Indigenous pathways to appraisal during resilience processes

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Indigenous pathways to appraisal during resilience processes

by

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Dedication

I dedicate this effort to the special memory of my dear friend,
the late Raphael Olefunke Akanmidu.

Thank you for your genuine friendship and your stellar legacy.
You are remembered...
You are missed...

Acknowledgements

To my Almighty Creator who has carried me through the journey of life with such grace and mercy. No words can describe my gratitude and awe for your boundless mercies and blessing on me. Thank you for a life filled with rich experiences, characters and opportunities that constantly leave me in awe of your wisdom and mercy. Thank you for using this journey to drive my growth in ways that only you, in your infinite knowledge, can.

La ghaliba illalah ...

To my supervisor Prof Liesel Ebersöhn: thank you for believing in me on days that even I didn't, for your patience, your love, your care, your understanding, your endless support, your precious time, your silent prayers when I needed them most and your absolute, sheer brilliance. Thank you for going so far beyond your role of supervisor, mentor and advisor, for being such a stellar role model and for being a true leader and graciously enabling those who cross your path. Thank you for giving me hope and for allowing me to lean on your strength. You have my unending gratitude and appreciation.

To my parents, Suliman and Haseena Mohamed: thank you for raising me with a foundation that gave me the confidence to take on any challenge.

To the IPR TEAM: Dr Janna de Gouveia, Dr Marliza Malan-van Rooyen and (the late) Raphael Akanmidu. For your friendship and expertise, your unfaltering support and understanding and for your companionship on those long drives from province to province, thank you, thank you, thank you. I would also especially like to thank Marlize for her assistance with my data analysis, your help was invaluable.

Thank you to the management staff at the University of Pretoria. Thank you most especially to Dean Sehoole; Prof. Salome Human-Vogel; Prof. Motlalepule Mampane and Prof. Ronél Ferreira for your support along the way to completion of this thesis.

Thank you to the amazing participants of IPR for so willingly opening up and sharing of your life and world with us.

Declaration of Originality

I Safia Mohamed (student number 04295889), hereby declare that the thesis, which I hereby submit for the degree Philosophiae Doctor in Educational Psychology at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution

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Safia Mohamed

November 2017

Ethical Clearance Certificate

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CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	CLEARANCE NUMBER: UP 12/04/04 IMAGINE 12-007
DEGREE AND PROJECT	PhD
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INVESTIGATOR	Ms Safia Mohamed
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CHAIRPERSON OF ETHICS COMMITTEE: Prof Liesel Ebersöhn

CC

Ms Bronwynne Swarts

Prof Liesel Ebersohn

This Ethics Clearance Certificate should be read in conjunction with the Integrated Declaration Form (D08) which specifies details regarding:
- Compliance with approved research protocol,
- No significant changes,
- Informed consent/assent,
- Adverse experience or undue risk,
- Registered title, and
- Data storage requirements.

Ethics Statement

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this thesis, has obtained, for the research described in this work, the applicable research ethics approval. The author declares that she has observed the ethical standards required in terms of the University of Pretoria's Code of ethics for researchers and the *Policy guidelines for responsible research*.

Abstract

Indigenous pathways to appraisal during resilience processes

by

Safia Mohamed

Supervisor: Prof. L. Ebersöhn

Degree: PhD (Educational Psychology)

This comparative case study formed part of the Indigenous Pathways to Resilience (IPR) project which aims to contribute to an indigenous psychology knowledge base on resilience from an African perspective. This study focused on contributing knowledge on **indigenous pathways to appraisal processes** as part of resilience processes to mostly Western-orientated discourses.

IPR situated its investigation in two conveniently selected rural South African communities who experience chronic circumstances of high risk and high need and had non-Western worldviews. Participants from the two research sites were stratified according to location, age and gender. Indigenous Psychology (IP) was selected as the theoretical paradigm for the study, with post-colonial research paradigm as the meta-theoretical lens. Participatory reflection and action (PRA) served as the methodological paradigm to generate data in two waves over a period of two years (eight days per site). Data sources included textual data (verbatim transcripts of audio-recorded PRA activities translated into English) and observation data (researchers' field notes and observations). Trustworthiness was enhanced by capturing the process and context visually over time. Data was analysed using thematic in-case and cross-case analysis lead to inductive themes indigenous pathways to appraisal during resilience processes.

This study contributes a novel insight into (African) non-Western appraisal processes as part of resilience. It points to interconnectedness (interpersonal, spiritual and environmental) as a core worldview point of departure during appraisals. Appraisal from a non-Western (African) perspective is then followed by collaborative appraisal processes, including consultation and consensus for problem solving. The non-Western (African) appraisal converges in agency as motivation. This study was delimited to.

Key words

- Resilience
- Appraisal
- South African

- Chronic high risk, high need environment

- Indigenous Psychology (IP)

- Participatory refection and action (PRA)

- Worldview of interconnectedness

- Consultation

- Consensus

- Agency

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To whom it may concern

I, FJ Opper, herewith confirm that I undertook the language editing of Ms Safia Mohamed's PhD thesis titled:

Indigenous pathways to appraisal during resilience processes

FJ OPPER

28 November 2017

Table of Content

Chapter 2
Literature Review

Chapter 3
Methodology and Strategies

Chapter 4
Worldview of Interconnectedness

Chapter 5
Collaborative Indigenous Appraisal Processes

Chapter 6
Conclusion and Recommendations

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Photographs

Chapter 1
Introduction and Overview of the Study

1.1   INTRODUCTION

The beginning of the second half of the 20th century saw the liberation of trade and the integration of global markets. This process of liberation heralded the beginning of globalisation and a philosophy of global citizenship reflecting the idea that all people live in a 'global village' (Hillman, 2008). While globalisation, which encourages market openness and free trade, may be situated in the economic sector, its impact has resulted in a sense of connectedness and interconnectedness among people all over the world. The resultant connectedness among what has become known as 'global citizen's' has in turn also impacted the political, social, cultural and education sectors (Machimana, 2017). The major influences of the globalisation movement in the context of this study is the resultant integration and exchange of people, ideas, culture and history – be it between rural or urban spaces or across national borders (Townsend & Bates, 2007).

In order to understand the global context that resulted from globalisation it is essential to have insight into the gap that developed between Western and non-Western scientific knowledge as a result of colonisation in particular. On the one hand, global citizens responded by conforming to the standards of the global village, while on the other hand they questioned such re-conformation to the standards of the north and west, i.e. re-colonising. The disadvantage of universalising standards (including standards of and access to knowledge) is that in that process, indigenous values, traditions, practices and knowledge bases were understated and discredited (Abdi, 2015). The impact of the gap that consequently developed in 'global' citizens' knowledge base was similar to the impact of colonialism. Teaching, learning and research were dominated by a global (read: Western) perspective (Abdi, 2015; Hillman, 2008; Machimana, 2017).

1.2   A BACKGROUND TO THE INDIGENOUS PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE PROJECT

1.2.1   THE INDIGENOUS PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE PROJECT (IPR)

The Centre for the Study of Resilience (CSR) at the University of Pretoria was established in order to generate knowledge on resilience within a global South African context (Ebersöhn, 2012a). IPR is a study undertaken within the CSR. In Figure 1.1 below, the conceptualisation and focus of IPR is

illustrated. The purpose of IPR is to generate indigenous knowledge on resilience from the unique indigenous South African (non-Western, global South) perspective. The findings of the IPR project will contribute to generating non-Western knowledge to supplement Western knowledge and understandings of resilience theory.

Figure 1.1: Overview of the Indigenous Pathways to Resilience team

INDIGENOUS PATHWAYS TO RESILIENCE PROJECT
Principal investigator: Prof. Liesel Ebersöhn

Overall aim of the project:
To contribute to a knowledge base on the greater resilience theory, from an indigenous psychology (IP) perspective

Focus of enquiry: Indigenous pathways to appraisal

Doctoral student: Safia Mohamed

Focus of enquiry: Indigenous pathways to adaptive coping
Doctoral student: Marlize Malan-van Rooyen
http://www.repository.up.ac.za/dspace/handle/2263/50674

Focus of enquiry: Indigenous pathways to wellbeing
Doctoral student: Janna de Gouveia
http://www.repository.up.ac.za/dspace/handle/2263/50868

Focus of enquiry: Indigenous pathways to resilience questionnaire

Doctoral student: Raphael Akanmidu

This study was undertaken within the context of IPR and focused on generating indigenous knowledge on pathways to appraisal (see Figure 1.1). In IPR, appraisal is considered to be the initial step in the resilience processes. I set out to examine how indigenous people (with world views that are presumably different from dominant Western world views) appraise events and circumstances when engaging in resilience processes in very adverse conditions. Appraisal may be defined as processes that elicit and differentiate between emotions (Sherrer, Schorr, & Johnstone, 2001). The nature of people's appraisals plays an integral part in determining how they will choose to cope with and respond to stressors (Aldwin, 2011). As preparation for the exploration of the role of appraisal processes within resilience processes (see Section 2.4), the theory on appraisal processes will be explored in detail in Chapter 2.

I was one of four doctoral students who collaborated on IPR as a doctoral lab of four researchers, as depicted in Figure 1.1. I began working as a fieldworker in IPR in March 2012 and enrolled as a doctoral student in January 2013. The other members in the doctoral lab were Raphael Akanmidu, Janna de Gouveia and Marlize Malan-van Rooyen, and we co-generated data at two rural sites using participatory reflections and action methods (PRA) (Chambers, 2013). Professor Liesel Ebersöhn[1] was the principal investigator of IPR and supervised all four doctoral studies conducted in the doctoral lab.

1.2.2   A THEORETICAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF IPR

As the principal investigator, Professor Ebersöhn leveraged on the work of Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck (2007, 2009, 2011) to inform her conceptualisation and research design for the inductive investigation of IPR. Research in the field of IPR focuses on the development of coping behaviour and the adaptive nature of coping strategies that have been identified through various studies. Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck (2007) define coping as **the regulation of actions under stressful circumstances**, through the regulation of cognitive, physiological, behavioural, emotional, motivational and environmental aspects of functioning (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2009). It is further asserted that development shapes every aspect of people's responses to stress. From their explanations, it appears that what Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck (2007, 2009, 2011) describe as 'adaptive coping' resonates with 'resilience'.

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[1] Prof. Ebersöhn is also the Director of the Centre for the Study of Resilience.

Figure 1.2: Adaptive coping model (adapted from Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011)
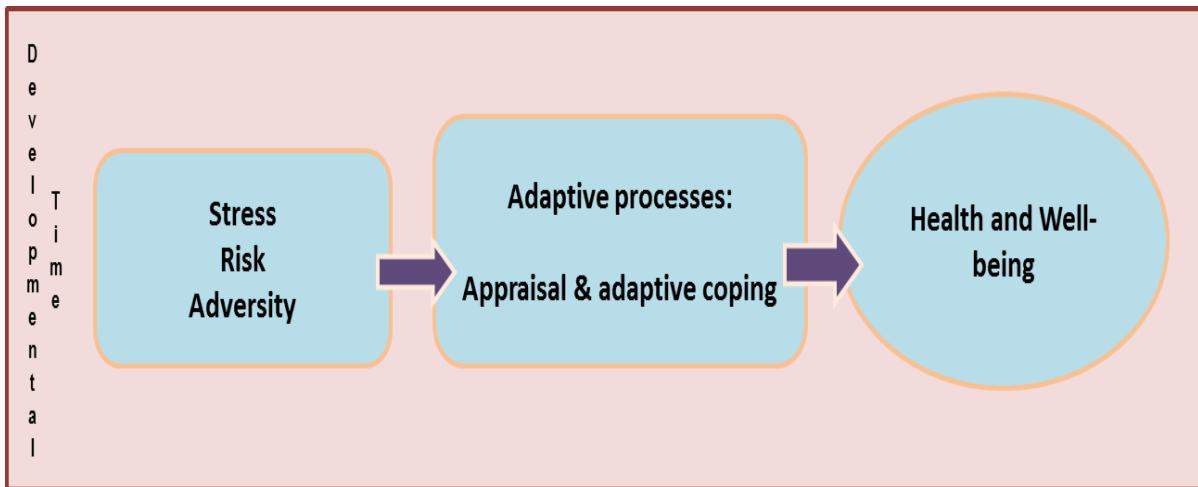
The manifestations of resilient behaviour exist in a vast array of responses to stress. In effect, one of the greatest obstacles for researchers trying to develop a framework for resilience lies in the extensive variety of unique coping behaviours that have been observed in research (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007). Manifestations of coping and resilience across cultures and contexts differ in respect of people's ability to recognise, react to and deal with stress in different ways. For that reason, it would be impossible to develop a standard benchmark of what adaptive coping looks like (Ungar, 2010a). Coping strategies may include behaviours such as problem solving, ruminations, negotiation, support seeking, escape, positive restructuring, direct action, distraction, social withdrawal and helplessness (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007). The aim here is to work towards developing coping strategies that lead to adaptive coping, rather than to maladaptive patterns of coping. The key to developing adaptive coping methods (as opposed to maladaptive strategies) **is to experience a sense of control over the challenges being faced** (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011). Control here refers to both objective and subjective feelings of control. Feelings of perceived control have been shown to be among the most powerful personal resources in building resilience.

Research conducted in a South African setting by Ebersöhn (2014) supports the notion of adaptive coping as explained by Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck (2007, 2009, 2011). Ebersöhn's (2014) work is illustrative of circumstances that may be prevalent in similar global south regions and are described as high risk, high need settings. Ebersöhn (2014) posits that resilience in such challenged settings (e.g. poverty settings) where cumulative and chronic stressors are present in the environment requires equally chronic coping behaviours as part of resilience processes. To allow individuals to continuously adapt to risks and stressors and function despite these, resilience processes in these challenged settings need to be equally constant and adaptive in nature.

The notion of perceived control and its impact on adaptive coping provide a strong foundation for understanding the appraisal of stressful events. Experiencing a feeling of control (be it objective or subjective control) has a defining effect on resilience, regardless of whether the stressor is trivial, chronic or severe. The mere fact that a sense of control is experienced in the face of perceived adversity may define whether the stress is appraised as 1) a challenge; 2) a threat; or 3) a situation of loss with no possibility of reversing the outcome (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011). The experiencing of a sense of control may lead to the appraisal of stressful events with a sense of mastery, allowing for desired outcomes to be produced and undesired outcomes to be prevented.

As IPR was informed by Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's (2007, 2009, 2011) work, I naturally crafted my conceptual framework in a similar way. In Section 2.7 of Chapter 2 I conclude my exploration of relevant theory with the conceptual framework that I developed.

1.2.3 CONTEXTUALISING IPR

IPR collaborated with existing CSR projects for the convenient sampling (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison; 2011) of two relevant rural sites that are both high risk and resource constrained. The two conveniently sampled research sites met the criteria: (i) both the Limpopo and the Mpumalanga research sites experienced high risk and high need due to their rural placement, and (ii) their populations consisted of people with dominantly non-Western (indigenous) world views (as indicated by their home language) (Statistics South Africa, 2012). The International Mentorship for Advanced Graduates for INterdisciplinary Excellence (IMAGINE)[2] Programme allowed IPR access to a Limpopo research site, while access to a Mpumalanga research site for data collection was allowed by the Flourishing Learning Youth (FLY)[3] Project.

I compared these two case studies of indigenous (non-Western) pathways to appraisal in rural, resource-constrained communities. In this section I describe the two communities in order to contextualise them. See Figures 1.2 and 1.3 below for the geographical location of these sites.

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[2] The International Mentorship for Advanced Graduates in INterdisciplinary Excellence (IMAGINE) Programme is an international programme that was initiated in 2011. It is a Graduate Programme funded by the University of Pretoria (UP) and the North Carolina State University (NCSU). This programme allows Faculty members and students to engage with rural communities to conduct research on issues related to resource use and the wellbeing of participants. Within the bounds of the IMAGINE Programme, the CSR co-generates knowledge on resilience and wellbeing from an indigenous psychology perspective using participatory reflection and action methods. The aim of CSR's work within IMAGINE is to generate knowledge and understanding of how community members respond to socioecological systems adversity (SES).

[3] The Flourishing Learning Youth (FLY) Project investigates risk and resilience in rural South African school settings in the Mpumalanga province. The project was initiated in 2005 with Prof. Liesel Ebersöhn as the principal investigator.

1.2.3.1 Description of the Limpopo site

The Limpopo research site is located in the Mutale municipality, which forms part of the Vhembe district municipality of South Africa's Limpopo Province. The Mutale District comprises 19 villages of which four were included in IPR's sample. The native language of the people of the Vhembe district is Tshivenda (Statistics South Africa, 2012). The geographic location of the Limpopo research site is indicated on the map of South Africa in Figure 1.2 below.

Figure 1.3: Map indicating the geographical location of the Limpopo Research Site (downloaded from iOS Maps)
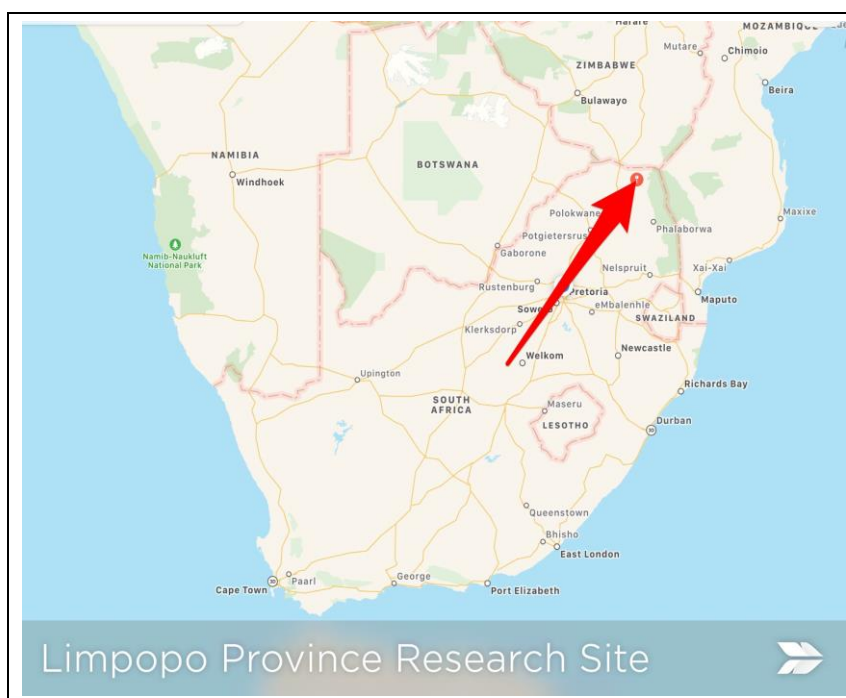
As shown in Figure 1.3, the Limpopo research site is situated close to the Zimbabwean and Mozambican borders and on the boundary of South Africa's number one game reserve, the Kruger National Park. Thirteen participants were involved in the first round of data collection for this research (2012) and 27 in the second round of data collection (2013). The member checking session (2014) was attended by 15 participants.

The Mutale district is characterised by high levels of adversity, which enhanced the appropriateness of this site for IPR's purposes. The TshiVenda communities of this district are face many adversities, including poverty, drought and water scarcity, poor water quality and limited access to clean water, and food scarcity. These facts indicate that although the Mutale River runs through the region, the communities living there experience water-related problems.

An analysis of the most recent municipal census report for the Limpopo Province (published in 2011) provides data that promotes a deeper understanding of the constitution and attributes that define this population. With regard to the composition and size of the Mutale district communities, in 2011 the population consisted of 91 793 people, which made it the second smallest municipality in the Vhembe district. Despite the district's population having grown by more than 19 000 since 1996, when 72 759 people were counted, women and youth still account for the majority of the population. The reason for this is that adult males characteristically leave the villages in pursuit of employment opportunities in the cities. The majority of the population is between the ages of 15 and 64 years. Table 1.1 below contains a summary of the composition of the population of the Mutale municipality in the Vhembe district, as provided in Census 2011. Details about the education, income and housing statistics of the people of the Mutale local municipality are also included to clarify IPR's description of this municipality as an indigenous, high-risk, high-need and low-resourced environment. Comparative statistics for 1996 regarding education, income and housing conditions are also included to indicate growth and decline.

Table 1.1: Comparative overview of statistical profile of the Mutale municipality population
(adapted from Statistics South Africa, 2012)

MUTALE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY			
PROFILE DESCRIPTION	PROFILE SPECIFICATION	1996	2011
Distribution of population groups:	Black African	99.6%	99.3%
	Coloured	0.09%	0.09%
	Indian/Asian	0.03%	0.07%
	White	0.28%	0.54%
Distribution of functional ages:	0-14 years	46.3%	38.2%
	15-64 years	47.2%	55.6%
	65 years and older	6.5%	6.2%
Education level of people 20 years and older:	No schooling	39.8%	18.8%
	Some primary	14.5%	13.7%
	Complete primary	6.6%	5.3%
	Some secondary	24.9%	35.6%
	Completed secondary	10.8%	18.8%
	Higher	3.4%	7.8%
School attendance:	Attending	76.8%	85%
	Not attending	23.2%	15%
Unemployment:	Employed	32%	51%
	Unemployed	68%	48%
Distribution of type of household by type of dwelling:	Formal	34.8%	87.9%
	Informal	0.2%	0.7%
	Traditional	65%	11.4%
Distribution of households:	Female headed	54%	54.8%
	Child headed	2.8%	1.7%

Since access to resources is typically an area of risk for the people of the Mutale local municipality, statistics regarding access to basic resources in this area are summarised in Table 1.2 below. As the statistics in Table 1.2 indicate, access to water and electricity resources has increased. There has also been a dramatic increase in access to technological resources, such as cell phones, television and refrigerators. The photos that follow after Table 1.2 depict the physical context of the Limpopo research site as observed and captured by the IPR team during our site visits.

The abovementioned photographs of the resources and infrastructure in the villages in the Mutale municipality were taken where the IPR collected data. They depict formal, informal and traditional dwellings in the Mutale municipality (Photographs 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3) and the available electricity connections (Photograph 1.4); a latrine in the village (Photograph 1.5); and a communal water tap (Photograph 1.6).

Table 1.2: Comparative overview of the Mutale Municipality population's access to resources
(adapted from Statistics South Africa, 2012)

MUTALE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY			
PROFILE DESCRIPTION	**PROFILE SPECIFICATION**	**2001**	**2011**
Number of households with access to the listed resources:	Radio	13 464	15 171
	Television	4 030	15 813
	Computer	215	1 828
	Refrigerator	4 318	15 153
	Landline	319	310
	Cell phone	2 541	21 005
	Internet	NA	5 078
Number of households using electricity as a resource for:	Lighting	7 042	19 782
	Cooking	1 471	4 048
	Heating	1 481	4 636
Number of households with access to (piped) tap water:	Piped (tap) water inside dwelling/yard	3 778	6 386
	Piped (tap) water on a communal stand	10 086	14 553
	No access to piped (tap) water	4 211	2 812
Number of households with access to toilet facilities:	Flush toilets	1 241	1 202
	Pit latrines	8 950	21 977
	Bucket toilets	67	37
	No toilets	7 827	478

Photograph 1.1: Formal dwelling

Photograph 1.2: Informal dwelling

Photograph 1.3: Traditional dwelling

Photograph 1.4: Electricity cables used for lighting inside informal dwelling

Photograph 1.5: Pit latrine toilet in Mutale municipality

Photograph 1.6: Piped (tap) water at communal stand

1.2.3.2   Description of the Mpumalanga site

The Mpumalanga research site is located within the Albert Luthuli municipality, which forms part of the Gert Sibande district of South Africa's Mpumalanga Province. According to the 2011 Census statistics, the native language spoken in this region is SiSwati. The geographic location of the Mpumulanga research site is shown in Figure 1.4 below.

Figure 1.4: Map indicating the geographical location of the Mpumalanga research site (Downloaded from iOS Maps)
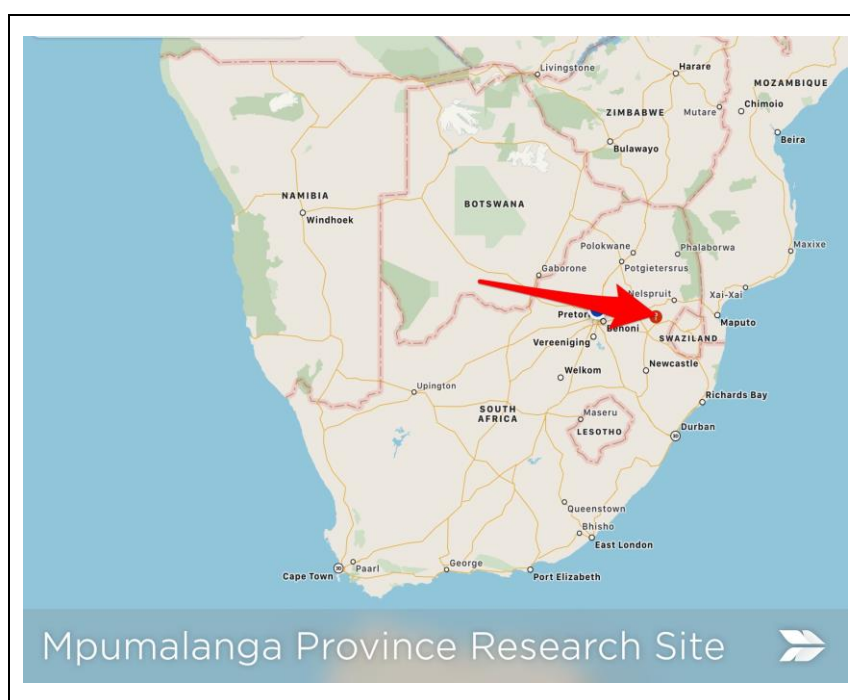
As can be seen in the above map (Figure 1.4), the Mpumalanga research site is situated close to the border of Swaziland, to the north-east of South Africa. A larger sample of participants volunteered for IPR's data collection at the Mpumalanga site than at the Limpopo site. In 2012, 24 participants were sampled and in 2013 a total of 15 participants volunteered. Twelve participants attended IPR's member-checking session conducted in 2014.

Statistics South Africa (2012) reports indicate that the Albert Luthuli district has increased in size between 1996 and 2011. In 1996, 181 647 were resident in the municipality, and by 2011 this number had grown to 185 658. As in the case of the research site in the Mutale district of Limpopo, statistics for the Mpumalanga site indicate that the district's population consists of mainly women and youth.

The tabulated summary of the composition of the population of the Albert Luthuli local municipality in the Gert Sibande district In Table 1.1 below was adapted from statistics and information provided in Statistics South Africa (2012). Statistics are shown for the same variables as indicated for the Limpopo site, i.e., education, income and housing.

Table 1.3: A comparative overview of the statistical profile of the population of the Albert Luthuli municipality (adapted from Statistics South Africa, 2012)

ALBERT LUTHULI LOCAL MUNICIPALITY			
PROFILE DESCRIPTION	**PROFILE SPECIFICATION**	**1996**	**2011**
Distribution of population groups:	Black/African	98%	98%
	Coloured	0.1%	0.2%
	Indian/Asian	0.1%	0.4%
	White	1.8%	1.4%
Distribution of functional ages:	0–14 years	42.9%	36.5%
	15–64 years	52.5%	58.2%
	65 years and older	4.6%	5.3%
Education level of people 20 years and older:	No schooling	40.3%	19.9%
	Some primary schooling	14.9%	13.5%
	Complete primary schooling	6.4%	4.4%
	Some secondary	24.8%	28.9%
	Completed secondary	10.2%	27%
	Higher	3.4%	6.3%
School attendance:	Attending	75%	78.5%
	Not attending	25%	21.5%
Unemployment:	Employed	48%	64.2%
	Unemployed	52%	35.8%
Distribution of type of household by type of dwelling:	Formal	17.7%	77%
	Informal	39.8%	6%
	Traditional	42.5%	17%
Distribution of households:	Female headed	47%	49.3%
	Child headed	19.4%	11.4%

In Table 1.4 below, the statistics for access to resources in the Albert Luthuli local municipality are summarised. In a trend similar to that seen at the Limpopo site (depicted in Table 1.2 above), a significant increase in people's access to water, electricity and technological resources is indicated. Following Table 1.4, I again include visual data that was collected by the researchers to depict the physical context of the Limpopo research site as observed by the IPR team.

The following photographs were taken by members of the IPR team and depict the resources and infrastructure available to residents of the Albert Luthuli municipality where data was collected. The photographs show a formal dwelling (Photograph 1.7), a school facility (Photograph 1.8); typical roads (Photograph 1.9); a church building (Photograph 1.10); a farmland (Photograph 1.11) and traditional and informal dwellings located side by side (Photograph 1.12).

Table 1.4: A comparative overview of access to resources of the Albert Luthuli municipality population (adapted from Statistics South Africa, 2012)

ALBERT LUTHULI LOCAL MUNICIPALITY			
PROFILE DESCRIPTION	**PROFILE SPECIFICATION**	**2001**	**2011**
Number of households with access to the resources:	Radio	29 779	33 529
	Television	15 896	34 262
	Computer	586	4 321
	Refrigerator	15 668	31 114
	Landline	3 590	1 284
	Cell phone	10 015	42 616
	The internet	NA	11 339
Number of households using electricity as a resource for:	Lighting	19 987	41 734
	Cooking	8 361	24 256
	Heating	7 523	18 297
Number of households with access to (piped) tap water:	Piped (tap) water inside dwelling/yard	18 507	33 510
	Piped (tap) water on a communal stand	11 589	5 506
	No access to piped (tap) water	9 556	8 690
Number of households with access to toilet facilities:	Flush toilets	6 990	10 747
	Pit latrines	28 148	32 796
	Bucket toilets	1 425	473
	No toilets	3 090	2 476

Photograph 1.7: Formal dwelling in the Albert Luthuli district

Photograph 1.8: School facilities

Photograph 1.9: A typical road in the Albert Luthuli district

Photograph 1.10: Church building (place of worship)

Photograph 1.11: Farmland

Photograph 1.12: Side-by-side traditional and informal dwellings

1.3   RATIONALE[4]

While literature is available on resilience or coping theory (including knowledge and understanding of appraisal processes) in Western contexts, very little has so far been written on the nature of appraisal processes in the non-Western context. As I explore current literature as background to this study (in this chapter as well as in Chapter 2) I aim to elucidate this point. However, we cannot escape the fact that chronologically; scientific theory was studied and recorded from a Western perspective first. Western theory thus dominates scientific viewpoints and over time has served as an informing benchmark for non-Western contexts. While scientific viewpoints from indigenous perspectives do exist, they are fewer and more recent. In the context of IPR, this means that resilience knowledge from an indigenous perspective is limited. Therefore, literature to support and inform the understanding of indigenous contexts (like much of South Africa) is sparce. The aim of my study is therefore to potentially contribute theoretically by facilitating an understanding of the appraisal construct in high-adversity South African contexts from the unique viewpoint of indigenous psychology.

On a personal note, as a third generation South African Indian female, I have been raised in an urban region surrounded by the commodities of Western convenience, yet I hail from a very traditional cultural setting in terms of socio-political norms and thinking. The undercurrents of my cultural heritage strictly inform the dutiful, malleable yet supportive role that I am expected to assume. As I grew personally and professionally, I began to question the validity of this role I had assumed and pondered whether it had meaning to me or if I were simply bowing to tradition. I believed that investigating non-Western pathways to appraisal may inform my self-perception. Moreover, it peaked my interest to consider potential similarities and differences in the experiences of other cultures.

Appraisal is a complex process during which stimuli elicit emotions, which influence behaviour. These emotions may occur at either a conscious or an unconscious level as a result of a process that is based on subjective perceptions and motivations (Roseman & Smith, 2001). Resilience may be conceptualised as the dynamic process during which individuals navigate their way towards resilience-enabling resources within their ecologies, thus initiating and/or reciprocating negotiations towards those resources (Theron & Dunn, 2010). However, limited literature is available to directly explain appraisal pathways from non-Western perspectives, specifically from the perspective of South Africans living in rural ecologies (Ahmed, Seedat, Van Niekerk, & Bulbulia, 2004; Ebersöhn, 2012b, 2014; Ebersöhn & Ferreira,

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[4] In Chapter 2 I will provide more comprehensive substantiation of the rationale.

2012; Phasha, 2010; Theron et al., 2011; Theron & Theron, 2011). Examples of studies concerned with resilience or appraisal in non-Western contexts outside of South Africa are those conducted among Australian Aboriginals (Gale & Bolzan, 2012; McNamara, 2012, 2015); Latino and American Indian communities (Brave Heart, 1998; LaFromboise, Hoyt, Oliver, & Whitbeck, 2006; Mendez-Luck, Bethel, Goins, Schure, & McDermott, 2015); Canadian Aboriginal communities (Burack, Blinder, Flores, & Fitch, 2007; Fleming & Ledogar, 2008; Allen & Lalonde, 2015; Bolivian communities (Healey, 2006); Canadian Inuit communities (De Leersnyder, Boiger, & Mesquita, 2013); Ruramuri Indians in Mexico and rural Javanese Indonesians (Breugelmans & Poortinga, 2006; Pittam, Gallois, Iwawaki, & Kroonenberg, 1995).

Limited literature is also available on resources, which constitute a crucial component of secondary appraisal processes. In rural South African contexts, appraisal is informed by intrapersonal resources, which include problem-solving skills, relational skills and hopefulness (Donald, Lazarus, & Lolwana, 2006; Theron & Dunn, 2010), or interpersonal skills, such as adult mentoring and access to effective schools and health services (Masten & Reed, 2005; Theron & Dunn, 2010). This topic will be explored in detail in the literature review in Chapter 2.

Research that explores cognitive appraisal processes from both Western (Chun, Moos, & Cronkite, 2006; Scherer, Schorr & Johnstone, 2001; Wong, Wong, & Scott, 2006) and non-Western perspectives does exist (Fleming & Ledogar, 2008; Groeschl, 2003; Masten, 2007; Rutter, 2006; Sameroff, 2009; Ungar, 2008, 2011). A preliminary review of this literature indicated that the difference between the Western and non-Western perspectives on appraisal is that Western theorists (Parkinson & Simons; 2009; Scherer et al., 2001; Silverstein, Buxbaum Bass, Tuttle, Knudson-Martin & Heunergardt, 2006) focus on the experience of coping and managing perceptions to effectively enhance appraisals, whereas non-Western/indigenous perspectives focus on the resources available to individuals to support their coping (Power, 2017; Theron & Theron, 2011).

Given the worldwide differences, it can be assumed that Western and non-Western theorists conceptualise appraisal and coping processes from different perspectives. In an endeavour to obtain a more in-depth understanding of appraisal, Western theorists have contributed to the existing knowledge base by studying appraisal on the cognitive (Izard, 1993; Luthar, 2006; Panksepp, 2007; Yates, Egeland, & Sroufe, 2003;), neurological (Brosch & Sander, 2013; Panksepp, 2007) and social levels (Fleming & Ledogar, 2008; Masten, 2001; Sroufe, Egeland, Carlson, & Collins, 2005; Werner, 1995). An analysis of their contributions to theory indicates that Western theorist emphasise processes underpinning the appraisal process and the impact that it may have on the coping experience of the person.

Appraisal within a rural South African context may be characterised and informed by the resources that are available to individuals who need to cope despite the challenges they are faced with. Non-Western theorists also recognise appraisal as the initial process within resilience processes (Reisenzein, 2001; Roseman & Smith, 2001; Theron & Donald, 2013). In a non-Western context such as South Africa, resilience-promoting resources in rural settings have been found to be the predominant protective systems that exist in that context. This is in line with indigenous thinking that suggests that indigenous appraisal processes leverage on available supportive resources for coping. While rural contexts in South Africa are often under-resourced and under-developed, and are characterised by a variety of socio-economic challenges (limited infrastructure, poverty, violence, crime, high incidence of HIV, fragmented family structures and limited recreational opportunities, to name but some), they are still able to function as effective communities and are, at times, even able to thrive (Ebersöhn, 2014; Theron et al., 2011; Theron & Theron, 2011). Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) have been shown to serve as supportive structures to care for indigenous people's needs through ensuring cohesion of their cultural practices, values and needs, which accounts for their ability to thrive despite chronic exposure to an array of challenges (Ebersöhn et al., 2016). Simultaneously, the challenges experienced create needs that serve as drivers for existence and may also add meaning to life (Ebersöhn et al., 2016). Their greatest resource exists in the form of the supportive social relationships that characterise their communities, which has led to their being described as family communities (Theron et al., 2011; Theron & Theron, 2011).

Research beyond the borders of South Africa, but within the Global South region, shows evidence that Aboriginal (Australian) people cited perceived racial discrimination and historical loss or trauma, or unresolved historical grief, as two risk factors that impact on the resilience of indigenous communities (Fleming & Ledogar, 2008). These findings could potentially be likened to South African indigenous people's experiences of childhood adversity, which resulted from the racial segregation enforced by apartheid laws and severely disadvantaged indigenous South African communities (Coetzee, Ebersöhn, Ferreira, & Moen, 2015). A study of rural people in New Zealand reinforced the notion of appraisal in terms of the availability of resources to support coping (Rotarangi & Russell, 2009). This particular study noted that crucial supportive aspects within indigenous ecologies (such as indigenous societal structures and meaningful relationships) lead to appraisal of adversity occurring from a cultural dimension and will include holistic concepts that define indigenous cultures (such as connections to places and people, social relationships, culture-specific community dynamics, an affinity to the land and resources of the context, and language). The notion of appraisal from a cultural perspective is in line with Ebersöhn et al.'s (2016) work,

which indicates that feelings of relatedness and interconnectedness in a universal sense (i.e. connectedness to land, resources, people in the community and after-life relatedness) constitute the foundation of the indigenous knowledge systems that may direct indigenous pathways to appraisal.

1.4   PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this inductive inquiry was to compare pathways to appraisal in two rural South African communities with indigenous world views. The objectives supporting the focus of this study are:

- To identify indigenous psychology appraisal themes that may emerge when analysis is done on data sources (the participants' community maps and other PRA activities) in order to understand their perceptions on appraisal
- To compare South African indigenous pathways to appraisal processes with existing Western knowledge bases on pathways to appraisal
- To compare South African indigenous pathways to appraisal processes with existing non-Western knowledge bases on pathways to appraisal
- Add to an indigenous psychology knowledge base on indigenous pathways of appraisal

1.4.1   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the objectives that I used to guide my focus during this exploratory study, the following primary research question and related secondary research questions directed my enquiry.

Primary research question:
- How can insight into a comparison of indigenous pathways to appraisal in two resource-constrained rural communities in South Africa inform predominantly Western knowledge of resilience?

Secondary research questions:
- How do South African indigenous pathways to appraisal compare with existing Western knowledge on appraisal?
- How do South African indigenous pathways to appraisal compare with existing non-Western knowledge on appraisal?

1.5   CONCEPT CLARIFICATION

In this section, I define the key concepts I have identified for my research study. All the concepts (and theories) that are defined here are underlying contentions of my study. The following discussions should provide a basic understanding of these concepts.

1.5.1   RESILIENCE

The conceptualisation of resilience processes in IPR is informed by Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's (2011) concept of coping processes. Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck (2009) conceptualise the adaptive (developmental) coping processes as processes of resilience. According to this conceptualisation of resilience processes, coping forms part of a more complex adaptive system that is initiated by a stressor, prompting resilience processes (including appraisal as an initial process), which lead to competence. Two main elements that occur in the adaptive coping process are that 1) the individuals must be deemed at risk/facing circumstances that *they* experience (appraise) as adverse, and 2) the individuals must respond to these adverse circumstances in a manner that reflects positive adaptation to deal with them. In this instance positive adaptation refers to processes to manage and controlling circumstances despite the appraised risk factor (Ebersöhn, 2014; Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011; Theron, 2011; Theron & Theron, 2011). The IPR project used a comparative case study design within a PRA framework (Chambers, 2008; Thomas, 2011).

In accordance with Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck's (2011) model of coping as an adaptive process, the focus of the IPR project's inductive investigation of Indigenous Pathways to Resilience includes a study of indigenous pathways to 1) appraisal (my study); 2) adaptive coping (Malan-Van Rooyen, 2015) and 3) wellbeing (De Gouveia, 2015). As in many South African rural communities that are characterised by high-risk and high-need circumstances, chronic adaptation is required for successful adaptive coping. In such environments, adversity is chronic and cumulative and therefore requires chronic and cumulative adaptation (Ebersöhn, 2014).

1.5.2   APPRAISAL AS A PROCESS

In order to fully understand appraisal as a process it is essential to acknowledge appraisal as an inherent (initial) response to stress (or a perceived threat) (Aldwin, 2011; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). The appraisal of stressors is a consequence of an interaction between individuals and their environments. Three forms of

stressors are most commonly identified, namely: 1) environmental stressors; 2) individual stressors; and 3) the result of the state of an organism. The resulting appraisal of a stressor is described as an indicator of the manner in which the individual may choose to cope (Aldwin, 2011). The different types of stress appraisal, as explained by Aldwin (2011), are illustrated in Figure 1.5 below.

Figure 1.5: Types of stress appraisal (adapted from Aldwin, 2011)

THREE TYPES OF APPRAISALS OF PERCEIVED THREATS:

Situation (perceived threat) may be benign

Situation (perceived threat) may involve future stressors, harm or loss

Situation (perceived threat) may involve future challenges
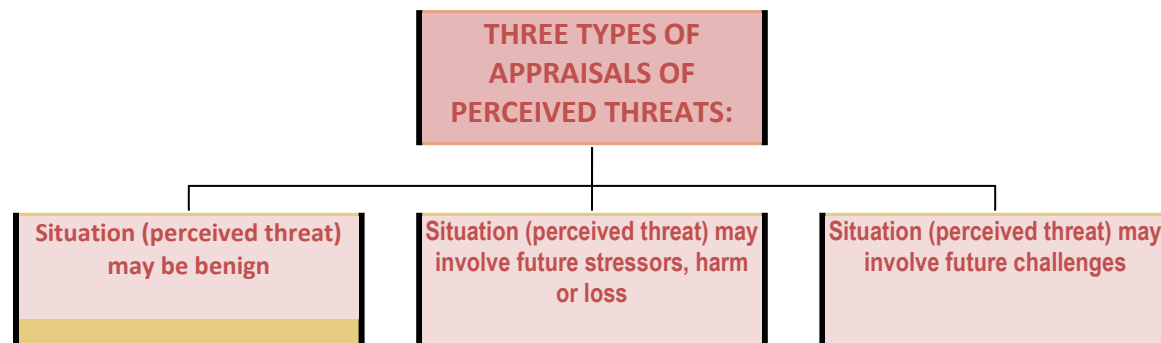
In the earliest works, appraisal was defined as a rapid and intuitive mental activity involving functions and processes such as judgement, discrimination, decision and choice of activity, all linked to previous experiences. These functions occur automatically and precede (and elicit) emotion (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). While the above definition of appraisal, adapted from Lazarus and Folkman (1984), still holds true, the understanding of the process of appraisal has vastly expanded, as will be illustrated in greater detail throughout Chapter 2.

Appraisal has for long been described as a mental activity involving processes such as judgement, discrimination and choice of activity, which are theoretically linked to past behaviour and activity (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). The terms appraisal and evaluation are thus used interchangeably (Shertzer & Linden, 1979). Scherer et al. (2001) describe the process of appraisal as a process whereby individuals experience emotions based on their evaluations or appraisals of events/occurrences, when such events/occurrences may cause reactions in the individuals. Thus, our cognitive evaluations/appraisals of a situation cause emotional (affective) responses, which are based on that situation. The value of appraisal theory lies in its ability to provide indications for individual variances of emotional reactions to a single event (Smith & Lazarus, 1990).

1.5.3   RISK APPRAISAL

Risk appraisal theory demonstrates that in the face of adversity or potential stressors, an appraisal (or cognitive evaluation) process is the most subjective part of the coping process and precedes and elicits emotions (Chun et al., 2006). These emotions then determine the individual's response to the perceived risk or adversity to guide coping responses by selecting the emotional responses from the individuals' repertoires, which may most likely allow them to fulfil their needs and goals under the given circumstances (Lester, Masten, & McEwen, 2006; Roseman & Smith, 2001; Scherer, 2001a). An individual's perception of risk and the protective resources available are central to the appraisal process (Beale Spenser et al., 2006).

1.5.4   RESOURCE APPRAISAL

Ebersöhn (2012b) posits that in communities that may be characterised by high risks and low resources the resilience process is supported and enhanced by collectivistic actions that lead to interpersonal or social support. Appraisal as the initial phase of the resilience process and studies indicate that collectivistic actions and the accessing of social support as a resource lead to a positive appraisal of high-risk, low-resource circumstances (Ebersöhn, 2012b; Groeschl, 2003; Theron & Theron, 2011).

Studies indicate that where relationships and social capital were not harnessed as culturally meaningful tolls to support the resilience process, people's appraisal of their ability to consistently overcome adversity was poorer (Chun et al., 2006; Ebersöhn, 2012b; Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012).

