is second and third in terms of importance. Do you understand? Because we really don't know. We want to know how it works. If you can together with them ask and draw it on a paper because we are very confused about that.*
	(Data source. English transcriptions, lines 461-466, 2014 member checking, Limpopo research site, combined group)

Each community reported different indigenous authority structures when I asked them what the traditional authority structure looked like during the member-checking visits. Photo 4.1 and Photo 4.2 show drawings made by the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants (older men and women as well as younger men and women in one group) to illustrate the traditional authority structures in their communities:
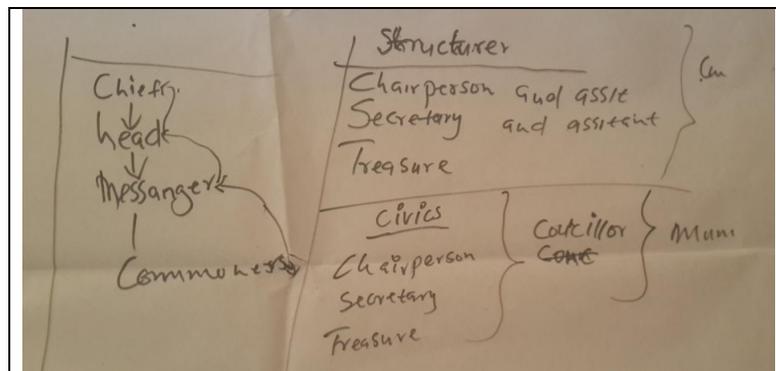
Photo 4.1:
Traditional authority structure in Limpopo research community (Member Checking, 2014)

Photo 4.1 shows the role players who formed part of the Limpopo community traditional authority structure: "communers" (community members without a specific traditional authority title), messengers, headman, and chief. In the next extract from the discussion that took place during the 2014 member-checking visit, the Limpopo participants explain the indigenous authority structure in their community:

Participant:	*We have structures.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok tell us, so that we can understand.*
Participant:	*We have structures that work hand in hand with the chief.*

Fieldworker:	*Ok.*
Participant:	*We have a chairperson and secretary and treasurer. These positions, they have assistance.*
Fieldworker:	*Are they assistance or do they have assistance?*
Participant:	*For the chairperson there should be assistant and for the secretary except for the treasurer.*
Fieldworker:	*Not for the treasurer. Ok*
Participant:	*And structures; we have civics.*
Fieldworker:	*I hear them talk about civics.*
Participant:	*This structure works, it is like municipality messenger.*
Fieldworker:	*The municipality messenger.*
Participant:	*Yes*
Fieldworker:	*Ok.*
Participant:	*They are working hand in hand with the municipality.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok.*
Participant:	*We have chair, secretary and treasurer. This group, they are taking information from the councillor. The councillor takes information from the municipality.*
Fieldworker:	*And this one, it is controlling the community itself. And take maybe message from the community. They take this part, they are lodging their grievances to the messenger, and if the problem is hard to be solved by the messenger it goes to the headman. If the problem is failing here also, they taking it to the head of the traditional leaders (chief). If it fails it should be dealt with by the government, the police. That is how it works.*
Participant:	*These people, those who are working with the chief, they have their own gathering once a month but should there be an emergency problem to be solved, they are going to gather together. It depends on which structure is going to solve the problem. If the problem is related to the municipality, this structure is going to sit down and tackle the problem. If it is maybe conflict between the people it is going to be solved by those people (the communers). If the people fail to solve it goes to messenger. The commoners are those called by the chief.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 469--501, 2014 member checking,
Limpopo research site, combined group)

The Mpumalanga participants identified the following community members as traditional authority figures: "chief members" and the head chief as indicated in the following extract from the discussion that took place during the 2014 member checking.

Participant:	*If I got a problem. The community have some members. Chief members.*
Fieldworker:	*Is it like representatives in the community?*
Participant:	*Yes. If you have a problem you first go to the member, the chief member. One of the chief members. If the problem is not over, he can take it to the head chief. If the problem is not solved from the head chief it goes to the police.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 129-133, 2014 member checking,
Mpumalanga research site, combined group)

In the course of the 2012 data gathering, the Mpumalanga older men group also shared information on the traditional authority structure but used the term "headmen" instead of "chief members". The

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Mpumalanga older men group reported that each village had a headman (member of chief) and that one chief was in charge of several villages. Photo 4.2 shows the traditional authority structure as drawn by the participants during the 2014 member checking
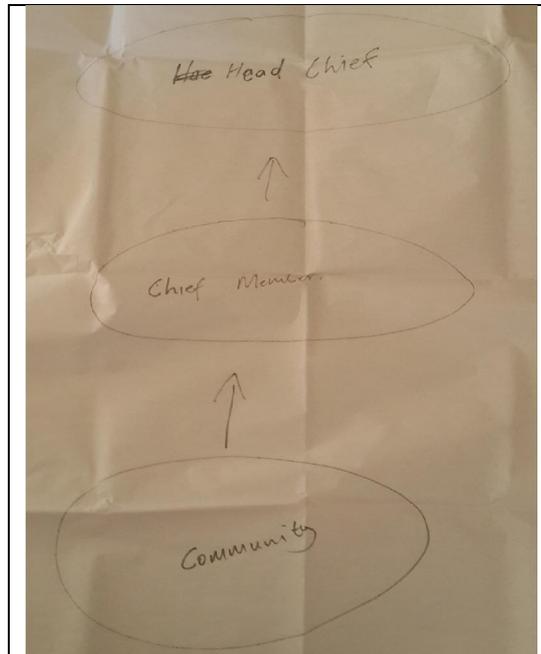
Photo 4.2:
Traditional authority structure in the Mpumalanga research community (member checking, 2014)

There were differences in the titles used to describe the traditional authority structures, yet some similarities between the two research sites were also evident. In both Limpopo and Mpumalanga, one community member appeared to be identified as the main leader (the chief), and at a lower rank there were community members (headmen) who were responsible for communicating concerns raised by the people in the community to the chief. Chapter 5, Section 5.2 deals with the roles of the different indigenous authority role players within the adaptive coping process. There seemed to be consensus among the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants that the role of the traditional authority structure was to lead the communities, make rules and laws to regulate the communities, and play a role in teaching the youth and community members about their culture.

The older men from Limpopo and Mpumalanga reported that the indigenous authority leaders led and guided the communities. The older men from Limpopo spoke of the leadership of the headman as follows: *At the head man's yard, that is where they receive motivations and attend their meetings under the control of the headman* (L-OM, 2013, A1, lines 119-120[4]). The younger women from Limpopo also said the responsibility of the headman was to control the community: *To control the village as a whole. All*

---

[4] The sources of in-text data extracts are indicated as follows: province-group, year, activity, line number. "M" indicates "Mpumalanga", "L" indicates Limpopo. The groups were identified by OM (older men), OW (older women), YM (younger men), and YW (younger women).

the same services. She's in charge of...to make sure that all services reach his kraal. He will then inform the community of what is to be done (L-YW. 2012, A2, lines 42-44). The younger men from Limpopo gave a practical example during the PRA discussions of the leadership role of the headman:

Fieldworker:	*How do you select people to clean it (referring to the water reservoir)?*
Participant:	*The headman will choose somebody to clean it.*

<div align="right">(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 128-129, 2012 data gathering, activity 1,
Limpopo research site, younger men)</div>

Similarly, the older men from Mpumalanga stated that the chief governed: *Yes, we are living under the chief* (M-OM, 2013, A2, line 291). The Mpumalanga younger men agreed that the community could not make decisions outside the authority of the traditional leader: *Yes. We cannot do anything anytime, we must tell the chief* (M-YM, 2012, A3, line 160). The Mpumalanga younger women acknowledged the leadership of the traditional authority in instances where the community needed solutions to community problems: *We meet the community, we have a meeting and we talk to them, to our Counsellor to make a plan to provide* (M-YW, 2013, A2, lines 276-277).

The older women from both Limpopo and Mpumalanga identified the homes of indigenous leaders as protective resources in the community. The older women from Limpopo, like the Limpopo older men, highlighted the leadership of the chief. The older women from Mpumalanga focused more on the sharing of culture, which was the responsibility of the headman. Photo 4.3 shows the homestead of the traditional authority leader as identified by the Limpopo older women during the 2013 data gathering. Photo 4.4 shows the traditional leader's homestead drawn on the community map of the Mpumalanga older women.

Photo 4.3: *Chief's home on community map of older women from Limpopo 2013*	**Photo 4.4:** *Chief's home on community map of older women from Mpumalanga 2012*
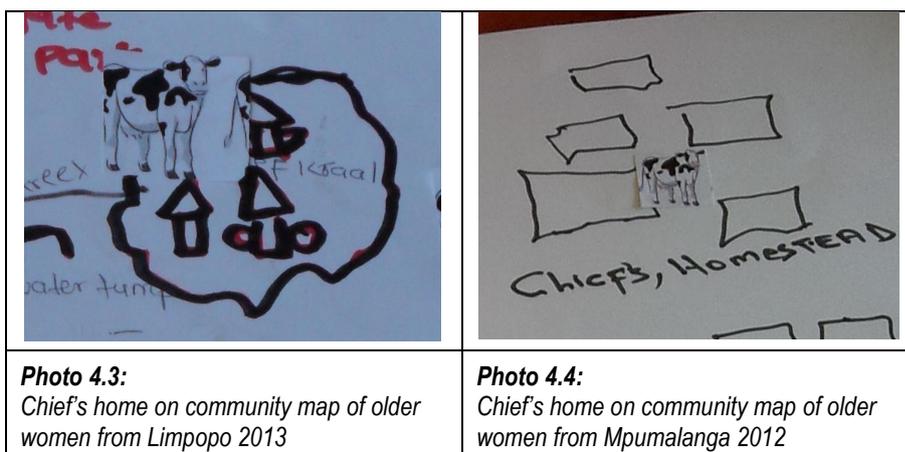
The older women from Limpopo identified the chief as important in their community for teaching the youth about their culture (Photo 4.2). They also reported that the community gathered at the chief's homestead for communal meetings as indicated in the following extract from the PRA discussions (Venda translations): *The chief is important because our children learn their culture and tradition; we gather and*

make meetings there (OW-L, 2013, A1, lines 490-491). Similarly, the Mpumalanga older women (Photo 4.3) reported that the chief's homestead was important in their community and associated it with where the youth and community members learned about their culture and where the community congregated, as indicated by the following conversation that took place during the data gathering.

Fieldworker:	*Tell me why the chief's homestead is a cow in your community, why is that a good thing in your community?*
Participant:	*In our cultures we have the event, that is where the chief's homestead.*
Fieldworker:	*Most of your cultural events are being held here?*
Participant:	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok.*
Participant:	*It may be where we gather around for any cultural event.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok, so those cultural events are here and then you gather here for those events?*
Participant:	*Yes. You find that the chief sometimes slaughters a cow, so all the peoples of the community go there to the chief's homestead, there are cultural dances....*
Fieldworker:	*Ok, so it's a place where the community comes to gather?*
Participant:	*Yes.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 13-15, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1,
Mpumalanga research site, older women)

During the member-checking sessions, the Limpopo and the Mpumalanga participants confirmed the importance of following the leadership of the traditional authority leader. The Limpopo participants reported that following the traditional authority helped solve problems in the community:

Fieldworker:	*The way I see it is that in order to solve the problems in the community it's good to follow the leadership of the headman.*
Translator:	*Uri nga ndila ine azwi vhona ngayo uitela utandulula dzi thaidzo muvhunduni ndizwa vhudi utevhelela vhurangaphanda ha musanda.*
Participants:	*Eeh ndi zwone.*
	Yes it's true.
Fieldworker:	*Does that help?*
Translator:	*Hupfi ezwo zwia thusa naa?*
Participants:	*Eeh zwia thusa.*
	Yes it does help.

(Data source: Venda translations, lines 204-213, 2014 member checking,
Limpopo research site, combined group)

The Mpumalanga participants also reported that following traditional authority was useful (see extract below). They added that they were taught from a young age to follow traditional authority as a means of solving problems:

Fieldworker:	*Thank you. You also taught us that in your community it is also important to follow the leadership of the chief or the headman to solve problems.*
Participant:	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	*Is that something you are told from small. So that if you are growing up teachers and parents that that is something you need to do?*
Participant:	*Yes*

<div align="right">(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 104-109, 2014 member checking, Mpumalanga research site, combined group)</div>

The information shared by the participants, and specifically the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants' view that traditional authority members should lead and manage the community by enforcing rules, testifies to respect for traditional authority. The IKS value *reverence for traditional authority* directed coping behaviour such as "consulting indigenous authority" and "participation in community meetings" is discussed further in Chapter 5.

4.2.2   SUBTHEME 1.2: COLLECTIVE CONNECTEDNESS

The second subtheme *collective connectedness* refers to IKS values linked to meaningful relationships between community members as well as between people and the spiritual world. Based on the IKS shared by the participants, the following inclusion and exclusion criteria were identified for Subtheme 1.2.

Table 4.5:   Inclusion and exclusion criteria for Subtheme 1.2: Collective connectedness

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
▪ Instances where participants refer to a specific relationship (whether it is a relationship with another person or with a spiritual being) that underpins adaptive coping.	▪ Instances where participants refer to a specific relationship (whether it is a relationship with another person or with a spiritual being) but it is not clear how that specific relationship underpins adaptive coping.

As shown in Table 4.5, part of the inclusion and exclusion criteria is that the value *collective connectedness* should form part of a pathway to adaptive coping. There were instances where the participants (from both research sites) mentioned a specific relationship, but no connection could be made immediately, or with additional data, that the relationship guided adaptive coping behaviours. For instance, the participants mentioned that graveyards were important to them for acknowledging relationships with previous generations; however, they did not say how these relationships helped them deal with adversity. Instances such as these were therefore not included in the identified pathways to adaptive coping.

Overall, the Limpopo as well as the Mpumalanga research participants provided information on meaningful relationships either among community members or between people and the spiritual world that guided ways of adaptive coping. The Limpopo as well as the Mpumalanga participants shared IKS revealing indigenous values related to *collective connectedness*. Table 4.6 and Table 4.7 compare - Subtheme 1.2: Collective connectedness across age, gender, site and year. In the tables, the abbreviation "SOC" indicates instances where the relationships mentioned by the participants involved relationships between people, while the abbreviation "SP" indicates relationships between people and the spiritual world. Each table contains data from the various data sources including English transcriptions, home language translated transcriptions, field notes, and photos. Table 4.6 provides a comparison between year, age, and gender for the Limpopo research site based on information provided by the participants on *collective connectedness,* and Table 4.7 does the same for the Mpumalanga research site.

As shown in Table 4.6, the Limpopo participants, considered together, shared information on the subtheme *collective connectedness* during both the 2012 and 2013 data gatherings. The older generation (men and women) reported more frequently on information relating to the subtheme. The subtheme was also evident in the data collected from the Mpumalanga participants during the 2012 and 2013 data-gathering visits. Like the Limpopo participants, the older generation (men and women) from Mpumalanga shared more information on *collective connectedness* than the younger Mpumalanga generation (men and women). Overall, however, no significant differences were noted between the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants.

Table 4.6: **Subtheme 1.2: Collective connectedness – Limpopo research site**

Age and gender	Data source	INDIGENOUS VALUES UNDERPINNING ADAPTIVE COPING: COLLECTIVE CONNECTEDNESS			
		2012		2013	
Older men	English transcriptions	A1 SP;A2 SOC; A3; A4;	Total = 4	A1 SOC; A1 SP; A1 SOC; A2 SOC; A4 SOC	Total = 5
	Home language transcriptions	A1 SP; A1 SOC; A1 SOC; A4 SOC	Total = 4	A1 SOC; A1 SP	Total = 2
	Field notes	A1 SP; A2 SOC; A2 SOC; A3 SOC; A4 SOC	Total = 5	A1 SOC; A1 SP; A1 SOC; A1 SOC; A4 SOC	Total = 5
	Photos	A1: Church and community hall (2) A2: Part of problem solving; A3: Part problem solving; A4: Part of meaningful life	Total = 5	A1: Church and houses (2) A2: Part of problem solving A4: Part of meaningful life	
Older women	English transcriptions	A2 SOC; A2 SOC; A3 SOC; A3 SOC; A4 SOC;	Total = 5	A1 SOC; A1 SP; A1 SOC; A2 SOC; A2 SOC; A4	Total = 6
	Home language transcriptions	A2 SOC; A2 SOC; A3 SOC; A4 SOC	Total = 4	A1 SOC; A1 SP; A1 SOC; A2 SOC; A2 SOC; A4 SOC	Total = 6
	Field notes	A2 SOC; A3 SOC	Total = 2	A1 SOC; A1 SP; A1 SOC; A2 SOC; A2 SOC	Total = 5
	Photos	0	Total = 0	A1: Church and chief's kraal	Total = 1
Younger men	English transcriptions	A1 SOC	Total = 1	A1 SP; A4 SOC	Total = 2
	Home language transcriptions	A1 SP	Total = 1	A1 SP	Total = 1
	Field notes	A2 SOC	Total = 1	A4 SOC	Total = 1
	Photos	A1: Church; A4: Helping others	Total = 2	A1: Church SP; A4: Helping others SOC	Total = 2
Younger women	English transcriptions	A3 SOC; A3 SOC; A4 SOC	Total = 3	A4 SOC; A4 SP	Total = 2
	Home language transcriptions	A2 SOC	Total = 1	A1 SP; A4 SOC; A4 SP	Total = 4
	Field notes	A1 SP; A2 SOC; A4 SOC	Total = 3	A1 SP; A4 SOC A4 SP	Total = 3
	Photos	A1: Church; A4: Part of meaningful life	Total = 2	A1: Church; A4: Part of meaningful life.	Total = 2

Table 4.7:   Subtheme 1.2: Collective connectedness – Mpumalanga research site

Age and gender	Data source	INDIGENOUS VALUES AND BELIEFS UNDERPINNING ADAPTIVE COPING			
		2012		2013	
Older men	English transcriptions	A1 SOC;A1 SP; A2 SOC; A3 SOC; A4 SP; A4 SOC	**Total = 6**	A1 SOC; A1 SP; A1 SOC; A2 SOC; A4 SOC	**Total = 5**
	Home language transcriptions	n/a	n/a	A2 SOC; A2 SOC; A2 SOC; A2	**Total = 4**
	Field notes	A1 l SP; A1 SOC; A3 SOC; A3 SOC; A3 SP		A1 SP; A1 SOC; A4 SOC; A4 SOC	**Total = 4**
	Photos	A1: Church SP; A2: Part of problem solving SOC; A3: Part of problem solving SO; A4: Part of meaningful life SOC/SP	**Total = 5**	A1: Church and community hall SP/SOCF	**Total = 2**
Older women	English transcriptions	A1 SP; A1 SP; A1 SOC; A3 SP; A3 SOC; A3 SOC; A4 SP; A4 SP; A4 SOC	**Total = 9**	Only A1 in Eng	**Total = 4**
	Home language transcriptions	n/a	n/a	A2 SOC; A4 SP; A4 SP; A4 SP	
	Field notes	A1 SP; A2 SOC; A3 SOC; A4 SP; SP; A4 SP; A4 SOC	**Total = 7**	A2 SOC; A4 SP; A4 SP	**Total = 3**
	Photos	A1: Church SP; A3: Part of problem solving (x2) SP/SOC; A4: Part of meaningful life SP	**Total = 4**	A2: Part of problem solving SOC; A4: Part of meaningful life (x2) SOC	**Total = 3**
Younger men	English transcriptions	A1 SP; A3 SOC; A4 SP; A4 SP	**Total = 4**	A1 SOC; A2 SOC; A2 SOC; A2 SOC; A4 SOC; A4 SOC	**Total = 6**
	Home language transcriptions	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	Field notes	A3 SOC; A4 SP; A4 SOC; A4 SP	**Total = 4**	A2 SOC; A4 SOC	**Total = 2**
	Photos	A1 Church SP; A3: Part of problem solving (x2) SP/SOC A4: Part of meaningful life (x3) SP	**Total = 6**	A2: Part of problem solving SOC; A4: Part of meaningful life SOC	**Total = 2**
Younger women	English transcriptions	A1 SOC; A1 SP; A3 SOC; A4 SOC; A4 SOC	**Total = 5**	A1 SOC; A1 SP; A2 SOC; A2 SOC; A4 SOC; A4 SP	**Total = 6**
	Home language transcriptions	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	Field notes	A1 SP; A3 SOC; A4 SOC	**Total = 3**	A1 SOC; A1 SP; A2 SOC; A4 SOC; A4 SP	**Total = 6**
	Photos	A1: Church SP; A3: Part of problem solving SOC A4: Part of meaningful life SOC	**Total = 3**	A1: Community hall and Church SOC/SP; A2: Part of problem solving SOC; A4: Part of meaningful life SOC/SP	**Total = 5**

The participants from both research sites associated good social relationships with a good community and characterised good social relationships as relationships in which community members helped one another. Several of the participant groups from both research sites also acknowledged the importance of connectedness in the context of what they thought made a good quality community life. Data that reflected this view were included because it is this sense of connectedness that manifests in identified indigenous coping behaviours discussed in Chapter 5. The Limpopo and Mpumalanga older men considered good social relationships as a requirement for a good community life. The following extracts from the discussions during the data gathering reflect the views of the older men from Limpopo and Mpumalanga.

Fieldworker:	*In general. What makes their village happy?*
Translator:	*To have love one another.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 171-172, 2012 data gathering, Activity 4, Limpopo research site, older men)
Participant:	*I think it is relationship. That respect, yes. Capability. Let's say he is a leader, what do I seek for him to be a leader? He wants to be selected as a leader, what did we saw? It is respect,communication skill.*
Fieldworker:	*Yes. So he must be able to have good relationships?*
Participant:	*Good relationship, yes.*
Fieldworker:	*Does good relationships make the community happy?*
Participant:	*Yes, it is important. We can't live in a community where we are not happy.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 382-388, 2013 data gathering, Activity 4, Mpumalanga research site, older men)

The younger women from Limpopo also mentioned social relationships as an important aspect of their lives. These women also said that being together with others made them happy, as illustrated in the following extract from field notes taken during the 2012 data gathering in Limpopo.

The participants said that the following made them happy
• They feel happy when they are together.
(Data source: Field notes, line 156, 2012 data gathering, Activity 4, Limpopo research site, younger women)

Similarly, the younger women from Mpumalanga mentioned having relationships with others as a contributing factors towards their happiness. They highlighted relationships with relatives and neighbours as reflected in the following extract taken from field notes during the 2012 data gathering.

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> - Being at home with my family living a good life (3 meals a day, peace, good job).
>
> - Having a car and a real man (caring, loving and honesty);
>
> - Having a real friend/best that won't say anything bad about me behind my back.
>
> - Having a good relationship with my neighbours (no gossiping).
>
> (Data source: Field notes, lines 147-150, 2012 data gathering, Activity 4,
> Mpumalanga research site, younger women)

Overall, it seemed that the participants from both research sites viewed relationships between community members as a space where they could help one another overcome adversity. This became especially evident during Activity 4 where the community members were asked to share what they thought made a community good or a person a good person. The following extracts were selected from various data sources to confirm the Limpopo research participants' views on the importance of collective connectedness in helping other community members deal with individual as well as communal problems.

Fieldworker:	*What is important for a community to be good? What must happen in that community for it to be a good community?*
Translator:	Is to sit down with a person who made a mistake and to show him the way.

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 277-279, 2013 data gathering, Activity 4,
Limpopo research site, older men)

Participant:	*Ndizwa uri ovha atshi kona utshila na lushaka musi atshi khadi tshila,nazwa uri ovha asina khethululo,ovha atshi thusa vhothe vhashai na vha pfumi. Zwinwe futhi ndi zwa uri muthu munwe na munwe ndiwa ndeme kha vhathu, ngauri muthu uvha atshi kona uthusa vhathu nga kha ndila dzofhambananaho uya nga thodea dzavho sa nga muhumbulo na u eletshedzana, u oganaiza zwithu kha tshitshavha.*
	Is that he/she was living good with the community when alive, and that he/she loves all people equally, and helps both the wealthy and poor without undermining peoples values; the other thing is that every person is important to the community they living at, whether their work is good or bad, but when dead we mourn for their loss because we will see them no more. Some people advise and guide their communities for good.

(Data source: Venda translations, lines 990-995, 2013 data gathering, Activity 4,
Limpopo research site, older women)

Participant:	*He was a good person; he helped a lot of people in the community.*
Fieldworker:	*He helped them to do what?*
Participant:	*To give them money for school.*
Fieldworker:	*He was voluntary to work as a ward committee of 6 members.*
Participant:	*He was the man who started the project of bricks to the village where he was staying.*
Participant:	*He left wife and four children.*

Participant:	*He was sponsoring youths by buying soccer kits for the club of S cross bridge.*
Participant:	*He was a good man who was living in harmony with people.*
Participant:	*All people around him know him by what he has done to the community.*

<div align="right">

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 273-282, 2013 data gathering, Activity 4,

Limpopo research site, younger men)

</div>

- We will remember the good things that he has done to the community.
- He has done a lot of work to the community which is like helping us with water, electricity, and unemployment and skills development.
- That person was so committed to the community.
- He developed our own community by doing things like: building a crèche with no payment, he is committed to the community by using his own mind, he is a hard worker and he committed himself to the community.

<div align="right">

(Data source: Field notes, lines 135-141, 2013 data gathering, Activity 4,

Limpopo research site, younger women)

</div>

The Mpumalanga participants had views similar to those of the Limpopo participants on good personal qualities including being meaningfully connected to others and helping others overcome adversity. The following extracts from various data sources to illustrate the views of the Mpumalanga participants on *collective connectedness* as a space where community members could be helpful towards one another:

Participant:	*Maybe he was helping around the community. Like if someone doesn't have a car.*
Participant:	Yes, to ask him to take him to the hospital. Yes. So if one of my family has passed away, we will ask him to...
Participant:	*Contribute.*

<div align="right">

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 755-759, 2012 data gathering, Activity 4,

Mpumalanga research site, older women)

</div>

Participant:	*You look the advice for you.*
Fieldworker:	*You look the advice for you? From that person? And what advice would that person give you?*
Participant:	*Sometimes you help in this house.*
Fieldworker:	*Sometimes you help in the house, yes.*

<div align="right">

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 580-584, 2012 data gathering, Activity 4,

Mpumalanga research site, older women)

</div>

Participant:	*If someone need help we help, if someone is sick, he help in the community.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok, if someone is dead today and you were told to come and tell us something good that the person has done. If you want to say someone is a good person.*
Participant:	*Most of the time, I talk about that person that everyone was laughing with somebody. When You do something always present in meeting, fixing something.*
Fieldworker:	*What other thing?*
Participant:	*Like to help each other.*

| Fieldworker: | *Help each other in what?* |
| Participant: | *With something that he have* |

<div align="right">(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 303-311, 2013 data gathering, Activity 4,
Mpumalanga research site, younger men)</div>

- Feeling a space after his/her death, e.g. your father, wishing that if he could be around then he could be doing this and these for me but now he's no more.
- Let's say your father died working on mine, after his death you receive a lump sum pay out and that makes a good life for you. You feel that he was working very hard and you'll always miss him for what he's done for his family.
- When it is his birthday you remember him the most. You also think about this day what he do.
- When times are tough you also miss him wishing he still alive (e.g. for advice, money or help he could give)

<div align="right">(Data source: Field notes, lines 154-161, 2013 data gathering, Activity 4,
Mpumalanga research site, younger women)</div>

The older women from Mpumalanga experienced social connectedness as a coping resource and referred to the importance of having a good friend in times of need and of good communication between people. The following extract reflects the Mpumalanga older women's views on social connectedness.

Fieldworker:	*Ok, on this page, I want to know what resources, what things, does the community use tosolve problems?*
Participant:	*Good communication.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok, and how about some of the other women?*
Participant:	*Have a good friend who can talk with you.*

<div align="right">(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 429-431and 494-495, 2012 data gathering, Activity 3,
Mpumalanga research site, older women)</div>

The Limpopo as well as the Mpumalanga participants reported the importance of being spiritually connected and even associated spiritual connectedness with improved social relationships. For instance, the older men from Limpopo said that going to church could promote forgiveness in the community, which, in turn, could help community members live freely with one another:

Translator:	*Ok, they say at the next one which is the church. If you are a person that goes to church you have a heart to forgive. But if you are a person that does not go to church that means that a heart to forgive any person when they have done something wrong to you. But if you always go to church then you have a heart to forgive.*
Fieldworker:	*That is good and what else happens at the church that is good?*
Translator:	*It sends them close to God.*
Fieldworker:	*And how does that help them in their life?*
Translator:	*It helps them to live freely and happily with everyone that is in the world.*
Fieldworker:	*Please ask them why is it important to forgive people.*

> Translator: *Because if I have the heart to forgive I can feel that it is not good to forgive others who are forgiving.*
>
> (Data source: English transcriptions, lines 128-140, 2013 data gathering, Activity 1, Limpopo research site, older men)

Likewise, the older women from Limpopo experienced spiritual connectedness as promoting social connectedness in the community: *Oh, because when they got to church they learn about how to love God and how to love each other. It help them to love each other* (L-OW, 2013, A1 **lines 374-375**) The older men from the Mpumalanga research site also associated improved social relationships with being meaningfully connected on a spiritual level

> Fieldworker: *Okay, so you say church helps with socialising.*
>
> Participant: *Yes.*
>
> Fieldworker: *People come together.*
>
> (Data source: English transcriptions, lines 292-294, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1, Mpumalanga research site, older men)

All the groups from Limpopo and Mpumalanga shared information that reflected connectedness to God. The Limpopo women (older and younger) identified the churches in their communities as protective resources specifically because the churches were where they connected with God. Photos 4.5 and 4.6 show the churches as drawn on the community maps of the Limpopo women:

Photo 4.5:
Church as protective resource on community map of Limpopo older women 2013

Photo 4.6:
Church as protective resource on community map of Limpopo younger women 2013
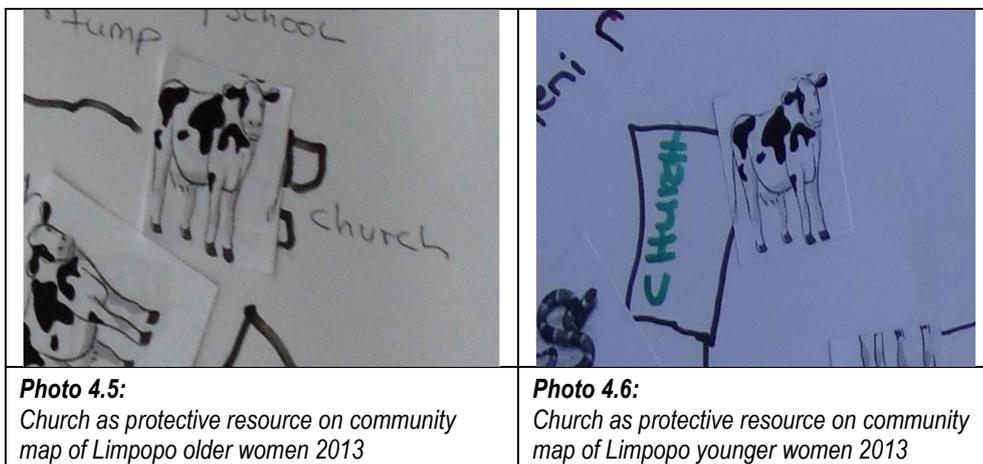
The various groups from both Limpopo and Mpumalanga all mentioned at some stage during the data-gathering process something related to spiritual connectedness. Table 4.8 shows PRA discussion extracts from all the groups from both research sites, which substantiate the participants' acknowledgement of being connected with God. It should be mentioned that the instances when the participants mentioned the church (usually as part of Activity 1) were when they identified the church as a protective resource in the community and were explaining why they considered it as such a resource.

