

**Seeking and Finding Positive Youth Development
Among Zulu Youth in South African Townships**

Kelly D. Schwartz

University of Calgary

Linda C. Theron

University of Pretoria

Peter C. Scales

Search Institute

This research was supported by a grant from the University Research Grant Council, Social Science and Humanities Subcommittee, University of Calgary (#1023450) to Kelly Dean Schwartz. The data set is available, on request, from the corresponding author. We acknowledge the participation of the schools, principals, and learners of the Kwa-Zulu Natal Department of Education.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Kelly Dean Schwartz, School and Applied Child Psychology, Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary, 2500 University Drive NW, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, T2N 1N4. Electronic mail may be sent to kdschwar@ucalgary.ca.

Abstract

A cross-sectional study explored the presence and power of developmental assets in a sample of youth from rural South African townships. Learners (Female = 58%; $M_{age} = 17.1$; $N = 505$) attending three township high schools completed self-report measures of developmental assets and thriving outcomes. Participants reported contextual assets (e.g., family, school, community) in the vulnerable ranges, with gender, family structure, and school type accounting for some differences. Correlation and regression analyses revealed that five asset contexts (family, school, community, personal, social) were uniquely predictive of thriving outcomes. Discussion focuses on contextual expressions of positive youth development among Zulu township youth in challenging environments.

Beginning in the early 1990s, a new vision and vocabulary for discussing the development of young people emerged. These innovations were framed by developmental systems theories that were engaging the interest of developmental scientists, most notably the notion of developmental plasticity (i.e., the ability of the individual to change in positive, adaptive ways; Lerner, 2002). Moreover, these innovations were propelled by the increasingly collaborative contributions of researchers focused on the second decade of life (e.g., Benson, Scales, Hamilton, & Sesma, 2006; Damon, Menon, & Bronk, 2003; 2004; Lerner, 2002), practitioners in the field of youth development (e.g., Pittman, Irby, & Ferber, 2001), and policy makers concerned with improving the life chances of diverse youth and their families, in both developed (Schwartz & King, 2012) and undeveloped (Scales et al., 2016) contexts. This field has become known as positive youth development.

A young person's ability to thrive is predicated on the interaction between individuals and the contexts in which they live (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). A significant step forward in understanding the interaction between a young person and his or her ecological contexts was the operationalization of *developmental assets* (Benson, 1990; Benson, et al., 1998), a framework that reflects the bioecological approach by examining young people's external assets (largely relationship-centered, focusing on experiences of support, empowerment, etc.) and their internal strengths (including commitment to learning, positive identity, etc.). Research using the developmental assets paradigm has been conducted with over five million children and youth. Results indicate a linear relationship between the number of developmental assets reported and the presence of thriving behaviours (e.g., school success, helping others; Benson et al., 2006;

Benson et al., 2011; Scales et al., 2000).

PYD in World Areas

Studies on developmental assets among youth from varied global settings, including the Global South, are emerging (Scales, 2011; Scales et al., 2012; Scales et al., 2013; Scales et al., 2016). Of note to the present study, which focuses on Zulu youth in South Africa (SA), positive developmental assets are implicated in the resilience processes that support Black young people to adjust well to structural adversity. Their resilience is enabled by external assets such as kinship systems and caring teachers, as well as internal assets such as enactment of empowering *Ubuntu* values (e.g., respectful interdependence) and investment in education (Phasha, 2010; Theron, 2016; Theron & Theron, 2010). External assets are shaped by contextual realities: in under-resourced, rural contexts, for example, kinship systems are largely matriarchal, given men's exodus to urban areas in search of employment (Theron, 2016).

For countries such as SA, where social and political change is dynamic and unsettling, the present study's explication of developmental assets helps raise understanding of what internal and environmental strengths youth can draw on to flourish in culturally- and contextually-appropriate ways (Masten, 2014; Ungar, 2011). This also redresses the reality that most research in SA has under-emphasized the cultural and contextual roots that lead to positive outcomes for children (Theron & Phasha, 2015; Theron & Theron, 2010; Schwartz, 2015).

The present study included a sample of 505 high school students from three semi-rural townships outside of Durban (KwaZulu-Natal province) who were invited to complete self-report questionnaires on developmental assets and thriving. Their responses were analyzed to answer two questions: 1) What developmental assets are present among young and mid-adolescent Zulu youth in semi-rural SA townships?; and 2) How do the self-reported

developmental assets predict concurrent thriving (e.g., school success, leadership)?