1.5.5   INDIGENOUS PSYCHOLOGY

Indigenous psychology differs from mainstream psychology, which was conceptualised in a Western environment and is based on Western theory, understandings and observations (Odora Hoppers, 2008). IP attempts to assess the increasing tendency among researchers to address their research within their own cultural and social problems (Adair & Diaz-Loving, 1999). Currently there appears to be an increase in cultural sensitivity to concepts, topics and methods, which seems to be accompanied by an increasing trend to develop psychology as an independent discipline (Adair, 1999; Adair & Diaz-Loving, 1999). Indigenous psychology therefore aims to provide alternate ways of thinking that may be more culturally appropriate to specific environments (U. Kim, Yang & Hwang, 2006). Indigenous psychology will also serve as the theoretical framework for the proposed study (as described in section 1.7.1 of this chapter).

1.5.6   INDIGENOUS AS NON-WESTERN

Indigenous scholars, particularly from the global South, have pursued an active dialogue to re-vision scholarly opinions from an indigenous or non-Western perspective. Scientific knowledge and methodology that have been deemed 'traditional' are based on and have been understood from Western perspectives. Indigenous scholars aim to challenge this existing Western thinking (and methodology) in order to de-colonise scientific knowledge and practices (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008) and develop a scientific knowledge base that is reflective of indigenous knowledge, experiences and voices. Furthermore, these indigenous scholars want to develop this indigenous knowledge base by using methodologies that allow for unaltered indigenous knowledge to be scientifically documented (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Indigenous or non-Western perceptions will therefore present a perspective that is in contrast with the bulk of scientific knowledge currently available.

1.5.7   INDIGENOUS PATHWAYS

The term indigenous pathways was coined by Ebersöhn (2013) and provides a better understanding of indigenous psychology in the South African context. Ebersöhn (2013) uses this term to refer to a set of embedded ecological systems, beliefs, knowledge bases and practices used traditionally by individuals and communities in response to significant adversity experienced. In line with Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's (2011) thinking, the IPR project maps indigenous pathways to appraisal, adaptive coping and well-being as the three main areas that come together to form the resilience process. This study focuses on indigenous pathways to appraisal within the IPR project.

1.5.8   RURAL

According to research, the term rural is conceptualised and defined predominantly by demographic factors such as median household income, proximity to education services, community behaviour patterns and concentration of the workforce relative to the population (Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012; Matsumoto, Bowman & Worley, 2012; Ryan-Nicholls, 2004), as well as population size, population density, geographical location (isolation, remoteness, proximity to city) and distance factors, specifically in relation to access to care (Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012; Matsumoto et al., 2012; Ryan-Nicholls, 2004).

The concept of rural environments is often equated with precarious living conditions as such environments are generally characterised by ecological, social, economic and demographic adversity,

isolation, limited socio-economic resources and poor health conditions (Mapesela, Hlalele, & Alexander, 2012; Ryan-Nicholls, 2004).

Rural areas tend to be characterised by circumstances of constrained resources, which is likely to put people at risk. At-risk circumstances in rural areas refer to limited social, ecological, economic and demographic resources. Limited resources are indicative of a weak infrastructure, which restricts progress. Factors such as the geographical isolation of rural areas; poverty and lack of funding; stereotypical and/or patriarchal roles; a lack of psychosocial support; a shortage of education resources and a shortage of resources to support health needs support and sustain adversity in rural areas. These risk factors contribute to the deterioration of the community, its people and its functioning (Mapesela et al., 2012; Ryan-Nicholls, 2004).

While constrained resources are a reality in many rural spaces, such rural spaces are dynamic due to being shaped by their inhabitants (Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012). Ebersöhn (2014) reports on findings that indicate that rural spaces in South Africa tend to be characterised by a variety of intrapersonal and interpersonal capacities, such as positive affect, perseverance, innovativeness, relatedness, flocking and networking within communities. Such capacities may not be obvious, but have been shown to direct adaptive behaviours that lead to resilience (Ebersöhn, 2014; Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012).

1.6   PARADIGMATIC LENSES

1.6.1   THEORETICAL PARADIGM: THE INDIGENOUS PSYCHOLOGIES APPROACH

Indigenous psychology as a field developed as a result of psychologists being critical of the process of replicating the so-called 'Western psychology', which they felt did not cater for the unique needs that existed in non-Western cultures and societies (U. Kim et al., 2006). According to U. Kim et al. (2006), Western psychology uses de-contextualised mechanical methods to develop universal theories on human behaviour. The flaw in this approach lies in Western psychology's disregard for subjective aspects of human functioning.

Indigenous psychology therefore aims to extend the boundary and substance of general psychology and questions its universality by examining it. More specifically, indigenous psychology approaches (IPA) exemplify an approach in which both the content (i.e. meaning, values and beliefs) and context (i.e. family, social, cultural and ecological elements) are explicitly incorporated into the research design (Yang, 2000). This allows the researcher to observe people's sets of knowledge and skills, the beliefs they have about

themselves and how they function in their native social, cultural and ecological contexts. It further allows the researcher to develop a descriptive understanding of human functioning in the given environment (U. Kim et al., 2006; Yang, 2000).

This study (within IPR) aimed to understand the process of risk appraisal within rural, indigenous communities in the Limpopo and Mpumalanga Provinces in South Africa. Indigenous psychology provided a suitable theoretical lens to guide this study from an emic perspective (Merriam, 2014) in order to gain insight into beliefs and values, and the meanings people in these rural communities assign to experiences.

Indigenous psychology encompasses six key aspects, namely: 1) contextual understanding; 2) the study of people in all cultures and ethnic groups in poly-ethnic nations; 3) distinction between nations and cultures; 4) employment of multiple methods and new methodology; 5) clarification of external observer versus internal observer bias; and 6) discovery of universal facts, principles and laws that explain human diversity (U. Kim & Berry, 1993). The relevance of using IPA for this study was that it allowed for the perceptions, values and meaning-making systems of the rural communities selected to be explored in an objective, non-intrusive manner (Berry, 1993; Mbongwe, 2012). This was achieved by engaging with participants, observing them in their habitual environments and allowing them to take the lead in sharing information (Chambers, 1994, 2008; U. Kim, Park, & Park, 1999; U. Kim et al., 2006).

U. Kim et al. (1999) outline the essential elements of the Korean approach, emphasising the bottom-up approach. They maintain that since the Korean methodology is underpinned by the more holistic and qualitative methods of data collection, they are able to gain more informative and interpretive knowledge. The bottom-up approach is further explained by U. Kim (2000) as focusing on an understanding of how people function and interact in their natural environments. The bottom-up approach is in harmony with the PRA methodology that characterises the data collection process. The PRA methodology employed by IPR will be discussed in greater detail in section 1.6.3 of this chapter.

This study intended to inform an indigenous psychology perspective on pathways to understanding resilience, particularly by examining and understanding appraisal processes in rural South African communities that are characterised by high risk and low resources. The value of employing IP as a theoretical lens was that it allowed me to gain an understanding of the participants and their life-world in their natural environments.

One of the challenges I faced with regard to confidently implementing indigenous psychology as my theoretical framework within IPR was the limited indigenous knowledge that has been scientifically recorded. Indigenous knowledge is the recognition of indigenous people's perspectives and perceptions

and accurately displays the values and belief systems of indigenous people. Due to the absence of an existing knowledge base I did not have a reliable scientific benchmark that enabled me to easily gauge the findings of my study. In order to overcome this potential limitation, I relied heavily on inductive reasoning. Prior to commencing with the analysis phase of my study, I systematically analysed available literature from both the Western and indigenous perspectives.

Another noted challenge faced by indigenous psychology is that it is not easy to dissect Western thinking and research from indigenous research studies due to the fact that Western thinking has become embedded as a framework for many researchers' thinking. Within IPR, having studied non-Western communities greatly protected me from falling into the same pattern. Since IPR's case studies and participants' thinking was so deeply embedded in their cultural roots, it forced IPR to closely consider their culture and how it had influenced the phenomena being studied (i.e. indigenous pathways to resilience).

1.6.2   THE META-THEORETICAL PARADIGM: THE POST-COLONIAL RESEARCH PARADIGM

For the purposes of this study I selected the post-colonial research paradigm as the meta-theoretical lens for my study (Chilisa, 2012; Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008). In their 2013 paper, Owusu-Ansah and Mji aptly illustrate the lack of acknowledgement of African thinking in scholarly work. The trend of disregarding indigenous thinking (which is still evident in academic circles today) originates from colonial days when knowledge about African people was collected, classified, analysed and then reported from Western perspectives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). By making use of a post-colonial research paradigmatic lens I aimed, within the scope of this study, to address this historical discrimination, which is also evident in South African scholarly work (Botha, 2011; Matoane, 2012). In this regard my choice of a post-colonial research paradigm is well aligned with the goals of IPR, whose core aim is to provide an African/indigenous alternative to Western world views in the field of resilience and coping, which includes appraisal. In order to achieve this outcome, it is essential to question the origins and foundations of knowledge in this domain and to challenge the relevance of those very foundations in an indigenous environment with alternative indigenous thinking (Greenwood & Levine, 2011).

Indigenous communities' formulation of their understanding of the meaning of existence differs vastly from that of their Western counterparts. The most significant difference is that while Western thinking emphasises the individual, non-Western world views are characterised by the emphasis on the 'I' versus 'We' relationship between all things in their environment (people, animals and the physical environment) (Chilisa, 2012; Matoane, 2012). The ontology of the post-colonial research paradigm can thus be summed

up as indigenous peoples emphasising the connections that that they build with both the living and non-living aspects in their world (Chilisa, 2012). My aim in employing a post-colonial research paradigm is to contribute to the process of accumulating knowledge to represent their understanding of themselves through their own assumptions, perspectives and world views without contesting the validity of the alternate Western perspective.

To this end a group of scholars have acknowledged the limitations of applying Western psychology to indigenous environments and have begun studying indigenous knowledge roots and systems (Botha, 2011; Letseka, 2013; Matoane, 2012; Odora Hoppers, 2002). Trends in the indigenous knowledge movement in South Africa are in line with the African Renaissance movement, which advocates a need to build a deeper understanding of Africa, its unique sets of languages and its methods of development (Matoane, 2012). One of the tenets of the African Renaissance is to build on existing knowledge resources that are inherent in indigenous communities (Odora Hoppers, 2002). As such, the PRA methodological paradigm and the post-colonial research paradigm epistemology of this current study marry each other in harmony. Together they combine to deliver research findings that aim to reflect how African participants in this study may perceive the world within which they live and how their world may influence their way of life. The epistemology of the post-colonial research paradigm in the context of this study would thus relate to accessing the world (and world view) of South African indigenous people (specifically in Limpopo and Mpumalanga) to gain an understanding of the manner in which they make sense of phenomena that they may experience. By employing the post-colonial research paradigm as my epistemological lens for the current study, I allow myself to step back as researcher and allow participants to collectively construct their unique cultural experiences in order to aid indigenous knowledge production (Greenwood & Levine, 2011; Matoane, 2012; Owusu-Ansah & Mji, 2013). By means of this study it is my aim, as a developing scholar, to support the development of indigenous knowledge through the process of acknowledging and showcasing indigenous people's world views.

Odora Hoppers (2002) indicates a need for South African scholars who may act as catalysts for change. This underpinned my motivation to approach this study in a manner that would reflect a relational axiology. Relational axiology can be best understood in terms of what Chilisa (2012) refers to as the Four R's, the principles of which are summarised in Table 1.5 below. These principles strongly inculcate the philosophy of Ubuntu (Chilisa, 2012; Letseka, 2013; Odora Hoppers, 2008).

Ubuntu, which stems from African existential concepts of knowledge, has been defined as the full expression of humanness and is regarded as an ethical framework for research. It takes into consideration

the lived experiences, values and history of the participants in a caring, compassionate and respectful manner (Chilisa, 2012; Letseka, 2013). Such an approach is guided the PRA conversations that were conducted for data collection for IPR. By practising the spirit of Ubuntu during the data collection for IPR, the IPR doctoral researchers (including myself) were able to conduct research in a manner that reflected kindness to participants, fairness in acknowledging their beliefs and world views, and courage in enabling participants to share their culture in an honest and caring space (Letseka, 2013). My underlying axiology (within the framework of IPR) may thus be summarised by the definition of Ubuntu, which is 'I am because we are' (Letseka, 2013).

Table 1.5: Summary of the implementation of relational axiology

Relational axiology principle	Description of principle
Relational accountability	While all parts of the research process are interrelated and are the responsibility of the researcher, I respectfully facilitated the data collection activities while allowing the participants ownership of their information and expression.
Respectful representation	Participants enjoyed the researcher's full attention while they took ownership of the information they chose to share, the manner in which they chose to present the information and how they chose to represent their culture.
Reciprocal appropriation	Since research is a process of sharing, I aimed to facilitate the PRA sessions for data collection in a manner that benefitted both me (and IPR) and the participants. This process enabled me to obtain valuable data while the participants benefitted from contributing their cultural knowledge to the development of science.
Rights and regulations	Since the indigenous knowledge belonged to those who shared it in the study, the participants were constantly consulted to verify our understanding of the information that they shared, up to the member-checking of findings.

The challenge of applying the post-colonial research paradigm as my meta-theoretical framework lies in the fact that it is not an indigenous framework per se. However, it was highly suitable for my study as this framework encourages the detailing of indigenous voices and, by default, indigenous experiences. As such, the post-colonial research paradigm supported the investigation of indigenous pathways to appraisal in two rural South African communities.

In line with the post-colonial thinking that I present in this section, I considered the work of Silverstein et al (2006) on relational orientation frameworks who argue that it is not possible to *not* be relational as our behaviour, thinking, language, values and social norms are all developed and understood within a relational context of the systems within individual worlds. The authors argue that while (from a systems perspective) all human action is relational, relational orientation in itself is interpreted, experienced and actualised uniquely in different contexts. According to these scholars, the diversity of relational orientation as a framework to understanding how different people may orientate themselves allows this framework to be applied to both Western and non-Western contexts.

Western trends indicate a greater emphasis on orientating oneself to intrinsic goals and needs. At the same time however, Silverstein et al (2006) build a case that indicates that intrinsic goals and needs

are orientated primarily to extrinsic (read cultural) norms. The scholars argue that cultural norms are informed by socio-political elements such as race, class, gender, hierarchy and sexuality. These silent undercurrents of cultural norms eventually inform the experience and perceptions of individualistic orientated relational styles characteristic of Western thinking.

In a similar manner, non-Western perceptions of the self are orientated around relational and collectivistic behaviour. This collectivistic orientation is likewise based on cultural expectations where an importance is placed on connectedness with others. Connectedness may be interpreted (and observed) as the actualisation of being other-directed, cooperative and accommodating in decision-making. Once again, socio-political elements such as hierarchy, roles and gender play an important part in informing cultural meaning (Silverstein et al, 2006).

1.6.3   THE METHODOLOGICAL PARADIGM: PARTICIPATORY REFLECTION AND ACTION

Participatory reflection and action (PRA) is a method grounded in the qualitative research paradigm and has gained distinction for its use in social research undertaken in rural communities (Chambers, 1991, 1994a; Chamber, 2004; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003).

As is the case with IPR, PRA as a methodological approach to IPR is characterised by its data collection process, which naturally relies on community engagement. The PRA methods allow participants control over what information they deem relevant and hand over the authority in terms of meaning making of the information they choose to share (Chambers, 1991, 1994b, 2006). This approach was suitable as this study aimed to gain an understanding of the experiences of the community in order to conceptualise risk appraisal processes in resource-constrained communities, specifically in two communities in Limpopo and Mpumalanga (Chambers, 2004; Chambers, 2005; Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012).

PRA as a methodological approach represents a dramatic change from traditional top-down approaches to research. Like IPR, PRA methodology follows a top-down approach to data generation and data collection (Chambers, 1995). The top-down approach alludes to an approach where researchers do not maintain dominance over the data collected, but allow local people to take the lead and direct the research agenda by directing the process of data generation (Bergold & Thomas, 2012; Chambers, 1995; Mercer, Kelman, Lloyd, & Suchet-Pearson, 2008). This was evident during the IPR data collection processes and led to a deeper understanding of the locality, the participants and their life experiences.

The PRA methodological approach can be described as a systematic inquiry that enables researchers to interact and collaborate with local people who are affected by the phenomena being

investigated in order to understand and learn from them and thus build the repertoire of understandings and knowledge bases around the key constructs of their study (Bergold & Thomas, 2012; Chambers, 1994b, 1995; Mercer et al., 2008). Therefore, by relying on the inputs of participants who had been conveniently selected for this study (I discuss sampling methods in greater detail below), I aimed to investigate the manner in which the process of appraisal occurs in resource-constrained communities by gaining an understanding of the manner in which these communities may perceive, define and categorise a stressor to be a risk. The purpose of this knowledge generation is to contribute to the South African indigenous psychology knowledge in the area of appraisal processes in resource-constrained communities.

PRA is conducted with the intent to stimulate social change and views the participants as valuable stakeholders and 'users' of the knowledge being generated through the research. PRA is based on the belief that if participants are included in the process of constructing knowledge about their own life-worlds, they may provide more implicit knowledge and understandings of the research phenomena (Rahman, 2008). By providing numerous implicit perspectives, the participants' perspectives become compounded to produce more authentic research results. The idea behind the PRA methodology is to facilitate and enable the selected community/participants to take ownership of and responsibility for the phenomena being researched in their environments in partnership with the researchers – who are seen as outsiders in the research process. Thus the power to construct meaningful outcomes based on their reality and standpoint is handed over to the participants (Foucault, 1977; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2008).

The reasoning behind giving the participants ownership of the research problem is to enable them to improve their lives while reflecting on their on-going experience. Such participation by community members allows the distinction between the researcher/academic and the non-researcher/non-academic to diminish, thus balancing out the scientific contributions with the social and cultural relevance and applicability of the research findings (Mbongwe, 2012; Rahman, 2008). In the long term, such research partnerships allow for capacity building and the empowerment of communities, and help to translate research findings and knowledge into action (Bergold & Thomas, 2012; Chambers, 1995; Mbongwe, 2012).

As a researcher, my experience of utilising the PRA methodology was deeply satisfying due to the comfort and gratification the participants seemed to experience when they were allowed the freedom to express themselves in a supportive environment. During the data collection sessions I felt like PRA provided a sense of acknowledgement for the indigenous reality of the participants in both Limpopo as well as Mpumalanga.

1.7   OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Psychological risk appraisal is a complex phenomenon in general. Making sense of appraisal processes in an indigenous, rural South African community further compounds the complexity of the phenomenon of appraisal. In order to effectively conduct this complex study, IPR made use of meticulous and reliable scientific methodology to ensure credible results and findings. In this section, I provide an overview of the research methodology that guided IPR's enquiry. IPR's methodological choices will be explored at length in Chapter 3.

1.7.1   METHODOLOGICAL DECISIONS IN IPR

IPR considered all the crucial defining elements of its enquiry when making methodological choices. Important considerations included the indigenous nature of the participants and their world views, and IPR's aspirations to make a valuable contribution to theory by contributing to our understanding of indigenous pathways to resilience. The methodological decisions of IPR that are tabulated in Table 1.5 below will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Table 1.6: Overview of methodological decisions in IPR		
PARADIGMATIC LENSES		
Theoretical paradigm Indigenous psychologies approach	**Methodological paradigm** Participatory reflection and action	**Meta-theoretical paradigm** Post-colonial research paradigm
RESEARCH DESIGN		
Comparative case study design founded on the tenets of participatory reflection and action (PRA) methodology		
Convenient selection cases of indigenous pathways to resilience Two high-risk, high-need rural South African villages conveniently selected as case studies, i.e. two rural villages in the Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces of South Africa accessed through the IMAGINE and FLY projects respectively. Selection criteria for case studies included: • Cumulative and chronic high-risk, high-need ecologies • Characterised by non-Western world view • Conveniently accessible through CSR networks		

Stratified purposive sampling of participant		
Participants were selected by way of purposive sampling from IPR's two research sites. Participants were then stratified into groups based on their location, gender and age in order to create IPR's four demographic groups in the two locations (i.e. older men; younger men; older women and younger women).		
N = 135	**Limpopo research site:**	**Mpumalanga research site:**
Total female participants: 78	Total female participants: 32	Total female participants: 46
Total male participants: 57	Total male participants: 23	Total male participants: 34
Total older participants: 53	Total older participants: 23	Total older participants: 30
Total younger participants: 82	Total younger participants: 32	Total younger participants: 50

Selection criteria for participants included:

- Participants were members of two rural, resource-constrained communities that demonstrated chronic or cumulative risk.
- Conveniently sampled from sites accessed by CSR for IPR.
- Participants needed to remain in the particular communities for the duration of the data collection and member checking (2012-2014).
- Participants needed to fit into one of the following four demographic groups at each site:
    1. Older men (older than 35 years)
    2. Older women (older than 35 years)
    3. Younger men (aged between 21 and 35 years)
    4. Younger women (aged between 21 and 35 years).

DATA GENERATION	
Data generation techniques	**Data documentation strategies**
- Visual PRA activities, including 1) participatory mapping of community map and 2) participatory diagramming of drum, knobkierie and mealie activities. - Observation-as-context-of-interaction	- Audio recordings - Verbatim transcripts of audio recordings - Verbatim transcriptions of translated audio recordings - Photographs - Researcher's field notes

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION
Thematic analysis of verbatim transcriptions (in English), field notes and interpretations of appraisal themes. Cross-case analysis was conducted for each research site, based on the thematic analysis of individual sites.

QUALITY CRITERIA
Strategies to ensure credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability and authenticity were put in place by IPR.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS
Openness, transparency, clarity regarding the purpose of IPR's data generation were amongst the strategies put in place to ensure that the research conducted by IPR was ethical.

1.7.2 QUALITY CRITERIA

The rigour of IPR's enquiry (including this study) and its resultant findings were crucial in order to make a valuable contribution to knowledge in the domain of indigenous pathways to resilience. For this reason various strategies were put in place to ensure that IPR's research was credible, transferable, dependable, confirmable and authentic. Multiple data sources were used in order to ensure the crystallisation of data. IPR's doctoral lab also relied strongly on peer debriefing throughout the intense data collection process, as well as during the data analysis process. Member checking was ensured to validate the credibility of data (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2013; Creswell, 2005). The quality criteria and rigour underlying IPR's study will be further discussed in Section 3.10 of Chapter 3.

1.7.3 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Any research should be founded on ethical principles to ensure rigorous findings. To this end, standard ethical practices including 1) informed consent; 2) voluntary participation; 3) confidentiality and anonymity of participants in the data collection process; 4) the protection of participants from obvious harm (physically or otherwise); 5) acknowledging the context of the research site; and 6) safe storage of confidential data post-data collection were among the basic ethical principles on which both IPR's enquiry and my own were founded.

In addition to the basic tenets of ethical research that I applied, the post-colonial research paradigm that frames my study further encourages ethical research practice (Chilisa, 2012). In line with the post-colonial research paradigm, Chilisa (2012) highlights the important process of building a respectful relationship between researcher and participant as an essential component of conducting ethical research. On the same note, the PRA methodological principles of Chambers (2007) that framed this study encouraged researchers' engagement with participants in the field. In line with post-colonial research paradigm thinking and PRA principles, team members shared a meal with the participants on each day of data collection. Building a relationship with participants through meal-sharing also allowed the IPR research team to maintain accountability to the participants (Chilisa, 2012).

1.8 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

In this section I tabulate a summative overview of the findings of my study. Although my findings are discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5, I provide a summary here in order to conclude this initial overview.

Table 1.7: Summary of the findings of this study

		RESEARCH QUESTIONS	FINDINGS
Primary question		How can insights into a comparison of indigenous pathways to appraisal in two resource-constrained rural communities in South Africa inform predominantly Western knowledge on resilience?	The indigenous South African participants of this study shared similarities with both global Western orientated and global non-Western orientated patterns of appraisal processes. Some differences were also evident.
			In terms of a worldview of interconnectedness as a pathway to indigenous appraisal this study's outcomes showed a differentiation to Western literature which emphasises an individual perspective on appraisal. Outcomes compared favourably to non-Western literature which indicates a focus on communal orientation, confirming the outcomes of the first pathway to indigenous appraisal identified.
			In terms of the second pathway to indigenous appraisal identified, outcomes contradicted Western literature whose focus indicates individual appraisal processes, from developmental perspective. Non-Western literature has an emphasis on the influence of community on development through its emphasis on communal interconnectedness throughout the lifespan, confirming this outcome of collaborative indigenous appraisal processes.
Secondary questions	1	How do South African indigenous pathways to appraisal compare with existing Western knowledge on appraisal?	Indigenous appraisal processes compared favourably to existing Western literature in part. Western literature explains appraisal as an individuals' evaluation of the relevance of environmental changes for their own well-being, based on the value and meaning of an interaction or occurrence within a given environment. The element of interconnectedness is evident in that variables of Theme 1 (interpersonal, spiritual and environmental interconnectedness) are common to both Western and non-Western literature.
			Conversely, in consideration of the second pathway to appraisal Western literature places an emphasis on individual processes rather than communal processes of appraisal. Western literature emphasises that it is essential to understand an individual's environment and its corresponding psychological connotations – from the individuals' viewpoint. It can be concluded that the appraisal process contains a number of components with

RESEARCH QUESTIONS		FINDINGS
		objective and subjective components that are appraised from an individual perspective. These components relate to the cognitive functions such as constraint, temporal aspects, and individual perceptions of social support networks and responses at various levels. These components are experienced cognitively in an objective context and are selected, transformed and represented based on subjective transformation processes.
2	How do South African indigenous pathways to appraisal compare with existing non-Western knowledge on appraisal?	Similarities to non-Western literature on pathways to indigenous appraisal processes exist, as similarities with Western literature. Non-Western literature on appraisal processes is limited and is not as directive as its Western counterpart. In terms of the experience of a sense of interconnectedness in terms of interpersonal, spiritual and environmental interconnectedness (as indigenous pathways to appraisal) indigenous literature has already noted these as appraisal processes. IKS also advocates the same findings since IKS served as a common basis for interconnected views on all aspects of their functioning. Additional to IKS other non-Western literature places an emphasis on communal processes of appraisal, and emphasise authority structures and cohesion within a community confirming the results.

1.9   CONCLUSION

In this chapter I aimed to provide an overview of my study within IPR's greater goals and purpose. I started by clarifying IPR's context and aims since my study falls within that domain. I further demonstrated the paradigmatic lenses that guided and shaped my enquiry and its aims. As part of the introduction to my study I clearly set out my research goals, objectives and the research questions that guided my study. These research questions will be answered in my final concluding chapter where I will illustrate the outcomes of this enquiry.

The following chapter will contain a thorough review of the available relevant literature, which was reviewed to ascertain what is known about the indigenous pathways to appraisal.

Chapter 2
Exploring Existing Appraisal Literature as Background to This Study

2.1   INTRODUCTION TO PATHWAYS TO APPRAISAL PROCESSES

In this chapter, I explore existing knowledge on pathways to appraisal with the aim of understanding appraisal during resilience processes. I reviewed existing literature relating to resilience and appraisal theory written from both the Western and indigenous perspectives. As pointed out in Chapter 1, Western knowledge and criteria had come to be interpreted and implemented as global, overarching standards of truth and best practice for all communities and demographic groups. Generalising Western standards to also apply to people living in the Global South is particularly problematic as factors such as colonialism (and subsequently post-colonialism), globalisation, migration and population-diversity processes – and their consequences – mean that indigenous people fail to meet these 'mainstream' standards of expectation (Shuttleworth-Edwards, 2016). The generalising of Western standards to diverse groups of people may result in false interpretations of indigenous people's skills and capabilities. By applying Western standards to indigenous people and contexts, their value in terms of strengths, capabilities, abilities and proficiencies may be progressively misunderstood and left underdeveloped (Shuttleworth-Edwards, 2016).

In dissecting the existing body of knowledge I structured my inquiry to first review current literature on resilience (see section 2.2 of this chapter). My review of resilience literature creates a framework within which my discussion of literature on appraisal theory is located (as presented in sections 2.3 and 2.4). In sections 2.5 and 2.6, I discuss the development of the appraisal process through human development theory and interdisciplinary perspectives on appraisal.

Based on my review of literature on the dominant mediating pathways to risk appraisal, I was able to develop a conceptual framework to explore indigenous pathways to appraisal. This conceptual framework, which integrates my literature review, is presented in section 2.7 of this chapter. As indicated in Chapter 1, the IPR study, and consequently also my own intellectual focus within this study, were influenced by Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's (2011) conceptualisation of adaptive coping processes (which we consider to be akin to resilience). An essential part of my conceptual framework is Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's (2011) discussion of forms of (perceived) control that develop throughout the human lifespan against the backdrop of key mediating factors that influence the mental, social and physical factors that contribute to

appraisal (and consequently to adaptive coping). The distinct impact of coping beliefs on appraisal processes validates my conceptual framework. I conclude this chapter by drawing conclusions regarding the key trends I identified in the literature and link these to the South African context in which the IPR study was conducted.

2.2   RESILIENCE THEORY

In the past decade there has thus been an increasing awareness within the scholarly community of South Africa of the inapplicability of mainstream psychological theory to South African indigenous cultures (Chilisa, 2012; Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012; Matoane, 2012; Theron & Theron, 2011). In the field of resilience a similar trend has become evident and it seems that Western understandings of resilience are not applicable to African contexts. Regions around the world that do not identify with the context of traditional Western society and knowledge systems have come to be referred to as the 'global South'. The awareness of this gap in literature has led some African scholars to begin developing a knowledge base that addresses the deficit in indigenous psychology knowledge, and also within a South African context (Ebersöhn, 2012b; Maree, Ebersöhn, & Molepo, 2006; Matoane, 2012). As a result, there seems to be a progressive drive to provide more scholarly understandings of indigenous people and contexts (Ebersöhn, 2014; Theron et al., 2011). This study, was conducted within the Indigenous Pathways to Resilience (IPR) Project, is one such effort intended to provide insight into resilience in indigenous people's native contexts.

Resilience refers to a transactional process of adaptation. The literature that was reviewed points out two elements that are common to all definitions of resilience processes: first, that exposure to significant environmental risk/s must be experienced; and second, that despite exposure to such contextual risk, positive adaptation must be the end result (Lester et al., 2006; Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Masten, 2001). These two defining elements of resilience processes suggest relatively good health and psychological outcomes despite the experience of contextual adversity (Rutter, 2006). Figure 2.1 below illustrates the adaptive coping process of resilience.

Figure 2.1: Resilience: Coping as an adaptive process
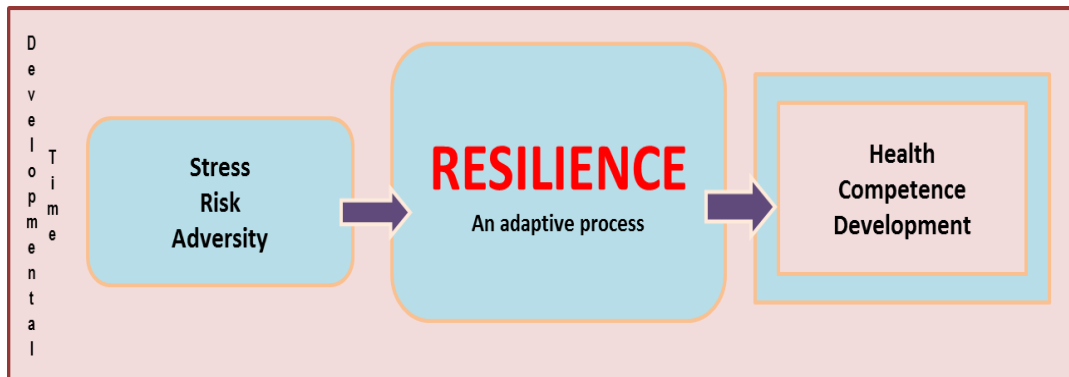
The study of resilience is rooted in researchers' endeavours to answer the question as to why some people grow up in contexts characterised by adversity and achieve healthy developmental outcomes (adaptive coping), while others may be unable to do so (maladaptive coping) (Lester et al., 2006; Masten, 2001). I noted that these initial inquiries around resilience and adaptation were conducted from a **Western** point of view. To understand the distinction between adaptive and maladaptive coping behaviour as outcomes of resilience, it is helpful to understand the history of the scholarly approach to the study of resilience.

Initial investigations into behavioural responses that have come to be understood as resilient behaviours can be traced back to researchers' work in psychiatric contexts with a focus on understanding maladaptive behaviour patterns. The investigative trajectory progressed from psychiatric contexts to attempts to understand variations of individual responses to adversity resulting from adverse conditions such as socio-economic disadvantage, maltreatment, mental illness (including parental mental illness), poverty, violence, chronic illness and traumatic life events (Luthar et al., 2000a).

As the study of individual responses to adversity evolved, the (negative) focus of efforts to understand responses that labelled people as 'in-vulnerable' developed into a (positive) consideration of people. New interpretations of people who were seen to be able to adjust and adapt to changing life circumstances despite exposure to risk saw the birth of the term 'resilience' (Luthar et al., 2000; Zautra & Reich, 2011). This shift to a more positive conceptualisation of adaptation is aligned with a more pronounced shift in the scholarly world towards (empirically) focusing on the positive (Zautra & Reich, 2011). Consequently, as knowledge around the concept of resilience evolved, the context of analysis for resilience changed from a psychiatric context (one of ill health) to a high-risk context in which people need to overcome adversity by using their strengths to adapt positively. The common factor, i.e. considering

people's 'context', still remained important, with the added contour of analysing experience and adaptation (Masten & O'Dougherty Wright, 2010).

Some scholars believe that, regardless of age, all human beings experience everyday stressors to varying degrees and intensities by simply engaging with others in a changing world (DiCorcia & Tronick, 2011), and that the manners in which people navigate adversity moulds regulatory capacity (resilience). They add that matches and/or mismatches in intent and response between any two people serve as an opportunity for the development of resilience. Matches and mismatches could be repaired as people progressively develop over time. At the same time, these authors contradict the notion of the importance of context, as I posited earlier in this section, by asserting that stressful and non-stressful context alike allow for positive adaption to occur in environments that experience chronic progressive exposure to reparable levels of stress (DiCorcia & Tronick, 2011).

Non-Western scholars, like their Western counterparts, describe resilience as a process of positive adaptation that only becomes pertinent in the face of significant adversity (Ebersöhn, 2014; Liebenberg & Ungar, 2009). Resilience has famously been described as 'ordinary magic', owing to the fact that studies have indicated that resilience appears to be a common function in the human adaptational system that enables people to respond robustly to significant adversity (Masten, 2001). While the stressor may originate from the ecosystem or from within the individual, once human adaptational systems are actively in place, the risk of developmental problems may be observed to be reduced. Thus, resilience is characterised as good outcomes in spite of the presence of serious threats to adaptation and/or development in the ecosystem (Masten, 2001, 2007).

The significance of the risk or stressor that is present is gauged by its contextual familiarity, which implies that stressors may be deemed a risk to physical, social, cultural or spiritual capital. If context is significant in gauging the relevance and intensity of a risk factor, poverty is certainly a risk in any context (Ebersöhn, 2014, 2017).

Recent literature points to the importance of what is termed 'social capital'. Social capital refers to social trust, reciprocity, communal efficacy and civic engagement in one's community (Zautra & Reich, 2011). In line with the understanding of social capital, social connectedness and cohesion have been identified as contributing to social stability. In turn, social stability (read: community resilience) has been shown to influence individuals' abilities to respond in a manner displaying resilience. Studies conducted in Mali have yielded results that show that resilience is a culturally defined experience, and in an indigenous community in Mali, resilience was described as a normative cultural process (Crane, 2010). Recognition of

interaction between people and their environment is not new. Chun et al. (2006) describe collectivism as a set of values, attitudes and behaviours associated with a group. In studies conducted with indigenous immigrants living in Western countries, collectivism appeared to have a meaning-making effect on individuals in these new societies (Chun et al., 2006).

Ebersöhn's (2012a) longitudinal case study in resources-scarce settings in South Africa validates the meaningfulness of social capital within communal relationships. Her work in indigenous South African environments led to the development of the relationship-resourced resilience (RRR) model. RRR theorises that indigenous communities that experience chronic stressors use relationships to offset challenges, making relationships within the community the most valuable resource for igniting communal resilience processes. In similar environments in South Africa, Ebersöhn (2016a) also found that development is seen as continuous, with connections in life and beyond into death. Therefore, connections or relationships in the context of RRR may be seen as ever-present resources that enable individuals to navigate pathways to sustain resilience (Ebersöhn, 2012a, 2012b, 2016a).

The understanding of an individual's ability to forge adaptive pathways in spite of adversity has evolved over time and has now come to be understood as both an outcome of (internal) processes and a transactional process between people and their ecologies (Luthar et al., 2000a; Masten, 2007; Rutter, 2006; Theron et al., 2011; Ungar, 2011). The key requirement for resilience then may clearly be identified as the presence or experiencing of significant adversity. According to Ungar (2011), evidence seems to indicate that a positive resilient outcome is not simply dependent on the individual who is experiencing adversity. Rather, Ungar (2010a, 2011) asserts that the individual's ability to cope in conjunction with a quality environment that is nurturing or supportive is responsible for facilitating his/her ability to prosper despite the presence of adversity.

Resilient environments may, therefore, not be fully understood (and effectively utilised) unless the influence of culture is taken into consideration (Theron et al., 2011; Ungar, 2010a, 2011). Culture includes collective practices, values and behaviours endorsed by groups of people, often within a specific ecology or environment that may define or connect people within a specific group (Theron et al., 2011). Development tends to be informed by individual factors as well as interaction with contextual factors (Ungar, 2010a). Cultural influence may play out differently in a variety of cultural settings. Yet, regardless of the setting, environments have been shown to serve as protection even when resources are sparse (Ungar, 2011).

Cultural or collective coping have been seen to have positive implications for the physical and psychological well-being of culturally diverse people (Kuo, 2012). Whereas Western literature indicates an

emphasis on personal control, individual appraisal and direct/individual efforts to facilitate adaptive coping, Kuo's (2012) work with indigenous people in North America highlighted a cultural disposition to coping, where social support was noted as important to foreground resilient behaviour.

2.3   APPRAISAL THEORY

Appraisal theory (Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003; Folkman, Lazarus, Gruen, & DeLongis 1986; Moors, Ellsworth, Scherer & Frijda, 2013; Scherer, 2000) presumes that appraisals are individuals' assumed, imagined or intuitive evaluations of the relevance of environmental changes for their own well-being (and if so, in what way), based on the value and meaning of an interaction or occurrence within a given environment (Moors et al., 2013; Scherer, 1993). If the aim is to successfully investigate appraisal as a theoretical construct in the coping and resilience process, it is essential to understand an individual's environment and the psychological connotations of that environment, as seen from the individual's viewpoint (Krohne, 2001; Lazarus, 1990). It can be concluded that the appraisal process contains a number of constituents with objective and subjective components that are appraised. These components relate to the cognitive transformation process in terms of functions such as constraint, temporal aspects, social support networks and responses at various levels. These constituents are experienced cognitively in an objective context and are selected, transformed and represented based on subjective transformation processes (Krohne, 2001; Lazarus, 1990). In my review of appraisal literature, it was evident that appraisal literature from a non-Western perspective was not available. Consequently, I inductively analysed literature to understand appraisal processes in non-Western communities.

The criterion for appraisal is based on the sequencing of events and can be better understood in terms of primary and secondary appraisals (Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003; Folkman et al., 1986; Roseman & Smith, 2001; Scherer, 1993). Primary appraisal refers to the process whereby the individual evaluates whether he/she has anything at stake in a particular encounter. This is the part of the appraisal process during which the individual decides whether the situation is agreeable or disagreeable, for example when risk factors are evaluated. Experiences are gauged in relation to the perceived relevance that they have to a people in terms of personal values, goal commitments, their beliefs about themselves and the world and situational intentions (Roseman & Smith, 2001). The impact of values and beliefs in eliciting emotion and behavioural reactions is thought to be lower than that of goal commitment, since a person is more likely to persevere against adversity and discouragement in order to achieve personal goals. During primary

appraisals, individuals judge whether what is happening is worthy of their attention and reaction or not (Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003; Folkman et al., 1986; Roseman & Smith, 2001; Scherer, 1993).

Secondary appraisal refers to the distressed person-environment relationship (Roseman & Smith, 2001). It is a process whereby the individual evaluates what may be done to overcome/prevent harm (cope) and to improve his/her prospects of attaining benefit from the situation. The fact that this process is referred to as a secondary appraisal process does not imply that it is of lesser importance in the coping process. Secondary appraisal can be seen as that part of the appraisal process during which the individual evaluates his/her sense of control, agency and certainty in the given environment, considering the potential risk factors (i.e., evaluating resources and/or potential resources). It is during these secondary appraisals that individuals focus on harm/loss, threat or challenge (Roseman & Smith, 2001). Primary appraisals never operate totally independently of secondary appraisals; rather, their focus is on evaluating the extent of potential threats in order to select the most appropriate coping mechanism (Aldwin, 2011; Ebersöhn, 2012a; Folkman et al., 1986; Hobfoll; 2011, Krohne, 2001; Scherer, 1993).

Considering the above explanations of primary and secondary appraisal, the value of resources (or perceived resources) can be recognised as being elementary in the appraisal process. In this regard, the significance of Hobfoll's work (1989, 2011; Hobfoll, Freedy, Green, & Solomon, 1996) can be appreciated. Hobfoll (1989, 2011; Hobfoll et al., 1996) places emphasis and value on resources that may be available to the individual in the given environment. His work, and that of his colleagues, shifted the focus from studying elements that create and contribute to stress, to rather focusing on resources that contribute to individuals' ability to preserve their well-being in the face of stressful encounters (Krohne, 2001). Hobfoll and his colleagues focused on several social and personal constructs as resource factors. These included social support (Schwarzer & Leppin, 1991), sense of coherence (Anternovsky, 1979), hardiness (Kobasa, 1979), self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977) and optimism (Scheier & Carver, 1992).

During my review of the relevant literature, it became apparent that appraisal theories and their individualistic nature develop over time. It was further apparent that the nature of appraisal processes, as embedded in the resilience process, is influenced by natural developmental processes and elements in the surrounding ecology. Simply stated, human's appraisal processes are shaped by their environments and factors within those environments.

However, the literature review revealed no significant differences between Western and non-Western understandings of the development of appraisal processes through the natural human developmental processes.

2.4 APPRAISAL IN THE RESILIENCE PROCESS

The purpose of this section is to position appraisal within resilience processes. I use this as a backdrop to understanding the process of appraisal. Literature on this topic is dominated by the Western perspective. Non-Western literature is largely silent in this regard. For this reason, my theorising for this study was done inductively.

Figure 2.2 below provides a simplistic illustration of the resilience process from the inception of the process (initiated by a stressful event) and includes the appraisal of events, the adaptive coping process and the eventual outcome that leads to a state of well-being.

Figure 2.2: Appraisal in the resilience process
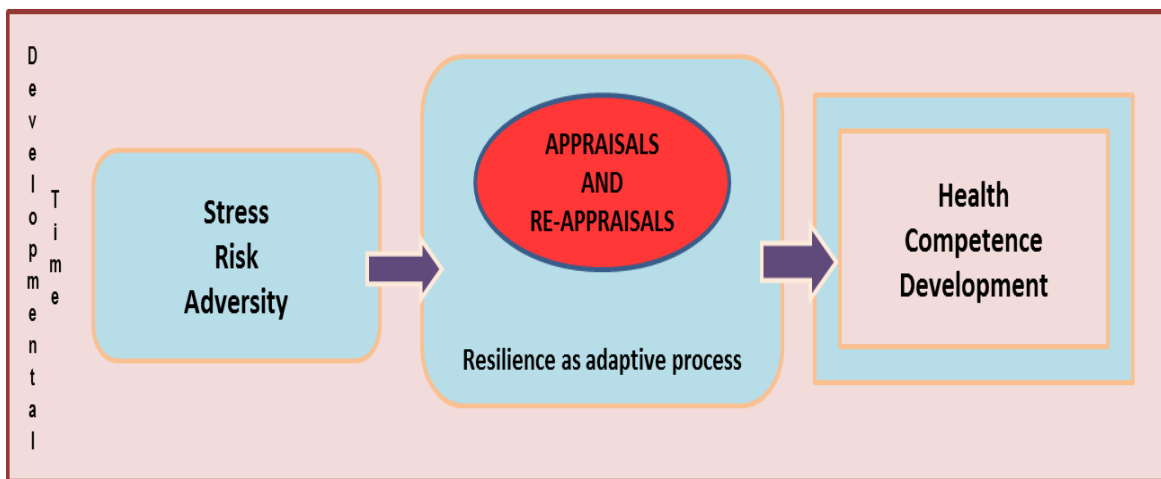
Appraisal as a process is grounded and integrated within human development processes. The unique nature of an individual's appraisal process is a result of developmental, inherent and contextual factors. The relevant underlying pathways that contribute to and influence the development of individual appraisal processes will now be explored.

