

**EXPLORING THE PHENOMENON OF RESILIENCE
WITH A CHILD SURVIVOR OF ABUSE**

(narrated) by

ELIZABETH ARCHER

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Supervisors

Dr C Lubbe
Prof AC Bouwer

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, ELIZABETH ARCHER (student number 97011462) declare that:

“Exploring the phenomenon of resilience with a child survivor of abuse”

is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signature

Date

This dissertation is dedicated to:

Catherine

The most amazing person in the world.

Never let your light dim.

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Many people directly and indirectly contributed to the process of the creation of this narrative. I cannot thank all of you individually, but thank you for sharing your voices. I would however like to thank some very special people:

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CELEBRATING NARRATIVE

Narrative organizes the stream of life's experience. Clinicians, in acknowledging the fact, have described successful psychotherapy as a process wherein one makes a coherent narrative for one's life. Putting together large chunks of memories in a storied whole that makes sense can promote health. But more immediate, everyday experience is also organized in narrative form. We make sense of everyday events for ourselves in relation to others in a way that takes on a story form and is connected to our feelings. In other words, we pull together experience, engage their interest, share meanings, and, in so doing, enlarge or 'co-construct' new meanings. Affective meaning making in narratives, both for ourselves and for sharing with others, is a vital human endeavour. It is thus a momentous development when a child acquires the capacity for narrative around three years of age.

(Emde, 2004: 3)

We have each of us, a life story, an inner narrative – whose continuity, whose sense, is our lives. It might be said that each of us constructs and lives 'a narrative', and that this narrative is our identities.

(Sacks, 1986: 105)

Human life is, ideally, a connected and coherent story, with all the details in explanatory place, and with everything (or as close to everything as is practically possible) accounted for, in its proper causal or other sequence. And inversely illness amounts at least in part to suffering from an incoherent story or an inadequate narrative account of oneself.

(Freud in Polkinghorne, 1988: 179)

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SUMMARY

EXPLORING THE PHENOMENON OF RESILIENCE WITH A CHILD SURVIVOR OF ABUSE

The purpose of this voyage is to explore the phenomenon of resilience with a South African child survivor of abuse. This research may be used to foreground elements in narrative conversations that can be employed to enhance resilience in other child survivors of abuse.

The collaborator was identified using a constructivist approach of selection, incorporating the Indigenous Knowledge of the staff involved in the care of abuse survivors in a place of safety. The selection work session led to the generation of an operationalisation of the concept resilience, as well as an observation schedule for resilience specific to this environment.

A 16-year-old female collaborator was identified as resilient for the purpose of this research. A number of in-depth interviews with the collaborator were conducted whilst the collaborator was in the place of safety, as well as after her move to a children's home.

Narratives about the collaborator's life were generated and computer aided qualitative data analysis was undertaken. This facilitated the generation of networks of codes which allow for the representation of the particular resilience processes present in the collaborator. In this study the ability to adapt and utilise new environments is identified as a major factor in the collaborator's resilience.

Keywords:

Resilience; Narrative; Child abuse; Narrative therapy; Imagoes; Risk factors; Protective factors; Indigenous Knowledge Systems

A NOTE ON PRESENTATION:

“It seems to me that increasingly the human sciences should face the daunting task of learning how to communicate in more popular and accessible ways” (Plummer, 2001: 198). In a way Plummer (2001: 198) is challenging academics to make our work more accessible and user friendly, moulding it in such a way as to reach a wider audience. Plummer (2001: 199-201) even mentions several innovative and exciting possibilities for meeting this challenge, including:

- The use of photographs, video and visual form
- Using active audience participation
- Presenting findings and lives as poetry
- The use of personal narrative, auto/ethnography, experimental ethnography
- Dramatizing the text
- Developing experimental writing styles
- Writing science as fictions
- Exploring new technologies

This dissertation will definitely incorporate an experimental writing style, stepping away from the sanctioned, linear, academic writing style, rather adhering to a writing style and method of ordering which best suits the narrators, purpose of the narratives, my personal style, as well as the audience. It may well seem presumptuous to try and cater for an audience that I do not know. Goodson and Sikes (2001: 41) however explain that during any narration, the narrator is influenced by his or her conceptualisation of the situation, as well as the issue of presentation of a certain self, identity, impression or image, as well as his or her expectation of the audience's response.

Any narration is conducted with a certain audience in mind and, in this case, I wished to reach a wider audience than those embroiled in the academia. I would like to make the work accessible to academics, practitioners and institutions supporting children who have survived abuse. Possibly adult survivors of child abuse who are ready to explore their own journey in more depth and even people who are close to children that have

survived abuse and want to gain a bit more insight into the possible experiences of these child survivors of abuse may benefit from this work. As rigour is vitally important in this type of research this experimental writing style will be supplemented with the use of new technologies such as a hypertext CD-Rom in the final presentation of the audit trail which includes the full transcriptions and the analysis.

I am post modernist, but at the same time being a person who loves structure, I will definitely be leaning on some of the exemplary aspects of established thesis presentation to improve accessibility and clarity of this work. Linking established thesis presentation and postmodernism may seem contradictory at face value, but as structure is important for me as a person, it contributes to myself as author being present in my work. Neuman (1997: 81) also notes that a postmodernist does not see her methodology as superior, and acknowledges that all approaches are valid as a particular representation of a reality. This means that a postmodernist may comfortably embrace some forms of conventional structure without moving outside the boundaries of her paradigm.

Krieger (in Plummer, 2001: 198) states, “the author is no longer afraid to use the first person: to say ‘I’”. In this dissertation I will use the first person. As I do not envisage an independent reality - an independent truth out there - I become a strong reference point in this work. My own lenses colour my perceptions and thus in depth self-reflection and reflexivity (often in the form of research diary excerpts) form part of the process of discussing and contemplating the findings and process of this research. All research diary entries are indicated in *this font* with an in text citation e.g. (Research diary: 23/04/2005).

Whilst the research process was very much iterative and certain difficult aspects of the research occupied my mind and diary contemplations at seemingly inappropriate times, I tried to present my research in a format and chronology that will facilitate easy reading for you, the audience. As such it may often seem that the research diary dates are awry. See this only as testimony of my sometimes eccentric thought processes.

MAKING OUR ACQUAINTANCE

This dissertation represents a close collaboration between The Mysterious Dolphin (TMD)¹ and me. TMD is an amazing young woman who, together with me as the co-pilot, allows the reader to journey through her life. We are granted the privilege of sharing in the narratives of her experiences and making her closer acquaintance. Although this work centres on TMD's life, I find it necessary to introduce myself to you.

Riessman (1993: v) states that "the construction of any work always bears the mark of the person who created it". Clandinin and Connelly (2000: 41) explain that "a narrative inquiry characteristically begins with the researcher's autobiographically orientated narrative associated with the research puzzle".

These texts were very frightening to me. It is one thing to write up the life of someone else, but this was very close to home. Putting your own life on paper allows for scrutiny. The following research diary entry attests to my anxiety. Even at the stage of contemplating my research methodology and fieldwork, having to write my own narrative seemed quite daunting.

Wow! Talk about scary (referring to the quotes in paragraph one). I have naïvely been trying to avoid even thinking about writing my autobiographical orientation to the research. How much do I say? Do I refer to all the significant events in my past? If I refer to some events will these events detract from the main stories? If I omit certain events, how does that influence the quality of my reflexivity? If I refer to certain events in a circumspect manner will it create tension and curiosity which detracts from the other narratives? (Research diary: 01/04/2005)

¹ The abbreviation TMD indicates the pseudonym chosen by the participant, The Mysterious Dolphin.

The anxiety I was experiencing was obvious. I explored various ideas about my autobiographical introduction, even considering completely shifting the weight of interpretation to the reader.

Why don't I write a narrative, poem, sketch or interpretation of my own? Flashes of a life.
(Research diary: 01/04/2005)

Reading this I was struck by the phrase 'a life'. It was amazing how readily I was trying to distance myself from the work. Amazing. I explored this line of thought by writing a flash of my life. In an instant I experienced the betrayal that many research participants experience once they see how they are represented on paper. I felt exposed, mis-portrayed and even angry at 'the author'.

I turned to a close friend of mine who read it and gave comment. Her comments led to new insight. I had come to associate the quality of my research as directly proportionate to the level of disclosure of everything in my past that may vaguely be related to the research or my approach to it. I reconsidered my conceptualization of self-reflexivity.

At this stage I came upon this piece by Geertz (in Clandinin & Connelly, 1994: 424) "[t]oo vivid a signature runs the risk of obscuring the field and its participants; too subtle a signature runs the risk of the deception that the research text speaks from the point of view of the participants." I was delighted to find that I was not the only researcher struggling with finding my voice in research.

From its inception I envisioned making this work more accessible, so it would reach a wider audience. I wish to incorporate some aspects of the suggestions of Plummer (2001: 199-201) on presentation, specifically the use of personal narrative. Plummer (2001: 299) describes this as "...the personal merged with the academic... [where] the borderlines between academic work and a personal life story become broken; and intense self-analysis mixes with academic analysis". For me this is an extreme form of reflexivity and self-reflection. My narrative is intertwined in the whole research process

from its commencement and a denial of this relationship between my narrative and the research will only detract from the honesty and authenticity of the work. At the same time I don't wish my personal narrative to dominate the voice of my research collaborator² or become a mindless waffle which leaves the reader waiting for something of substance to appear on the page again.

Self-reflexivity is often discussed in rather vague terms. As Plummer (2001: 207) states "[s]ome use [self-reflexivity] rather sloppily simply to mean self-introspection, but this is not what I think it should mean (that way self-indulgence can lie)." Gouldner (in Plummer, 2001: 207) suggests that reflexivity means to analyse your own work and reflection through the same tools you use to look at your participants. This is the approach to self-reflexivity I utilise in this research. I examine the reasons for my presenting the narrative in a certain way, what message I wish to convey, how I orientate it to the context, as well as many more concepts. Thus I endeavour not to take my thoughts as self-evident and always honourable, but examine my own growth process during the research to allow you and me the opportunity to truly reflect on my own voice and motivations during the research and how it impacted the narratives I present to you in this dissertation.