Any extracts taken from the data gathered during Activity 4 reflect instances where the community members associated connectedness to God with a good community life.

Table 4.8: *Participants' acknowledgement of spiritual connectedness*

Group	Limpopo research site	Mpumalanga research site
Older men	Fieldworker: *That is good and what else happens at the church that is good?* Translator: *It sends them close to God.* (Data source: English transcriptions, lines 134-135, 2013 data gathering, Activity 1)	Participant: *Be happy because God has saved me. Why I am saying so, because I am still alive. That voice I am talking with is for him. For he is mighty.* (Data source: English transcriptions, lines 743-744, 2012 data gathering, Activity 4)
Older women	Fieldworker: *And why do they go to the church?* Translator: *Oh because when they got to church they learn about how to love God and how to love each other. It help them to love each other.* (Data source: English transcriptions, lines 373-375, 2013 data gathering, Activity 1)	Participant: *This one is a church. I think it's important for members of the community to go to church so that they will know what God is expecting of them.* (Data source: English transcriptions, lines 75-76, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1)
Younger men	Fieldworker: *Ok, what about the church?* Participant: *We worship our Lord Jesus Christ there.* (Data source: English transcriptions, lines 144-145, 2013 data gathering, Activity 1)	Participant: *The church is also good because we pray to god and receive blessing from God. There are many church in this place.* (Data source: English transcriptions, lines 60-61, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1)
Younger women	Translator: *Ndi kereke rirabela hone.* *This is a church where we go and pray.* (Data source: Venda translations, lines 183-184, 2013 data gathering, Activity 1)	Fieldworker: *The church.* Participant: *It is important for us because it is where you communicate with God.* Fieldworker: *Why is it important to communicate with God?* Participant: *It is important, because…I think we were created by Him…* (Data source: English transcriptions, lines 61-64, 2013 data gathering, Activity 1) Participant: *We are His image.* (Data source: English transcriptions, line 426, 2013 data gathering, Activity 4)

The older women from Mpumalanga were the only group who, during data gathering, shared information on spiritual connectedness with ancestors. It was only during member checking that the participants from the younger generation shared information on ancestral connectedness. The following extract clarifies the connection between people, God, and ancestors from the Mpumalanga older women's point of view.

Fieldworker:	*And the people that go to church? Do they also believe in their ancestral powers?*
Participant:	*Some.*
Fieldworker:	*Some do. So you can believe in the ancestral powers and you can also believe in God?*
Participant:	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	*And they can work together?*
Participant:	*Yes.*

<div align="right">(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 80-91, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1, Mpumalanga research site, older women)</div>

The information shared by the participants from Limpopo and Mpumalanga reflects the IKS value of *collective connectedness,* which directs various indigenous coping behaviours (discussed in Chapter 5). Some such behaviours are included in Theme 2 under the subthemes *hierarchical consultation* and *participation*.

4.3 IKS VALUES "*TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY*" AND "*COLLECTIVE CONNECTEDNESS*" AS INDIGENOUS PATHWAYS TO ADAPTIVE COPING

This chapter covered research results that identified IKS values that underpin indigenous pathways to adaptive coping. In Chapter 1, Section 1.5.3.2, it was explained that these pathways entail coping resources (what people use to cope) and ways of coping (how people use coping resources). The identified IKS values, namely *reverence for traditional authority* and *collective connectedness*, guided what coping resources the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants used and how they used them (discussed in Chapter 5) and therefore formed an integral part of the indigenous pathways reported by the participants.

4.4 LITERATURE CONTROL: THEME 1

4.4.1 INTRODUCTION

This section reflects on the confirmations, silences, contradictions, and contributions of the results. Confirmations refer to correlations between the results and existing coping literature; contradictions refer to any discrepancies between the results and existing coping literature; silences refer to information on values underpinning coping reflected in the literature but not in the results; and contributions refer to new insights contributed by the results.

4.4.2 CONFIRMATIONS

The IKS values *reverence for indigenous authority* and *collective connectedness* correlate with characteristics of collective cultures such as traditional hierarchy and connectedness (Kim et al., 2008; Smith, 2010; Yeh et al., 2006). IKS values underpinning indigenous coping behaviours are not new to non-Western coping literature, and the discussed results correlate with some of the indigenous values identified in the theoretical model for collectivistic coping (Yeh et al., 2006). For instance, the IKS value *reverence for traditional authority* is coherent with the model's proposition that respect for authority plays a role in the way indigenous cultures cope as indigenous community members usually consult with elders as part of their coping strategies (Yeh et al., 2006). Furthermore, the model mentions the role relational universality plays in indigenous coping strategies, which correlates with the identified IKS value *collective connectedness*. The identified IKS values correlate also with other collectivistic values such as cohesion, interdependence, and connectedness known to underpin non-Western coping behaviours (Kuo, 2012; Wong et al., 2006).

The literature on African cultures supports the notion of respect for traditional authority since part of the relational view of the self stands in respectful relation to traditional authority (Masangu, 2006). The IKS value *reverence for traditional authority* confirms the important role of the indigenous hierarchical authority in African cultures (Wanasika et al., 2011). Furthermore, the relational ontology of African cultures (Chilisa, 2012) was evident in the subtheme *collective connectedness* as relationships between the living and the non-living came to the fore in the present study. With regard to relationships between the living, the results correlated with *Ubuntu* and African worldview values linked to connectedness and respect. *Collective connectedness* correlates specifically with *Ubuntu* values of respect, communal interconnectedness, interdependence, common membership of the community, and ensuring a good community life and with African collective values such as wholeness and community (Letseka, 2012; Owusu-Ansah & Mji, 2013). With regard to coping studies in the South African context, the importance of relationships (inherent in *collective connectedness*) in dealing with adversity was also found in studies done by Demmer (2007); Cambell et al. (2008); Kaschula (2008); Shatz et al. (2011); Khanare (2012); Ogina (2012); and Ebersöhn (2012).

Another relational dimension is the relationship between the self and spirituality, which is coherent with the view that spirituality is an important source of coping in African cultures (Ye et. al., 2006). This further correlates with the literature that states that spiritual coping reflects connectedness with others (Aspinwall, 2011) and with existing knowledge that African cultures often use spirituality as a pathway to coping (Masango, 2006). Several other studies conducted in South Africa also identify spirituality as an important pathway to coping (Demmer, 2007; Greeff & Loubser, 2008; Roos et al., 2012). In Chapter 5, I

discuss the coping actions underpinned by *collective connectedness* thus clarifying how this value forms part of an adaptive coping pathway.

4.4.3 SILENCES AND CONTRADICTIONS

Theme 1 results are silent on Western coping research in individualistic cultures where independent identity and independent relationships are more evident in ways of coping (Yeh et al., 2006) as well as in social systems characterised by lower hierarchies (Kim, 2010). Not only is Theme 1 silent on values associated with individualistic cultures, but the collectivistic nature of the identified South African IKS values (discussed in Section 4.4.2) contradicts the mentioned individualistic values.

Some IKS values documented in international non-Western coping literature were not reflected in the IKS values included in Theme 1. For instance, the theoretical model for collectivistic coping (Yeh et al., 2006) identifies forbearance and fatalism as collectivistic values that were not reflected in the present study. The literature review in Chapter 5 indicates how the study findings actually contradict the values of forbearance and fatalism.

4.4.4 CONTRIBUTIONS

Although the existing literature documents traditional authority structures in South Africa (King, 2011; Ntsebeza, 2004), the focus is on the interplay between indigenous authorities and governmental authorities post-1994. Firstly, what the present study contributes is how *reverence for traditional authority* became an indigenous pathway to adaptive coping for the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants. Secondly, although *collective connectedness* reflects the collectivistic nature of African cultures as well as the influence of a collectivistic cultural orientation in coping (already documented in the literature), the present study positions *collective connectedness* as an IKS value within the context of adaptive coping. Based on the results discussed in Chapter 4, we now know the following:

- IKS values form part of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in two South African indigenous communities.
- *Reverence for traditional authority* underpins adaptive coping actions in two South African indigenous communities.
- *Collective connectedness* underpins adaptive coping actions in two South African indigenous communities.

In Chapter 6 Section 6.2.1.3 I elaborate on how these values manifest in coping actions and accordingly form an important pathway to adaptive coping.

4.5   CONCLUSION

This chapter covered the results of Theme 1, which emerged from a process of inductive thematic analysis that revealed an important aspect of indigenous pathways to coping, namely that coping behaviour in the two researched South African communities was underpinned by the IKS values *reverence for traditional authority* and *collective connectedness*. Chapter 5 discusses the indigenous coping behaviour directed by the IKS values reported in Chapter 4. Chapter 6 revisits the results discussed in Chapter 4 together with the insights that came to the fore from the literature review in order to answer the research questions stated in Chapter 1, Section 1.3.

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5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 4 covered two IKS values (*reverence for traditional authority* and *collective connectedness*) that appeared to underpin the indigenous adaptive coping transactions discussed here in Chapter 5. Theme 2 includes several indigenous adaptive coping transactions divided into two subthemes, *hierarchical consultation* and *participation*. Figure 5.1 shows Theme 2 together with its subthemes, categories, and subcategories.
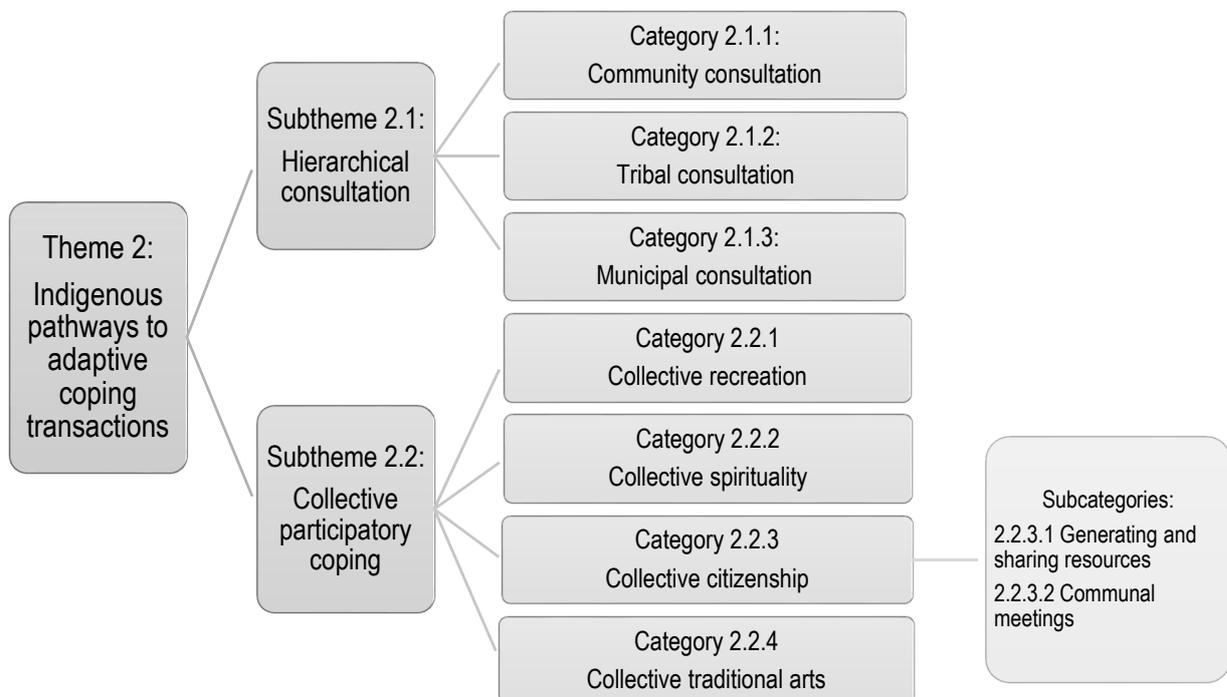
Figure 5.1:   Schematic presentation of Theme 2

In Chapter 5, I clarify each subtheme, category, and subcategories and discuss the inclusion and exclusion criteria for each. To ensure that the identified coping behaviours were indeed indigenous and adaptive, some aspects of the overarching inclusion and exclusion criteria discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.7.1 were included. With regard to the indigenous nature of the identified pathways, I again (see also Section 4.1) compared the coping behaviour with the overarching inclusion criteria for (collective) coping behaviours. I further compared the identified coping behaviours with the overarching inclusion criteria for coping with an adaptive function to ensure that the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions were indeed adaptive.

Future-oriented coping that might decrease adversity in the future or deal with anticipated future adversity was also considered as well as coping that, according to the personal accounts of the participants, contributed to the positive development of community members. I also considered whether the effects of adversity decreased immediately or in the long term. As part of all the inclusion criteria for Theme 2, an additional requirement was that the pathway to adaptive coping had to be underpinned by an IKS value.

Chapter 5 contains extracts from the data (e.g. field notes, English transcriptions, home language translations, and photographs) to substantiate the subcategories, categories, and subthemes included in Theme 2. Coping resources as well as the way in which they were used (coping behaviour) are highlighted as it was posited in Chapter 1, Section 1.5.3 that pathways to adaptive coping could entail coping resources as well as coping behaviour.

After discussing the results on *indigenous adaptive coping transactions*, I check, in this chapter, the results against the existing literature and reflect on any confirmations, silences, contradictions, and possible new insights. As part of the literature control, I consider whether the identified pathway to coping reflects a collectivist slant (Kim & Park, 2006; Kuo, 2011; Mpofu, 2002) and also whether the coping goals from a collective cultural orientation demonstrate a balance between benefiting the community and benefiting the individual (Chun et al., 2006). In other words, self-focused as well as community-focused coping goals can feature, depending on the nature of the adversity (Chun et al., 2006).

As in Chapter 4, the discussion of the results and the literature review included in Chapter 5 provide further insight into the secondary research questions. Comparison of the identified coping actions across location, age, and gender addresses the secondary question: *How do indigenous pathways to adaptive coping compare across location, age, and gender in two South African communities?* The results and the literature review also give insight into the nature of indigenous adaptive coping transactions thus leading to the secondary research question: *What is the nature of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in two South African communities?* Lastly, the literature review includes a consideration of both etic Western and non-Western coping literature in relation to the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions, which provides further insight into the secondary research questions: *How do emic indigenous pathways to adaptive coping compare with existing etic Western knowledge on adaptive coping?* and *How do emic indigenous pathways to adaptive coping compare with existing etic non-Western knowledge on adaptive coping?*

5.2   SUBTHEME 2.1: HIERARCHICAL CONSULTATION

Hierarchical consultation refers to a hierarchical problem-solving process followed by community members that entails consulting various role players in the community. All the categories included under

Subtheme 2.1 had to meet the necessary inclusion criteria. Table 5.1 summarises the inclusion and exclusion criteria for *hierarchical consultation*.

Table 5.1:   Inclusion and exclusion criteria for Subtheme 2.1: Hierarchical consultation

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
▪ Instances where community members consult other community members, indigenous authority members, or government institution to solve either personal or communal problems. ▪ The outcome of the problem solving is adaptive (as reported by the community members during the data gathering or during member checking). ▪ The coping behaviour is indigenous based on the criteria for coping in collective cultures. ▪ The coping behaviour has to be underpinned by one of the identified IKS values identified as part of Theme 1.	▪ Instances where the mentioned interaction with other community members, indigenous authority members, or government institutions is not directed towards mediating adversity. ▪ The outcome of consulting with other community members, indigenous authority members, or government institutions is not adaptive. ▪ The coping behaviour does not meet the criteria for coping in collective cultures. ▪ The coping behaviour is not underpinned by an IKS value.
Special considerations	
Consulting with community members, indigenous authority members, or government institutions may be adaptive in some instances and in some instances not. If the behaviour was experienced by the participants in some instances as adaptive, the behaviour will still be included, but it will be stated that it was also experienced as maladaptive in some instances.	

Based on the data collected during the 2012 and 2013 Limpopo and Mpumalanga visits, consultation among various role players seemed to play an important part in dealing with adversity in both communities. Table 5.2 compares IKS shared on *hierarchical consultation* across age, gender, and time for the Limpopo research site, and Table 5.3 does the same for the Mpumalanga research site.

Table 5.2:   Subtheme 2.1: Hierarchical consultation in Limpopo province

			LIMPOPO RESEARCH SITE				Frequency
Subtheme 2.1: Hierarchical consultation			**Data sources**				
Categories	**Group**	**Year**	**English conversation**	**Translations**	**Field notes**	**Photos**	
2.1.1 Community consultation	Older men	'12	A4		A4		2
	Older women	'12	A2; A2	A2; A3	A2; A3		6
	Younger men	12/'13	Silent	Silent	Silent	Silent	
	Younger women	'12	A3 L				1
2.1.2 Tribal consultation	Older men	'12	A1; A2; A2; A2; A3	A2; A2;A3	A2; A2; A3		11
		'13	A1; A2	A1	A1; A2		5
	Older women	'12	A1; A1; A2; A2; A2; A2	A1; A1 ; A; A2; A2; A3	A1; A2; A3	A1;A2	19
		'13	A1; A1; A2; A2; A2	A1; A2; A2; A2; A2	A1; A1; A2; A2	A1; A2; A2	17
	Younger men	'12	A1		A3; A3	A2	3
		'13	A2; A2; A2	A2	A2; A2		6
	Younger women	'12	A2; A2; A3	A2; A3; A3	A2; A3	A2	9
2.1.3 Municipal consultation	Older men	'12	A2; A2; A2; A2	A2; A2; A2; A3	A2; A2; A2 ; A2; A3	A2	14
	Older women	'12	A2; A2; A2; A2; A2; A2	A2; A2	A2; A2; A2; A2; A2		13
		'13	A1; A2	A2; A2	A1; A2	A2	6
	Younger men	'12	A3		A3	A3	3
		'13	A2; A2;	A2	A2; A2	A2	6
	Younger women	'12	A2; A2; A3	A2 L77-97; A3; A3	A2	A2	8

Table 5.3:   Subtheme 2.1: Hierarchical consultation in Mpumalanga province

MPUMALANGA RESEARCH SITE							Frequency
Subtheme 2.1: Hierarchical consultation			**Data sources**				
Categories	**Group**	**Year**	**English conversation**	**Translations**	**Field notes**	**Photos**	
2.1.1 Community consultation	Older men	'12		n/a			0
	Older women	'12	A3; A4	n/a	A3; A4	A2; A3	6
	Younger men	'13	A2; A4			A4	3
	Younger women	'12/'13	Silent	Silent	Silent	Silent	0
2.1.2 Tribal consultation	Older men	'12	A1; A2; A2; A2; A2; A3	n/a	A2; A3	A1	9
		'13	A2; A2; A2	A2; A2	A2; A2	A2	8
	Older women	'12	A3	n/a	A3	A1; A3	2
	Younger men	'12	A2; A2; A2; A3	n/a	A2; A2; A2; A2	A2 ; A3	10
		'13	A2; A2 ; A2	n/a	A2	A1; A2	6
	Younger women	'12	A2; A3	n/a	A2; A2; A3	A2; A3	7
		'13	A2; A2; A2	n/a	A2; A2; A2	A2	7
2.1.3 Municipal consultation	Older men	'12	A2; A3; A3	n/a	A2; A3		5
		'13	A2	A2; A2	A2	A2	5
	Older women	'12	A2	n/a	A2; A3	A3	4
	Younger men	'12	A2; A2; A3	n/a		A2; A3	5
		'13	A2; A2	n/a	A2; A2; A2	A2	6
	Younger women	'12	A2	n/a	A2	A2	2
		'13	A2; A2; A2	n/a	A2; A2; A2; A2	A2	8

Table 5.2 shows that the Limpopo participants, considered all together, shared information on all three categories of *hierarchical consultation* during the 2012 and 2013 data gathering with some differences between the groups. With regard to *community consultation*, the Limpopo older men, older women, and younger women gave examples of how consulting with community members had helped to overcome adversity whereas the Limpopo younger men were silent. All the groups provided information on the categories *consulting indigenous authority* and *municipal consultation*.

In Mpumalanga (Table 5.3), the participants, considered all together, shared information on all the categories included in Theme 2 during the 2012 and 2013 data gathering. However, some of the groups were silent on some categories, and some groups said less on certain categories than others. For instance, while the Mpumalanga older men and women and younger men reported on *community consultation*, the Mpumalanga younger women were silent on this category. With regard to the other two categories, *tribal consultation* and *municipal consultation*, all the Mpumalanga participants shared information although the older women shared significantly less on this category (mentioning examples for each category only once during the 2012 data gathering). A possible reason for this is reflected in the following field note made during the 2014 member-checking visit.

> *After the participants explained the different types of community meeting they have and clarified who attends, which it seemed as if the older women preferred the men to attend to communal matters. Although they are allowed to attend the general community meetings they choose not to do so. This might account for the lack of information they shared on solving communal matters by consulting with indigenous authority and government institutions.*

No significant differences were noted between the two provinces with regard to the information they shared on *hierarchical consultation.* Overall, the fewest examples were given, in both provinces, for the category *community consultation*. The following extract from my research diary reflects my thoughts on this category.

> *For the category "community consultation" I specifically identified instances where the participants shared information on consulting other community members to help them solve problems. Consulting with community members was not reported as much as consulting with indigenous authority or government institutions. It was only during the member-checking visits that the participants mentioned that they first tried to solve specifically personal problems by consulting with other community members before discussing it at a meeting.*

After analysis of the data, some confusion arose regarding what the consultation process precisely entailed. Accordingly, one of the priorities during the member checking was to clarify what hierarchical formation the communities used when solving problems. The participants responded by first drawing the

traditional authority structures[1] in their communities and then explaining how the structures were used to solve problems. Photos 5.1 and 5.2 show the Limpopo participants drawing the traditional authority structures.

Photo 5.1: Limpopo participants drawing the indigenous authority structures during 2014 member checking	Photo 5.2: Limpopo participants' drawing of indigenous authority structures during 2014 member checking
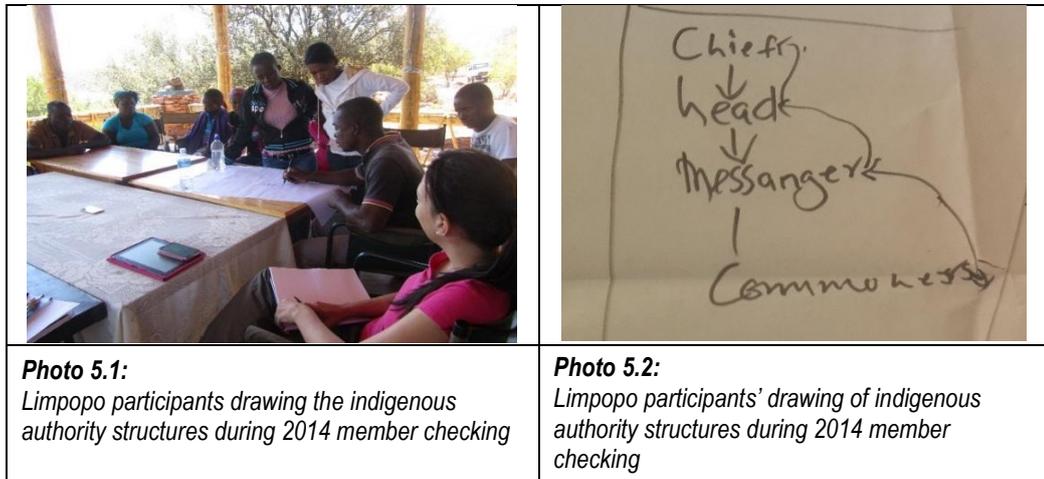
The Limpopo participants said that "communers" (community members) reported community issues to the messenger. If the messenger could not solve the problem, he reported it to the headman. If the headman could not resolve the matter, he referred it to the chief. If the community's traditional authority structure also could not resolve the matter, the appropriate government institutions were informed. The following extract from the discussion that took place after the Limpopo participants had drawn their traditional authority structure helps clarify the hierarchical consultation process.

Participant:	*And this one it is controlling the community itself. And take maybe message from the community. They take this part, they are lodging their grievances to the messenger and if the problem is hard to be solved by the messenger it goes to the headman. If the problem is failing here also they taking it to the head of the traditional leaders (chief). If it fails it should be dealt by with the government, the police. That is how it works.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 489-494, 2014 member checking, Limpopo research site, combined group)

The Mpumalanga participants also drew the traditional authority structure in their community, which was similar to the one drawn by the Limpopo participants. Photo 5.3 shows the drawing of the traditional authority structure in Mpumalanga:

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[1] Discussed in Chapter 4, Section x.

Photo 5.3:
*Mpumalanga participants drawing the indigenous
authority structures during 2014 member checking*

According to the Mpumalanga participants, the community members referred problems to the chief member. If he was unable to solve the problem, it was referred to the chief. Should the chief be unable to resolve the issue, it was referred to the relevant government structure. The following extract from the Mpumalanga member-checking session explains the participants' traditional authority structure.

Participant:	*If I got a problem. The community have some members. Chief members.*
Fieldworker:	*Is it like representatives in the community?*
Participant:	*Yes. If you have a problem you first go to the member, the chief member. One of the chief members. If the problem is not over he can take it to the head chief. If the problem is not solved from the head chief it goes to the police.*
Fieldworker:	*And that is the normal way in the community?*
Participant:	*Yes.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 140-145, 2014 member checking,
Mpumalanga research site, combined group)

The explanation of the Mpumalanga participants during member checking correlated with the information shared by the Mpumalanga older men during the 2012 data gathering. The following field note (which includes Figure 5.2) made in 2012 illustrates the referral process according to the older men from Mpumalanga.
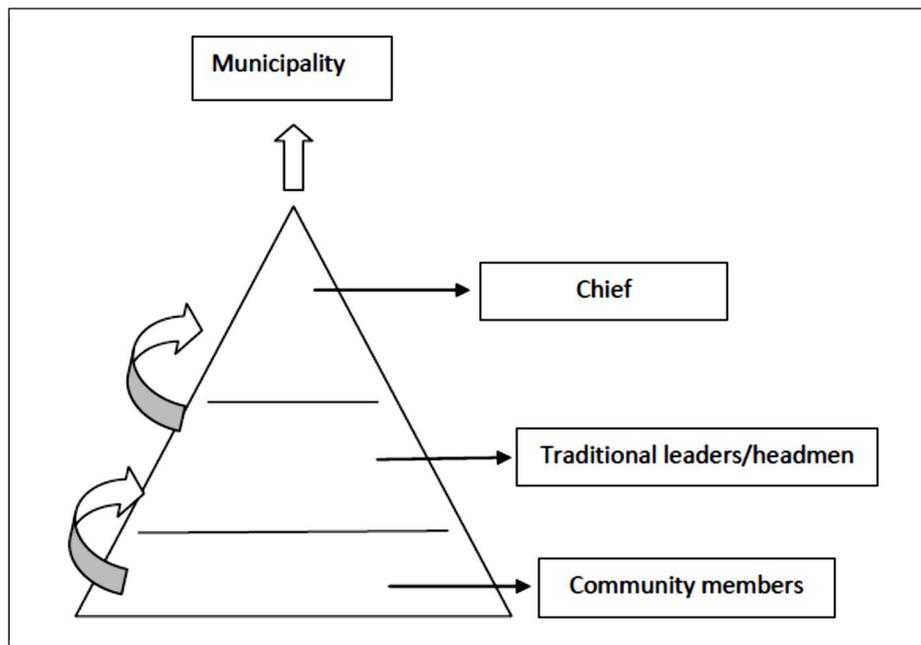
If the community members have a problem they go to the traditional leader, also referred to as the headman. The headman gathers the community members to discuss the problems and possible solutions. If the traditional leader is unable to solve the problem, he goes to the headman for further guidance. Should the problem still not be resolved, it is taken to the relevant municipality. There is one traditional leader in a community. The various traditional leaders are governed by one chief.

Figure 5.2:   Traditional authority structure of Mpumalanga

Overall, the hierarchical consultation process as reported by the Limpopo as well as the Mpumalanga participants was very similar. Both research sites' participants reported that community members had to report matters to the relevant indigenous authority structures and, should they not be able to solve the problem, the problem was referred to the relevant government structure. One example from each research site illustrates the hierarchical consultation process in real-life problems the participants had to deal with. The first example is from the Limpopo research site and the second from the Mpumalanga research site:

Participant:	*Mudagasi wovhuya wavha thaidzo.*
	Electricity was one of the problems.
Translator:	*Vho wana hani thandululo?*
	How did you find the solution?
Participatn:	*Vvhadzulapo vho dzula fhasi na mukhantselara,vha amba ngaha thaidzo ya usavha na mudagasi, mukhantselara aisa thaidzo ha masipala, masipala a disa mudagasi.*
	Community members gathered with the councillor, discuss the problem of not having electricity, then the councillor forward the problem to the municipality, then the municipality supply us with electricity
	(Data source: Venda translations, lines 233-237, 2012 data gathering, Activity 2, Limpopo research site, older women)

Participant:	*If someone steals my cow, I will tell the **chief** and he will ask the person to pay me back or I will ask for what I want back in return from the person that stole my cow. But most of the time, things like that is a community problem*
Fieldworker:	*What if the chief offends, what will they do?*
Participant:	*They will take him to the **police station***
Fieldworker:	*Who will take the chief to the police station?*
Participant:	*If there is a problem, we go to the chief and the chief call everybody and ask someone to pay back the thing that was stolen or I go to the police station and they lock the person up.*

(Data source: Swati translations, lines 286-294, 2013 data gathering, Activity 2, Mpumalanga research site, younger men)

After the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants had clarified the use of the indigenous authority structure in solving problems, I was under the impression that the traditional leader had to be informed first. However, the Mpumalanga participants said that whom one consulted depended on the nature of the problem and the rules in the community, as revealed in the following conversation during member checking.

Fieldworker:	*Thank you for that. We are going to continue. Something they taught us was that good ways to solve problems in the community is to inform the headman or the chief of the problem?*
Translator:	*He said no. Even if you don't tell the headman, you can also tell someone if they have a problem.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok. So you can either tell the headman or your friend, for instance?*
Translator:	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	*That is very good. Then in the community it is taught that if you have a problem, go to either the headman or the neighbour?*
Translator:	*No*
Fieldworker:	*So they just know that?*
Translator:	*They said it is taught at the church. If you have a problem just go to your friend or the neighbour.*
Participant:	*I can add that if we have a problem we normally don't discuss it with the chief when we are all together. We can just solve it in a short group like when we have the elders. When we have secretive issues.*
Translator:	*Like if someone has made a mistake in the community. You don't just go the headman. You just gather as a community and the elder then discuss it and they take it to the headman.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok, so the community will discuss with like the elders and then they will if they need to, take it to the headman?*
Translator:	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	*It is good information, very good.*
Translator:	*If that person if they tell the headman that problem. It means that that person is stubborn.*
Fieldworker:	*They are not following the way they should do it in the community?*
Translator:	*Yes*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 150-157, 2014 member checking, Limpopo research site, combined group)

The Limpopo extract reveals that it is not only expected of you to first solve a personal problem by consulting with other community members, such as a friend or a neighbour, but it is actually frowned upon if you go to a traditional authority figure first. The Mpumalanga participants also reported that whom one consulted depended on the type of problem. In the following extract from a member-checking discussion, the Mpumalanga participants reported that if the problem was personal in nature, you should first consult a fellow community member.