2.5 APPRAISAL AND DEVELOPMENTAL THEORIES

2.5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this section, I outline and explore the main developmental theories that explain how appraisal processes are uniquely developed in individuals in a variety of contexts. I start out by situating the development of

appraisal processes during the human development process, leaning strongly on Piaget's theory of development (Lewis, 2001). In Section 2.5.3, I consider the Appraisal-Tendency Framework by linking emotional development to the development of appraisal processes. I then review the relevant literature on cognitive development (Section 2.5.4) and consider Hobfoll's (2001) work in terms of the conservation of resources theory. I conclude by highlighting key trends across the psychological appraisal theories that I reviewed.

2.5.2   DEVELOPMENT OF APPRAISAL DURING HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Knowledge of appraisal theory, as explored in this chapter, is based on the founding contributions of scholars such as Magda Arnold (1950) and Donald Lazarus (1966). Initial work in the field of appraisal theory began categorising emotions into groups and ultimately led to theorising models of appraisal (Roseman & Smith, 2001; Smith & Kirby, 2009).

Lewis (2001) proposes a model of development from birth to adulthood that leans strongly on Piaget's theory of cognitive development (Louw, 2002). Lewis' (2001) proposed model places appraisal development parallel to cognitive development processes. According to this model of the development of the appraisal process, it is clear that appraisal is a process that is ingrained into an individual throughout the normal (and ongoing) growth and development process (Lewis, 2001). In Table 2.1 below, I tabulate a summary indicating the correlation between stages of cognitive development and the development of appraisal.

DEVELOPMENTAL STAGE	AGE RANGE	COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT TASKS	NATURE OF APPRAISED EVENTS AT THIS AGE
Sensory motor stage	Birth to 2 years	• Coordination of sensory input and motor responses • Development of object permanence • Development of action-result schemes	• Perception of security as a result of visibility of caregiver • Development of a pattern of emotional expression due to distress caused by separation from caregiver and stranger anxiety • Reasoning in terms of the relationship between different kinds of things (e.g. language scripts in relation to the social world)
Preoperational stage	2–7 years	• Development of symbolic thought marked by irreversibility, centration and egocentrism	• Appraisal of the motivation underlying events, rather than of actions alone
Concrete operational stage	7–11 years	• Mental operations applied to concrete events, mastery of conservation, hierarchical classification	• Appraisal conducted by distinguishing logical consequences within a present context
Formal operational stage	12 years – adulthood	• Mental operations applied to abstract ideas, logical systematic thinking	• As a sense of self begins to develop, appraisal is conducted in an increasingly abstract manner as a result of having an understanding of the science and meaning behind occurrences

Table 2.1: Stages of development of appraisal corresponding with cognitive development (adapted from Lewis, 2001 & Louw, 2002)

The above tabulated summary of the developmental process underlying appraisal processes is a generalisation, and the uniqueness of each individual's developmental processes must be borne in mind. This means that similar situations may easily elicit different appraisals for different people. It is thus the appraisal process, not the situation, which specifies emotional responses (and consequent decision-making and behavioural responses) (Lewis, 2001). This study (within IPR) aims to identify particular appraisal pathways for indigenous people in rural South Africa. As such, in order to make meaning of how (indigenous) people appraise their environments, knowledge of their underlying developmental processes is essential.

In comparison to Piaget's theory of development, Vygotsky's theory of cognitive development places greater emphasis on cultural influences on cognitive development (Snowman & McCown, 2013). Vygotsky's theory suggested that the relational nature of culture influences people to think in abstract ways

which could be compared to Piaget's most advanced level of cognitive functioning – the formal operational stage. Likewise, other systems that a child interacts with (such as family, school and teachers) would have a similar influence. From the explanation of Piaget's theory above, it can be deduced that culture, amongst other relational contexts, supports deeper abstract meaning-making during appraisal processes. By implication, this would mean that relational contexts shape though processes and values that inform appraisal processes as well.

2.5.3   DEVELOPMENT OF APPRAISAL DURING EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

In this section, I explore the role of emotions in how we appraise events or stimuli. I analyse Han, Lerner & Keltner's (2007) Appraisal-Tendency Framework to gain a deeper understanding of how emotions affect our judgements and choices. This section builds on the previous sections and provides a preliminary review of scholarly information based on the work of Western theorists.

All individuals experience a range of emotions continuously throughout the day. These emotions vary in respect of their nature and intensity (Lerner, & Keltner, 2000; Winterich, Han, & Lerner, 2010). This fact is central to understanding the role of emotions in appraisal theories, since emotions predict the nature and effects of appraisal as such.

Han, Lerner, & Keltner's (2007) Appraisal-Tendency Framework (ATF) suggests that emotions influence judgements and choices (Han, Lerner & Keltner, 2006). The ATF aims to distinguish the actual effect of emotions on decision making and explain why certain emotions carry over from past situations to influence current choices and decisions (Keltner & Lerner, 2000; Han, Lerner & Keltner, 2006). The ATF is based on five tenets, as tabulated below (based on adapted explanations in Han, Lerner & Keltner, 2006).

1. Integral and incidental emotions	2. Beyond valence	3. Appraisal tendencies	4. Matching constraint	5. Deactivating conditions
These are both affective influences of emotions on judgement and choice. Integral emotion relates to influences of subjective experiences that are commonly present in making relevant current judgements and choices. Incidental emotions relate to the more confusing influence of subjective emotional experiences that would not be expected to ordinarily influence judgement and choice (Han, Lerner & Keltner, 2006).	Regardless of the importance attached to integral or incidental emotion, a valence approach focuses on the effect of mood (good or bad) on decision making and judgement (Forgas, 2003).	The ATF predicts that all emotions include motivational properties that aid the process of carrying over appraisal predispositions to future events that may be appraised, in line with the central appraisal pattern/theme that characterises the specific emotion.	The influence of emotions is limited to spheres of judgements related to the appraisal of emotions. As emotional patterns develop, emotions are linked to appraisal themes, which in turn are linked to a cognitive theme.	As the intensity of an emotion decreases, so does its influence and its carry-over effects. However, other mechanisms exist to deactivate the carry-over effect of negative emotions even while the emotions still exist (Han, Lerner & Keltner, 2006).

The ATF therefore centres on exploring the role of emotions in judgement and choice, and suggests that emotions are linked to implicit cognitive predispositions to appraise upcoming events based on existing appraisal patterns. The findings of a study of the ATF (Winterich et al., 2010) indicated that the use of the ATF techniques could result in emotions (such as anger) being blunted. The implication of blunted emotions is that the corresponding appraisals of those emotions may be altered by contrasting appraisals (Winterich et al., 2010). It may then be concluded that ATF and cognitive appraisal theories of emotion may be manipulated to alter the typical patterns of appraisal.

2.5.4   DEVELOPMENT OF APPRAISAL, SPECIFICALLY DURING COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

Scherer (2001b, p. 369) explains that people are constantly processing information about events, the results of which are stored in the short-term memory. The information that is processed about events constitutes evaluations, which are done to ensure own well-being. This process of evaluation (or appraisal) involves determining the significance of the stimulus event (in relation to needs, motives and values). As a result, emotional episodes are generated when the individual recognises that a particular stimulus has meaning and implications for them, and that adaptive action or internal adjustment is necessary.

Differences in the resultant emotions (including physiological responses, motor expression, action tendencies and subjective feelings) are determined by the specific patterns or profiles of the appraisal results on the relevant dimensions.

In this definition, Scherer (2001b) highlights the meaning-making process that occurs cognitively during appraisal (Park, 2011; Scherer, 1993). Events that occur prompt an emotional reaction, which in turn prompts a physiological response (Roseman & Smith, 2001). These physiological responses define an individual's meaning-making process and may characterise expressive behaviour, behavioural reactions, emotional responses and overall subjective experiences (Roseman & Smith, 2001). This appraisal (or meaning-making) is not a linear process, but occurs on the cognitive and neurological/chemical levels and may be described as an individual's unique perception of a situation. Appraisals therefore precede emotions. It can be argued that this cognitive process occurs unconsciously and is universal to all cultures (Roseman & Smith, 2001; Scherer, 1993).

According to the Component Process Model (CPM) (Scherer, 2001b, 2004, 2005), there are four main objectives underlying the appraisal process. First, to consider how *relevant* the event or stimulus is for the individual or his/her social group; second, to determine the *implications* or consequences of the event for the individual/social group in terms of wellbeing and long-term goals; third, to establish how well the individual/group can cope (coping potential) and adjust to the consequences; and finally, to establish the normative significance of the event for the individual's values, norms and identity.

These defining factors enable us to easily identify the interrelated nature of appraisals and coping actions during a resilience process. This model emphasises the unconscious, automatic and effortless nature of the appraisal process, which indicates that appraisals do not necessarily require complex cognitive efforts (Scherer, 2009).

2.5.5 CONSERVATION OF HUMAN RESOURCES PROMPTING APPRAISAL PROCESSES

To thoroughly understand appraisal theory, it has to be understood in the light of Hobfoll's Conservation of Resources Theory (COR) (Freund & Riediger, 2001; Hobfoll, 1998, 2001, 2011; Lazarus, 2001a). According to this theory (Hobfoll, 1989, 2011; Hobfoll et al., 1996; Krohne, 2001), there are three main contexts in which individuals may appraise stressors, namely 1) loss of resources; 2) threatened resources; and 3) depleted resources.

Hobfoll (Hobfoll, 1989, 2011; Hobfoll et al., 1996; Krohne, 2001) further mentions four categories of resources that may be available in any given environment, namely 1) object resources (e.g. physical

objects, such as a home, clothing or transportation); 2) conditional resources (e.g. employment or personal relationships); 3) personal resources (e.g. skills or self-efficacy); and 4) energy resources (e.g. money, knowledge and resources that may facilitate access to additional resources).

In its infant days, the construct of resilience was described as the attribute or disposition of being invulnerable or invincible (Anthony, 1974; Werner & Smith, 1982). At a later stage, researchers explained resilience as possessing protective factors against stressors, which they categorised into three main areas, namely the individual, the family and the community (Garmezy, Masten, & Tellegen, 1984; Rutter, 1979). Since then the understanding of this construct has been significantly broadened and refined by more recent scholars who have built on these initial understandings.

Currently, the most common definitions of the construct resilience include the following two main dimensions: the presence of significant adversity (Werner, 1995; Yates et al., 2003), and correlating positive adaptation (Fleming & Ledogar, 2008; Luthar, 2006; Masten, 2001; Sroufe et al., 2005). Positive adaptation may be descriptive of a variety of behaviours, based on individuals' circumstances and needs, and their individual perceptions of coping. This implies that the coping behaviour or outcome does not necessarily need to be explicitly observed as a positive behaviour or form of coping, since protection may lie in a variety of alternate behaviours that may allow individuals to experience a sense of coping and control over their immediate stressors or circumstances (Hunter, 1999; Luthar, 2006; Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000; Masten, 2001; Rutter, 1999, 2000). However, recent research indicates that there is variability in positive adaptation outcomes in an environment characterised by poverty (Ebersöhn, 2014).

Adaptive coping can therefore be summarised as a cognitive and behavioural effort to manage, by certain means (i.e. by reducing, minimising, mastering or tolerating) the internal and/or external stressors that may affect individuals' interaction with the environment, which they may perceive as strenuous (Folkman et al., 1986; Helgeson, 2011; Lester et al., 2006; Revenson & DeLongis, 2011; Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011). Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck (2011) explore the idea of perceived control that an individual may experience and its link to mastery and achievement. Lester et al. (2006) findings indicate that coping as a mechanism for adaptation in resilience processes has its origin in an internal process that hinges on an individual's ability to self-regulate. This is based on the manner in which individuals interpret their environments, which in turn may allow them to experience a feeling of control over their environments/circumstances. This internal process, which may lead to feelings of control, is based on the emotions that may be elicited from an individual's evaluation (appraisal) of an event or situation (Roseman

& Smith, 2001). Appraisal thus occurs on an internal level and involves the cognitive evaluation of emotions experienced within a set of circumstances (Roseman & Smith, 2001; Scherer, 2001b).

The above theoretical explanation clearly indicates the link between the cognitive appraisal process (which involves both implicit/emotional and explicit/behavioural constructs) and adaptive coping. Theoretically, coping is seen as the internal, cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage the internal and external demands that result from the person-environment engagements. These person-environment engagements are seen (appraised) as strenuous for the person's present resources. This involves both problem-focused and emotion-focused coping (Folkman et al., 1986; Kupens, 2013).

Any interpretation of environments/situations is inherently emotional, as few thoughts are entirely free of emotion (Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003). Emotions therefore influence thinking, which in turn influences behaviours/responses. Due to the interlinked and co-dependent nature of the two processes, cognitive appraisal and adaptive coping cannot be understood in complete isolation of each other (Folkman et al., 1986; Krohne, 2001; Kuppens, 2013). In view of the above explanation, the appraisal process is seen as a cognitive precursor to coping (Lester et al., 2006). For the purpose of this study, it would be significant to explore whether non-Western pathways to appraisal similarly foreground the cognitive processes that underlie and precede coping behaviour during resilience.

2.6   INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES ON APPRAISAL

2.6.1   INTRODUCTION

In this section, I explore scholarly contributions from both a Western and a non-Western perspective, which allows for a better understanding of the contributing variables, underlying processes, role and function of appraisal as a process. The aim of this discussion is to gain a preliminary understanding of the nature of appraisal and how the concept and process of appraisal are conceptualised.

The knowledge of appraisal theory, as explored in this section, is based on the founding contributions of scholars such as Magda Arnold (1950) and Donald Lazarus (1966). Founding work in the field of appraisal theory began by categorising emotions into groups and ultimately led to theorising models of appraisal (Roseman & Smith, 2001, Smith & Kirby, 2009). As my following discussion indicates, many scholarly findings followed.

2.6.2   SPIRITUALITY AND APPRAISAL

Feelings of control (both objective and subjective) have a significant impact on the appraisal of a stressor in terms of its severity and controllability (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011). The impact of spirituality on the appraisal of stressors (as a precursor to coping) must therefore be explored and understood in the context of the nature and extent of spirituality on appraisal [Could one perhaps say: The nature and extent of spirituality and its impact on the appraisal of stressors (as a precursor to coping) must therefore be explored and understood] (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011).

The findings that I present in this section are based on the responses of urban dwellers in the United Kingdom (Maltby & Day, 2003) and pose the limitation of being representative of a predominantly white, urban sample, which means that the results may not be easily generalised to the indigenous populations on which this study focuses. Maltby and Day's (2003) findings indicate that spirituality can be understood as an element that contributes to the spectrum of elements that create an individual's appraisal 'lens'. Religious and spiritual orientations are factors common to most communities and are considered to be related to objective and subjective well-being (Maltby & Day, 2003). In terms of psychological well-being (noting in particular the psychological constructs of depression, self-esteem and anxiety), the relevant literature includes studies that indicate a positive correlation of appraising extrinsic associations towards religion (Maltby & Day, 2003; Wulff, 1997). These findings imply that those who appraise religion/spirituality in terms of coping with adversity tend to indicate extrinsic-social elements (e.g. religious participation, social status) and extrinsic-personal elements (e.g. protection, consolation) as part of their appraisal perceptions (Maltby & Day, 2003; Wulff, 1997).

One definition of spirituality as something that provides meaning, purpose and connection, either within or beyond the bounds of a specific religion, was provided by Sessanna, Finnell, Underhill, Chang, & Peng (2011), who distinguishes between religiosity and spirituality. Spirituality can therefore be seen as linked to culture, which provides a similar function by creating meaning through beliefs and values (Ebersöhn & Loots, 2017; Sessanna et al, 2011). If spirituality is interwoven with an individual's culture and belief systems and evolves into the sense of religiosity that consequently develops, it can be understood as an integral part of the human condition, serving as a buffer for well-being (Burke, Hackney, Hudson, Miranti, Watts & Epp, 1999). Burke et al's (1999) finding may be attributed to the positive sense of *agency* that spirituality provides as a coping resource (Peterson *et al.*, 2004). As human beings strive to obtain, retain, foster and protect what they value, it is natural that they will attempt to maintain control over their

thoughts and actions in order to produce desired outcomes and prevent or terminate outcomes that are undesirable (Hobfoll, 2011; Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011).

Based on the above understanding, the concept of spirituality naturally affects and is affected by human problems through the feelings of control and agency that are stimulated when spirituality is instituted as an appraisal lens (Burke et al, 1999, Skinner-Gembeck, 2011). Spirituality cannot, therefore, be detached from appraisal during the coping process. The above understanding would then be applicable to both Western and non-Western communities, grounded in their respective cultures, since the need for agency and control (influencing appraisal) is embedded human traits that develop during the natural human development process (as summarised in Table 2.1).

My argument thus far clearly illustrates that spirituality is an embedded human 'lens' in the interconnected functioning of the human being. Human beings also seek meaning and purpose in life through the relatedness of the self, others and nature, and at times a higher power or purpose (Sessanna et al, 2010). To this end, Western communities may often be influenced by Judeo-Christian tradition, impacting on their meaning-making of their purpose in life (Wyatt Nelms, Hutchins, Hutchins & Pursley, 2007), while African and/or non-Western communities may be strongly influenced by both African tradition and the impacts of colonialism (Masango, 2006). In African tradition there is a belief that if a person has lived a good life (i.e., has fulfilled the purpose for which he was born into this world), he will ascend to a divine life (world of the ancestors) where he has an alternate purpose to fulfil (Ebersöhn, 2016a; Masango, 2006).

Spirituality can be understood not only as a factor that impacts on outcomes (coping and responses), but rather as one that contributes to rational thought and decision making (Bussing, Michalsen, Balzat, Grunther, Ostermann, Neugebauer & Matthiessen, 2009). Spirituality is therefore a significant factor in grounding appraisal, as understood from both the Western and the non-Western perspectives analysed, as it is a basic element of appraisal to create reason and meaning. As such, spirituality impacts on how people cope, achieve satisfaction in life and engage with others in general.

2.6.3   A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON APPRAISAL THEORY

In this section I explore the currently available literature dealing with the construct of appraisal from the perspective of sociology theory. Here I aim to study and develop an understanding of the influence of social and cultural processes on appraisals by exploring sociology theory that provides an understanding of the underlying social characteristics of cultural structures (Manstead & Fischer, 2001). Sociology theory

includes moral trends and emotional pathways that develop at a social/cultural level and ultimately determine the cultural meanings that are assigned to events (McLennan, 2005). The relevant literature may inform this study in two ways: first, by explaining how social and cultural characteristics influence appraisal processes, as understood from a Western perspective. Sociology could make a valuable contribution to appraisal processes due to the subjective nature of appraisal (Chun et al., 2006) and the role and influence of the social context in the appraisal process (Chun et al., 2006; Ungar, 2010). Second, a thorough understanding of the functions of sociology theory in appraisal processes may inform my conceptual framework on appraisal processes from the perspective of non-Western, indigenous communities. Ultimately, I hope that my inquiry in the area of sociology will support my holistic theoretical understanding of the appraisal process.

A paper prepared by Jackson, Allum, and Gaskell (2006) explores the link between fear of crime and moral and social order. The findings of this paper posit that since crime is perceived as an intentional act, it is appraised as a higher risk factor and is symbolic in that it signifies societal values and morals, transgresses authority and hampers social cohesion, moral consensus and informal social control. As a result of these impacts, unpunished crime is appraised as a more serious transgression within the bounds of the society and may negatively impact on social order. Jackson et al. (2006) further posit that since the media widely report on such crimes, the risk becomes more salient.

Based on these limited sociological reports in terms of risk appraisal and protective factors (Jackson et al., 2006; Maltby & Day, 2003; Wulff, 1997) it is evident, on a societal level, that group perceptions are influenced by the value they attach to consequences of actions (Gaskell, Allum, Wagner, Kronberger, Torgersen, & Bardes, 2004). Thus the social context of public perception of risk may be a very valuable factor to take into account when considering indigenous pathways to appraisal in rural communities in South Africa. Some rural communities in South Africa have a higher incidence of risk due to the chronic adversity that characterises such environments, despite this being associated with a higher incidence of adaptive coping (Ebersöhn, 2014).

2.7   CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR INDIGENOUS PATHWAYS TO APPRAISAL PROCESSES

Resilience theory centres on the loss and gain of resources, with the loss of resources being a necessary precursor for resilience and adaptive coping (Hobfoll, 2011; Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011). Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's (2011) work centres on the idea that one's ability to achieve a sense of *control* over a stressful situation (both objectively and subjectively) is central to the process of mobilising resources

(or not) as part of a response to stress. Perceived control allows for effective coping after loss of resources or risk is experienced. Individual differences in appraisal processes lead to differences in objective and perceived control of stress and coping behaviours. Individual differences may be influenced by the developmental factors discussed in section 2.4 above.

My study focuses on indigenous groups of rural South African people who may possess unique personal and social resources, as well as unique pathways to appraisal. In order to contribute to a developing knowledge base that creates insight into such indigenous communities, it is essential to understand how they appraise risk in order to develop a sense of control over stressful situations. In an attempt to understand how indigenous communities in rural South Africa attain a sense of control over stressful situations, I will need to gain an understanding of appraisal processes at a developmental level, which is the level at which objective and subjective control are shaped.

Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck (2011) assert that the need for control stems from people's fundamental and inherent psychological need to be effective within their given environments. Being effective in stressful (or non-stressful) situations tends to create a feeling of competence. This means that desired outcomes are produced and undesired outcomes are prevented or terminated.

Subjective feelings of control are tantamount to perceived control. The effective appraisal of risk and evaluation of available resources (regardless of the extent of resources available) seem to lead to a greater sense of agency to control stressful situations. This literature review aims to understand the factors that contribute to the appraisal process in order to inform literature from an indigenous psychology perspective.

In conjunction with Skinner and Gembeck-Zimmer's (2011) work, I here consider some additional theories that support my conceptual framework in order to copiously understand the feeling of control. The first theory that I consider is Antonovsky's sense of coherence theory (García-Moya, Rivera, Moreno, Lindström, & Jiménez-Iglesias, 2012). The theory of sense of coherence may enhance our understanding of perceptions of stress and the process of coping with it (Garcia-Moyo, et al 2012). Sense of coherence is composed of **1) comprehensibility,** i.e. deriving a sense that one's internal and external environments are structured, predictable and explicable; **2) manageability**, i.e. a feeling that the resources needed to meet the demand of life stressors are available (present in the environment); and **3) meaningfulness**, i.e. a sense that these demands are an investment that is worthy of the individual's attention and resources (Flannery & Flannery, 1990). According to Antonovsky, this global orientation to life stressors is developed by the time an individual reaches adulthood and appears to alleviate (though not completely eliminate) life stress.

In an effort to resist universalised knowledge that is not suitable to be applied as a one-size-fits-all approach to appraisal pathways (as part of the reliance processes), it is essential to invoke indigenous knowledge systems (Chilisa, 2012). Indigenous ways of knowing and acting have been marginalised due to historical suppression and globalisation, with the result that indigenous people were being seen as having no agency. RRR theory teaches us the contrary. Longitudinal studies in a high-risk, low- resourced indigenous South African community showed that the participants perceived having knowledge of available resources as making risk understandable, which in turn added meaning to their lives. Meaningful life experiences resulted in them feeling a sense of control over their circumstances (Ebersöhn, 2012a, 2012b, 2016). RRR theory thus supports the conceptual framework presented here.

The correlation between Antonovsky's work (Flannery & Flannery, 1990; Garcia-Moyo, et al 2012) and that of Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's (2012) is that both sets of theories see internal perceptions of control as essential in effectively coping with stress. Like Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's (2012) Antonovsky's theory points out that not only historical factors (such as development and environmental factors), but also relevant current daily-life factors, provide meaning and context to our experiences and impact on our appraisals of circumstances or events. Like with appraisal, context was a stimulus for experiencing a sense of control over circumstances. Experiencing a sense of control, in turn, allowed for the mobilisation of available resources to cope with life stressors.

The second theory that I felt was relevant in support of my conceptual framework (conceptualised around Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck's, 2012 work) was Bandura's theory of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997). Bandura's theory directs understanding of perceived feelings of self-efficacy that may be defined as **one's beliefs in one's ability to perform or function at a certain level**. This belief in one's own capability may influence how people feel, think, motivate themselves and therefore behave. Self-efficacy beliefs are embedded in cognitive, motivational, affective and selection processes.

Most importantly, in the context of my conceptual framework, perceived self-efficacy refers to people's belief in their ability to exercise control over their own functioning and (stressful) events that may affect their lives (Ajzen, 2002). Self-efficacy focuses on a person's conviction that he/she is able to successfully execute a required action/behaviour in order to attain specific outcomes (Bandura, 1997). Bandura's theory places emphasis on control over the behaviour, rather than on the outcome. I deduce then, that in order to experience a sense of self-efficacy, one must feel a sense of control over one's behaviour, which is very similar to Skinner and Zimmer-Gembeck's (2012) hypothesis.

The third theory that I review in support of my conceptual framework is the self-determination theory of Ryan and Deci (2000), in which they aptly note that human beings can exist in two states, i.e. they may be either proactive and engaged, or passive and alienated. These two states may be largely influenced by the conditions in which they are raised and socialised. Here I argue that the manner in which human beings appraise circumstances or events impacts on their resultant behaviours or actions.

Self-determination theory closely considers human motivation processes and highlights the importance of people's inner resources for personality development and regulation of behaviour (Gagne & Daci, 2005). Internal factors that seem to aid and foster higher levels of self-motivation include psychological feelings of competence, relatedness and autonomy. These feelings seem essential to facilitating people's optimal functioning at their highest potential, which leads to optimal well-being. External factors that apparently hinder and undermine self-motivation, social functioning and personal well-being are (stressful) environmental factors. Based on Ryan and Deci's (2000) explanation of internal and external factors that impact on self-motivation, I deduced that the psychological feelings of competence, relatedness and autonomy may create a sense of perceived control, which may allow one to be more open to accessing and utilising the resources that are available in the environment.

Figure 2.3 below illustrates the use of the eco-systemic approach, where feelings of (perceived) control may originate and be active within an individual's ecosystem. This is followed by a Figure 2.4, in which I visually present the construction of my conceptual framework.

Figure 2.3: Ecosystems indicating various subsystems

Figure 2.3: Ecosystems indicating various subsystems

Family

Indigenous community

Religious houses

Natural environment

Municipal leadership

Communal leadership

SIGNIFICANT STRESSOR

Screening of available resources

Developing a sense of perceived control

COPING BEHAVIOURS

Appraisal #1
We're/I'm in trouble

Appraisal #2
What/who can help me/us

Appraisal #3
We/I have enough resources to deal with this stressor

Figure 2.4: Individual microsystem within which appraisals occur (and develop)

2.8 WORKING ASSUMPTIONS BASED ON THEORY

The above review of available literature on appraisal processes, which considers both Western and non-Western knowledge perspectives, highlights the fact that comparative literature written from a non-Western perspective (especially in a global South context) remains sparse. I posit that indigenous pathways to appraisal that are based on a combination of the concepts of RRR (Ebersöhn, 2012a) and flocking (Ebersöhn, 2012b) as behavioural manifestations of Ubuntu (Chilisa, 2012), are useful in understanding differentiated appraisal patterns between Western and non-Western/indigenous cultures. The founding differentiation between these two perspectives is the emphasis on collective thinking and responses. A focus on 'we' rather than 'I' was identified in the non-Western literature. This is in line with the philosophy of Ubuntu, which advocates the idea of 'I am because we are' (Chilisa, 2012; Matoane, 2012). By weaving together the concepts of RRR and flocking to find patterns in how indigenous people leverage their relationships to act as relationship resources that may be mobilised is in effect the demonstration of an indigenous pathway to appraisal.

Chapter 3
Methodology and Strategies

3.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains an in-depth discussion of the methodological strategies that guided this study within the framework of the IPR project. I explain why a comparative case study was chosen as a research design and discuss the conveniently selected cases and purposively sampled participants that contributed to the generation of data for the IPR project. The data generation activities in which the participants at the two data collection sites engaged in are also dealt with in detail. I provide further details on the methods I used to document and analyse the data gathered and conclude the chapter by explaining the strategies relating to ethics and rigour that were employed to ensure trustworthy data. In Figure 3.1 below I provide a summative overview of the methodological structure of this study, as discussed in this chapter.

Figure 3.1: A summative overview of the methodological structure of this study
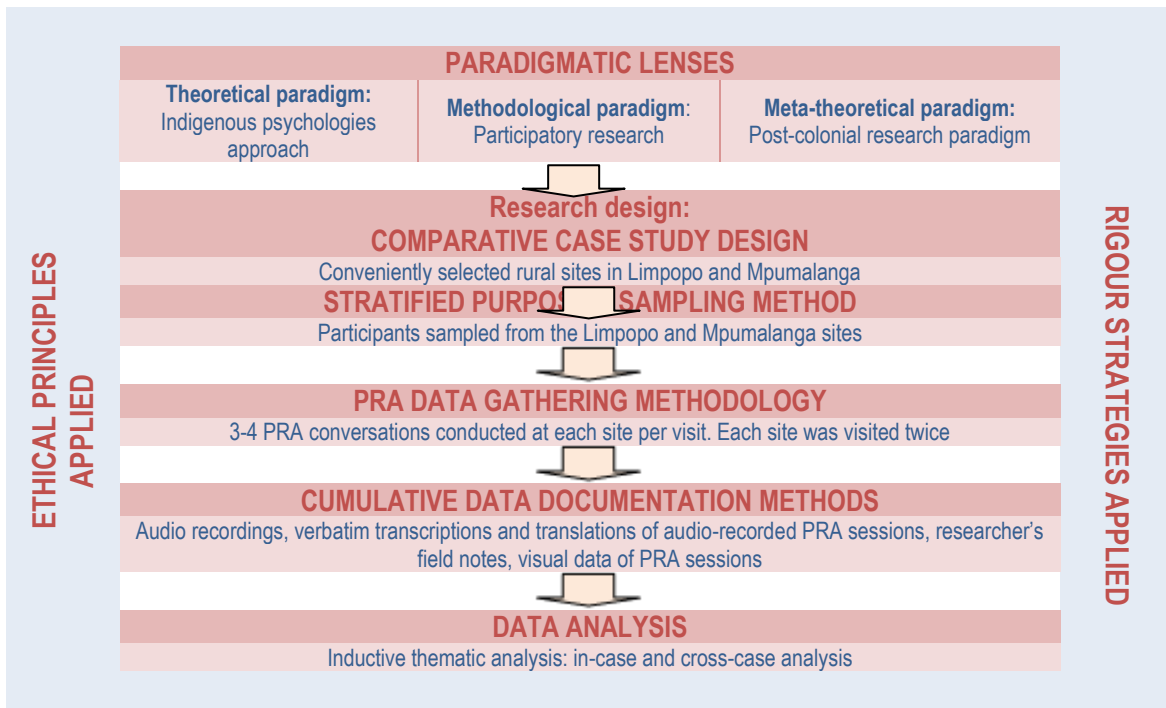
3.2   RESEARCH DESIGN: COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY DESIGN

The case in the current study is **a comparison of young and older men and women's expressions of indigenous pathways to appraisal of risk during resilience processes in two remote South African settings.** Theoretically, a *case* may be defined and understood as being a single observable unit or phenomenon that is representative of a unique, bounded system, which may be observed and serve as a *case study* (Bennett, 2004; Gerring, 2004; Stake, 2005). A case must be measurable through either single or multiple forms of scientific observation in order to provide an in-depth analysis and portrayal of said phenomenon (Cohen et al., 2011; Stake, 2005). In Section 3.6 of this chapter, I discuss the specific measures that were implemented to generate, observe and document data for the case for this study. In Figure 3.2 below, I provide a visual illustration of the conveniently selected Limpopo and Mpumalanga sites where IPR's case study was conducted. In addition, I provide details on the number of participants selected to participate in IPR's data collection process at the Limpopo and Mpumalanga research sites during the period from 2012 to 2014. The data generated by the IPR project led to four doctoral studies (including the current study).

Figure 3.2: Illustrative summary of constitution of cases for this study under IPR

IPR PROJECT

LIMPOPO CASE

Conveniently accessed through the IMAGINE programme

MPUMALANGA CASE

Conveniently accessed through the FLY programme

Data collection site visit 1: (June 2012)
Four demographic groups (n = 13):
Older men (n = 3), older women (n = 4), younger men (n = 2), younger women (n = 4)

Data collection site visit 1: (Nov 2012)
Four demographic groups (n = 41):
Older men (n = 6), older women (n = 10), younger men (n = 11), younger women (n = 14)

Data collection site visit 2: (July 2013)
Four demographic groups (n = 27):
Older men (n = 4), older women (n = 5), younger men (n = 8), younger women (n = 10)

Data collection site visit 2: (Nov 2013)
Four demographic groups (n = 30):
Older men (n = 4), older women (n = 8), younger men (n = 10), younger women (n = 8)

Member checking visit: (April 2014)
Four demographic groups (n = 15):
Older men (n = 4), older women (n = 3), younger men (n = 2), younger women (n = 6)

Member checking visit: (May 2014)
Four demographic groups (n = 9):
Older men (n = 0), older women (n = 0), younger men (n = 5), younger women (n = 4)

The four doctoral studies generated:

| Current study: Indigenous pathways to appraisal during resilience processes. | Dr J. de Gouveia: Indigenous pathways to well-being as a resilience outcome in rural communities. http://www.repository.up.ac.za/dspace/handle/2263/50868 | Dr M. Malan-van Rooyen: Indigenous pathways to adaptive coping in rural communities. http://www.repository.up.ac.za/dspace/handle/2263/50674 | Mr R. Akanmidu: Indigenous pathways to appraisal during resilience processes. (in process) |

As a result of their historical experiences of discrimination, it is typical that non-Western communities (such as those inhabiting the selected sites) are located in isolated rural environments and lack adequate infrastructure and governance (Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2012; Ryan-Nicholls, 2004). These characteristics provided an appropriate context for IPR to study how people adapt in high-risk and low-resource (high-need) environments. The selection of cases that represented traditional world views optimised IPR's understanding of indigenous viewpoints (Bennett, 2004; Stake, 2011). The nature of case study

methodology (as applied to IPR) thus also predicted that the selected sites represent an opportunity to inform indigenous pathways to resilience.

The comparative case study (Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999; Thomas, 2011; Zartman, 2012) for the IPR project comprised of two bounded systems of non-Western (indigenous) rural South African communities. IPR's enquiry and engagement with participants at these two sites extended over a period of three years (2012–2014).

The two sites were conveniently selected for the comparative purposes of the IPR project (Cohen et al., 2011) to compare two cases of indigenous pathways in order to appraise risk. The cases were explored as two individual systems characterised by a milieu of high risk and low resource (high need) (Stake, 2011). Both the selected cases represented environments that were characterised by traditional world views (Matsumoto et al., 2012; Rihoux & Lobe, 2009; Stake, 2011). A comparison of the two cases during the analysis phase allowed IPR the necessary in-depth learning *from* and *about* each selected case to make it possible to produce detailed descriptions that supported the findings (Bennett, 2004; Stake, 2011). Table 3.2 (shown under section 3.5 below) indicates a research schedule of the dates, duration and goals of each site visit to the two research sites.

The comparative case study design is characterised by its ability to facilitate in-depth, meaningful data collection in a natural setting (Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999; Patton, 2002). This research design was effective within the scope of the IPR project as it allowed for many data points to be easily compared. Data points, such as age, gender and the timeframe for the data collection (over the three-year period) were compared while maintaining sensitivity to the context in which data was collected (Patton, 2002). The comparative case study design allowed for the IPR project data to be collected in a manner that satisfied the principal aim of this study (i.e. the exploration of indigenous pathways to appraisal).

A comparative case study design worked well with the PRA methodological paradigm as it accommodated the specific PRA techniques of data collection (which are discussed in section 3.6.2 below). It also allowed the researchers an opportunity to consider the various voices of participants and demographic groups from whom data was being collected. The comparative element of this specific research design implemented by IPR meant that IPR's focus was strategically directed at investigating constructs of indigenous pathways to resilience in the South African context. IPR's comparative case study design thus allowed for meaningful knowledge transfer in the context of two representative South African rural communities (namely people in specific municipal areas in the IPR cases in Limpopo and Mpumalanga) (Stake, 2011).

The value of the IPR data is reflected in the findings of the four doctoral studies generated by the programme (including this study). The results of the current study are documented and discussed in the following chapters (Chapters 4 and 5), in which I engage with the outcomes, themes and insights into indigenous pathways to appraisal that emerged from IPR's data analysis process.

Despite the relevance and advantage that the comparative case study design offered, IPR's selected research design was not without limitations, one of which was the limited size of the sample selected (the Limpopo and Mpumalanga rural South African communities). A case study design produces what Flyvbjerg (2011) refers to as context-dependent knowledge. The challenge that context-dependent knowledge represents is that it may not simply be generalised to larger (or other) populations (Miller & Brewer, 2003). Inability to generalise findings generated from IPR implies a potential limitation on IPR's ability to construct theory and knowledge bases on Indigenous Pathways to Resilience.

IPR's use of the post-colonial research epistemology as a meta-theoretical lens, as well as of the Indigenous Psychologies approach as a theoretical framework (as discussed in sections 1.6.1 and 1.6.2) were instrumental in dealing with the challenge of generalising results and constructing theoretical assumptions based on IPR's findings. The goal of IPR was to gain deeper insights into how adaptive coping processes occur in indigenous communities and to assemble a body of knowledge that allows insight into a unique indigenous South African context, rather than representing the (holistic) South African population (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Miller & Brewer, 2003, Stake, 2011). To this end, the comparative case study design for IPR is credible and renders the results of the study trustworthy.

3.3   CONVENIENT SELECTION OF CASES

IPR used convenience sampling to select two research sites where data was collected (Cohen et al., 2011; Farrokhi & Mahmoudi-Hamidabad, 2012). Convenience sampling is a form of non-probability sampling that is seen as a suitable choice for case study research designs (Cohen et al., 2011). Selection of cases for IPR using this sampling technique was done with the knowledge that the selected cases would be representative of only the selected communities and not of the wider South African rural population (Cohen et al., 2011). For IPR, it was not a prerequisite that cases be generalisable to a wider population. Rather, IPR aimed to understand the experiences of the participants in their characteristic rural locations with their underdeveloped infrastructure and resources, and their high level of needs, which predisposed them to adaptive coping within particular appraisal pathways (Abrams, 2010; Ryan-Nicholls, 2004).

Marshall (1996) refers to convenience sampling as the least vigorous technique for selection. It was appropriately employed within IPR to select the Limpopo and Mpumalanga cases and research sites. IPR's cases met two essential criteria for the IPR project, which were that 1) they had to be characterised by high risk and high need and adversity, and 2) that participants within those environments had to have worldviews and everyday experiences that were non-Western and indigenous (Cohen et al., 2011; Schwandt, Lincoln & Guba, 2007). By meeting these two criteria, the selected cases displayed a degree of similarity that allowed them to be comparable in order for IPR to ultimately deduce findings that may inform indigenous pathways to appraisal as part of the resilience process (Farrokhi & Mahmoudi-Hamidabad, 2012).

The two selected sites were conveniently accessed for the IPR project through existing relationships, and access was negotiated between the Centre for the Study of Resilience (CSR) and the Flourishing Learning Youth (FLY) and International Mentorship of Advanced Graduates in Interdisciplinary Excellence (IMAGINE) programmes. Both the selected cases were communities that possessed indigenous knowledge that originated from their inherent environments (Odora Hoppers, 2008). By accessing these particular sites, IPR was able to select a sample group that was able to make a valuable contribution to the IPR team's knowledge-gathering process by providing original data based on their community and experiences. In particular, these communities were valuable as their circumstances were characterised by adversity and the consequent need to adapt (Abrams, 2010, Jagosh, 2012). Section 1.7 of Chapter 1 contains a description of the two research cases in order to provide a context for IPR.

Photographs 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 below show the research sites where data-generation activities were conducted in Limpopo and Mpumalanga.

Photograph 3.1: The venue at the Limpopo research site where data was gathered in June 2012

Photograph 3.2: The venue at the Limpopo research site where data was gathered in July 2013

Photograph 3.3: The venue at the Mpumalanga research site where data was gathered in November 2012

Photograph 3.4: The venue at the Mpumalanga research site where data was gathered in November 2013

3.4   PURPOSIVELY SAMPLED PARTICIPANTS

Stratified purposive sampling (Cohen et al., 2011; Patton, 2002; Sandelowski, 2000) was the sampling approach used to select participants from within the IRP's selected research sites. The use of the stratified sampling technique meant that participants who volunteered to participate were grouped according to their location (either the Limpopo or the Mpumalanga sites), age and gender (older men, younger men, older women and younger women) (Cohen et al., 2011; Patton, 2002). Participants were stratified in order to identify a variety of themes and subthemes of interest to my study (and IPR in general).

The stratification of the participants into the categories location, age and gender led to the creation of IPR's four demographic groups, namely: 1) older men (participants over the age of 35 years); 2) older women (participants over the age of 35); 3) younger men (participants under the age of 35); and 4) younger women (participants under the age of 35). The IPR stratification of data into the categories region, age and gender allowed for the confirmation, validation and corroboration of the research findings. With regard to the quality assurance of the research findings, stratification of findings allowed for thorough analysis and reliable findings.

The criteria for the sampling of participants in this study were that they had to be living within the sampled sites and had to possess a non-Western (indigenous) world view. These requirements were essential to ensure the collection of data that was meaningful to the IPR themes. I analysed the pool of data that this sample yielded with specific attention to the identification of themes that provided insights into trends in appraisal pathways as a precursor to the adaptive coping processes.

The value and advantage of utilising stratified purposive sampling for this study is that on analysis I was able to zone in on the specific characteristics of participants. By stratifying the sample population, I was able to analyse the data more intensely and dissect themes that emerged in greater detail. As a result, I was able to analyse the collected data thoroughly and arrive at clearly definable themes and outcomes. The identified themes relating to indigenous pathways to appraisal are reflected in the next chapter, in which the findings are discussed. This sampling technique also allowed for nuances in data between the stratified characteristics to be easily identifiable for analysis. Differences between the responses of males and females were easily identifiable, and so was bias. I used my research diary to document my observations in this regard (see appendix). The outcomes of the data analysis discussed in section 3.7 above are presented in Chapters 4 and 5 (Patton, 2002; Cohen et al., 2011). Due to the nature and aims of this study, the stratification of the participants proved to be an uncomplicated task. As participants arrived at the Limpopo and Mpumalanga research sites, they were easily placed into the appropriate groups based on their ages and genders. Table 3.1 below provides an overview of the demographic specifics of the participant groups per site.

The disadvantage of employing the stratified purposive sampling technique lies in its complexity as a design typology (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). In the case of this study, this complexity was in the analysis of the several aspects of the data collected (region, age and gender, specifically for IPR). While multiple levels of analysis were required on the data, this task was made easier by the fact that four (doctoral) researchers were involved, which meant that data could be co-analysed and member checks could be carried out on all

the data. As discussed in section 3.7 of this chapter, the primary analysis of all IPR data was methodically completed by all four IPR doctoral researchers, which enhanced the rigour of the study.

Photograph 3.5: IPR's preparations for data collection in the Limpopo province show four tables prepared with stationery for the four stratified demographic groups that participated in data collection on the Limpopo site in 2013

Table 3.1: Representation of stratified participant sample							

Site	Year of data generation	Dates of data generation	Total participants	Older men	Young men	Older women	Young women
Limpopo	2012	6-6-2012	13	3	2	4	4
	2013	2-7-2013	27	4	8	5	10
	2014	29-4-2014	15	4	2	3	6
Total participants per demographic group at *Limpopo* site:			**55**	**11**	**12**	**12**	**20**
Mpumalanga	2012	6-11-2012	17	2	3	5	7
		7-11-2012	24	4	8	5	7
	2013	5-11-2013	15	2	4	5	4
		6-11-2013	15	2	4	5	4
	2014	2-5-2014	9	0	5	0	4
Total participants per demographic group at *Mpumalanga* site:			**80**	**10**	**24**	**20**	**26**
Total participants over study including both sites (2012–2014):			**135**	**21**	**36**	**32**	**46**
Total *male* participants:				21	36		
				57			
Total *female* participants						32	46
						78	
Total *older* participants:				21		32	
				53			
Total *younger* participants:					36		46
					82		

3.5 OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH PROCESS

In this section I detail the process of data collection and the context in which the data collection activities for IPR took place. I also clarify contextual information about the research cases (sites) where data was collected and the nature of IPR's visits to each site and the time frame of the visit.

3.5.1 SCHEDULING OF RESEARCH ACTIVITIES AT SITES

The stratified data for this study was collected by the IPR project from the Limpopo and Mpumalanga research sites. Table 3.1 above contains details regarding the number of participants per gender and age group (older and younger men, older and younger women) at the respective sites. The data collection visits to these two research sites, which spanned a period of three years (from 2012 to 2014), are tabulated below.