In a sense I could not see the forest for the trees. In searching for my own voice I had applied a double standard, not allowing myself the same dignity and rights I afforded my research collaborator. All of us have faced adversity in our lives. We do however not define ourselves exclusively by it. My theoretical basis of this research, narrative, proposes that a life narrative is defined by the events we wish to include and highlight in our narratives, it is not a comprehensive catalogue of all the events in our lives which might be deemed significant by others (Morgan, 2000: 5-8). My autobiographical orientation to the research is thus more appropriate if it truly reflects the aspects and events of my life which I use to define myself and highlight in my life. What I choose to highlight is in itself an indication of who I am. This sentiment is reiterated by Clandinin

² Goodson and Sikes (2001: 23) suggest the terms co-researcher, collaborator or research partner when referring to participants in a research process which is collaborative or has an interactive dimension.

and Connelly (1994: 23) "Who the researcher is makes a difference at all levels of the research, and the signature [she] put[s] on [her] work comes out of the stories [she] live[s] and tell[s]".

I am going to introduce myself to you much as I would introduce myself to a stranger: saying a few words in the start and then letting you get to know me as you travel with me through the text. This is represented as an excerpt from my diary, my own resolution to the conflict I experienced on how to represent my biographical orientation to the research.

Pleased to meet you. My name is Liz Archer. I am a young researcher with many dreams and aspirations. I believe in hard work and in earning respect. I have just finished my studies for educational psychology. Currently I am working at a school for learners with Cerebral Palsy for part of my internship period, after that I will be working at a place of safety for child survivors of abuse. I am a strong believer in hope and empathy. I love people and working in a team. I tend to see the best in people, believing in their potential. It is not that I am naïve, I am nobody's fool. I have had my knocks and seen the bad side of humanity. There is just no need to stay stuck in it. I see it as motivating and character building.

I lecture to third and fourth year education students on a regular basis. It is a very important part of my life. I enjoy sharing with the students, but I especially enjoy the opportunity to motivate and stretch them, allowing them the opportunity to surprise themselves. Family is extremely important to me. Family, for me, is not necessarily a network of biological relationships you are born into. Often it is relationships you create in love and faith with no genetic basis. I sometimes surprise myself by standing up against injustice, often at great cost. I have been blessed that it has all worked out for the best so far and my partner has stood by me through it all. I can become quite emotional at times, although I don't show it and sometimes need a lot of reflective time to cope with these emotions. One of the most important

things I have learnt in the last few years is to lean on - and trust people more and this learning has definitely contributed a lot to my research. (Research diary, 29/03/2005)

Pleased to meet you! Shall we?

CHAPTER ONE

PURCHASING THE TICKETS

Why join me on this voyage? De Botton (2003: 13-15) speaks of how, after a journey, we forget the inconvenience: delays at the airport, the humidity, sea sickness, a smelly cab or the exhaustion from jetlag. Travelling is quite an endeavour requiring a lot of energy and commitment from any tourist. This chapter is thus committed to selling you on the importance of this voyage. I explain the goals for this voyage, as well as our route markers and the courses already charted by other researchers in these waters.

1.1 A ONCE IN A LIFETIME TRIP, NOT TO BE MISSED!

During my undergraduate studies, I was afforded the opportunity to enter into the lives of the children in a place of safety. The plight of these survivors of abuse spoke to me. Unfortunately this is not a unique situation, as child abuse has reached pandemic proportions in South Africa (Tagar, 2001: ¶ 8). The effects of this abuse on a child's life are pervasive and can never be nullified. The child can though, be supported to live past the experience, break the cycle of abuse and become a productive, resilient adult (Doyle, 2001: 388).

It was during my undergraduate studies that the idea of a dissertation pertaining to the resilience of these child survivors of abuse first occurred to me. From this birth the idea went through various periods of hiatus and growth spurts as my own maturation took place. As my masters studies progressed I delved into the realms of research methodology at greater depth, while trying to find an appropriate way to explore and portray the poignant narratives of these child survivors. I wrestled with the scope of my research, defining the research questions, finding my voice as a researcher and drafting a research proposal, until I earnestly started the fieldwork in 2005.

For the latter part of my required period of internship I now once again have the opportunity to work at the same place of safety. This opportunity re-awakened certain realisations in me.

I have been working at this place of safety for two weeks now. It is strange entering a world such as this again during my post-graduate studies, after a three year absence. Certain things have remained eerily the same while so much has changed. Similarly I have in certain ways stayed the same, but also grown in terms of my own practice and life experience, as well as my appreciation of it.

One thing struck me, though. Something that through the years I have taken for granted about this place. I have a sense of wonderment of how much some of these children have been through and still they forge on. Not angels by any stretch of the imagination, not wallowing in self-pity. Most of the children show a great strength of character and well-honed skills for survival. Something many of us can learn from.

(Research diary: 17/07/2005)

Several authors (Lieblich, Tugal-Mashiach & Zilber, 1998: 7; Plummer, 2001:185; Polkinghorne, 1988: 105; Riessman, 1993: 2) propose that stories not only present an inner reality of the outside world, but concomitantly construct the narrator's personality and identity. "A narrative approach is being recognized as a means of examining the ways in which individuals make sense of their lives within a changing sociohistorical context" (Phinney in Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004: vii). For Riessman (2002: 220) this process of making sense through narrative is especially true of trauma. It may well be that resilience is a product of the story elements and structure incorporated in a child survivor of abuse's identities. These identified story elements could be used as possible points of departure in therapeutic conversations in the re-storying of clients' lives as proposed in the narrative therapy approach founded by Michael White and David Epston (Freeman, Epston & Lobovitz, 1997: ix; Morgan, 2000: iv; White & Epston, 1990: vii). Although not all the story elements found in the research collaborator's story may be relevant to each client it will provide some valuable avenues to explore when examining the influence of the problem. These elements may also be helpful in the enrichment of a more resilient alternative story for other survivors of abuse.

Narrative therapy seeks to be a respectful, non-blaming approach... which centres people as the experts in their own lives. It views problems as separate from people and assumes people have many skills, competencies, beliefs, values, commitments and abilities that will assist them to reduce the influence of problems in their lives. (Morgan, 2000: 2)

In acknowledgement to people's expertise in "reducing the influence of problems in their own lives" (Morgan, 2000: 2) narrative therapists often make use of a specific therapeutic document. The document entails the creation of a handbook where the client writes down his approach to the problem. This then serves as help for other clients struggling with a similar problem (Morgan, 2000: 95). My dissertation is in a sense a handbook for people who are fighting to regain their lives from the consequences of abuse. For some it may act as a starting point of a journey or facilitation of the therapeutic process when an impasse is reached. For some it will have wide application in their own fight, for others it may have no further application than a motivation to continue on their own journey of healing as they read that my co-researcher is still bravely fighting the consequences of abuse in her life.

In undertaking this research it is acknowledged that existing psychological theory is predominantly western (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997: 591) and that South African voices have a rich diversity to contribute to the enrichment of resilience theory. The themes identified in collaboration with the child survivor as contributing to the phenomenon of resilience, could be translated into skill development or asset discovery programmes to enhance the resilience of other abused children.

1.2 IN SHORT, OUR AIM...

The purpose of this voyage is to explore the phenomenon of resilience in a South African child survivor of abuse. The identification of story elements and themes in the narratives of resilience of the research collaborator can be used to foreground elements in narrative conversations that can be employed to enhance resilience in other child survivors of abuse.

In order to reach this aim, our tour company has some questions that we aim to generate answers for during the voyage. In our final chapter we will explore the findings that relate to these questions.

1.3 CRITICAL QUESTIONS, THE ROUTE MARKERS

In the turbulent ocean tides, storms may act to push the cruise ship off course. As a precaution we thus have various route markers in the form of critical questions to keep us on track for our final destination. The final destination is indicated by our main research question:

1. What stories are entrenched in the voice of a resilient child survivor of abuse?

The sub-questions indicate the route-markers:

- a. What is the indigenous knowledge operationalisation of resilience constructed by the staff involved in the care of child survivor of abuse?
- b. How does collaboration and ownership of the research influence the resilience of a child survivors of abuse?

As one of our valued customers we provide you with some information from previous explorers in the waters of resilience. This will not only give you an idea of what has already been explored, but of what can be explored in more depth and what has remained untouched by human hands.

1.4 MAPPING THE COURSES ALREADY CHARTED

1.4.1 DEVELOPING A LITERATURE GROUNDING

One of the difficulties I faced in developing this dissertation was the fact that it did not develop in a linear fashion. It grew as a whole, never quite falling into discrete linear chapters with the clarity for which I wished. Integration of literature on resilience presented a particular difficulty. I wanted to work as inductively as possible in my analysis, truly allowing themes to emerge from the data, trying to really hear what my research collaborator was trying to convey.

Concomitantly there was a need to have some literature grounding to guide my research process, define some concepts, help me avoid certain pitfalls and prevent me from reinventing the wheel. I conducted a very basic literature review to give me some footing for my research without being detrimental to my inductive analysis.

This literature grounding will be elaborated on further in the chapter pertaining to the interpretation. In Chapter Four the existing literature will be integrated with the analysis for this research to present a more comprehensive picture. As Clandinin and Connelly (2000: 41) explain the method of their own narrative inquiry, students "... frequently write dissertations without a specific literature review chapter. They weave the literature throughout the dissertation from beginning to end in an attempt to create a seamless link between the theory and the practice embodied in the inquiry." So, Bon Voyage!