Method

Context. In SA, Apartheid policy mandated black people to live in racially segregated, structurally inferior communities (called townships). Similar to Brazilian favelas, multiple adversities characterize townships, including poverty, violence, inadequate/no service provision (e.g., water, sanitation, refuse removal), resource-poor schools, elevated communicable disease rates (e.g., HIV, TB), and scant employment opportunities (Mathews et al., 2014). Despite such structural inequity, townships can offer a rich source of community, often vibrant with spiritual, social, and emotional connection and support (Theron, 2016).

Procedure. The Kwa-Zulu Natal Department of Education approved the study, and all parents were asked for signed permission for their children to participate in the paper-and-pencil survey. Developmental assets questions were translated into Zulu (see Supplemental Materials). To protect anonymity, schools will be randomly identified as High School A, B, and C. High School A is situated in a rural township (i.e., connected by dirt roads, populated by small farms or growing plots). Though only several miles from an urban center, its rurality is synonymous with extreme resource and service deprivation. High School A is classified as a Quintile 1 school, meaning school fees are waived and students receive a government-subsidized meal at school. High School B is also in a rural township, but has better roads, more stable access to power and water, and does not receive school fees or meal subsidies. High School C is a semi-residential school the furthest distance from any urban setting. It boasts strong graduation results and notable alumni.

On the day of data collection, parent consent forms were collected from learners. A total of 556 parent consent forms were returned; 532 indicated parental/guardian consent to participate

(71% of consent forms provided, 96% of those returned), while 24 declined to give consent.

Questionnaires were distributed to learners in their respective classrooms. Questionnaires were written in English, though the major self-report scale (Developmental Assets Profile) was translated into isiZulu. All data was collected September to November, 2013.

Sample. Questionnaires were completed by 505 learners (58% Female; 77% not living with both parents; 53% of parents had not completed high school): High School A (N = 221), High School B (N = 154), and High School C (N = 130; see Supplemental Materials for more robust description of sample).

Measures.

Developmental Assets Profile (DAP; Search Institute, 2005; Scales, 2011). The DAP is brief (58 items), requires basic literacy (U.S. grade 5.7), and is a reliable and valid measure in the U.S. (Search Institute, 2005) and globally (Scales et al., 2016), of young people's developmental assets in the personal, social, family, school, and community contexts. In 50 datasets from 30 countries other than the U.S., nearly 70% of DAP scale alphas are acceptable to excellent (.70s-.90s) and another 20% are promising (.60-.69). In addition, 90% of the associations of the DAP with positive youth development outcomes in these developing countries are above a "substantively meaningful" level (Scales, 2011; Scales et al., 2012; Scales et al., 2016; What Works Clearinghouse, 2008), with effect sizes in the moderate to strong range ($d \geq .25$) suggesting promising cultural validity.

Thriving. Thriving was measured by four outcomes: Academic success, school confidence, health-seeking behaviour, and community engagement. Prior South African studies have reported these outcomes as integral to the resilience of young people marginalized for their race (i.e., Black), socio-economic disadvantage, and geographical location (e.g., rural/urban

townships; see Phasha, 2010; Theron, 2016; Theron & Theron, 2010). Items contributing to each measure were standardized and are described below with corresponding internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha) or correlation (Pearson's r , for 2-item measures) coefficients. Of note, the correlation coefficients and internal consistency alphas for the thriving indexes are in the fair ($\alpha \geq .60$; $r \geq .35$) ranges, suggesting that although there is reasonable statistical agreement among the items, the indexes are not strongly homogeneous in their structure. For academic success ($\alpha = .64$), three questions asked participants to rate if they could read, write, and do enough math to be successful using a 4-point Likert-type scale for each (1 = Never/Rarely to 4 = Almost Always). Also using a 4-point Likert-type scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 4 = Strongly Agree), school confidence ($r = .45$) was measured by asking participants to rate two statements: "I can figure out how to do my best schoolwork, even if it is hard" and "I can master what is being taught in school this year." For the health-seeking behaviour ($r = .59$), participants used the same scale to respond to two statements: "I know where to go to get a health examination or medicines" and "I know how to get to a doctor or medical care when I need it." Finally, community engagement ($r = .38$) was estimated via participant responses to two questions: "How much can you do things to help solve problems in your community or village?" (1 = There is little I can do to 3 = I can do many things to help) and "How many hours do you spend in a typical week to volunteer or do something without pay to make your community a better place?" (1 = 0 hours to 4 = 3-5 hours). The four thriving measures are analyzed individually in all subsequent analysis.