Table 3.2: Research schedule

Year	Purpose of visit	Site	Dates of visit	Duration of visit	Dates of data generation	Duration of data generation
2012	Data collection	Limpopo Province	31 May – 9 June	10 days	6 June 2012	1 day
		Mpumalanga Province	5 Nov – 7 Nov	3 days	6–7 November 2012	2 days
2013	Data collection	Limpopo Province	30 June – 6 July	7 days	2 July 2013	1 day
		Mpumalanga Province	4 November – 6 November	3 days	5–6 November 2013	2 days
2014	Member checking	Limpopo Province	28 April – 30 April	3 days	29 April 2014	1 day
		Mpumalanga Province	1 May – 3 May	3 days	2 May 2014	1 day

The entire data collection process for IPR was undertaken over a period of three years, from 2012 to 2014. Data collection began at the Limpopo site in May 2012. As the research schedule in Table 3.1 indicates, the IPR team spent considerably more time at this site than at the Mpumalanga site (see Table 3.2 for research schedule specifics and details). The first data collection exercise at the Mpumalanga site followed in November of the same year.

As can be seen in Table 3.2, seven days more were spent at the Limpopo site than at the Mpumalanga site. The additional time spent at the Limpopo site was utilised by the IPR team to prepare for the data-generation activities. These preparations were in the form of theoretical discussions and planning. Discussions were held with Prof. Liesel Ebersöhn (IPR principal investigator and supervisor of all the doctoral studies under IPR), and with the other IPR doctoral researchers (fieldworkers for IPR). These discussions and preparations served to enhance the rigour of the study by allowing for an amalgamation of theoretical perspectives and ideas to be integrated with the planning and execution of IPR (see section 3.10.1 for an elaboration on credibility and confirmability to support the rigour of this study within IPR). These discussions shaped the direction of IPR. Time was also spent on preparations and making arrangements with the participants for the execution of the research activities. On conclusion of data collection at the site, data documentation, recording and analysis were done collectively by the IPR team prior to our departure.

When the participants arrived for the daily sessions, the research team shared a meal with them in an effort to establish rapport. In keeping with the PRA ideology, this decision by IPR was seen as beneficial as the act of sharing a meal reinforced the partnership with participants to co-create knowledge (Boser, 2006). This shared meal was a routine part of the data collection process and was practised at both sites on days when data was generated.

Photograph 3.6: Participants sharing a meal with IPR team members prior to data collection activities at the Limpopo research site in 2012

Photograph 3.7: IPR team members sharing a meal with participants at the Mpumalanga research site in 2013

On the respective data collection days at the two sites in 2012 and 2013, and during member checking in 2014, a random number of participants arrived, as expected based on our sampling method. These figures are reflected in Table 3.1, along with the data generation dates. At the Limpopo site, the staff at the facility where the data generation occurred assisted us by notifying potential participants and transporting them to the facility. At the Mpumalanga site, Dr Marlize Malan-van Rooyen (one of the co-researchers) assumed responsibility for sending out reminders in the form of SMSs in English and Siswati to invite 2012 participants to join the 2013 data collection. Dr Malan-van Rooyen also paid a special visit to the site prior to the 2013 data collection session to meet with one of the 2012 participants from the group of older men. She requested this participant, who was well known in the community, to invite participants for the follow-up data generation session. This communal network established by Dr Malan-van Rooyen proved highly valuable in attracting participants. As the statistics represented in Table 3.1 above indicate, the Mpumalanga site produced more participants.

| **Photograph 3.8: Participants waiting for activities to start at the data generation venue in Limpopo in 2012** | **Photograph 3.9: IMAGINE Project staff members who provided transport for participants to and from the venue** |

3.5.2   MEMBER CHECKING FOR IPR

Member checking for IPR was conducted during our final visit to the two research sites in 2014. Member checking is the process during which the analysed data and the researchers' findings are discussed with the participants in order to verify that the researchers' analysis is an accurate interpretation of the participants' views and responses (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Miller, 2000; Seale, 1999).

Due to the nature of the PRA data collection process, some degree of member checking was introduced in IPR throughout the data collection process (Carlson, 2010; Creswell, 2014; Temple, 2002). The following three discussion situations are noted as having contributed to the refining and clarification of responses: 1) During the completion of the participatory conversations the participants in each demographic group discussed their ideas before compiling their final responses. 2) Conversations that took place between the participants and the translator to convey information between themselves and the researchers. 3) During the discussions that took place between participants and researchers on completion of the participatory maps, the researchers clarified their understanding of the participants' contributions.

The member checking discussions were conducted in a group format. As I was not able to attend the session personally, one of the IPR doctoral co-researchers (Mr Raphael Akanmidu) conducted the member checking for my (current) study. As a member of the IPR team, Mr Akanmidu was familiar with the process, activities, participants and the discussions and data analysis done with the IPR team. I prepared a document for him to familiarise himself with information specific to my study (i.e. indigenous pathways to appraisal). I also prepared a document to explain my initial findings based on the preliminary analysis. The

aim of providing him with information on my study and my preliminary findings was to ensure that he would be equipped to answer any questions that might arise. On completion of the member-checking visits, the entire session was transcribed and translated for analysis. Photographs 3.10 and 3.11 below depict Mr Akanmidu conducting member checking on my behalf at the Limpopo and the Mpumalanga research sites.

Photograph 3.10: Member checking being conducted by Mr Raphael Akanmidu at the Limpopo research site for my study during the 2014 site visit	Photograph 3.11: Mr Raphael Akanmidu conducting member checking for my study at the Mpumalanga research site during the 2014 site visit

3.5.3   ROLE OF TRANSLATORS IN THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Data generation for IPR was elicited from indigenous and traditional communities whose mother tongues were Tshivenda and Siswati (at the Limpopo and Mpumalanga sites respectively). Some of the participants did not speak any English, while the researcher team communicated in English and Afrikaans. Translators were utilised for on-site translation during data collection and later for the transcription and translation of audio recordings of the data collection sessions. In a multilingual research community, the use of translators was imperative to enable meaningful data generation (Wong & Poon, 2010).

The Limpopo site was situated in a remote community. The IMAGINE Programme (through which we negotiated access to the Limpopo site) had previously trained community members to translate between the native Tshivenda and English. Since these translators, who were fluent in English, were made available to IPR, it was possible to use the services of the research site's own community members. During data generation, they translated what was said from English to Tshivenda. The discussions that followed after

the completion of the research activities were again translated into Tshivenda for the benefit of the participants.

Photograph 3.12: A remote community setting in the Limpopo province where data generation activities were conducted

Photograph 3.13: Trained translators translating for Prof. Liesel Ebersöhn at the Limpopo site as she introduces the data generation activities

Photograph 3.14: Translators working with me and the younger women group at the Limpopo site during the 2012 data collection session

The translators at the Mpumalanga site were required to translate from the participants' native Siswati to English and again into Siswati for data generation purposes. However, this site did not have as many translators available and a single teacher from within the community who was fluent in English volunteered

to assist as a translator. The audio recordings of the discussions held at both the data sites were transcribed and then translated by another independent translator. The mother tongues of the additional translators were Tshivenda and SiSwati. The process of identifying appropriate translators and overseeing the completion of the transcriptions was efficiently conducted by one of the IPR doctoral co-researchers, Dr Janna de Gouveia.

Interpreters and translators play a crucial role in the research process and any findings that may be generated (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Temple, 2002). They influence the research project as a result of their personal perspectives and the way in which those personal perspectives affect their interpretation of the participants' words (and experiences). Translators are socially interactive beings who possess unique personal values, experiences and attitudes that develop their unique perspectives (Temple, 2002). These perspectives, in turn, inform their interpretations (e.g. their perceptions of gender roles, cultural appropriateness and historical factors) (Alibhai & Brown, 2000; Spivak, 1993). The personal perspectives of translators inadvertently and invariably influence their translations, to a point where they have been referred to as ghost-writers (Temple, 2002). Their perspectives are incorporated into the research product through their perceptions, which become embedded in their translations (Stanley, 1990; Temple, 2002).

Since such factors may prove to be significant to the findings of this study (and IPR in general), IPR put measures in place to combat this limitation resulting from having to use translators and to support the rigour of the study by having the audio recordings of the data generation sessions translated by different translators who were first-language speakers of either Tshivenda or Siswati. By incorporating two interpretations (those of the translator on site and the translator who transcribed and then translated the transcriptions) the richness of the data sources was increased. On analysis this provided additional data sources, which supported the crystallisation process for rigour in the study (Babbie, 2004).

According to Temple (2002), translators are seen as neutral associates in the research process who merely translate information at intervals and rarely become involved in the research. The use of translators in data generation is noted as a potential limitation. Considering the nature of PRA activities, participants are regarded as experts in the domains of the research (White & Taket, 1997). IPR thus deliberately intended to illicit contextual perceptions. Since the on-site translators were natives from the communities from which we gathered data, their perspectives may be seen as a contribution to the data. IPR researchers also queried responses that had not been sufficiently clarified. The extract from the transcriptions of IPR's data collection that is included below illustrates how researchers questioned the translators to clarify information that might have led to biased information (see Photograph 3.15 below).

OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*And why is the place where the leader lives important?*
OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Because he is also important.*
OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Because he is also an important man?*
OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*And what is it that this important man can do for the people in the community?*
OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*If you want something from the government then he is the one who goes to the government when you want something for instance, they are wanting water, so just go and say can you please go supply us with water, so we need water.*
OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok, I see we have another cow here by the tank. What is this cow?*

Photograph 3.15: Extract from transcriptions in which I asked participants for clarification during discussion of their community map (Limpopo Site, 2012, Lines 27-38)

3.6   PRA DATA GENERATION AND DOCUMENTATION

3.6.1   DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Data collection for this study was conducted under IPR over a three-year period. Two data collection sessions were conducted at each of two research sites in 2012 and 2013, and member checking was completed in 2014. Table 3.2 contains a summary of the dates on which data was collected at each site and the duration of the data collection sessions.

At each data collection session, IPR team members started the session off by sharing a meal with the participants before dividing them into groups according to demographics. For each data generation session participants were divided into the following four groups: 1) older men; 2) older women; 3) younger men; and 4) younger women. In Table 3.2 I account for the number of participants in each of the demographic groups per data generation session per research site. These statistics are provided for IPR's 2012, 2013 and 2014 visits. Photographs 3.16 and 3.17 below illustrate the seating arrangement for participants in their demographic groups at the data collection venue.

| **Photograph 3.16: Stratification of participants into four demographic groups at the Limpopo research site, 2012** | **Photograph 3.17: Stratification of participants into four demographic groups – the older women, younger women and younger men groups at the Mpumalanga research site, 2012, are depicted here** |

As shown in Figure 3.1, there were four doctoral co-researchers working under IPR. Each co-researcher was assigned to a demographic group. For consistency we maintained this status quo throughout IPR's data collection (2012–2014). As my research diary reflects, I worked with the demographic group younger women for the duration of the study. The purpose of assigning a co-researcher to each group was to facilitate and support the participants in the completion of PRA conversations within each group. Furthermore, as co-researchers we used this as an opportunity to observe the participants as they completed the activities, as well as the processes they followed, which enabled us to record significant observations and reflections in our research diaries while at the same time supporting the participants.

On the commencement of each session of the PRA activities (and at each research site), Prof. Liesel Ebersöhn (IPR's principal investigator) initiated the activities by welcoming the participants and reiterating their ethical rights, and explaining the activities and planned schedule for the day. The procedure that was followed was that Prof. Ebersöhn would introduce each activity, after which the co-researchers would lead discussions within their individual groups and guide and support the participants in the completion of the activities. For the completion of all participatory conversations, participants were provided with large sheets of paper and pens.

The community map activity, which required the identification of cows and snakes on the map, was always conducted first at each session and at each site. This was followed by a discussion between the co-researcher and the participants. With the help of the translator, the co-researcher working with each group was able to ask for further details and to clarify any information that the participants had shared during the

PRA conversations. This led to more in-depth and meaningful data collection. This nuanced information was captured in the researcher's field notes, as well as on the audio recordings, which were later translated and transcribed. A similar procedure for completing the PRA activity and then discussing it was followed for all the PRA activities (i.e. the drums, knobkerrie and mealie activities). Each PRA activity will now be discussed separately. In Table 3.3 below I indicate which participatory conversations were conducted at each site during data generation for IPR during the 2012 and 2013 data collection sessions.

Year	Site	Data generation activities conducted	Data documentation sources
2012	Limpopo site	1. *Four* PRA conversation activities 2. Observations by four IPR doctoral co-researchers – recorded as field notes 3. Visual data	1. Audio data (audio recordings of PRA conversations, including translator) 2. Transcriptions of audio recordings (including translations into English) 3. IPR Researchers field notes 4. Visual data
	Mpumalanga site	1. *Four* PRA conversation activities 2. Observations by four IPR doctoral co-researchers – recorded as field notes 3. Visual data	
2013	Limpopo site	1. *Three* PRA conversation activities 2. Observations by four IPR doctoral co-researchers – recorded as field notes 3. Visual data	
	Mpumalanga site	1. *Three* PRA conversation activities 2. Observations by four IPR doctoral co-researchers – recorded as field notes 3. Visual data	

Table 3.3: Data captured and documented at the Limpopo and Mpumalanga research sites in 2012 and 2013

3.6.2 PRA DATA GENERATION ACTIVITIES

As discussed at length in Chapter 1 (section 1.6.2), IPR employed PRA methodology as its sole data generation methodology. Community mapping and visual diagramming served as tools for the generation of the participatory discussions for data generation (Babbie, 2004; Cohen et al., 2011). Data was visually documented and audio recorded for quality assurance purposes (Wong & Poon, 2010). The audio recordings were then transcribed into verbatim text by the group of co-researchers (as discussed in section 3.6.1 above). These data sources were analysed in conjunction with the visual data and reflective observations that the researchers had made during data collection sessions. To support my descriptions of the underlying methodology of this study, multiple examples of the visual data that was captured throughout the study are provided (coded as photographs 3.1 - 3.41 in this chapter).

Table 3.4 below contains a summary of the description of and rationale for the four data collection activities used to generate the PRA conversations for data collection. I will now discuss the procedure followed in conducting each of the data generation conversations.

Table 3.4: Rationale for and description of each PRA conversation conducted for data collection

	Participatory conversations	Description of activity	Prompt used	Rationale of activity
1.	**Community map activity**	• Participants drew a map of their village on a sheet of A2. • They marked all the elements they regarded as resources for the community by pasting a small picture of a cow next to each one. They then marked all the elements that they regarded as threats to their community by pasting a picture of snake next to it. • This was followed by an informal discussion between the participants and researchers about the completed community maps and the resources and threats that had been marked.	'Imagine you are a bird flying over your community. Think about everything that you can see in your community and draw that for us on the page.'	• To obtain a visual representation of the community • To clearly establish which factors the participants perceive as protective resources and as risk factors in their communities • To gain insight into the participants' appraisal processes
2.	**Drums activity**	• Participants were given a sheet of A2 paper on which they were asked to illustrate how the community had solved its problems in the past. • Participants and researchers discussed the participants' responses during an informal discussion.	'We would like you to share with us how you solved a problem in the past. Is there any problem that you solved in the past that you can share with us? We are interested in how you were able to solve this problem.'	• To develop insight and understanding into coping patterns that participants had used in their indigenous communities. • To identify successful solutions for risk factors that had previously worked in these communities • To establish and understand appraisal patterns underlying coping behaviours
3.	**Knobkerrie activity**	• Participants used a sheet of A2 paper to illustrate how the community might solve problems in the future. • Participants and researchers discussed the participants' responses during an	'How would your community solve a future problem?'	• To identify resources, ideas and coping patterns for current or future risks in the community

	Participatory conversations	Description of activity	Prompt used	Rationale of activity
		informal discussion.		
4.	**Mealie activity**	• Using sheets of A2 paper, the participants illustrated/explained the things that made them happy. • Participants and researchers discussed the participant's responses during an informal discussion.	<u>Prompt 1</u>: 'If you get into bed at night and you close your eyes and think about everything that happened that day, how do you know it was a good day?' <u>Prompt 2</u>: 'If someone passes away and we are at their funeral, how do know that that woman or 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.'	• To identify patterns of creating and maintaining meaning in their resources, ideas and coping patterns for current or future risks in the community

3.6.2.1 Participatory conversation 1: Community mapping

The first participatory conversation that was conducted during each data generation session was participatory resource mapping. Chambers (2008) refers to participatory resource mapping as a typical PRA method and describes this technique of data collection as an instrument of power that provides for a visual expression of realities that are perceived as useful to the community members. This visual participatory conversation with the rural participants at the two sites proved to be quite easy. Since PRA focuses on the co-construction of knowledge and realties, the participants' perceptions proved invaluable as they allowed for the depiction of various aspects of rural life that would otherwise have been inaccessible (White & Taket, 1997). Participatory diagramming allows participants to share their perceptions and experiences in the form of diagrams.

For this participatory conversation the participants were asked to draw a map of their community. The aim of the activity was to gain a subjective view of how the participants see their community. Once the maps had been drawn, participants were given small pictures of cows and snakes to paste on to their maps to mark protective resources and risk factors. By conducting the participatory conversations in groups, participants were able to cross-check and correct and refine each other's inputs and create comprehensive maps and diagrams (Chambers, 1994b). The group settings in which data was generated allowed for cross-checking and triangulation as participants discussed their inputs and clarified the details they included in their community maps (Chambers, 1994b). Photograph 3.18 below depicts the younger men's completed community map (Mpumalanga, 2013).

The manner in which participants chose to illustrate the community in their maps, as well as the themes that emerged from the factors that they identified as risk factors and protective resources, indicated clear trends in terms of the manner in which participants appraised their immediate surroundings, their culture and their lifestyles. These trends will be discussed in the following chapters as I detail the findings of this study.
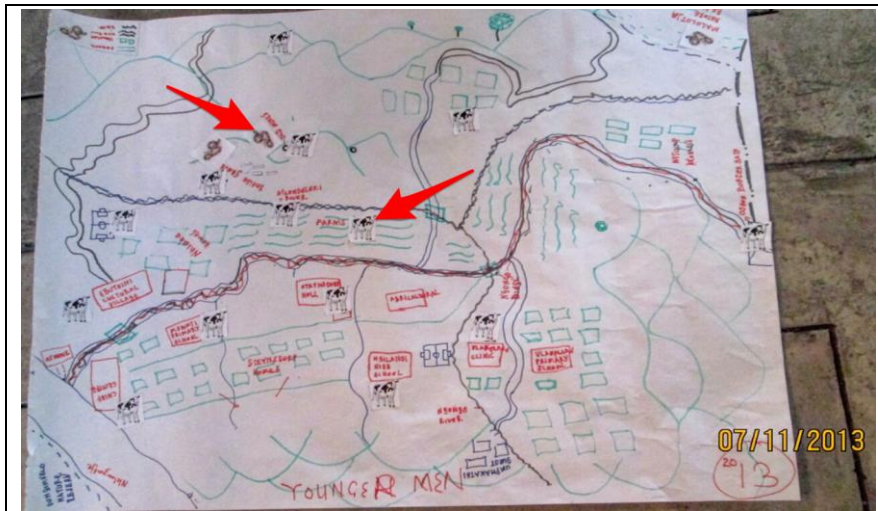
Photograph 3.18: Image of completed cows and snakes activity by younger men, Mpumalanga Province 2013

On completion of the community maps and the identification of risk and protective factors, the IPR doctoral researchers discussed the community maps with participants and added reflections and observations to support the data gathered. These observations and reflections were recorded in our research diaries and served as an integral data source during the data analysis process.

Sample images (coded as photographs 3.19 – 3.24) of the community maps created by participants at the Limpopo and Mpumalanga research sites during IPR's data collection can be seen below.
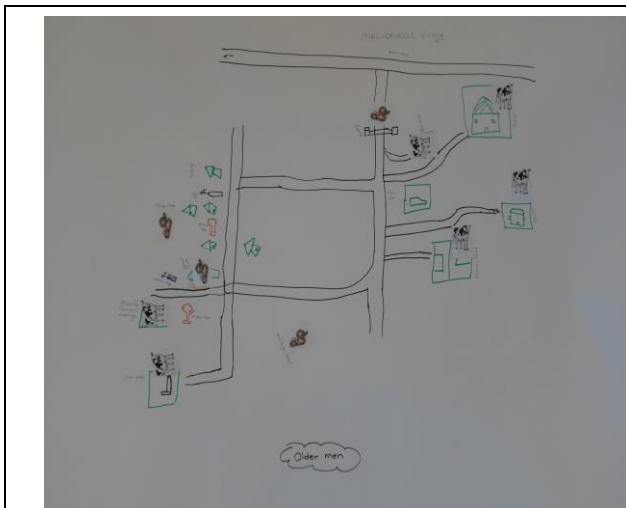
Photograph 3.19: Community map drawn by older men, Limpopo site, 2012
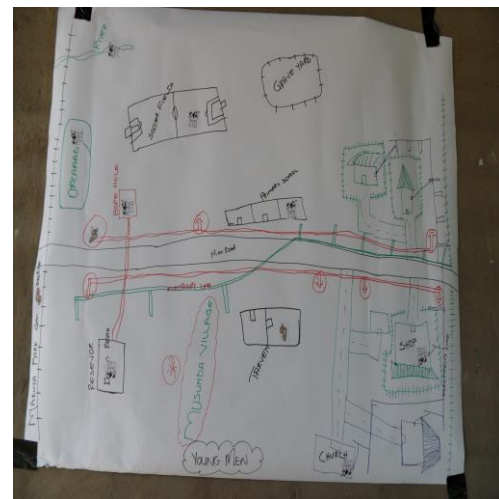
Photograph 3.20: Community map drawn by younger men, Limpopo site, 2012
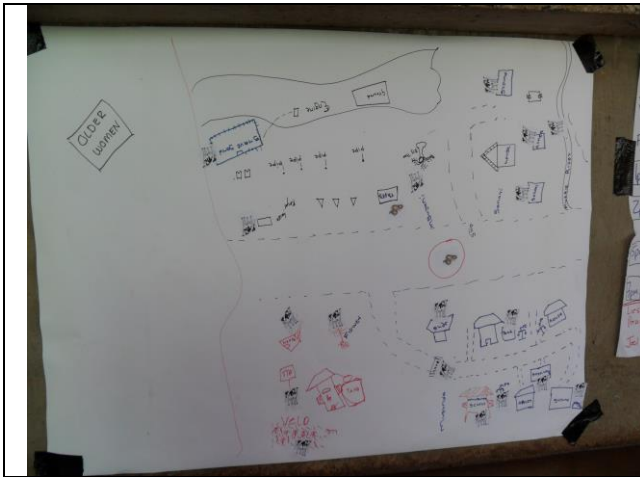
Photograph 3.21: Community map drawn by older women, Limpopo site, 2012

Photograph 3.22: Community map drawn by younger women, Limpopo site, 2012

Photograph 3.23: Community map drawn by older men, Mpumalanga site, 2013
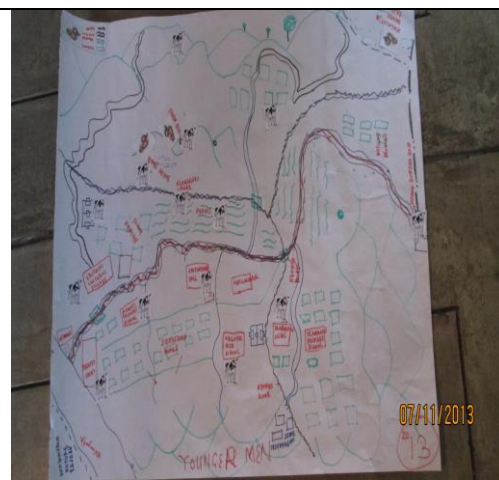
Photograph 3.24: Community map drawn by younger men, Mpumalanga site, 2013
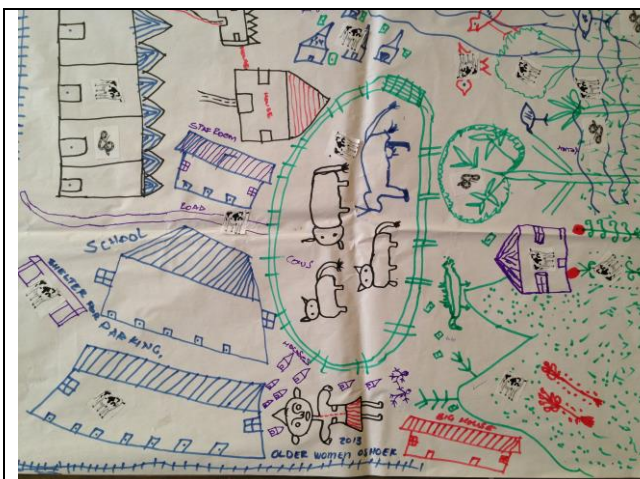
Photograph 3.25: Community map drawn by older women, Mpumalanga site, 2013

Photograph 3.26: Community map drawn by younger women, Mpumalanga site, 2013

3.6.2.2   Participatory conversation 2: Drums activity

For the second participatory conversation, the metaphor of a drum was used to explain the rationale of the activity. In traditional South African communities (such as those we worked with at the Limpopo and Mpumalanga sites) a drum may be used as a communication tool to call people together to discuss and find solutions to community problems. This metaphor was explained and visually illustrated to encourage participants to talks about how they go about solving problems in their community. Insight into their problem-solving methods and patterns provided indications of their communal communication and authority structures, belief systems and social aspects that may serve as coping mechanisms and resources.

The participatory conversations were structured in a manner that allowed each to flow into the other. By doing so, IPR aimed to build a holistic picture to understand the communities' indigenous coping patterns. Photographs 3.25 and 3.26 below depict samples of the drums activities completed by IPR participants during the 2012 data collection sessions at the Mpumalanga and Limpopo sites.
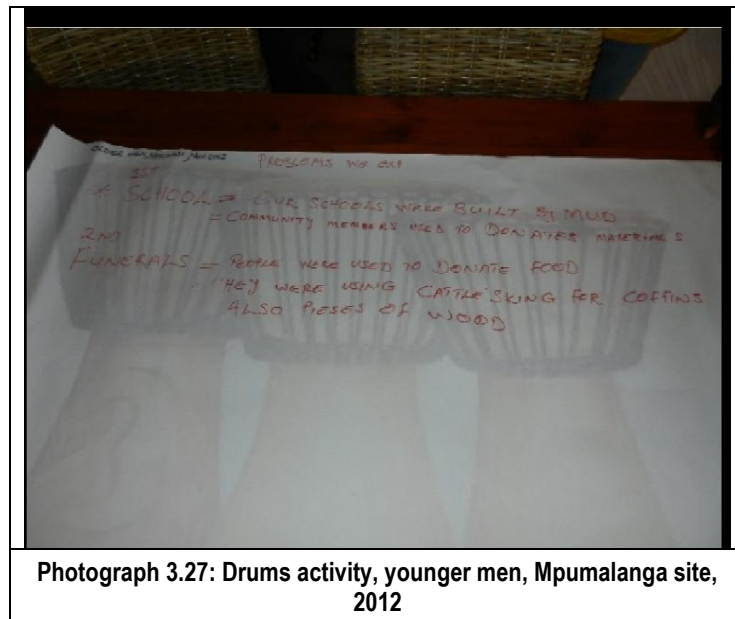
Photograph 3.27: Drums activity, younger men, Mpumalanga site, 2012
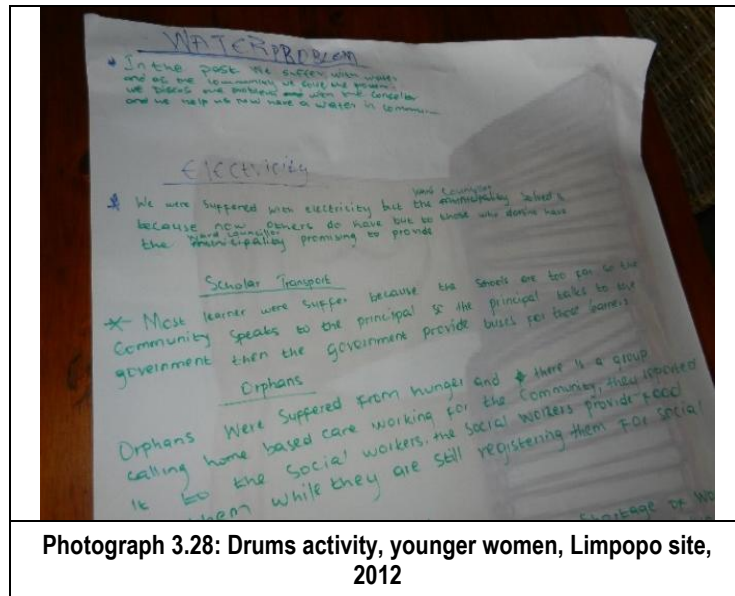
Photograph 3.28: Drums activity, younger women, Limpopo site, 2012

3.6.2.3   Participatory conversation 3: Knobkerrie activity

For the third participatory conversation, IPR made use of the metaphor of a knobkerrie. A knobkerrie is a club-like weapon with a knob at the top. Traditionally it has been commonly used by indigenous South African communities for defence and was therefore used as a metaphor for protection.

As with the drum activity, a visual display was used to clarify the activity and its meaning. When Prof. Ebersöhn introduced the activity, she explained our interpretation of what a knobkerrie represents (its protective element) and how it can be related to the PRA conversation that participants were asked to complete. The aim of this activity was to gain information on existing problem-solving patterns in the two communities for the solving of potential future problems. Photographs 3.27–3.34 below depict some of the knobkerrie activities completed by IPR participants at the two research sites during the 2012 and 2013 data collection sessions.
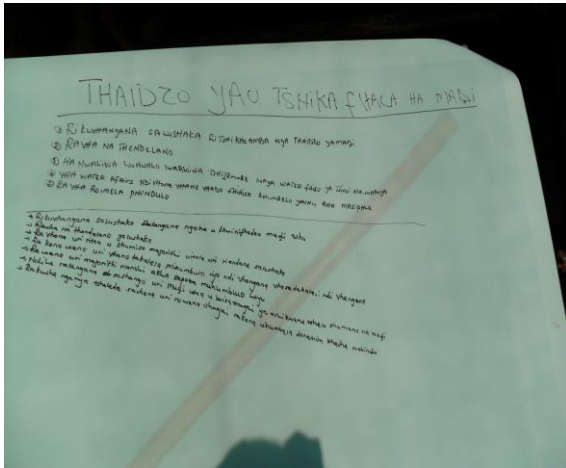
Photograph 3.29: Knobkerrie activity, older men, Limpopo, 2012
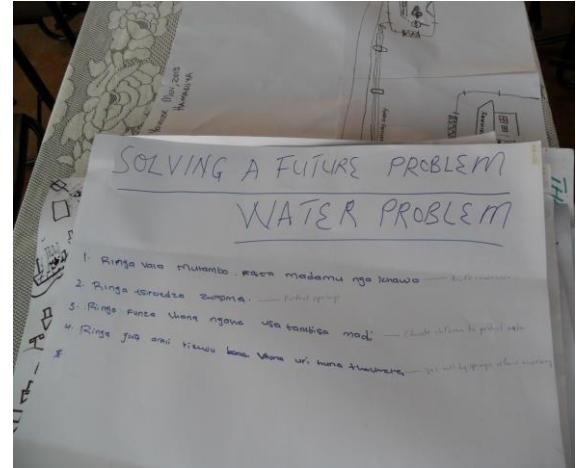
Photograph 3.30: Knobkerrie activity, younger men, Limpopo site, 2013
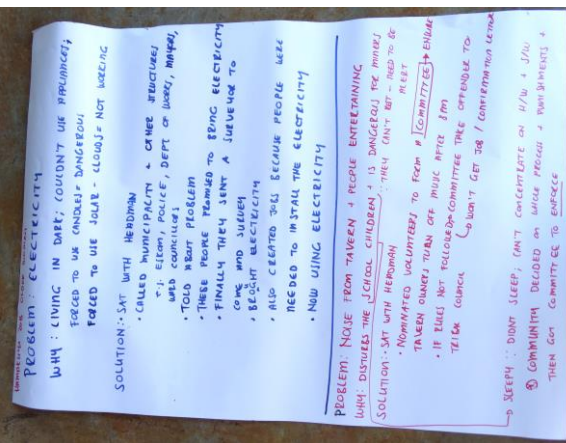
Photograph 3.31: Knobkerrie activity, older women, Limpopo site, 2012
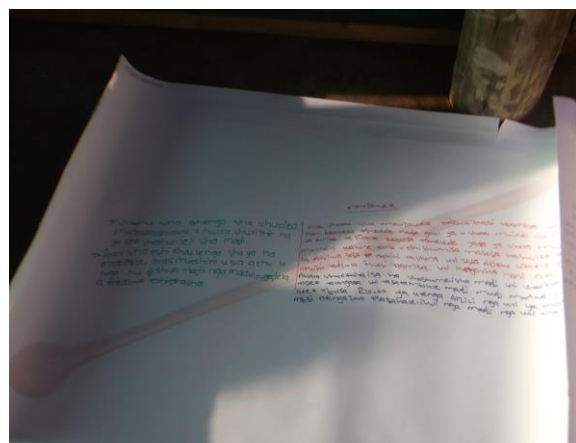
Photograph 3.32: Knobkerrie activity, younger women, Limpopo site, 2012
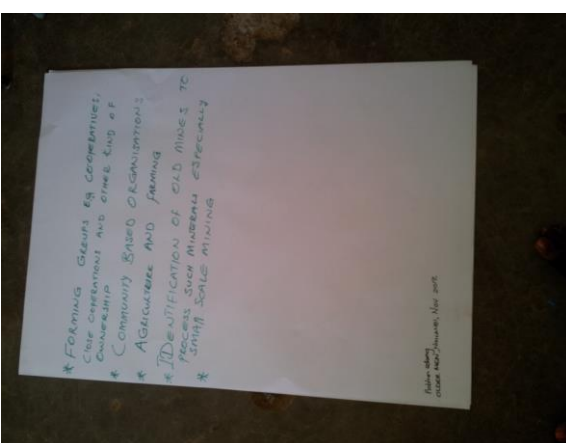
Photograph 3.33: Knobkerrie activity, older men, Mpumalanga site, 2012
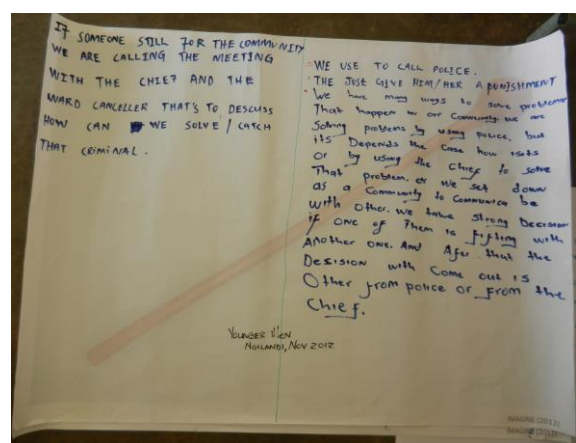
Photograph 3.34: Knobkerrie activity, younger men, Mpumalanga site, 2012

Photograph 3.35: Knobkerrie activity, older women, Mpumalanga site, 2013	**Photograph 3.36: Knobkerrie activity, younger women, Mpumalanga site, 2013**
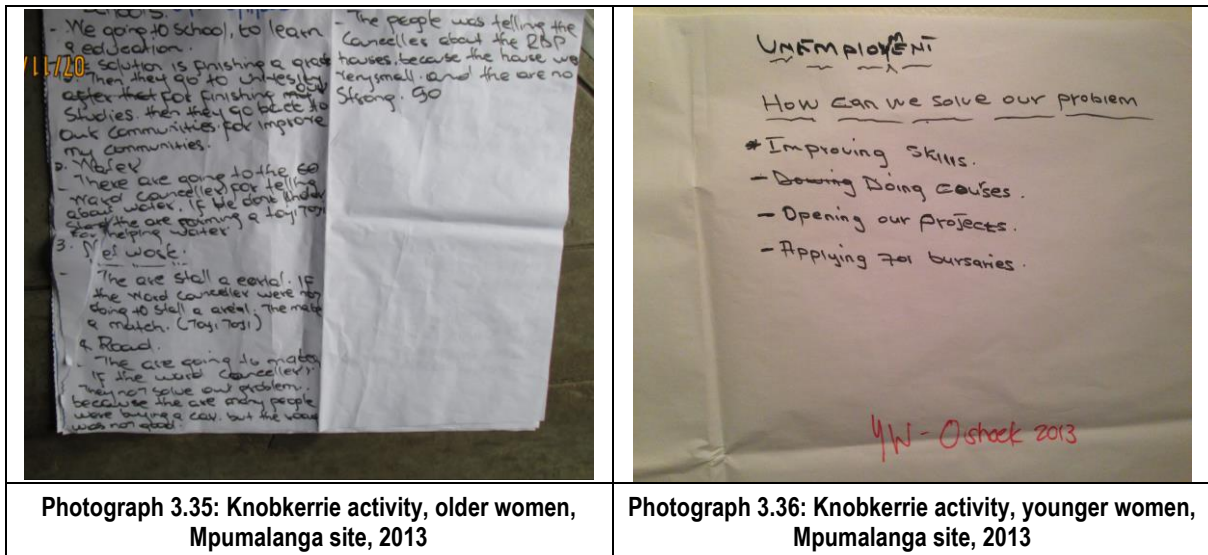
3.6.2.4   Participatory conversation 4: Mealie activity

The mealie activity was the final participatory conversation and concluded each data generation session. The term mealie originates from the Afrikaans language and refers to a corn cob. The aim of this activity was to gain an understanding of how indigenous communities make meaning of their life events and surroundings to ultimately achieve happiness. The mealie was chosen as a metaphor because it is commonly grown in indigenous communities in South Africa and is used for sustenance and to provide an income. When introducing this activity at the beginning of each session, Prof Ebersöhn visually presented the mealie and then explained our conceptualisation of it as a source of nourishment and provision, as depicted in photograph 3.35 below. Photographs 3.36–3.41 depict samples of the knobkerrie activities completed by IPR participants at the two research sites during the 2012 and 2013 data collection sessions.

Photograph 3.37: Prof. Liesel Ebersöhn visually illustrating the mealie as she introduced and explained the mealie activity, Mpumalanga site, 2012
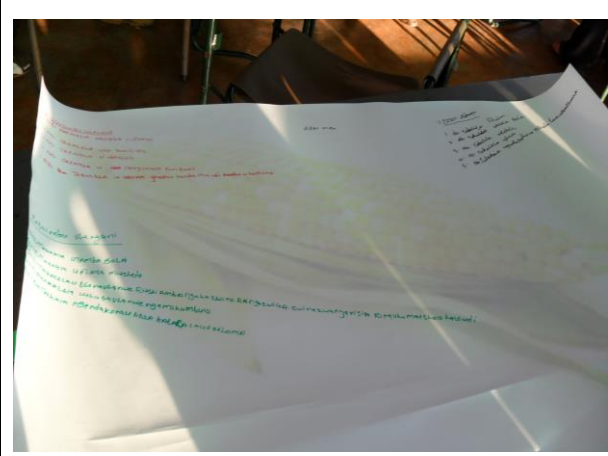
Photograph 3.38: Mealie activity, older men, Limpopo site, 2012
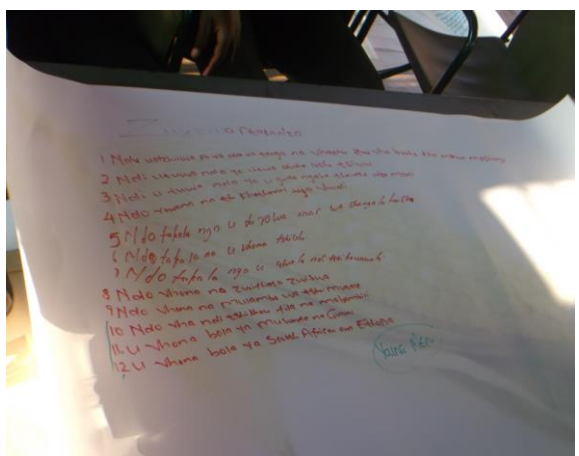
Photograph 3.39: Mealie activity, younger men, Limpopo site, 2012
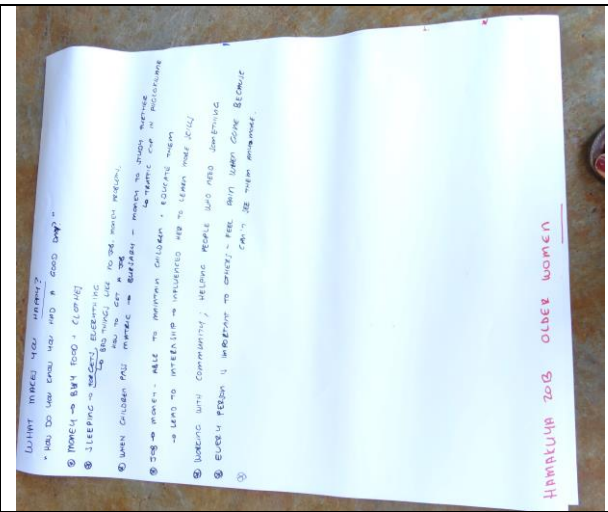
Photograph 3.40: Mealie activity, older women, Limpopo site, 2013
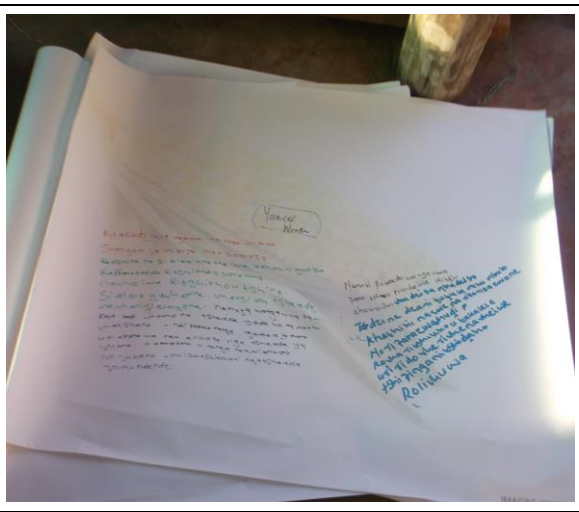
Photograph 3.41: Mealie activity, younger women, Limpopo site, 2012
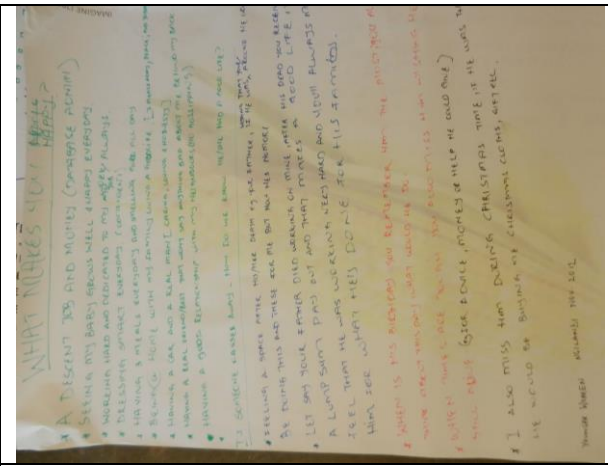
Photograph 3.42: Mealie activity, younger women, Mpumalanga site, 2012

THINGS THAT MAKES ME FEEL HAPPY

- Visiting Friends and family
- Sharing ideas to others
- Staying her happy all the time
- Enough money to satisfy my needs and wants
- Clothes.
- Feeling special to others
- My Love
- The way God created me

YW- Oshoek 2013
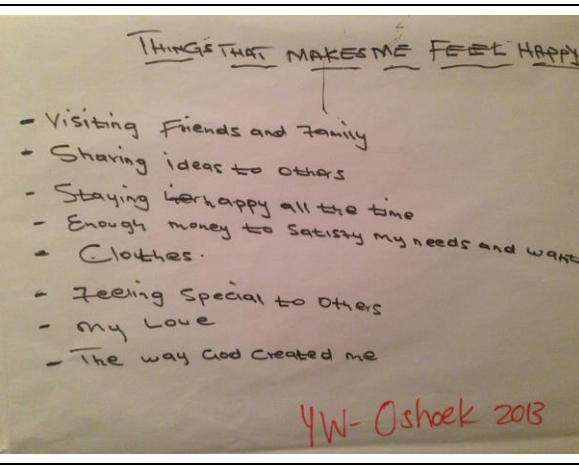
Photograph 3.43: Mealie activity, younger women, Mpumalanga site, 2013

3.7   DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

3.7.1   PHASE ONE OF DATA ANALYSIS: IN-CASE ANALYSIS

For the purposes of this study, data analysis was completed in two phases. First, data was analysed by using in-case analysis to identify indigenous pathways to appraisal within the individual research cases. During this phase, thematic analysis methods were used to analyse the combined data sources (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003; Stakes, 2000). The second phase of data analysis was cross-case analysis (Khan & Van Wynsberghe, 2008; Yin, 2012). Figure 3.3 presents a summative illustration of the data analysis method I employed.