Fieldworker:	*If you as a community have a problem to you come together?*
Participant:	*It depends on the problem.*
Fieldworker:	*It depends on the problem? Can you maybe give me examples?*
Participant:	*Like a problem of the community, like farming. We can solve it by coming together. But if you have a problem that is mine I can go to someone else.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 99-103, 2014 member checking, Mpumalanga research site, combined group)

5.2.1   CATEGORY 2.1.1: COMMUNITY CONSULTATION

This section covers Category 2.1.1: Community consultation, which refers to instances where a community member consults other community members to assist him or her in solving a problem. The notion of consulting with others is often associated with collectivistic cultures where community members consult friends and elders to solve problems rather than professionals such as counsellors (Yeh et al., 2006). Table 5.4 summarises the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the category *community consultation*.

Table 5.4:   Inclusion and exclusion criteria for Category 2.1.1: Community consultation

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
▪ Instances where community members solve either personal or communal problems. ▪ The outcome of the problem solving is adaptive (as reported by the participants during the data gathering or member checking). ▪ The coping behaviour is indigenous based on the criteria for coping in collective cultures. ▪ One of the IKS values identified as part of Theme 1 is evident.	▪ Instances where the interaction with other community members is not aimed at dealing with adversity. ▪ The outcome of consulting with other community members, indigenous authority figures or government institutions is not adaptive. ▪ The coping behaviour does not meet the criteria for coping in collective cultures. ▪ The coping behaviour is not underpinned by an IKS value.
Special considerations	
Consulting with community members may be adaptive in some instances and in some instances not. If the behaviour is experienced by the participants in some instances as adaptive, the behaviour will still be included, but it will be stated that it was also experienced as maladaptive in some instances.	

In sum, the participants reported that community members consulted other community members for advice, to prevent poor decisions, to correct behaviour, and when financial or other resources were needed. The examples shared by the Limpopo participants are dealt with first. The Limpopo women (older and younger) stated that if a community member needed financial resources, he or she could go to a community member who could give him or her piecework to earn extra money.

Translator:	*She said that if someone is not going to school and he or she is very clever but their parents don't have money, someone is call him or he that he must come and help me at the garden, so that I will give you some money so that you will able to go to school.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 371-374, 2012 data gathering, Activity 2, Limpopo research site, older women)
Translator:	*She said if someone doesn't have a money because we are collecting money, we give her a separate job like if I want firewood I go and ask can you go to collect firewood for me so that I will pay him or her.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 401-403, 2012 data gathering, Activity 3, Limpopo research site, older women)
Translator:	*That person that doesn't have money, he can be given a piece job. So that he can earn money to pay*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 143-144, 2012 data gathering, Activity 3, Limpopo research site, younger women)

It appeared that offering piecework to a community member in need of money was a normative way of community members helping one another. During member checking, a Limpopo participant confirmed that community members would give another community member piecework rather than money, as illustrated in the following extract.

Fieldworker:	*And the community, do they sometimes contribute money to another person? To help that person who doesn't have money?*
Translator:	*No, they give that person a job.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok, so you can't just get the money you work for that person, like a piece job?*
Translator:	*Yes.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 250-255, 2014 member checking, Limpopo research site, combined group)

Consultation with other community members aimed at solving problems seemed to move beyond materialistic needs. The older men from Limpopo specifically mentioned that a community member could help another member who had made a mistake. This was seen as something that made the community good, as indicated in the following extract.

Fieldworker:	*What is important for a community to be good? What must happen in that community for it to be a good community?*
OM/T (H-2013; 4):	*Is to sit down with a person who made a mistake and to show him the way.*
	Is to sit down with a person who made a mistake and to show him the way
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 277-279, 2013 data gathering, Activity 2, Limpopo research site, older men)

Similarly, the younger men from Mpumalanga reported that by consulting with another community member, community members could help one another not to make poor decisions: *If someone wants to take a bad decision, he talks to the person not to take a bad decision* (M-YM, 2013, A4, lines 317-318). The Mpumalanga older women also reported that a community member could offer another member advice on problem solving: *Have a good friend who can talk with you* (M-OW, 2012, A4 line 495). The Mpumalanga older women viewed consulting neighbours for advice as a way to overcome adversity as revealed in the following PRA discussion extract.

Fieldworker:	*You don't know how to read what's on the board. What it says on the...I will tell you what it says. It says if someone is late, if someone is dying, and you stand at that person's burial, how can you know that that person had a good life? How do you know if that person had a good life? What happened to make their life good, when you think back on their life.*
Participant:	*You look the advice for you.*
Fieldworker:	*You look the advice for you? From that person? And what advice would that person give you?*
Participant:	*Sometimes you help in this house.*
Fieldworker:	*Sometimes you help in the house, yes.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 575-584, 2012 data gathering, Activity 4, Mpumalanga research site, older women)

During the 2014 member checking, the Mpumalanga participants were asked to clarify what it meant when they consulted another community member for advice, specifically with regard to a problem in the house. The participants explained that if a community member was having problems with someone in their house, they could consult their neighbour to help resolve the conflict. The following extract from the member-checking discussion reveals the participants' views in this regard.

Fieldworker:	Now I understand. You also said that you know you have a good neighbour if that neighbour comes and helps you in the house and that helps to solve problems. Can you tell me more about that? I was wondering how do they help?
Participant:	I think that if you have a good neighbour. Maybe in my home my mother is talking to me and I don't respect her and then if my mother. Maybe she thinks I will respect my neighbour and maybe my neighbour has good ideas on how to encourage me. Then my neighbour will talk to me.
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 303-309, 2014 member checking, Mpumalanga research site, combined group)

The men (older and younger) from Mpumalanga, like the Limpopo women (older and younger), gave examples of a community member helping another member with financial and other material needs, as revealed in the following extracts.

Participant:	*Maybe they help me with money or something, because I am short of money.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 715-716, 2012 data gathering, Activity 4, Mpumalanga research site, older men)
Participant:	*Maybe he was helping around the community. Like if someone doesn't have a car.*
Participant:	*Yes to ask him to take him to the hospital. Yes. So if one of my family has passed away we will ask him to...*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 755-759, 2012 data gathering, Activity 4, Mpumalanga research site, older men)
Participant:	*Yes, my friend have a problem in the past, so I asked him, what are you gonna do, he said he does not have a home, I asked him that how can I help him? I went to see his grandmother, I talked to my mum and she agreed that he should stay with us. After a couple of months, he went back to his family*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 261-264, 2012 data gathering, Activity 2, Mpumalanga research site, younger men)

During member checking, the Mpumalanga participants, like the Limpopo participants, reported that if a friend needed money, they could give him or her piecework to enable him or her to generate income: *Sometimes you can't work on your own. You need someone to help you. Like here we are most working with farming. With farming you can't work on your own. So when I have a friend who needs a job, I can help him to open a business on the side. Maybe I make small job opportunity. First she works for me but slowly, slowly she can try and also help other people on other side* (L-MC, 2012, lines 212-217).

Inherent in *community consultation* as a pathway to coping is the use of social relationships as a coping resource and the underpinning IKS value *collective connectedness*. It is in *collective connectedness* that community members are interdependent and where capitalising on social relationships in order to overcome adversity is the norm. Overall, the stories shared by the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants revealed *community consultation* as adaptive. The participants did not cite any instances where consulting with other community members was maladaptive. Consulting community members was further reflected as a normative pathway to coping in the community by the cohesive responses that speaks of similar views among community members.

5.2.2   CATEGORY 2.1.2: TRIBAL CONSULTATION

Consulting indigenous authority refers to consulting such authority on matters needing resolution. As indicated in Section 5.2, the indigenous authority structure plays an important role in *hierarchical*

consultation. This section focuses on examples provided by the participants of instances where they consulted indigenous authority structures in order to solve problems. Table 5.5 summarises the inclusion and exclusion criteria for Category 2.1.2: Tribal consultation:

Table 5.5:   Inclusion and exclusion criteria for Category 2.1.2: Tribal consultation

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
▪ Instances where community members consult indigenous authority members to solve either personal or communal problems. ▪ The outcome of the problem solving is adaptive (as reported by the community members during data gathering or member checking). ▪ The coping behaviour is indigenous based on the criteria for coping in collective cultures. ▪ One of the IKS values identified as part of Theme 1 is evident.	▪ Instances where interaction with indigenous authority members is not aimed at dealing with adversity. ▪ The outcome of consulting with indigenous authority members is not adaptive. ▪ The coping behaviour does not meet the criteria for coping in collective cultures. ▪ The coping behaviour is not underpinned by an IKS value.
Special consideration	
Consulting with indigenous authority members may be adaptive in some instances and in other instances not. If the behaviour is experienced by participants in some instances as adaptive, the behaviour will still be included, but it will be stated that it has been experienced as maladaptive in some instances.	

The data suggest that if community members consult indigenous authority members about any needs the community may have or when someone has done something wrong (such as fighting, stealing, or not following communal laws), the indigenous authority members are responsible for enforcing the rules. The following PRA extracts reveal how the Limpopo participants used traditional law enforcement to deal with community members who broke the law.

Participant:	*So they are saying. Whichever problem they are having, they sit down at a **communal meeting** whether it is a personal or else. If the problem is not solved at the community meeting they call the **headman**. The **headman from the other village**. So they state the problem and if the headman can't solve the problem or if he sees the problem is too big for him. They go to the **SAPS**. For instance if I am drinking liquor and I am drinking until very late, say until 2 o'clock in the morning. So when I come back home, I'm singing my song loudly and the villagers they don't like that song, they come to me first and if it continues they take the matter to the headman.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 76-83, 2012 data gathering, Activity 2, Limpopo research site, older men)
Translator:	*She said that at that time, the people of H and the headman make a law so that every girl should go to school. If we find at home that there is a girl that is not going to school, her parents they must be given a warning or they are told that they must pay a fine because their children are not going to school.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 269-272, 2012 data gathering, Activity 2, Limpopo research site, older women

Participant:	*The stock matter, they will report the matter to the **headsman**; the headsman will call the **people** for the gathering and then negotiation started between the headsman and the stock theft. When the chief called this two people who have differences, then the chief asked the person who steal to **pay fine** and if he did not pay the fine then the chief call the **police**.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 241-245, 2013 data gathering, Activity 2, Limpopo research site, younger men)
Translator:	*The story is about snakes. She say, in the olden day, when someone does something wrong to another person, then that person can go to an elderly person who will consult the headman messenger. They will sit down and discuss and consult on that matter and find out who had done something wrong to that person.*
Translator:	*If the matter is not resolved then the person can go ahead to the headman who will decide the matter.*
Translator:	*If the chief fails to resolve the matter, the person who is offended can take matters into his own hands. And if he wants to revenge...there can be murder or fighting.*
Fieldworker:	*What happens if it becomes murder and fighting? Or anything like that? What happens then?*
Translator:	*Then the case is going to be reported to the headman.*
Fieldworker:	*What would the headman do then?*
Translator:	*The headman will resolve the matter...he can take the decision to expel the murderer from his village.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 9-24, 2012 data gathering, Activity 2, Limpopo research site, younger women)

During member checking, the Limpopo participants reported that any community member in need could go to the chief's house for help: *According to them, if you are working around the village then you get lost and have nowhere to sleep then you go to headman they will give you a place to sleep. Or maybe if you are a child born in that village and want to have your own house, then you go to the chief's house and ask for your new house so that they can give you* (MC[2], 2014, lines 426-430).

The Mpumalanga participants also gave examples of instances where the indigenous authority leader was consulted to solve problems by enforcing indigenous law. The Mpumalanga men (older and younger) shared information on using traditional law enforcement as a way to deal with community issues such as theft and fighting. The younger men gave an example of referring a personal matter to traditional law enforcement for resolution and stated that communal matters could be referred in this way: *If someone steals my cow, I will tell the chief and he will ask the person to pay me back or I will ask for what I want back in return from the person that stole my cow. But most of the time, things like that are a community problem* (M-YM, 2013, A2, lines 266-274). The Mpumalanga older men gave an example of referring people who were fighting to traditional authority members:

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[2] "MC" indicates "member checking".

Participant:	*Next to E cultural village there is a tribal office.*
Participant:	*They are dealing with the matters of the community.*
Participant:	*When two people are fighting, they will resolve their matter by a hearing.*
Participant:	*You can say it is a traditional court.*

<div align="right">(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 22-31, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1,
Mpumalanga research site, older men)</div>

Interestingly, the older men identified the tribal office as both a protective resource and a hazard. In Photo 5.4, the drawing of the snake and the cow posted at the tribal office reveals the ambivalence in the views regarding the office:

Photo 5.4:
Tribal office identified as a protective resource and risk factor on community map of Mpumalanga older men 2012

The Mpumalanga older men reported that the tribal office, as a protective resource, helped resolve community issues. However, they added that charges could sometimes be unfair:

Participant:	*That tribal court.*
Participant:	*Ja, that tribal court, they used to give maybe punishment to the person who is not, maybe eh…*
Fieldworker:	*Guilty?*
Participant:	*Yes, who is not really guilty. So maybe the result is…*
Participant:	*Unfair charges.*

<div align="right">(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 331-335, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1,
Mpumalanga research site, older men)</div>

Similarly, the older women of Mpumalanga also reported the use of traditional law enforcement as a way of coping, but not adaptive coping, as they believed that the community members had no say in the process. The older women said that since the politicians had arrived (possibly from the time the indigenous authority started working with government institutions), the indigenous authority could not take matters into their own hands:

Participant:	*We decided to take that one where maybe you find that a member of the community has done something wrong, then how is the person charged? Because it was different from this time when one is supposed to be taken to the police station, where one is supposed to be taken to the court to be interrogated by the magistrate. So in the past, we had traditional leaders who were looking at what is happening in the community. Like, let us say that you find that there is a person who has been caught stealing. That person they didn't call the police, they just took that person to the traditional leader and they presented the case to the traditional leader. The traditional leaders, they were given rights, issuing type of penalty to someone who has done whatever wrong. She or he could even go to an extent of beating that person…*
Fieldworker:	*And how does the community help in these decisions?*
OW/P1 (O-2012; 2):	*No, the community at that time, it couldn't do anything because the chief at that time, he was taken as the one who held all the power, that was given by that chief. They all respected the chief's decision.*
OW/F (O-2012; 2):	*And has that changed now? Does the community have a bigger role to play now? In solving problems...?*
OW/P1 (O-2012; 2):	*Ja, now because we have got structures within the community, the coming in of politicians, now you know it differs. Because even now the chief, like before, he was given the powers of beating a person, but now, you do not take the law in your own hands*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 388-424, 2012 data gathering, Activity 2, Mpumalanga research site, older women)

It should be noted that where *tribal consultation* was experienced as maladaptive, this was mainly in the context of indigenous law enforcement. During member checking, the participants agreed that traditional law enforcement seemed to be a good way to deal with problems in the community:

> The participants agreed and confirmed that bad behaviour is dealt with by enforcing traditional rules. However, if the problem still doesn't get solved, it is referred to the police.
>
> Data source: Field notes, lines 82-83, 2014 member checking,
> Mpumalanga research site, combined group)

The participants from both research sites did, however, report that referring problems to the traditional authority structure did not always ameliorate adversity as the problems might be beyond the headman's capacity to solve. In such cases, it was the relevant indigenous authority member's responsibility to consult the relevant government institution on the matter.

The older generation (women and men) from Limpopo highlighted the role of the indigenous authority in cases where the community needed assistance from the government. The older men related the story of the community's problem with water quality. The community members drafted a letter at a meeting that first had to be stamped by the headman before sending it to the relevant government institution: *They wrote a letter to a local office for water affairs. And it will be stamped from the, by the headman* (L-OM, 2012, A2, 61-67 lines). Similarly, the older women said that if the community needed anything, they had

to go to the chief's kraal to report the matter, and he would then visit the local municipality to discuss the problem, as indicated in the following extract from a PRA discussion.

Participant:	*Hafha ndi Musanda, musi huna zwithu zwono khouri shothela shangoni, riya hafha musanda ra dzula fhasi na musanda wavho rinera sumbedzisana uri ri nga ita mini ngauri ri khou shotelwa nga zwithu zwo imaho ngauri, Musanda vha kona u isa kha masipala.*
Participant:	*This is the chiefkraal, when we face scarcity, we go to the chiefkraal and report the problem, then the headman will call the local municipality.*
	(Data source: Venda translations, lines 650-655, 2013 data gathering, Activity 1, Limpopo research site, older women)

The Limpopo younger generation (younger men and younger women) also emphasised the link between the traditional authority structure and government. The younger women highlighted the intermediary role the chief played between the village and government institutions: *He's the one who is running the issues around the village. From the village to the municipality, or to the chief of the whole HaMakuya area. Or from the municipality to the village* (L-YW, 2012, A2, lines 65-67). The younger men from Limpopo gave an example of an instance where the traditional authority structure had to inform the relevant government institution about a shortage of houses in the village: *The villager called the ward committee, the ward committee called the councillor, ward councillor, then the councillor called the government and the government build the RDP house* (L-YM, 2013, A2, lines 207-208). During member checking, the Limpopo participants said that they themselves would not necessarily go to the chief, but they would report the matter to an elder who would then report it to the chief:

Participant:	*I can add that if we have a problem we normally don't discuss it with the chief when we are all together. We can just solve it in a short group like when we have the elders. When we have secretive issues.*
Translator:	*Like if someone has made a mistake in the community. You don't just go the headman. You just gather as a community and the elder then discusses it and they take it to the headman.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok, so the community will discuss with the elders and then they will, if they need to, take it to the headman.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 191-196, 2014 member checking, Limpopo research site, combined group)

Likewise, the younger generation from Mpumalanga talked about the link between the traditional authority structure and government institutions during the second PRA activity when the participants were asked to share information on how they had solved a problem in the past. The younger men said they had referred the matter to the traditional authority. They also spoke about alternative routes that could be followed should the chief be slow to respond to problems: *Anytime there is a problem we used to tell the chief and when he is slow, we will tell other people, like youths, we will go to meet the ward counsellor and he will*

tell the municipality to solve our problem (M-YM, 2012, A2, lines112-114). The younger women shared a story about how the community solved a road problem in the community: *The road…last year the road, it had stones. It had lot of pot holes. So the community had a meeting with the Counsellor and we tell the Counsellor that we have a problem with the road. And the Counsellor go to the government. And the government help people clean the road* (M-YW, 2013, A2, lines 239-244).

The older generation (men and women) also confirmed the role of indigenous authority structures in communal problems. The Mpumalanga older women said that they could solve problems without going to the police whereas the older men gave an example of where the traditional authority was consulted to ameliorate communal problems such as unemployment. According to the Mpumalanga older men, they consulted local stakeholders, including indigenous authority members, to get funding to improve the farming in the community so that more community members could be employed. The Mpumalanga older men and women's views are reflected in the following extracts.

Participant:	*How can we solve the problem without the police? We have chiefs here.*
Fieldworker:	*You have chiefs here?*
Participant:	*Ja.*
Fieldworker:	*And what are the chiefs going to do?*
Participant:	*They are going to sit him or her down. They are going to talk to him or her.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 457-461, 2012 data gathering, Activity 3, Mpumalanga research site, older women)

Fieldworker:	*Ok, you can tell me about a problem in the past and how you solved it.*
Participant:	*We say we had unemployment.*
Fieldworker:	*And that was high last year?*
Participant:	*Yes it was high last year.*
Fieldworker:	*And how did you go about solving that?*
Participant:	*Yes. We consulted and we grouped together local stakeholders. And we came up with a plan on how we are going to reduce that high rate. We decided to form groups for cooperatives. And we applied for being a cooperative.*
Fieldworker:	*You applied for? To be registered?*
Participant:	*Yes, to be registered.*
Fieldworker:	*The stakeholders, who are they? Can you give an example?*
Participant:	*Yes, like local businesses, traditional healers, tribal authorities and ward counsellor.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok, what was the plan that you came up with. What did you do*?
Participant:	*We wanted them to help us raise funds for starting our own business.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 199-214, 2013 data gathering, Activity 2, Mpumalanga research site, older men)

Overall, the participants from Limpopo as well as Mpumalanga experienced referring problems to the traditional authority structure as adaptive. The following extracts from the discussion that took place

during member checking substantiate the adaptive function of consulting with indigenous authority figures such as the chief and headman.

Fieldworker:	Fieldworker:
Ok, thank you. That is very good information. *Then also another thing I understood is that in order to solve problems it is sometimes good to follow the leadership of the headman or chief?*	*Ok, so you also told us that a good way to solve problems in the community was to go to the headman or chief. Is that for both your personal problem and community problems?*
(Translator translates)	Participants:
Translator:	*Yes.*
They say that is true.	Fieldworker:
Fieldworker:	*Do you feel that is a good way to solve problems?*
Does that help?	Participants:
(Translator translates)	*Yes.*
Participants:	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 88-93, 2014 member checking, Mpumalanga research site, combined group)
Yes.	
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 165-172, 2014 member checking, Limpopo research site, combined group)	

Generally speaking, the traditional authority structure in the villages seemed to be a valuable coping resource and served as a communal resource in the communities. Consulting the indigenous authority members seemed to benefit individuals and the community as a whole. Interdependence was also evident as the community members relied on the indigenous authority members to solve problems, and the indigenous authority members, in turn, relied on community members to inform them about communal matters requiring attention.

In the present study, the subcategory *tribal consultation* appeared to be underpinned by the IKS value *reverence for indigenous authority*. The participants' reliance on consulting indigenous authority structures for guidance indicated respect for these structures as well as the process that needed to be followed in order to resolve issues in the community. The IKS value *collective connectedness* also played a role in *tribal consultation* as the indigenous authority structures connected community members to government institutions in the quest to overcome adversity.

Overall, it appeared from the study that problems were referred to relevant government institutions or outside structures when they fell outside the community's capacity to solve them. The next section covers such instances where the community relied on government institutions for help.

5.2.3   CATEGORY 2.1.3: MUNICIPAL CONSULTATION

Consulting with government institutions refers to instances where community members consulted with such institutions in order to deal with adversity. The community members themselves often did not consult these institutions but left this to the indigenous authority members. Table 5.6 summarises the inclusion and exclusion criteria for Category 2.1.3: Municipal consultation.

Table 5.6:   Inclusion and exclusion criteria for Category 2.1.3: Municipal consultation

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
▪ Instances where community members consult government institution to solve either personal or communal problems. ▪ The outcome of the problem solving is adaptive (as reported by community members during data gathering or member checking).	▪ Instances where participants mention interaction with government institutions not aimed at dealing with adversity. ▪ The outcome of consulting with government institutions is not adaptive.
▪ The coping behaviour is indigenous based on the criteria for coping in collective cultures. ▪ One of the IKS values identified as part of Theme 1 is evident.	▪ The coping behaviour does not meet the criteria for coping in collective cultures. ▪ The coping behaviour is not underpinned by an IKS value.
Special considerations	
Consulting with government institutions may be adaptive in some instances and in other instances not. If the behaviour is experienced by participants in some instances as adaptive, the behaviour will still be included, but it will be stated that it has been experienced as maladaptive in certain instances.	

Based on the data, it appeared that the participants would consult government institutions when they needed improved infrastructure or services, or if a community member was wronged in some way and the indigenous authority structure was not able to help. The older men from Limpopo spoke about how the provincial government helped them get access to electricity:

Participant:	*Ndiya mudagasi.*
	Electricity problem.
Translator:	*Vhoi tandulisisa hani?*
	How did you solve it?
Participant:	*Ratshi kuvhangana khoroni , ratendelana ranwala manwalo raa rumela masipala wa mutale,rafhirela kha phurovintsi ngauri vha khou lenga ufhindula,kha phurovintsi ndihone he thaidzo yashu ya tandululwa.*
	We used to gather at the communal gathering, we made agreements, wrote letter to Mutale municipality, as they were not responding, we then pass on to the provincial government, that's where our problem get solved.

<div align="right">

(Data source: Venda translations, lines 127-136, 2012 data gathering, Activity 2,

Limpopo research site, older men)

</div>

The Limpopo older women gave examples of how consulting with relevant government institutions helped their community get access to electricity and water as well as how the government helped them improve their roads and protect their community against illegal immigrants. The Limpopo older women reported that the community struggled to get their children to school on time due to long travelling distances. The problem was referred to the relevant government structures, which then provided a school bus:

Participant:	*Thaidzo yovha yauri vhana vhashu vhatshimbila lwendo lulapfu nga milenzhe vhatshiya tshikoloni.*
	The problem was that our children travel long distance with foot when going to school.
Translator:	*Vhathu vhokona uwana thandululo ya eyi thaidzo?*
	Did you manage to find solution for this problem?
Participant:	*Eeh, ro dzula fhasi na komiti ya tshikolo, muvhuso na masipala, vhatendelana udisa basi yau tshimbidza vhana uya tshikoloni.*
	Yes, we set down with the school governing body, government and the municipality; they decided to provide a school bus to take children to school.
	(Data source: Venda translations, lines 220-229, 2012 data gathering, Activity 2, Limpopo research site, older women)

The younger men from Limpopo reported that they would ask the municipality to provide the village with better quality water when they were asked to share a story about how they would solve a problem in the future: *We will write a letter to the municipality to help us to provide good water* (L-YM, 2012; A3, line 151). The younger men and older men from Limpopo also mentioned instances of consulting the police about community members who had committed crimes, especially if the matter was not dealt with by the indigenous authority. The younger women from Limpopo gave examples of the types of problems they would discuss with government institutions (e.g. the police and social workers):

Translator:	*They can...if there is a problem they can also consult social workers and the police.*
Fieldworker:	*In what type of situations will they turn to social workers?*
Translator:	*Maintenance and domestic violence* (translator laughs). *Those are the issues we turn to the social worker.*
Fieldworker:	*Are the social workers in the area efficient? Do they help them quickly? And well enough?*
Translator:	*Yes they do.*
Fieldworker:	*What types of problems? Is there anything else they can think of that's important about the social workers? Anything else they want to share?*
Translator:	*We only know that they solve our problems very well.*
Main investigator:	*How? By talking with people? Or finding what people need? How do they do it?*
Translator:	*By talking. Through talking.*
Main investigator:	*And when does the talking stop? When everybody is happy with the solution? When does the talking stop?*

Translator:	*It stops when you won the case. Say like child maintenance. They say you know women, we lay a charge for child maintenance our husbands. You know that women go to social workers for maintenance for their children.*
Main investigator:	*Ya, so that's what you talking about?*
Translator:	*Yes...*
Fieldworker:	*People that they listed also, was the police. What type of situations would they go to the police for?*
Translator:	*Theft, murder, rape and beating...*
Main investigator:	*So it's...*(writes down responses). *Those are good things to go to the police for.*
Fieldworker:	*And do they feel the police help them well enough?*
Translator:	*Yes, they do.*
Fieldworker:	*And...how do the police help them? What do they do to help them?*
Translator:	*If someone offended me, the police come and arrest that person.*
Fieldworker:	*Do they ask first? Do they just arrest them or do they ask first what happened? How does it happen?*
	Tell them to explain to me how it happens.
Translator:	*The first step is they arrest the person. Then go to court, that person must go to court.*

<div align="right">(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 71-88, 2012 data gathering, Activity 2, Limpopo research site, younger women)</div>

Similar views of government institutions as an additional resource to solve problems related to poor infrastructure and services were found in Mpumalanga. Across age and gender, the Mpumalanga participants seemed to rely on government institutions to help solve problems that appeared to be beyond the community's capacity. The following extracts from PRA conversations indicate instances where the Mpumalanga participants relied on assistance from government institutions.

Fieldworker:	*Ok, then I see you wrote there post office?*
Participant	*For now we are still having mobile (which they didn't have the previous years).*
Fieldworker:	*And how did you get the mobile to come?*
Participant:	*We consulted the head office in Pretoria. And they came here with their presentation. They said they can help us with the mobile. They can come here once a week. Come here and collect and bring some letters.*
Fieldworker:	*And how is that going?*
Participant:	*It is going well for now.*
Fieldworker:	*You said you consulted with them. Did you first discuss it at the communal meeting?*
Participant:	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	*And then someone went there or how did they do it?*
Participant:	*They sent someone as a representative.*

<div align="right">(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 249-262, 2013 data gathering, Activity 2, Mpumalanga research site, older men)</div>

Participant:	*When we need a house, we meet the municipality and they provide the house for us.*
Participant:	*We solved electricity problem by asking municipality to come and solve it and they come and give the house that did not have electricity the electricity.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 232- 239, 2013 data gathering, Activity 2, Mpumalanga research site, younger men)
Participant:	*The municipality management bought a new engine to pump water. Because the problem was the engine.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok, so the community spoke to the counsellor and the counsellor spoke to the government.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 221-233, 2013 data gathering, Activity 2, Mpumalanga research site, younger women)

The indigenous authority structure as well as the government institutions thus served as communal coping resources. Although consulting with government institutions does not seem indigenous based at first sight, the way in which this pathway to coping was included in the hierarchical consultation structure in the communities reflects a collective slant. Furthermore, the IKS value *reverence for indigenous authority* underpinned the indigenous coping behaviour *municipal consultation* as the indigenous authority members were, as reported in the study, first consulted before a representative was sent to relevant government institutions. The stories shared by the participants reflected successful mediation of adversity in most of the cases. The participants from both provinces did, however, report that government institutions sometimes took too long to solve problems in which case the community members themselves had to solve the problems on their own by sharing resources (discussed under the category *collective citizenship*).

5.3   SUBTHEME 2.2: COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATORY COPING

"Participation" refers to coping behaviour that involves active participation by community members in activities that lead to mediation of adversity (individual or communal). For Subtheme: 2.2, I identified coping behaviours where the participants shared information that reflected purposeful collective participation in any activity that helped address communal or personal problems. One challenge was to ensure that the *participation* could be seen as indigenous requiring me to frequently revisit the criteria for collective coping. Another challenge was analysing instances where the participants reported some sort of participation but without mentioning adversity specifically. In the end, I decided on the following inclusion and exclusion criteria shown in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7:   Inclusion and exclusion criteria for Subtheme 2.2: Collective participatory coping

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
▪ Purposeful collective participation in a communal activity that leads to the effective mediation of adversity with communal benefits (without excluding inherent individual benefits). ▪ Interdependence or a collective effort is clear where other community members or communal resources are needed to mediate adversity. ▪ One of the IKS values identified as part of Theme 1 is evident.	▪ Instances where participants mention participating in an activity but do not associate it with overcoming adversity. ▪ The outcome of collective participation is not adaptive. ▪ The coping behaviour does not meet the criteria for coping in collective cultures. ▪ The coping behaviour is not underpinned by an IKS value.
Special considerations	
Instances where collective participation in communal activities was mentioned during data gathering but only clarified during member checking.	

The subtheme *collective participatory coping* was evident in Limpopo and Mpumalanga. Table 5.8 compares IKS shared on *collective participatory coping* across age, gender, and time for the Limpopo research site while Table 5.9 does the same for the Mpumalanga research site.