1.4.2 RESILIENCE: NAVIGATING THE MURKY WATERS

Despite the plethora of works on resilience, the term 'resilience' has eluded fixed definition (Miller, 2002: 292). The multiple definitions of resilience in the literature seem to reflect two components embedded in the concept:

- the presence of factors that place people at risk for development of psychopathology or other negative outcomes and
- the ability of these persons to remain healthy and avoid negative outcomes despite the presence of these factors

(Doyle, 2001: 390-397; Freitas & Downey, 1998: 269-272; Haggerty, Sherrod, Garmezy & Rutter: 1996; i-xi Miller, 2002: 291-292; Richardson, 2002: 309-310; Wenar & Kerrig, 2000: 20-21). For the purpose of this research the definition of resilience according to Masten, Best and Garmezy will be used: "the process of, capacity for, or outcome of successful adaptation despite challenging or threatening circumstances" (in Heller, Larrieu, D'Imperio & Boris, 1999: 322).

The concepts of *risk factors* and *protective factors* are intertwined with the concept of resilience and need to be clarified in terms of this research. According to Wenar and Kerrig (2000: 20), risk factors are any conditions, which increase the likelihood for the

development of psychopathology and adverse outcomes in an individual. The risk factor specifically investigated in this study is that of child abuse.

Garnezy, Masten and Tellegen (Rak & Patterson, 1996: ¶4) studied 200 urban children from the United States of America. The research focused on competence as an expression of resilience and used measures such as academic success and classroom behaviour to determine this competence. This research culminated in the identification of a number of protective factors, which were categorised into three different domains:

1. **Attributes of the individual**, including resilient temperament, positive social orientation and activity level, accurate processing of interpersonal cues, good means – ends problem solving skills, an ability to evaluate actions for both instrumental and affective perspectives, the capacity to enact behaviours that accomplish desired outcomes in interpersonal or social situations, and a sense of self-efficacy;
2. **A supportive family environment**, including bonding with adults in the family, low family conflict, and supportive relationships; and
3. **Environmental supports**, including those which reinforce and support coping efforts and recognize and reward competence. (Consortium on School-based Promotion of Social Competence, 1996: 272)

The term “protective factors” refers to factors that promote or maintain healthy development. In terms of resilience, these factors act to minimize the effects of risk factors on individuals (Wenar & Kerrig, 2000: 20-21). In Chapter Four the outcomes of the study will be compared with these protective factors to identify which of these factors are present in this study.

Heller *et al.* (1999: 322-323) note that resilience research has been plagued by vague definitions of the risk factor maltreatment or abuse. It is therefore essential to highlight what is meant by the risk factor ‘child abuse’ in terms of this research. Webster’s Third New International Dictionary (Merriam-Webster, 1993: 8) defines abuse as follows: “to use or treat so as to injure, hurt or damage”. Child abuse is divided into various categories namely physical-, sexual- and emotional abuse, as well as neglect (Sadock & Sadock, 2002: 304).

In this study we are examining the resilient child that has survived abuse. But what would a resilient child in this context look like? Fonagy (in Gilligan, 2000: 37) gives us a glimpse at a resilient child:

A resilient child is one who bounces back having endured adversity, who continues to function reasonably well despite continued exposure to risk. Resilience is normal development under difficult circumstances.

Smokowski, Reynolds and Bezruczko (1999: 427) describe this resilient child as coping during adverse situations with strength, endurance and persistence. A strong sense of purpose and future is part of such a child's optimism. Although the environment may contribute to adversity such a child draws from the positive social factors in the social environment.

Many research designs used to study resilience in children are longitudinal studies, cross-sectional studies and retrospective studies (Rak & Patterson, 1996: ¶1). Rak and Patterson (1996: ¶4) refer to some major research studies on resilience, namely those of Werner and Smith, Rutter, as well as Garmezy, Masten and Tellegen, which we have already discussed.

Werner and later Werner and Smith are credited with having published the seminal work on resilience (Richardson, 2002: 309). Werner and Smith (Richardson, 2002: 309) conducted a longitudinal study over 32 years with 200 Hawaiian children identified as being at risk. The risk factors studied included prenatal problems, socio-economic status, family instability, little educational stimulation and poor support within the family. Resilience was measured in terms of competence in adult life roles. Of the 200 participants 72 were identified as resilient.

A resilience study based on Isle of Wight and London inner city children was conducted by Rutter (Haggerty *et al.* 1996: v). He incorporated a wide scope of risk factors in his sample and concluded that the impact of stressors increased as the stressors increased.

This was not just an additive process, but the addition of each new stressor also led to an exacerbation of the impact of the other stressors.

Freitas and Downey (1998: 263-285) contributed to the research on resilience by introducing the concept of the dynamics of resilience. These authors found that their sample were not equally resilient across various contexts. They contend that personal protective factors are modified by environmental protective factors. Environmental protective factors are in turn influenced by contextual factors. This interaction translates into the minimizing of the expression and degree of resilience by contextual factors. Richardson (2002: 319) created a metatheory of resilience. This theory postulates that resilient reactions to adversity strengthen future resilience, while non-resilient reaction reduces people's resilience capabilities.

This dynamic process of resilience is similar to the conveyer belt effect described by Radke-Yarrow (1991: 115-126) as it pertains to insecure attachment. The conveyor belt was described as follows for the female participants: Lack of care as child → unsupportive marriage, premarital pregnancy, socio-economic inadequacy (provoking agents)→ negative evaluation of self, lack of support, helplessness→ depression. In this research we aim to examine the positive dynamics of resilience in our research collaborator's narrative.

The literature consulted offers an overview of the global factors contributing to resilience, but few studies focus on the individual protective factors and their expression. While factors such as sense of efficacy (Haggerty *et al.* 1996: iv) are recognised as being protective factors, the phenomenological component of these factors is not explored. The personal, subjective construction and meaning attributed to experience of these factors are thus not examined in depth (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000: 23 & Willig, 2001: 51). Resiliency research has its roots in Britain and the United States of America, as seen in our literature grounding. Movements such as positive psychology and the asset-based approach developed by Kretzmann and McKnight (in Ebersöhn & Eloff, 2003: 3-17) are awakening the interest in resiliency research. Recent South

African studies in resilience include those by Parsons (2005: 1-166) and Mampane (2004: 1-150). Parsons (2005: 1-166) developed an instrument to identify resilient and non-resilient middle-adolescent learners in a former Model C school. Mampane (2004: 1-150) focussed on the identification of resilient and non-resilient Grade 8 and 9 learners in a former township school. Mampane (2004: ii) identified interviews as the most reliable means of identifying resilience in this context. Although resilience is enjoying some attention in South Africa at the moment, the South African voices of resilience are not adequately represented yet.

Garmezy (1996: 13) warns that resilience has its basis in drama. He (Garmezy, 1996: 13) states that resilience is being conceptualised as a myth: "... any and all could succeed were they to work hard enough". This admonition by Garmezy (1996: 13) may well be seen as an argument in favour of the myth of resilience. My dissertation acknowledges the value of narrative, not only in individuals' perception of reality, but also in their conceptualisation of their own identity. Garmezy's (1996: 13) myth may translate into a positive sense of self-efficacy rendering the myth itself a valuable contributor to resilience.

My research study will therefore not only give resiliency theory a South African voice, but also acknowledge the narrative elements embedded in the stories of a resilient abuse survivor. Her personal narratives will be explored in terms of the meanings that the participant attributes to her experiences and her coping. At the same time I will not take a neutral stance, but support empowerment and growth through ownership of the data by the research collaborator and myself.

Another route marker that should be explored is that of the concept, Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS)³. IKS are defined differently by various authors. Some define it in terms of a resource or commodity, while others emphasise the problem-solving component inherent in these knowledge systems (Maila & Loubser, 2003:276-277). In this research I support the definition of Higgs, Higgs and Venter (2003: 40):

³ The abbreviation IKS indicates Indigenous Knowledge Systems.

Indigenous knowledge is unique to a particular culture and society. It is the basis of local decision-making in agriculture, health, natural resource management and other activities. Indigenous knowledge is embedded in community practices, institutions, relationships and rituals. It is essentially tacit knowledge that is not easily codifiable.

This research incorporates a narrative research design. Mainstream psychology is currently a predominantly western science, with western research methodologies (Meyer *et al.* 1997: 591). Narrative research is well developed in western thinking. Mertens (1998:196) discusses oral histories as occurring when a narrator stimulates remembering and we record the narrator's words through in-depth interviews. These oral histories are seen as narrative studies of lives. The South African oral tradition is based on narrative (Center for Studies in Oral Tradition, 2003: ¶1), the use of narrative thus means the incorporation of the IKS into the research methodology. Using this design is therefore in itself an attempt to represent the voice of the participant as accurately as possible.

The phenomenon of resilience, which is being studied, is seen as dynamic, affected by the mere act of observation and examination. Eloff (2001: 64) notes that Vygotsky's social cultural approach supports the concept of co-constructing of a life-narrative through interaction between two people and stresses that both parties influence how a life-narrative is constructed. A life-narrative is seen as the sense of coherence, which is then embodied in a person's identity. Thus through collaborative re-storying (in the form of interviews during the research process) the participant will re-story her life-narratives with the researcher and therefore also alter her own identity. The existence and validity of multiple stories are acknowledged.

Armed with this literature grounding and conceptual framework I would now like to give you a framework with which to navigate this work. Although it is presented in a linear format, it actually grew from several departure points at once. You are therefore welcome to navigate it as you please, making sense of the voyage in your own personal way.

1.5 YOU ARE HERE! GETTING ORIENTATED

- **CHAPTER ONE** ***PURCHASING THE TICKETS***

The part you have just visited. This has served as an introduction to the research. It included our sales pitch “A once in a lifetime trip, not to be missed!” which deals with the rationale for our study. The purpose and critical questions guiding our voyage were made apparent. Our last part of this leg of the voyage examined the exploration of other researchers in this field.