Figure 3.3: Outline of data analysis process

DATA ANALYSIS

Phase One: In-case analysis

(Five steps)

Step 1:

Inductive thematic analysis of transcriptions (primary data source) by IPR team

Step 2:

Second round of thematic analysis on the same data done by myself. List of inclusion and exclusion criteria

developed (See Table 4.2 and Table 5.1)

Step 3:

Creating a coding system for data in order to organise the analysed information.

Step 4:

Categorising of coded information to identify and conceptualise indigenous appraisal trends. Identifying and defining

themes of indigenous appraisal

Step 5:

Literature control of categorised data

Phase Two: Cross-case analysis

Comparison of themes identified in the two regions (in terms of age demographics and gender groups) to

determine a synopsis of the final findings of this study

The verbatim transcriptions of the PRA conversations/discussions were the first data source to be thematically analysed. This analysis was followed by the analysis of the IPR team's collective field notes. The first step of the data analysis process was conducted in the group of four IPR doctoral co-researchers (constitution of IPR studies illustrated in Figure 3.2 above). In preparation for the group

analysis, all the data sources were organised and prepared in a systematic manner to ensure consistency throughout IPR. This ensured that the data analysis process flowed efficiently and was completed in a thorough manner. The data preparation procedure that IPR followed to ensure consistency is summarised in Table 3.6 below.

	DATA SOURCE	STRATEGIES FOR PREPARATION FOR ANALYSIS
Table 3.5: Summary of data preparation procedures		
1.	**Verbatim transcripts:** (in mother tongue and English)	• *Transcriptions* were done individually by doctoral co-researchers for the specific demographic groups that they facilitated. • In addition, the mother-tongue audio recordings were transcribed and then translated by trained first-language speakers. This process was organised and overseen by one of the co-researchers, Dr Janna de Gouveia. • Within IPR, amongst the doctoral co-researchers, we all agreed on a single format to use when transcribing our audio recordings. This ensured consistency between all the project data and supported the rigour of the study.
2.	**Field notes:**	• *Field notes* were collected by all the doctoral co-researchers during their facilitation of PRA activities. Each co-researcher facilitated the PRA conversations and activities with one of the four demographic groups of participants. Field notes were recorded during this process and throughout the study in general. These field notes constituted a crucial data source and had to be consistently organised to reflect the same areas of information in order to be efficiently used across all four studies. • As a team we agreed to include a description of each PRA activity and all verbal and non-verbal behaviour that we noted in participants during data generation sessions and in the contents of the PRA conversations and the subsequent discussions. All personal observations and reflections were also recorded in our field notes. Dr Malan-van Rooyen developed a standard format that we all used to maintain consistency. Using of a consistent format throughout IPR supported the rigour of the study (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Chilisa, 2012).

The transcripts were considered the primary data source and were analysed by all four IPR doctoral co-researchers. The analysis was done according to age and gender for each of the two research sites (i.e. the Limpopo and Mpumalanga research sites).

Like the field notes that that were recorded by all the IPR co-researchers, visual data was also collected by all and served as a very valuable data source in capturing the process and context of the data collection. Without the visual data, many observations and events might have been lost. The photographs that were taken of the written component of the PRA activities completed by participants reflect the demographic categories in which the activities were completed. Through the visual data captured, we were also able to maintain visual records of resources and other environmental aspects of the research site.

On accumulation of the IPR visual data, it was apparent that we had captured a significant and valuable amount of such data. We thus organised the data into categories according to 1) the site from which it

had been gathered; 2) the year in which it had been collected; 3) the demographic group depicted; 4) the PRA activity that was being completed; and 5) analysis activities conducted by IPR.

The cross-case analysis that was done to identify cross-case patterns (Voss, Tsikriktsis, & Frohlich, 2002) allowed us (the IPR co-researchers) to gain a deep understanding of individual cases and then, on further analysis, to gain a deeper understanding of cross-case patterns between the data from the Limpopo and Mpumalanga sites (Stretton, 1969). This form of analysis allowed for themes relating to the nature of relationships to be highlighted. In the context of the IPR, understanding the nature of relationships is essential as it allows for the original case to be understood and conceptualised. Thereafter, the analyses of the individual cases were compared (Ekstein, 2002). My findings, based on these analyses, will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.8   THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

The nature of qualitative data collection methods (in this case PRA-based research) can be best understood by how it is described by Denzin and Lincoln (2005), according to whom it requires the researcher to delve into the world of the participant by using interpretive practices as tools to observe and gain an understanding of their world. A variety of consistent documenting and reporting tools are then used to make meaning of the phenomenon being studied in order to interpret the meanings that participants assign to their life worlds. In the case of the current study, the PRA mapping activities that I discussed in section 3.6, the research journal I maintained and the visual data captured by IPR constituted the tools used to study and make meaning of the participants' lives.

In view of the nature of qualitative research, and particularly PRA research methodology, I was often expected, as a researcher, to assume a variety of roles throughout the research process (Arber, 2006). These roles may be linked to either the emic (insider) or the etic (outsider) perspective that I adopted at various phases of the study, as deemed appropriate, in order to maintain the trustworthiness of the study and its findings (Creswell, 2005; Merriam, 1998). IPR was conducted predominantly from an emic perspective. The theoretical and methodological lenses (i.e. the indigenous psychologies approach and the PRA approach respectively) that guided the IPR's enquiry predetermined an emic perspective due to their inherent nature. In order to clarify the nature in which I positioned the study, sections 1.6.1 and 1.6.2 contain an in-depth discussion of the indigenous psychologies approach and PRA methodology. The observations and reflections in the reflective journal that I maintained further enhanced my emic perspective by allowing me to appropriately position my views, observations and opinions in the context of the study.

The line with the nature of PRA and the goals of this study, the researcher is required to understand and explore social phenomena predominantly from the emic perspective. Research conducted by way of the PRA methods investigates the subject of the study through direct experience

and engagement. This study aims to focus on investigating the nature of appraisal processes in rural communities. For this reason I continually alternated between the passive roles of observer (to gain the etic perspective) to the more active and engaging role of participant, collaborator and interviewer in order to effectively facilitate the data collection activities (and thus gain the emic perspective on the research study) (Cohen et al., 2011; Goodson & Gill, 2011; Maree, 2007). Furthermore, since this study was conducted in correlation with other related studies within IPR (Ebersöhn, 2012a), I played the role of researcher for my own study and simultaneously fulfilled the role of co-researcher for the other studies that were conducted under the IPR (Stoecker, 1999).

In order to maintain the ethical integrity of the research while alternating roles as described above, I paid special attention to maintaining the trust of the participants and negotiating conflict and ambiguity among them. I achieved this by maintaining awareness of (and evaluating) when to remain distant (assuming the etic role of passive observer) and when to engage with the participants (assuming the emic role of collaborator) (Cohen et al., 2011). This goal required that I maintain reflexivity as a researcher (Flick, 2007; Kobayashi, 2003; Sultana, 2007).

Sultana (2007) describes reflexivity in research as a reflection on the self, the process and the representation, while objectively considering the relationships between role-players in the research process from the lens of researcher accountability in terms of generating and interpreting research findings with integrity. Collecting data and then interpreting and reporting research finding in the manner described above leads to more nuanced and richer knowledge generation through the research process (Mbongwe, 2012; Sultana, 2007).

In order to maintain reflexivity in my study, I applied three main strategies, the first of which was to maintain copious field notes in my research diary. This allowed me to record my own biases and subjectivity with the intent to keep them in check. At the same time, keeping a research diary helped me to record details about the research process, participants and setting, thus enhancing my emic perspective on the study (Cohen et al., 2011; Goodson & Gill, 2011). It is possible that the recording of reflective field notes may have allowed me to act as a reflexive researcher as it increased my awareness of factors that influenced and related to the research (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004).

The second strategy was to constantly engage in discussions and debriefing sessions with my study advisor (Prof. Ebersöhn), as well as with my co-researchers who were involved in the same research setting and with the same participants, albeit with different (yet related) research foci. This may have impacted on the subjectivity of my data collection and analysis (Fritz & Smit, 2008; Hole, 2007).

Third, as a group of co-researchers we made use of member checking strategies to further enhance reflexivity and allow for reliable research outputs and knowledge generation at the end of this study (Cohen et al., 2011; Fritz & Smit, 2008; Janesick, 2000).

3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

PRA methodology in qualitative research is largely associated with engaging with people or contexts on a social and personal level (Chambers, 2006; Cohen, 2013; Johnson & Christensen, 2004; Strydom, 1998). The IPR team consciously approached the participants in the data collection process in a way that ensured that their well-being and dignity would not be compromised (Chambers, 2006; Gibbon, 2003; Rambaldi, Chambers, McCall, & Fox, 2006). All methodological decisions were made to ensure that high ethical standards were maintained so that the participants were not deceived in any way, knew what was going on during the research process and did not experience any form of harm or distress (physically or otherwise) (Miller & Brewer, 2003). The strategies that the IPR team implemented in order to ensure that data was collected in an ethical and fair manner throughout the data collection process, in keeping with PRA methods, are explained below.

3.9.1 INFORMED CONSENT, CONFIDENTIALITY AND ANONYMITY

Informed consent is noted as a basic ethical right for research participants (Cohen et al., 2011). The first step in the process of obtaining informed consent is to obtain ethical clearance and permission to initiate the data collection process. The IPR project had obtained ethical clearance for data collection prior to the commencement of data collection (see appendix for ethical clearance certificate from the University of Pretoria Ethics Committee). At the time of data collection, I participated as a fieldworker for IPR.

As in the case of IPR, the nature of PRA data collection processes is dissimilar from other methodologies. PRA is characterised by more interchange and engagement with participants. Methods for obtaining informed consent were less clear cut (Boser, 2006). In PRA data collection methods, the research process is characteristically neither linear nor fixed. Rather, data collection in every phase in the process is shaped by the participants, environments and the immediate circumstances in which the data is being collected. The participants therefore share authority with regard to determining the path the research process takes (Boser, 2006; Mbongwe, 2012).

For this reason it is difficult, during the informed consent process, to provide exact information on the nature of the data collection activities that will be conducted. Therefore, to obtain informed consent from participants the IPR team explained the nature of the study, the nature of the activities they would complete as part of the data collection process (as detailed in section 3.6 above) and the role they would play in this process as participants (Cohen et al., 2011; De Vos, Strydom, Fouché, & Delport, 2002). IPR also explained that the data would be used for the completion of the researchers' doctoral studies. Furthermore, the use of recorders and photographs for capturing visual data in the research process was explained.

Participants were free to choose not to participate. They were also given the opportunity to decline permission for IPR to capture visual data in which they appeared. This was done in their own language, with the assistance of a trained interpreter from their community (as discussed in section 3.5.3) to ensure that they understood the information they were receiving. The voluntary nature of participation was emphasised, along with their right to withdraw at any point during the study.

3.9.2   BUILDING TRUST TO PROTECT PARTICIPANTS FROM HARM

Participants' well-being and protection from any form of harm during the research process is paramount in any data collection process and was considered during IPR (Cohen et al., 2011; De Vos et al., 2002). Strategies to protect participants aimed to protect them from all forms of harm, including physical, psychological and legal harm (Sarantakos, 2005). In order to accomplish this ethical strategy, it was imperative to first establish trust between the IPR data collection team members and the participants (Mouton, 2001).

The data collection process was started each day by sharing a meal with the participants. The aim was to build a relationship with them, as well as to build the kind of trust that might impact on the richness of the data collected. Before the data collection process could commence, the participants had to feel comfortable in the presence of the fieldworkers and with the PRA activities (Chambers, 2006; Cohen et al., 2011; Sarantakos, 2005).

As a fieldworker, I had to consult literature on PRA activities and ethics in order to equip myself to effectively conduct the PRA data collection activities. Before embarking on the data collection and analysis stages, I ensured that I was thoroughly informed on the purpose of the PRA activities in which I would be asking the participants to become involved.

Showing respect for the time and information that the people of the rural communities were prepared to offer me during the research process was another strategy used to build the relationship between us and to ensure that they were protected from harm (Mouton, 2001). Rural people are known to be very polite and hospitable; therefore data collection sessions were scheduled to suit the participants (Chambers, 2006; Gibbon, 2003; Rambaldi et al., 2006). Since PRA activities generally take time, the data collection team's planning was done so as to ensure that while the participants' time schedules were taken into consideration, I would also obtain the data that I needed to ensure the quality of my research. Being patient and not rushing participants to complete PRA activities and maps were of crucial importance to the process of collecting meaningful data (Chambers, 2006; Gibbon, 2003; Rambaldi et al., 2006).

Flexibility and adaptation were essential skills that I had to employ to reach my long-term goals regarding data collection. Due to the participants' inputs in the data collection process, it was sometimes necessary to adapt by deviating from the activities initially planned. By maintaining a research journal I

was able to practise reflexivity and keep bias in check (Cohen et al., 2011; Chambers, 2006; Sarantakos, 2005).

3.10   RIGOUR OF THE STUDY

The trustworthiness of a study provides an indication of how worthy the research findings are to an audience (Babbie, 2004). The trustworthiness of this study is of core relevance and importance as it links directly to issues of validity and reliability (Seale, 2000). Five main criteria were used to direct and gauge the trustworthiness of this study, namely credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability and authenticity (Lincoln & Guba, 2005; Seale, 2000). The strategies that I employed in my data collection to ensure that these criteria were met in my study are discussed below.

3.10.1   CREDIBILITY AND CONFIRMABILITY

Credibility aims to provide a true picture of the phenomenon being investigated and may be seen as a form of internal validity (Kumar, 2011; Patton, 2002). The element of credibility is particularly important in qualitative studies as it aims to confirm that the (reported) reality of the researcher reflects the (experienced) reality of the participant (Babbie, 2004). Throughout the course of this study, from the planning and pre-data collection phase to the final writing up of results, many procedures were formulated into the design to ensure credibility (Seale, 1999).

From the onset, I (as well as my co-researchers) maintained reflective journals in which to record all hypotheses, views, theoretical viewpoints and observations that may have influenced the final results and findings of the current study (and of IPR in general). All the relevant information was recorded in a step-by-step manner, which added to its accuracy and therefore supported the credibility of the findings (see Appendix A for my reflective journal).

Since our engagement in the field was prolonged (it lasted from 2012 to 2014), we constantly documented all decisions, dates, events, plans, changes that occurred and all other data collection activities. We also documented resources that we noted in the communities with which we engaged. The prolonged engagement with participants in their native environment served as a further means of strengthening the rigour of the study as it allowed me to observe and document the participants' natural responses. These observations and reflections supported my understanding of indigenous pathways to appraisal as part of the adaptive coping process. As illustrated in my results chapters, the information in the reflective journals contributed greatly to the findings of this study.

Chilisa (2012) defines peer debriefing as a process that entails theoretical engagement with peers around the analysis of data that impacts on the richness of the results of the study (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Working as part of the IPR team thus proved to be extremely advantageous. In addition

to constant theoretical and data analysis discussions with the principal investigator of the IPR project (i.e. my supervisor, Prof. Liesel Ebersöhn), the IPR doctoral team also constantly engaged in similar discussions. Moreover, the initial data analysis was done in such a way that all the IPR data was analysed by each doctoral researcher. This added nuanced perspectives and increased the rigour of the study as all the researchers had been present during the data collection process and could make contributions from their observations and experiences in the field.

The process of crystallisation of the data sources was implemented. Crystallisation is characterised by multiple or layered interpretations of data obtained by combining multiple data sources (such as field notes, transcripts and visual data) (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Janesick, 2000). The process of crystallisation intensified the credibility of the data analysis process and the resulting findings and allowed for the confirmability of the study to be developed (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

The concept of confirmability is interlinked with that of credibility (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Confirmability refers to the integrity of the results of a study and whether they are an unbiased reflection of the data collected. For that reason, the researcher's reflective journals and the detailed data documentation strategies were paramount in cultivating rigorous outcomes (see section 3.6 where I outline data documentation strategies).

The combination of these credibility and confirmability procedures allowed for thorough and enhanced data analysis. Regarding the research results, the degree of credibility and confirmability of this study led to more nuanced themes and thus to richer outcomes (as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5).

3.10.2 TRANSFERABILITY

Transferability refers to the degree to which the results of a qualitative study can be generalised or transferred to another context or setting (Lincoln & Guba, 2002). In the case of IPR, the degree of transferability is limited due to the small number of participants sampled from only two research sites. In the case of this qualitative study, the context and data collection processes, as well as the participants and research cases, were very unique and were planned around the nature and needs of the individual research cases.

In a study of this nature transferability of results is not imperative. The purpose of this study was to explore the phenomenon of indigenous pathways to appraisal in the greater resilience and adaptive coping process in order to gain a deeper understanding of indigenous pathways to appraisal within the selected case study. The aim was therefore not to be able generalise the findings of this study to a larger population, or to apply the results in another setting (Polit & Beck, 2010).

However, while the degree of transferability is limited, it is not entirely absent. The same PRA data collection process was replicated in the two research case study sites for IPR. This process of replication indicates some degree of transferability and, coupled with the rich descriptions and

observations that were noted during data collection in the fieldworkers' research journals, provide evidence of a degree of transferability that may be evident (Lincoln & Guba, 2002).

3.10.3 DEPENDABILITY

The term dependability refers to the ability to replicate and repeat a data collection process with the expectation of obtaining the same results on replication (Lincoln & Guba, 2002). Due to the detailed observations and reflective notes that were maintained throughout this study, it may be possible to recreate a similar study with similar activities (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Trochim (2002) asserts that it is not possible to measure the exact same situation identically twice. However, dependability is a construct aimed at cultivating reliability in research contexts by holding researchers accountable for managing the research situation. In this study, the entire research process was well described and documented.

3.11 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I discussed the contexts in which the data collection process took place and the methodological reasoning behind these choices. I then provided a detailed account of the research process and activities, along with the methods used by IPR to document, record and analyse the data on which the findings of this study are based. The aim of this chapter was to provide a thorough background to the methodology of this study to serve as a methodological context for the discussion of the results in the following chapters.

Chapter 4
Worldview of Interconnectedness

4.1   INTRODUCTION

In Chapters 4 and 5, I discuss the research results as themes that emerged from a thematic analysis. Each chapter is dedicated to the main theme and includes a description of the theme, as well as of the subthemes and categories. I also list inclusion and exclusion criteria for each subtheme and category.

The results are substantiated by including excerpts from data sources (verbatim transcriptions and visual data of PRA discussions; extracts from verbatim transcriptions of IPR's member checking; and observational data captured as visual data during visits to the two research sites). I conclude each chapter with a literature control related to each specific theme.

By following inductive data analysis, two themes that form a perspective on non-Western pathways of appraisal became evident: a world view of interconnectedness that serves as a lens when appraising events; and a theme of appraisal processes inherent in indigenous populations, culminating in acts of agency as motivation for indigenous appraisal processes. These themes constituting non-Western pathways to appraisal processes are illustrated in Figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1: Two components of indigenous pathways to appraisal
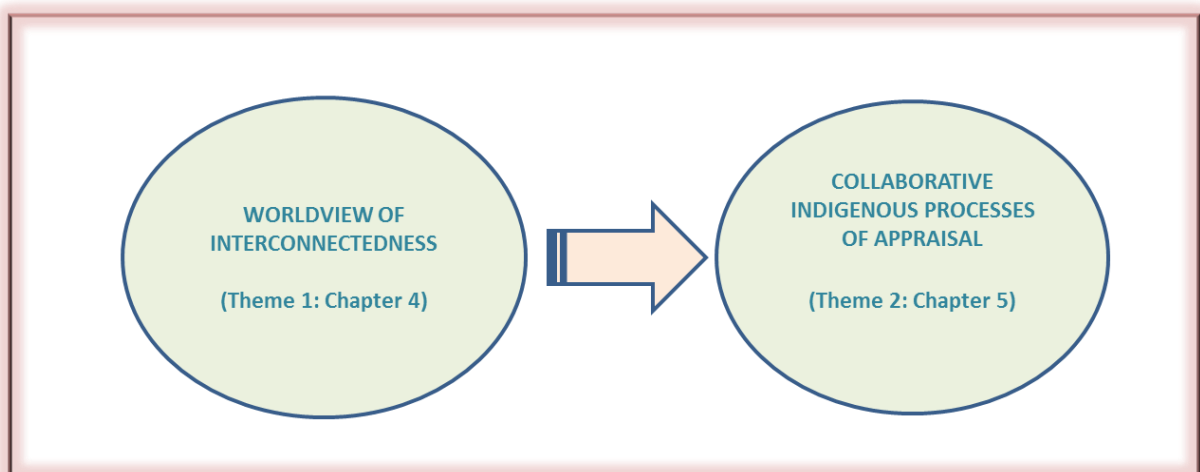
The results on indigenous pathways to appraisal, as illustrated in Figure 4.1 above, are discussed under the following two themes: Theme 1: World view of interconnectedness; Theme 2: Collaborative indigenous appraisal processes. In Figure 4.2 below I provide a summative overview of the themes, subthemes and categories that emerged.

While these two themes are linked they have distinctive elements that describe indigenous pathways to appraisal. For this reason I chose to separate them as two themes. I furthermore present them as two separate chapters so that their value and depth may be showcased. These themes were identified through a thorough process of thematic analysis where their distinctive features and elements were identified. I include inclusion and exclusion criteria per theme and subtheme that give insight into the manner in which themes were identified.

Figure 4.2: Overview of themes of this study
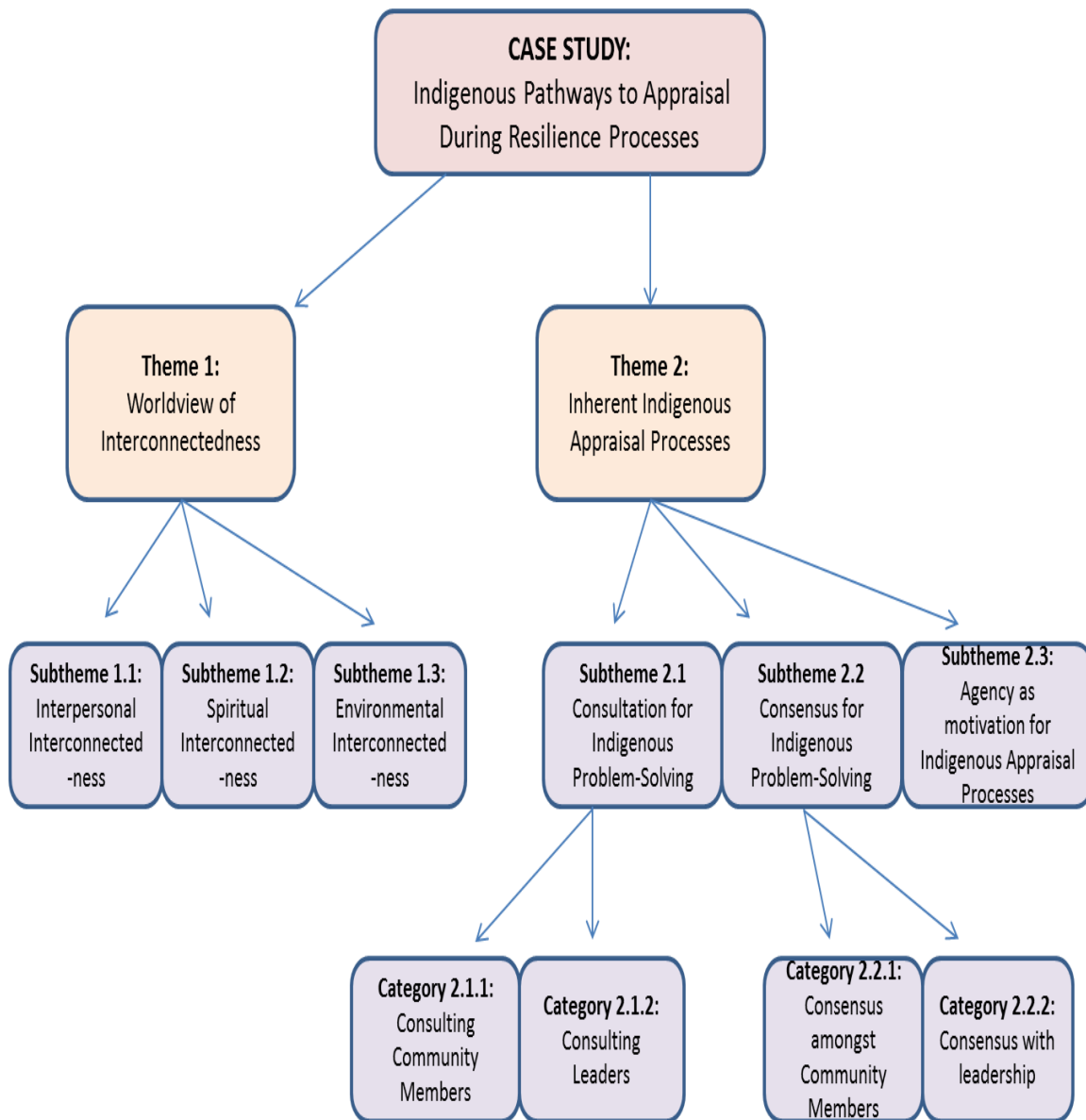
In this chapter I will discuss the first theme of my study as depicted in Figure 4.2 above. As I discuss the various themes, I will simultaneously begin answering the research questions as set out in Section 1.4 of Chapter 1. As part of Theme 1, I will partly address two specific secondary research questions, namely: 1) What are the indigenous pathways to appraisal in two rural, resource-constrained communities in South Africa? 2) How is knowledge on indigenous pathways to appraisal in two rural South African communities informed through the participation of selected participants in terms of location, age and gender? The objectives of my study, as directed by my analysis of IPR data, are tabulated in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Objectives of this study	
OBJECTIVE 1	• Inductively compare indigenous pathways to appraisal in two South African communities who are daily faced with rural adversities.
OBJECTIVE 2	• Identify indigenous psychology appraisal themes that may emerge when an analysis is done on participants' community maps and other PRA activities in order to understand their perceptions on appraisal.
OBJECTIVE 3	• Compare South African indigenous pathways to appraisal processes with existing Western knowledge bases on pathways to appraisal.
OBJECTIVE 4	• Compare South African indigenous pathways to appraisal processes with existing non-Western knowledge bases on pathways to appraisal.
OBJECTIVE 5	• Develop an indigenous psychology knowledge base on indigenous pathways of appraisal.

4.2 THEME 1: WORLD VIEW OF INTERCONNECTEDNESS

4.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Theme 1 highlights the significance of a particular world view in appraisal processes. From the data it was evident that the world view held by respondents who participated in this study at the Mpumalanga and Limpopo research sites was one of being interconnected. Interconnectedness could be related to the subthemes 1) interpersonal interconnectedness; 2) spiritual interconnectedness; and 3) environmental interconnectedness.

The term interconnected reflects current research trends in the Global South that support the view that culturally embedded meaning-making is contextually embedded in communities who rely on each other in resource-constrained (and distressing) circumstances in which well-being is attained through communal efforts (Ebersöhn, 2017; Ebersöhn & Ferreira, 2013; Ebersöhn et al., 2016a; Ebersöhn et al., 2016b; Ebersöhn & Loots, 2017; Theron & Theron, 2011).

The inclusion and exclusion criteria that were used to identify themes of interconnectedness as well as the subthemes, are listed in Table 4.2 below. The inclusion and exclusion criteria were also used to extract relevant data, included as vignettes below. The table contains a tabulated summary indicating of the prevalence of each category of subthemes according to location, age and gender, corresponding with the stratified IPR data.

Table 4.2: Inclusion and exclusion criteria for Theme 1 (including categories 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3)

THEME 1 – World view of interconnectedness	
SUBTHEME 1.1: INTERPERSONAL INTERCONNECTEDNESS	
INCLUSION CRITERIA	**EXCLUSION CRITERIA**
A communal viewpoint in terms of appraisal of events; seeing the community as an extension of the self (focus on 'we')	An individual viewpoint in respect of the appraisal of events, where the focus on the self (I) would not influence the appraisal processes
Reverence for all people within the community as a lens to appraisal of events	The absence of reverence for people where this would not influence appraisal processes
THEME 1 – SUBTHEME 1.2: SPIRITUAL INTERCONNECTEDNESS	
INCLUSION CRITERIA	**EXCLUSION CRITERIA**
Reverence for all spiritual elements within the community (including the deceased) as a lens to the appraisal of events	Reverence for spiritual elements within the community (including the deceased) that do not influence appraisal processes
THEME 1 – SUBTHEME 1.3: ENVIRONMENTAL INTERCONNECTEDNESS	
INCLUSION CRITERIA	**EXCLUSION CRITERIA**
Reverence shown by the participants for the natural environment that influences appraisal processes	Reverence shown by the participants for the natural environment that does not influence appraisal processes.

Table 4.3: Prevalence rates of Theme 1 (including Subthemes 1.1; 1.2 and 1.3)

THEME 1 – World view of interconnectedness		OM	OW	YM	YW
SUBTHEME 1.1: INTERPERSONAL INTERCONNECTEDNESS					
2012	Limpopo	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Mpumalanga	✓	✓	✓	✓
2013	Limpopo	✓	✓	Silent	✓
	Mpumalanga	✓	✓	✓	✓
SUBTHEME 1.2: SPIRITUAL INTERCONNECTEDNESS					
2012	Limpopo	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Mpumalanga	✓	✓	✓	Silent
2013	Limpopo	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Mpumalanga	✓	✓	✓	✓
SUBTHEME 1.3: ENVIRONMENTAL INTERCONNECTEDNESS					
2012	Limpopo	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Mpumalanga	✓	✓	✓	✓
2013	Limpopo	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Mpumalanga	✓	✓	✓	Silent

4.2.2   SUBTHEME 1.1 – INTERPERSONAL INTERCONNECTEDNESS

According to the results of this study, indigenous people do not view themselves as separate from their community members. Rather, they view themselves (as a community) as interconnected parts of a functioning whole. The members of the indigenous communities who participated in this study appeared to experience a sense of connectedness with other community members, which equated to a sense of caring and taking responsibility for each other. The analysis of the data collected at the Limpopo and Mpumalanga sites in respect of this category of Theme 1 indicated that there was no significant difference between the responses of members of the two communities.

The data in the vignette below illustrates that the participants appraised the needs of their community members as communal needs that impact on the village. The participants quoted in the data excerpt below clearly expressed a sense of oneness with each other as they spoke about their communal space and provided insight into how they appraised their community, and also how they appraised themselves within their community.

OM/F (H-2012; 1):	*What else? What else is very important to them? I see you placed at the place for communal meetings.*
OM/T (H-2012; 1):	*This place is more important because everything that is happening around the village is talked here, agreements.*
OM/T (H-2012; 1):	*It is almost as if they talk about things here, if they have problems they talk about it here.*
OM/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 21-27, 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, older men)	

The data excerpt below illustrates that, according to the participants' appraisal, loving relationships among themselves contributed to each community member's happiness and well-being. The quotes below suggest that a sense of oneness with each is achieved by simply loving each other.

OM/F (H-2012; 4):	*One more question. What makes the community happy, what makes the village happy?*
OM/T (H-2012; 4):	*In general?*
OM/F (H-2012; 4):	*In general. What makes their village happy?*
OM/T (H-2012; 4):	*To have love [for] one another.*
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 198-202, 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, older men)	

In the data vignette below, the older women participants were asked to discuss a 'prominent problem' that affected their community [them?]. In response, they discussed a problem that actually affected the school-age girls in the community, rather than one that affected them directly. The choice in this regard reflects the interconnectedness within the community, where the problems experienced by some members are appraised as problems that affect all.

| OW/F (H-2012; 2): | *Yes, they must identify the problem and then we are going to tell the story of how that problem got solved. What did they do that they managed to solve the problem?* |
	Do they understand?
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	*No.*

OW/F (H-2012; 2):	*Okay, so maybe we should start with what is the prominent problem in the community or in the past what was the big problem and go from there.*
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	*Can they just say about five years ago?*
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	*Yes.*
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	*She say that long, long ago there was a problem of girls and boys. Girls are not allowed to go to school, and they said boys are the ones who are allowed to go to school. It is the duties of the girls to get married and give birth to the babies, stuff like that. That was their problem.*
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	*Ok.*
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	*So now they must give the solution?*
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	*So the problem was that in the past the girls were not allowed to go to school, but the boys could go to school? And the reason the girls could not go to school was because in that time they were expected to just get married, have the babies and work in the home?*
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	*Yes.*
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	*Okay, but now they are allowed to go to school?*
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	*Yes.*
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 248-272, 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, older women)	

In the data excerpt below, the older male participants illustrate a sense of interpersonal interconnectedness through the value with which they appraise their communal social relationships.

OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*And then the community hall.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*It is good for meetings, functions …*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*Any functions like weddings. Also our pensioners are getting their money there. Every month.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*Okay, yes that is important. So they can go there for their pension money.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*Ja, even they can socialise, meet each other.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*Yes that is important because maybe when you old, you only have your friends.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*Yes. So when you go there you say 'Hey, I saw you last month'. They enjoy it.*
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 349-359, 2012 data gathering, Mpumalanga research site, older men)	

The above sentiment of appraising relationships as valuable is echoed in the excerpt below, in which the younger women's responses indicate the interpersonal interconnectedness that they experience when they are together.

YW/T (H-2012; 4):	*We were happy when you come to visit us in our village.*
YW/T (H-2012; 4):	*We danced the Gomera dance once you visited us at Maluzawele.*
YW/F (H-201 2; 4):	*We danced ...?*
YW/T (H-2012; 4):	*We taught you how to dance the Gomera.*
MI (H-2012; 4)	*The traditional dance?*
YW/T (H-2012; 4):	*Yes ...*
	We feel so happy when we are together.
	This is a repetition. They're talking about the cultural dance, the Gomera. They referred[?] the same statement.
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 189-198, 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, younger women)

4.2.3   SUBTHEME 1.2 – SPIRITUAL INTERCONNECTEDNESS

This subtheme refers to the participants' expressions of experiencing a relationship with elements from the spiritual world. Spiritual interconnectedness here refers to feelings of oneness with the spiritual world. The examples from the data that are given below to support this category illuminate the participants' relationship with religious houses, as well as with deceased family or community members.

The following excerpt indicates that the older female participants identified the community graveyard as a protective resource. The value of the appraisal of spiritual elements as a pathway to spiritual interconnectedness is enhanced by the fact that they refer to the graveyard as a special place.

OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*They are happy? Ok.*
	So the older women have just drawn a graveyard in one of the villages and they want to make it a cow. And why do they want to make it a cow?
OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*It's the place where we can bury those people who are dead.*
OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Okay. So it's the place where you bury the people that are dead.*
OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes. There is nothing else, they said they are done.*
OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*And why is this the best place to bury the people that are dead over somewhere else? What makes this place for burying the dead a special place?*

OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*She said it's because when that person is dying you can't just throw the person away like a dog, you must treat that person like a person and that's why we bury the people at the graveyard.*
OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*So it gives them, even though that person has passed away, they are able to end their life in dignity.*
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 173-187, 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, older women)	

At the same research site (Limpopo site), the older men (like the older women participants discussed in the vignette above) appraised the graveyard as place where spiritual interconnectedness could be experienced.

OM/F (H-2012; 1):	*The graveyard? Please tell us what is important about the graveyard.*
OM/T (H-2012; 1):	*It is important when they bury their dead one. It is important to see where the person is descended. Even with the upcoming generation grow up they can say: see grandmother is buried here, rather than just to bury them anywhere.*
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 28-33, 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, older men)	

The older male participants showed that they appraised the church in their community as a place with which they were interconnected and stated that the church has a calming and protective effect. They also linked the church, as a place of protection, with the spiritual after-world.

OM/F (H-2012; 1):	*Why is the church important to them?*
OM/T (H-2012; 1):	*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. They have lots of reasons for the church. Life doesn't stop here after we are resurrected, maybe we will be going to heaven for being in church.*
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 6-10, 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, older men)	

The vignette below is a good example taken from the data to express a world view of interconnectedness, particularly spiritual interconnection. The responses of the older male participants in this extract illustrate how they link the spiritual world to their everyday experiences and appraise value

in spiritual interconnectedness. The church here is described not only as a place of worship, but even more as a place where they connect spiritually to experience the supportive element of hope.

OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*We need also people who are educated. This time you can't be behind with technology.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*And I believe if you want to be a pastor you have to go to school. Because you have to practise what you preach.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*Yes that is important. I agree.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*You can't lead people without school.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*Ja, that is important.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*Same thing applies to the high school there. Coming to churches there, I just believe that it is for socialism.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*God is one.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*To socialise, to get together for that two hours to know each other. Enjoy praise God and after that you go home.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*Okay, but you don't go (referring to previous conversation).*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*Laughs. Sometimes, sometimes.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*Okay, so you say church helps with socialising.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*People come together.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*Praising God.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*Praise God.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*Come together and praise God and if they not …*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*Why is it important for them to praise God? Because I assume if they go to God they believe in God. They say yes there is a God.*
OM/P1&2 (O-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*Why is it important for people to know God and to praise God?*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*It is a belief, it is just a belief. Say somebody, not everybody pray for God. You know Indian people they are praying something like, maybe, what do we call them? Pakistan. They want to believe that is their God. Something like the table. They just want to pray to that God. So it is just a belief. 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.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*It is almost like it gives you hope?*

OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*It gives you hope. Just to keep you busy.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*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.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*Oh, I understand.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*Ja, something like that.*
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 307-348, 2012 data gathering, Mpumalanga research site, older men)	

4.2.4 SUBTHEME 1.3 – ENVIRONMENTAL INTERCONNECTEDNESS

This subtheme refers to how participants explained how they experienced a relationship of oneness with their natural environments. They appraised themselves as being one with their natural environment. The following data extracts provide examples of this subtheme from the data sources.

In the vignette below, the older female participants' responses clearly show that they appraised the environment as part of themselves and their community. An attractive community is appraised as providing in some of their needs and is therefore seen as a part of themselves.

OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Oh we've got a cow by the flower in Musunda. Let's talk a little bit about the cow by the flower.*
OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*She said that the flower is good, it is looking good because some have flowers at their home.*
OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*So it is important also for the people in the community that the community is looking very nice. They want to live in a place that looks nice.* *Shop? Ok?* *Ok. So we have a cow by the big tree in Mbuyuni.*
OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*They said the big tree, they can't plant, I forget their names ...*
OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*The baobab tree?*
OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok, what about the baobab tree?*
OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*They say, it helps us to have a good shadow (shade) and it also helps us to, it gives us fruit so that we can eat the fruit. And this tree, is the big tree among the others.*
OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok, it's the biggest tree. So it's providing you with food but it's also providing you with somewhere to stay out of the sun, some shade.*
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 90-108, 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, older women)	

The two vignettes below demonstrate the sense of oneness and interconnectedness that the older women and also the older men participants experienced with the river. As in the previous excerpt, the participants saw themselves as being one with the natural environment due to its ability to provide in their needs.

OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*So we have a cow by the Mutale River. Why is that an important thing in the community?*
OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*This Mutale River help us when we want to wash our clothes, when we want to take a bath. Even if the borehole is not giving us water we can go and fetch water from the Mutale River, so that we can drink the water from the reservoir.*
OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*So even when the other sources of water in the community are not working, then you still have a last resort, another place where you can go and get water?*
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 114-122, 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, older women)	

OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*We identified the fields, the ploughing fields.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*And why do you say that is the most important one?*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*There is job opportunities.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*But actually, as a breadwinner, what you can say …*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*We do get food here.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*We get those maize, mealies. We send it where they can make maize. Monthly we always go and fetch one bag. We are using maize to …*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*Feed?*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*To feed.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*And skills development.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*Oh yes that is important.*
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 494-505, 2012 data gathering, Mpumalanga research site, older men)	

4.3   LITERATURE CONTROL: THEME 1

4.3.1   INTRODUCTION

As a partial answer to the research question (How can insights into a comparison of indigenous pathways to appraisal in two rural communities in South Africa inform predominantly Western knowledge on resilience?), it appears that a world view of interconnectedness (specifically interconnectedness on the interpersonal, spiritual and environmental levels) plays an important role in

non-Western pathways to appraisal. The results obtained for this theme confirmed what non-Western scholars have already found in previous studies. A perusal of scientific evidence provided by scholars in the Global South (including South African scholars) (Ebersöhn, 2012b; Ebersöhn & Loots, 2017), as well as by predominantly Western studies (Berry, 1992; Parkinson & Simons, 2009) show evidence of interconnectedness as a pathway to appraisal. In this section, I will discuss my audit of the literature in respect of the findings regarding three subthemes of Theme 1.

4.3.2   FINDINGS ON INTERPERSONAL CONNECTEDNESS AS A WORLD VIEW DIMENSION

Findings that are similar to those of this study and indicate interpersonal interconnectedness as a significant pathway for appraisal can be identified in Western literature. Parkinson and Simons (2009) conducted a study on appraisal processes that involved young and old male and female participants living in an urban, Western-oriented location. The results showed that the appraisal processes underlying the participants' decision-making processes were interconnected with individuals who had been identified by the participants as people with whom they had a significant interpersonal relationship. The results of this particular study indicated that the emotions of significant others influenced the participants' emotions and consequently also their appraisals (Parkinson & Simons, 2009). The study noted the mutual influence of emotions and consequent appraisals between significant others as a pathway to appraisal. Moreover, the authors describe their resultant conclusions as a social-appraisal world view.

Based on another Western-oriented study in which social ties and social support were considered, these two factors were inductively identified as pathways to appraisal (Thoits, 2011). According to this study, social interconnection pathways to appraisal (which led to well-being) included factors such as 1) social comparisons with others in a participant's reference group; 2) experiencing a form of social control and influence; 3) purpose, meaning and guidance of behaviour; 4) self-esteem; 5) a sense of mastery/control; 6) a sense of belonging or companionship; and 7) perceived social support. These seven distinguishable factors may be described as social capital (Zautra & Reich, 2011) coming together to create a world view of social interconnectedness (Thoits, 2011).

From a non-Western perspective, the literature that was reviewed indicates that when faced with adversity, indigenous people use relationships to offset challenges (Ebersöhn, 2012b; Ebersöhn & Loots, 2017). Working among young people in rural South Africa, Ebersöhn (2012b) identified links between transactions in ecological processes and found that the collective responses of people flocking together create an appraisal pathway to activate relationships as functional resources. These findings allude to the process of flocking and to community relationships as components of a world view that assumes interpersonal interconnectedness. Other studies conducted in rural South Africa (Ebersöhn et al., 2016a; Ebersöhn et al., 2016b) concluded that social interconnectedness is an age-old phenomenon

that forms the cornerstone of communal connectedness, which is a world view that underlies social interconnectedness as a pathway to appraisal.

In another non-Western context, a study conducted in rural India identified kinship within the village as a driver for social organisation, thus noting social connections as a pathway to appraisal. Another study involving rural New Zealand populations confirmed the findings of this study by indicating that social relationships and language contribute significantly to the world views of indigenous people (Rotarangi & Russell, 2009). From the evidence presented here, it is evident that world views of social interconnectedness as a pathway to appraisal processes are present in both Western and non-Western perspectives.

4.3.3   FINDINGS ON SPIRITUAL CONNECTEDNESS AS A WORLD VIEW DIMENSION

The meaning and relevance attached to spirituality is noted in my discussion in Chapter 2 (section 2.6.2), from which it is evident that Western scholars regard spiritual aspects as a contributor to world views that direct appraisal processes (Maltby & Day, 2003; Roseman & Smith, 2001). Western literature teaches us that since spirituality is an integral part of many (Western and non-Western) cultures, emotions are evoked in response to events that relate to spiritual or religious aspects. These responses in turn influence appraisal processes (Mesquita & Ellsworth, 2001). Based on this reasoning, this study confirms that spiritual or religious connectedness plays an important role in eliciting and framing appraisals.

Sessanna et al (2011) notes that spirituality creates meaning and supports values, which in turn elicit emotions to help navigate adversity, forming a pathway to appraisal. Through spiritual connectedness as a pathway to appraisal, people tend to submit their problems, experiences and emotions to a being they deem to be superior (Ingersoll-Dayton, Saengtienchai, Kespichayawattana, & Aungsuroch, 2001). Spiritual connectedness dictates an underlying understanding that all human beings are interconnected in mind, body, spirit, emotions and purpose in life. While this notion stems from Western perspectives, it echoes the findings of this study in that the rural South African participants experience a sense of spiritual interconnectedness that connects people who otherwise may or may not feel a connection to each other. In this regard, spiritual interconnectedness is more explicit and ingrained in indigenous cultures (as my findings indicate), as spiritual connections in African culture go beyond the world of the living and extends into the world of the spirits (Ebersöhn et al., 2016a).