Table 5.8:   Subtheme: 2.2: Collective participatory coping in Limpopo province

			LIMPOPO RESEARCH SITE				F
Subtheme 2.2: Collective participatory coping			Data sources				
Categories	**Group**	**Year**	**English conversation**	**Translations**	**Field notes**	**Photos**	
2.2.1: Collective recreation	Older men	'12	A1	A1	A1	A1	4
		'13	A1; A4	A1	A1; A4	A1	<u>6</u>
	Older women	'12	A1	A1	A1	A1	4
		'13	A1	A1	A1	A1	4
	Younger men	'13	A1	A1		A1	3
	Younger women		Silent				
2.2.2: Collective spirituality	Older men	'12	A1	A1	A1	A1	4
		'13	A1	A1	A1	A1	4
	Older women		Mentioned spiritual connectedness but not in relation to coping.				
	Younger men	'13	A1	A1		A1	3
	Younger women	'12	Mentioned spiritual connectedness but not in relation to coping.				
2.2.3: Collective citizenship 2.2.3.1: Generating and sharing resources	Older men	'12	A2; A3; A3	A2; A3	A2; A3	A2; A3	9
	Older women	'12	A3	A3; A3	A3; A3	A3	6
		'13	A1; A2; A2	A1; A1; A2	A1; A2	A2	9
	Younger men	'12	A1; A1; A1; A1; A3		A3	A1	7
	Younger women	'12	A3	A3	A3	A3	4
		'13		A1; A2	A1; A2	A1; A2	5

2.2.3: Collective citizenship 2.2.3.2: Communal meetings	Older men	'12	A1; A2; A2; A3	A1; A2; A3	A1; A2; A2; A3; A3	A3	13
		'13	A1; A2	A1	A1; A2	A1	6
	Older women	'12	A1; A2; A2; A2	A2; A2; A3	A3	A1	9
		'13	A1; A2; A2	A; A2	A1; A2; A2	A2	9
LIMPOPO RESEARCH SITE							**F**
Subtheme 2.2: Collective participatory coping			**Data sources**				
Categories	**Group**	**Year**	**English conversation**	**Translations**	**Field notes**	**Photos**	
2.2.3: Collective citizenship 2.2.3.2: Communal meetings (continued)	Younger men	'12	Silent		A3	A3	1
		'13	A2			A2	2
	Younger women	'12	A2; A3; A3	A3	A3	A3	6
2.2.4: Collective traditional arts	Older men		Only mentioned during member checking.				
	Older women		Only mentioned during member checking.				
	Younger men		Only mentioned during member checking.				
	Younger women		Only mentioned during member checking.				

Table 5.9:   Subtheme 2.2: Collective participatory coping in Mpumalanga province

MPUMALANGA RESEARCH SITE							F
Subtheme 2.2: Collective participatory coping			**Data Sources**				
Categories	**Group**	**Year**	**English conversation**	**Translations**	**Field notes**	**Photos**	
2.2.1: Collective recreation	Older men	'12	A4	n/a	A4	A1	3
		'13	A4	A4	A4	A1; A4	5
	Older women		Mentioned it is for health but confirmed during member checking that it is a good way to prevent crime and that both the individual and the community benefit.				
	Younger men		Mentioned it is for playing and holding events.				
	Younger women		Mentioned it is for health but confirmed during member checking that it is a good way to prevent crime and that both the individual and the community benefit.				
2.2.2: Collective spirituality	Older men	'12	A1	n/a	A1	A1	3
		'13	A1		A1	A1	3
	Older women	'12	A1; A3; A4	n/a	A3 ; A4	A1; A3; A4	7
		'13		A4; A4	A4	A4	4
	Younger men	'12	A1	n/a		A1	2
		'13		n/a			0
	Younger women	'12		n/a			0
		'13	A1	n/a	A1	A1	3
2.2.3: Collective citizenship 2.2.3.1: Generating and sharing resources	Older men	'12	A1; A2, A2, A2; A3; A3; A3	n/a	A1	A2; A3	10
		'13	A1; A1; A2	A2	A1; A1; A2		7
	Older women	'12	A1; A1; A3 ; A3	n/a	A1; A1; A3	A3	8
		'13		A2; A2; A2	A2; A2	A2	6
	Younger men	'12		n/a	A1; A2	A1; A2	4
		'13	A2; A2; A2	n/a	A2	A2	5
	Younger women	'12	A1; A2	n/a	A2	A1; A2	5
		'13	A1; A2; A2	n/a	A1	A1	5

MPUMALANGA RESEARCH SITE (continued)							
Subtheme 2.2: Collective participatory adaptive coping			**Data Sources**				
Categories	**Group**	**Year**	**English conversation**	**Translations**	**Field notes**	**Photos**	
2.2.3: Collective citizenship 2.2.3.2: Communal meetings	Older men	'12	A2	n/a	A3	A1	3
		'13	A1 L; A2; A2	A2; A2; A2	A1	A1	8
	Older women	'12	A3	n/a			1
	Younger men		A2; A2; A3	n/a	A2; A2	A2; A3	7
		'13	A1; A2; A2	n/a		A2	4
	Younger women	'12	A1; A3	n/a	A3	A1; A3	5
		'13	A1; A2; A2	n/a	A1; A2; A2; A2	A1; A2	9
2.2.4: Collective traditional arts	Older men	'12	A1; A1; A1	n/a	A1; A1	A1	6
		'13	A4				1
	Older women	'12	A1	n/a	A1	A1	3
	Younger men	'12		n/a			0
		'13	A1; A1	n/a	A1	A1	4
	Younger women		Only mentioned during member checking				

For the category *collective recreation*, all the Limpopo groups except for the younger women reported how collective participation in specifically soccer helped to deal with and prevent communal adversity. The older generation (men and women) were the groups that most frequently referred to how the youth's participation in soccer helped them refrain from committing crimes or abusing alcohol. With regard to the category *collective spirituality*, all the Limpopo groups, except for the older women, gave examples of how *collective spirituality* helped them deal with adversity. All the Limpopo groups shared stories of how *collective citizenship* helped the community overcome adversity, and this was also the category that was the most prominent in relation to the categories included under Subtheme 2.2. Table 5.8 shows that only during member checking did the Limpopo participants clarify how culture helped the community deal with problems.

In Mpumalanga, the older men were the only group to share stories on how *collective recreation* helped overcome adversity related to crime. The other groups included the soccer field as a protective resource in their community; however, they identified *collective recreation* as a way to stay healthy and fit rather than as a way to overcome communal problems. The Mpumalanga younger men and women acknowledged and confirmed, during member checking, that *collective recreation* was a good way to prevent crime in their communities. All the Mpumalanga groups shared information on how *collective spirituality* helped deal with adversity – this was a prominent category in the data. With regard to the category *collective citizenship*, all the Mpumalanga groups shared information on the subcategory *generating and sharing resources* but not on the subcategory *participation in communal meetings*. The older women were silent on this subcategory. Regarding the final category *collective traditional arts*, all the groups shared information except for the younger women who acknowledged the role of cultural traditions only during member checking.

Overall, there were no significant differences in the content shared by the Mpumalanga participants. The only difference was that they spoke more about participation in cultural arts activities during the actual data gathering than the Limpopo participants.

5.3.1   CATEGORY 2.2.1: COLLECTIVE RECREATION

Collective recreation refers to participation in non-work-related activities that result in coping with adversity. Participation in soccer was mentioned by various participants in both provinces. It took some consideration on whether to include this as a category or not. In the end, I realised that participation in soccer reflected interdependence, using a communal resource, and led to the mediation of communal problems such as crime and drug abuse (as reported by the participants). The participants' view of *collective recreation*, specifically soccer, indicated a space where community members could come

together in a meaningful way. At both research sites, soccer was mentioned as a recreational activity that helped address and combat communal problems. Table 5.10 summarises the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the category *collective recreation*:

Table 5.10:   Inclusion and exclusion criteria for Category 2.2.1: Collective recreation

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
▪ Purposeful collective participation in a recreational activity that leads to the effective mediation of adversity with communal benefits (without excluding inherent individual benefits). ▪ Interdependence or a collective effort is evident where other community members or communal resources (such as the soccer field) are needed to mediate adversity. ▪ One of the IKS values identified as part of Theme 1 is evident.	▪ Instances where participants mention participating in a recreational activity but do not associate it with overcoming adversity. ▪ The outcome of participation is not adaptive. ▪ The coping behaviour does not meet the criteria for coping in collective cultures. ▪ The coping behaviour is not underpinned by an IKS value.
Special considerations	
Instances where collective participation in recreational activities was mentioned during data gathering but only clarified during member checking.	

With regard to *collective recreation* as a pathway to coping, the participants in both provinces agreed that watching and playing soccer was a good way to prevent crime. The older generation (men and women) from Limpopo province identified the soccer field as a protective resource in their community that helped prevent crime, as shown in Photos 5.5 and 5.6:

Photo 5.5:
(Data source: Photo of community map, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1, Limpopo research site, older men)

Photo 5.6:
(Data source: Photo of community map, 2012 data gathering. Activity 1, Limpopo research site, older women)
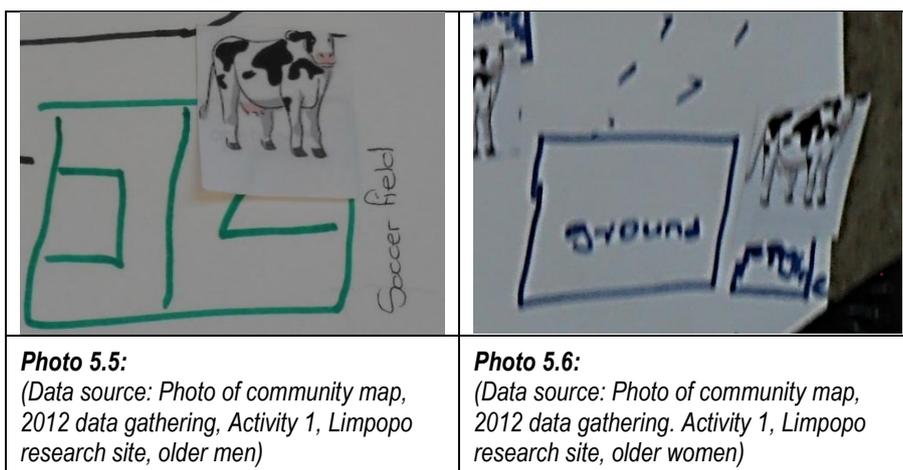
The Limpopo participants reported that participation helped to prevent crime in the community. The older men from Limpopo said that participation in soccer could promote health and a better future and prevent crime. The older women from Limpopo said that the soccer field, which they identified as a protective resource, was a way to keep the youth busy and prevent them from engaging in under-age drinking. The

following extracts from the 2012 and 2013 PRA discussions reveal participation in soccer as a pathway to coping according to the Limpopo older men and women.

Translator:	*Ndi ngani mudavhi nawone uwa ndeme?*
	Why is the soccer field also important?
Participant:	*Uvha na mudavhi wavhudi zwi khou thusa nga maanda kha muvhundu ngauri musi vhaswa vhatshi ita zwa mitambo ahuna zwa vhugevhenga nau fhata vhumatshelo lune vhangadi takuliwa vha tamba nakha thimu khulwane,zwa dovha hafhu zwa vha zwa ndeme kha mitakalo ya vhathu.*
	To have a good sport ground is helping a lot in our village because when youth are being kept busy with sport activities it reduces crime and it gives them an opportunity to build their future wherein they can be promoted and play in the professional team one day, it is also important to human health.
	(Data source: Venda translations, lines 30-39, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1, Limpopo research site, older men)
Participant:	*Mudavhi ndiwa vhudi ngauri ria kona uita nyonyoloso hone, udovha wa ita uri ridzule ri bizi, umvumvusea na u thusa u fhungudza vhugevhenga.*
	A soccer field is good because we can do exercises, it also keeps us busy, entertained and helps reducing crime.
	(Data source: Venda translations, lines 145-148, 2013 data gathering, Activity 2, Limpopo research site, older men)
Participant:	*U ita uri vhana vhashu vhasiye dzithavene, vhavhe bizi ngau tamba bola na uri vhavhe na mitakalo Ya vhudi.*
	It makes our children not to go to the taverns, being kept busy with playing soccer, and it gives them a good health.
	(Data source: Venda translations, lines 73-76, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1, Limpopo research site, older women)
Translator:	*Ndi mudavhi wa bola ya milenzhe.*
	It is a soccer field.
Translator:	*Ndi ngani mudavhi uwa ndeme?*
	Why is it important?
Participant:	*U khipha vhana bizi uri vha sie na dzi thavene.*
	It keeps children busy so that they don't even go to the tavern.
	(Data source: Venda translations, lines 500-505, 2013 data gathering, Activity 2, Limpopo research site, older women)

Similarly, the Mpumalanga older men identified the soccer field as a protective resource in the community, as can be seen in Photo 5.7 (Data source: Photo of community map, 2013 data gathering, Activity 1, Mpumalanga research site, older men)

Photo 5.7:
Soccer field identified as protective resource on community map of Mpumalanga older men 2013

The Mpumalanga older men said that participation in soccer was a good way to prevent crime and drug abuse. They associated the youth's participation in soccer with preventing drug abuse and promoting good health.

Participant:	*Playing soccer. Yeah, it is to reduce crime rate. You can say it can prevent it.*
Participant:	*They will get more time playing soccer, than time wasted to think about stealing something, doing dagga, this and that.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 728, 734-735, 2012 data gathering, Activity 4, Mpumalanga research site, older men)
Participant:	*For the young kids to keep themselves busy. Sometimes they don't cope at school so we have to search their talent elsewhere. Yes and to keep them away from drugs.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 398-399, 301, 2013 data gathering, Activity 4, Mpumalanga research site, older men)

The younger men from Limpopo was the only younger group from both provinces that said that soccer helped prevent crime: *It keeps us busy and people are not committing crimes* (M-YM; 2013; A1, line 139). The Limpopo younger men accordingly included the soccer field as something positive in their community, as shown in Photo 5.8 (Data source: Photo of community map, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1, Limpopo research site, younger men).
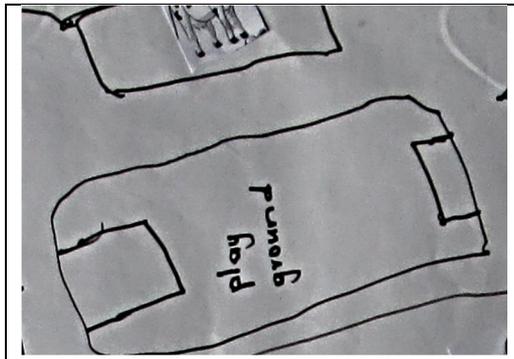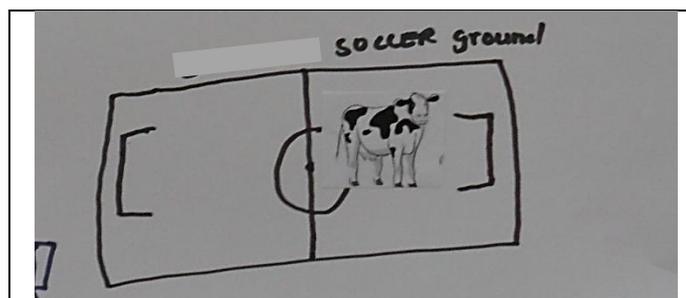

Photo 5.8:
Soccer field identified as protective resource on community map of Limpopo younger men 2012

In both provinces, it appeared that the older generation focused specifically on the benefits of participation in soccer for the younger generation, which included preventing crime and using drugs and improving health. However, during the member checking in Limpopo and Mpumalanga, all the groups agreed that participation in soccer was a good way to prevent crime. Accordingly, *collective recreation* could be seen as an adaptive coping pathway, as indicated in the following extracts.

Fieldworker:	One of the first things I learnt was that watching and playing soccer can help to prevent crime.
(Translator translates	
Participants:	Yes,
Fieldworker:	Ok, both watching and playing or only watching and playing? Translator translates
Participants:	Both.
Fieldworker:	Ok, and who benefits then? Is it the people involved only in the soccer or does the whole community benefit?
(Translator translates)	
Translator:	Both the people watching and the people involved.

<div align="right">(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 25-35, 2014 member checking,
Limpopo research site, combined group)</div>

Fieldworker:	The first thing I learned from you was that playing soccer in the community is very important. You said watching and playing soccer is good for two things. The first thing is it helps to prevent crime like drug abuse. Some of you then said it is a good way to keep your body healthy. Did I understand that right?
Participant:	Yes.
Fieldworker:	Is it only watching soccer or only playing or both that helps?
Participant:	Both.
Fieldworker:	Ok, so it is both of them. Is it good for both the individual and the community as a whole? Or only for the one or the other?
Participant:	I think it is good for both. It is good to see someone playing and it is good to play on a team.
Fieldworker:	Ok, so it is good for both the individual and the community. The other thing we understood was that if you participate in entertainment is also good. The entertainment that was mentioned was singing and dancing. Do you think for the individual and community singing and dancing is good?
Participant:	Yes.

<div align="right">(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 1-16, 2014 member checking,
Mpumalanga research site, combined group)</div>

Although the idea of *collective recreation* might not come across as an indigenous pathway to coping at first sight, considering community members' view of this pathway to coping qualified it as an indigenous pathway. Firstly, *collective recreation*, as discussed by the participants from both Limpopo and Mpumalanga, represented a normative way of coping as taught in the community. Secondly, a communal resource, the soccer field, was used for a communal purpose as its benefit, according to the participants,

stretched beyond the individual. Lastly, interdependence came to the fore in the study as participation as a community was highlighted by the participants. *Collective recreation* reflected the IKS value *collective connectedness* as the community members came together to participate in activities that helped reduce and prevent communal adversity.

5.3.2 CATEGORY 2.2.2: COLLECTIVE SPIRITUALITY

Collective spirituality involves a process where physical, social, and spiritual resources are used, through attending church, worshipping, and praying, to deal with problems such as crime, alcohol abuse, unemployment, stress, and lack or resources. Participation in spiritual activities was included as a category because spiritual connectedness was often mentioned by the participants as a way to overcome adversity. *Collective spirituality* was said to improve connectedness between people (as it served as a basis for community members to come together and support one another) and to address communal problems such as crime and unemployment. In general, spirituality was thought to play an important role in coping (Hodge & Roby, 2010). Table 5.11 summarises the inclusion and exclusion criteria for Category 2.2.2: Collective spirituality.

Table 5.11:   Inclusion and exclusion criteria for Category 2.2.2: Collective spirituality

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
▪ Purposeful collective participation in spiritual activities that leads to the effective mediation of adversity with communal benefits (without excluding inherent individual benefits). ▪ Interdependence or a collective effort is evident where other community members or communal resources (such as the church) are needed to mediate adversity. ▪ One of the IKS values identified as part of Theme 1 is evident.	▪ Instances where participants mention participating in a spiritual activity but do not associate it with overcoming adversity. ▪ The outcome of participation is not adaptive. ▪ The coping behaviour does not meet the criteria for coping in collective cultures. ▪ The coping behaviour is not underpinned by an IKS value.
Special considerations	
Instances where collective participation in spiritual activities was mentioned during data gathering but only clarified during member checking.	

In general, *collective spirituality*, specifically attending church, was associated by the participants with reduced crime, substance abuse, and stress. Several groups from the Limpopo participants identified the church in their village as a protective resource, as shown in Photo 5.9 and Photo 5.10:

Photo 5.9:
Church as protective resource on community map drawn my Limpopo older men 2013

Photo 5.10:
Church as protective resource on community map drawn my Limpopo younger men 2013
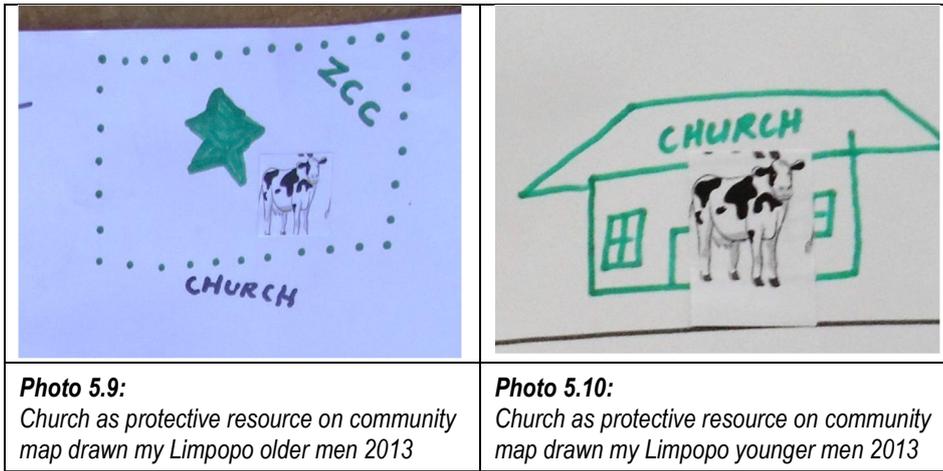
The Limpopo older men associated attending church with promoting peace and preventing crime: *The church makes the village to stay calm. And also if a large number of people attending church it means that you will be avoiding things like crime* (L-OM, 2012; A1, lines 5-6). The younger men from Limpopo also said *collective spirituality* had a preventive function: *Church also teach us not to learn how to drink some beers* (L-YM, 2013, A3, line 147). The women (younger and older) from Limpopo also referred to spiritual connectedness through mentioning that they participate in spiritual activities but not necessarily with the purpose of overcoming adversity, and therefore the information they shared on participation in spiritual activities was not included in Theme 1. The Mpumalanga older men identified the two churches in their community as protective resources. Photo 5.11 shows the churches identified by the older men followed by an extract from the 2012 PRA discussion where they explain their identification of the churches as protective resources.

Photo 5.11:
Church identified as protective resource on community map of Mpumalanga older men 2012

| Participant: | *God is there and you believe that maybe if you pray, God will help you. If you are unemployed, if I pray maybe I can get some job.* |
| Participant: | *Also it reducing crime. People when they hear the Bible say something. People understand, no let me not doing this, because it is a sin.* |

<div align="right">(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 307-308, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1,
Mpumalanga research site, older men)</div>

The extract reveals that the Mpumalanga older men regarded participation in spiritual activities as a way to overcome unemployment and prevent crime. During the 2013 data gathering, the older men elaborated on the role of participation in spiritual activities in dealing with adversity by saying that attending church created a platform for people to come together and support one another: *It is good. Maybe somebody is having stress at home. They can socialise with other people at church* (M-OM, 2013, A1, lines 114-115). The Mpumalanga older men also saw attending church as a source of protection: *God protects us from enemy* (M-OM, 2013; A1, line 120). The women from Mpumalanga (older and younger), too, identified the church as a protective resource in the community, as shown in Photos 5.12 and 5.13:

Photo 5.12: *Church as protective resource on Mpumalanga older women's community map 2012*	**Photo 5.13:** *Church as protective resource on Mpumalanga younger women's community map 2013*
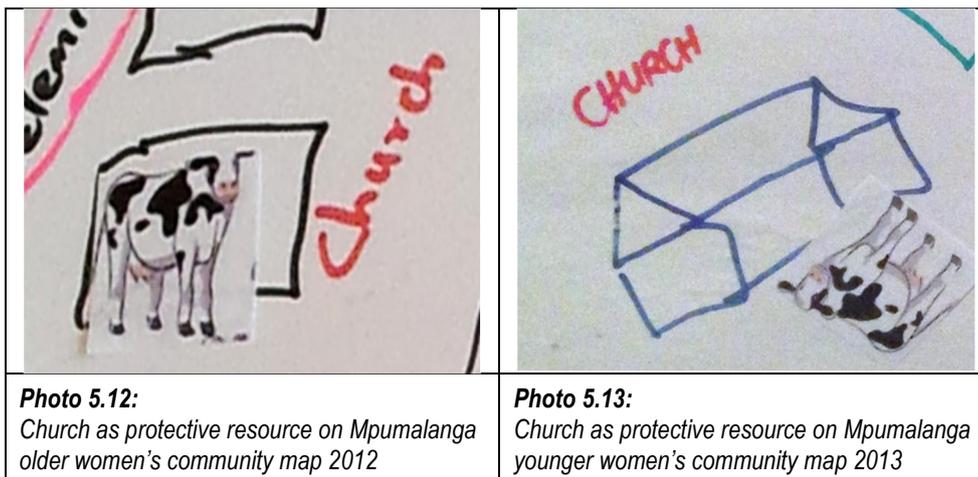
The older women said that attending church guided behaviour: *This one is a church. I think it's important for members of the community to go to church so that they will know what God is expecting of them* (M-OW, 2012; A1, lines 75-76). The older women added that worshipping *is to open the heart* (M-OW, 2012; A4, line 550). The notion that the Gospel can open one's heart was clarified during member checking and appeared to be a way to reduce stress and promote comfort: *You find that sometimes singing just comfort my heart. Maybe I'm stressful or I'm in pain then maybe I lost one of my big brothers. So maybe this song comforts me* (M-MC, 2014, lines 299-300). The older women, like the older men, associated participation in spiritual activities as a way to deal with unemployment: *Also with a job you will not get it if you do not worship God, God will not give you the job. You have to pray to God with all your heart. That is why there is a saying that says God is a God of orphans and widows those women whose husbands*

have died (M-OW, 2013; A4, 714-717). The younger women associated attending church and praying with receiving blessings:

Participant:	*It is important for us because it is where you communicate with God. It is important, because…I think we were created by Him.*
Fieldworker:	*What do you get when you communicate with God? When you go to church, when you pray… what do you get?*
Participant:	*Blessings.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 61-69, 2013 data gathering, Activity 1, Mpumalanga research site, younger women)

The younger men from Mpumalanga were the only group that did not include a church on their community map; however, they did mention spiritual coping during the PRA conversations: *The church is also good because we pray to god and receive blessing from God. There are many churches in this place* (M-YM, 2012; A1, lines 60-61). It was clarified during member checking that receiving blessings from God meant that their needs were met.

During member checking, it was confirmed by the participants in both Limpopo and Mpumalanga that *collective spirituality* was successful in preventing as well as dealing with adversity. The participants believed that *collective spirituality* had an adaptive function and promoted support and love in the community. The following conversation during member checking reveals that spiritual activities can be seen as an adaptive coping strategy.

Fieldworker:	Fieldworker:
Ok. So does it helps both the person going to church and the community?	*Then a lot of people said that there are a lot of churches around here and then they said if you go to church it is a good way to deal with problems. Do you agree with that?*
Participant:	Participant:
Yes.	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	Fieldworker:
And does going to church help them deal with problems?	*Can you maybe add, discuss or give me an example?*
Participant:	Fieldworker:
Yes.	*You can discuss. You are the experts of your community and you can help me understand.*
Fieldworker: *Can they maybe give an example?*	Participant:
Translator:	*It helps people to change their life.*
Sometimes you will find that a person have a big problem. There are people that when they are facing challenges they want to hang themselves or to take a bullet, take a gun to shoot themselves. It helps to go to church because they will learn so if you are having problems you should not shoot yourself or kills yourself.	Fieldworker:
	Ok. So it helps people to change their life. How?
	Participant:
	Especially when you have problem with others, when

Stuff like that.	*you go to church, God does not like you to have problem with other. The Bible teaches us to have peace.*
Fieldworker:	
Ok. So it is good support?	
Translator:	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 35- 46, 2014 member checking, Mpumalanga research site, combined group)
Yes.	
Fieldworker:	
Ok. So prayer can help both the community and the individual?	
Translator:	
Individual and community.	
Fieldworker:	
Ok. If they pray, do they only pray for themselves or do they pray for the community?	
Translator:	
Both.	
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 70-98, 2014 member checking, Limpopo research site, combined group)	

From the shared knowledge, it is evident that spiritual coping is associated not only with connecting with God but also with connecting with other community members. To a certain degree, spiritual coping reflects the relationship orientation community members have towards one another and towards God. Overall, *collective spirituality* is underpinned by the IKS value *collective connectedness*.

As in the case of the previous subtheme, one could argue that *collective spirituality* at first sight might not come across as indigenous. However, when one considers the communal approach to spiritual activities as a pathway to coping (where the participants seemed to focus more on communal rather than on individual purposes), *collective spirituality* in these specific communities could be seen as indigenous in nature. Firstly, a strong sense of consensus was noted with regard to the purpose of participation in spiritual activities and how the community benefited from it thus portraying *collective spirituality* as a normative way of coping as taught in the community. Secondly, a communal resource (the church) was used, and the participants also often referred to the importance of getting together as a community within the church setting. Thirdly, a collective orientation, associated with indigenous cultures, came to the fore through the participants reporting that spiritual coping was an important interpersonal function in the community. During member checking, the participants from both provinces elaborated on specific spiritual practices focusing on individual as well as communal benefits. Lastly, the participants referred to the interpersonal support they received at church thus implying the interdependence associated with collectivistic cultures.

5.3.3   CATEGORY 2.2.3: COLLECTIVE CITIZENSHIP

Collective citizenship as a pathway to coping was evident in the data and represented participation in activities in order to fulfil community members' responsibility towards the community. Collective responsibility is usually encouraged by traditional beliefs in African culture (Patel, 2007). The youth in African culture are generally raised to be part of the community so that one day they will share the responsibility of developing the community (Serpell, Mumba & Chansa-Kabali, 2011). Connectedness in this regard is in line with African societies' reliance on mutual aid, kinship, and community support to meet human needs (Patel, 2007). The category *collective citizenship* was the only category to include the subcategories *generating and sharing resources* and *communal meetings*. Table 5.12 summarises the inclusion and exclusion criteria for *collective citizenship*:

Table 5.12:   Inclusion and exclusion criteria for Category 2.2.3: Collective citizenship

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
▪ Purposeful participation in activities that reflect community members taking up civic responsibility that leads to the effective mediation of adversity with communal benefits (without excluding inherent individual benefits). ▪ Interdependence or a collective effort is clear where other community members or communal resources are needed to mediate adversity. ▪ One of the IKS values identified as part of Theme 1 is evident.	▪ Participation in an activity is mentioned but not associated with coping. ▪ Coping is not adaptive. ▪ Coping behavior does not meet the criteria for coping in collectivistic cultures. ▪ No IKS value underpins the coping behaviour.
Special considerations	
Instances where participants mention participation in generating and sharing resources or communal meetings but only clarify or confirm during member checking that participation leads to mediation of adversity. Participation was in that reflect community members taking up civic responsibility [INCOHERENT] was mentioned during data gathering but only clarified during member checking.	

Collective citizenship featured across location, gender, and age whether occurring through *participation in generating and sharing resources* or through *participation in communal meetings*. *Generating and sharing resources* is discussed first.

5.3.3.1   Subcategory 2.2.3.1: Generating and sharing resources

This subcategory reflects instances where community members participate in activities, such as farming, that will increase the community's resources and help overcome communal problems (without excluding inherent individual problems or gains). This subcategory includes instances where individual community members share their own personal resources (such as money, belongings, time, and skills) in order to

help overcome communal problems. The inclusion and exclusion criteria for *generation and sharing resources* are shown in Table 5.13:

Table 5.13:   Inclusion and exclusion criteria for Subcategory 2.2.3.1: Generation and sharing resources

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
▪ Purposeful participation in activities where community members help to generate resources in the community or where they share their own personal resources (which could include their own time, skills, or belongings), which leads to the effective mediation of adversity with communal benefits (without excluding inherent individual benefits). ▪ Interdependence or a collective effort is clear where other community members or communal resources are needed to mediate adversity. ▪ One of the IKS values identified as part of Theme 1 is evident.	▪ Purposeful participation in activities where community members help to generate resources in the community or where they share their own personal resources (which could include their own time, skills or belongings), which does not ▪ lead to the effective mediation of adversity; ▪ meet the criteria for coping in collective cultures; ▪ seem to be underpinned by an IKS value.
Special considerations	
Instances of participation in activities where the participants helped to generate resources in the community or where they shared their own personal resources (which could include their own time, skills, or belongings) were mentioned during data gathering but clarified only during member checking.	

With regard to resource generation, the common example given in both research sites was that participation in farming activities helped the community generate resources related to food and money. The Mpumalanga participants shared considerably more information than the Limpopo participants on how community members had to participate in farming activities in order to mediate poverty. This could be partially due to the ongoing drought in Limpopo and other natural resources that made farming less feasible in Limpopo. Only the Limpopo younger women mentioned participation in farming to provide food: *We use to plough and get food* (YW/T: H-2013; line 220, translations). Although the younger women were the only research participants to provide information on farming during the PRA conversations, the participants as a whole confirmed during member checking that participation in farming helped deal with poverty-related adversity. The participants' confirmation of participation in farming as a pathway to coping is shown in the following extract.