- **CHAPTER TWO** ***BOARDING THE METHODOLOGY CRUISE LINER.***

This is where we explore the “mechanics of the vehicle” utilised on this voyage. The chapter deals in depth with the methodological basis of this study. The innovative approach to sampling is covered. Trustworthiness and reliability as well as ethical issues, the role of the researcher and the burden of authorship are discussed. This chapter also deals with issues such as issues of truth in narrative, levels of representation and the reader’s responsibility.

- **CHAPTER THREE** ***SWIMMING WITH THE DOLPHIN.***

In this chapter we meet our main character, The Mysterious Dolphin. A basic narrative of TMD’s life story up to the time of my meeting her and a genogram are provided. A narrative of the changes she underwent during the research process is also presented.

- **CHAPTER FOUR** ***MAKING SENSE OF THE EXPERIENCE.***

The data analysis is explicated in this chapter and interpretation takes place through integration with literature. Some complex interactions are explored making use of graphical presentations (networks). Detailed attention is given to specific themes as well as the interaction of these themes. This chapter also pays specific attention to the brand of narrative method employed in this study. Some of TMD’s imagoes are explored.

• **CHAPTER FIVE** ***PAYING THE CREDIT CARD BILLS.***

In this final chapter of our voyage we relate the voyage back to the research questions. We express our wishes for further voyages into resilience which may supplement our own travels. Certain aspects are debated and discussed as we now have the benefit of viewing this research as a whole.

CHAPTER TWO

BOARDING THE METHODOLOGY CRUISE LINER

The plan of inquiry

2.1 CASTING OFF

Before embarking on any extensive tour one usually does some research to establish what the speciality of a certain tour company is. What courses will the cruise liner take? Will one be whisked from island to island or treated to long voyages to appreciate panoramic vistas while sipping champagne? Will one be forced into the confined of an economy cabin, or will you be able to relax in the cool comfort with the wind in your hair while on deck of a luxury liner? How were your hosts selected? How rigorously has this specific tour been tested and is it approved?

We will therefore start off our voyage by looking at the sunglasses I will be donning for this trip, my paradigm. You will be treated to an exploration of how my co-pilot joined the team in the section on the selection of a research collaborator. We will give you a taste of how we generated the specific content of this tour, data generation. We will help you make sense of your experiences, by walking down the avenue of data analysis. For those of you who are experienced travellers we present our credentials and assurances of the quality of the tour in our fine print on trustworthiness. This also includes a section on the code we as a tour organisation adhere to. Finally I will define my role as tour guide.

2.2 PARADIGM

I never had any difficulty selecting a paradigm for this research. As a therapist I have come to appreciate that each person sees reality as something distinctly unique. Interpretivism is something which is very congruent with the person I am. (Research diary: 03/01/2005). I would therefore like to discuss the epistemology and ontology of this specific brand of driving glasses I will wear.

Lieblich *et al.* (1998: 10) explain that the paradigm of the researcher is one of the three voices present in any narrative. As such it is essential for me to elaborate on my paradigm in order for the reader to identify its voice in the narrative. I will be utilising an interpretive paradigm. It is essential to describe the interpretive ontology and epistemology. Ontologically reality is seen as being constructed through human interaction. Reality is constructed, interpreted and subjective and multiple realities exist. The epistemology purports that events are understood through interpretation, which is mediated by the social context. Thus meaning and knowledge are created or constructed. (Cohen *et al.* 2000: 22-23; Schwandt, 2000: 191-192; Smit, 2001: 128)

The narrative method I apply falls comfortably within the interpretive paradigm. According to Goodson and Sikes (2001: 22) narrative methodologies have an epistemological position which values "...the subjective, emic and idiographic".

2.3 WHAT IS IN A NAME?

Narrative as a term is itself a hotly debated issue which goes back centuries. The debates about the technicalities of narrative have become so heated that often the beauty of narrative is lost in academic dialogue. It is however, essential to look at what is seen as narrative.

Plummer (2001: 186) discusses the debate concerning the definition of narrative:

There is no consensus on the term's meaning. Yet what is clear is that the narrative of a life is not *the* life; and life narratives conform much less to the contours of the life as lived than they do to the conventions and practices of narrative writing.

Academics (Czarnniawska, 2004: 17; Plummer, 2001: 186; Polikinghorne, 1988: 13; Riessman, 1993: 3) seem only to agree on two aspects of the term narrative. The first is that there is a debate about the definition (Riessman, 1993: 3) and secondly that there is sequence in narrative. Aristotle asserted that a narrative has a beginning, middle and end. Since this assertion scholars have at least agreed that a sequence is necessary for a narrative (Riessman, 2002: 230). This is however the limit of their scholarly agreement on narrative.

We thus find ourselves with definitions of narrative on a continuum ranging from the simple to the complex. On the simple pole we find Polkinghorne (1988: 13) who defines narrative as a "...kind of organizational scheme expressed in story form." Here one also locates Czarniawska (2004: 17) who explains that although most anything can be treated as a narrative it is usually seen as a text giving account of events chronologically connected. McLeod (2001: 104) also tends to a more minimalist definition of narrative as "... an account of a concrete, specific event, with a beginning, middle and end, active protagonist and some kind of dramatic climax".

On the more prescriptive, complex pole of the conceptualisation of narrative we find authors such as Labov (in Riessman, 2002: 231) whose idea of a fully formed narrative includes six common elements:

- an abstract: a summary of the substance of the narrative
- orientation: time, place, situation, participants
- complicating action: sequence of events
- evaluation: significance and meaning of the action, attitude of the narrator
- resolution: what finally happened
- coda: returning the perspective to the present.

Literary theorists also occupy the more complex pole of narrative definition. They define the three basic criteria for narrative as temporality, causation and human interest. These criteria combine to form a plot (Cortazzi, 1993: 85-86)

- Temporality: the chronological feature of narratives, sequenced events in time.
- Causation: one state leads to another; this is usually inferred by the audience.
- Human interest: this is essential to narrative and is determined by the interpretation and interest of the audience.

In our voyage I have chosen to follow the definition of a good life narrative as depicted by Plummer (2001: 196). A good life narrative usually needs most of the following :

- A sense of ordering – usually linear – of events. Even with flash-backs etc. they come in a recognizable form. We cannot comprehend 'timelessness'.

- A sense of a person behind the text – a kind of stability of identity and continuity. We cannot cope very well with people who are all fragments and lack any sense of predictability.
- A sense of voice and perspective belonging to a narrator: someone has to tell the story and that someone should be identifiable. We cannot much bear voices floating around unidentifiably.
- A sense of causality: if this, then that. Plots matter. People are motivated to do things, there are reasons things happen – even if sometimes the reason becomes ‘chance’.

(Plummer, 2001: 196)

Resolving the issue as to how narrative is seen in this text may seem a victory, but there are a number of issues which relate to the re-presentation of a narrative in text which must be dealt with. The next section deals with some of these issues.

2.4 WHAT YOU SEE IS WHAT YOU GET?

2.4.1 SO WHAT DO YOU REALLY GET?

I, your tour guide, present to you a fieldtext, “...texts create[d] by participants and researchers to represent aspects of field experience” (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994: 418). The fieldtexts are the narratives indicated from the primary documents in **this font** in the following chapters. These combined with my *research diary* and the literature interweaved in the text represents a research text. “Just as the researcher’s relationship to participants shaped the field text, the researcher’s relationship to the inquiry and to the participants shapes the research text” (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994: 423) The fieldtexts are moulded to answer issues of meaning and social significance (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000: 131).

One of the aims of this study is to enrich current resilience theory with the voices of South African abuse survivors. In so doing it is essential to remain as ‘objective’ as possible. The ideal would be to let the data speak for themselves, but as Lather and Smithies (1997: 5) note there is no such thing as objective data. The researcher always acts as a filter that invariably affects the data. Henning (2003: ¶4) notes that objectivity can be seen as allowing the voice of the subject to be heard in as clear and undistorted manner as possible. I will endeavour to accomplish this by identifying my own voice in

the interweaved narratives. This will equip the reader with the ability to discern the voice of the collaborator as 'objectively' as possible within the cacophony.

In this section we are going to discuss several aspects that you should keep in mind when reading the narratives and in the process of making sense of it. I discuss issues of truth in narratives, as well as levels of presentation in narrative.

2.4.2 ISSUES OF TRUTH IN NARRATIVE

Willig (2001: 64) raises several questions about the participant's ability to relay a narrative:

How successfully are participants able to communicate the rich texture of their experience to the researcher? And how many people are able to use language in such a way as to capture the subtleties and nuances of their physical and emotional experiences?

Here Willig (2001: 64) questions the ability of the narrator to portray her experiences. Riessman (2002: 233) adds another dimension of complexity to this question as she states that narrators always guard against the "So what?" response to a story. The narrator thus does not want a story to be interpreted as not having a message. These stories are thus narrated within a context in which it must be interpreted and contribute meaning. The Personal Narratives Group (in Riessman, 2002: 234) see context as "...multilayered, involving the historical moment of the telling, the race, class, and gender systems that narrators manipulate to survive and within which their talk has to be interpreted."

Riessman (1993: 64) states that a "...narrative is not meant to be read as an exact record of what happened nor is it a mirror of a world 'out there'" (Riessman, 1993: 64). "Life stories are, [...] in their nature, already removed from life experiences: they are lives interpreted and made textual. Life stories represent a partial, selective commentary on lived experience" (Goodson & Sikes, 2001: 16). So how do we gain value and meaning from a narrative if it is not the truth? The Personal Narratives Group (in Riessman 2002: 235) powerfully discusses this issue of narrative truths:

When talking about their lives, people lie sometimes, forget a lot, exaggerate, become confused, and get things wrong. Yet they *are* revealing truths. These truths don't reveal the past 'as it actually was', aspiring to a standard of objectivity. They give us instead the truths of our experiences... Unlike the Truth of the scientific ideal, the truths of personal narrative are neither open to proof nor self-evident. We come to understand them only through interpretation, paying careful attention to the contexts that shape their creation and to the world views that inform them. Sometimes the truths we see in personal narrative jar us from our complacent security as interpreters "outside" the story and make us aware that our own place in the world plays a part in our interpretation and shapes the meaning we derive from them.