A study conducted with adult participants in two rural villages in India found that spirituality supports social support networks and that people with stronger spiritual affiliations are considered to be better able to build relationships within the community (Power, 2017). The influence of supernatural spiritual elements was also appraised as supportive to prosocial behaviours, such as trustworthiness,

cooperativeness and being open to co-religion (Power, 2017). Roots to spiritual interconnectedness can therefore be traced back to both Western and non-Western traditions as a pathway to appraisal.

4.3.4 FINDINGS ON ENVIRONMENTAL CONNECTEDNESS AS WORLD VIEW DIMENSION

Western literature clearly notes that a normative trend amongst the Swedish people is that they experience a feeling of support from nature, indicating environmental connectedness in the Swedish culture (Ahmedi, 2006; Pargament, 2011).

The notion of environmental interconnectedness is more evident in non-Western cultures. In Indian cultures, the natural environment is seen as a form of capital that provides a buffer against variables of shock, livelihood and identity formation (Sexana, Guneralp, Bailis, Yohe, & Oliver, 2016). The same applies to indigenous African people who see the environment as an extension of themselves (as my findings indicate). This transactional process with the natural environment provides these collectivistic communities with tools such as meaning, value and faith. These tools allow them to appraise a sense of control over their communal environmental resources in response to stressors (Ebersöhn, 2012a; Ebersöhn, 2016a). Indigenous people tend to evaluate their resources in relation to their adversity in an appraisal of their ability to cope with stressors. Studies in South Africa have indicated that indigenous people count their natural resources, such as the land they live on, their livestock, water and wood as among their material resources. The same study, conducted with participants of all ages in four South African provinces indicated that these natural resources are appraised to be connected to them and are engaged in collectively (Ebersöhn, 2016a). This perspective indicates environmental connectedness, which confirms my findings.

Chapter 5
Collaborative Indigenous Appraisal Processes

5.1   INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 4 (Figure 4.2) I provided a figure illustrating all the themes that emerged after analysis of data. I followed this figure with an exploration of Theme 1. In this Chapter I will similarly explore the findings of Theme 2 by including a description of the theme, subthemes and categories. I will list inclusion and exclusion criteria for each subtheme and indicate the prevalence of Subthemes per participant's age and gender group.

I will substantiate results as by including selections from a variety of IPR's data sources. I conclude this Chapter with literature control related to this theme in order to substantiate results of the study. Through my literature control I will begin to answer the primary research question of this study (as listed inn Section 1.4.1 of Chapter 1). The literature control I conduct in this Chapter also begins to answer, in part, the secondary research questions by comparing literature to findings from both a Western and non-Western perspective.

5.2   THEME 2: COLLABORATIVE INDIGENOUS APPRAISAL PROCESSES

Theme 2 speaks to the process of appraisal that is inherent to indigenous communities accessed in IPR. Subthemes of this Theme include 1) Consultation for Indigenous Problem-Solving and 2) Consensus for Indigenous Problem-Solving and 3) Agency as Motivation for Indigenous Appraisal Processes. In Figure 5.1 below I provide a visual summary of the themes and subthemes of this study.

Figure 5.1: Summary of themes, subthemes and categories of Theme 2
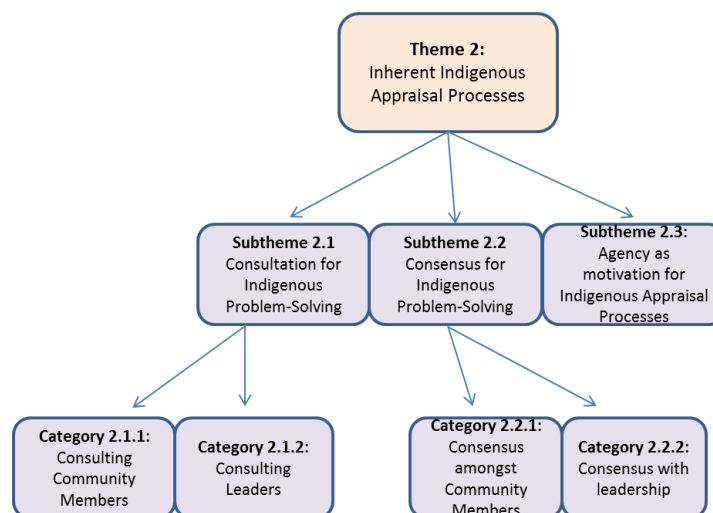
Under the three Subthemes of Theme 2, data emerged that pointed to **consulting** (on a community and leadership level) and **consensus** (on a community and leadership level) which eventually led to a sense of agency as a motivator for indigenous appraisal processes. In the table below I provide inclusion and exclusion criteria for this theme (including its subthemes and categories) that guided my analysis. Following table 5.1 I include a tabulated summary of the prevalence of each category of Subtheme according to location, age and gender, as IPR's data was stratified.

Table 5.1: Inclusion and exclusion criteria for Theme 2

THEME 2 – INHERENT INDIGENOUS APPRAISAL PROCESSES	
Subtheme 2.1: Consultation for Indigenous Problem-Solving	
Category 2.1: Consulting community members	
INCLUSION CRITERIA	**EXCLUSION CRITERIA**
Consultation within community member structures for decisions related to problem-solving is evident and guides appraisal processes. While this consultation allows for the maintaining the norms, culture and cohesion of the community.	Consultation within community member structures is evident but does not guide appraisal processes.
Category 2.1: Consulting leaders	
INCLUSION CRITERIA	**EXCLUSION CRITERIA**
Consultation on a leadership level for decisions related to problem-solving is evident and guides appraisal processes. While this consultation allows for the maintaining the greater norms, culture and cohesion of the community.	Consultation on a leadership level for decisions related to problem-solving is not evident and therefore does not influence appraisal processes or the maintenance of community norms or culture.
Subtheme 2.2: Consensus for Indigenous Problem-Solving	
Category 2.1: Consensus amongst community members	
INCLUSION CRITERIA	**EXCLUSION CRITERIA**
Consensus between community members is a prerequisite for decisions related to problem solving.	Consensus between community members is not a prerequisite for decisions related to problem solving.
Category 2.1: Consensus with leaders	
INCLUSION CRITERIA	**EXCLUSION CRITERIA**
Consensus at leadership level is required for decisions related to problem solving.	Consensus at leadership level is not required for decisions related to problem solving.
Subtheme 2.3: Agency as an outcome of indigenous appraisal processes	
INCLUSION CRITERIA	**EXCLUSION CRITERIA**
Participants were able to show agency as an end result of an indigenous appraisal process (including consultation and consensus at community and leadership level). Participant's expression of agency was a result of possessing an interconnected worldview and living in an indigenous environment in the research sites accessed.	Participants did not display a sense of agency as an end result of an indigenous appraisal process. They relied on community leaders for decision-making and resolutions.

Table 5.2: Prevalence rates of Theme 2 (including Subthemes 2.1; 2.2 and 2.3)

THEME 2 – INHERENT INDIGENOUS APPRAISAL PROCESSES			OM	OW	YM	YW
Subtheme 2.1: Consultation for Indigenous Problem-Solving						
Category 2.1: Consulting community members						
2012		Limpopo	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Mpumalanga	✓	Silent	✓	✓
2013		Limpopo	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Mpumalanga	✓	✓	✓	✓
Category 2.1: Consulting leaders						
2012		Limpopo	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Mpumalanga	✓	✓	✓	Silent
2013		Limpopo	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Mpumalanga	✓	✓	✓	✓
Subtheme 2.2: Consensus for Indigenous Problem-Solving						
Category 2.1: Consensus amongst community members						
2012		Limpopo	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Mpumalanga	✓	✓	✓	✓
2013		Limpopo	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Mpumalanga	✓	✓	✓	Silent
Category 2.1: Consensus with leaders						
2012		Limpopo	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Mpumalanga	✓	Silent	✓	✓
2013		Limpopo	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Mpumalanga	✓	✓	✓	✓
Subtheme 2.3: Agency as an outcome of indigenous appraisal processes						
2012		Limpopo	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Mpumalanga	✓	✓	✓	Silent
2013		Limpopo	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Mpumalanga	✓	✓	✓	✓

5.2.1   SUBTHEME 2.1: CATEGORY 2.1.1 - CONSULTING COMMUNITY MEMBERS

This Subtheme refers to the participant's expressions of consultation for decision-making as an indigenous pathway to appraisal processes. Data analysis showed evidence that the participant's

experienced a sense of control over events when they gathered and consulted each other to come to decisions regarding problems that had been identified. In Category 2.1.1 of Subtheme 2.1, the participants specifically expressed a desire to consult community members for indigenous problem-solving.

In the vignettes below the data illustrates that the participants consult community members to make decisions around problem-solving and decision-making. The following vignette illustrates how the older men from the Limpopo site consult each other in this regard.

OM/F (H-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 (H-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 (H-2012; 2):	*Please ask them to tell how they solved it?*
OM/T (H-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.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 65-78 , 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, older men).

The data snippet quoted below provides very clear insight into the older men participants' views on consulting community members as part of problem solving and decision-making. In this excerpt, the older men from the Limpopo site explicitly indicate that they consultation with each other is used as a problem solving technique, for problems of a personal nature and otherwise as well.

OM/F (H-2012; 2):	*If they think of problems in general in the community, what resources do they use to solve problems?*
OM/T (H-2012; 2):	*So they are saying. Whichever problem they are having, they sit down at a communal meeting whether it is a personal or else.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 89-92, 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, older men).

The vignette below the older men illustrate in more detail the process they follow when consulting with each other to solve problems. The responses of the older male participants in this extract illustrate how they go about communicating with each other as consult with each other to work towards solutions together.

OM/F (O-2013; 3):	*Okay. So this if for us to explain how you want to solve a problem in the future. You focused specifically on unemployment, ne?*
OM/P1 (O-2013; 3):	*Yes.*
OM/F (O-2013; 3):	*Okay. You can explain.*
OM/P2 (O-2013; 3):	*They are forming groups or organisations like Cooperatives, closed corporations and other kind of ownership.*
OM/F (O-2013; 3):	*Okay.*
OM/P2 (O-2013; 3):	*Ja. This will eradicate poverty. I think we can make an example.*
OM/P1 (O-2013; 3):	*Ja. If I say closed cooperative. Cooperative consist of having 10 eh, coming to guide us.*
OM/F (O-2013; 3):	*Okay, so 10 groups or a group people.*
OM/P2 (O-2013; 3):	*Group of people.*
OM/F (O-2013; 3):	*Just a group of people. Okay.*
OM/P2 (O-2013; 3):	*Ja, a group of people, not more than ten.*
OM/F (O-2013; 3):	*Okay a group of people. Not more than ten.*
OM/P2 (O-2013; 3):	*Ja, especially if they form closed corporations.*
OM/F (O-2013; 3):	*Okay.*
OM/P1 (O-2013; 3):	*We are saying in those corporations, the members we'll be having about 10 family members from different families.*
OM/F (O-2013; 3):	*From different families?*
OM/P1 (O-2013; 3):	*From different families*

OM/F (O-2013; 3):	*And how will this work, when you have the ownerships, what then?*
OM/P2 (O-2013; 3):	*Especially they can ...*
OM/P1 (O-2013; 3):	*Eh, we apply for registration.*
OM/F (O-2013; 3):	*Okay.*
OM/P1 (O-2013; 3):	*In order for you to make a business plan.*
OM/P2 (O-2013; 3):	*We are making business plans for applying for funds.*
OM/P1 (O-2013; 3):	*After registrations we apply for capital.*
OM/F (O-2013; 3):	*And apply for capital?*
OM/P1 (O-2013; 3):	*Yeah. I think you understand what capital is?*
OM/F (O-2013; 3):	*Ja. Yes I understand that. It is for funds.*
OM/P1 (O-2013; 3):	*Alright. Where would you apply for funds?*
OM/P2 (O-2013; 3):	*Maybe from an NGO, a governmental organisations any govermentals, uh...*
OM/P1 (O-2013; 3):	*Departments.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 235-270, 2013 data gathering, Mpumalanga research site, older men)

The data extract below provides an expanded view on consultative processes within communities to support each other. They then leverage that support to get the most benefit for the community members.

OM/P2 (O-2012; 3):	*Private companies.*
OM/F (O-2012; 3):	*Oh okay. In order to that. If you want to go and do that because it is a good idea, who do you need to go and speak to?*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 3):	*You can go to the municipality?*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 3):	*Ja.*
OM/F (O-2012; 3):	*Can you go directly there?*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 3):	*Maybe we can write a letter or...*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 3):	*Telephonically.*

OM/F (O-2012; 3):	*And who else, if you want to do that, is there anyone in the community you must talk to firs, or can you just directly phone the municipality?*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 3):	*There are stakeholders.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 3):	*There are people who represent the municipality.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 3):	*Like committees.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 3):	*Ja, like committees.*
OM/F (O-2012; 3):	*Okay.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 3):	*And the councillor.*
OM/F (O-2012; 3):	*Councillor. Okay.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 3):	*Yes.*
OM/F (O-2012; 3):	*What else did you write there?*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 3):	*Forming a community-based organisation. That is bullet number two.*
OM/F (O-2012; 3):	*Why do you form community based organisations?*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 3):	*You ask why we form community-based organisations?*
OM/F (O-2012; 3):	*Yes.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 3):	*That is to help other members.*
OM/F (O-2012; 3):	*Okay. So you say you have to have family members from other family members. Why is that important? Why do you need family members from all the various families?*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 3):	*We want all the community members to benefit.*
OM/F (O-2012; 3):	*Oh okay.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 3):	*Actually, this organisations is something to help the community, especially the disabled, the old ones and orphans.*
OM/F (O-2012; 3):	*And how can you do that. How can you establish an organisation like that?*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 3):	*Same story as above.*

(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 115-119, 2012 data gathering, Mpumalanga research site, older men).

5.2.2   SUBTHEME 2.1: CATEGORY 2.1.2 - CONSULTING LEADERSHIP

In Category 2.1.2 of Subtheme 2.1 findings of data analysis revealed that the participants specifically expressed a desire to consult with relevant leadership in order to solve problems.

In the vignettes below the data illustrates that the participants consult community leadership to make decisions around problem-solving and decision-making. The vignette below is an example taken from

the data to illustrate an instance where the older men participants consulted community leadership in respect of problem solving.

OM/T (H-2012; 2):	*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 92-100, 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, older men).	

In the vignette below the data excerpt illustrates the faith that the community members place in the process of consulting leadership for problem-solving. The older men participants quoted in this extract see the consultative process as a natural part of the solution (to an array of problems) for them.

OW/F (H-2012; 2):	No? Ok, that's fine.
	Let's try another scenario. So this first scenario was very very helpful because it is talking about an issue that was happening probably in many many communities, not just HaMakuya, although it definitely was also in HaMakuya.
	So now, let's try to think of a problem, even if it's a very very small problem, it doesn't need to be a governmental problem, just something very specific to HaMakuya that only the local people had a role in solving. For example, maybe they found that the children are going to the tavern and that was a problem. Now how does the community solve that problem? Something like that, something very local where the local community members played a very important role.
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	The lady has said that long ago, not long ago, I think it's last year, we were experiencing a problem of children who travel From Musunda to HaMakuya using their legs.
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	Ok so walking?
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	Yes.
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	Ok, so have they managed to find any solutions to this problem?

OW/T (H-2012; 2):	So she said that the executive member at the school just sit down with the government and the municipality around here and discuss about the problem and the government said that they supply the children with a bus so that they will use a bus to go to school.
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	Ok. So the executives at the school, so the reason they were travelling so far was to get to school?
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	Yes.
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	So the school saw that there was a problem here and they decided that the best way to solve this problem would be to go to the municipality and the officials, and to tell them look we have this problem we are worried about our children, and then they sat together and had a meeting and decided the best way to solve this problem would be the bus.
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	Yes.
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	So basically the way that they solved the problem was to go to their leaders.
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	Yes.
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	Ok and to make the leaders aware of the problem because sometimes we are not aware that there is a problem and then to together, make a collaboration to try and solve the problem?
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	Yes.
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	Ok are there any other problems in the community that the local people have managed to find solutions for?
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	Electricity was one of the problems.
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	Ok, what was the problem with electricity? Was it the fact there was no electricity?
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	She said that the counsellor and the community sit down with the counsellor and just discuss about the problem and then after that the counsellor go to the municipality and inform them that we're having a problem in HaMakuya because we have no electricity. So the municipality supplies electricity to the community.
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	So when you say the counsellor, who exactly, so not like a psychologist counsellor?
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	Not a psychologist counsellor.
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	So like the person in the civic or something like that?
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	Ja, it's the person in the civic who can tell people, if there is a problem here in HaMakuya, we can inform him, just tell him we have the problem and he will go

	to the municipality and come back to us and tell that the municipality take a decision so that our problem will be solved.
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	Ok so it seems like in HaMakuya it's very very important for the local people to have a good relationship with their leaders because they rely quite strongly on the leaders to help them come up with ways to solve the problems.
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	Yes.
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	Is there anything else that anybody wants to say? Ok, what do they have to say?
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	She said that at Musunda where the problem of roads, there was no road, so... She said that they informed the municipality at Musunda where the problem of roads is, we don't have roads, if you want to go to the main road, they send someone to the municipality and the municipality comes and checks if there is a problem and when they came they found that there is a problem with roads so that they can make the roads for them. Even if it's not tarred, they get the road now at Musunda.
MI (H-2012; 2):	Ja, thank you for sharing that story with us, and I wonder what do you do if maybe somebody, you know of somebody, or maybe yourself is ill or has a child, maybe a very clever child that wants to go to school, what are the things that you have done in the past to solve that problem?
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	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.
MI (H-2012; 2):	That is a nice thing to do.
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	Here at HaMakuya we are experiencing a big big problem of people from Zimbabwe. When they came here to South Africa they just came and steal things from us, even cows, goats and donkeys, stuff like that and they just stole from us. And then we suggest to the government that in order to avoid that kind of problem, the government send the soliders to the Limpopo river to make a fence so that the Zimbabwean people will not be able to come here to South Africa.
MI (H-2012; 2):	I can hear that many times it's good, the municipality can help and the government can help, and then there are also things that people do to help each other. They say come and work in my garden and we can help you pay for school.
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	Even then we experience the problem of water, we are using the river water to drink and river water causes lots of diseases like Malaria, diarrhoea and then we

	go to the municipality and inform the municipality and the municipality does something so that they will come and dig the borehole so that the borehole must pump the water to the tap so that we will get our water.
MI (H-2012; 2):	Ok, I think those are nice examples.
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	Ja, they are beautiful stories.
MI (H-2012; 2):	Thank you.
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 327-433, 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, older women).

The vignette below illustrates an instance where the viewpoints of the younger woman participants reflects a similar viewpoint as that of the older men participants above, wherein consultation with leadership figures seems to be revered as an effective means to a solution to a variety of problems that their community encounters.

W/F (H-2012; 2):	*Are there any people that they can think of in their community that they can go to for help when there's trouble? When there's a fight? When someone is killed? When someone hurts another person? Is there any person that they know of, that they can turn to for help? Elders in the community?*
YW/T (H-2012; 2):	*Oh, we consult the chairperson.*
YW/F (H-2012; 2):	*What does the chairperson do?*
YW/T (H-2012; 2):	*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.*
YW/F (H-2012; 2):	*Aside from people like the chief, the chairman, the headman, all of those. Is there any other individual that they can turn to? In their experience. In their families, in their kids or anywhere in the village?*
YW/T (H-2012; 2):	*They can ... if there is a problem they can also consult social-workers and the police.*
YW/F (H-2012; 2):	*In what type of situations will they turn to social workers?*
YW/T (H-2012; 2):	*Maintenance and domestic violence (translator laughs). Those are the issues we turn to the social worker.*

YW/F (H-2012; 2):	*Are the social workers in the area efficient? Do they help them quickly? And well enough?*
YW/T (H-2012; 2):	*Yes they do.*
YW/F (H-2012; 2):	*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?*
YW/T (H-2012; 2):	*We only know that they solve our problems very well.*
MI (H-2012; 2):	*How? By talking with people? Or finding what people need? How do they do it?*
YW/T (H-2012; 2):	*By talking. Through talking.*
MI (H-2012; 2):	*And when does the talking stop? When everybody is happy with the solution? When does the talking stop?*
YW/T (H-2012; 2):	*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.*
MI (H-2012; 2):	*Ya ... so that's what you talking about?*
YW/T (H-2012; 2):	*Yes ...*
YW/F (H-2012; 2):	*People that they listed also, was the police. What type of situations would they go to the police for?*
YW/T (H-2012; 2):	*Theft, murder, rape and beating ...*
MI (H-2012; 2):	*So it's ... (Writes down responses). Those are good things to go to the police for.*
YW/F (H-2012; 2):	*And do they feel the police help them well enough?*
YW/T (H-2012; 2):	*Yes, they do ...*
YW/F (H-2012; 2):	*And ... How do the police help them? What do they do to help them?*
YW/T (H-2012; 2):	*If someone offended me, the police come and arrest that person.*
YW/F (H-2012; 2):	*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.*

YW/T (H-2012; 2):	*The first step is the arrest the person. Then go to court, that person must go to court.*
YW/F (H-2012; 2):	*Ok. I think that's sufficient.*
MI (H-2012; 2):	*Yes, I think that's good information. Thank you from all of us... "Rollevuwa".*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 62-116, 2012 data gathering, Mpumalanga/Limpopo research site, younger woman)

The data vignette below gives direct insight into how leadership consultation is part of traditional problem solving strategies that are revered.

OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*And also we have Ebutseni Tribal.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*Tribal office.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*A tribal office?*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*Yes next to Ebutseni Cultural Village there is a tribal office.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*And what happens at the tribal office?*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*They are dealing with the matters of the community.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*Traditional.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*When two people are fighting, they will resolve their matter there by a hearing.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*You can say it is a traditional court.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*A traditional court?*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*Ja.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 20-31, 2012 data gathering, Mpumalanga research site, older men)

5.2.3   SUBTHEME 2.2: CATEGORY 2.2.1 – CONSENSUS AMONGST COMMUNITY MEMBERS

This Subtheme refers to the participant's expressions of consensus (following consultation) for decisions regarding problem-solving as a collaborative indigenous pathway to appraisal processes. Analysis of

data revealed evidence that the participant's perceived a sense of control over their circumstances and events in the community after they consulted each other and come to a consensus about a decision to solve their problem. In the first category of Subtheme 2.1, the participants specifically expressed a desire to achieve consensus amongst community members.

In the vignettes below the data illustrates that the participants achieve consensus amongst community members to make decisions and solve problems.

OM/T (H-2012; 3):	*The second point, in the gathering they must have an agreement.*
OM/F (H-2012; 3):	*What type of agreement?*
OM/T (H-2012; 3):	*They must first discuss each as if explain and after that they must reach an agreement.*
OM/F (H-2012; 3):	*On what they want to do?*
OM/T (H-2012; 3):	*On what they want to do. How we, on what we go in this direction in order to have a quality water.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 119-126, 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, older men)

The following vignette provides evidence from the perspective of the older women participants of how consensus is first gained on a community level in the process of problem solving.

OW/F (H-2012; 2):	*Did the people of the community or the villagers in HaMakuya take part in this decision?*
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	*She said that even the community members of HaMakuya they are just play a role in that decision, especially those that are educated.*
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	*Ok so the community members of HaMakuya did play an important role in that decision being taken and it was specifically the community members that have some education that contributed. And how did they play a role? What exactly did those people do that helped that decision to be made?*
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	*She said that at that time, the people of HaMakuya 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.*
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	*So they must pay a fine?*
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	*Yes. Like even cows, goats ...*

OW/F (H-2012; 2):	*Ok, so the community members played a role in the situation by cooperating with the headman and by helping them to make sure that every girl is going to school, and also by trying to enforce some type of structure whereby if they don't go to school there is going to be a penalty?*
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	*Yes.*
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 300-323, 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, older women)	

The vignette below is an example from the data of the older men's perspective to provide evidence of the participants gaining consensus amongst themselves, as an indigenous pathway to appraisal.

OM/F (H-2012; 2):	*What resources did they use to solve the problem? If they think of everything what did they use?*
OM/T (H-2012; 2):	*The resources they used.* They agreed to contribute, each household. *For there they had transport which they used to pay. They were using public transport.*
OM/F (H-2012; 2):	*So each household contributed so that they can go on public transport?*
OM/T (H-2012; 2):	*Yes*
OM/F (H-2012; 2):	*Is the problem now solved? Completely?*
OM/T (H-2012; 2):	*Yes*
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 79-88, 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, older men)	

5.2.4   SUBTHEME 2.2: CATEGORY 2.2.2 – CONSENSUS AMONGST LEADERSHIP FIGURES

This Category of Subtheme 2.1 speaks to the participants specifically experiencing a sense of perceived control over their expressed a desire to achieve consensus amongst leadership figures. In the vignettes below the data excerpts illustrate that the participants seek and achieve satisfaction from gaining consensus amongst authority figures to make decisions and solve problems.

OW/F (H-2012; 2):	*So now we are going to talk about what happened to let them go to school.*
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	*Ok, people started thinking to think that girls are allowed to go to school so that they can get a better future so that they can build their own house even times.*
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	*Ok and what lead to this thinking? What happened that that thinking changed?*

OW/T (H-2012; 2):	*She said that people started thinking to think that girls are allowed to go to school after democracy that we in South Africa have in 1994, that's why they start to think that oh, girls are allowed to go to school, not boys are the ones that need to go to school.*
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	*Ok. And was there anything that the local people in HaMakuya did that also contributed to this change in the problem?*
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	*She said that it's the headman of HaMakuya, they start to think about school and go to government and ask for the school so that they must have schools so that they must go to school.*
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	*Ok so they headman, when this whole democracy thing happened, then the headman in HaMakuya also started to think it is important for our girls to go to school, so they played a very important role in that decision?*
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	*Yes.*
OW/F (H-2012; 2):	*Ok and was there anything that the local people, the local community members of HaMakuya contributed to that? So it seems to me that with this problem, it was mostly the leaders that had the final say?*
OW/T (H-2012; 2):	*Yes.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 279-299, 2012 data gathering, Mpumalanga/Limpopo research site, older woman)

The vignette below illustrates the younger men's viewpoint of consensus with leadership figures. The extract below also reflects the reverence the younger men have towards their leadership, which contributes to the deep meaning assigned to decisions that leadership derive.

YM/F (O-2012; 1):	*What about the reservoir?*
YM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*It used to be dirty water inside it.*
YM/F (O-2012; 1):	*Don't you always wash it?*
YM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*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.*
YM/F (O-2012; 1):	*How do you select people to clean it?*
YM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*The headman will choose somebody to clean it.*
YM/F (O-2012; 1):	*Will he just choose somebody?*
YM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*Yes, sometimes he can say you offend and you will wash the reservoir with some other people.*

The vignette below illuminates the theme of consensus of leadership as an indigenous pathway to appraisal from the perspective of the older men participants from the Mpumalanga site. The participants responses highlight of the older male participants in this extract illustrate how they link the spiritual world to their everyday how consensus by leadership is a pathway to appraisal and is maintained as such by the community members.

OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*Okay we start here at the tribal office.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*Okay. So you put a snake at the tribal office. Why did you do that?*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*Actually when a hearing the cases and during the…*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*That tribal court.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*Ja, that tribal court, they used to give maybe punishment to the person who is not, maybe eh …*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*Guilty?*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*Yes, who is not really guilty. So maybe the result is …*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*Unfair charges.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*Ja it is unfair charges.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*Okay unfair charges.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*Yes, you can look. We are not using lawyers, we are not using something which is, eh I don't know what I can say. There is no eeh …*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*Unfair charges.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*So basically you need a lawyer to be more fair.*
OM/P1&2 (O-2012; 1):	*Yes*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 1):	*Maybe. What can I say? I'm challenging to the department of the traditional leader to look how they can brought attendance there. But that people will charge me unfairly.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*To monitor.*
OM/F (O-2012; 1):	*It needs to be more fair.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 1):	*Yes.*

5.2.5 THEME 2 – SUBTHEME 2.3 – AGENCY AS MOTIVATION FOR INDIGENOUS APPRAISAL PROCESSES

In the vignettes below the data illustrates that the participants experienced a sense of agency in their lives and their circumstances as motivation for indigenous processes of appraisal. The participants quoted below demonstrations the agency that the younger men participants demonstrate as part of their indigenous appraisal processes.

YM/F (H-2012; 3):	*What do you think you can do in your community to help in reducing the problem you are facing in your community?*
YM/P2 (H-2012; 3):	*We will contribute money to buy diesel on time anytime there is need for diesel in the generator.*
	We will also continue to contribute money together to pay the person that is putting on the generator and taking care of it.
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 174-179, 2012 data gathering, Limpopo research site, younger men)	

The vignette below is a good example taken from the data to illuminate the theme of agency as motivation for indigenous appraisal processes. The younger women quoted in this vignette demonstrate the process the community members follow to take agency to resolve challenges and adversity that they are confronted with.

YW/T (H-2012; 3):	*The community tells the chairperson to write a letter to the department of water affairs. If the department is not responding to the community then water tankers will bring water tankers to the community.*
	If the pump is not working then the municipality can bring water with the water tankers to the community. That's it ...
	We, the community of Maluzawele, we sit down to discuss water issues. We came up with the solution to have our own borehole. To drill our own borehole.
	We agreed amongst ourselves that each representative of the household can contribute a certain amount of money, for that borehole.
	We installed solar panels. Unfortunately, the solar panels have been stolen.
	Then after the solar panels have been stolen, we wrote a letter to the Department of Water Affairs, requesting the instillation of a pump.

	Then the Department donated a pump for the village. 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.
MI (H-2012; 3):	*That is wonderful! So, already in your community... This is working already?*
YW/T (H-2012; 3):	*Yes ...*
MI (H-2012; 3):	*And do you think if you told this story to other villages that they would do the same thing?*
YW/T (H-2012; 3):	*They can do it only if there is an agreement.*
	(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 121-149, 2012 data gathering, Mpumalanga research site, older men)

The data vignette quoted below provides an example of the older men participant's expressions of agency as a motivation for indigenous appraisal processes. These participants describe acting with agency to support each other through various events within their community.

OM/F (O-2012; 2):	*So you are going to give two examples of problems you have solved in the past.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 2):	*Yes.*
OM/F (O-2012; 2):	*Okay the first one is?*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 2):	*Our schools were build by mud. We said also donating materials.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 2):	*Community members donated materials to build new schools.*
OM/P2 (O-2012; 2):	*Yes.*
OM/F (O-2012; 2):	*Okay, your community members gave materials to build schools and who build the school?*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 2):	*The community members.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 2):	*Also we do same at funerals (referring to the next bullet on their list).*
OM/F (O-2012; 2):	*Ja?*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 2):	*People used to donate food, everything. Even wood to make some coffins.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 2):	*There was something like societies that donate.*
OM/F (O-2012; 2):	*Okay so if someone die people donate...?*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 2):	*Everything.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 2):	*They went door to door for donations.*

OM/F (O-2012; 2):	*Okay. In the community?*
OM/P1&2 (O-2012; 2)	*Ja.*
OM/P1 (O-2012; 2):	*And they used cattle skin to make coffin.*
(Data source: English transcriptions, lines 565-588, 2012 data gathering, Mpumalanga research site, older men)	

5.3 LITERATURE CONTROL: THEME 2

5.3.1 INTRODUCTION

The literature review I present here is conducted as an onset to providing answering to the secondary research question posed for this study. In-depth answers to research questions are provided in Chapter 6. Through my literature review I aim to clarify if collaborative indigenous appraisal processes is new knowledge or if has been discussed by previous scholars from either the Western or non-Western perspective.

5.3.2 FINDINGS ON CONSULTATION AND CONSENSUS FOR DECISION-MAKING AS COLLABORATIVE INDIGENOUS APPRAISAL PROCESSES

Western perspectives in respect of these two Subtheme's (i.e.- Subtheme 2.1 and Subtheme 2.2) are dissimilar to the findings of this study. Theory from a Western perspective posits that appraisals allow for changes in meaning that is assigned to events and that the appraisal process is an automatic response that is 'hardwired' through developmental processes (Folkman, 2011a). Western models also theorise that that appraisal processes are goal-directed and people appraise events/stressors based on goals they are motivated to reach (Smith & Kirby, 2001). From Antonovsky's theory of sense of coherence (Flannery & Flannery, 1990) it can be deduced that problems are appraised in terms of manageability and meaningfulness for the individual. It is evident from theory then that Western perspectives place emphasis on intrapersonal processes of appraisal, rather than collective processes of appraisal. The notions of consulting and consensus are in direct opposition to theory in this regard.

Existing non-Western literature confirms the findings of this study. Collectivistic tendencies in indigenous resilience are well noted, at times linked to the concept of Ubuntu (Chilisa, 2012; Ebersöhn, 2012b, 2016a, 2016b; Theron et al, 2011). Collectivistic coping patterns are embedded in IKS, which in turn underpins indigenous resilience processes (of which IPR conceptualises appraisal as being a part of). The findings of Theme 1 of this study confirm collectivistic patterns as the theme identified three areas of interconnectedness in this study with indigenous people (Interpersonal, spiritual and environmental interconnectedness). IKS attaches value to authority structures (H. S. Kim et al, 2008).

The value attached to authority in this regard follows on the worldview of interconnectedness (Theme 1 of this study) in that every segment of the community is deemed valuable and omission of the voices of any fragment of an indigenous community is not believed to be in the interest or for the wellbeing of the community (Chilisa, 2012). The underlying objective of an indigenous community is to ensure (and strive for, if necessary) the wellbeing of the community. No current literature has been identified that may directly confirm the notions of communal consultation and consensus as collaborative indigenous appraisal processes. However, by understanding the values that underpin IKS in terms of community structures non-Western theory confirms these findings.

If age and rank (authority) were considered in the context of indigenous cultures, non-Western theory confirms that a hierarchical and a largely positive view of towards respect for elders dominate literature. Positive characterisations of the aging process (including those linked to the natural environment) are evident (Chilisa, 2012; Masango, 2006). In line with this hierarchical pattern of appraisal of authority, my findings confirm that with regard to both consultation and consensus for indigenous problem solving, indigenous appraisal process patterns indicate that indigenous people first consult (and gain consensus) on the level of the interconnected (collectivistic) community and then refer up the stratum of authority (for consultation and consensus for problem solving) in their environment.

5.3.3 FINDINGS FOR AGENCY AS MOTIVATION FOR COLLABORATIVE INDIGENOUS APPRAISAL PROCESSES

With regard to correlating Subtheme 2.3 (agency as motivation for indigenous appraisal processes) to Western and non-Western literature as part of the findings of this study, re-analysis of literature indicates a similar trend in as I note above for Subtheme 2.1 and 2.2. Western literature again opposed findings of my study due to the intrapersonal viewpoint that Western literature assumes. Western literature views appraisal processes as an internal process dependant largely on developmental processes (that people have minimal influence over) (Roseman & Smith, 2001). Western literature theorises that feelings of agency may be influenced by circumstances, others or the self; and influences emotions. Agency is therefore seen as an outcome of an appraisal of circumstances, events or the self which influences emotions, which in turn influence or direct appraisal processes (Roseman & Smith, 2001; Scherer, 2001b). In summary we can conclude that Western literature theorises that emotions, based on feelings of agency, serve as goals that direct the appraisal process.

In contrast to Western theory that I present here, the findings of this study pose the idea that feelings of agency lead to heightened motivation for collaborative indigenous appraisal processes. For participants in this study, feelings of agency motivated indigenous pathways to appraisal processes such as feelings of interconnectedness and flocking together to consult and gain consensus within hierarchical community structures.

Further non-Western literature in respect of the construct of agency is sparse and does not speak to agency as described in this specific theme of this study. Ebersöhn's (2012a) work showed agency as an **outcome** of collectivist coping processes based on the utilisation of social support resources. These findings are dissimilar to the current findings on agency being a **motivator** for appraisal. This study was conducted with male and female teachers in rural South Africa. While the study in question did not speak to agency from the same perspective as my findings indicate, it did locate the occurrence of agency in a cultural context, similar to IPR's enquiry.

A study that was conducted in rural South Africa as an intentional investigation into traditional supportive practices in collectivistic communities as pathways for resilience yielded findings that appeal to the view of this subtheme (Ebersöhn et al., 2016b). One of the age-old care practices that were identified in indigenous South African communities was the theme of temporarily sharing resources (borrowing and lending). Inductive analysis of the care strategy described by (Ebersöhn et al., 2016b) indicates a similar trend that founded this subtheme (2.3) of my study. Participants illustrated a sense of agency as a motivator to work towards the wellbeing of the community. Through the act of being able to support their community members, these indigenous participants appraised acts of agency (sharing, lending, borrowing) as a motivator to collaboratively fulfil their feelings of interconnectedness (their belief that 'unity is strength'). This theme was evident in responses of both male and female adults.

Agency as motivation for indigenous appraisal processes, as described in this theme, is therefore a new pathway identified for indigenous pathways to appraisal. Subtheme 2.3 of this study constitutes a contribution to the field of indigenous appraisal processes, fulfilling one of the aims of this study.

Chapter 6
Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1   INTRODUCTION

In the literature review I presented in Chapter 2 I aimed to illustrate that a majority of the literature on appraisal is dominated by the Western perspective. The aim of this study was to generate knowledge and understandings on appraisal but from non-Western perspective in an effort to fill the evident gap in literature. As such limited scientific knowledge was available from a non-Western perspective; I conducted an inductive data analysis of the two indigenous, rural South African contexts that I analysed. As the two sampled research sites where both indigenous South African communities with non-Western worldviews, characterised by circumstances where high levels of risk, simultaneous high levels of (chronic) adversity and high need were evident, they matched the aims of my study.

In Section 1.4.1 of Chapter 1 I listed my research questions that guided my study. In this chapter I answer those research questions by linking literature that I presented in Chapter 2 and the results of my study that are presented in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

6.2   ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In Chapter 4 and 5 I began addressing my secondary research questions in part through the literature control that I present. In this Section I will formally provide responses to them. I will follow up on the answers to my secondary research questions by answering the primary research question of this study. Through answering the research questions a configuration.

6.2.1   HOW DO SOUTH AFRICAN INDIGENOUS PATHWAYS TO APPRAISAL COMPARE WITH EXISTING WESTERN KNOWLEDGE ON APPRAISAL?

The indigenous pathways to appraisal identified in this study are essentially twofold, (discussed thoroughly in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 respectively). The first pathways to appraisal noted was the participant's worldview of interconnectedness which was noted in interpersonal, spiritual and environmental interconnections. The second pathway and the second being collaborative indigenous appraisal processes. The second pathway was collaborative appraisal pathways of indigenous people.

The themes of this study have strong correlations to existing non-western knowledge in that non-western knowledge is collectivistic as the results here indicate.

Based on outcomes of this study, the greatest contribution of this study to literature is the differentiation between western literatures emphasis on individual perspective on appraisal and non-Western literatures focus on communal processes. Western literature focuses on individual appraisal processes from development to perspective on adversity. Non-Western literature has an emphasis on the influence of community on development through its emphasis on communal interconnectedness throughout the lifespan. Western literature on appraisal focuses on the development of appraisal processes through the human development process.

The common aspect between Western and indigenous pathways to appraisal is that despite Western appraisal being orientated intrinsically to the individual and non-Western appraisal being orientated extrinsically to collective relations, both these orientations are rooted in cultural norms. Thus, we may be able to confirm what literature indicates in terms of appraisal processes developing simultaneously through normal cognitive and emotional development processes. As a result, we may likewise conclude that political viewpoints which impact on gender, family roles, hierarchical issues within communities and family structures influence cultures, which in turn influence appraisal processes.

6.2.2 HOW DO SOUTH AFRICAN INDIGENOUS PATHWAYS TO APPRAISAL COMPARE WITH EXISTING NON-WESTERN KNOWLEDGE ON APPRAISAL?

Analysis of results yielded similarities between indigenous appraisal processes and existing non-Western literature as well. Non-Western literature on appraisal processes is limited and not as directive as its Western counterpart. In terms of the experience of a sense of interconnectedness in terms of interpersonal functioning, spiritual experiences and environmental interconnectedness, as indigenous pathways to appraisal, indigenous literature has already identified these appraisal processes (Ebersöhn, Loots, Mampane, Omidire, & Malan-Van Rooyen, 2017). IKS too advocates the same findings (King, 2011) as IKS served as a common basis for interconnected and collectivist views on all aspects of their functioning.

Similarly, in consideration of Theme 2's outcomes non-Western literature places an emphasis on communal processes of appraisal. Non-Western literature emphasises authority structures, hierarchy and cohesion within a community as opposed to Western literatures focus on the individual and his/her intrinsic motivations (Krohne, 2001). Subtheme 3 of Theme 2 represents new knowledge for indigenous appraisal pathways.

6.2.3 PRIMARY RESEARCH QUESTION: HOW CAN INSIGHT INTO A COMPARISON OF INDIGENOUS PATHWAYS TO APPRAISAL IN TWO RESOURCE- CONSTRAINED RURAL COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA INFORM PREDOMINANTLY WESTERN KNOWLEDGE OF RESILIENCE?

The primary aim of this study was to contribute to an indigenous psychology knowledge base on resilience from an African perspective. Through my literature review I reasoned how appraisal processes are an initial part of resilience processes. The theoretical framework of Indigenous Psychologies Approach was implemented to extend the boundaries of (Western Psychology) to include an understanding of indigenous people according to their context, culture and intrinsic experiences in order to explain human diversity. The results of this study strongly work towards supporting that the goals of Indigenous psychology as a result of the post-colonial approach to the data and participants throughout IPR. Moreover, the conceptual framework developed for this study supports an indigenous enquiry as it focuses on transactional processes between the participant and others/the environment, making it a suitable approach for the goals of this study.

A variety of data generation sources were used within a Participatory Reflection and Action (PRA) methodological paradigm to with data analysed using inductive thematic analysis methodology. The results of this study indicated some similarity what knowledge is already known from a non-Western perspective about resilience. However, very importantly, the results contribute a novel insight into (African) Non-Western appraisal processes as part of resilience. The study points to interconnectedness (interpersonal, spiritual, and environmental) as a core worldview point of departure during appraisal. Appraisal from a non-Western, African perspective is then followed by collaborative appraisal processes (including consultation and consensus for problem solving), with appraisal converging in agency as motivation.

6.3 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

While IPR's methodology for data collection was collected in an ethical manner certain delimitations still exist. The most pertinent delimitation is the sample size. IPR's sample from the two research sites was a small sample and cannot be reasonably expected to represent the entire indigenous community of South Africa (or other indigenous communities) (Cohen et al, 2013). The use of convenient sampling techniques in IPR lead to biases such as women, youth and unemployment in the rural sites (as noted above as well). That led to the exclusion of indigenous people in other contexts, such as those living in urban contexts or are employed.

Delimitations of the study must be considered in relation to the results of the study. Data was collected from two rural spaces only with participants of low socio-economic backgrounds. Due to the

circumstances of the rural there were a greater amount of women participants (particularly younger women). Both the rural spaces accessed by IPR were dominated by similar non-Western worldviews.

6.4   RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

Based on the findings of this study, I can make the following recommendations for future research as well as for psychological practice and training.

6.4.1   RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

I conducted my analysis of data from a viewpoint of indigenous appraisal processes as part of resilience processes. All my reading and consequent analysis was dominated by a resilience perspective. I recommend future research be aimed at conducing a systematic inductive inquiry into indigenous appraisal processes with a focus of analysing data from the perspective commonly variables such as the experienced of poverty. Studying appraisal from the perspective of rural thinking, which I did not.

It may also be beneficial to the scientific community to conduct a study in the future from the perspective of I further suggest that future research endeavours should move beyond the parameters of the present study by conducting a similar inductive study but in indigenous urban communities.

With regard to PRA data collection method used in this study, I suggest exploring indigenous appraisal processes using individual interviews to account for in-depth individual nuances in indigenous pathways to appraisal in non-Western communities that experience high-risk and high need. As I have identified a obvious gap in indigenous (appraisal) literature, I would suggest that continued research be undertaken using indigenous psychology as theoretical paradigm and the post-colonial research paradigm as philosophical paradigm.

6.4.2   RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT

Psychological services in South African indigenous communities are not tailored to indigenous worldviews and needs. To teach educational psychologists in training about collaborative indigenous appraisal processes that are based on collectivistic worldviews is essential in the South African context since current Psychological trends are dominated by a western viewpoint which may not allow such educational psychologists to address the psychological needs of a large percentage of South Africans effectively. Accordingly, I make the following recommendations:

- To including knowledge from my study into training programmes will allow professionals entering the field to develop an awareness of how appraisal processes develop within normal human development processes and understand indigenous pathways to appraisal. It may be important

in our current post-colonial era for students to be able to understand the two pathways to appraisal (identified in this study) in order to identify them in indigenous (or other) communities and use them as resources to support development and wellbeing.