Fieldworker:	*We have also learned that by farming you can get food and that helps with poverty alleviation and not having food, and also sometimes they can sell chicken and goats to get money and then it helps both the individual and the community to benefits?*
Translator:	*Ari o guda uri nga kha vhulimi vhaa wana zwiliwa nau thusa khau fhungudza vhushai, nauri tshinwe tshifhinga vhaya rengisa dzi khuhu na mbudzi uwana tshelede, muthu onoyo khathihi na muvhundu vhaya vhueliwa vhothe?*

Participants:	*Eeh.*
	Yes.
Fieldworker:	*Is farming something that the whole community do to provide food?*
Translator:	*Ari ndi zwithu zwine mivhundu yothe iya zwiita naa ubveledza zwiliwa?*
Participants:	*Rothe ria zwiita.*
	We all do.

<div align="right">(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 134-146, 2014 member checking,
Limpopo research site, combined group)</div>

In Mpumalanga, on the other hand, participation in farming came across as a core pathway to coping, as reported by the older men of Mpumalanga: *The only thing we are surviving here with is with farming* (M-OM, 2012; A1, lines 137-142). The prominence of farming in Mpumalanga is shown on the community maps of the participants, as can be seen in Photos 5.14, 5.15, 5.16, and 5.17:

Photo 5.14:
Farming fields as protective resource on community map of Mpumalanga older men 2013

Photo 5.15:
Farming fields as protective resource on community map of Mpumalanga older women 2013

Photo 5.16:
Farming fields as protective resource on community map of Mpumalanga younger men 2013

Photo 5.17:
Farming fields as protective resource on community map of Mpumalanga younger women 2013

The common view of the Mpumalanga participants on participation in farming was that it was adaptive as it helped deal with poverty-related issues such as unemployment and food scarcity, as reflected in the following PRA conversations of the older men and older women.

Mpumalanga older men	Mpumalanga older women
Participant:	Participant:
As we have ploughing fields, to eradicate poverty, uh, to eliminate scarcity of job. I think when you are going to the ploughing fields you do something there to help. To encourage youth to go there.	*A lot of the community members here, they are dependent on farming. So these are their fields where they have got their maize, and at the end of the day they take their maize to the depot.*
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 657-659, 2012 data gathering, Activity 3, Mpumalanga research site)	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 41-43, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1, Mpumalanga research site))
Participant:	
Firstly we have that garden (refers to garden used for cultivating food for orphans). Even for those women who are working. Who are benefiting from it.	
(Data source: English transcriptions, line 89, 2013 data gathering, Activity 1, Mpumalanga research site)	

The Mpumalanga younger men reported that farming was a source of employment and income: *The animals are also important to us and the farms because we get our jobs and food there* (M-YM, 2012, A1 L58-59). The younger women from Mpumalanga said that participation in farming was important in food provision:

Fieldworker:	*And what is this? The field?*
Translator:	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	*Why is it a good a good thing in your community?*
Translator:	*It gives us food.*
Fieldworker:	*Any specific kind of food?*
Translator:	*Cabbage, tomatoes, potatoes, beetroot, everything…*
Main investigator:	*So everybody gets their food here? Or do they buy? Do people get most of their food from their own plots or do they buy it? Where do people get most food from?*
YW/T (O-2012; 1):	*Yes, from the fields.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 86-95, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1, Mpumalanga research site, younger women)

During member checking, the participants from both provinces confirmed that communal participation in farming was a good way to generate resources in the community and combat poverty. The following field notes taken during member checking support the adaptive function of communal participation in promoting resource generation, according to the Mpumalanga participants

> The participants agreed and confirmed that farming is an important coping behaviour in the community. They mentioned both old and young participates and farming is a normative way in the community. The participants agreed that both individuals involved and the community benefits from farming.
>
> (Data source: Field notes, lines 22-24, 2014 member checking,
>
> Mpumalanga research site, combined group)

Another way community members can participate in civic responsibility to overcome adversity is by sharing resources. Sharing resources refers to instances where community members share resources to overcome adversity on an individual and communal level. Shared resources can include financial capital, household goods, and human capital. In terms of the present study, the participants had to share financial resources in order to overcome communal adversity related to poor infrastructure and services. All the Limpopo groups (older men and women as well as younger men and women) shared examples of how community members contributed money for a communal borehole. This was usually done when the government took too long to respond to their needs.

The Limpopo older men were asked what they would do if the government took too long to respond to the water scarcity: *There was the first borehole they had before, they contributed each household that contributed in order to have that borehole to have it done* (L-OM, 2012, A3, lines 121-122). Likewise, the older women said that they as a community themselves could dig a borehole if the community members shared financial resources: *She said that you ring a bell at the royal house so that we gather together and discuss the problem that is water so that we can collect money from the community so that we can go and make a borehole for ourselves* (L-OW, 2012, A3, lines 394-396).

The Limpopo younger men also reported contributing money as a community: *Another problem we face here is the problem of water, anytime the diesel is finished we have to contribute money to buy diesel and pump the water into the reservoir. We contribute R50 per house monthly to buy diesel monthly* (L-YM, 2012, A1, lines 55-57). The Limpopo younger women specifically stated that if the community members contributed money, they would not have to rely on the municipality: *We agreed amongst ourselves that each representative of the household can contribute a certain amount of money, for that borehole… then, we sat down again as a village and agreed that each household in the village should contribute an amount of R10 for the diesel. We didn't rely on the municipality for the diesel. That's why we agreed to contribute R10 per household for diesel. And now we are not running short of water* (L-YW, 2012, A3, lines 114-123). During member checking, the participants clarified that in cases of donating either money or household goods, what they donated would depend on the agreement reached in the village:

The older women from Limpopo also shared an example of a goat project in the community where community members shared goats with other community members if they themselves had enough goats. This enabled the other community members to breed with the goats and later, in turn, share with other community members. The following extracts illustrate the Limpopo older women's story.

Participant:	*Huna phurodzhekete ya dzi mbudzi.*
	There is a goat farming project.
Translator:	*Eyi thandela ya dzimbudzi i thusa hani lushaka?*
	How is the goat farming project helping the community?
Participant:	*Musi dzi tshianda ria neana uri munwe na munwe avhe nadzo.*
	When they get many we share so at the end we all have them.
Translator:	*Vha neana mahala?*
	Do you share freely?
Participant:	*Eeh.*
	Yes.

(Data source: Venda translations, lines 367-376, 2013 data gathering, Activity 1,

Limpopo research site, older women)

The Mpumalanga participants also gave examples of how the community shared resources, even household goods, to help either others in the community or to address communal issues. The Mpumalanga younger men, like the Limpopo participants, shared examples of instances where the

community contributed money to improve or restore communal resources and even to hold communal events such as cultural days:

Participant:	*That is a big problem because electricity is dangerous.*
Fieldworker:	*You do not need to touch the electricity, you only need the poles.*
Participant:	*Yes, that is a big problem because, we knock door of everybody and when one person gives you R1, what are you going to do with the money?*
Fieldworker:	*What if it is one pole?*
Participant:	*We will donate money.*
Fieldworker:	*Have you ever make donations in the past?*
Participant:	*Yes, every year we donate money for our cultural day.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 279-286, 2013 data gathering, Activity 2, Mpumalanga research site, younger men)

The older women from Mpumalanga reported that if a community member was in need, such as an orphan who was hungry, they as a community would donate food: *We are going to donate food* (M-OW, 2012, A3, line 464). The Mpumalanga men shared stories where community members donated resources in order to improve communal resources such as the local school, as well as for funerals:

Participant:	*Our schools were built by mud. We said also donating materials.*
Participant:	*Community members donated materials to build new schools.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 518-519, 2012 data gathering, Activity 2, Mpumalanga research site, older men)

Participant:	*Also we do same at funerals.*
Fieldworker:	*Ja?*
Participant:	*People used to donate food, everything. Even wood to make some coffins.*
Participant:	*There was something like societies that donate.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok, so if someone dies people donate...?*
Participant:	*Everything.*
Participant:	*They went door to door for donations.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok, in the community?*
Participant:	*Ja.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 524-530, 2012 data gathering, Activity 2, Mpumalanga research site, older men)

During member checking, the Mpumalanga participants explained that donations made by the community for events like funerals were often under the control of church leaders who would decide who contributed what. This also shed light on what the older men meant when they said there were societies that made contributions.

Fieldworker:	And then with funerals, do people also contribute money?
Participant:	Yes.
Fieldworker:	And does the community agree how much?
Participant:	No, last time we were talking about churches. We have different churches. We can go to that church because they know I am a member of this church. As a church they can contribute how much money they want to contribute.
Fieldworker:	So that discussion is made in the church?
Participant:	Yes. We are a team as members of the team. We contribute as a team.

<div align="right">(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 163-170, 2014 member checking,
Mpumalanga research site, combined group)</div>

The Mpumalanga older women also said that the community members themselves would build houses if the government took too long to do so: *RDP[3] houses there are many any people build houses for themselves* (M-OW, 2013, A2, lines 590-591). During member checking, the participants explained that in cases of building houses, community members helped by providing skills and building materials:

Fieldworker:	*Ok, that makes sense. The people also said that the government is not building enough houses here quickly enough so the community members sometimes build their own house. How do they do that? How do they get to build their own houses?*
Participant:	*I think they contribute some of mine. One might have cement and the others come because they know how to build a house. They don't' get paid.*
Fieldworker:	*It is also volunteering and it is also sharing materials and skills?*
Participant:	*Yes.*

<div align="right">(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 296-316, 2014 member checking,
Mpumalanga research site, combined group)</div>

Another resource the participants from both provinces mentioned related to community members sharing their time and skills (human resources) to improve the community and address communal issues. Often, community members were either chosen or volunteered to form part of groups that had the responsibility to deal with communal adversity. The Limpopo participants shared stories about instances where the community capitalised on social resources to improve community resources and control bad behaviour, as illustrated in the following PRA discussion extracts.

Translator:	*Both women and men can go and dig a spring.*
Translator:	*They can make a fence around the spring.*
Translator:	*They said that if the cows go to the springs, the cows destroy our springs and the water will get dirty*

---

[3] RDP houses refer to houses that are built by the government as part of the Reconstruction and Development Programme aimed at providing houses to citizens in order to improve living conditions in South African, especially amongst those who were affected by Apartheid.

	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 423-432, 2012 data gathering, Activity 4, Limpopo research site, older women)
Translator:	*They sat down with the headman and they choose those people who can work during the night, the volunteers, to...they select a committee…Oh, warn the owner of the tavern to, maybe past eight, to turn off the music down.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 589-594, 2013 data gathering, Activity 4, Limpopo research site, older women)
Fieldworker:	*What about the reservoir?*
Participant:	*It used to be dirty water inside it.*
Fieldworker:	*Don't you always wash it?*
Participant:	*We wash it but it is dirty quickly and when it is dirty we will find people who do not want to clean it, everybody will then call a meeting and choose people to clean it.*
Fieldworker:	*How do you select people to clean it?*
Participant:	*The headman will choose somebody to clean it.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 123-129, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1, Limpopo research site, younger men)
Translator:	*And the other one is the holes on the roads.*
Fieldworker:	*What did you do to try to fix that?*
Translator:	*We used to fill it.*
Translator:	*hey put stone on that hole.*
Fieldworker:	*To fix the hole on the road?*
Translator:	*Ya, on our own, not by the government.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 40-45, 2013 data gathering, Activity 2, Limpopo research site, younger women)

Like the Limpopo younger women, the Mpumalanga younger men reported that there was a work group in the community that focused specifically on dealing with infrastructural problems in the community: *Ok, for example, we use to have pipe on the farm and if it burst we will call a meeting and repair it. There is a group that will repair it* (M-YM, 2013, A2, lines 246-247). The Mpumalanga participants referred to instances where they formed groups to overcome communal adversity. The Mpumalanga older men specifically mentioned how they formed stakeholder groups to create employment opportunities in the community:

Participant:	*We say we had unemployment.*
Fieldworker:	*And that was high last year?*
Participant:	*Yes it was high last year.*
Fieldworker:	*And how did you go about solving that?*
Participant:	*Yes. We consulted and we grouped together local stakeholders. And we came up with a plan on how we are going to reduce that high rate. We decided to form groups for cooperatives. And we applied for being a cooperative.*

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Fieldworker:	*You applied for? To be registered?*
Participant:	*Yes to be registered.*
Fieldworker:	*The stakeholders, who are they? Can you give an example?*
Participant:	*Yes like local businesses, traditional healers, tribal authorities and ward counsellor.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok, what was the plan that you came up with. What did you do?*
Participant:	*We wanted them to help us raise funds for starting our own business.*
Fieldworker:	*And what was that business?*
Participant:	*Farming.*
Fieldworker:	*Farming specifically?*
Participant:	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	*Now tell me how do you run that now that you started the business. How do you manage that?*
Participant:	*We do have funds from other companies. After that we employ people.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 200-221, 2013 data gathering, Activity 2, Mpumalanga research site, older men)

The Mpumalanga older men, older women, and younger women shared examples of where people volunteered to help other community members in need:

Participant:	*Forming a community-based organisation. That is bullet number two…actually, this organisations is something to help the community, especially the disabled, the old ones and orphans…because if there is parcels at the municipality, they can use those organisations to distribute those parcels.*
Participant:	*That is to help other members.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 638-642, 2012 data gathering, Activity 3, Mpumalanga research site, older men)

Participant:	*And after that. There is garden but a big one.*
Fieldworker:	*Oh, you didn't draw the big garden last time. So that is something new.*
Participant:	*Laughing, no but it was there.*
Fieldworker:	*And what do you get from that garden?*
Participant:	*Vegetables for orphans. There are a group of women that is using.*
Fieldworker:	*Oh, so it is a group of women cultivating the food for the orphans?*
Participant:	*Yes, yes.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 11-17, 2013 data gathering, Activity 3, Mpumalanga research site, older men)

Participant:	*Ja, it's a home-based centre. These are the people who are working within the community, especially they are assisting the orphans. They are visiting places where people are sick, and people maybe they are taking tablets so that maybe they will be able, if that person is staying alone, and the person maybe is taking antiretroviral drugs, they are there to monitor whether these people are taking these tablets. They see to it that they get food, they cook for them, they wash, whatever they need, whatever way that they assist.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 175-181, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1, Mpumalanga research site, older women)

Participant:	*One: solve for jobs, is to form group NGO non-governmental organisation.*
Fieldworker:	*Let me just ask a question. Akhona amagroups or are you still going to form them?*
Participant:	*Akhona. There are groups that exist.*
Participant:	*But not really.*
Participant:	*Akhona ama home based, ikhona iyatentela angithi?*
	There are groups such as the home-based care names I YANTENTELA (we are doing it for ourselves) right?
Participant:	*Nalabo abase mkwaqweni bathengisa ama cabbage labafana labo yigroup?*
	Are we also referring to those that sell cabbages on the road? Are those boys part of the group?
Participant:	*Yes.*
Participant:	*Two: road is to assist the public works like a group name SIYATENTELA.*
Fieldworker:	*So Kusho khuthi this group is formed by the community?*
Participant:	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	*And you go to the government and say you are going to assist?*
Participant:	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	*Who pays this group?*
Participant:	*No one.*
Fieldworker:	*It's free?*
Participant:	*Yes, we working like a volunteer.*

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(Data source: Swati translations, lines 515-539, 2013 data gathering, Activity 2, Mpumalanga research site, older women)

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Participants:	*Orphans were suffering from hunger and there is a group calling home-based care working for the community, they reported it to the social workers, the social workers provide food for them while they are still registering them for social grants.*

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(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 130-132, 2012 data gathering, Activity 2, Mpumalanga research site, younger women)

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Several personal and communal coping resources played a role in *participation in generating and sharing resources*. At both research sites, coping resources such as social relationships, personal belongings, individual skills, and time were made use of. The participants from both research sites confirmed during member checking that sharing played an important role in solving problems, as reflected in the following extracts.

Fieldworker:	Overall. You can ask them, in general, is sharing in the community a good way to solve problems?
(Translator translates)	
Participant:	Yes.
Fieldworker:	Are they taught from small to share?
(Translator translates)	

Translator:	Yes. It is what they learn when they grow up.
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 334-340, 2014 member checking, Limpopo research site, combined group)
Fieldworker:	To reflect on what we just said now, I understand that sharing is very important in the community?
Participant:	Yes.
Fieldworker:	And sharing is important for solving problems?
Participant:	Yes.
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 209-213, 2014 member checking, Mpumalanga research site, combined group)

In the present study, the IKS value *collective connectedness* underpinned the subcategory *participation in gathering and sharing resources* where the research participants used their connectedness with one another to contribute towards solving other community members' problems and communal issues in general. A strong sense of interdependence and individual as well as communal benefits were evident.

5.3.3.2 Subcategory 2.2.3.2: Participation in communal meetings

Participation in communal meetings refers to active participation in community meetings where the goal is to solve personal and communal problems. Across location, gender, and age in the present study, *participation in communal meetings* came to the fore as a pathway to coping and problem solving. Although communal meetings are an inherent part of the hierarchical consultation structure included in Subtheme 1.1, it was considered necessary to acknowledge the communities' active participation in the consultation process by including this separate subcategory. Table 5.14 summarises the inclusion and exclusion criteria for Subcategory 2.2.3.2: Participation in communal meetings:

Table 5.14:   Inclusion and exclusion criteria for Subcategory 2.2.3.2: Participation in communal meetings

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
▪ Purposeful participation in communal meetings that leads to the effective mediation of adversity with communal benefits (without excluding inherent individual benefits). ▪ Interdependence or a collective effort is clear where other community members or communal resources (such as the church) are needed to mediate adversity. ▪ One of the IKS values identified as part of Theme 1 is evident.	▪ Purposeful participation in communal meetings that does not o lead to the effective mediation of adversity; o meet the criteria for coping in collective cultures; o appear to be underpinned by an IKS value.
Special considerations	
Instances where participation in communal meetings was mentioned during data gathering but clarified only during member checking.	

The Limpopo participants shared stories that revealed that community meetings were used to discuss and solve communal matters. The older men and older women from Limpopo identified the place where the community gathered to solve problems as a protective resource in their community, as shown in Photos 5.18 and 5.19.

Photo 5.18: *Place of communal meetings as protective resource on community map of Limpopo older men 2012*	*Photo 5.19:* *Place of communal meetings as protective resource on community map of Limpopo older men 2012*
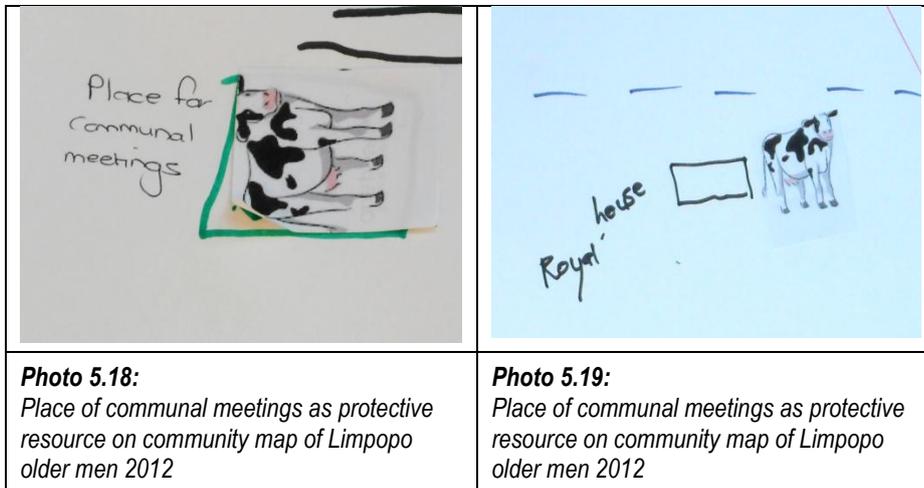
The Limpopo older men said that they could talk about what was happening in the village at the place (venue) of communal meetings: *This place is more important because everything that is happening around the village is talked here, agreements* (L-OM, 2012; A1, lines 19-20). The older women from Limpopo specifically mentioned that they went to the royal house when they needed to discuss a problem: *She said that you ring a bell at the royal house so that we gather together and discuss the problem…* (L-OW, 2012, A3, lines 395-395).

The Limpopo younger men also reported that the community members gathered together when there was a problem: *Everybody will then call a meeting* (L-YM, 2012; A1, line 127). The Limpopo younger women confirmed that community members raised matters at meetings: *They will introduce the idea at their social gathering* (-YW, 2012; A3, line 159).

The older men from Limpopo reported that personal as well as communal problems could be discussed when community members gathered together: *Whichever problem they are having, they sit down at a communal meeting whether it is a personal or else* (L-OM, 2012; A2; lines 76-77). The Limpopo older men added that gathering together to create a space for shared discussion and decision making was the first step in dealing with problems: *It all started at a communal meeting, they had an agreement from there. So they wrote a letter and they all agreed on it* (L-OM, 2012; A2, lines 61-62). According to them, it was important to reach agreement when the community discussed problems: *They must first discuss each as if explain and after that they must reach an agreement* (L-OM, 2012; A3, lines 101-102). Like the older men, the younger women from Limpopo also said that the process of discussing and decision

making should end with an agreement among the community members: *They can do it only if there is an agreement* (L-YW, 2012; A3, line 128). The older men added that the community needed to follow the traditional leader.

The Mpumalanga participants, too, highlighted the valuable role of community meetings in solving problems. The younger men from Mpumalanga emphasised sharing when community members came together to discuss problems and make decisions: *When we have a problem, we come together as a community and talk about our problem and say what to do and what not to do* (M-YM, 2013; A2, line 321-323). The Mpumalanga older men also said that problems were solved by coming together: *The next one is the community hall. We are saying because that is where everybody gets together…having community meetings about something concerning the community, we go to the community hall and we discuss it there* (M-OM, 2013; A1, lines 124-127). Photo 5.20 shows the community hall referred to by the older men as a protective resource:

Photo 5.20:
Community hall identified as protective resource on community map of Mpumalanga older men 2013

The Mpumalanga men also referred to the important role of the indigenous authority in communal meetings. The following extracts reflect the views of the Mpumalanga older and younger men.

Participant:	*They can explain what problem they have.*
Fieldworker:	*And then do the members and the traditional leader discuss possible solutions?*
Participant:	*Yes.*
Participant:	*Even now we can't go to someone without a traditional meeting. Because they must know. Because after a funeral they must say where to the community.*
Participant:	*Ok, so they are very important?*
Participant:	*Yes very very.*
Fieldworker:	*So the traditional leaders, they lead the community with problems?*
Participant:	*Yes.*
Participant:	*They have to report to the chief.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 542-553, 2012 data gathering, Activity 2, Mpumalanga research site, older men)

Fieldworker:	*How would you or your community solve a future problem?*
Participant:	*We will call police.*
Fieldworker:	*Just like that?*
Participant:	*Yes, no. We will usually tell the chief first and we sit down to talk about the issue as a community. When we finish talking about the issue, we will take serious and strong decisions.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 147-152, 2012 data gathering, Activity 3,

Mpumalanga research site, younger men)

The younger women from Mpumalanga also identified the community hall as a protective resource: *We meet the community, we have a meeting and we talk to them, to our counsellor to make a plan to provide* (M-YW, 2013; A2, line 276). Photo 5.21 shows the community hall drawn on the Mpumalanga younger women's community map as a protective resource:
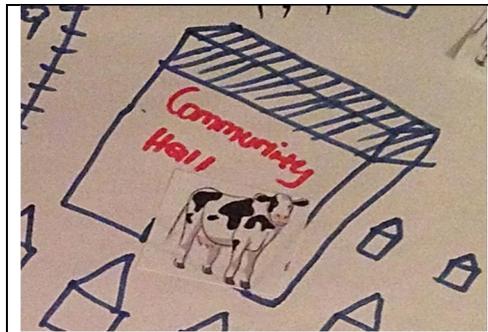
Photo 5.21:
Community hall identified as protective resource on community map of Mpumalanga younger women 2013

Overall, this shared consultation process seemed to be a normative way of dealing with problems in the community. The Limpopo as well as the Mpumalanga participants confirmed during the member checking in 2014 that solving problems in a shared way was taught in the community:

Fieldworkder:	*Is it cultural to participate in the communal meetings?*
Translator:	*Zwito uvha mutheo wa siyalala naa u dzhenelela kha mitangano ya Lushaka?*
Participant:	*Ndi mulanga.*
	It's an agreement.

(Data source: Venda translations, line 160-163, 2014 member checking,

Limpopo research site, combined group)

Fieldworker:	*You also taught us that sharing decisions in the community is important?*
Participants:	*Yes*

(Data source: English transcriptions, line 119, 2014 member checking,

Mpumalanga research site, combined group)

The only age group across the research sites that was silent on *participation in communal meetings* was the older women group from Mpumalanga. A possible reason for their silence was revealed during member checking where the participants said that older women often did not attend communal meetings. During member checking it was mentioned that the older women and younger women often don't participate in community meetings as the women feel that the men should make decisions with regards to community matters. Unlike the Limpopo participants, the Mpumalanga participants said during member checking that the Mpumalanga community held different types of community meetings aimed at addressing different types of adversities. The following field note extract from the member-checking conversations provides insight into the different types of communal meetings in the Mpumalanga community.

The participants agreed and confirmed that participation in the community meetings is a good way to solve problems in the community and that both the individual and the community benefit. They also mentioned that everyone involved in the meetings have an opportunity for their voice to be heard. Later on the participants mentioned that there are different types of community meetings. The "chief meetings" are usually called by the chief and everyone is invited, however often community members decide not to take part, especially women. They also have community meetings for the cooperatives, farming and projects. Some of the aforementioned meetings are exclusive and the chief is not necessarily involved but "a member of the chief" who represents traditional authority. The participants mentioned that the farming community meetings are only for men and women are not present. The participants also shared that more men than women in general choose to attend the meetings and that some women prefer that the men attend the meetings and make the decisions. It was also mentioned that a lot of the younger adults in the community and youth do not attend the meetings and sometimes show a lack of interest as they are focused on finishing school and leaving the community to find work somewhere else.

The participants from both Limpopo and Mpumalanga were asked whether they experienced *participation in communal meetings* as conducive to handling communal problems. Both locations reported *participation in communal meetings* as successful in mediating adversity, and, accordingly, this coping strategy could be seen as adaptive. The following extracts from the transcriptions of the member-checking conversations support the above.

Fieldworker:	Fieldworker:
Ok, thank you. Then you also taught us if you have a problem you discuss that at a communal meeting.	*Ok, you also told us communal meetings is important in the community because it helps the solve problems. Do you agree?*
Participants:	Participants:
Yes.	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	

Everyone participates? Participants: *Yes.* Fieldworker: *And that helps?* Participants: *Yes.* (Data source: English transcriptions, lines 131-138, 2014 member checking, Limpopo research site, combined group	Fieldworker: *Is it both the person and the community that benefits?* Participants: *Both.* Fieldworker: *And the younger people, do they also get to speak at the community meetings?* Participants: *Yes.* Fieldworker: *So everyone's voice is heard?* Participants: *Yes.* (Data source: English transcriptions, lines71-79, 2014 member checking, Mpumalanga research site, combined group)

It could be argued that *participation in community meetings* was underpinned by the IKS value *collective connectedness* as the community members drew on social relationships to solve problems. They depended on one another to find solutions at the meetings.

5.3.4 COLLECTIVE TRADITIONAL ARTS

Collective traditional arts refers to community members participating in cultural activities where they learn about their culture. This category was included in the study specifically after the member-checking visits to both provinces. During the data-gathering sessions, some of the participants reported that they took part in cultural activities. It was only after member checking that the participants clarified that learning about their culture helped them avoid incorrect behaviour such as acting in wrong ways. Table 5.15 summarises the inclusion and exclusion criteria for Category 2.2.4: Collective traditional arts:

Table 5.15: Inclusion and exclusion criteria for Category 2.2.4: Collective traditional arts

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
▪ Instances where participants say that they take part in cultural traditions that can help in dealing with or preventing adversity. ▪ Instances where participants say that they take part in cultural traditions clarified during member checking as a way to deal with or prevent adversity.	▪ Participants mention taking part in cultural traditions without saying that they help to deal with or prevent adversity and without clarifying the role of taking part in cultural traditions.

The participants from the Limpopo as well as the Mpumalanga research sites said that values, specifically cultural values, underpinned acceptable behaviour, as illustrated in the following two extracts from member-checking discussions.

Nwana asa guda ngaha mvelelo ha tuvha nwana wavhudi, uri vhana vhavhe na mikhwa vha vhona nga rine vhahulwane uri ri itisa hani zwithu uri na vhone vhaita zwithu nga ndila yone vhutshiloni. (TsiVenda)

When a child lacks cultural values he won't be a good child, for children to have manners they learn from us their elders on how we do things for them to also do things right in life.

(Member checking, 2014, lines 513-518 Limpopo research site)

Participant:	*Yes. Also some people in the community they learn from me. Some of them can see that's how you do it.*
Fieldworker:	*So others will see how you do things and if they see how you solve the problem they follow you?*
Participant:	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	*Oh, so that is why I saw you said it is important to teach the young ones of the culture.*
Participant:	*Yes, and it is like that maybe there are some that do not know about ancestors so they don't know how to deal. So they can ask and see how others because maybe they weren't taught when they were still growing.*
Fieldworker:	*So the members learn from one another? From the culture to solve problems?*
Participant:	*Yes.*

(Member checking, 2014, lines 267 278, Mpumalanga research site)

The two extracts show that the Limpopo participants believed that values guide younger members of a community to learn good behaviour and lead a good life. The Mpumalanga participants said that values helped community members to know how to solve problems. Initially, *collective traditional arts* was not included as a category in the study. However, after a process of reading and rereading the data, several instances of the participants stating the importance of teaching culture were identified.

The Limpopo older women said that participation in cultural entertainment presented an opportunity to generate income and alleviate poverty: *I felt so happy when you gave us money for thsigombela and now poverty is gone* (L-YW, 2012; A4, line 142). It should be noted that during member checking, the participants said that they did not always receive money for teaching cultural dances. However, they believed that cultural dances were a good way to teach youngsters about their culture, which would lead to children having good manners and preventing bad behaviour. Clarification during member checking is illustrated in the following field note made during the Limpopo member-checking session.

The older generation also stressed the importance of children learning about their culture. The older men identified houses as places where children learned manners, which were later clarified as being part of their culture. Photo 5.22 shows houses identified as protective resources on the older men's community maps followed by extracts from the PRA discussions where the participants explain why they identified the houses and the chief's kraal as protective resources:

Photo 5.22:
Houses as protective resources on community map of Limpopo older men 2013

The following extracts illustrate the older men's view on why the houses are important. During member checking, the participants were asked what exactly was meant by "manners", but it was only during the participants' clarification of the role of culture that it became clear that they considered teaching the youth manners was part of teaching them about their culture.