Results

Developmental Assets. The mean of the DAP Total Asset Score is constructed based on a range from 0-60 and is interpreted as follows (Search Institute, 2005): Good = 52-60, Adequate =

42-51, Vulnerable = 30-41, and Highly Vulnerable <30. The mean for the present Zulu youth sample was $M = 36.3$. As can be seen in Figure 1, when compared with other world areas similar in sample size and age of respondent (Scales et al., 2012), Zulu youth scored on the lower end of mean Total Asset Scores and equal with Rwanda (Fig. 1; Scales, Roehlkepartain, & Fraher, 2012). At the context area level, Table 1 shows that mean scores were calculated from lowest to highest as follows: Community Context was the least and the Family context the most commonly reported. ($M = 15.6$), suggesting that youth in this sample reported lower community support, empowerment, and positive use of time compared to their experience of safe, warm, and supportive family environments.

Mean scores for all DAP variables (DAP Total Asset Score and Context Assets) are presented in Table 1 and include ANOVA results for gender, family structure, and school. There were no significant differences found between any of the demographic variables on the DAP Total Asset Score. Females ($M = 20.1$) reported significantly higher Family Context than did males ($M = 19.4$), and Family Context was also rated significantly higher by youth living with both parents ($M = 21.3$), compared with those who reported living with “other” household members ($M = 19.3$).

Complementing the contextual differences of the three township settings described above, there were significant differences in the developmental assets – DAP Total Asset Score and DAP context areas – reported by students attending the three participant schools. In every comparison, High School A scored significantly lower ($p < .01$) on developmental assets than both High Schools B and C. Thus, rather than being able to consider all responses to the DAP scales equivalent, it is apparent that participants from school A have self-reported

overwhelmingly lower developmental strengths. Therefore, in predicting thriving and risk, school was entered first in all correlation and regression analyses to control for these differences.

Thriving. Partial correlation analyses (controlling for school type) were completed for the five DAP Context Asset variables – Personal, Social, Family, School, and Community – and the four Thriving outcomes (i.e., academic success, school confidence, health behaviour, and community engagement). As seen in Table 2, higher self-reported scores across all five Contexts assets were significantly and positively correlated with the four Thriving variables – academic success, school confidence, health-seeking behaviour, and community engagement, albeit sometimes at relatively small magnitude (e.g., Family Context and school success, $r = .11$); Community Context and health-seeking behaviour, $r = .11$).

Four hierarchical regressions (controlling for school) were completed to explore the amount of variance accounted for in each of the Thriving variables. School was entered in Block 1 of each regression, while in Block 2, the five DAP Context Asset variables were entered via the Stepwise method. Results with unstandardized B coefficients, standard errors, and Beta weights are shown in Table 3. Each of the four Thriving outcomes – academic success, school confidence, health-seeking behaviour, and community engagement – was uniquely and significantly predicted by a single DAP Context Assets variable. School Context predicted academic success ($B = .208, p < .001$), Personal Context predicted school confidence ($B = .243, p < .001$), Social Context predicted health-seeking behaviour ($B = .191, p < .001$), and Community Context predicted community engagement ($B = .310, p < .001$).

Discussion

We examined the self-reported developmental assets of Zulu youth, living in rural, resource-poor townships in SA, and the relation of those assets to several thriving outcomes.

Zulu youth experienced a Vulnerable level of assets, on a par with results from Rwanda, which the OECD (www.oecd.org/dac/stats) classifies as one of the least developed countries.