- To include knowledge from my conceptual framework, which explains the impact of feelings of control over behaviour and decision-making. This knowledge may direct intervention strategies and therapeutic planning.

- The outcomes of my study in terms of interpersonal, spiritual and environmental pathways to appraisal may be incorporated into training programmes for health and wellbeing professionals. Students may be able to nurture these interconnections as a potential intervention tool for indigenous people.

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Appendix A:

Consent form

Participants' Consent for Participating in Research Study
A research project of the University of Pretoria and other partners, North Carolina State University (NCSU) and South African National Parks (SANParks)

Project Title: International Mentoring of Advanced Graduates for Interdisciplinary Excellence (IMAGINE)

To be read to participants over the age of 18 years

Why am I here?
Sometimes when we want to find out something, we ask people to join something called a project. In this project we want to ask you about yourself and we will ask you to participate in activities focused on your health and well being.

This study will give us a chance to see how we can understand the resources available and challenges you and other members of the community face and how you deal with these challenges in your daily activities. We would like you to also tell us those things you do or have that contribute to your ability to cope with difficulty.

What will happen to me?
If you want to be part of our study, you will spend some time with us answering some questions and participating in some activities. This will be done at the different times when we come to your community. The questions and activities will be about your experiences within your community. There are no right or wrong answers; it is how you feel and what you believe that we want to know.

If you agree, we would like to take photographs and audio-visual footage of you during some of the project activities. People will be able to see your face and hear your voice if we decide to show the images during discussions and in reports about the project. We will however not tell anyone your name.

Will the project hurt?
No, the project will not hurt. The questions and activities can take a long time but you can take a break if you are feeling tired or if you don't want to answer all the questions at one time. If you don't want to answer a question or participate in an activity, you don't need to. All your answers will be kept private. No one will know what you said.

Will the study help me?
We hope that from the study you might learn about new ways in which to access resources (use what you have) in order to build your ability to cope. We hope you will also develop new relationships with other community members so that in the future you might work together to help one another.

What if I have any questions?
You can ask any questions you have about the study. If you have questions later you can phone Prof. Liesel Ebersohn – 012 420 2337 or you can ask the next time we come to visit you.

Do I have to be in the project?

You do not have to be in this project. No one will be upset if you don't want to do this. If you don't want to be in the project, you just have to tell us. You can say "yes' or "no". If you change your mind later you don't have to be part of the project any more. It is up to you.

(a) Writing your name on this page means that you **agree to be in the project** and that you **know what will happen to you** in this study. If you decide to quit the project all you have to do is tell the person in charge.

_____   _____
Signature of participant   Date

(b) Writing your name means that you agree that we can take photographs and audio-visual footage of you during the project and share these images during discussions, as well as reports we write about the project. We will not share your name with the people who see the images. If you decide that we should rather not take photographs or audio-visual footage of you in the project, all you have to do is tell the person in charge.

_____   _____
Signature of participant   Date

If you have any further questions about this study, you can phone the Investigator, Prof. Liesel Ebersohn at 012 420 2337. If you have questions about your rights as a participant you can contact the University of Pretoria, Faculty of Education Ethics Committee at 012 420 5656.

Appendix B:

Demographic form

Demographic: PRA Groups[1]

Name: _____

Village: _____

1. Gender (circle):   Male   Female
2. Where did you grow up? _____

3. Age (circle):   18-25 26-35 36-45 46-55 Over 55

4. What is your highest level of education (Grade or Standard)? _____

5. Have you had any training or skills development (agriculture, artisan, carpentry)? _____

6. Which of the following do you visit once or more per week:

___church   ___traditional healer/sangoma
___clinic   ___school
___post-office   ___shop/market
___stokvel/society   ___community centre
___soccer field   ___tavern
___waterpoint   ___friends/family

7. How many people are in your family? (*eat meals together at least 4 days a week*): _____

8. How many members of this household are away more than 3 nights a week, studying, working, or looking for work? _____

9. How many people in your family are permanently employed? _____
   How many are temporarily employed? _____

10. Does your *household earn at least half of its income from agricultural activities (e.g., selling maize, chickens, marula beer)*? _____

11. How many rooms are in your homestead? _____

12. Does your household have any of the following items:

___Car   ___Child Support
___Cattle (how Many?)   ___Disability Support
___Goats (how many?)   ___Pension
___Donkeys (how many?)   ___Foster Care Support
___Donkey Cart   ___Electricity
___TV   ___DSTV
___Fridge/Freezer   ___Stove
___Vegetable garden/fruit trees ___Chickens/Guinea Fowl
___Cellphone   ___Wheelbarrow
___Bicycle   ___Water Storage

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[1] Adapted from IMAGINE Project Household survey

Appendix C:

Sample of field notes

Research Site: Ha'Makuya, Limpopo Province

Venue: Tshulu Camp

Date: 6 June 2012

Format: Field notes

Source: Observations made during PRA activities

Included Information:

- Behaviour and interaction of participants;
- Process of activities;
- Key points of dialogues;
- Reflections.

Goals:

- Enrich primary data source, namely English transcriptions;
- Document behaviour of participants;
- Supportive data;
- Identify indigenous pathways to well-being.

DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPANTS

Four younger women participated as part of this group.

Two of the woman displayed more assertive personalities and tended to take the lead in the process as well as in interacting with myself and the translator. The other two participants did contribute to completing the activities as well. Their role could be described as supportive, based on my observations.

DESCRIPTION OF SETTING

Participants were brought to the Tshulu camp to participate in the PRA activities. Before commencing the PRA activities in earnest the group of participants were divided into groups of older men, younger men, older women and younger women.

The setting and environment at Tshulu camp was very open and secluded and thus allowed for the PRA activities to be conducted in a confidential space that was free of distraction for the participants. The participants seemed to experience this as a secure environment in which they could freely express themselves.

DESCRIPTION OF PROCESS

Before the PRA activities commenced informed consent was discussed (by the trained translator in the language of the participants) and the participants were given the opportunity to decide whether or not they wanted to participate in the research activities. All four participants agreed to participate.

Consent was explained to the participants as planned with the principal investigator on the project (my supervisor), as was the sequence of events for the data collection process. The sequence of PRA activities and events for the day was as follows:

1. Complete informed consent with participants.

2. Complete community map activity with participants.

   - Paste cows

   - Explain cows

   - Paste snakes

   - Prioritise snakes

   - Explain snakes

3. Complete demographic sheet

4. Complete drums activity

- Explain drums/coping strategies.

5. Complete knobkerrie/tshonga activity

- Explain new / potential coping strategies.

6. Complete mealie poster

- Explain what makes you happy.

- On the day of the data collection however, the community had pension collection day so no participants arrived as we would have expected. All our plans had to change.

- Eventually, after a wait of a few hours, participants began to arrive n 'drips and drabs'.

- We administered some of the demographic /conservation of resources questionnaires while we waited, with the participants that had arrived already.

- Before administering the questionnaires though, we had participants sign the informed consent forms. The general/overall consent issues weere explained to them, as well as the aspects of consent related to audio-visual recordings as part of the data collection process. No difficulties arose during this process.

- When the full group of participants eventually did arrive we offered them tea or coffee before commencing the PRA data collection activities as intended.

ACTIVITY ONE: COMMUNITY MAP

(Including identification of protective resources and risk factors)

Description of Activity:

The participants are asked to draw a map of their community from a bird's eye view. After drawing the map they should identify protective resources (assets) in their community by pasting cows on all the protective resources (assets) on the map. Lastly they need to identify risk factors on the map by pasting snakes.

3

- During the completion of the community maps activity, the participants seemed nervous, they asked for rough paper to do a draft of their map first. At a later stage, during the completion of the activity related to happiness ("mealie poster" activity) they even asked for some privacy from the translator who was working with the group next to us and was standing close to participants from my group.

- Two of the participants seemed to take on the leadership roles during the process. This was evident throughout the day with all the data collection activities that we completed.

- Participants from Mbuyuni and Maluzawela villages were part of the younger woman groups.

- They seemed nervous when doing the activity and asked for rough paper to plan a draft of their map first.

- Two participants tended to take on the lead in completing the activity in general.

- When completing the map, they started with the river. The river seemed to form the core/centre of their map/village (from their perspective). They literally used it as a focus point from which to plot other points on their map.

- The baobab trees were also prominent on their maps.

The identified protective factors included the following:

- Spaza – (We buy our food from spaza shop);

- Church – (It prevents people from engaging in crime);

- Houses – (For habitation, can't live without house);

- Soccer field/ground – (Important for exercise, for men and woman);

- Taps – (From water pipe. Draw water from these taps);

- Primary school – (We learn different things from school and get jobs because of that);

- Road – (People and vehicles move on these to access these villages);

- Tanks – (Store water in these tanks);

- Makuya Park – (The gate to the park. Tourists come through these gates because it's the closets gate to the park. There is no financial gain associated with this gate, only the access that it provides to the park);

- Makuya National Park – (Conserves wildlife. Without the park they would be consumed by the animals, therefore the park gives them safety);

- Soccer patch – (Men and woman do exercise here. School children go for soccer);

- Big tree – (Baobab gives us fruit);

- Spaza and tavern – (Serves as the spaza, we buy bread at the tavern and something to drink);

- Access roads to village – (help us with transport to village);

The following risk factors were identified:

- Mbava/thief – (person who steals. There are only three people who are troubling, who are thieves.);

- Dog - (if you are bitten by a dog you can get admitted to hospital);

- Snakes – (dangerous animals and you can die if it bites you);

- Tavern – (it influences youth to drink before they can finish their studies);

ACTIVITY TWO: DRUM ACTIVITY

Description of Activity:

The participants were asked to describe a problem that the community solved in the past. It was emphasised that it needed to be a real problem.

Content included:

- The first problem that the participants described related to conflict resolution within their community ("When someone did something")

  If the conflict could not be resolved then they would go to the headman for assistance.

  If the chief fails to resolve the matter then they take matters into their own hands, and this could lead to fighting or even murder.

  In such circumstances the case is referred back to the headman and he may take the decision to expel the murderer from the village.

- The second problem that the participants described related to thieves in the community.

  As there were no police members present in the community in previous times, the community devised their own system of law enforcement.

  Rules were enforced by the headman who was allowed to issue punishments such as expelling an individual from the community, beating them or alternate forms of punishment, as he saw fit.

- In general, the participants described the role of the various authority figures in the community as follows:

  The chief makes the rules.

  The headman's role and responsibility lies in controlling the village overall. He is responsible for making sure that all the services that should come to his village are delivered. Thus, if the chief makes a rule then the headman is responsible for enforcing it.

  In a situation where there is trouble or difficulty they can also consult with the police or social workers.

  Social workers are responsible for assisting in issues related to child maintenance and domestic violence. The participants report the social

workers assistance is efficient and effective and that they resolve conflict through talking to role-players in a situation.

Police assist in cases where there is theft, murder, rape and beating. They arrest suspects before cases go to court. Their assistance is seen as effective by the participants.

All community members are responsible for reporting issues

The participants went into lots of detail here. They seemed motivated and interested in this discussion and went into detailed descriptions. The outcome was that they produced thorough descriptions.

All the participants contributed during this activity, even the two who were less talkative during the map activity.

ACTIVITY THREE: KNOBKERRIE ACTIVITY

Description of Activity:

Participants are asked to think of a problem they would like to solve in the future and how they would go about solving it. More specifically, for this activity they were asked to focus on overcoming the issue of water availability. After they discussed this in their group they shared it with the fieldworker.

The exact prompt that was used to elicit responses from the participants was: "what resources/coping strategies can we think of that can help the community overcome the water availability problem?"

All the fieldworkers emphasised a specific focus should be on what the community/people themselves can do to help themselves, without relying on the authorities or others. Participants were encouraged to think about daily habits or activities that they could change themselves.

Content Included:

The participants listed the following community initiatives to resolving the water availability issue:

- The community sat down to discuss the water issues and resolved to drill a borehole.

- They agreed to contribute a set amount of money in order to maintan their own borehole.

- They installed solar panels to warm their water. When these got stolen they wrote to the Department of Water Affairs and asked them to install a water pump, which was done. Again, each household donated a set amount of money (R10) to maintain the water pump from that point on.

Encouraged the participants to think about what daily habits or activities they can change/improve on themselves, rather than focusing on a municipality level.

Differences noted between two villages (see transcriptions).

ACTIVITY FOUR: MIELIE ACTIVITY

Description of Activity:

The participants are asked to write down what makes them happy/ what makes a good life. To ensure that every participant contributes, I asked each participant to share what makes them happy. They were then also asked to share what makes the community as a whole happy.

Content Included:

The participants shared that the following elements make them happy:

- When we (researchers) visited them in their village.

- They taught us (researcher) how to dance their traditional dance.

- They feel happy when they are together.

- When they were given money/payment for doing their traditional dance in their village.

- Their families were happy when they received money for doing their traditional dance as it removes poverty.

- Receiving a child grant makes them happy as it allows them to buy food, which makes them happy. It also allows them to send their children to school.

- They were very happy when they spent the day together at Tshulu Camp.

- They were happy when we (researchers) asked them questions during the data collection as it sharpens their minds.

- When they were treated well by us at Tshulu Camp.

The participants requested privacy from the translator who was working with the younger men group when he stood very close-by to them.

By this point they were all relaxed within the group setting and everyone contributed and participated fully.

Their responses seemed thorough and well thought-out again.

Appendix D:

Sample of initial data analysis conducted

Solving a future problem Hamakuya

	Older woman	Older men
1. Governance and decision making 1.1 Establishment of new ownership ad leadership 1.2 Consultation with relevant stakeholders		
2. Education and development 2.1 Skills and training 2.2 Job opportunities and learnerships		
3. Infrastructure and services	Municipality Get contractors for borehole`	Write letter to municipality for new borehole
4. Culture and Community 4.1 Traditional hierachial structure of support 4.2 Discipline 4.3 Social support systems 4.4 Communication	Gather community Discuss and vote (reach agreement on what to do) under leader ship of headman. Contribute money to make a borehole Dig their own springs Collect rain water using drums Collecting water from river Put fences around water	Gather community Discuss and vote (reach agreement on what to do) under leader ship of headman. Contribute money and make a new borehole
5. Spirituality		
6. Relationships 6.1 friends 6.2 family		
7. Livelihood 7.1 Agriculture and farming		
8. Natural resources	Collecting water from river	
	Younger woman	**Younger men**
1. Governance and decision making 1.1 Establishment of new ownership ad leadership		

1.2 Consultation with relevant stakeholders		
2. Education and development 2.1 Skills and training 2.2 Job opportunities and learnerships		
3. Infrastructure and services	Write a letter to municipality Rely on trucks that bring water (existing structure)	Change the diesel system to electrical system Write letter municipality Increase number of taps Ask government for support
4. Culture and Community 4.1 Traditional hierarchical structure of support 4.2 Discipline 4.3 Social support systems 4.4 Communication	 Drill own borehole Get contributions from neighboring communities	Meet headman (consultation) Contribute money
5. Spirituality		
6. Relationships 6.1 friends 6.2 family		
7. Livelihood 7.1 Agriculture and farming		

Women – Similar	Men - Similar

3.Infrastructure and services
    Municipality
4.3Social systems
    Drill own borehole
	3.Infrastructure and services
	    Municipality
	4.Culture and community
	  4.1Traditional hierarchical structure of support
	      Headman
	  4.3Social support systems
	      Contribution of money

Youth – Similar	**Elder - Similar**

3.Infrastructure and services
    Municipality
4.Culture and Community
  4.3Social support systems
      Contribute money
	3.Infrastructure and services
	    Municipality
	4.Culture and community
	  4.1Traditional hierarchical structure of support
	      Headman
	  4.3Social support systems
	      Contribution of money

Old Women – Unique	Older Men - Unique

4.Culture and community
  4.3Social support systems
    Fences around water sources
    Collecting water from river (natural resource?)
    Collect water using drums	

Young Women – Unique	**Younger Men - Unique**

4.Culture and community
  4.3Social support systems
    Get contributions from neighboring
    communities.	

1   **Identification of protective resources**

2   OMF (H-2012; 1):   *Why is the school important?*

3   OMT (H-2012; 1):   *It is where younger generations start to get their future.*

4   OMF (H-2012; 1):   *Why is the church important to them?*

5   OMT (H-2012; 1):   *The church makes the village to stay calm. And also if a large*
6   *number of people attending church it means that you will be*
7   *avoiding things like crime. They have lots of reasons for the church.*
8   *Life doesn't stop here after we are resurrected maybe we will be*
9   *going to heaven for being in church.*

10 OMT (H-2012; 1):   *They say water is more important because they use it on a daily*
11   *basis, for washing clothes, cooking, drinking and o all the other jobs*
12   *that need water.*

13 OMF (H-2012; 1):   *What else are cows for them, what else are important to them?*
14   *They pasted it at the soccer field. Why is the soccer field important*
15   *to them?*

16 OMT (H-2012; 1):   *To bring youth to the soccer field, or by playing soccer it is helping*
17   *in the village because it prevents things like crime. They also*
18   *maybe gain a future by being promoted to professional teams. It is*
19   *also important to their health.*

20 OMF (H-2012; 1):   *What else? What else is very important to them? I see you placed*
21   *at the place for communal meetings.*

22 OMT (H-2012; 1):   *This place is more important because everything that is happening*
23   *around the village is talked here, agreements.*

24 OMT (H-2012; 1):   *It is almost as if they talk about things here, if they have problems*
25   *they talk about it here.*

26 OMT (H-2012; 1):   *Yes.*

| 27 | OMF (H-2012; 1): | *The graveyard? Please tell us what is important about the* |
| 28 | | *graveyard?* |

29	OMT (H-2012; 1):	*It is important when they bury their dead one. It is important to see*
30		*where the person is descended. Even with the upcoming*
31		*generation grow up they can say: see grandmother is buried here,*
32		*rather than just to bury them anywhere.*

33 **Identification of risk factors**

| 34 | OMF (H-2012; 1): | *Where are they putting the snake and why?* |

| 35 | OMT (H-2012; 1): | *The bridge* |

| 36 | OMF (H-2012; 1): | *Why?* |

| 37 | OMT (H-2012; 1): | *It is an old bridge and most of the cars, especially the low ones* |
| 38 | | *don't get access. If they go over the parts get damaged.* |

| 39 | OMT (H-2012; 1): | *Water tank.* |

| 40 | OMF (H-2012; 1): | *Why?* |

41	OMT (H-2012; 1):	*It is an old one and it is not being cleaned properly and some of the*
42		*stand is getting rotten. Also the type of water. The tank doesn't*
43		*promote quality water, the water starts changing colour.*

| 44 | OMF (H-2012; 1): | *What else? They can paste if they didn't draw it, but it is still a* |
| 45 | | *problem.* |

| 46 | OMT (H-2012; 1): | *They say they don't have a shop.* |

| 47 | OMF (H-2012; 1): | *Anything else? Anything that can make their lives better?* |

| 48 | OMT (H-2012; 1): | *The only major problem is this one (the shop). They have to take* |
| 49 | | *transport to other villages to go and buy things.* |

50	OMT (H-2012; 1):	*They say this is for the high school because they only have a*
51		*primary school. The problem is that when they start attend high*
52		*school the problem is transport, transportations, because they have*
53		*to attend far away.*
54	OMF (H-2012; 1):	*Tell me more about the water in the village. Is it good?*
55	OMT (H-2012; 1):	*They say the only problem with the water is it is too salty tasting,*
56		*too much salt.*
57	OMF (H-2012; 1):	*If they should take the two biggest problems in the village, what are*
58		*those?*
59	OMT (H-2012; 1):	*The bridge and no shop, they also say the water-tank.*
60	OMF (H-2012; 1):	*I there anything they might want to include on their map that they*
61		*thought of later?*
62	OMT (H-2012; 1):	*They are happy.*

63   Solving a past problem

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

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

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

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

78   OM/F (H-2012; 2):   *What resources did they use to solve the problem? If they think of*
79   *everything what did they use?*

80   OM/T (H-2012; 2):   *The resources they used. They agreed to contribute, each*
81   *household. For there they had transport which they used to pay.*
82   *They were using public transport.*

83   OM/F (H-2012; 2):   *So each household contributed so that they can go on public*
84   *transport?*

85   OM/T (H-2012; 2):   *Yes*

86   OM/F (H-2012; 2):   *Is the problem now solved? Completely?*

87   OM/T (H-2012; 2):   *Yes*

| 88 | OM/F (H-2012; 2): | *If they think of problems in general in the community, what* |
| 89 | | *resources do they use to solve problems?* |

90	OM/T (H-2012; 2):	*So they are saying. Whichever problem they are having, they sit*
91		*down at a communal meeting whether it is a personal or else. If the*
92		*problem is not solved at the community meeting they call the*
93		*headman. The headman from the other village. So they state the*
94		*problem and if the headman can't solve the problem or if he sees*
95		*the problem is too big for him. They go to the SAPS. For instance if*
96		*I am drinking liquor and I am drinking until very late say until 2*
97		*o'clock in the morning. So when I come back home, I'm singing my*
98		*song loudly and the villagers they don't like that song they come to*
99		*me first and if it continues they take the matter to the headman.*

> **Comment [SM1]:** Theme 1: Community/collective appraisal. (Appraise community and leadership as support mechanisms in problem solving.)

| 100 | OM/F (H-2012; 2): | *Kindly ask them to think of another problem they solved in the past.* |
| 101 | | *Another story.* |

102	OM/T (H-2012; 2):	*They say the other problem they had before was for the provision of*
103		*water. They only had one borehole and it kept giving them*
104		*problems. So they were helped by Mvula Trust for a new borehole*
105		*that they are having now, that they are using now.*

| 106 | OM/F (H-2012; 2): | *How did that process go? How did they record the problem? How* |
| 107 | | *did Mvula Trust know to come and help?* |

108	OM/T (H-2012; 2):	*They say that they wrote a letter to the responsible municipality and*
109		*then the municipality responded to them saying that they will write a*
110		*letter to Mvula trust. So Mvula trust promised them to do the*
111		*borehole and also paying the people who do the digging for the*
112		*borehole.*

113 <u>Solving a future problem</u>

114 OM/F (H-2012; 3) *The problem is the water quality.*

115 OM/F (H-2012; 3): *Okay and how would they like to solve it?*

116 OM/T (H-2012; 3): *To improve the store of water. |The first thing is they gather as*
117 *villagers at a communal meeting.| Just to raise the problem the*
118 *water quality. The second point, in the gathering they must have an*
119 *agreement.*

> **Comment [SM2]:** Subtheme 1.1: Problem solving through **communal discussion**. (Communal discussion is the appraisal "tool".

120 OM/F (H-2012; 3): *What type of agreement?*

121 OM/T (H-2012; 3): *They must first discuss each as if explain and after that they must*
122 *reach an agreement.|*

> **Comment [SM3]:** Subtheme 1.1: Problem solving through **communal discussion**. (Communal discussion is the appraisal "tool".

123 OM/F (H-2012; 3): *On what they want to do?*

124 OM/T (H-2012; 3): *On what they want to do. How we, on what we go in this direction in*
125 *order to have a quality water.*

126 OM/F (H-2012; 3): *Number three?*

127 OM/T (H-2012; 3): *The third one. They write a letter that will go to a local office for*
128 *water affairs.*

129 OM/F (H-2012; 3): *Okay.*

130 OM/T (H-2012; 3): *And it will be stamped from the, by the head man.*

131 OM/F (H-2012; 3): *And what would they ask?*

132 OM/T (H-2012; 3): *From the, for the water affairs they take the letter to the responsible*
133 *local municipality.*

134 OM/F (H-2012; 3): *Is that number 4?*

135 OM/T (H-2012; 3): *5*

136	MI:	*I'm wondering "OM/T", if it stops there. So it goes to number 1,2 so*
137		*3,4 and 5 happens but if there is something they sit together with*
138		*other people in a gathering if there is something they decide what*
139		*they can do because even sometimes government take a long time.*
140		*Is there maybe something they can do in that gathering? Maybe*
141		*they can discuss (referring to the participants that should discuss*
142		*this question raised).*

143	OM/T (H-2012; 3):	*There was the first borehole they had before, they contributed each*
144		*household that contributed in order to have that borehole to have it*
145		*done.*

146	MI(H-2012; 3):	*Do they think they will be able by when we come next year May*
147		*2013, if we come again and we meet again that they will be able to*
148		*do something like that. Would they have a gathering with villagers*
149		*and say let us try this thing, it can be another borehole or maybe*
150		*they have another idea do they think they can implement, that they*
151		*can do?*

| 152 | MI (H-2012; 3): | *So how will they do that? At that gathering. How will they ask* |
| 153 | | *people? What will they say? How will they get people to do that?* |

154	OM/T (H-2012; 3):	*They are saying which ever, as villagers, they raise the issue at a*
155		*communal meeting so they use the number of majorities these who*
156		*are agreeing must contribute to a borehole. If they are 20 people*
157		*and are sitting…*

Comment [SM4]: Subtheme 1.1: Problem solving through **communal discussion**. (Communal discussion is the appraisal "tool".

| 158 | MI: | *So everyone does that?* |

| 159 | OM/T (H-2012; 3): | *Not everyone. The majority.* |

| 160 | MI(H-2012; 3): | *The majority, those who agree?* |

| 161 | OM/T (H-2012; 3): | *Yes* |

| 162 | MI (H-2012; 3): | *That is. And those are? Will somebody say let us put all our money* |
| 163 | | *in a stockvell and get the borehole or? How will they do it?* |

164	OM/T (H-2012; 3):	*After they agree or after they made majority. They first do*
165		*quotations and then they decide how much each household can*
166		*contribute.*

| 167 | MI(H-2012; 3): | *That is a good idea.* |

> **Comment [SM5]:** Subtheme 1.1:
> Problem solving through **communal discussion**. (Communal discussion is the appraisal "tool".
> Action only taken after they discuss and come to an agreement.
> Community discussion is a instinctual action or reaction when they are faced with a challenge or difficulty (risk).

168   <u>Happiness activity</u>

169   OM/F (H-2012; 4):   *Last one, tell them last one. Now I want all of them to write. All of*
170   *them must write, they can either draw or write things that make*
171   *them happy.*

172   OM/T (H-2012; 4):   *In the village or in life?*

173   OM/F (H-2012; 4):   *In life yes and in their village. Things that make them happy but all*
174   *of them must write or draw. Everyone must write or draw what*
175   *makes them happy.*

176   OM/T (H-2012; 4):   *How much?*

177   OM/F (H-2012; 4):   *As much as they can.*

178   First Participant

179   OM/T (H-2012; 4):   *The first thing is he is happy with mechanic work. The second point*
180   *is eating food. It is also to dance. Then to look after animals,*
181   *domestic animals. Then the things that makes his thing today, the*
182   *thing that could possibly makes his day is to see a place that he*
183   *never has seen before or to meet people.*

184   OM/F (H-2012; 4):   *Good we can wait for the others.*

185   Second participant

186   OM/T (H-2012; 4):   *Agriculture. The third one is to watch soccer.*

187   OM/F (H-2012; 4):   *Third one?*

188   OM/T (H-2012; 4):   *The third one, to pray. Then family.*

189   OM/F (H-2012; 4):   *Last one?*

190   OM/T (H-2012; 4):   *The fifth one he says he is excited to be here for the first time, his*
191   *day is made because he came here today.*

192   Third participant

193   OM/T (H-2012; 4):   *He says playing soccer. To do, build the rocky wall. He is happy to*
194   *be associated with other as to have issues that will be constructive*
195   *in their lives. To help others with ideas. The day that has make him*
196   *happy mostly is when he taught himself to play guitar.*

197   OM/F (H-2012; 4):   *One more question. What makes the community happy, what*
198   *makes the village happy?*

199   OM/T (H-2012; 4):   *In general?*

200   OM/F (H-2012; 4):   *In general. What makes their village happy?*

201   OM/T (H-2012; 4):   *To have love one another*

202   OM/F (H-2012; 4):   *Two more things that make them happy? The village happy?*

203   OM/T (H-2012; 4):   *To have their demands applied.*

204   OM/F (H-2012; 4):   *One more?*

205   OM/T (H-2012; 4):   *They will try. (Couldn't think of something)*

206   OM/F (H-2012; 4):   *Okay thank you.*

Appendix E:

Data sample (English transcripts)

Research Site: Ha'Makuya, Limpopo Province

Venue: Tshulu Camp

Date: 2012

Type of Transcriptions: Verbatim

Source: Audio Recordings

Included Information: English conversation between translator, co-researcher and principal investigator

MI (H-2012; 1): To identify indigenous pathways to coping.

Codes used:

OW/F (H-2012; 1) = Older Women/Fieldworker (Ha'Makuya 2012; Activity 1)

OW/T (H-2012; 1) = Older Women/Translator (Ha'Makuya 2012; Activity 1)

MI (H-2012; 1) = Main Investigator (Ha'Makuya 2012; Activity 1)

Activity 1: Community Map (Including risk and protective factors)

Description of Activity

Participants draw a community map on a large poster using coloured pens to indicate what their community looks like, what resources they have (indicated by pasting pictures of cows) as well as what adversities they face (indicated by pasting snakes). After the risks/adversity and resources have been identified, the participants are given the opportunity to prioritise them. Active discussion also plays a key role during this activity. After the group has discussed and completed the activity, they are given the opportunity to present this to the researcher. Throughout the activity, the translator will bridge the communication gap between the participants and researcher.

Goal

To generate data on:

- Geographical information (what the community looks like)
- Resources
- Adversity/risks
- Meaning attached to resources
- Meaning attached to risks

1   ACTIVITY ONE: COMMUNITY MAP

2   OW/F (H-2012; 1):   Ok, this is the older group of women, and we are doing the cow
3   activity.

4   OW/T (H-2012; 1):   *There is an engine.*

5   OW/F (H-2012; 1):   *An engine? What type of an engine is that?*

6   OW/T (H-2012; 1):   *They use it to pump water at the tap.*

7   OW/F (H-2012; 1):   *So they use the engine to pump the water so that the water can*
8   *get to the taps. The taps in the village?*

9   OW/T (H-2012; 1):   *Ja.*

10   OW/F (H-2012; 1):   *Ok it's the taps in the village.*

11   OW/T (H-2012; 1):   *They are putting it or top or?*

12   OW/F (H-2012; 1):   *That's fine; they can put the cows on top of each thing.*

13   *Ok. So we have a cow on top of the school.*

14   OW/T (H-2012; 1):   *They said the school helps their children to have more future so*
15   *that they will get educated because at school they are learning*
16   *how to write and how to read in different languages.*

17   OW/F (H-2012; 1):   *Ok, we have another cow in the corner. And what is that cow in*
18   *the corner there?*

19   OW/T (H-2012; 1):   *She said that the stop helps them or they do the children when*
20   *they want to cross the road. So, if you want to cross the road*
21   *you must stop first and look around, left and right so that you*
22   *can cross the road.*

23   OW/F (H-2012; 1):   *Ok so we have a cow at the royal house. And why is that an*
24   *important thing for you?*

25   OW/T (H-2012; 1):   *The royal house is important because it is the place where lives*
26   *our headman. He is the man who is our leader.*

1

27	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*And why is the place where the leader lives important?*
28	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Because he is also important.*
29	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Because he is also an important man?*
30	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
31 32	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*And what is it that this important man can do for the people in the community?*
33 34 35 36	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*If you want something from the government then he is the one who goes to the government when you want something for instance, they are wanting water, so just go and say can you please go supply us with water, so we need water.*
37 38	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok, I see we have another cow here by the tank. What is this cow?*
39 40	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*When it is rainy day, the tanks are out to store the water to save the water so that they have more water from the tanks.*
41 42	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*So then you don't only have to rely on the river, you can also rely straight from the rain that is coming from the sky?*
43	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Ja, the rain water helps out a lot.*
44	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok, and I see in the veld we have a cow as well.*
45 46	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*She said at the bush veld it is important because it is the place where we collect our firewood so that we can cook at home.*
47 48	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*So it is an important resource for the community? Because you need fire to do many things in the community?*
49	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
50 51 52	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok, and then I see we have another cow by another royal house. So is this the royal house of a different village in HaMakuya?*

53	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
54 55	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*So is there any different reasons for the cow at this royal house that we didn't already talk about at the other royal house?*
56 57 58	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*She said there is no difference because it is something that people around the community knows, that they just talk to each other so that they can tell people.*
59	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*So does each area have its own royal house?*
60	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
61 62	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok so each village has its own royal house. Ok so we will have a royal house in every village?*
63		*This is for Musunda.*
64		*Ok. So is this the royal house for this village as well?*
65	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Ja, this one is for Musunda.*
66	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Oh is this whole thing Musunda?*
67	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
68	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*So in Musunda, we have two royal houses.*
69	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
70	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok.*
71		*Ok so that cow is by the clinic.*
72	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
73	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*And why is the clinic an important thing in the community?*
74 75 76	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*It's the place where we got help. If we are not feeling better we go to the clinic so that they take care of us, they will give us a good care.*

3

77	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok so if you are sick you are going to go there so that you can*
78		*get healthy or you can get your medicine. Ok.*
79		*Ok so we have a cow by the grounds. And what makes the*
80		*grounds important for the community of HaMakuya?*
81	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*She said the grounds help us our children to just forget about*
82		*the tavern so that they can keep them busy. Because they will*
83		*be playing soccer, doing different things at the grounds.*
84	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*So the grounds is a place where they can go and be*
85		*constructive? Where they can do things that is going to be*
86		*helpful for their lives? And where they can stay out of trouble?*
87	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
88	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok. Do we have more cows on this side? Did somebody stick*
89		*another one?*
90		*Oh we've got a cow by the flower in Musunda. Let's talk a little*
91		*bit about the cow by the flower.*
92	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*She said that the flower is good, it is looking good because*
93		*some have flowers at their home.*
94	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*So it is important also for the people in the community that the*
95		*community is looking very nice. They want to live in a place that*
96		*looks nice.*
97		*Shop? Ok?*
98		*Ok. So we have a cow by the big tree in Mbuyuni.*
99	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*They said the big tree, they can't plant, I forget their names...*
100	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*The Baobab tree?*
101	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
102	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok, what about the Baobab tree?*

103	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*They say, it helps us to have a good shadow (shade) and it also helps us to, it gives us fruit so that we can eat the fruit. And this tree, is the big tree among the others.*
104		
105		

106	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok, it's the biggest tree. So it's providing you with food but it's also providing you with somewhere to stay out of the sun, some shade.*
107		
108		

| 109 | | *Ok so in Musunda we have a cow by the shop. Tell us about the cow above the shop.* |
| 110 | | |

| 111 | OW/T (H-2012; 1): | *It's the place where we go and buy our food.* |

| 112 | OW/F (H-2012; 1): | *So that's another source of food in the community?* |

| 113 | OW/T (H-2012; 1): | *Yes.* |

| 114 | OW/F (H-2012; 1): | *So we have a cow by the Mutale river. Why is that an important thing in the community?* |
| 115 | | |

116	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*This Mutale river help us when we want to wash our clothes, when we want to take a bath. Even if the borehole is not giving us water we can go and fetch water from the Mutale river, so that we can drink the water from the reservoir.*
117		
118		
119		

120	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*So even when the other sources of water in the community are not working, then you still have a last resort, another place where you can go and get water?*
121		
122		

| 123 | OW/T (H-2012; 1): | *Yes.* |

| 124 | OW/F (H-2012; 1): | *Are there anymore cows?* |

125		*Ok so we have various engines in the different communities. So is that engine the same as this engine? Is it pumping the water to the tap?*
126		
127		

| 128 | OW/T (H-2012; 1): | *Yes.* |

| 129 | OW/F (H-2012; 1): | *Ok.* |

| 130 | | *Ok so we have a cow at the gate. What is important about the* |
| 131 | | *cow that is at the gate in Musunda?* |

132 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *They said that the gate of Musunda help us to the animals so*
133 *that must not cross over to the road because they will give us*
134 *the disease called foot and mouth. So it prevent us to get foot*
135 *and mouth disease.*

136 OW/F (H-2012; 1): *Ok, are there any other cows in the community that you would*
137 *like to still put on the map?*

138 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *No.*

139 OW/F (H-2012; 1): *Finished?*

140 *Ok, so we are done with the cows?*

141 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *She is putting the house.*

142 OW/F (H-2012; 1): *The house? So that is not the chief's (headman's) house, that's*
143 *another house?*

144 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Yes.*

145 OW/F (H-2012; 1): *Ok and why is that house important for your community?*

146 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *The house is giving shelter. It is a good place where she will be*
147 *protected.*

148 OW/F (H-2012; 1): *So it's a place that gives you shelter and it is also a place that is*
149 *protecting you.*

150 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Yes.*

151 OW/F (H-2012; 1): *Are there any more cows?*

152 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *She said it's the same.*

153 OW/F (H-2012; 1): *What's the same?*

154 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *The pipes and the ground is the same.*

155	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Do we have pipes somewhere else on here? Oh ok, I*
156		*understand, this cow for this house is representing all the*
157		*houses?*
158	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
159	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*And this cow for this ground is representing all the grounds?*
160	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
161	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*And this cow for this engine is representing all the engines.*
162	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
163	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok I understand.*
164	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Ok.*
165	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok can we move on?*
166		*You want to put one last one? Put is down, it's fine. So this*
167		*school is also going to represent the other schools?*
168	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes. I think they are finished.*
169	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Is there anything else that they would like to say about the good*
170		*things in the community?*
171		*They are happy?*
172	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*They are happy.*
173	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*They are happy? Ok.*
174		*So the older women have just drawn a grave yard in one of the*
175		*villages and they want to make it a cow. And why do they want*
176		*to make it a cow?*
177	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*It's the place where we can bury those people who are dead.*
178	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok. So it's the place where you bury the people that are dead.*
179	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes. There is nothing else, they said they are done.*

180	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*And why is this the best place to bury the people that are dead over somewhere else? What makes this place for burying the dead a special place?*
181		
182		
183	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*She said it's because when that person is dying you can't just throw the person away like a dog, you must treat that person like a person and that's why we bury the people at the graveyard.*
184		
185		
186	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*So it gives them, even though that person has passed away they are able to end their life in dignity.*
187		
188	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Yes.*
189	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok. Anything else that they think they want to add?*
190	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*No.*
191	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok now we are doing the older women, the snakes activity.*
192		*So we have a snake by the tavern. Why is the tavern bad?*
193	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*They are saying the tavern is not good for the people because most of the people go to the tavern and drink too much alcohol and causes the problems with the stomach and most of people just smoke too much and smoking causes lung cancer so it's not good, the tavern's not good.*
194		
195		
196		
197		
198	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*And what happens in the community when the people go to the tavern and they drink too much?*
199		
200	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*She is saying that some of the people when they get drunk, they start to fight and they start to kill other people so it's not good for the community.*
201		
202		
203	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*So does it make the people in the community feel like they are not safe?*
204		
205	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*The people in the community are not safe because some of them drink too much.*
206		

207	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok. So, we have a snake and this is the road? Ok so why, what*
208		*is it about the road that is not good for the community? Or that is*
209		*making the people in the community worried?*

210	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*She said that we experience a lot of accidents at the road, and*
211		*most of people are being hitted by the cars and the cattle and*
212		*goats just play around the road and this road is not safe*
213		*because there is no fence around the road; it's not safe.*

214	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*So, it's endangering the people because they can get hit by the*
215		*cars and the roads themselves are not quality so it can cause an*
216		*accident and the cattle as well, and then when the cattle or the*
217		*goats get hit by the cars, then you're also losing your livestock?*

| 218 | OW/T (H-2012; 1): | *Yes.* |

| 219 | OW/F (H-2012; 1): | *You're losing your resources.* |
| 220 | | *Ok, are there any more snakes in the community?* |

| 221 | OW/T (H-2012; 1): | *No.* |

| 222 | OW/F (H-2012; 1): | *No more snakes?* |

| 223 | OW/T (H-2012; 1): | *No more snakes.* |

224	OW/F (H-2012; 1):	*Ok. Now, what I'm going to ask you to do is to circle with a red*
225		*pen, the biggest snake in the community. So now they need to*
226		*decide, which one is the biggest one in the community.*

| 227 | | *So everybody agrees that the road is the biggest snake in the* |
| 228 | | *community?* |

| 229 | OW/T (H-2012; 1): | *Yes.* |

| 230 | OW/F (H-2012; 1): | *Ok. And why is it the biggest snake? Why is it bigger than* |
| 231 | | *anything else?* |

| 232 | OW/T (H-2012; 1): | *They said the road is the very biggest problem in the community* |
| 233 | | *because there is a lot of accidents happening at that road* |

234   *because the road is not tarred, they didn't make the road looking*
235   *good.*

236   OW/F (H-2012; 1):   *The quality of the road is poor?*

237   OW/T (H-2012; 1):   *It's poor. And even the cows can come and stay at the road and*
238   *because the road does not have a fence around it; the road is*
239   *the biggest problem.*

240   OW/F (H-2012; 1):   *The biggest problem.*

241

Activity 2: Drum Activity

<u>Description of Activity</u>

Participants illustrate on a drum poster how they have solved a problem or problems in the past. They are allowed to illustrate through either drawing or writing. The drum symbolises ways of communication. After the group has discussed and completed the activity, they are given the opportunity to present this to the researcher. Throughout the activity, the translator will bridge the communication gap between the participants and researcher.