Fieldworker:	*And what do they do at the houses? Why are houses so important?*
Translator:	*It is important because it is where we have been grown up from and even the small children are receiving manners from that house and where we grow.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 104-105 , 2013 data gathering, Activity 1, Limpopo research site, older men)

Translator:	*It is important that a child has manners because if there is not manners it is a bad child.*
(Translator translates)	
Fieldworker:	*Ok. How does teaching a child manners help deal with problems?* Translator translates
Translator:	*Teaching our children manners, it helps them not to get spoiled. They can grow up talking polite. Even though we have visitors.*
Fieldworker:	*So it helps them to act in a good way?*
Translator:	*Yes.*

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(Data source: Field notes, lines 407-415, 2014 member checking,

Limpopo research site, combined group)

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The older women from Limpopo identified the chief's kraal as the place where the younger children learned about their culture: *The chief is important because our children learn their culture and tradition* (L-OW, 2013; A1, lines 314-315). During member checking in Limpopo, the participants clarified the role of *collective traditional arts* in their community, which confirmed this form of participation as something they did to prevent crime:

Fieldworker	*Yes. The next thing is they said that it is important for children to learn their culture in the community. Is that so?*
(Translator translates)	
Participants:	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	*Why?*
(Translator translates)	
Translator:	*To learn about our culture is very important because it is like the rules and manners when you grow up you have to learn our culture where we come from. It is where you learn about manners so you can live good and you can learn traditional dance so that you can learn your future generation.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok, and how does that help the child and the community?*
(Translator translates)	
Translator:	*It also have like a children instead of concentrating on other things they will concentrate on the future. They won't concentrate on the crimes and all those things. Instead they will concentrate on good things.*

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(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 431-444, 2014 member checking,

Limpopo research site, combined group)

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Opportunities to learn about their culture were also mentioned by the Mpumalanga participants who identified their cultural centre as a protective resource on their community map, as can be seen in Photos 5.23-5.26:

Photo 5.23:
Cultural village as protective resource on Mpumalanga older men's community map 2012
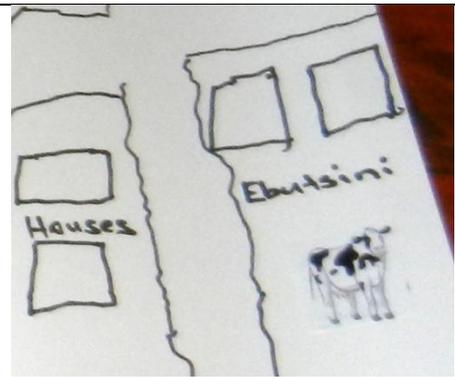
Photo 5.24:
Cultural village as protective resource on Mpumalanga older women's community map 2012

Photo 5.25:
Cultural village as protective resource on Mpumalanga younger men's community map 2013
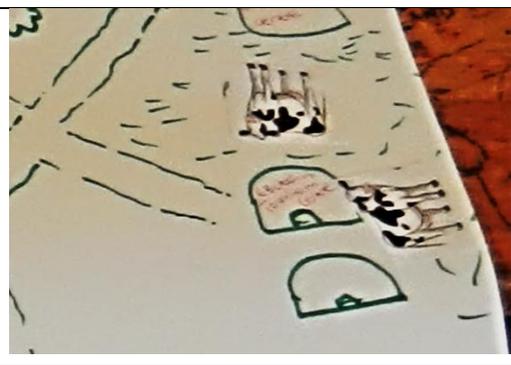
Photo 5.26:
Cultural village as protective resource on Mpumalanga younger women's community map 2012

The older men from Mpumalanga said that having a cultural centre was important for learning about their culture and traditional healing, as reflected in the following PRA discussion extract.

Participant:	*We say this E Cultural Village is important because there is job opportunities here.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok, so job opportunities. The cultural village give jobs.*
Participant:	*Also so that we don't use our culture. Firstly, don't lose our culture.*
Participant:	*We also have traditional nursery. Just to keep our old plants.*
Fieldworker:	*Is it plants that is used for medicine?*
Participant:	*Yes.*
Participant:	*It is used for medicine.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 207-214, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1, Mpumalanga research site, older men)

The older men from Mpumalanga referred to the cultural centre as an entertainment centre during the 2013 data gathering and said that it reduced stress: *Entertainment centre keeps everyone fit…and it keeps everyone busy…stress less* (OM, 2013; A4, lines 303-307). The Mpumalanga older women also

said that the chief's homestead was at the cultural village, that they held cultural events there, and that other people could learn about their culture at the cultural village:

Fieldworker:	*Most of your cultures are being held here?*
Participant:	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok.*
Participant:	*It may be where we gather around for any cultural event.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok, so that cultural events are here and then you gather here for those events?*
Participant:	*Yes. You find that the chief sometimes slaughters a cow, so all the people of the community go there to the chief's homestead, there are cultural dances...*
Fieldworker:	*And tell me about E, your cultural village.*
Participant:	*Yes, it's a cultural village, so we have got tourists who come to see the cultural village, we've got laces for tourists to sleep – accommodation, and also we have got traditional dances and we have got old people who tell stories about how Swazi people live.*
Fieldworker:	*Ok, so this is an important one for you because it's teaching people about Swazi culture?*
Participant:	*Yes.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 21-33, 2012 data gathering, Activity 1, Mpumalanga research site, older women)

During member checking, the participants were asked to clarify why teaching their culture was important and whether their culture served as a pathway to coping. The Mpumalanga participants clarified the role of culture in their community during member checking. The following extract from the field notes made during the Mpumalanga member-checking conversations reflects the main insights shared by the participants into the role of culture in their community.

The participants were asked to clarify what the mean when they refer to their culture as well as why it is important in the community specifically pertaining to solving problems. The participants mentioned knowing their culture helps them to know where they came which gives them dignity. They were asked how dignity helps them. The participants shared that if they have dignity they know how to communicate. Furthermore if they go away and work at another community and something happens to them like death, knowing where they came from and what their culture is will ensure correct burial procedures which will help to clear things with the ancestors to prevent bad luck to their families. They further gave an example of when young people get married in a cultural way it prevents bad luck and ensures a better life. They shared that community members learn from each other how to solve problems according to their cultural ways.

(Data source: Field notes, lines 181-189, 2014 member checking, Mpumalanga research site, combined group)

According to the participants, culture was useful in solving problems, as revealed in the following extracts from the member-checking conversations.

Fieldworker:	*So the community must know how you should be buried and maybe you have bad luck. The culture teaches you to come back and make things right with the ancestors. Ok. Is there another way your culture helps you to solve problems?*

Participants:	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	*Tell us. We like to know.*
Participants:	*As we are young, we are growing so sometimes we get married maybe we use this culture thing. We are married in this culture. That's true.*
Fieldworker:	*If you get married in your culture, in the way of your culture, is it then a way to stay away from bad luck in the marriage?*
Participants:	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	*So it gives you good luck and a better life?*
Participant:	*Yes. Also some people in the community they learn from me. Some of them can see that's how you do it.*
Fieldworker:	*So others will see how you do things and if they see how you solve the problem they follow you?*
Participants:	*Yes.*
Fieldworker:	*Oh so that is why I saw you said it is important to teach the young ones of the culture.*
Participants:	*Yes, and it is like that maybe there are some that do not know about ancestors so they don't know how to deal. So they can ask and see how others because maybe they weren't taught when they were still growing.*
Fieldworker:	*So the members learn from one another? From the culture to solve problems?*
Participants:	*Yes*

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(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 256-278, 2014 member checking,

Mpumalanga research site, combined group)

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Collective traditional arts as a coping process seems to involve using cultural coping resources, such as cultural activities and beliefs, and then passing them on to younger generations to mediate adversity related to poor behaviour and bad fortune. In general, it seems that participation in cultural activities is experienced as adaptive by community members. *Collective traditional arts* also creates a space where community members can come together in a meaningful way thus highlighting the IKS value *collective connectedness*. Community members are dependent on one another to learn about their culture, and they pass cultural values on to the next generation. Overall, the individual as well as the community benefits from community members taking part in cultural activities.

5.4   LITERATURE CONTROL: THEME 2

As with the literature control in Chapter 4, I will focus here on confirmations, contradictions, silences, and new insights arising from comparing the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions, discussed throughout this chapter, with similar transactions in the existing coping literature. The coping literature review casts light on two important components of coping pathways, namely what people use to cope (coping resources) and how they use the coping resources (type of coping behaviour). Each of the following sections deals with a different literature on coping resources: Western coping literature, international non-Western coping literature, and South African coping literature.

5.4.1 CONFIRMATIONS

5.4.1.1 Coping resources

All the different types of coping resources discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3.2, namely social coping resources, spiritual coping resources, cultural coping resources, and physical and natural coping resources, were evident in the identified indigenous coping resources discussed in this chapter (Chapter 5). In Theme 2, the participants frequently reported that they relied on other people in the community to overcome adversity. This is in line with existing literature (Ledogar & Fleming, 2008) on individual capital that refers to an individual's ability to build social networks and other social structures. The participants said that they consulted community members and indigenous authority members in order to overcome personal adversity, which reflects the notion of community members networking with others to overcome adversity.

Social relationships as a coping resource were also evident in the discussed results and were in line with the literature on social capital. Table 5.16 compares the literature on social coping capital with the present study's results:

Table 5.16: Literature control pertaining to social relationships as a coping resource

Literature on social relationships as a coping resource	Present study results
Community social capital entails community networks, local civic identity, civic engagement, norms of cooperation and trust in the community (Ledogar & Fleming, 2008).	Community networks such as the traditional authority structure and the forming of social groups in the face of adversity were evident in the study as was the importance of civic engagement and normative cooperation (*collective citizenship*).
Bacchus (2008) includes friends, family, church members, and professional organisations (such as support groups) as social coping resources.	Similarly, in the present study, the importance of friends, family, and church groups were mentioned as important when individuals and the community had to deal with adversity (*community consultation*, *collective spirituality*). With regard to professional organisations, community members formed groups in the community to provide additional support (*participation in gathering and sharing resources*).
Whitley and Mckenzie (2005) use the term structural capital to refer to structures that link people together such as relationship networks, associations, and institutional structures. The term cognitive social capital is used for social coping resources such as values, norms, reciprocity, altruism, and civic responsibility.	Structural capital in the present study was seen in structures such as the indigenous authority structure (*consult traditional authority*), social groups formed in the community (*participation in gathering and sharing resources*), and institutional structures such as the municipality (*municipal consultation*). Social coping resources related to cognitive social capital were also evident such as values (*reverence for traditional authority* and *collective connectedness*) and civic responsibility (*collective citizenship*).

Adger (2003) refers to bonding social capital as relationships within a specific group and uses the term "networking social capital" to describe building relationships outside a specific group.	Bonding social capital was evident in the present study where the participants mentioned instances where they capitalised on relationships to overcome adversity (*community consultation* and (*consult traditional authority*). Networking social capital was seen in instances where the community members used *municipal consultation*.

In the present study, social coping resources seemed to be mobilised through networking. Several similarities can be found when comparing the results with the literature on networking. Three types of networking (Pretty, 2003; Ratner et al., 2010) were encountered in the study, namely bonding (where the participants' collective ethics, religion, and shared IKS values helped them to work together to overcome adversity), bridging (evident in the strong relationship between the traditional authority structure and the municipalities), and linking (where the traditional authority structure links with government institutions to deal with adversity that is beyond the capacity of the community to handle).

In Chapter 2, I considered cultural beliefs, values, traditions, and knowledge as part of cultural coping resources. With regard to cultural resources, it was evident how values, such as the identified IKS values (*reverence for traditional authority*" and *collective connectedness*), directed the identified coping behaviour included in Theme 2. Cultural traditions and knowledge played a role in the *collective traditional arts*. In sum, the cultural coping resources in the present study included the hierarchical and collective nature of the community, the indigenous authority structure, the role of collective connectedness, and knowledge of what was considered appropriate behaviour in a specific culture. These cultural coping resources as identified in the study correlate with Ebersöhn's (2013; 2014) finding that a collective orientation in an indigenous South African context together with IKS (referred to as existential support) can serve as coping resources that can promote resilience.

When comparing the coping resources evident in the identified indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions (Theme 2) with other African resources, associated with enabling environments, as identified by Ledogar and Flemming (2008) as well as Skofdal and Daniel (2012), the present study confirmed family and peer social networks, a home-based support group (social coping resources), and agriculture as a physical and natural coping resource.

Lastly, I would like to discuss the physical and natural coping resources that the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants used to mediate adversity. In Chapter 2, I listed physical coping resources as infrastructure, services, and finances, and natural capital as resources from the environment. Table 5.17 compares the resources identified in the Limpopo and Mpumalanga data with the literature on physical and natural coping resources.

Table 5.17: Literature control pertaining to physical and natural coping resources

Literature on physical and natural coping resources	Study results
Physical capital includes infrastructure and producer goods (SLF) and can be seen as human-made capital (King, 2011). Financial resources are also part of physical capital and can include available finances and income (SLF) as well as credit (King, 2011).	With regard to infrastructure, the church, soccer field, community hall, cultural village, and chief's homestead were identified as coping resources in the following pathways to adaptive coping; *collective recreation*, *collective spirituality*, *participation in communal meetings* and *collective traditional arts*.
Natural capital refers to resources from the natural environment (SLF).	The farming fields were the most prominent natural coping resource as seen in *participation in gathering and sharing resources*.

5.4.1.2 Western coping literature

Western coping behaviours, such as problem-focused (Folkman, 2010) and approach coping (Eliot et al., 2011), and engagement coping (Carver & Connor-Smith, 2010), emphasise attempts to deal with adversity by changing the environment. Attempts to alter the environment by mediating the adversity that stems from it can be seen as primary control (Morling & Evered, 2006; Rothbaum et al.*,* 1982; Skinner et al.*,* 2003). Overall, the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions all involved active attempts to deal with adversity whether it was through the process of "hierarchical consultation" or "collective participatory coping". Table 5.18 reflects instances where the participants mentioned modifying their environment in some way in order to deal with adversity.

Table 5.18:   Primary control in the identified indigenous coping behaviour

Category	Focus
Community consultation	In this category, coping is sometimes directed at changing the environment. In instances where a community member creates piecework for another community member in order to help him or her generate income, the environment is changed to foster coping.
Consulting with indigenous authority	In cases where the indigenous authority has to resolve issues related to infrastructure, the environment is changed in order to deal with adversity.
Consulting with government institutions	In many cases, *consulting with government institutions* leads to changing the environment by, for instance, providing water and electricity.
Participation in recreational activities	*Participation in recreational activities* entails changing the environment by creating opportunities for participation and creating a reduced crime environment.
Participation in spiritual activities	Similar to *participation in recreational activities*, *participation in spiritual activities* encompasses changing the environment by creating an opportunity for people to come together in a supportive environment, by reducing experiences of stress, and by fostering good behaviour.

Participation in civic responsibility	In most cases, *participation in civic responsibility* focuses on changing the environment by creating more resources and opportunities for community members to come together to share ideas on problem solving.
Participation in cultural activities	*Participation in cultural activities* can involve modification of the environment by creating an environment where healthy and good behaviour is fostered from a young age.

Other Western pathways to coping focus on controlling intrapersonal processes in order to deal with adversity rather than on modifying the environment. Chapter 2 discussed how coping through intrapersonal processes could either focus on reducing negative views or feelings or on capitalising on positive experiences even in the face of adversity. With regard to emotion-focused coping, the only association between emotional regulation and coping was seen in the category *participation in spiritual activities* where attending church was seen as a way to reduce stress.

The results also reflected future orientation and spirituality as pathways to coping. Some of the indigenous adaptive coping transactions had a future-oriented slant where current behaviours were aimed at preventing possible future stressors. For instance, *participation in recreational activities*, *participation in spiritual activities* and *participation in cultural activities* were associated with preventing crime, substance abuse, and bad behaviour. Spirituality as a pathway to coping is mentioned in Western coping literature where a secure relationship with God and practising religious rituals are associated with ways of coping (Folkman & Moskowits, 2004; Pargament, 2011).

Various forms of social support have been identified in Western coping research such as informational support entailing one person helping another to understand adversity and instrumental support where people provide tangible services to help someone else cope with adversity (Taylor, 2011). The indigenous adaptive coping transactions mentioned by the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants, such as *community consultation* and *participation in gathering and sharing resources*, reflected instances where community members helped one another by providing instrumental support. Other forms of social support included explicit social support where a person actively draws on social networks (this was evident throughout Theme 2).

In sum, the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions correlated with certain aspects of Western Coping pathways:

- The identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions reflected active attempts to resolve adversity in a way similar to Western pathways to coping, which highlight active mediation of adversity as a pathway to coping.

- Certain identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions focused on mediation of intrapersonal processes, such as stress, in a way similar to Western pathways to coping, which highlight emotional regulation as a pathway to coping.

- Some of the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions reflected a future-oriented nature similar to Western pathways to coping, which include future orientation as a pathway to coping.

- Spirituality as a pathway to coping was evident in the results.

- Social relationships as a pathway to coping were evident in all the identified indigenous behaviours.

5.4.1.3 Non-Western coping literature

In this section, I revisit the literature on non-Western pathways to coping, which I compare with the present study's results. Not many types of non-Western coping behaviour have been identified. Most indigenous adaptive coping transactions in the literature relate to coping behaviour with a collective slant such as collective coping and collectivistic coping (Chun et al., 2006). Collective coping refers to coping strategies where an individual mobilises group resources (Chun et al., 2006), which range from other community members and what they can offer traditional authority to communal resources such as sport grounds, farming land, and the church. True to collective cultures, the aim of mobilising group resources is generally to resolve communal problems. With regard to collectivistic coping, referring to the normative coping style of collectivistic individuals (Chun et al., 2006), all the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions were considered normative ways of coping in the community based on the coherence of views between the different groups (older men and women as well as younger men and women) and based on the participants' acknowledgements during member checking.

The theoretical model for collectivistic coping was the only non-Western coping model to present actual coping behaviours. The other models conceptualised how culture and cultural orientation influenced the coping process (most of the other models' conceptualisations are included in the literature review in Chapter 6). The theoretical model for collectivistic coping presents the notion of intracultural coping where supportive networks go beyond social support in that members work together to solve problems (Yeh et al., 2006). The concept of intracultural coping was evident in the subthemes *hierarchical consultation* and *participation*. In sum, the collective nature of the identified indigenous coping behaviour correlated with key aspects of documented non-Western coping pathways in that the use of communal resources to resolve communal matters was evident through collective effort thus highlighting a strong sense of connectedness among community members.

5.4.1.4 South African Coping Literature

Chapter 2 discussed research on coping in South Africa. I specifically wanted to focus on the ways of coping identified by the studies conducted in resource-constrained areas as the adversity reported by the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants was linked to resource scarcity. Roos et al. (2010) identified sharing resources, natural resource management, traditional practices, and spiritual practices as coping behaviours. In the present study, sharing resources and natural resource management were evident in the subcategory *participation in generating and sharing resources*.

Traditional practices were evident in the subcategory *participation in cultural activities* and spiritual practices in the subcategory *participation in spiritual activities.* The collective use of resources as well as capitalising on spiritual and cultural resources was also mentioned by Ebersöhn (2014). Pamgarten and Shackleton (2011) identified capitalising on social relationships and natural resource management, which was also mentioned in Ndhleve's et al. (2012) study. Lastly, Ebersöhn (2013) introduced the idea of flocking where people come together to face adversity, which was evident in Theme 2 of the present study. Although not all the South African studies used an indigenous psychology lens to identify coping behaviours, the correlations between the present study's results and those of the reviewed studies highlight characteristics of South African coping that relate to indigenous coping pathways:

- The importance of relationships and sharing
- The use of IKS
- The role of cultural traditions

5.4.2 CONTRADICTIONS

5.4.2.1 Coping resources

True to collective cultures, the results showed that individual capital stretches beyond the individual where it is not only what an individual can gain from others but what the individual has to offer to the community. In a sense, individual capital has become communal capital where an individual's skills, time, and belongings are important resources in overcoming communal adversity. This was especially evident throughout Subtheme 2.2: *collective participatory coping* where individuals shared skills, time, and belongings in the context of *collective recreation*, *collective spirituality*, *collective citizenship* and *collective traditional arts*. Although intrapersonal characteristics as coping resources are not new to the literature (Bacchus, 2008; Chaudoir et al., 2012), the possibility of intrapersonal coping resources serving as communal coping resources may be.

5.4.2.2   Western coping literature

Contrary to Western coping behaviours that usually highlight individual active attempts to deal with individual adversity, the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions usually involved collective attempts to overcome adversity that was either personal or communal in nature. The latter has been documented in Western coping literature where the influence of a collective cultural orientation has also been added to primary and secondary control in that primary control may be enacted collectively rather than individually (Morling & Evered, 2006). Collective effort was also evident in the present study in instances where the participants reported spirituality as a pathway to coping, referring to it as a communal activity through which both individual and communal adversity are addressed. In the data shared by the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants, spiritual coping did not focus only on an individual engaging in spiritual activities but also on the interdependence between community members when engaging in spiritual coping.

Another significant contradiction was the way in which social support was portrayed when one considers the collective effort evident throughout Theme 2. A closer look at Western conceptualisations of social support and the overall role of social relationships in coping suggests that making use of social support happens as the need arises. However, bearing in mind the prominent role of social relationships in the results, social relationships in coping go beyond occasional social support and seem, rather, to be normative and the default coping behaviour.

In sum, the main contradictions between the present study's results and Western coping literature relate to differences between the individualistic nature of Western cultures and the collectivistic nature of non-Western cultures. Where the Western pathways to coping highlighted individual efforts, interests, and gains, the results of this study pointed to collective efforts, communal interest, and gain in coping pathways.

5.4.2.3   Non-Western coping literature

Despite the correlations between the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions discussed in this chapter and non-Western coping literature, some differences were also noted. For instance, according to Morling and Evered (2006), collectivistic cultures often rely on secondary coping in order to fit the interdependent self to certain circumstances; however, this was not the case in the present study as all the identified indigenous behaviours involved attempts to actively deal with adversity.

There were also some contradictions in respect of non-Western coping behaviours as identified in the theoretical model for collectivistic coping (Yeh et al., 2006). Firstly, the notion of forbearance (community

members do not disclose their personal problems and place others' problems above their own) was not evident in the study results. Although communal matters and other community members' problems came across as important, personal adversity was also important and communicating it to others constituted a key part of coping in both Limpopo and Mpumalanga. Fatalism, as presented in the theoretical model for collectivistic coping, entailing viewing control that lies within the environment or within external forces (Yeh et al., 2006), was also not evident in the study results. A lot of the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions relied on resources in the environment and external forces, yet the coping behaviours mentioned by the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants did not appear passive. On the contrary, all the indigenous adaptive coping transactions that formed part of the subthemes *hierarchical consultation* and *participation* required active involvement of the community members or the community's traditional authority structures. The contradictions between Theme 2 and international non-Western coping literature indicate that, despite the similarities due to the collective nature of non-Western cultures (mentioned in Section 5.4.1.3), other cultural factors can still cause different coping manifestations in different cultures.

5.4.3   SILENCES

5.4.3.1   Coping resources

Other indigenous coping resources identified by Ledogar and Flemming (2008) and Skofdal and Daniel (2012) relate to access to health access and training and education. Although education and health access was mentioned in the data as a coping resource, the coping behaviour in which this access was manifested was not included in Theme 2 as it did not meet the criteria for indigenous coping behaviour.

5.4.3.2   Western coping literature

Western coping behaviours also include the opposite of coping behaviours aimed at actively reducing adversity, namely avoidance coping (Eliot et al., 2011) and disengagement coping (Carver & Connor-Smith, 2010) where the stressor is avoided. None of the indigenous adaptive coping transactions in the present study entailed avoiding dealing with the stressor. Furthermore, there was no evidence of secondary control where the participants accepted the circumstances as they were and coped by fitting the self to the environment (Morling & Evered, 2006; Rothbaum et al.*,* 1982; Skinner et al.*,* 2003). The indigenous coping behaviour included in Theme 2 also did not reflect concepts such as mastery-focused coping (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011) and meaning-focused coping (Folkman, 2010) where the experiences of positive emotions are used to cope rather than focusing on negative emotions.

Several Western coping behaviours entail future orientation as a pathway to coping, which can be either preventive coping, where coping resources are built up to deal with future adversity, or anticipatory

coping where coping efforts are aimed at dealing with pending adversity (Schwarzer & Knoll, 2003). The notion of building up resources to deal with future adversity did not feature in the identified indigenous coping behaviour. I do not believe the latter has anything to do with indigenous culture but rather with the resource constraints the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants faced as their lack of resources did not allow the building up of resources. Where a future-oriented slant was present, it was aimed at dealing with possible psychosocial issues rather than adversity related to the lack of physical and natural resources. In a sense, it appeared as if the overall adversity reported by the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants was so high that most of their coping behaviours were directed at dealing with immediate adversities.

I mentioned some correlation with social support in Section 5.4.2.1, yet the results discussed in this chapter were silent on some forms of social support, namely informational social support (helping others to understand adversity) and implicit social support (where people capitalise on emotional comfort or remind themselves that they have social support) (Taylor, 2011). Another Western coping behaviour relating to relationships is relationship coping, which refers to cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage and sustain relationships during adversity (O'Brien et al., 2009). No coping efforts aimed at sustaining relationships were evident in the study results as relationships came across as a core requirement in the identified coping behaviours and not as a coping gaol. The Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants did not share any information on coping behaviours employed by couples (dyadic coping). The silences discussed above indicate that the following characteristics do not qualify to form part of the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions discussed in this chapter.

- Focusing on making meaning in adversity and capitalising on positive intrapersonal processes to accept circumstances as they are and fitting oneself to the prevailing circumstances.
- Capitalising on social relationships only when the need arises.

5.4.3.3   Non-Western coping literature

The only non-Western coping behaviours that did not feature in in the present study's results were the notions of forbearance and fatalism as identified by the theoretical model for collectivistic coping. I noted in Section 5.4.2.3 that the results contradicted the notion of forbearance and fatalism, but I nevertheless felt the need to acknowledge them as silences in the study. These silences indicate that the following do not qualify to form part of the coping pathways of the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions included in Theme 2.

- Withholding personal problems from the greater community.
- Viewing the self as a victim of circumstances.

5.4.3.4 South African coping literature

The only silence, compared to existing South African coping studies that came to the fore was that none of the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions involved avoidance as identified by Dageid and Duckert (2008). On the contrary, the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions included active attempts to deal with adversity.

5.4.4 CONTRIBUTIONS

5.4.4.1 Coping resources

With regard to coping resources, three contributions in particular can be mentioned:

- The traditional authority structure is a valuable coping resource (social and cultural in nature) that serves not only as a coping resource but facilitates how coping resources are used in the community.
- Intrapersonal social resources (individual capital) served as communal resources in the two non-Western research sites.
- Physical and natural coping resources were spoken about as if they were considered communal coping resources. The use of indigenous physical coping resources was evident such as the traditional authority members' homesteads and the cultural village in Mpumalanga.

5.4.4.2 Western coping literature

A comparison of the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions with Western pathways to coping led to the identification of the following contributions:

- Intrapersonal processes as pathways to coping: Firstly, the type of adversity might have had an influence on the pathway to coping in the two indigenous high-risk and high-need researched contexts where the harsh adversity faced in daily living overshadowed capitalising on positive emotional regulation as a pathway to coping. Secondly, in the two researched sites, interpersonal and interdependent processes seemed to take priority over intrapersonal processes such as emotional regulation.
- Future orientation as a pathway to coping: The type of adversity faced again seemed to play an important role as in high-risk and high-need contexts building up resources might not be possible due to the existing lack of resources. Furthermore, continuous adversity might call for future-oriented coping that allows long-term and ongoing coping efforts.
- Social relationships/support as a pathway to coping: Although this has been noted in international non-Western coping literature, interdependence and communal effort has now

been documented in the two indigenous South African contexts, which goes beyond mere social support. Furthermore, in the case of the two researched sites, social support did not appear to be an option for the participants when faced with adversity but rather a normative way of coping.

5.4.4.3 Non-Western coping literature

After comparing the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions with Western pathways to coping, the following contributions could be identified.

- The influence of a collective cultural orientation has now been documented for the two indigenous South African research sites.
- The core role of consultation and communication in dealing with adversity was highlighted in the two researched South African indigenous communities.

5.4.4.4 South African coping literature

The main contribution of the results discussed in this chapter to existing South African coping literature was the identification of indigenous coping in two high-risk and high-need contexts by means of an indigenous psychological lens. Furthermore, no other South African coping studies have identified *hierarchical consultation* and the included categories *community consultation*, *consulting indigenous authority* or *consulting government institutions*. The categories *participation in recreational activities*, *participation in cultural activities* and the subcategory *participation in communal meetings* are also not mentioned in existing South African coping research. Although the results of some of the South African coping studies correlate with certain of the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions, most of the South African studies, with the exception of Ebersöhn (2013) and Roos et al. (2010), used a Western perspective to understand coping in South African communities.

5.5   CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I discussed the results of Theme 2: Indigenous coping behaviour that emerged through a process of inductive thematic analysis. The discussion included sharing the participants' views on the subthemes *hierarchical consultation* and *participation* in the form on verbatim English transcriptions and home language translations of the PRA discussions, field notes, and photographs documented during the 2012 and 2013 data-gathering sessions and English transcriptions and home language (Venda and Swati) translated transcriptions of the member-checking discussions. Literature control formed an important part of the discussion and revealed the following core contributions of the study.

- Indigenous adaptive coping transactions were identified in the two non-Western South African communities that reflected collective efforts involving the normative use of communal resources.

- The traditional authority structure played an important role in coping in the two non-Western South African communities and in itself served as a coping resource.

- Coping resources (social, physical, cultural, and spiritual), including individual coping resources, served as communal coping resources in the two non-Western South African communities.

Chapter 6 covers the results discussed in Chapter 5 together with the insights that emerged from the literature review in order to answer the research questions stated in Chapter 1, Section 1.3.

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6.1   INTRODUCTION

Conducting a systematic inductive inquiry into adaptive coping, using an indigenous psychology (IP) lens, has resulted in the documentation of South African indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) on indigenous pathways to adaptive coping. This newly documented knowledge addresses the scientific knowledge hiatuses discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.4.

The present study has contributed to South African knowledge on indigenous pathways to adaptive coping, which is scant in both national and international non-Western inquiry. Another hiatus pertains to the lack of documented South African knowledge in the field of psychology and, specifically relevant to the present study, on pathways to adaptive coping in the field of resilience.

This chapter expands on the preliminary answering of the research questions (Sections 4.2.1, 4.2.2, 4.4 and 5.2, 5.3, 5.4) and revisits the working assumptions and conceptual framework (Section 1.6). Answering the research questions provides insight into indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in the field of resilience. I reiterate the importance of viewing this insight within the limitations (Section 3.10) of the present study. In this regard, the findings on indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in the field of resilience are limited to the experiences and views of the participants from two rural South African non-Western communities faced with chronic high risk and high need. The selected sample also set strong parameters (Cohen et al., 2007; Hays & Singh, 2010; Mouton, 2001) for the study thereby further limiting the transferability of the findings (Polit & Bed, 2010). The findings exclude indigenous voices of non-Western urbanites or affluent as well as employed indigenous people. The data do not represent the voices of more young adults than older adults and more female participants than male participants. Since an indigenous psychology and adaptive coping approach as adopted for the study, the findings exclude insights that could have been obtained from conducting or interpreting data from a poverty or rural perspective.

Although elements of the study reflect a cross-sectional design (Section 3.5.1), the data represent only two visits to each research site over two years, and, accordingly, the findings exclude insights I could have obtained had I gathered data for a longer period of time and in different settings within the two communities (Mann, 2003). Since the IPR project sampled only non-Western participants living in rural areas faced with chronic adversity, the insights into adaptive coping in indigenous communities did not include the experiences of non-Western urbanites or non-Western communities faced with non-chronic

adversity, or employed non-Western people. I have discussed (Section 3.10) the limitations of working with a limited number of participants with fluctuations in attendance, which could have excluded the views of non-participants and participants' views on all activities over the two-year period of data gathering.

The data gathering also had certain limitations and challenges. Data were gathered by various fieldworkers, and, although this contributed to triangulation and having more data, each fieldworker's data-gathering style differed. The fieldworkers had different research focuses, which could have influenced their questions during the data gathering to fit their particular research focuses instead of the research focuses of all the IPR group members. The use of various fieldworkers could therefore have influenced the richness of the data and limited understanding of indigenous pathways to coping across age and gender.