It is exactly this aspect of the truths revealed in the telling, which makes this research design so appropriate for this study on resilience. How the story is told is revealing of TMD's approach to life and how she interprets and frames her experiences within her context to make sense of her own life and to cope with it.

We have established that a narrative presented in a research text is not a presentation of some independent truth out in the world, but represents a subjective reality or truth. Now we can turn to examining the various levels of representation involved in the presentation of a narrative in a research text.

2.4.3 LEVELS OF REPRESENTATION

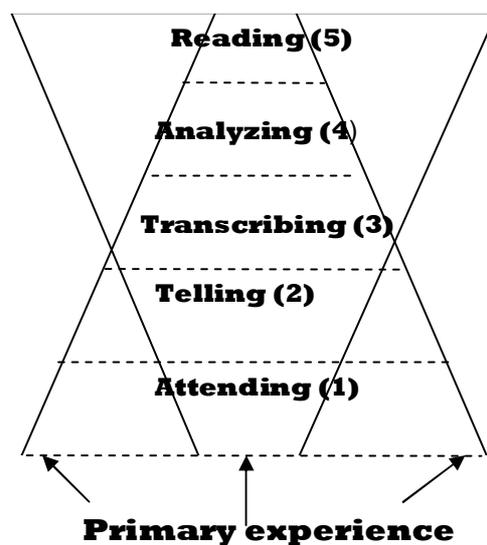
Riessman (2002: 221) explains that there are several levels of representation in the research process (Figure 2.1). These levels of representation present various levels of interpretation and representation of subjective realities. There are five levels of representation which follow on each other hierarchically. Each level builds its representation on the representation of the previous levels. The five levels are:

1. Attending
2. Telling
3. Transcribing
4. Analysing
5. Reading

(Riessman, 2002: 222-229)

Attending relates to the primary experience where the research collaborator reflects remembers and recollects specific aspects of the experience. The telling relates to the performance of a personal narrative of the experience to an audience. Transcribing is the process where one of the members of the audience tries to capture the telling in the linear format of written language. Analysis is the generation of themes and narrative elements from the written text, while the last level of reading adds the interpretation of the reader within her own context. (Riessman, 2002: 222-229)

Figure 2.1: Levels of representation in the research process (Adapted from Riessman, 2002: 221)



Each of the levels represented in Figure 2.1 is endowed with some complexity. Even at the level of attending certain aspects of a memory may be more significant to you than others. For example, you may remember a sunset for its vibrant colours and the emotions that it evoked. There were other aspects which you did not attend to, however, such as the heat on your skin or the sound of traffic in the background.

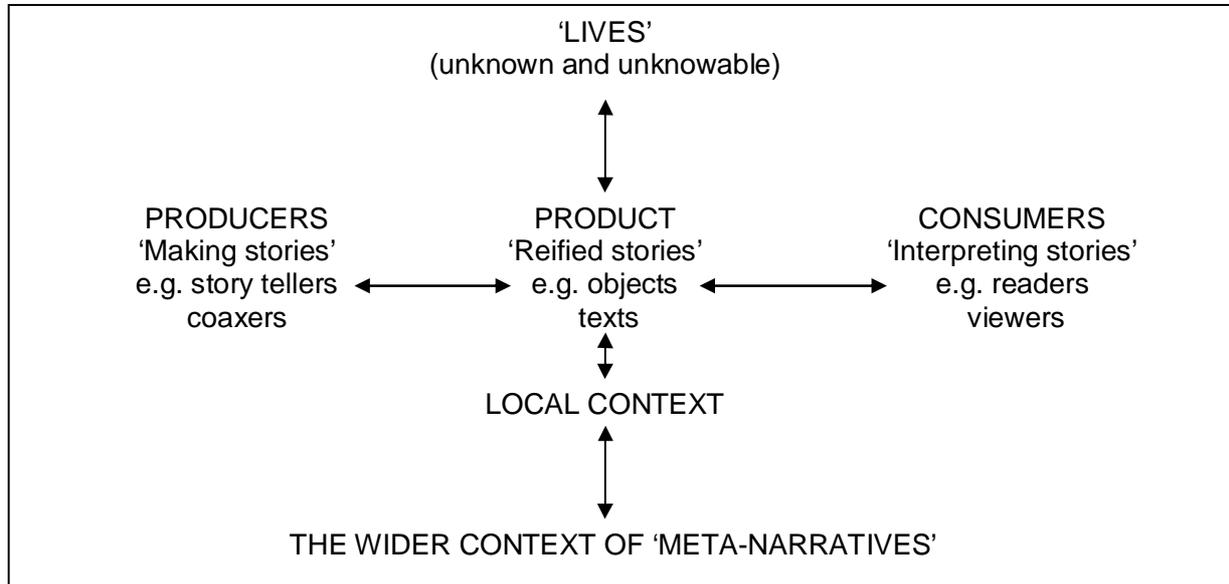
I have already dealt with the complexities of telling in the previous section (2.4.2 Issues of truth in narrative). Authors such as Mason (2002: 77) and Clandinin and Connelly

(2000: 92-95) draw our attention to the reality that interpretation is already taking place at the level of transcription. In an effort to maintain rigour in this research process, Mason (2002: 78) would "...read the interviews both in an interpretive and reflexive manner. Thus reading both for inferred meaning and reading in order to try and determine my own role in the interaction". This is again a clear acknowledgement of the level of interpretation already inherent at the level of transcription and then transferred to that of analysis. Riessman (1993: 32) adds that even the "[l]anguage used in an interview can be scrutinized – "unpacked," not treated as self-evident, transparent, unambiguous – during the interview itself as well as later, in the analysis of interview transcripts."

The representation involved with analysis is touched on later in this chapter in the section on the burden of authorship (2.10.2). It will also be dealt with in more depth in Chapter Four: Making sense of the experience. The last level of representation (reading) relates to your role as reader. As Riessman (2002: 256) states, "[a] personal narrative is not meant to be read as an exact record of what happened, nor is it a mirror of a world 'out there.' Our readings of data are themselves located in discourses (e.g, scientific, feminist, and therapeutic)." This will be dealt with in more depth in the following section: the reader's responsibility (2.4.4).

It is very clear that "...we create and re-create voices over and over again during the research process" (Riessman, 2002: 229). Hastrup (in Cortazzi, 1993: 21) also refers to the level of interpretation and the constructionist process involved in narrative research: "It is not the unmediated world of the others but the world between ourselves and others. Our results are deeply marked by this betweenness and there is no way, epistemologically, to overcome its implications". An awareness of the levels of representation is essential to enrich and inform our reading and utilising of a narrative. Plummer (2001: 44) enriches our understanding of the levels of representation by illustrating the elements of social action of the story process (Figure 2.2). As he explains (Plummer, 2001: 43), "[w]e come 'to story' our lives through the culture we live in, and we use this very culture as a way of 'writing' into ourselves who we are".

Figure 2.2: Plummer's elements of the social action of the story process (in Plummer, 2001: 44)



2.4.4 THE READER'S RESPONSIBILITY

A whole theory has developed to examine the reader's role in the research through reading: reader – response theory.

A meaning must clearly be the product of an interaction between the textual signals and the reader's act of comprehension... As text and reader thus merge into a single situation, the division between subject and object no longer applies, and it therefore follows that the *meaning* is no longer an object to be defined, but is *an effect to be experienced*.

(Iser in Czarniawska 2004: 67)

The reader is thus busy with a creative process of reading. "The reader performs the functions of fitting motifs together, evaluating characters, and seeking causal connections" (Polkinghorne, 1988:96). "[T]he meaning of text is not "found" nor 'created' from nothing: it is constructed anew from what already exists (a text, a tradition, a genre) in the interaction between the readers, and the text" (Czarniawska, 2004: 67). For each reader the meaning and value of a narrative will differ depending on how he or she constructs his or her understanding of the existing text.

2.5 SELECTION OF A CO-PILOT

Whenever I thought of the selection of a research collaborator it presented some difficulty. Usually when I think of sampling I think of some researcher coming into a fairly foreign environment to select collaborators. In the case of purposeful collaborator selection, this meant performing some process to select a research collaborator who would help generate the richest information and who suited the required profile.

This all seemed rather arrogant and much the same as re-designing the wheel. Here I was entering a fairly foreign environment and through 'expert' knowledge identifying a research collaborator for the study. This just seemed so incongruent with my paradigm. Selecting a research collaborator in such a way would mean a complete denial of the expert knowledge of the staff about the children and this specific environment. I wished to have a more collaborative model of sampling which was compatible with my paradigm.

(Research diary: 12/01/2005)

The approach to collaborator selection discussed here represents the culmination of this sentiment. The place of safety acted as the pool from which the collaborator was selected. The children in the place of safety, who have been identified as abused by the South African Police Department's Child Protection Unit (CPU), were thus eligible for selection as co-pilot.

I was, however, struck by fear that using such a collaborative model of collaborator selection may lead to severe difficulty. The staff may possibly identify some child whom they may see as resilient according to their own definition, but who does not really suit the profile of resilience. In such a case my study would not pertain to a resilient child, but purely examine what staff in this context view as resilient and why.

I struggled with how to address this problem until I read the work of one of my colleagues, Joretha Parsons (Parsons, 2005: 51-57). She was busy with a dissertation in which she

adapted Kumpfer's transactional model of resilience (in Glantz & Johnson, 1999: 183-184) focusing on South African learners in middle adolescence (grade eight and grade nine). After factor analysis she identified certain questions as significant indicators of resilience (Parsons, 2005: 51-57). I took these questions and drew up a working document for a sampling workshop at this place of safety (Appendix A: Working document on resilience). (Research diary: 12/01/2005)

Staff members involved in the daily running of the place of safety were invited to participate in the collaborator selection. The staff members were asked to attend a workshop concerning resilience. The collaborators in the workshop included the intern psychologists, social workers, the medical sister, heads of departments and the superintendent (See primary document one on the audit trail CD).