<u>Goal</u>

To collect information on:

- Ways of coping
- Type of adversity
- Existing social structures

242 **ACTIVITY TWO: DRUM ACTIVITY**

243 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *Ok, we're with the older women again and we are doing the*
244 *drums activity, but what we're doing is we're going to ask the*
245 *people to tell us a story about how their community solved a*
246 *problem that it had in the past.*

247 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *So they must identify the?*

248 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *Yes, they must identify the problem and then we are going to tell*
249 *the story of how that problem got solved. What did they do that*
250 *they managed to solve the problem?*

251 *Do they understand?*

252 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *No.*

253 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *Ok, so maybe we should start with what is the prominent*
254 *problem in the community or in the past what was the big*
255 *problem and go from there.*

256 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *Can they just say about five years ago?*

257 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *Yes.*

258 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *She say that long long ago there was a problem of girls and*
259 *boys. Girls are not allowed to go to school, and they said boys*
260 *are the ones who are allowed to go to school. It is the duties of*
261 *the girls to get married and give birth to the babies, stuff like*
262 *that. That was their problem.*

263 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *Ok.*

264 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *So now they must give the solution?*

265 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *So the problem was that in the past the girls were not allowed to*
266 *go to school but the boys could go to school? And the reason*
267 *the girls could not go to school was because in that time they*
268 *were expected to just get married, have the babies and work in*
269 *the home?*

11

270   OW/T (H-2012; 2):   *Yes.*

271   OW/F (H-2012; 2):   *Ok, but now they are allowed to go to school?*

272   OW/T (H-2012; 2):   *Yes.*

273   OW/F (H-2012; 2):   *So now we are going to talk about what happened to let them go*
274   *to school.*

275   OW/T (H-2012; 2):   *Ok, people started thinking to think that girls are allowed to go to*
276   *school so that they can get a better future so that they can build*
277   *their own house even times.*

278   OW/F (H-2012; 2):   *Ok and what lead to this thinking? What happened that that*
279   *thinking changed?*

280   OW/T (H-2012; 2):   *She said that people started thinking to think that girls are*
281   *allowed to go to school after democracy that we in South Africa*
282   *have in 1994, that's why they start to think that oh, girls are*
283   *allowed to go to school, not boys are the ones that need to go to*
284   *school.*

285   OW/F (H-2012; 2):   *Ok. And was there anything that the local people in HaMakuya*
286   *did that also contributed to this change in the problem?*

287   OW/T (H-2012; 2):   *She said that it's the headman of HaMakuya, they start to think*
288   *about school and go to government and ask for the school so*
289   *that they must have schools so that they must go to school.*

290   OW/F (H-2012; 2):   *Ok so they headman, when this whole democracy thing*
291   *happened, then the headman in HaMakuya also started to think*
292   *it is important for our girls to go to school, so they played a very*
293   *important role in that decision?*

294   OW/T (H-2012; 2):   *Yes.*

295   OW/F (H-2012; 2):   *Ok and was there anything that the local people, the local*
296   *community members of HaMakuya contributed to that? So it*

| 297 | | *seems to me that with this problem, it was mostly the leaders* |
| 298 | | *that had the final say?* |

299 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *Yes.*

300 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *Did the people of the community or the villagers in HaMakuya*
301 *take part in this decision?*

302 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *She said that even the community members of HaMakuya they*
303 *are just play a role in that decision, especially those that are*
304 *educated.*

305 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *Ok so the community members of HaMakuya did play an*
306 *important role in that decision being taken and it was specifically*
307 *the community members that have some education that*
308 *contributed. And how did they play a role? What exactly did*
309 *those people do that helped that decision to be made?*

310 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *She said that at that time, the people of HaMakuya and the*
311 *headman make a law so that every girl should go to school. If*
312 *we find at home that there is a girl that is not going to school,*
313 *her parents they must be given a warning or they are told that*
314 *they must pay a fine because their children are not going to*
315 *school.*

316 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *So they must pay a fine?*

317 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *Yes. Like even cows, goats...*

318 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *Ok, so the community members played a role in the situation by*
319 *cooperating with the headman and by helping them to make*
320 *sure that every girl is going to school, and also by trying to*
321 *enforce some type of structure whereby if they don't go to*
322 *school there is going to be a penalty?*

323 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *Yes.*

324 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *Ok is there anything, is there any other way that the community*
325 *members of HaMakuya were able to solve this problem locally?*

13

326   OW/T (H-2012; 2): *No.*

327   OW/F (H-2012; 2): *No? Ok, that's fine.*

328   *Let's try another scenario. So this first scenario was very very*
329   *helpful because it is talking about an issue that was happening*
330   *probably in many many communities, not just HaMakuya,*
331   *although it definitely was also in HaMakuya.*

332   *So now, let's try to think of a problem, even if it's a very very*
333   *small problem, it doesn't need to be a governmental problem,*
334   *just something very specific to HaMakuya that only the local*
335   *people had a role in solving. For example, maybe they found*
336   *that the children are going to the tavern and that was a problem.*
337   *Now how does the community solve that problem? Something*
338   *like that, something very local where the local community*
339   *members played a very important role.*

340   OW/T (H-2012; 2): *The lady has said that long ago, not long ago, I think it's last*
341   *year, we were experiencing a problem of children who travel*
342   *From Musunda to HaMakuya using their legs.*

343   OW/F (H-2012; 2): *Ok so walking?*

344   OW/T (H-2012; 2): *Yes.*

345   OW/F (H-2012; 2): *Ok, so have they managed to find any solutions to this problem?*

346   OW/T (H-2012; 2): *So she said that the executive member at the school just sit*
347   *down with the government and the municipality around here and*
348   *discuss about the problem and the government said that they*
349   *supply the children with a bus so that they will use a bus to go to*
350   *school.*

351   OW/F (H-2012; 2): *Ok. So the executives at the school, so the reason they were*
352   *travelling so far was to get to school?*

353   OW/T (H-2012; 2): *Yes.*

354 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *So the school saw that there was a problem here and they*
355 *decided that the best way to solve this problem would be to go*
356 *to the municipality and the officials, and to tell them look we*
357 *have this problem we are worried about our children, and then*
358 *they sat together and had a meeting and decided the best way*
359 *to solve this problem would be the bus.*

360 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *Yes.*

361 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *So basically the way that they solved the problem was to go to*
362 *their leaders.*

363 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *Yes.*

364 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *Ok and to make the leaders aware of the problem because*
365 *sometimes we are not aware that there is a problem and then to*
366 *together, make a collaboration to try and solve the problem?*

367 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *Yes.*

368 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *Ok are there any other problems in the community that the local*
369 *people have managed to find solutions for?*

370 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *Electricity was one of the problems.*

371 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *Ok, what was the problem with electricity? Was it the fact there*
372 *was no electricity?*

373 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *She said that the counsellor and the community sit down with*
374 *the counsellor and just discuss about the problem and then after*
375 *that the counsellor go to the municipality and inform them that*
376 *we're having a problem in HaMakuya because we have no*
377 *electricity. So the municipality supplies electricity to the*
378 *community.*

379 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *So when you say the counsellor, who exactly, so not like a*
380 *psychologist counsellor?*

381 OW/T (H-2012; 2): Not a psychologist counsellor.

382   OW/F (H-2012; 2):   *So like the person in the civic or something like that?*

383   OW/T (H-2012; 2):   *Ja, it's the person in the civic who can tell people, if there is a*
384   *problem here in HaMakuya, we can inform him, just tell him we*
385   *have the problem and he will go to the municipality and come*
386   *back to us and tell that the municipality take a decision so that*
387   *our problem will be solved.*

388   OW/F (H-2012; 2):   *Ok so it seems like in HaMakuya it's very very important for the*
389   *local people to have a good relationship with their leaders*
390   *because they rely quite strongly on the leaders to help them*
391   *come up with ways to solve the problems.*

392   OW/T (H-2012; 2):   *Yes.*

393   OW/F (H-2012; 2):   *Is there anything else that anybody wants to say? Ok, what do*
394   *they have to say?*

395   OW/T (H-2012; 2):   *She said that at Musunda where the problem of roads, there*
396   *was no road, so... She said that they informed the municipality*
397   *at Musunda where the problem of roads is, we don't have roads,*
398   *if you want to go to the main road, they send someone to the*
399   *municipality and the municipality comes and checks if there is a*
400   *problem and when they came they found that there is a problem*
401   *with roads so that they can make the roads for them. Even if it's*
402   *not tarred, they get the road now at Musunda.*

403   MI (H-2012; 2):   *Ja, thank you for sharing that story with us, and I wonder what*
404   *do you do if maybe somebody, you know of somebody, or*
405   *maybe yourself is ill or has a child, maybe a very clever child*
406   *that wants to go to school, what are the things that you have*
407   *done in the past to solve that problem?*

408   OW/T (H-2012; 2):   *She said that if someone is not going to school and he or she is*
409   *very clever but their parents don't have money, someone is call*
410   *him or he that he must come and help me at the garden, so that*
411   *I will give you some money so that you will able to go to school.*

412	MI (H-2012; 2):	*That is a nice thing to do.*

413 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *Here at HaMakuya we are experiencing a big big problem of*
414 *people from Zimbabwe. When they came here to South Africa*
415 *they just came and steal things from us, even cows, goats and*
416 *donkeys, stuff like that and they just stole from us. And then we*
417 *suggest to the government that in order to avoid that kind of*
418 *problem, the government send the soliders to the Limpopo river*
419 *to make a fence so that the Zimbabwean people will not be able*
420 *to come here to South Africa.*

421 MI (H-2012; 2): *I can hear that many times it's good, the municipality can help*
422 *and the government can help, and then there are also things*
423 *that people do to help each other. They say come and work in*
424 *my garden and we can help you pay for school.*

425 OW/T (H-2012; 2): *Even then we experience the problem of water, we are using the*
426 *river water to drink and river water causes lots of diseases like*
427 *Malaria, diarrhoea and then we go to the municipality and inform*
428 *the municipality and the municipality does something so that*
429 *they will come and dig the borehole so that the borehole must*
430 *pump the water to the tap so that we will get our water.*

431 MI (H-2012; 2): *Ok, I think those are nice examples.*

432 OW/F (H-2012; 2): *Ja, they are beautiful stories.*

433 MI (H-2012; 2): *Thank you.*

434

Activity 3: Knopkerrie Activity

Description of Activity

Participants are asked to draw or write on a large poster, what they think they might need in order to solve problems in their community in the future. The knopkerrie symbolises the way in which a threat may be beaten down, in much the same way as a community member might use a stick to defend him or herself against danger. Throughout the activity, the translator will bridge the communication gap between the participants and researcher.

Goal

To gather information on:

- Resources, ideas and skills which community members might need to solve future problems in their community

ACTIVITY THREE: KNOPKERRIE ACTIVITY

435

436 OW/F (H-2012; 3): *This is the older women's group and now we are going to*
437 *discuss the Thonga activity which is to write down solutions or*
438 *brainstorm solutions for the water problem. So Glenda maybe*
439 *what we can do now, I see you have in any case written in*
440 *English because your language is so good, but maybe we can*
441 *just have a little discussion to take me through what it is you*
442 *ladies were able to come up with for solutions.*

443 OW/T (H-2012; 3): You need someone to read or you want me to read?

444 OW/F (H-2012; 3): *You can read that's fine. So let's go through each of these, so*
445 *let's do the first one and then we will discuss that one and then*
446 *we will go down the page and do like that.*

447 OW/T (H-2012; 3): *Ok.*

448 OW/F (H-2012; 3): *So what does the first one say because that one is in a*
449 *language that is very good for me.*

450 OW/T (H-2012; 3): *You must collect money maybe if everyone can just give R60*
451 *R60 so that we get a borehole for ourselves.*

452 OW/F (H-2012; 3): *Ok so as a little community you could try save money.*
453 *Everybody pulls in the money together and then eventually*
454 *when you have enough, you can get your own borehole.*

455 OW/T (H-2012; 3): *Yes.*

456 OW/F (H-2012; 3): *Ok, that's a great idea. And who exactly would you go to then?*
457 *Who would be responsible for collecting the money? How would*
458 *they do that?*

459 OW/T (H-2012; 3): *She said that you ring a bell at the royal house so that we gather*
460 *together and discuss the problem that is water so that we can*
461 *collect money from the community so that we can go and make*
462 *a borehole for ourselves.*

463 OW/F (H-2012; 3): *Ok, and what would the people do if some people didn't have*
464 *money? So say you are also in the community and you really*
465 *also want this borehole but for you the money is a big problem,*
466 *what would the community do if that were to happen?*

467 OW/T (H-2012; 3): *She said if someone doesn't have a money because we are*
468 *collecting money, we give her a separate job like if I want*
469 *firewood I go and ask can you go to collect firewood for me so*
470 *that I will pay him or her.*

471 OW/F (H-2012; 3): *Ok, so the community would provide opportunities for that*
472 *person to make some money or to do some jobs so that he is*
473 *also contributing?*

474 OW/T (H-2012; 3): *Yes.*

475 OW/F (H-2012; 3): *Ok wonderful. So when it comes to actually making the*
476 *borehole, how would the community do that? Would they make*
477 *the borehole themselves? Are they relying on somebody else to*
478 *make it? Are the men going to dig? How would they work that*
479 *out?*

480 OW/T (H-2012; 3): *She said that we'll call someone, those people who help people*
481 *when they want to dig the borehole for themselves. They come*
482 *with a truck that can dig down.*

483 OW/F (H-2012; 3): *So they would contact the contractors and get the contractors to*
484 *do it?*

485 OW/T (H-2012; 3): Yes.

486 OW/F (H-2012; 3): Good. Ok, let's look at the second one. It says, "You can also
487 dig water, for example near the river, just like a spring". So they
488 are saying that they will make their own springs?

489 OW/T (H-2012; 3): *Yes.*

490 OW/F (H-2012; 3): *Ok, and who will do that for them?*

19

491   OW/T (H-2012; 3):   *The community will do it.*

492   OW/F (H-2012; 3):   *And who in the community do they expect to do that, will they*
493   *ask the men, or will they ask the women, or will they take turns?*
494   *How would they do that?*

495   OW/T (H-2012; 3):   *Both women and men can go and dig a spring.*

496   OW/F (H-2012; 3):   *And what do they think they could do to keep the spring safe?*

497   OW/T (H-2012; 3):   *They can make a fence around the spring.*

498   OW/F (H-2012; 3):   *And who do they need to protect the spring from?*

499   OW/T (H-2012; 3):   *Animals.*

500   OW/F (H-2012; 3):   *Animals?*

501   OW/T (H-2012; 3):   *Animals like cows, goats, donkeys.*

502   OW/F (H-2012; 3):   *And what happens when those animals go there by the springs?*

503   OW/T (H-2012; 3):   *They said that if the cows go to the springs, the cows destroy*
504   *our springs and the water will get dirty.*

505   OW/F (H-2012; 3):   *Ok. Ok so the next one says, "We can also put our drums or*
506   *tanks under the roof when it is raining". Explain that to me, how*
507   *does it work?*

508   OW/T (H-2012; 3):   *It's just the tanks.*

509   OW/F (H-2012; 3):   *They take the big tanks and they put it where?*

510   OW/T (H-2012; 3):   *At the corner of the roof.*

511   OW/F (H-2012; 3):   *Ok, so that the water goes in?*

512   OW/T (H-2012; 3):   *Ja.*

513   OW/F (H-2012; 3):   *Ok so, you put the tanks where it can be exposed to the rain so*
514   *that the rain fills the tank, so that the rain is filling the tank*

| 515 | | *without somebody having to come and actually pour? So you* |
| 516 | | *make the best use of the water you can?* |

517	OW/T (H-2012; 3):	*So, what are they trying to say in this, they are saying they will*
518		*take a drum and put it under the roof, at the corner, so that when*
519		*it's raining...*

| 520 | OW/F (H-2012; 3): | *Oh so that the water will flow in there. Ok.* |

521		*Alright, the next one says, "They can call the municipality to*
522		*come and supply water using a water tank". So that's already*
523		*being done hey?*

| 524 | OW/T (H-2012; 3): | *Yes.* |

| 525 | OW/F (H-2012; 3): | *Ok and the next one?* |

526	OW/T (H-2012; 3):	*This one is we can also take our 20 litre to the river to fetch*
527		*water. They will just go to the river, they will carry their buckets*
528		*along, 25 litre or 20 litre to go to the river, and when they come*
529		*back so they put it on their heads.*

| 530 | OW/F (H-2012; 3): | *Ok, and what is the last one?* |

531	OW/T (H-2012; 3):	*In order to reduce the problem of water by means of animals it*
532		*means we can make a fence around our springs or at our tanks.*
533		*Like if, because they said they wanted a spring, if they want their*
534		*spring to be safe, or not get dirty, they will make a fence around*
535		*it so that they will not around it.*

536	OW/F (H-2012; 3):	*Ok so that's like what you were saying earlier? Ok so I am just*
537		*going to read that one again, "In order to reduce the problem of*
538		*water to get dirty by means of animals, we think that we may*
539		*make a fence around our springs or at our taps or pipes."*

| 540 | | *That's such wonderful ideas. Thank you so much for sharing* |
| 541 | | *that with us.* |

| 542 | | |

21

Activity 4: Mielie Activity

<u>Description of Activity</u>

Participants are asked what makes them happy. They are then given the opportunity to present their answers on a blank large poster. After the group has discussed and completed the activity, they are given the opportunity to present this to the researcher. The researcher will ask questions needed and make extensive field notes. The entire discussion will be recorded and transcribed afterwards

<u>Goal</u>

To gather information on:

- What the participants view as meaningful.

543 **ACTIVITY FOUR: MIELIE ACTIVITY**

544 OW/F (H-2012; 4): *Ok, so we are with the older women, and we are doing the corn*
545 *activity, which is "What makes you happy?", and the description*
546 *given was "If you lie on your bed at night and you think, "This*
547 *was a good day", what was it that made that day good?*

548 *Ok, so, OW/T (H-2012; 1), let's start over here, and if you will*
549 *just... Ok, I will read it. "I am so happy because now I can switch*
550 *on the lights because I have electricity. I am so happy because*
551 *today I managed to come to Tshulu camp and this is a very big*
552 *opportunity for me".*

553 *So maybe we can start by asking her why is it a big opportunity*
554 *for her? What is it about this experience that is making it a big*
555 *opportunity for her?*

556 OW/T (H-2012; 4): *Today is a big opportunity for her because she managed to*
557 *come here.*

558 OW/F (H-2012; 4): *Ok, is there anything else that really makes her happy in her life,*
559 *it can be anything. Ok, so basically it's the fact that she got an*
560 *opportunity and it is something that she does not ordinarily get*
561 *to do and that has made her really happy.*

562 *Ok, let's look over here. So, what is going on over here?*

563 OW/T (H-2012; 4): *Ok, should I...*

564 OW/F (H-2012; 4): *Ja, just tell me what it says. What does that one say?*

565 OW/T (H-2012; 4): *She said that she's so happy because of the birthday of her*
566 *baby, and when it's the birthday they are making a party, most*
567 *of people came and dancing the cultural dance and started to*
568 *jive, to dance the different songs.*

569 OW/F (H-2012; 4): *Ok, and the next one?*

22

570 OW/T (H-2012; 4): *I am happy today because I managed to come here at Tshulu*
571 *camp and it was her first time to come here at Tshulu camp.*

572 OW/F (H-2012; 4): *Ok, so for her as well it was that she got an opportunity to come*
573 *to somewhere that she can't go every day? And what does the*
574 *third one say?*

575 OW/T (H-2012; 4): *She said that people from overseas who came and had the*
576 *home stay who managed to come and started to dance the*
577 *culture dance.*

578 OW/F (H-2012; 4): *Ok, and what is it in normal life, from day to day that makes her*
579 *feel like she's had a productive day or a good day?*

580 *She can't think of anything? Ok, that's alright. Let's go to this*
581 *wonderful woman over here? What has she got to say?*

582 OW/T (H-2012; 4): She is still busy.

583 OW/F (H-2012; 4): *Ok, let's go over there then.*

584 OW/T (H-2012; 4): *She's so happy for the first time to receive a social grant for*
585 *children.*

586 OW/F (H-2012; 4): *Ok. Ja? So what is it about that social grant that makes it a*
587 *happy thing?*

588 OW/T (H-2012; 4): *She said that I am so happy because I find it difficult to have*
589 *money so that I can buy food for the children. Now that I am*
590 *receiving a child grant support, I can manage to buy food.*

591 OW/F (H-2012; 4): *Ok. And what else has she got written there?*

592 OW/T (H-2012; 4): *She said she is so happy when people are dancing the cultural*
593 *dance and she is also happy that she managed to come here to*
594 *camp.*

595 OW/F (H-2012; 4): *Ok. And why is Tshulu camp? Why is she happy to come to*
596 *Tshulu camp?*

597 OW/T (H-2012; 4): *It is because she never came here and Tshulu camp is very*
598 *pretty.*

599 OW/F (H-2012; 4): *It is beautiful! So it makes her happy when she can be in a*
600 *beautiful place. Is there anything else written over here?*

601 OW/T (H-2012; 4): *She also said that she is so happy because she is a student*
602 *from the University of Pretoria and she is so happy because she*
603 *received a democracy.*

604 OW/F (H-2012; 4): *Ok, so because we have democracy now she able to meet*
605 *students and that means she can further her education.*

606 *Ok.*

607 *Ok what does the last one say?*

608 OW/T (H-2012; 4): *She is so happy; she said she is so happy for the first time to*
609 *come here at Tshulu camp.*

610 OW/F (H-2012; 4): *Ok. So, to have new experiences is something that is very*
611 *exciting for her. Alright.*

612 OW/T (H-2012; 4): *She is so happy when playing soccer.*

613 OW/F (H-2012; 4): *Ok, what is it about soccer that makes her happy? Why is that a*
614 *happy thing for her to do?*

615 OW/T (H-2012; 4): *She said that to play soccer is very interesting because she will*
616 *lose weight and she will be gaining lots of energy and her life will*
617 *be getting healthy.*

618 OW/F (H-2012; 4): *So to be healthy and to do things that make her healthy is*
619 *something that makes her feel like she's got a good life?*

620 *Ok.*

621 OW/T (H-2012; 4): *She said she is very happy when she sees her children pass*
622 *school.*

623 OW/F (H-2012; 4): *And why is it important for her that her children pass school?*

24

| 624 | OW/T (H-2012; 4): | *She said so that they will live a better life, they will succeed in* |
| 625 | | *life.* |

| 626 | OW/F (H-2012; 4): | *Ok. What does the next one say?* |

| 627 | OW/T (H-2012; 4): | *She said she is so happy because, I mean, I can't say White* |
| 628 | | *people, people from overseas – she is very excited.* |

| 629 | OW/F (H-2012; 4): | *Ok? That she got to meet them?* |

| 630 | OW/T (H-2012; 4): | *Yes. She got to meet people from overseas, and get to sit down* |
| 631 | | *with them. It is a big opportunity.* |

632	OW/F (H-2012; 4):	*Ok. How is speaking to people from overseas, or White people,*
633		*different from speaking to people in the communities in*
634		*HaMakuya?*

| 635 | OW/T (H-2012; 4): | *She says it is not the same when she is having people from* |
| 636 | | *overseas because they are talking different.* |

| 637 | OW/F (H-2012; 4): | *And how is it different? What is different about it?* |

| 638 | OW/T (H-2012; 4): | *What is?* |

| 639 | OW/F (H-2012; 4): | *What is different about it? Is it because it gives her an* |
| 640 | | *opportunity to about different things? What is it?* |

641	OW/T (H-2012; 4):	*Because when you are sitting like this, you are asking her some*
642		*questions and she is thinking all sorts of things so that she can*
643		*answer your questions.*

644	OW/F (H-2012; 4):	*So it is almost the mental stimulation and the fact that she gets a*
645		*chance to think and talk about new things and that somebody is*
646		*actually interested in what she has to say, whereas in the*
647		*community that type of conversation doesn't happen as often.*

| 648 | OW/T (H-2012; 4): | *Ja. Ja. Ja.* |

| 649 | OW/F (H-2012; 4): | *Ok. And is there anything else here? Was there a last one? Or* |
| 650 | | *was that it?* |

651		*Is there anything else that anybody would like to say before we*
652		*finish?*
653	OW/T (H-2012; 4):	*They say thank you.*
654	OW/F (H-2012; 4):	*And I say thank you too. Thank you very much OW/T (H-2012;*
655		*1).*
656	OW/T (H-2012; 4):	*Oh you are very welcome!!!*

Appendix F:

Data sample (Translated transcripts)

ACTIVITY ONE: COMMUNITY MAP

OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Vha khou tea unambatedza kholomo kha tshinwe na tshinwe*
tshine vhavhona tshitsha ndeme khavho muvhunduni wa havho.

You have to paste a cow on everything that is important to you
in your community.

OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Uri ndi mutshini wa mini oyo?*

She says what type of an engine is that?

OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Ndi wa u bommba madi atshiya zwipaipanani.*

Is for pumping water to the taps.

OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Ndi ngani vhatshiri tshikolo ndi tshandeme?*

Why is the school important?

OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Tshi thusa uri vhana vhashu vha bvelele,vhafunzee,ukona*
uvhala na unwala.

It helps with that our children will prosper, be educated, be able
to read and write.

OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Huna kholomo kha tshiga tsha uima,ndi ngani tshitshandeme?*

There is cow on a stop sign, how is it important?

OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Tshithusa uri vhana vhatshikolo vhatshi toda upfuka bada, vhaa*
thoma vha ima , vhasedza kha tshanda tsha monde na tsha ula,
vha kona upfuka bada vho tsireledzea.

It helps for school children when they want to cross the road,
they stop first, look/observe left and right, then they safety
pass/cross the road.

OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Rina kholomo musanda,ndi ngani huha ndeme?*

We have a cow at the royal house, why is it important?

OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Ndi ngauri ndihone hune hadzula murangaphanda washu, ane*
alanga muvhundu washu.

It is because is the place where our headman stays, the one
who rule/lead our village.

OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Ndi ngani fhethu hune ha dzula murangaphanda huha ndeme?*

31		*Why is the place where the headman stays also important?*
32	OW/P1 (H-2012; 1):	*Ndi nga uri na ene ndiwa ndeme.*
33		*Because he is also important.*
34	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Ngauri ndi wa vhuthogwa,ndi zwifhio zwandeme zwine avha*
35		*itela afha muvhunduni wavho?*
36		*Because he is important, what are the important things that he*
37		*does for the community?*
38	OW/P1 (H-2012; 1):	*Musi ritshi toda tshumelo ubva muvhusoni kana ha masipala, sa*
39		*tsumbo: madi,ndi ene aneaya a amba navho uri rina thaidzo ya*
40		*madi.*
41		*When we in need of government or municipal services, for*
42		*example: water, he is the one who goes to address our*
43		*problems that we need water.*
44	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Rina kholomo kha thannga la madi, ndi ngani lila ndeme?*
45		*We have a cow at the water tank, why is it important?*
46	OW/P2 (H-2012; 1):	*Musi mvula itshina ri a kona uvhulunga madi nga ngomu kha*
47		*mathannga.*
48		*When it's raining we save some of our water in this water tank.*
49	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Zwiamba uri vhangasi touri vhatshila nga madi amulambo,na*
50		*amvula a avha thusa?*
51		*It means you won't say you rely on water from the river, also rain*
52		*water helps you?*
53	OW/P2 (H-2012; 1):	*Eeh naa mvula a ari thusa.*
54		*Yes also rain water helps us.*
55	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Rina kholomo kha daka,ndi ngani lila ndeme?*
56		*We have a cow on the bushveld, why is it important?*
57	OW/P2 (H-2012; 1):	*Ria wana khuni dakani, rakona ubika mahayani.*
58		*We get fire wood from the bush, so that we can cook at our*
59		*homes.*
60	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Rina inwe kholomo kha munwe musanda,huna phambano dze*
61		*risidzi ambe kha eyi misanda mivhili.*

62		*We have another cow on the other royal house, is there a*
63		*difference unspecified from the two royal houses?*
64	OW/P2 (H-2012; 1):	*Ahuna phambano ngauri musi huna mafhungo vhaa*
65		*davhidzana.*
66		*There is no difference because they communicate when there is*
67		*something to be addressed to the public.*
68	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Musunda rina misanda mivhili?*
69		*Musunda we have two royal houses?*
70	OW/P1 (H-2012; 1):	*Eeh.*
71		*Yes.*
72	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Ndi ngani kiliniki i tshithu tsha ndeme kha lushaka?*
73		*Why is the clinic an important thing to the community?*
74	OW/P2 (H-2012; 1):	*Ndi ngauri ria kona uwana thuso ya mutakalo musi ritshi lwala.*
75		*We get help with regard to our health when we sick.*
76	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Rina kholomo mudavhini, ndi ngani mudavhi uwa ndeme kha*
77		*lushaka?*
78		*We have the cow by the ground, why is the ground important for*
79		*the community?*
80	OW/P2 (H-2012; 1):	*U ita uri vhana vhashu vhasiye dzithavene, vhavhe bizi ngau*
81		*tamba bola na uri vhavhe na mitakalo ya vhudi.*
82		*It makes our children not to go to the taverns, being kept busy*
83		*with playing soccer, and it gives them a good health.*
84	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Ndi ngani maluvha a andeme?*
85		*Why is the flower important?*
86	OW/P1 (H-2012; 1):	*Maluvha a ita uri mudini wanga hudzule huha vhudi.*
87		*Flowers make my home looks good.*
88	OW/T (H-2012; 1):	*Ndi ngani muvhuyu uwa ndeme?*
89		*Why is the Baobab tree important?*

90 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Uri thusa ngau ita murunzi, rila mitshelo khawo,wadovha wavha*
91 *wone muri muhulwane kha miri ine yavha hone.*

92 *It helps us with shade, it gives fruit that we eat and it is also the*
93 *biggest tree of all trees that are available.*

94 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Ndi ngani vhengele lila ndeme?*

95 *Why is the shop important?*

96 OW/P3 (H-2012; 1): *Ndi fhethu hune raya ra renga zwiliwa.*

97 *Is the place where we go and buy food.*

98 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Ndi ngani mulambo uwa ndeme?*

99 *Why is the river important?*

100 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Hoyu mulambo wa Mutale u ari thusa musi madi adzi borehoulu*
101 *asiho, ria kuvha,ubika, u tamba na unwa nga madi ahoyu*
102 *mulambo.*

103 *This Mutale River helps us when there is no water from the*
104 *borehole, we cook, bath, doing washing and also drinking water*
105 *from this river.*

106 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Ndi ngani gethe ire Musunda iya ndeme?*

107 *Why is the gate at Musunda important?*

108 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Gethe ithusa uri kha dzi kholomo uri dzi songo fhirela*
109 *mivhunduni ngauri dzina vhulwadze ha khwanda na mulomo, uri*
110 *dzi songo phadaladza tshitshili.*

111 *The gate helps as a boundary to stop the cows from entering*
112 *villages because they have diseases of legs and mouth, so they*
113 *don't spread the virus.*

114 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Huna hunwe fhethu hune vha khou toda uvhea hone dzinwe*
115 *kholomo?*

116 *Are there other places where you would like to paste cows?*

117 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Eeh, ndi kha nndu.*

118 *Yes, on the house.*

119 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Ndi ngani nndu iya ndeme?*

120 *Why is the house important?*

4

121   OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *I nthusa uri ndi dzule fhethu ho khudaho.*

122   *It helps me to stay in a warm safe place.*

123   OW/T (H-2012; 1):   *Hutshe na zwinwe zwavhudi zwine vhathu vha toda u amba*
124   *ngazwo,vhathu vhothe vhotakala?*

125   *Are there other good things that people would like to talk about,*
126   *are you all happy?*

127   OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Ahu tshena, ro takala.*

128   *Nothing more, we are happy.*

129   OW/T (H-2012; 1):   *Zwino ri khouya uamba ngazwithu zwisi zwavhudi mivhunduni*
130   *yavho.*

131   *Now we going to talk about the things that are not good to your*
132   *communities.*

133   OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Thaveni asiya vhudi kha rine.*

134   *A tavern is not good to our community.*

135   OW/T (H-2012; 1):   *Ndi thavene fhedzi ine vha khou humbula ngayo kha zwithu*
136   *zwothe zwisi zwavhudi.*

137   *Is it only a tavern that you thinking about in all bad things?*

138   OW/T (H-2012; 1):   *Ndi ngani thaveni isiya vhudi?*

139   *Why is the tavern bad?*

140   OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Mafola na mahalwa ane awanalea thavene asia vhudi kha*
141   *mitakalo ya vhathu.*

142   *Cigarettes and alcohols from tavern are not good for people's*
143   *health.*

144   OW/T (H-2012; 1):   *Hu itea mini kha lushaka musi vhathu vhatshiya thavene nga*
145   *vhunzhi?*

146   *What happens to the community when people go to tavern in*
147   *large numbers?*

148   OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Vhathu vha ita dzikhakhathi nau vhulayana.*

149   *People make troubles and they even kill each other.*

150   OW/T (H-2012; 1):   *Zwi ita uri vhathu vhahumbule uri avhongo tsireledzea?*

5

151		*Does that makes people to think they not safe?*

151   *Does that makes people to think they not safe?*

152   OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Eeh ngauri vhanwe vhathu vhanwa lokalulaho.*

153   *Yes because some people drink too much.*

154   OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Ndi ngani bada i thaidzo?*

155   *Why is the road a problem?*

156   OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Bada ikhouri vhilaedza ngauri ina magodzhigodzhi, ivhaisa dzi*
157   *goloi,aina fentse ayongo tsireledzea ngauri dzikholomo dzia*
158   *dzhena badani havha na dzi khombo.*

159   *The road worries us because it has pot holes, it damages cars,*
160   *it's not safe because it doesn't have a fence and cows enters*
161   *the road which result in accidents.*

162   OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Huna zwinwe zwine vhavhona uri asizwa vhudi?*

163   *Are there other things that you see are not good?*

164   OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Ahu tshena.*

165   *There is nothing more.*

166   OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Ndi tshifhio kha bada na thavene tshine vhahumbula unga ndi*
167   *tshone tshine tshavha thaidzo khulwanesa?*

168   *Which one do you think is the biggest problem between the road*
169   *and the tavern?*

170   OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Ndi bada.*

171   *Is the road.*

172   OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Vhathu vhothe vhakhou tendelana uri bada ndi yone thaidzo*
173   *khulwane?*

174   *Are you all people agreeing that the road is the biggest*
175   *problem?*

176   OW/P1, P2, P3 (H-2012; 1): *Eeh   ria tenda.*

177   *Yes we agree.*

178   OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Ndi ngani vhatshiri ndi yone thaidzo khulwanesa?*

179   *Why are you saying is the biggest problem?*

180 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Ngauri ayina fentse ikhou vhanga dzi khombo ngauri kholomo*
181 *dzia dzhena badani, ayina tshikontiri .*

182 *Because it doesn't have a fence it causing accidents because*
183 *the cows enters the road, it's not tarred.*

184 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Ndi ngani mavhida atshithu tshavhudi lushakani?*

185 *Why is the graveyard a good thing to the community?*

186 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Ndi ngauri ndi fhethu hune ra vhulungelana hone.*

187 *Is the place where we bury each other.*

188 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Ndi ngani afha mavhidani hu fhethu ha vhudogwa khau*
189 *vhulungela vhathu?*

190 *Why is the graveyard the important place for burying people?*

191 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Ndi ngauri muthu hatei utou latiwa sa mmbwa,utou vhulungiwa.*

192 *Because a human being deserves to be buried, not to be thrown*
193 *away like a dog.*

194

ACTIVITY TWO: DRUM ACTIVITY

195 **ACTIVITY TWO: DRUM ACTIVITY**

196 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Vvha khouya uri vhudza ngauri vho tandululisa hani thaidzo*
197 *dzevhavhuya vhatangana nadzo kale sa lushaka.*

198 *Now you going to tell us about the problem that have occurred*
199 *to your communities and how did you solve such problem as a*
200 *community.*

201 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Thaidzo yovha yauri kale nwana wa musidzana ovha asa*
202 *tendeliwi uya tshikoloni, tshawe hovha huu maliwa abeba*
203 *vhana, hovha hutshi ya tshikoloni vhatukana fhedzi.*

204 *The problem was in the past girls were not allowed to go to*
205 *school or to be educated, they were only recognised for*
206 *marriage and giving birth, only boys were allowed to go to*
207 *school.*

208 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Ho itea mini uri vhatendeliwe uya tshikoloni?*

209 *What happens so to allow them to go to school?*

210 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Zwithu zwombodi shanduka ,vhathu vhavulea, vhakona*
211 *upfesesa uri na musadzi u aya tshikoloni afunzea,vha kona udi*
212 *fhatela nau sapota midi yavho.*

213 *Things changes over time, people were open minded, and able*
214 *to understands that also women can go to school and be*
215 *educated, build their own families and to support their families.*

216 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Ho itea mini uri kuhumbulele ku shandukekha vhathu?*

217 *What led peoples to change the way they think?*

218 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Ndi nga murahu hamusi hono vhonala vhasidzana vhonobva*
219 *vho dzhobege vhatshi kona unwala, na makhuwa.*

220 *It's after we have seen that females from Joburg and whites can*
221 *writes.*

222 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Vhathu vha fhano ha Makuya vho ita mini uri nyimele*
223 *ishanduke?*

224 *What have you done as community of HaMakuya to ensure that*
225 *this situation change?*

226 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Musi ritshi ita uri huvhe na zwikolo uri fhano ha makuya.*

227 *When we adopted/apply for schools into our communities.*

| 228 | OW/T (H-2012; 1): | Vhadzulapo vhone vhodzhenelela uri zwikolo zwide kana zwodi |
| 229 | | touvha zwa dzikhosi fhedzi? |

Was it only the headman's who contributed to bring the schools or also the community members contributed?

| 232 | OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): | Na vhadzulapo vhoshela mulenzhe kha uri huvhe na zwikolo |
| 233 | | ,nga maanda vhofunzeaho. |

Even the community members played a role in bringing schools to the community, especially those who are educated.

| 236 | OW/T (H-2012; 1): | Avho vhathu vho tou ita mini uita uri vhasidzana vhaye |
| 237 | | zwikoloni? |

What have those people done to ensure that even females go to schools in the community?

240	OW/P1 (H-2012; 1):	Touvha na mulayo wa uri nwana munwe na munwe wa
241		musidzana utea uwanala atshi khouya tshikoloni, arali wanala
242		asayi, vhabebi vhawe vha atea u lifha.

They develop a law that every girl supposed to be at school, where in if found not being at school, the responsible parents will be fined.

| 246 | OW/T (H-2012; 1): | Kha vha humbule khaha thaidzo ine ya kwana shango lothe la |
| 247 | | ha makuya, na uri vhoi tandululisa hani sa vhadzulapo. |

Think of a problem that is affecting the whole of HaMakuya and how did you worked it out as community.

| 250 | OW/P2 (H-2012; 1): | Thaidzo yovha yauri vhana vhashu vhatshimbila lwendo lulapfu |
| 251 | | nga milenzhe vhatshiya tshikoloni. |

The problem was that our children travel long distance with foot when going to school.

| 254 | OW/T (H-2012; 1): | Vhathu vhokona uwana thandululo ya eyi thaidzo? |

Did you manage to find solution for this problem?

| 256 | OW/P2 (H-2012; 1): | Eeh, ro dzula fhasi na komiti ya tshikolo, muvhuso na masipala, |
| 257 | | 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.

261 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Uri huna zwinwe zwe vhathu vhatangana nazwo vhakona*
262 *uwana thandululo?*

263 *Are there other things you have faced and managed to find*
264 *solutions as a community?*

265 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Mudagasi wovhuya wavha thaidzo.*

266 *Electricity was one of the problems.*

267 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Vho wana hani thandululo?*

268 *How did you find the solution?*

269 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Vvhadzulapo vho dzula fhasi na mukhantselara,vha amba*
270 *ngaha thaidzo ya usavha na mudagasi, mukhantselara aisa*
271 *thaidzo ha masipala, masipala a disa mudagasi.*

272 *Community members gathered with the councillor, discuss the*
273 *problem of not having electricity, then the councillor forward the*
274 *problem to the municipality, then the municipality suppliers with*
275 *electricity.*

276 OW/P3 (H-2012; 1): *Musunda hovha husina bada ritshi tshimbila nga ndila, ratuwa*
277 *raya ha masipala,hada ha vuliwa bada.*

278 *There was no road to get to Musunda, we go to the municipality,*
279 *and then they came an open the road.*

280 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Vhathusa hani muthu ane nwana wawe hakoni uya tshikoloni*
281 *ngau shaya masheleni,kana hana zwiliwa?*

282 *How do you help people whose children are not going to school*
283 *because of not having money and people who don't have food?*

284 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Eeh ri avhathusa nga ndila yau vhafha mishumo ya tshifhinga*
285 *nyana, sawa ngadeni, ravha badela.*

286 *Yes we help by giving piece jobs, such as gardening and pay*
287 *them.*

288 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Rovha rina thaidzo yavhathu vhonobva Zimbabwe,vhatshiri*
289 *tswela dzikholomo, mbudzi na dzi donngi, muvhuso wo touvha*
290 *humisela murahu, wa ita na fentse uri vhasongo kona uvhuya.*

291 *We had a problem with people from Zimbabwe, when they come*
292 *here, they steal our cows, goats and donkeys, and then the*

10

| 293 | | *government returned them back and make a fence by Limpopo* |
| 294 | | *River so they can't cross over.* |

295 OW/P2 (H-2012; 1): *Inwe thaidzo yovha ya madi, ratshi shumisa madi a mulambo ra*
296 *lwala malaria, ya tandululea musi muvhuso utshi ita dzi*
297 *borehoulu.*

298 *We also had a problem with water, we were using water from*
299 *the river where people got sick with malaria, and it was solved*
300 *when the government brings boreholes.*

301 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Ringa tanganisa tshelede uri ri kone udi itela borehoulu*
302 *yavhorine.*

303 *We can contribute money to have our own borehole.*

304 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Ndi nnyi ane ado dzhia vhudifhinduleli uri tshelede i kolekiwe?*

305 *Who will be responsible for collecting the money?*

306 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Ri lidza tsimbi musanda , ratangana rothe ra amba uri ritea u*
307 *koleka tshelede.*

308 *We ring the bell at the royal house, we all gathered and discuss*
309 *about how we contribute the money.*

310 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Vha ita mini musi vhanwe vhathu vhasina tshelede?*

311 *What do you do when other people don't have the money?*

312 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Ri avha nea mishumo ya tshifhinga nyana ravha badela uri vha*
313 *kone udzhenelela.*

314 *We give them temporal jobs and we pay them so they*
315 *contribute.*

316 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Vhaya gwa vhone vhane kana vha vhidza rakhontiraka?*

317 *Do you dig the borehole yourself or you hire the contractors?*

318 OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Ri vhidza rakhontiraka ada agwa.*

319 *We hire the contractors to dig it for us.*

320 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Vhanga itamini uri tshisima tshavho tshi dzule tsho tsireledzea?*

321 *What can you do to conserve your springs?*

322 OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Tshisima vha toda utshi tsireledza kha vhonnyi?*

323   *Who are you protecting the spring from?*

324   OW/P1 (H-2012; 1): *Kha zwipuka sa dzi kholomo na mbudzi.*

325   *From animals such as the cows and goats.*

326   OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Rido fentsela utsireledza tshisima.*

327   *We will make a fence to protect the spring.*

328   OW/T (H-2012; 1): *Ndo livhuwa.*

329   *Thank you.*

330

ACTIVITY FOUR: MIELIE ACTIVITY

OW/T (H-2012; 4): *Ndi ngani vhatshipfa vhohudziwa vhukuma nga uvha fhano namusi?*

Why is this a big opportunity for you to be here today?

OW/P1 (H-2012; 4): *Ri takadziwa nga vheiwe no kona uda uri dalela shangoni lavho rine.*

We happy because you have managed to visit us in our village.

OW/T (H-2012; 4): *Huna zwinwe vho zwine zwa ita uri vhatakale?*

Is there anything else that makes you happy?

OW/P1 (H-2012; 4): *Ndo takadziwa nga duvha la mabebo a nwananga ho vha hodala badi hutshi khou tshiniwa malende.*

I was so happy during my child's birthday, it was so crowded and people were dancing traditional dances.

OW/P2 (H-2012; 4): *Ndo takadziwa ngauda fhethu hendavha ndisahu divhi lwau tou thoma.*

I'm happy to be here for the first time.

OW/P3 (H-2012; 4): *Ndo takadziwa nga vhathu vhevhada ubva mashangoni a nnda vhatshi khou guda utshina tshigombela.*

I was so happy to see our visitors from overseas learning to dance our traditional dances.

OW/T (H-2012; 4): *Ndi zwifhio zwithu zwine vhari vhatshi sedza duvha na duvha vhaswika hune vhanga amba uri vhovha na duvha lavhudi?*

Looking on your day to day life, which are the things that you look at when you say you had a great day?

OW/P1 (H-2012; 4): *Duvha lenda fhiwa mundende wa vhana.*

I felt great the day I received the child grant support.

OW/T (H-2012; 4): *Ndi ngani mundende wa vhana wo ita uri vhatakale?*

What makes you happy with child grant support?

OW/P1 (H-2012; 4): *Ngauri zwia nkondela uwana tshelede,mara ubva tshe nda wana mundende ndi akona u renga zwiliwa.*

13

| 361 | | *Because it difficult for me to get money, but since I get the child* |
| 362 | | *grant support I can now manage to buy food.* |

| 363 | OW/P2 (H-2012; 4): | *Nne ndotakalela uvha khempheni.* |

| 364 | | *I'm happy to be at the camp.* |

| 365 | OW/T (H-2012; 4): | *Ndi ngani vhatshipfa vho takala ngauvha fhano?* |

| 366 | | *Why being at the camp makes you feel happy?* |

| 367 | OW/P2 (H-2012; 4): | *Ngauri ndasa athu vhuya ndada fhano .* |

| 368 | | *Because I have never been here before.* |

| 369 | OW/P3 (H-2012; 4): | *Nne ndi takadziwa ngau tamba bola.* |

| 370 | | *I'm happy with playing soccer.* |

| 371 | OW/T (H-2012; 4): | *Ndi ngani vhatshi takadziwa nga u tamba bola?* |

| 372 | | *Why playing soccer makes you feel happy?* |

| 373 | OW/P3 (H-2012; 4): | *Ndivha nditshi khou fhungudza tshileme nau wana mutakalo .* |

| 374 | | *Are being losing weight and gaining a good health.* |

| 375 | OW/P3 (H-2012; 4): | *Ndi takadziwa nanga uvhona vhana vhophasa zwikoloni.* |

| 376 | | *When I see children progressing at school I also feels happy.* |

| 377 | OW/T (H-2012; 4): | *Ndi ngani zwizwa ndeme khavho uri vhana vha phase* |
| 378 | | *zwikoloni?* |

| 379 | | *Why is it important to you that/when children pass at school?* |

| 380 | OW/P3 (H-2012; 4): | *Ngauri vhadovha na vhumatshelo havhudi vha bvelela.* |

| 381 | | *They will have a productive future and prosper.* |

| 382 | OW/P1 (H-2012; 4): | *Ndo takadziwa ngau vhona makhuwa vhori dalela ubva* |
| 383 | | *mashangoni a nnda.* |

| 384 | | *I was happy when I saw the white people visiting us from* |
| 385 | | *overseas.* |

| 386 | OW/T (H-2012; 4): | *U amba na vhathu vha fhano hayani navha mashango a nnda* |
| 387 | | *zwo fhambana ngafhi?* |

| 388 | | *Is there a different when you talk with local people compared to* |
| 389 | | *people from overseas?* |

390   OW/P1 (H-2012; 4): *Azwi fani zwia fhambana, ri awana tshikhala tshau alusiwa*
391   *muhumbuloni ngau vhudzisiwa dzi mbudziso.*

392   *There is a great difference, it gives us an opportunity to grow*
393   *and learn while you asking us questions.*

394   OW/T (H-2012; 4): *Huna zwinwe zwine vha khou takalela uzwi amba?*

395   *Is there anything else you would like to share?*

396   OW/P1 (H-2012; 4): *Hai, ro livhuwa*

397   *No, thank you.*

398   OW/T (H-2012; 4): *Na nne ndo livhuwa.*

399   *Thank you too.*