Another challenge and limitation related to gathering data in a language not my own (Cho & Trent, 2012; Wong & Poon, 2010). The language barrier could have limited the depth of the data, and working with a translator could also have limited my opportunity to ask probing questions. My status as an outsider could have influenced the IKS shared by the participants, and the fact that we gathered data in groups could have limited individual experiences of adversity. Other ways of dealing with adversity could have emerged had I had in-depth individual conversations with the participants.

The inductive nature of data analysis and interpretation (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Willig, 2008; Yin, 2014) also imposed limitations on the findings as I had to rely on my insight as an outsider to analyse and interpret the findings. This therefore excluded knowledge of indigenous pathways to coping that could have been gained if a person with the same culture and experiences had analysed the data.

Lastly, I reflect on limitations and challenges inherent in researcher bias (Babbie, 2013). Prior to the data gathering, analysis, and interpretation, I read widely about the nature of non-Western cultures and coping in non-Western cultures that highlighted the collectivistic cultural orientation characteristics of these cultures. My heightened awareness of collectivism in indigenous cultures could have limited my understanding of alternative indigenous pathways to adaptive coping. Reflexivity (see Appendix F for researcher diary) did, however, help me note this possible limitation, and rereading of the data allowed me to be open to other dimensions of indigenous pathways to coping such as *reverence for traditional authority* and *hierarchical consultation*.

6.2 SECONDARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

6.2.1 Secondary question 1

What is the nature of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in South African communities?

Indigenous pathways to adaptive coping included *IKS pathways to values* (Chapter 4) and *indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions* (Chapter 5). Elsewhere (Section 1.6), I posited the working assumption: *Accessing indigenous knowledge will reveal pathways to adaptive coping that will reflect both indigenous coping resources and indigenous coping behaviour.* As in the case of other non-Western studies with participants from a non-Western background in Alaska (Wexler, 2014), the United States (Joseph & Kuo, 2009; Yeh & Wang, 2000), and South Africa (Roos et al., 2010), the data reflected information on what the participants used to cope (coping behaviour) and how they used it (pathways to coping transactions).The IKS shared by the Limpopo and Mpumalanga research participants revealed adaptive coping transactions that involved the use of social, cultural, infrastructural, and spiritual coping resources.

In addition, like other researchers (Kuo, 2013), I found that indigenous values underpinned adaptive coping transactions. Accordingly, I amended the stated working assumption in the following way: *Accessing indigenous knowledge reveals pathways to adaptive coping that are grounded in IKS values and reflect adaptive coping transactions.*

The Limpopo and Mpumalanga data also provided insight into the nature of these indigenous pathways, which reflected certain characteristics unique to the way indigenous pathways to adaptive coping manifested in the two non-Western South African research settings. Later (Sections 6.2.3; 6.2.4), I compared the identified characteristics with existing Western and non-Western pathways to coping. I then identified the following characteristics of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping based on the research results (first named and subsequently discussed).

- Indigenous adaptive coping transactions have a **multilevel structure**.
- Indigenous pathways to indigenous coping transactions involve **active use of coping resources** through participation and consultation.
- Indigenous pathways to adaptive coping are **value driven.**
  - Certain aspects of indigenous pathways to coping are **hierarchical.**
  - Indigenous pathways to adaptive coping reflect a **collective cultural orientation.**
- Indigenous adaptive coping transactions form part of a **multilevel coping process** that involves the use of **coping resources.**

- The identified indigenous pathways to adaptive coping have unique **emic characteristics.**

6.2.1.1 The multilevel structure of indigenous adaptive coping transactions as a non-Western pathway to adaptive coping

I stated earlier (2.4.1.1) that the study did not focus primarily on the structure of non-Western adaptive coping; however, I was guided by the **multilevel structure** thinking of Skinner et al. (2003) to make sense of any adaptive coping transactions I found. The multilevel structure of adaptive coping (Section 2.4.1.1) as proposed by Skinner et al. (2003) posits that coping transactions can be divided into higher order coping and lower order coping. Higher order coping helps to classify coping (coping families), and lower order coping represents instances of coping (ways of coping). I used this thinking to categorise the identified coping transactions into two adaptive coping families, each with its own adaptive coping ways (Skinner et al., 2003) (Figure 6.1).
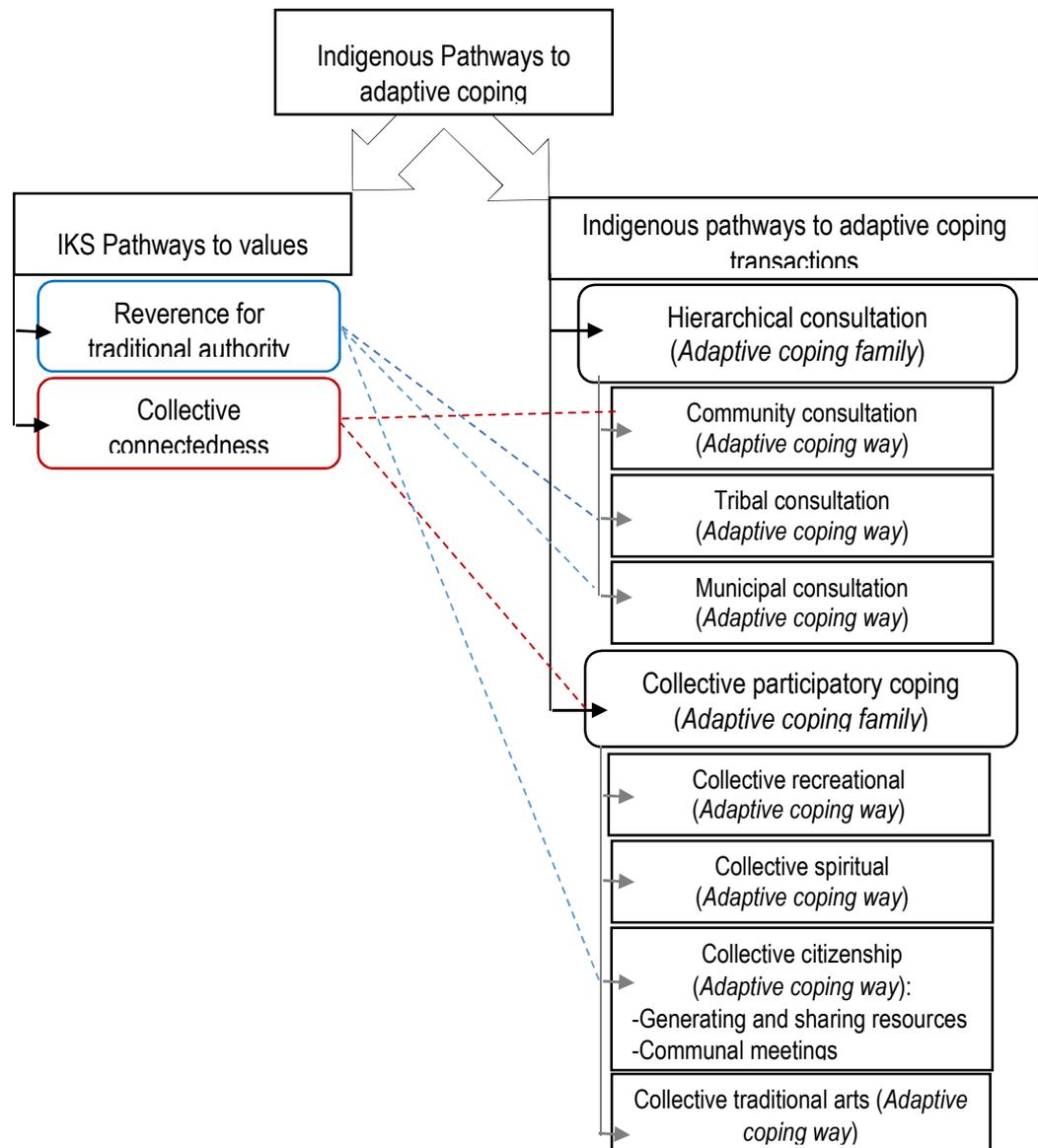

Figure 6.1:   Indigenous pathways to adaptive coping

Figure 6.1 shows that non-Western pathways to indigenous adaptive coping transactions involve two adaptive coping families, *hierarchical consultation* and *collective participatory coping*. *Hierarchical consultation* classifies the identified adaptive coping ways according to their inherent consultation process. In a study involving participants from an Asian cultural heritage, consulting with significant others was also identified as an important pathway to coping (Yeh & Wang, 2000).

Hierarchical consultation, as a non-Western adaptive coping family, entails ways of coping where the act of consulting is a core component of adapting to adversity. Ways of adaptive coping involving consultation included *community consultation*, *tribal consultation* and *municipal consultation*.

Another adaptive coping family, *collective participatory coping*, classifies the identified adaptive coping ways according to their participatory nature. *Collective participatory coping* involves ways of coping where the community collectively participates in order to adapt to adversity as seen in *collective recreation*, *collective spirituality*, *collective citizenship* and *collective traditional arts*. Although none of the reviewed studies (Section 2.2.5) specifically emphasised collective participation, spirituality as well as traditional cultural activities were identified as coping pathways in other non-Western cultures found in Alaska (Allen et al., 2014; Wexler, 2014) and the United States (Constantine et al., 2009; Gaylord-Harden & Cunningham, 2009).

I used Tan's et al. (2011) thinking to propose indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in terms of coping strategies consisting of various coping behaviours. For example, one could reason that *hierarchical consultation* could be seen as a coping strategy that includes adaptive coping behaviours such as *community consultation*, *tribal consultation* and *municipal consultation*. The aim of the study was not to explore the structure of adaptive coping, I suggest further research into this matter.

The identified indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions could also have been categorised as coping strategies with coping behaviours. The multilevel structure of indigenous adaptive coping transactions correlates with the literature on the complex structure of coping (Tan et al., 2011; Connor-Smith & Flachsbart, 2007; Skinner et al., 2003) and suggests that in order to understand indigenous adaptive coping transactions, one cannot look at a coping transaction (or coping instance) in isolation. The importance of acknowledging structural elements of pathways to adaptive coping transactions, from an IKS perspective, suggests the need for future research on the structure of indigenous coping in order to deepen understanding of the nature of these pathways.

6.2.1.2 **Indigenous pathways to indigenous coping transactions involve active use of coping resources through consultation and participation**

Similar to Western literature on problem-focused coping (Folkman, 2010), approach/engagement coping (Eliot et al., 2011), and primary control coping (Morling & Evered, 2006), the findings of the present study show *active attempts by the participants to change their environment to mediate the effects of adversity*. This suggests that, as indicated also in Western literature, non-Western perspectives on adaptive coping ways similarly aim at managing adversity for adaptation. The two identified indigenous adaptive coping families, consultation and participation, constitute pathways in which the non-Western participants used resources to adapt to adversity.

I also found that, in their adaptive coping, the non-Western participants actively used a range of pathways to access a variety of resources in order to adapt (Sections 5.4.1.1; 5.4.2.1 and 5.4.3.1). Later (Section 6.3), I elaborate on the role of indigenous pathways in the use of coping resources.

The study findings reflect social, cultural, spiritual, and infrastructural coping (physical capital) resources in the indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions. Similarly, coping resources that are social, cultural, and spiritual in nature have been found in other coping research studies using non-Western participants, namely native Alaskan participants (Allen et al., 2014; Wexler et al,. 2014), Asian participants (Taylor et al., 2007; Wei et al., 2007), and African-American participants (Constantine et al., 2002; Joseph & Kuo, 2009; Lewis-Coles & Constantine, 2006; Gaylord-Harden & Cunningham, 2009; Utsey et al., 2000). The identified indigenous pathways to adaptive coping involved the use of the following coping resources.

➢ **Hierarchical consultation**
- *Community consultation* involves the use of social coping resources (interpersonal and intrapersonal coping resources) through a process of consultation among community members. The importance of consulting significant others was also found in non-Western native Alaskan (Wexler, 2014) and Asian (Yeh & Wang, 2002) cultures.
- *Tribal consultation* entails the use of social coping resources (interpersonal and intrapersonal coping resources) and cultural coping resources (traditional authority structure) through a process of consultation between community members and traditional authority members. Although the collectivistic coping model (Yeh et al., 2006) posits respect for authority figures as a value that underpins coping, none of the models or reviewed studies specifically identified the traditional authority structures as a coping resource in non-Western communities.
- *Municipal consultation* involves the use of infrastructural and service-related coping resources (government structures), and in the case of the two indigenous researched communities,

consulting with the municipality also involved the use of cultural coping resources (traditional authority structure) as the traditional authority structure serves as a representative of the community. The use of these coping resources happened mainly through a process of consultation among community members and then external institutions. None of the researched studies' findings (discussed in 2.2.2.5) included government institutions as a coping resource.

- ➢ **Collective participatory coping**
  - *Collective recreation* includes the use of infrastructural coping resources (sports grounds) and social resources (interpersonal and intrapersonal coping resources) through collective participation. None of the researched studies' findings included recreation as a coping resource.
  - *Collective spirituality* entails the use of infrastructural coping resources (church) and social coping resources (interpersonal and intrapersonal coping resources) through collective participation. Spirituality has also been identified by non-Western coping studies in native Alaskan culture (Allen et al., 2014; Wexler, 2014) and African cultures (Constantine et al., 2002; Joseph & Kuo, 2009; Lewis-Coles & Constantine, 2006; Gaylord-Harden & Cunningham, 2009).
  - *Collective citizenship,* including *participation in generating and sharing resources* and *participation in communal meetings,* involves the use of social coping resources (interpersonal and intrapersonal coping resources), infrastructural coping resources (community hall, traditional authority homestead, farming lands), and cultural resources (traditional authority leader, tribal rules) through collective participation. As in the present study's findings, a study involving native Alaskan youth (Wexler et al., 2014) identified the notion of giving back to the community as a pathway to coping.
  - *Collective traditional arts* includes the use of social coping resources (interpersonal and intrapersonal coping resources), cultural resources (traditional arts), and physical coping resources (cultural center and traditional authority leader) through collective participation. Similarly, Wexler (2014) identified traditional cultural practices as a coping resource.

I believe that underpinning IKS values (discussed next) may position cultural resources and social coping resources as particularly prominent in adaptive coping. This is further considered in Section 6.3.

6.2.1.3   Indigenous pathways to coping as value driven

As in non-Western studies in Alaska (Allen et al., 2014) and the United States (Constantine et al., 2002; Utsey et al*.,* 2000; Joseph & Kuo, 2009), I found in the South African sample that values served as a foundation to guide indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions, which led me to propose a **value-driven** indigenous pathways to adaptive coping. Kuo (2013) similarly described coping associated

with non-Western cultures as value driven. *Values* (Chapter 4) as an indigenous pathways to adaptive coping *underpin* (indicated by the coloured lines in Figure 6.1) indigenous adaptive coping *transactions* as an indigenous pathway to adaptive coping.

The IKS value *reverence for traditional authority* appears to influence the way in which the adaptive coping family *hierarchical consultation* and the associated adaptive coping ways *tribal consultation* and *municipal consultation* manifest. The IKS value *collective connectedness* was evident in all the adaptive coping ways included in the adaptive coping family *collective participatory coping* and especially evident in the adaptive coping way *community consultation* as part of the adaptive coping family *hierarchical consultation*.

As the identified IKS values underpin the identified coping transactions, the nature of these values appears to manifest in the nature of the identified indigenous coping transactions (see the influence of IKS values in Section 4.4). The IKS value *reverence for traditional authority* manifests in the **hierarchical nature** of some of the adaptive coping ways such as those that reflect community members following a structured procedure when resolving matters of either a personal or communal nature. However, it should be noted that both the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants mentioned collective agency in changing their coping action when they realised that the proposed structure of resolving matters is not successful in mediating adversity. For example both the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants mentioned that in cases where the municipal institutions are unable to help them resolve communal matter they try and resolve the matter through using coping resources within the community rather than those provided by the municipality. The latter suggests some form of flexibility in the structured procedure of resolving matters in the community. Furthermore the community members' ability to make meaning of when which coping resources will be useful reflect the socio-ecological view on resilience in terms of cultural moderation (Ungar et al., 2013) which I discuss in Section 6.3. Yeh et al. (2006) also identified respect for authority as an important pathway to coping based on data gathered from diverse ethnic United States citizens. This value (*reverence for traditional authority*) is also included in the collectivistic coping scale (Yeh et al., 2006).

The findings support the view that the identified indigenous coping pathways reflect normative ways of adapting to adversity in the researched indigenous communities. Similar to the concept of relational universality in the collectivistic coping scale (Yeh et al., 2006), the IKS value *collective connectedness* manifests in the **collective nature** of the identified indigenous adaptive coping ways. The collective nature of these ways is seen in the communal use of coping resources for the benefit of the community as a whole. The emphasis on the collective nature of the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions is coherent with the importance the cultural transactional theory of stress and coping (Chun

et al., 2006) (Section 2.2.2) attributes to the influence of a collective cultural orientation on coping. Answering the second secondary research question (Section 6.2.2) revealed similar views on indigenous pathways to adaptive coping and supported the same IKS values, indigenous adaptive coping families, and indigenous adaptive coping ways.

6.2.1.4   Indigenous adaptive coping transactions form part of a multilevel coping process

I followed Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck (2007, 2009, 2011) to understand the identified indigenous pathways to coping as a **multilevel process** that describes the coping process as *interactional, episodic,* and *adaptive*. Although the IPR project focused primarily on adaptive coping from a resilience perspective, instances of coping as an interactional and episodic process were evident.

As an *interactional process* (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007, 2009, 2011), the results indicated interaction between the participants and the environment. In this regard, the participants shared IKS revealing how they employed adaptive coping ways in order to deal with the adversity stemming from the environment (specifically evident in Theme 2: Indigenous adaptive coping transactions discussed in Chapter 5). As an *episodic process* (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007, 2009, 2011), the dynamic and changing nature of adaptive coping was evident in instances where the participants had to adapt their coping ways in order to deal with adversity. For example, where municipal consultation was unsuccessful, the community decided on new coping behaviours that did not require the assistance of the municipality.

The indigenous pathways to adaptive coping also represented an *adaptive coping process* (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007, 2009, 2011) as the indigenous coping transactions mentioned by the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants resulted in mediating adversity. An example of successful mediation of adversity was the Limpopo participants' successful creation of more employment opportunities. The adaptive nature of the coping process was due to the outcome (Taylor & Stanton, 2007) of the coping (e.g. decreased experiences of unemployment) and its function (Skinner et al., 2003) in the communities (more employment opportunities enabled the community members to create further employment opportunities for those around them thus decreasing poverty-related adversity). I should, however, emphasise that the study did not intentionally focus on understanding specific adaptive coping outcomes and functions, and consequently future studies should consider exploring the outcome and function of adaptive coping in non-Western communities. Adaptive coping as an adaptive process further involves the effective use of coping resources, as suggested by the *resource congruence model* (Section 2.2.2.1).

Despite the study's focus on adaptive coping, I did acknowledge earlier (Section 1.2.2) that coping as *an interactional process* (interaction between people and environment) could not be excluded from any

coping study. Furthermore, that these interactions would affect the people and environment (coping function) constituted one of my initial working assumptions: *Adaptive coping is an interactional process that has a specific function.* However, the multilevel nature of coping processes as well as the value-driven nature of indigenous adaptive coping transactions suggest the following amendment to this working assumption: *Adaptive coping is a multidimensional process entailing positive coping outcomes and coping functions that need to be understood as embedded in IKS and as experienced by the various holders of IKS.* Also, since the primary focus was on the *adaptive coping process,* I recommend further in-depth exploration of *interactional* and *episodic* coping processes as part of indigenous adaptive coping pathways.

Like those of other researchers (Aldwin, 2011; Kuo, 2011), my findings suggest that culture results in emic characteristics in pathways to adaptive coping. The identified indigenous pathways to such coping reflect universal components of coping (Kuo, 2011), namely that coping is required in the face of adversity and involves the use of coping resources. However, the cultural and ecological (Kuo, 2011) factors characteristic of the research sites contributed to the unique **emic (cultural) characteristics** of the identified coping pathways (discussed as part of the third and fourth research questions in sections 6.2.3 and 6.2.4). As found in other studies, the environment determined which adversities the participants were faced with, which coping resources were available, and which coping transactions were used to mobilise coping resources in order to adapt to adversity (Aldwin et al., 2006; Hobfoll, 2001; Kuo, 2011; Kuo, 2012; Yeh, Arora, & Wu, 2006). Through the lenses of the resources congruence model (Aldwin, 2011; Kuo, 2011; Wong et al., 2006) and the social cultural model of stress and adaptation (discussed in section 2.2.2), collective culture was evident in both research sites. Because of a collective cultural orientation, the participants also responded to stressors using collective effort through capitalising on communal resources (Section 5.4.2.1).

Although I did not analyse and interpret the data from a poverty or rural perspective, I acknowledged that ecological factors such as resources scarcity contributed to the way in which indigenous coping pathways manifested in the two research sites. For the final two secondary questions, I compared the emic (cultural) dimensions of the identified indigenous pathways to coping with Western and non-Western knowledge on adaptive coping.

6.2.2 SECONDARY QUESTION 2

How do indigenous pathways to adaptive coping compare across location, age, and gender in two South African communities?

6.2.2.1 Comparing IKS values and indigenous coping behaviour between locations

Overall, no significant differences in respect of location were found as the same indigenous pathways of coping were identified for both research sites (Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 as well as sections 5.2 and 5.3). Reasons for similarities in the identified coping pathways might be the similarities between the Swati and Venda cultures, such as having a collective cultural orientation and values associated with Ubuntu as well as a common African worldview (Section 4.4.2).

With regard to the IKS value *reverence for traditional authority*, both the Limpopo and Mpumalanga data reflected the view that this value involved following the leadership of the traditional authority in guiding the community to adapt to adversity. The Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants considered relationships between community members as an important component of adaptive coping as *collective connectedness* created a space where community members could draw on collective effort to adapt to adversity. Furthermore, the data collected in Limpopo and Mpumalanga indicated that *collective connectedness* included not only interpersonal relationships between community members but also connections to the spiritual world.

There was coherence among the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants' views on the subtheme *hierarchical consultation* in that consulting with other community members, with traditional authority, and with municipal institutions formed an important part of adapting to adversity. With regard to *community consultation*, the participants from both research sites reported instances of consulting with other community members for advice on how to solve problems. *Tribal consultation* was reflected in the Limpopo and Mpumalanga data as involving instances where community members consulted with the tribal authority in order to resolve personal as well as community matters. Not only did the two research sites' participants have similar views on what *tribal consultation* entailed, but similarities were also detected in terms of what type of adversity required *tribal consultation* as well as what the role of traditional authority was in facilitating resolution of community and personal issues. For instance, in both the Limpopo an Mpumalanga research sites, community issues involved instances where the communities faced resources scarcity and had to refer the problem to the municipality or instances where there was conflict in the community. In the case of community issues, the traditional authority members were expected to liaise with the municipal structure to address resources scarcity or enforce tribal rules to solve conflict and misbehaviour in the community. The Mpumalanga and Limpopo data reflected the notion that *municipal consultation* was needed when a problem was beyond the community's capacity to

solve, in which case a traditional authority member would act as a representative for the community and liaise with the relevant municipal institution.

Similarities between the Limpopo and Mpumalanga data with regard to *collective participatory coping* and the included categories (*collective recreation*, *collective spirituality*, *collective citizenship*, and *collective traditional arts*) revolved around the type of adversities that were addressed by the coping behaviours reflected in the mentioned categories. For instance, *collective recreation* was considered to involve communal matters such as crime and substance abuse in both Limpopo and Mpumalanga, which was also true for the category *collective spirituality*. *Collective spirituality* was further associated with reduced stress and reinforced connectedness among community members, which again contributed to the ability of community members to assist one another in adapting to adversity. With regard to *collective citizenship*, the Limpopo and Mpumalanga data revealed instances where community members participated in generating and sharing resources in order to overcome resource scarcity as well as the view that participation in community meetings promoted the resolution of community problems. Lastly, community members' participation in traditional arts (traditional dances and cultural days) promoted good behaviour and prevented bad behaviour according to the Limpopo and the Mpumalanga participants.

Fluctuations occurred in terms of the number of times the participants referred to various coping instances. For example, the Limpopo participants mentioned more coping instances related to farming than the Mpumalanga participants. Slight differences in the frequency of coping instances could be explained by variance in the Limpopo and Mpumalanga ecologies. In Chapter 1, Section 1.4.2.2 and in Chapter 2, Section 2.5, I discussed that, based on the socio-ecological view of resilience, the environment mediates the opportunities people have to adapt to adversity (Ungar, 2011). Differences in livelihood ecology, coping resources, local culture as well as literacy levels and language proficiency between the two research sites could have accounted for the slight variation if coping instances reported by Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants.

One of the possible reason for the slight differences between coping in the two research sites might be accounted for by differences in livelihood ecology. For instance, in the Mpumalanga research site agriculture forms a big part of the livelihood ecology which influences how the community members cope with adversity related to unemployment. Due to the physical ecology in Limpopo agriculture is not as prominent. Differences in the physical ecologies, such as differences in natural resources, infrastructure and location of Limpopo and Mpumalanga could also influence the coping resources the communities have at their disposal. Furthermore, possible differences in the local cultures of the Limpopo and Mpumalanga research site could have had an influence on how the community members view and utilise coping resources. For instance, at the Mpumalanga research site the women were found not to attend

community meetings because they view decision making with regards to community matters as the responsibility of men in the community. The latter reflects how views on gender roles, as part of local culture, could account for differences in coping among the sampled participants. In Chapter 3, Section 3.11, I discussed how differences in terms of language proficiency and literacy between the research sites could have influenced the gathered data. I do acknowledged that the differences could have accounted for slight differences in coping instances reported by the participants. Furthermore the results correlate with the notion that aspects of the physical and social ecology mediate how people adapt to adversity (Ungar et al.,) which I elaborate on in Section 6.3.

6.2.2.2 Comparison of IKS values and indigenous adaptive coping across age and gender

A strong correlation between the genders and ages suggests that the studied South African sample of non-Western participants dealt with adversity normatively. The correlation between the participants' views also suggests cultural similarities between the research sites and suggests the need for further in-depth research into what specific cultural similarities could be at play.

Overall, the youth and older people in the Limpopo and Mpumalanga sites had similar views on *IKS pathways to values* and *indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions*. One minor difference was noted between the Mpumalanga older men and the Mpumalanga older women with regard to their views on the adaptive function of *tribal consultation*. The older men experienced the function of the coping behaviour *tribal consultation* as adaptive, which was not the experience of the older women. This suggests a need for further exploration of gender and adaptive coping from a non-Western perspective. I elaborated on a possible reason for this slight difference in the previous section where I mentioned views on gender roles, as part of local culture, as a possible reason for differences in coping among male and female participants.

Similarly, no significant differences regarding *IKS pathways to values* and *indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions* emerged after comparing the views according to gender (women and men) in the two research sites. I do, however, suggest further research that focuses specifically on possible unique experiences non-Western people may have despite a strong collective culture.

6.2.3 SECONDARY QUESTION 3

How do South African indigenous pathways to adaptive coping compare to existing Western knowledge on coping?

I started answering the third secondary question as part of the literature control in Chapters 4 and 5. In Chapter 4, Section 4.4, I compared *IKS values* as an indigenous pathway to adaptive coping to Western

values (in Western literature) that have influenced coping transactions in Western contexts. The contrast between non-Western values and Western values evident in the findings of the present study has been documented in international literature (Kim, 2010; Kuo, 2012). The differences between the identified *IKS values* and Western values are as follows:

- The identified IKS value *reverence for traditional authority* reflected in the **hierarchical nature** of several (*tribal consultation, municipal consultation,* and *participation in communal meetings*) of the identified indigenous pathways to adaptive coping (Section 6.2.1.2) is different to individualistic Western contexts where hierarchy is not prominent (Kim, 2010).
- The identified IKS value *collective connectedness* contributed to the **collective cultural orientation** reflected in all but some (*tribal consultation* and *municipal consultation*) of the identified indigenous pathways to adaptive coping (Section 6.2.1.2) which contradicts the individualistic cultural orientation associated with Western contexts (Yeh et al., 2006).

The following similarities (Section 5.4.1.2) were evident between Western pathways to coping and *indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions*.

- Active involvement as a pathway to adaptive coping: The identified *indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions* reflect active attempts to resolve adversity similarly to Western pathways to coping (Carver & Connor-Smith, 2010; Eliot et al., 2011; Folkman, 2010; Morling & Evered, 2006; Rothbaum et al.*,* 1982; Skinner et al.*,* 2003) highlighting active mediation of adversity as a pathway to coping.
- Emotional regulation as a pathway to adaptive coping: Certain identified *indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions* focused on reducing stress (Carver et al., 2010; Folkman, 2010), which is similar to Western pathways to coping highlighting emotional regulation as a pathway to coping.
- Future orientation as a pathway to adaptive coping: Some of the *identified indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions* reflected a future-oriented nature similar to Western pathways to coping where ways of coping focus on preventing possible future adversity (Aspinwall, 2001; Schwazer & Knoll, 2007).
- Spirituality as a pathway to adaptive coping: similar to some Western coping ways (Folkman & Moskowits, 2004; Pargament et al., 2011), the identified indigenous pathway to adaptive coping *collective spirituality* reflected spirituality as a component of *indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions* as a pathway to adaptive coping.
- Social relationships as a pathway to adaptive coping: similar to some Western coping ways (Taylor, 2011), social relationships were an important component in the identified indigenous adaptive coping transactions.

However, despite these similarities, the way in which active participation, future orientation, spirituality, and social support manifested in the two non-Western South African research sites revealed differences as well (Section 5.4.2.2), mainly due to **collective cultural orientation**. In this South African sample, active attempts to adapt to adversity *reflected collective effort and use of communal coping resources rather than individual efforts mostly using individual coping resources* (Morling & Evered, 2006) as seen in Western coping literature. Social relationships are important in Western coping ways of social support. I found that indigenous pathways to adaptive coping required connections with others and that the use of social relationships could be normative in guiding attempts to adapt to adversity. Further research is needed on the role of social relationships as a pathway to adaptive coping in indigenous contexts to obtain a more refined understanding of this specific pathway to coping.

Silences (Section 5.4.3.2) on known Western pathways to coping were noticeable in the present study. The following Western pathway to adaptive coping was not evident in the data.

- Positive intrapersonal processes as a pathway to coping: None of the identified indigenous pathways to adaptive coping involved focusing on making meaning (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004) in adversity and capitalising on positive intrapersonal processes to accept circumstances as they are (Thoits, 2013) and fitting oneself (Morling & Evered, 2006; Rothbaum et al., 1982) to circumstances.
- Inactive processes as a pathway to coping: None of the identified indigenous coping ways involved avoidance (Elliot et al., 2011) and disengagement.
- Building up resources for pending future adversity: None of the identified indigenous pathways to adaptive coping involved building up resources to deal with possible future adversity (Aspinwall, 2011).

These silences require further investigation. The silences may be due to the nature of the selected methodology, language differences between me and the participants, and because of the specific bounded system studied. Some silences may be due to the chronic nature and severity of the adversity faced by the sampled non-Western researched communities. Since the study did not focus on understanding coping from a poverty perspective, future studies should use a poverty lens to investigate the phenomenon. Furthermore, the noted differences (contrasts and silences) are true only for the data gathered during the study, and, consequently, pathways to adaptive coping with an individualistic focus, as well as coping ways involving avoidance and secondary control, cannot be excluded from indigenous pathways to adaptive coping.

6.2.4   SECONDARY QUESTION 4

How do South African indigenous pathways to adaptive coping compare to existing non-Western knowledge on coping?