During the workshop discussions the indicators of resilience identified by Parsons (2005: 51-57) were operationalised for the specific context of this place of safety. Specific expressions of the various aspects of resilience were discussed, creating a guideline for nominating children as being resilient. The staff members then discussed which children they viewed as particularly resilient based on the generated operationalisation. As the mobility of the children in this place of safety is quite high, one specific research collaborator was identified with two other children who would be approached to participate if the original research collaborator was displaced too soon for the data generation to be completed. Henning (2003: ¶15) advocates for examining concepts in terms of cultural and context-specific understanding. This method of collaborator selection allows for exactly that.

* * *

"Now that you have only one participant, what is the difference between research and merely good psychology?" The question startled me. This was one of the comments of my supervisors on my first few chapters. I thought, well, firstly a case study is a well-established research design. A narrative case study is no different? Secondly, I thought, I wasn't aware that there was a difference between good psychology and research. I have always strongly thought of

my own mental health practices in terms of the scientist practitioner model (Durand & Barlow, 1997: 4-5), but this is not necessarily the conceptualisation of others. So, once I got over my first defensive reaction to the commentary, I decided that it would be appropriate for me to discuss how this research is influenced by it having one research collaborator. (Research diary: 21/08/2005)

Polkinghorne (1988: 157) criticizes the artificial split between scientists or academics and practitioners "...such a division disregards the obvious fact that those engaged in the treatment need to assess and understand a given situation in order to be informed about appropriate methods of intervention". I thus follow the scientist practitioner model as described by Durand and Barlow (1997: 5). The scientist practitioner model incorporates three aspects into their approach to mental health. They are:

- Consumers of science who apply current research to their practice.
- Evaluators of science who evaluate their practises to determine efficacy.
- Creators of science who participate in research, often within their practice, which may lead to new application in the therapeutic context.

This research thus allows me the opportunity to address the third aspect of being a scientist practitioner, that of participating in research that may introduce new applications in the therapeutic context. This is also one of the purposes of social research as described by Neuman (1997: 15) namely to inform practice as explained previously in Chapter One of this dissertation.

This dissertation also serves a second research function, the increasing of our understanding of phenomena (Neuman, 1997: 15). In this case the phenomenon is that of resilience in the face of child abuse. This increased understanding of the phenomenon of resilience is not accomplished through data which are statistical in format and easily generalisable, but through rich description which can be transferred to other situations according to the reader's discretion. "The contribution of a narrative inquiry is more often intended to be the creation of a new sense of meaning and significance with respect to the research topic than it is to yield a set of knowledge

claims that might incrementally add to knowledge in the field” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000: 42).

Dauite and Lightfoot (2004: xi-xiii) note four reasons for the appeal of narrative research:

1. Narrative analysis’s interpretive tools are designed to examine phenomena, issues, and people’s lives holistically.
2. Narrative analysis is an excellent context for examining social histories that influence identity and development.
3. Narrative analysis generates unique insights into the range of multiple, intersecting forces that order and illuminate relations between self and society.
4. Narrative analysis permits the incursion of value and evaluation into the research process.

This dissertation taps into the expert knowledge of a child who is surviving abuse and allows her voice to aid others on their journey. This expert knowledge of the child survivor of abuse is often negated in the literature. The dissertation also contributes to our understanding of the phenomenon of resilience in the specific context of the stress factor of abuse within the South African context.

2.6 DATA GENERATION

The use of the term data generation is quite significant. In using it I acknowledge that the data represented in this research is a product of the collaborative research relationship between my co-pilot, TMD, and myself. The data are not separate entities, but bear the signature of our unique research relationship.

This research represents the re-storying of the life stories of a child survivor of abuse. Rubin and Rubin (1995: 42-43) state “you cannot plan an entire qualitative project in advance”, you can only have a rough tentative design which is refocused by your collaborators, also known as an emerging design. This sensitivity to the input of the collaborators is evident in the purposive sampling technique of this research project.

The operationalisation of resilience in terms of the specific place of safety not only guided the selection, but also formed Phase One of the research process. Phase One thus pertained to establishing how resilience is manifested in this place of safety. The staff were introduced to the exercise and its rationale. The operationalisation during the work session, led directly to the nomination of the children most suited to participate in the study.

Phase Two of the research pertained to the capturing of the voice of the child survivor of abuse identified in Phase One, TMD. Her voice was captured in the following ways:

1. In-depth interviews: I interviewed TMD once a week over a three-month period, as it fit into her time schedule. Interviews were unstructured. I tried to allow TMD to express her own story as naturally as possible. By using this technique I tried to allow TMD to follow her own narrative style, allowing her to take control of her new narratives. I contributed to the construction of these narratives, taking a stance of empowerment throughout the process. The interviews were recorded on audiotape for transcription at a later date.

Although I wished to allow TMD to express her own story freely, it did not always happen. *I noticed that I have a specific technique. Whenever I get anxious in a session, I move towards more structure. In the first session TMD was not very talkative. This made me very anxious; we therefore started doing a genogram. This worked well. It gave some structure and allowed us some distance from the subject matter. (Research diary: 10/04/2005)*

I also noticed that I would fall back on more close-ended questions when I was anxious. Luckily TMD often answered even these with elaborate answers. In my coding I tried not to code the answers to the close-ended, more leading questions. As the interviewing process progressed I, however, used more open-ended questions showing development in my own interviewing technique.

Mason (2002: 67) explains that open ended interviews actually encompass a “...rigorous set of activities.” The interviewer must be able to “...ensure that the interview interaction actually does generate relevant data, which means simultaneously orchestrating the intellectual and social dynamics of the situation” (Mason, 2002: 67). When combined with Riesman’s (2002: 248) conceptualisation of interviews as “...conversations in which both collaborators – teller and listener / questioner – develop meaning together, a stance requiring interview practices that give considerable freedom to both”, the demands on the researcher are quite high. The interviews employed in this research therefore strongly lean towards the interpretive pole of interviewing as indicated in Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3: The two ends of a continuum of interview forms (Plummer, 2001: 141)

Positivist pole	Interpretive pole
Interviews ‘collect’ data	Interviews ‘construct’ data
Standardized through questionnaire	Flexible - shaped by checklist
Mass – can be used for many	Idiographic – used for fewer people
Focused – planned answers	Open – follows hunches
Structured and hence easy to administer	Unstructured and hence requiring more personal skills and sensitivities
More predictable	Less predictable
Survey research	Ethnographic research
‘Objective’ – best for facts	Phenomenological / ‘subjective’ – best for moods, feelings, emotions, subjectivities
Sees interviewee as passive	Sees interviewee as active
Less prominent role for interviewer	More central role for interviewer
Less reflexive / reflective	More reflexive / reflective

2. Observations: I carried out observations during the three-month period of fieldwork at the place of safety. These observations served to identify possible changes that the collaborator underwent during the research process, possibly in

response to the process itself. These observations are mainly naturalistic observations shared with me by staff working at the institutions.

During the research process TMD was placed in a children's home. *Instead of terminating the process and continuing with a new collaborator I decided to follow TMD to the new context. Although this was not part of the original plan, it contributed a new dimension to the research. We can now explore how TMD's resilience is expressed differently in the new environment. I also have an ulterior motive, I have enjoyed having TMD as a research partner, and I would not wish to terminate this relationship and begin from scratch.* (Research diary: 04/06/2005). This may at first seem to be a discomforting closeness with TMD but it is well suited to the relational tension of narrative inquiry described by Clandinin and Connelly (2000: 81):

[The inquirers] must become fully involved, must 'fall in love' with their collaborators, yet they must also step back and see their own stories in the inquiry, the stories of the collaborators, as well as the larger landscape on which they all live.

The displacement from the place of safety to a children's home complicated the observation process significantly. I had generated a form for semi-structured observation based on the operationalisation of resilience generated by myself and the staff members at the place of safety (Appendix B: Resilience – Observation document). The intention was to monitor any changes that TMD may undergo during the research process. The document was however operationalised for the specific context of the place of safety and could not haphazardly be applied to the children's home. Observations thus took the form of naturalistic, on site observations by staff at both institutions at various stages during our interactions, usually during days of my interviews. These are captured in my research diary and presented as part of my research diary.

3. Journals/ Memoirs: I asked TMD to keep a journal in which she could capture things in-between the interviews. The idea was to allow for greater continuity. TMD was thus not to be dependent on the timing of my weekly visits to continue

her re-storying. The idea was that she could be empowered to determine her own rate of re-storying.

Woods (in Goodson & Sikes, 2001: 30) explains that journals are not an unproblematic source of data:

Why should somebody keep a diary? Hardly ever, I suspect, to preserve an objective view of facts. More likely it is to be for reasons like personal satisfaction in wishing to remember interesting events that have brought pleasure; or a kind of celebration of self in annotating one's deeds, lest one forget; or as an 'apologia' or a kind of therapy in working one's way through a series of events that have brought personal diminishment, pain or embarrassment or with a view to later publication and public view.

I agree with Woods' idea (in Goodson & Sikes, 2001: 30) of a diary as both a rich way to generate data and a very complex one. These complexities of a diary as part of data generation are reiterated by Plummer (2001: 48-49). When considering the use of diaries in my research I was also bothered by an aspect mentioned by Willig (2001: 27-28), "the diary becomes the collaborator's companion, and yet it has to be handed over to the researcher at the end of the data collection phase". This caused a lot of unease with me. It felt like intrusion.