Contextual realities likely account for under-reported assets such as access to extra-curricular activities and safety: In townships, facilities for extra-curricular activities are limited and violence is prevalent (Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Govender & Killian, 2001). Contextual deprivation diminishes assets. For example, low Community assets likely reflect increasingly fractured communities, particularly given growing inequality, despite SA's democratization in 1994. This fracturing is associated with the tendency of the emerging black middle class to Westernize and neglect Ubuntu-values (e.g., respectful interdependence) that have previously underpinned cohesive communities (Ramphela, 2012). Similarly, Family Context was rated significantly higher by young people living with both parents. This is worrying, given current statistics that only 24.4% of children in Kwa-Zulu Natal (mostly Indian and white) live with both parents (Hall, Meintjes, & Sambu, 2014). For a variety of reasons (including deepening economic decline and/or AIDS-related deaths), the majority of children – especially black children – live with their mother only or other household members, challenging African young people's optimal development (e.g., Chukwudozie et al., 2015; Mpofu et al., 2015).

In SA, race, the enduring legacies of Apartheid (e.g., structural violence and economic disadvantage), and geographic location intersect to produce a life experience that is developmentally stacked against positive growth. Still, this sample of Zulu youth possesses strengths. Although "Vulnerable" in their collective personal and relational assets a significant percentage scored in the Good or Adequate levels (External 31.5 %, Internal 43.4%), thus reflecting developmental relationships (Pekel et al., 2015), opportunities, and personal strengths. Similar to youth in other disadvantaged settings, such as refugee camps (Scales et al.,

2015), who also display such strengths, this sample of Zulu youths confirmed the predictive relationship of assets with thriving. These results demonstrate that even powerfully negative macro-level environmental influences do not inevitably thwart positive youth development—individual youth still have plasticity or the potential for change (Lerner, 2002).

The current study also exposed the centrality of school context to future enablement of developmental assets. While the three high schools were likely representative of those common to many South African townships, it was clear that High School A housed learners who did not experience levels of developmental or contextual assets commensurate with the other two schools. It is possible that the pervasive deprivation which characterized High School A (more so than B and C) confounded thriving and promoted risk behavior and civic disengagement. This hypothesis prompts two caveats. First, generalizations between township schools need to be considered with great caution. As noted in other studies, some SA township schools do champion resilience and promote asset development (Mampane & Bouwer, 2011; Theron, 2016). Second, we need wide-scale emulation of township schools that are doing it right, so to speak. Supporting all schools to be enabling, optimal developmental spaces is an urgent agenda, and as such, demands social ecological plasticity, including transforming schools in ways that will nurture increased thriving behaviors and decreased risk-taking. This is all the more urgent in SA given the inferior quality of schooling typically available to young people, particularly those in marginalized communities such as rural townships (Langa, 2013; Osman, 2015).

Overall, our results show that all contexts matter. Every context (i.e., family, school, community, personal, social) was meaningful in predicting at least one thriving and/or risk outcome (see Table 2). Focusing on only one context, to the exclusion of others, ignores the ecological reality that youth do not live in only one environmental niche, but rather in multiple

systems that collectively help shape their developmental paths. These results support the recent movement in international youth development circles (e.g., USAID's youth development policy—USAID, 2012) away from the traditional single-sector, single problem focus, and toward a comprehensive, multi-dimensional, person-environment and asset-based approach.

Strengths and Limitations

The present study was designed to be exploratory on several levels. First, it was novel in that it appears to be one of very few studies to gather samples of township youth and invite their participation in a study exploring developmental and contextual strengths. Participants were enthusiastic in their willingness to complete questionnaires, possibly because other opportunities for such engagement likely focused on what they “didn't have” (deficit approach) versus what they “did have” (strength approach). Secondly, this study was a rare exercise in operationalizing developmental assets or strengths via the Developmental Assets Profile (DAP) in southern Africa. Developmental scientists are often interested in how particular theories or constructs are interpreted by children and youth in other world areas (e.g., Ebersöhn & Eloff, 2006), and this study seemed to successfully estimate the presence of strengths and assets using this brief DAP self-report measure. Nevertheless, only self-reported data were collected; there was no cross-validation of the youth voices captured. Second, more variability in Zulu youth samples both in and outside the school population, is necessary for our results to have greater external validity. Finally, the four thriving measures do not adequately capture the full range of what thriving or risk look like, in general (e.g., King et al., 2005; Bettancourt et al., 2013), or specifically for Zulu township youth.

Implications

Intentional efforts to change developmental circumstances for youth can have dramatic results. Individuals have developmental plasticity, but their social ecology can and must change for the better as well. The voices of the hundreds of Zulu youth represented in this study are crying out loud: Developmental strengths are indeed present and powerful, and these are amplified in communities that care. Applied developmental researchers would do well to listen to these loud voices and employ our academic, social, and political resources to ensure that youth are given the opportunity to harness the personal and social resources that will allow them not only to survive but thrive.