Similarities and differences (Section 4.4) came to the fore after comparing the identified indigenous pathways to adaptive coping to existing non-Western coping literature. Firstly, the IKS value *reverence for traditional authority* confirms existing non-Western knowledge that respect for authority figures plays a role in coping in indigenous contexts (Yeh et al., 2006) and further confirms the hierarchical structure of non-Western communities (Kim, 2010). The IKS value *collective connectedness* confirms the role of a relational ontology (Ye, Arora, & Wu, 2006) and documented indigenous values that highlight connectedness (Kuo, 2012). Although the influence of IKS values on indigenous coping ways is not new to the literature (Kuo, 2012; Kim et al., 2008; Smith, 2010; Wong et al., 2006; Yeh et al., 2006), two IKS values have now, based on the present study's findings, been documented for the South African sample. Further research is needed on other possible values that underpin adaptive coping in non-Western settings.

The similarities between the identified South African IKS values and existing non-Western coping literature may be due to characteristics associated with indigenous culture, such as having a collective cultural orientation and a hierarchical social structure. Further research is needed to gain deeper understanding of what factors could account for similar pathways to adaptive coping in different indigenous cultures.

Despite the similarities, some differences were also noted (Section 4.4.3.). The IKS values that formed part of the present findings did not include values that reflected the notion of forbearance or fatalism (Ye et. al., 2006) and were accordingly not reflected in any of the identified indigenous adaptive coping ways. The way in which the absence of fatalism and forbearance manifest in differences between the identified South African indigenous adaptive coping ways and internationally documented indigenous coping ways is discussed later in this section. The absence of fatalism and forbearance in the present study does not at all mean that these values do not form part of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in the South African sample. However the silence with regards to forbearance and fatalism might be accounted for by religious differences between the current study's sampled South African indigenous participants and international indigenous participants. To elaborate, the international indigenous participants (included in the study that revealed forbearance and fatalism as values underpinning coping actions) follow Buddhism as their religion of which the values of forbearance and fatalism form part of (Yeh et al., 2006). Although values forbearance and fatalism might not come across as values associated with adaptation, the meaning ascribed to these values within the Buddhism religion leads to viewing these values as

pathways to adaptation and development (Yeh et al., 2006). I elaborate on meaning-making in adaptive coping and resilience as evident in the current study's findings in Section 6.3. The abovementioned silences are limited to the parameters of the present study. Accordingly, I suggest that further investigation of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in non-Western contexts may reveal indigenous pathways to adaptive coping different from those evident in the present findings.

As part of the literature control (Section 5.4), I compared the findings to existing non-Western coping literature which provided further insight into how the identified indigenous coping pathways compared to existing non-Western coping pathways. I found the following similarities between existing non-Western literature and the present findings on indigenous pathways to adaptive coping.

- *Indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions,* included in the indigenous coping families *hierarchical consultation* and *collective participatory coping,* reflect the idea of collectivistic coping (Chun et al., 2006) as all the identified indigenous coping ways appeared to be normative ways of coping in the two research sites.
- *Indigenous pathways to adaptive coping* transaction reflect the idea of collective coping (Chun et al., 2006) as all the coping ways entailed collective effort and the use of communal coping resources.
- The concept of intracultural coping (Ye et al., 2006) was also evident in the identified *indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions* as working together to solve problems entailed moving beyond the notion of periodic social support.

In terms of difference (Sections 5.4.2.3 and 5.4.3.3), the absence of forbearance and fatalism was evident in the present findings. None of the identified *indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions* reflected the notion of withholding information from others or accepting circumstances as they were. Contrary to the idea of forbearance, the findings suggested that talking about problems (as evident in the indigenous coping family *hierarchical* consultation) was valued. Contrary to the idea of fatalism, which suggests seeing oneself as a victim of circumstances, the identified *indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions* involved active attempts to change the environment in order to adapt to adversity. Because of the active nature of the identified indigenous coping ways, the idea that collective cultures revert to secondary control coping (Morling & Evered, 2006) was not supported by the present findings. The above differences suggest that the way in which pathways to coping are expressed in these indigenous cultures may be influenced by more than only collectivist characteristics of non-Western cultures, which requires further study.

After answering the third and fourth secondary research questions, the following working assumptions were generally confirmed: *Adaptive coping, as experienced in indigenous communities, will reflect unique*

emic dimensions, and *adaptive coping, as experienced in indigenous rural resource-constrained communities, will reflect characteristics similar to existing non-Western and Western pathways to adaptive coping.* However, since the present study focused specifically on indigenous pathways to coping (which inherently involve the multilevel structure of adaptive coping and adaptive coping as a multilevel process), the above working assumptions were combined and amended as follows: *South African indigenous pathways to adaptive coping will reflect characteristics similar and different to existing non-Western and Western pathways to adaptive coping.*

6.3 PRIMARY RESEARCH QUESTION

How can an understanding of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in two rural South African communities contribute to knowledge of indigenous pathways to resilience?

The research findings revealed several characteristics of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping (Section 6.2.1.1) that supplement knowledge on pathways to resilience. In Chapter 1, I posited that insight into coping resources could promote understanding of protective resources as a pathway to resilience and that coping behaviours could promote further insight into positive transactions as a resilience pathway. I now first attend to how the findings supplemented knowledge on protective resources as a pathway to resilience (Section 1.4.2).

6.3.1 PROTECTIVE RESOURCES AS AN INDIGENOUS PATHWAY TO ADAPTIVE COPING DURING RESILIENCE

It is known (Lopez et al., 2005; Seligman, 2005) that insight into the nature of protective resources, situated within people, families, communities, and culture (Masten & Reed 2004; Masten, 2007), provides insight into resilience as people capitalise on resources to overcome adversity (Ebersöhn 2014; Lopez & Magyar-Moe, 2006). Earlier (Section 1.4.2.1), I explained why I view protective resources as coping resources. Figure 6.2 illustrates the following:

- The nature of South African protective resources as identified by resilience research studies (Ebersöhn, 2013, 2014; Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012; Ledogar & Fleming, 2008; Theron & Theron, 2010; Skofdal & Daniel, 2012) (discussed in sections 1.4.2 and 2.4.3.2).

- Coping resources associated with each protective resource (indicated in italics).

- The protective resources/coping resources that were prominent in the findings (indicated in blue).

- The various multi-direction arrows indicate that interaction between protective resources/coping resources are complex and influence the adaptive coping process and positive transactions in resilience.
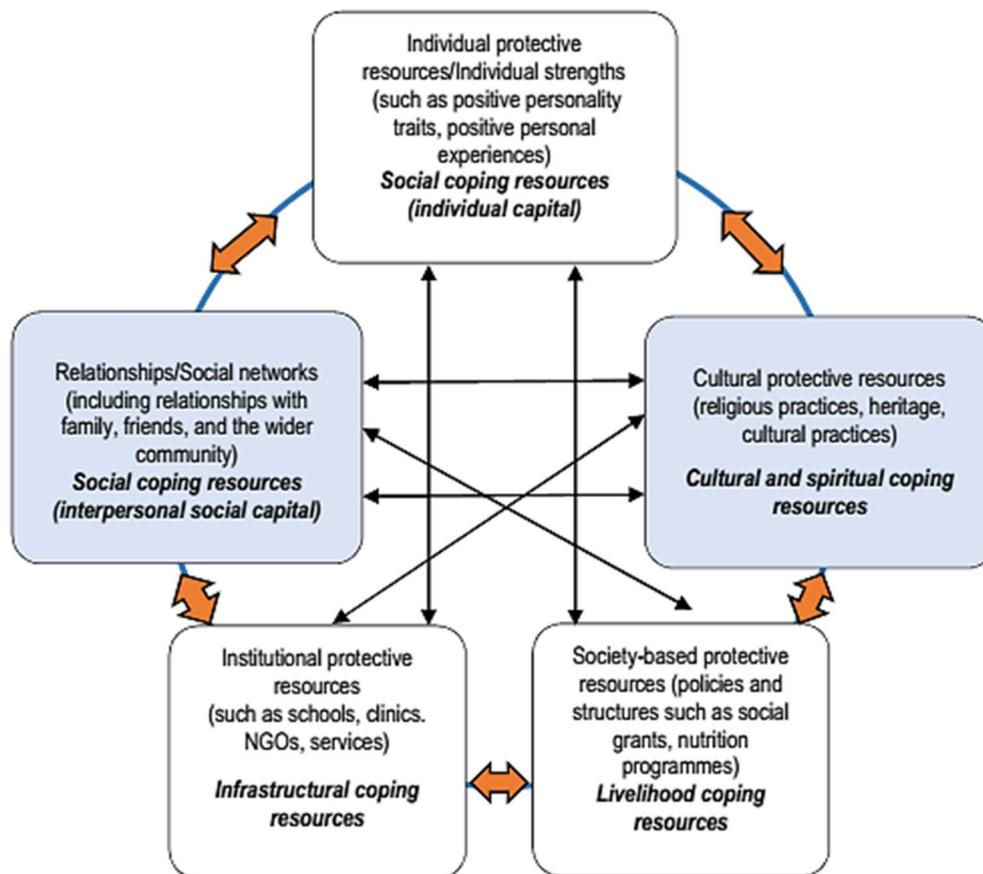
Figure 6.2:   Protective resources

Earlier (Sections 5.4.1.1 and 6.2.1.2), I compared the present findings to existing knowledge on coping resources. The findings correlated with protective resources as described in resilience literature (Lopez et al., 2005; Seligman, 2005; Ungar, 2008). In comparison to protective resources, as conceptualised in resilience research, I found evidence of the following categories of protective resources in the South African sample.

- Individual protective resources in the form of individual skills and knowledge.
- Institutional protective resources such as home-based centres (NGOs), churches, schools, community halls, cultural centres, and traditional authority homesteads, sports grounds, and houses.
- Society-based protective resources such as municipal institutions and services
- Relationships with family, friends, neighbours, and the wider community (including religious leaders and traditional authority members).
- Cultural protective resources in the form of IKS values, spiritual practices, traditional arts, and traditional authority structures.

In dynamic resilience processes (Masten, 2007; Rutter, 2012; Ungar, 2012), these protective resources do not function as independent entities. The latter can be explained by referring back to the ecological

systems theory of Bronfrenbrenner (1979) which the socio-ecological theory used (refer to section 1.4.2.2) to illustrate how protective factors interact across systems in an ecology (Ungar, 2011; Ungar et al., 2013). The first level of interactions occur within the microsystem where individuals are directly involved in activities, roles and interpersonal relationships (Ungar et al., 2013). Within this microsystem individual protective resources and interpersonal protective resources interact. For example, in the current study interaction between intrapersonal social coping resources, such as individual skills and knowledge were shared with other members in the microsystem within the context of relationships. Furthermore interaction between individual coping resources and infrastructural coping resources unfolded in the context of the community members' involvement in, for example, church.

A second level of interaction between protective resources unfold in the mesosystem as microsystems interact with one-another (Ungar et al., 2013). Here the protective resources embedded in social networks interact and are shared. For instance, in the current study there was interaction between community members and the traditional authority members as well as between neighbours, friends and families which allowed for the interaction and sharing of protective resources. Protective factors also interact within a third ecological system namely the exosystem where social interactions occur that might not involve a specific individual but still affect that individual (Ungar, 2011). In the current study the latter were seen in social interactions where not all community members were involved in but were still affected by these interactions of protective resources. For example, community members were affected as society-based institutions, such municipal institutions and cultural resources, such as traditional authority government, interacted. Lastly protective factors also interact within the macrosystem that involve cultural practices and laws that influence community members (Ungar, 2011). In the current study cultural protective factors, such as IKS values interacted with community members. There were also interactions between cultural protective resources such as tribal authority laws and community members.

It may be that it is not only the nature of the coping resources that provides insight into protective resources as a pathway to resilience, but also the IKS values that guide the way in which these resources interact and are viewed and used. The role of IKS values relates to the socio-ecology resilience principle of cultural moderation where cultures, including cultural values, affect the meaning people ascribe to protective resources and will consequently influence how they use these resources (Ungar et al., 2013). From a socio-ecological resilience view it was not only clear that participants in the study navigated (Ungar 2007; 2011) their way to protective resources but clear negotiation (Ungar 2007; 2011) took place as cultural influence determined how they used these resources. It appears as if the coping resources are viewed as "ours" rather than "yours" or "mine". However, the study did not focus on the nature of appraisal, and I therefore suggest that further research should be done on the nature of protective resources appraisal in indigenous contexts. From an indigenous psychology perspective, this probable

collective view of resources could be explained by the underpinning IKS value *collective connectedness*, which appeared to influence the use of coping resources in the research sites to such an extent that even individual social coping resources were viewed and used as communal coping resources.

The collective use of coping resources in order to promote positive development is coherent with the *relationship resources resilience framework* of Ebersöhn (2013, 2014) highlighting relationships as a pathway to resilience because it is in the space of relationships that resources are linked and individuals engage collectively to adapt to adversity.

The IKS value *reverence for traditional authority* also appeared to influence the use of certain coping resources (especially natural coping resources such as land and physical coping resources such as municipal services) in the two researched communities. The traditional authority often had to be consulted on what coping resources to use, how to use the coping resources, or whether certain coping resources were available. In sum, IKS values supplemented existing knowledge on protective resources as a pathway to resilience in the following ways.

- From an indigenous psychology perspective, protective resources in indigenous communities (which can be cultural, spiritual, natural, physical, and social in nature) can be viewed as influenced by IKS values that will direct the way in which the community appraises and uses these resources in order to foster positive development in a context of high risk and high need. Based on the socio-ecological resilience principle of cultural moderation, the latter implies that not all protective resources will be viewed as meaningful in overcoming adversity, which could determine whether a specific community actually view these resources as protective.

6.3.2   POSITIVE TRANSACTIONS AS A PATHWAY TO RESILIENCE

Earlier (Section 1.2.2), I mentioned that adaptive coping entailed the successful use of resources (Hobfoll, 2001) as reflected in resilience-promoting transactions (Masten & Wright, 2010; Ungar, 2008). Because insight into the nature of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions might supplement existing knowledge on positive transactions as a pathway to resilience, I reasoned that the identified indigenous pathways (Section 6.2.1) could supplement understanding of South African indigenous positive transactions in resilience.

Firstly, the **multilevel structure** of the identified indigenous adaptive coping reflects (Section 6.2.1.1) the complexity of positive transactions in that these transactions are not single, isolated interactions between people and their environment. Rather the transactions reflect the complex structure of higher order coping (adaptive coping families) and lower order coping (adaptive coping ways). Overall, the two indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions (**consultation** and **participation)** can add to

understanding of positive transactions in non-Western communities. From an adaptive coping point of view, positive transactions involve active collective efforts to adapt to adversity through consultation and participation. The idea of complex transactions is also reflected in the socio-ecological view of resilience where navigation to protective resources unfold over various subsystems of the ecology (Ungar, 2011; Ungar et al., 2013). I already commented on the latter in the previous section through describing how protective resources interact across levels. In the current study the various coping actions reflected protective transactions between various subsystems. For instance, in order to mediate adversity community members interacted with one another (microsystem); various structures (such as community groups such as church groups, home-based care groups, volunteers etc.) interacted with one another (mesosystem). Furthermore protective transactions in which not all community members were involved in (exosystem) helped to mediate adversity, such as consultations between traditional authority members and municipal institutions and positive transactions between cultural factors such as values and spiritual beliefs and community members (macrosystem) also promoted adaptation. The findings further reflect the socio-ecological resilience principles of equifinality and differential impact (Ungar et al., 2013) where the environment becomes the locus of protective resources and transactions and the complex interaction between people and their social and physical ecology that result in a differential impact on resilience over time.

The **value-driven** nature of the identified indigenous pathways to adaptive transactions (Section 6.2.3) suggests that IKS values may influence the way in which positive transactions in resilience processes manifest. The latter again relates to the socio-ecological principle of cultural moderation (Ungar et al., 2013) where coping actions and consequent positive development is not only influenced by whether resources are accessible and whether people are able to navigate their way towards these resources but also whether these resources and the consequent positive development is culturally relevant (Ungar, 2007). Although further research is needed on this subject, I believe that, based on the findings, the **collective** and **hierarchical nature** of the indigenous pathways to adaptive coping could be reflected in the nature of positive transactions in resilience processes. Insight into the collective nature of coping resources (Section 6.3.1) and into the collective nature of indigenous adaptive coping transactions creates awareness that pathways to positive transactions in collectivist cultures may need to be understood from an interdependent communal view.

Evidence of the collective nature of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping correlates with Theron's et al. (2013) view that insight into collectivist philosophies could promote understanding of resilience in indigenous contexts. The collective nature of indigenous adaptive coping transactions as part of resilience transactions also correlates with the concept of collective resilience (Ebersöhn, 2013)

discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.4.2.3. Insight into the value-driven nature of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions supplements existing resilience knowledge in the following way.

- Resilience transactions in non-Western settings should not be understood in isolation from values embedded in IKS.
- In the non-Western South African researched communities, indigenous values related to the collectivist and hierarchical nature of indigenous communities appeared to be an influential factor in how positive transactions manifested.

Furthermore, the **multilevel process** nature of adaptive coping processes (Section 6.2.1.4) could also contribute towards understanding positive transactions as a pathway to resilience in non-Western settings. Most of the findings shared so far in relation to positive transactions as a pathways to resilience relate to adaptive coping as a *transactional process* (involving transactions between people and their environment characterised by resource utilisation). Earlier (Section 6.2.1.4), I discussed findings on adaptive coping as an *episodic process* where the South African sample had to change their coping ways in order to deal more effectively with adversity. The need to change coping actions suggests that resilience over time (positive development) does not exclude instances of trial and error where unsuccessful coping behaviours need to be reconsidered in order to mediate adversity successfully. I acknowledge that one instance of coping does not equate with resilience, and, in a context of chronic poverty, coping is chronic and does not exclude instances where coping is not adaptive (Ebersöhn, 2013). Since the present study did not focus specifically on coping as an *episodic* or *chronic process,* I suggest further research on how coping as a changing and continuous process can supplement resilience knowledge. With regard to adaptive coping as an adaptive process (Section 6.2.1.4), I believe that the study supplements resilience knowledge on positive transaction through documenting *hierarchical consultation* and *collective participatory coping*, coping families that promote resilience. Further research could help identify other forms of adaptive coping processes that could help to broaden indigenous knowledge on positive transactions in resilience. In sum, the multilevel nature of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping transactions (processes) supplements existing knowledge on resilience in the following way.

- The multilevel process nature of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping reveals that positive transactions in resilience can be understood as changing, chronic, and as consisting of adaptive processes that unfold in a space of consultation and collective participation.

The IKS shared by the Limpopo and Mpumalanga participants contributed to my understanding of what pathways to adaptive coping entailed in two indigenous communities faced with high risk and high need, which largely confirms the following working assumption: *Indigenous pathways to adaptive coping will contribute towards existing pathways to resilience.* Answering of the primary research question confirmed

that indigenous pathways to adaptive coping contribute to existing pathways to resilience. The findings supplement existing knowledge on pathways to resilience, and, accordingly, the following working assumption is confirmed: *Indigenous pathways to adaptive coping will contribute towards existing pathways to resilience.*

6.4 EVIDENCE-BASED AMENDED CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR INDIGENOUS PATHWAYS TO ADAPTIVE COPING

The aim of the initial conceptual framework (see Chapter 1, Section 1.4) was to guide my thoughts on important conceptual considerations regarding indigenous pathways to adaptive coping. This section covers how I amended the initial conceptual framework based on the empirical study. Figure 6.3 shows the amended, data-based conceptual framework.
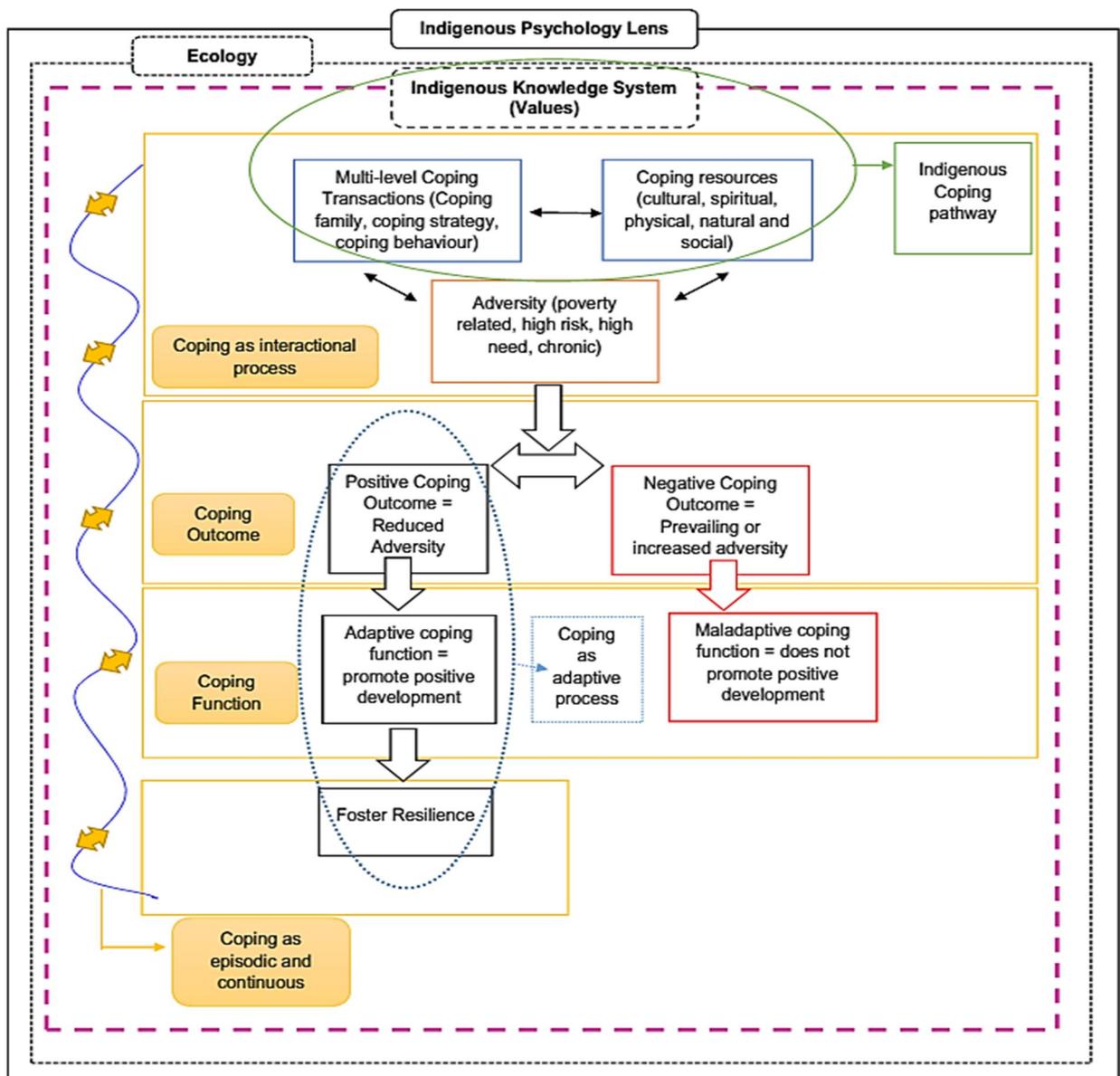

Figure 6.3: Indigenous pathways to adaptive coping as part of resilience processes

Figure 6.4 shows various components of adaptive coping to consider when exploring this psychological phenomenon in non-Western contexts. Indigenous pathways to adaptive coping (indicated by the green oval in the top part of Figure 6.4) entail the use of coping resources through adaptive coping transactions to adapt to adversity. As represented by the top orange block, coping pathways form part of coping as an interactional process (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007, 2009, 2011) as the use of resources to mediate adversity represents interaction between people and their environment. Coping as an interactional process may lead to either a positive coping outcome (Matheson et al. 2007; Wong, 2008) by reducing adverse effects, or a negative coping outcome where the adversity is not successfully mediated as represented by the second orange block in Figure 6.3. Coping that has positive outcomes to the extent that it fosters positive development is considered to have an adaptive function (Utsey et al., 2007), which is represented by the third orange block in Figure 6.3. **In the bottom orange block, adaptive coping with an adaptive function is considered an adaptive coping process (indicated by the blue oval) that promotes resilience (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007, 2009).** The curved line on the left side represents two elements of adaptive coping. Firstly, as indicated by the curved nature of the line, coping as an episodic process indicates that people may adapt their coping strategies over time in order to promote positive development (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007, 2009). Secondly, the curved line relates resilience with adaptive coping as a transaction process, which illustrates that in a context of poverty, ecology can be chronic (Ebersöhn, 2014). I added a black line on the outer edge of Figure 6.3 to indicate that ecology influences the way in which coping manifests (Matheson et al., 2007; Nilson, 2007), and to show how IKS plays a role in how coping manifests (Kuo, 2012), I drew a dotted purple line around the coping processes.

The findings required me to strengthen the presence of IKS (represented by the purple dotted line). Whereas I previously limited IKS to influence coping as an interactional process and a function of the process, IKS is now positioned to influence coping as a multidimensional process. I also added the term "values" to IKS because of the prominent role indigenous values played in the way adaptive coping manifested in the present study. *I recommend that future studies further investigate what other values play a role in indigenous adaptive coping as well as what other IKS components play a role.* I refined coping transactions to represent their multilevel nature with the result that the conceptual framework now reflects the full complexity of the coping structure. Although the findings provided some insight into the nature of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping, *I recommend further research on the structure of indigenous adaptive coping.*

The notion of coping resources was further refined by including cultural, social, spiritual, infrastructural, and natural coping resources. Understanding what type of resources are used is an important part of understanding coping resources as a component of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping.

Coping outcomes were also added to the conceptual framework. Initially, I assumed that insight into the function of coping would be sufficient to situate adaptive coping in the field of resilience. However, in order to understand the function of adaptive coping, its outcome should be considered, as reduced adversity (outcome) could promote positive development (function). Although I did not explore adaptive coping outcome and function, I acknowledge their importance. Accordingly, *I recommend future research on the outcome and function of indigenous adaptive coping.* Besides positive coping outcomes, I also added negative coping outcomes and maladaptive behaviour to acknowledge that positive development in communities can include instances of trial and error following the need to adapt unsuccessful coping behaviours (Ebersöhn, 2014).

I also included coping as an episodic process to indicate that adaptive coping transactions can be adjusted over time. Based on the inclusion of negative coping outcomes and maladaptive behaviour, *I recommend future research on coping transactions that were not successful in indigenous contexts.* Furthermore, *I recommend a longitudinal study of coping in indigenous communities in order to study changes in coping transactions over time*. Lastly, I added a line to show that the way in which coping takes place is influenced not only by IKS but also by ecology to ensure that both cultural and ecological factors are accounted for in the study of pathways to adaptive coping. *I therefore recommend an analysis of coping transactions in indigenous communities from an ecological perspective*.

6.5   RECOMMENDATIONS

In this section, I add to the recommendations I have already made throughout the chapter with the focus on recommendations for future research as well as for psychological practice and future training.

6.5.1   RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Based on a realisation of possible limitations in my decision to work strictly from an adaptive coping and resilience perspective, *I recommend future research aimed at a systematic inductive inquiry into adaptive coping in indigenous communities through lenses of poverty and rural thinking*. I further suggest that future research endeavours should move beyond the parameters of the present study by *conducting an inductive systematic inquiry into adaptive coping in indigenous rural communities faced with different adversities and in indigenous urban communities. I further suggest research of a multidisciplinary nature* to deepen understanding of the ecology in which adaptive coping and resilience take place.

With regard to the mentioned limitations due to the nature of PRA group activities, *I suggest exploring adaptive coping pathways in indigenous communities using individual in-depth interviews to account for individual differences in ways adaptive coping may be experienced in non-Western high-risk and high-need communities*. In order to expand South Africa's indigenous psychological knowledge base, *I recommend continued research into psychological phenomena using indigenous psychology as theoretical paradigm and the post-colonial research paradigm as philosophical paradigm*.

6.5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRACTICE AND FUTURE TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT

A motivation for conducting a study from an indigenous psychology perspective is to help pave the way for relevant psychological services in South African indigenous communities. Accordingly, *I recommend that the training of educational psychologists should include non-Western South African perspectives on mental health and well-being.* This is necessary to ensure that educational psychologists do not misunderstand problems in non-Western South African contexts due to the application of Western theories.

I also recommend that interventions aimed at assisting indigenous people in high-risk and high-need contexts should rely on the IKS held by those people to ensure that interventions are relevant and do not disrespect indigenous traditions and values. It will be necessary to understand how indigenous communities use IKS to make meaning of coping resources and coping actions to ensure that intervention and prevention programmes that focusses on mobilising coping resources and actions do so in a way that is culturally relevant. Regarding values, *I recommend that,* because of the important role IKS values play in indigenous communities, *educational psychologists become familiar with these values and uphold them during community engagement.*

The findings of the present study highlighted the multidimensional and multi-layered nature of coping in indigenous communities. Educational psychologists wishing to promote adaptive coping in indigenous communities should therefore approach adaptive coping as the complex psychological phenomenon that it is.

6.6 FINAL REFLECTION: CONTRIBUTIONS

With regard to the scientific knowledge hiatus in South African indigenous psychology knowledge, the study helped fill this hiatus by documenting knowledge on the nature of indigenous coping pathways and thereby deepening understanding of indigenous resilience pathways. The meaningfulness of documenting indigenous knowledge on adaptive coping and resilience is that insight based on accessed IKS increases understanding (Allwood & Berry, 2006) of how indigenous people adapt to adversity. Since the purpose of indigenous psychology is to assist in the understanding and managing of daily problems more appropriately and efficiently (Hwang, 2012), the exploration of indigenous pathways to adaptive coping through an indigenous psychology lens (the purpose of the study within the IPR research group) contributed not only towards documenting South African indigenous psychological knowledge but also fed into what indigenous psychology aims to achieve in non-Western communities.

Overall, the answering of the research questions has contributed to a scarce knowledge base on non-Western pathways to coping, which can lead to relevant and desperately needed mental health interventions in non-Western high-risk and high-need contexts (De La Rey & Isper, 2004).

Lastly, collective research endeavours focusing on accessing, investigating and documenting IKS can help South Africa move beyond indigenisation (Mpofu, 2012) and help create a South African psychology for South Africans by South Africans.
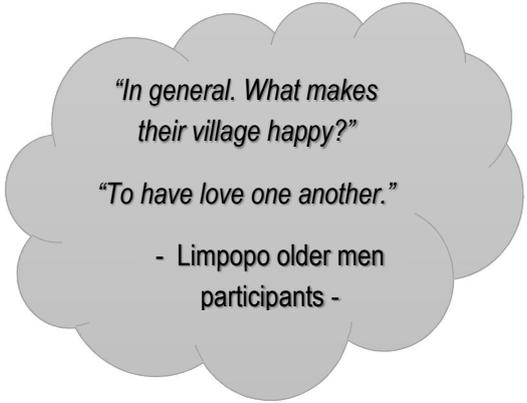
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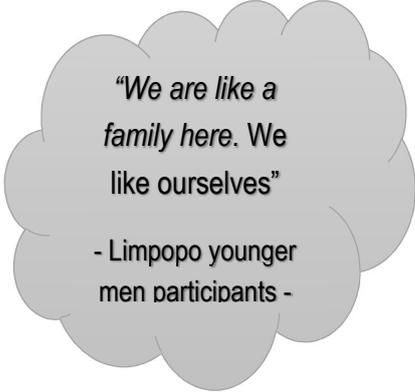
"We are like a family here. We like ourselves"

- Limpopo younger men participants -

"We believe that in the long run the special contribution to the world by Africa will be in the field of relationships"
(Steve Biko)

"In general. What makes their village happy?"

"To have love one another."

- Limpopo older men participants -

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