In this case I have placed the diary under data generation techniques. As such it must be remembered with the epistemology and ontology of this research process that there is no fear of 'missing' some data or not gathering enough information. It is about generating knowledge and acknowledging that no 'so-called' knowledge can be complete. As such the journal in this process possibly had a more personal meaning to the research-collaborator than just for the research purpose. The research-collaborator did not have to share anything of her journal with me. The important thing was that the diary was there to facilitate reflection and therapeutic process, a sort of research companion to create a greater sense of safety in the research process. Although it also functioned to allow TMD to continue the process and conversation at her own time, it was not the sole or even the main purpose of the journal.

TMD was really happy about the diary. It seems that she loves writing and that her only concern was that it was too small. I assured her that I would get her new ones as the need arose. I also indicated to her that she did not have to share anything in the diary with me, unless she wanted to. (Research diary, 31/03/2005) Eventually the diary mainly served as a research companion, but it definitely influenced what TMD discussed with me and she sometimes spoke about what she had written in it without showing the specific content.

Phase Three of the research pertained to the effect that the research process had on the collaborator's resilience and will be examined during the data analysis phase. As this is an interpretive study data analysis is not a detached process, which followed the fieldwork. The research is seen as an iterative process with data analysis and data generation intertwining from the first contact with the collaborators.

2.7 DATA ANALYSIS

The data generated in Phase One were transcribed and used to generate a caregiver guideline for nominating collaborators and determining the level of resilience of a child in the context of this place of safety (Appendix B: Resilience – Observation document). The language usage was not “sanitised”. I endeavoured to maintain the integrity of the original message as all these nuances form part of the voices being heard. The collaborators were asked to review the completed document to determine whether the original meaning had been preserved. The data from Phase Two were transcribed, translated and checked for accuracy against the original recordings and through member-checks by TMD. In Phase Three data analysis was undertaken. This involved the presentation of certain narratives, the generation of codes, themes and networks, as well as the identification of various imagoes.

Coding in this research is not deductive using a coding manual based on literature surveys and refined through pilot interviews. The coding is inductive (Smith, 2000: 324), generated through an iterative emerging process which starts with preliminary thoughts in the interview process and is revisited and refined through re-listening to the

audio tapes and transcriptions, member-checks and even discussions of the audit trail with one of my supervisors. This process is well supported by the flexibility of the computer programme utilised, Atlas.ti (Henning, Smit and Van Rensburg, 2004: 126-127; Scientific Software Development, 1997: 1-2). The use of computer aided qualitative data analysis is specifically indicated when dealing with large amounts of unstructured textual material, which could cause serious data management problems (Henning *et al.* 2004: 129).

Willig (2001: 151) describes Atlas.ti as moving beyond mere coding and retrieval. She (Willig, 2001: 151) mentions several additional features of Atlas.ti including: "...visual displays of the hierarchical relationships between codes and the construction of conceptual diagrams or networks".

The use of computers can certainly speed up the process of data exploration. The easy retrieval of data files and inspection of analytic memos on screen removes the need for physical cutting and pasting, photocopying of extracts, colour coding and manual sorting. In addition such programs allow the researcher to retrieve files that share certain features based on codes, keywords or descriptive labels in order to identify patterns within the data without having to search through the entire data set. (Willig, 2001: 152)

The programme facilitates the use of direct quotations, to enrich the data representation. The voices of the sampling workshop collaborators and TMD are thus presented in the least distorted format possible through rich or thick descriptions as propagated by Vithal and Jansen (1997: 27-29). Although Atlas.ti is a flexible tool it must be remembered that "...it is of course not the programs which develop the [themes] – just as it is not the word processor that writes an article" (Flick in Willig, 2001: 152).

Bartholomew and Marcia (2000: 287) explain that coding focuses on internal psychological processes of interpretation and representation of life experiences of psychological functioning and organisation. Expert coders thus make judgements on constructs which the collaborators are not conscious of. In my dissertation the position

of expert is definitely incompatible with my epistemology. The coding is seen as part of the re-representation of the collaborators'⁴ voices and is generated through combining my own voice with theirs. The focus on internal psychological process remains the same, but through coding and interpretation is re-represented in terms of my epistemological and conceptual framework. The coding process is an iterative one and in many cases may be collaborative as process and content comments by collaborators during member checks may generate a new depth in the coding process. The journey of data analysis is discussed in more depth in Chapter Four, where the main themes are discussed. To fully enjoy the analysis you can access the audit trail CD to view the raw data and the coding as well as the generation of themes.

2.8 TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE INQUIRY

In this world deception and fraudulent business deals are rife. So, we invite you to examine our credentials and quality control measures. This will help you to establish the trustworthiness of our tour.

Post-modernist approaches have often been attacked as approaches where anything goes. I was uncomfortable with this sentiment as in this study rigour is extremely important, although it is recognised that 'objectivity' is a myth. Establishing the trustworthiness of the inquiry is thus a crucial aspect of this study. Geertz (in Plummer, 2001: 149) captures this thought quite appropriately.

I have never been impressed by the argument that as complete objectivity is impossible in these matters (as, of course, it is), one might as well let one's sentiment run loose... That is like saying that as a perfect aseptic environment is impossible, one might as well conduct surgery in a sewer.

(Geertz in Plummer, 2001: 149)

Henning *et al.* (2004: 147) also promote good craftsmanship, honest communication and action as a basis of good research and scholarship.

- Good craftsmanship: Continual checking, questioning and theoretical interpretation of findings, involves precision

⁴ The collaborators include TMD and the staff involved in her care who contributed to the selection process

throughout the research process from design to presentation of findings.

- Honest communication: With collaborators through member checks, with other researchers pertaining to interpretation and theorising, as well as opening up the research to the scientific community to allow for falsification and debate.
- Action: In our South African society it is essential that research is directed at action and pragmatic consequences.

Phase One of the research was designed to specifically ensure the construct validity of this research. The involvement of staff in the defining of resilience and identifying of resilient children ensures that the social construct of resilience and not the westernised academic definition of resilience is being explored.

Creswell (2002: 528-531) relates how the narrative research design is a reflexive process where the collaborative process extends to the collaborators verifying that the re-storied information is correct. The collaborators in both phases were asked to verify that the correct meaning was conveyed by the translated and re-storied information. This process is known as member checks (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 275-276)

The study recognises that one of the stories presented will be that of the researcher. It will inevitably be intertwined with the data. This lens cannot be removed.

...[R]esearchers utilizing qualitative techniques have argued for the need for reflexivity to consider the role of values, social processes, and personal characteristics in shaping social research. Qualitative researchers recognize that they are part of the research process and what they observe, hear, and experience is filtered through various lenses including the emotional. (Wincup, 2001: 18)

As such the research was accompanied by a running commentary on my part, similar to the method used by Lather and Smithies (1997). This post-modern approach allows the reader to identify how the researcher's voice is intertwined in the narratives.

The trustworthiness of this study is established in terms of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 276-278). Kvale (in Henning *et al.* 2004: 146) refers to the scientific holy trinity of reliability, validity and generalisability. For Kvale (in Henning *et al.* 2004: 147) this is a false clinging to the natural sciences terms and he rather supports the use of Lincoln and Guba's (1985: 289-331) terms trustworthiness, credibility, dependability and confirmability. The four concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability constitute construct validity and will be addressed in this study as explicated in Figure 2.4.

Figure 2.4: Establishment of construct validity (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 276-278)

Construct	How the construct will be achieved in my study	Explanation of the specific application in this research dissertation
Credibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prolonged engagement • Referential adequacy • Peer debriefing • Member checks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I remained in the field for three months in order to attain data saturation. At that stage new categories and instances of variations of themes no longer emerged. (Morse in Goodson & Sikes, 2001: 23; Willig, 2001: 35) • Various data sources were used to ensure that the data are representative. This is also referred to as triangulation (Mertens, 1998: 354; Willig, 2001: 36). In this case triangulation was achieved through the incorporation of in-depth interviews, diary entries and observations. • My supervisors and various colleagues took up a 'devil's advocate' position and questioned the research process and methodology continuously. • Member checks took place throughout the data generation and research text production.
Transferability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thick descriptions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Atlas.ti programme helped maintain the

		representativeness of the messages received from TMD by providing outputs in the form of rich descriptions (Scientific Software Development, 1997: 1-2).
Dependability and confirmability	Guba and Lincoln (1985: 289-331) suggested the concept of inquiry audit to establish both dependability and confirmability. Inquiry audit refers to a process where an auditor examines documentation in order to attest that the findings are supported by the data and are internally coherent.	<p>The internal auditors reviewed the following data in this research:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raw data: Interviews, tapes and field notes. • Data reconstruction and synthesis products: This took the form of the Atlas.ti outputs, including networks, the genogram and coding. • Process notes: this took the form of memos generated during the data analysis as well as sections of my personal research diary. • Material relating to intentions and dispositions: Personal notes and expectations, this was represented by my research diary. <p>The audit trail is available with the dissertation in the form of a webpage on the audit trail CD.</p>

Riessman (1993: 68) suggests ways of providing information to make it possible for readers to determine the trustworthiness of narrative analysis:

- a) describing how the interpretations were produced
- b) making visible what we did
- c) specifying how we accomplished successive transformations
- d) making primary data available to other researchers

All of these aspects are covered in this dissertation. Points a)-c) are covered in the descriptions of the process and diary entries, while the primary data referred to in point d) are made available on the audit trail CD.

Smith (2000: 321-324) discusses various methods of establishing objectivity and consistency in coding, such as assessing intercoder agreement. These methods are aimed at establishing a sense of objectivity. In this research, honest contextuality and subjectivity in stead of objectivity are strived for. Henning *et al.* (2004: 106) also discuss the usefulness of using an "independent coder". For them (Henning *et al.* 2004: 106),

the notion of independence is a remnant of “naïve realism and concomitant issues of the positivistic notion of interrater reliability”. Independent coders are thus not employed, but the audit trail (including transcripts and field notes) is made available to readers, allowing them to establish that findings are supported by the data and are internally coherent (Guba & Lincoln, 1985: 289-331).