References

- Benson, P. L. (1990). *The troubled journey: A portrait of 6th- to 12th-grade youth*. Minneapolis: Search Institute.
- Benson, P. L., Leffert, N., Scales, P. C., & Blyth, D. A. (1998). Beyond the 'village' rhetoric: Creating healthy communities for children and adolescents. *Applied Developmental Science*, 2(3), 138–159.
- Benson, P. L., Scales, P. C., & Syvertsen, A. K. (2011). The contribution of the developmental assets framework to positive youth development theory and practice. In R. M. Lerner, J. V. Lerner, & J. B. Benson (Eds.), *Advances in Child Development and Behavior: Positive youth Development Research and Applications for Promoting Thriving in Adolescence* (pp. 198-232). London, UK: Elsevier.
- Benson, P. L., Scales, P. C., Hamilton, S. F., & Sesma, A. (2006). Positive youth development: Theory, research, and applications. In W. Damon, & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology* (6th ed., pp. 894–941). New York: Wiley.
- Betancourt, T. S., Meyers-Ohki, S. E., Charrow, A., & Hansen, N. (2013). Annual research review: Mental health and resilience in HIV/AIDS affected children – a review of the literature and recommendations for future research. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 54, 423–444.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (Ed.) (2005). *Making human beings human: Bioecological perspectives on human development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Chukwudozie, O., Feinstein, C., Jensen, C., O'Kane, C., Pina, S., Skovdal, M., & Smith, R. (2015). Applying community-based participatory research to better understand and

- improve kinship care practices: Insights from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone. *Family & Community Health*, 38(1), 108-119.
- Damon, W., Menon, J., & Bronk, K. C. (2003). The development of purpose during adolescence. *Applied Developmental Science*, 7(3), 119-128.
- Dass-Brailsford, P. (2005). Exploring resiliency: Academic achievement among disadvantaged black youth in South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 35(3), 574-591.
- Ebersöhn, L., & Eloff, I. (2006). Identifying asset-based trends in sustainable programmes which support vulnerable children. *South African Journal of Education*, 26(3), 457-472.
- Govender, K., & Killian, B. J. (2001). The psychological effects of chronic violence on children living in South African townships. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 31(2), 1-11.
Retrieved from http://reference.sabinet.co.za/sa_epublication_article/sapsyc_v31_n2_a1
- Hall, K., Meintjes, H., & Sambu, W. (2014). Demography of South Africa's children. In S. Mathews, L. Jamieson, L. Lake, & C. Smith (Eds.), *South African Child Gauge 2014* (pp. 90-93). Cape Town, RSA: Children's Institute, University of Cape Town.
- King, P. E., Dowling, E. M., Mueller, R. A., White, K., Schultz, W., Osborn, P., Dickerson, E., Bobek, D. L., Lerner, R. M., Benson, P. L., & Scales, P. C. (2005). Thriving in adolescence: The voices of youth-serving practitioners, parents, and early and late adolescents. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 25(1), 94-112.
- Langa, P. N. (2013). Exploring school underperformance in the context of rurality: An ethnographic study. (Unpublished doctoral thesis). University of Kwazulu Natal, South Africa.
- Lerner, R. M. (2002). *Concepts and theories of human development (3rd ed.)*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

- Masten, A. S. (2014). Global perspectives on resilience in children and youth. *Child Development, 85*(1), 6-20. doi: 10.1111/cdev.12205
- Mathews S., Jamieson L., Lake L., & Smith, C. (Eds.). (2014). *South African Child Gauge 2014*. Cape Town, RSA: Children's Institute, University of Cape Town.
- Mpofu, E., Ruhode, N., Mhaka-Mutepfa, M., January, J., & Mapfumo, J. (2015). Resilience among Zimbabwean youths with orphanhood. In L. C. Theron, L. Liebenberg, & M. Ungar (Eds.), *Youth resilience and culture: Commonalities and complexities* (pp. 67-79). Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Springer.
- Osman, R. (2015, October 6). How South Africa can disrupt its deeply rooted educational inequality. The Conversation. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/how-south-africa-can-disrupt-its-deeply-rooted-educational-inequality-48531>
- Pekel, K., Roehlkepartain, E. C., Syvertsen, A. K., & Scales, P.C. (2015). *Don't forget the families: The missing piece in America's efforts to help all children succeed*. Minneapolis: Search Institute.
- Phasha, T. N. (2010). Educational resilience among African survivors of child sexual abuse in South Africa. *Journal of Black Studies, 40*, 1234–1253.
- Pittman, K., Irby, M., & Ferber, T. (2001). Unfinished business: Further reflections on a decade of promoting youth development. In P. L. Benson & K. J. Pittman (Eds.), *Trends in youth development: Visions, realities and challenges* (pp. 3–50). Boston: Kluwer Academic.
- Ramphela, M. (2012). *Conversations with my sons and daughters*. Johannesburg, RSA: Penguin Books.

- Scales, P. C. (2011). Youth developmental assets in global perspective: Results from international adaptations of the *Developmental Assets Profile*. *Child Indicators Research*, 4(4), 619-645. doi: 10.1007/s12187-011-9112-8.
- Scales, P. C., Benson, P. L., Dershem, L., Fraher, K., Makonnen, R., Nazneen, S., Syvertsen, A. K., & Titus, S. (2013). Building developmental assets to empower adolescent girls in rural Bangladesh: Evaluation of Project “*Kishoree Kontha*.” *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 23, 171-184 (special issue on Adolescents in the Majority World).
- Scales, P. C., Benson, P. L., Leffert, N., & Blyth, D. A. (2000). Contribution of developmental assets to the prediction of thriving among adolescents. *Applied Developmental Science*, 4(1), 27–46.
- Scales, P. C., Roehlkepartain, E. C., & Fraher, K. (2012). *Do Developmental Assets make a difference in majority-world contexts? A preliminary study of the relationships between Developmental Assets and international development priorities* (2012). Minneapolis: Search Institute, Final Report to United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Education Development Center (EDC).
- Scales, P. C., Roehlkepartain, E. C., Inselman, A., Wallace, T., Stephenson, P., & Rodriguez, M. C. (2015). Brief report: Assessing youth well-being in global emergency settings: Early results from the *Emergency Developmental Assets Profile*. *Journal of Adolescence*, 45, 98-102.
- Scales, P. C., Roehlkepartain, E. C., & Shramko, M. (2016). Aligning youth development theory, measurement, and practice across cultures and contexts: Lessons from use of the *Developmental Assets Profile*. *Child Indicators Research*. DOI 10.1007/s12187-016-9395-x

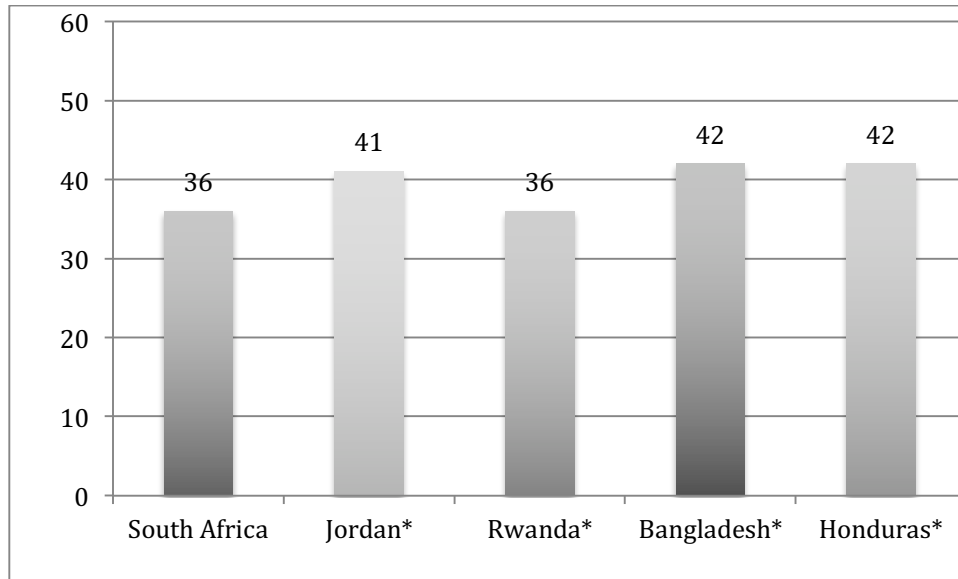
- Schwartz, K. D., (June, 2015). *For crying out loud: Seeking and finding developmental assets in rural South African township youth*. Paper presented at the Pathways to Resilience III Conference: Beyond Nature Versus Nurture, Halifax, NS.
- Schwartz, K. D., & King, P. E. (March, 2012). *Where the streets have a name: Urban youth and developmental assets*. Paper presented at the Society for Research on Adolescent Development Biennial Conference, Vancouver, BC.
- Search Institute. (2005). *Developmental Assets Profile: User manual*. Minneapolis: Author.
- Theron, L. C. (2016). Towards a culturally- and contextually-sensitive understanding of resilience: Privileging the voices of black, South African young people. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 2016, 31(6), 635–670. doi: 10.1177/0743558415600072
- Theron, L. C., & Phasha, N. (2015). Cultural pathways to resilience: Opportunities and obstacles as recalled by black South African students. In L. C. Theron, L. Liebenberg, & M. Ungar (Eds.), *Youth resilience and culture: Commonalities and complexities* (pp. 51–66). Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Springer.
- Theron, L. C., & Theron, A. M. C. (2010). A critical review of studies of South African youth resilience, 1990-2008. *South African Journal of Science*, 106(7/8). Available <http://www.sajs.co.za>
- Ungar, M. (2011). The social ecology of resilience: Addressing contextual and cultural ambiguity of a nascent construct. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 81, 1-17. doi:10.1111/j.1939-0025.2010.01067.x

United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (2012). *Youth in development: Realizing the demographic opportunity*. Washington, DC: Author.

What Works Clearinghouse. (2008). *What Works Clearinghouse evidence standards for reviewing studies, version 1.0*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

Figure 1

DAP Total Asset Score, by Country



* Previously measured in Scales et al., 2012

Table 1

Developmental Assets Profile (DAP) and Gender, Family Structure, and School Differences

DAP (Cronbach α)	Gender		Family Structure			School		
	Male	Female	Mo/Fa	Mo Only	Other	A	B	C
DAP Total Score $M = 36.3 (.93)$	35.7	36.8	36.6	36.8	35.9	29.8b	41.1a	41.5a
Context View								
Personal $M = 18.9 (.90)$	18.5	19.2	19.1	18.9	18.9	15.0b	21.7a	22.0a
Social $M = 18.8 (.89)$	17.9	19.3*	19.1	18.9	18.5	14.7b	21.2a	22.5a
Family $M = 20.0 (.90)$	19.4	20.8*	21.3a	20.4	19.3b	16.5b	22.8a	23.3a
School $M = 18.6 (.88)$	18.5	18.7	18.1	19.1	18.4	15.5b	21.0a	20.6a
Community $M = 15.6 (.85)$	15.7	15.5	15.6	15.7	15.3	13.6b	17.5a	16.6a
	* ($p < .05$)				a > b ($p < .01$)			

Table 2

Partial Correlations of DAP Context and Thriving Variables (Controlling for School)

	Academic Success	School Confidence	Health-seek Behaviour	Community Engagement
Personal	.19 (.000)	.22 (.000)	.12 (.012)	.22 (.000)
Social	.16 (.001)	.19 (.016)	.17 (.001)	.17 (.000)
Family	.11 (.027)	.16 (.001)	.11 (.027)	.14 (.003)
School	.20 (.000)	.19 (.000)	.15 (.002)	.18 (.000)
Community	.16 (.001)	.16 (.001)	.11 (.028)	.31 (.000)

Table 3

Stepwise Regressions: DAP Context Assets Areas and Thriving Indexes

	<u>Academic Success</u>					
	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>
School	.073	.040	.086	.010	.042	.012
Context Asset: School				.225	.054	.208**
R ²		.007			.045**	
	<u>School Confidence</u>					
	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>
School	.012	.038	.015	-.075	.042	-.096
Context Asset: Personal				.252	.055	.243**
R ²		.000			.047**	
	<u>Health-Seeking Behaviour</u>					
	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>
School	.115	.042	.113**	.029	.048	.034
Context Asset: Social				.223	.065	.191**
R ²		.018**			.044**	
	<u>Community Engagement</u>					
	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>β</i>
School	-.182	.043	-.198**	-.243	.042	-.265**
Context Asset: Community				.391	.058	.310**
R ²		.039**			.131**	

** $p < .001$