2.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Our tour company adheres to a strict code of ethics. This code acts as the backbone of our tours on a day to day basis ensuring that each aspect of the tour is representative of the company's ethic.

Child abuse is a very difficult field to research as the collaborators may be traumatised by the data gathering process itself. Many ethical considerations must be taken into account when participating in this data gathering, as indicated by the following diary extract: *TMD told me that she was in this place of safety because she had been sexually abused. This immediately let the alarm bells go off. Doing research with a child still involved in a court case could contaminate the court proceedings. TMD, however, added that she had withdrawn the case.* (Research diary: 31/03/2005)

Confidentiality was observed in all cases as elucidated in the Ethics Statement of the University of Pretoria (2003: 1-7). Ethical considerations have guided every part of this research including the plan of inquiry. This is why non-resilience is not examined in this research. Such research may, through the social network of the institution, lead to some children being labelled as non-resilient. This risk is not deemed justifiable in this research.

Informed consent was obtained from all the staff who participated in the work session (Appendix C: Informed consent for work session), as well as TMD (Appendix D: Informed consent from collaborator) and the head of the place of safety (Appendix E: Permission from place of safety) and the Children's Home as her guardians (Appendix F: Permission from the children's home).

I discussed the research with TMD and how she was selected by the personnel at the place of safety as a resilient child. I am not going to mince any words about it or practise deception. If her self-concept improves due to the process of the research, that is great. Her face just lit up for the first time! ... I now felt it more appropriate to discuss the details such as the diary and the pseudonym, the time-frame and so forth. She asked a lot of questions and was really happy about the diary. (Research diary: 31/03/2005)

As mentioned earlier, my co-pilot chose the pseudonym The Mysterious Dolphin (TMD). All other collaborators in the study and persons mentioned were also given pseudonyms to ensure anonymity. Goodson and Sikes (2001: 27) suggest that a document which covers the following aspects be provided to all collaborators:

1. Confidentiality and anonymity: the researcher should be clear about who is going to listen to tape recordings, have access to interview transcripts and other types of data and so on. They should explain how they are going to disguise, anonymize or otherwise protect the identity of informants. An approach which often proves popular is giving people the opportunity to choose their own pseudonym
2. Anything about 'work' the researcher would like the informants to do, such as keeping a diary or writing accounts of particular experiences.
3. 'Ownership' of any tapes and transcripts.
4. The informant's 'rights' to change, comment on, contribute to analysis and the eventual presentation of findings.
5. Where and when interviews will take place.
6. Contact numbers and addresses.

All these aspects were covered in the informed consent documents provided to the collaborators and institution. Wherever an institution or an indicator of the collaborators' identities was mentioned, it was changed to protect anonymity. This is indicated with brackets e.g. (Enrique) in the transcriptions on the audit trail CD.

One of the issues that concerned me is echoed by Wincup (2001: 29-31) who speaks of her experience of fieldwork, openly discussing her emotions around the issue of whether her fieldwork was harmful or good for her collaborators. She (Wincup, 2001:

29-31) postulates that it may have a positive influence in some cases such as being empowering, giving an opportunity for articulation, being cathartic or simply giving an opportunity to converse with an interested individual. Still, the thought that she is the one who is really gaining from the process haunts her.

I share similar fears to that of Winicup (2001: 29-31), knowing the process cannot be neutral and trying to contribute in a positive sense to the co-authoring process. I feel that the fear is healthy in that it makes me more reflexive, more sensitive to the ethical considerations. In a sense it keeps me on my toes during the whole research process. (Research diary: 07/01/2005)

My identity as a therapist is an inherent component of me. As such the therapist in me will inevitably emerge in the co-construction of stories. I choose to embrace this component of my identity during the research process instead of seeking an artificial objectivity. Knowing that the "...telling of the story in itself is held to have therapeutic value..." (Polkinghorne, 1988: 178). This is discussed in more depth in terms of the role of the researcher.

2.10 ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

My role in this research is that of co-constructor of the narrative and tour guide on this journey. My involvement in the research will have an influence on the product. Acknowledging that my involvement cannot be neutral and will have an effect on both the research and collaborators, it is essential to clarify what I endeavour this influence to be.

2.10.1 THE THERAPIST WITHIN

According to Lieblich *et al.* (1998: 10) a narrative has three voices: the narrator's, the theoretical framework or paradigm, which provides the basis for interpretation, and the self-awareness of the decision process of drawing conclusions from the material. It is therefore essential to discuss my role as researcher in the context of this type of a study. As noted earlier, 'objectivity' is not seen as a viable concept in this research. It is

acknowledged that my perspective will intrinsically form part of the narratives. My perspective as researcher is not seen as contaminating the narrative, but as contributing to its richness. I anticipate that the ownership and shared creation of this South African knowledge will empower all the collaborators.

Polkinghorne (1988: ix) expresses a personal conflict between his work as researcher and practising psychotherapist. "I view my discipline, psychology, as a unified enterprise, and have supported the ideal of the integration of its scientific and professional aspects; yet I have not found the findings of academic research of much help in my work as clinician" (Polkinghorne, 1988: ix). For Polkinghorne (1988: x) the solution to this dilemma is narrative research.

I do not believe that the solutions to human problems will come from developing even more sophisticated and creative applications of the natural science model, but rather by developing additional, complementary approaches that are especially sensitive to the unique characteristics of human existence.

I enter this research process not only as a researcher, but also as a therapist. This therapeutic background will sensitize me to any negative effects that the collaborator may experience. It is undeniable that subjects such as abuse and survival are laden with emotional energy. My therapeutic background should aid me in facilitating positive growth and self-discovery for the collaborator through the construction of a narrative. My input will not be mainly a therapeutic one, but as my involvement will mean some change to the collaborator and the narratives, I would prefer this influence to be positive. As Stuhlmiller (2001: 64) explains, the interview itself "...can help a person clarify his or her situation and arrive at some helpful solutions or therapeutic outcomes." This is mirrored by Polkinghorne (1998: 178) "[t]he telling of the story in itself is held to have therapeutic value..."

2.10.2 THE BURDEN OF AUTHORSHIP

The generation of research texts is a creative process. The question of how to present a narrative has been debated and explored in depth by various authors. I, along with

many other authors, have started off with the point of view presented here by Czarniawska (2004: 117):

A commonsense answer to the question: 'how to represent?' is: faithfully. Reality should be re-created in the text. A scientific text should reflect what it describes, hopefully in a one-to-one correspondence. This should not be any problem as 'facts speak for themselves', and texts can be rendered loyally to the intentions of the authors.

Unfortunately this point of view has many complexities and is not the straightforward solution that it may appear. Not only is the point of view simplistic, but it is also epistemologically and ontologically incompatible with this study as I acknowledge the existence of multiple realities which are interpreted and created. Czarniawska (2004:118) mentions two other major problems with this view.

- The incompatibility of worlds and words. There is no one-to-one correlation between the world and words. Any representation is in effect a creation.
- The politics of representation. Who has the right to represent and judge? There are competing views of the world and anyone who represents it has some agenda.

Riessman (2002: 228-229) also contemplates the linear format of written language. I experienced similar thoughts as shown in this diary entry. *I have often lamented that academic writing is often stripped from all passion. Pale and hygienic in comparison to the passion, confusion and mess which is real life. I feel sometimes that written language need not be the limiting force we see it to be, but can convey passion and depth which we often eschew out of fear. Words are powerful and the mere choice of a single word can alter the complete atmosphere of a passage. It is thus necessary to get to know the author to come to grips with what is often artistic flair, a reality or truth which may in effect rather be a product of the researcher's style than the narrator's story. In this text I will not attempt to strip away my own approach to writing. Through frequent interludes with my diary, I will afford the reader, the opportunity to make his or her own interpretation. Member checks will be performed throughout to ensure that the essence of the narrative is conveyed.* (Research diary: 2005/01/04)

These thoughts that were part of my research journey were very similar to those expressed by Clandinin & Connelly (2000: 147):

One of the researcher's dilemmas in the composing of research texts is captured by the analogy of living on an edge, trying to maintain one's balance, as one struggles to express one's own voice in the midst of an inquiry designed to tell of the participants' storied experiences and to represent their voices, all the while attempting to create a research text that will speak to, and reflect upon, the audience's voices.

According to Czarniawska (2004: 61) "The justice or injustice done to the original narrative depends on the attitude of the researcher and on the precautions he or she takes". There is great power inherent in authorship as choices of which themes to include and what to omit are influenced by how we wish to represent ourselves and the participant to others (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994: 414; Willig, 2001: 55). Geertz (in Czarniawska, 2004:108) poignantly describes the burden of authorship: "[it] cannot be evaded, however heavy it may have grown; there is no possibility of displacing it onto 'method', 'language', or... 'the people themselves' redescribed ... as coauthors".

Thus the worldview of the researcher and the research relationship will influence the representation in the research text (Willig, 2001: 53). Bullough (in Goodson & Sikes, 1991: 56) explains that although interpretations will inevitably vary "we cannot write just anything we wish, ... interpretations, however tentative must be disciplined by data, and ... we must proceed cautiously and carefully before proclaiming a plot'. You are welcome to compare the narrative as presented here with the original transcripts on the audit trail CD to establish if my interpretations are justified by the data.

At first this burden of authorship seems quite frightening. Czarniawska (2004: 118), however, concludes that the reason for a narrative representation is to help the reader to feel that they were there. The representation of the narrative by the author endows it with more meaning. As Riessman (in Henning *et al.* 2004: 122) writes: "[p]ersonal narratives are, at core, meaning-making units of discourse. They are of interest

precisely because narrators interpret the past in stories rather than reproduce the past as it was”.

Well hold on to your hats! We are off to meet our main actor and co-pilot, TMD. Our first contact: Swimming with the dolphin.

CHAPTER THREE

SWIMMING WITH THE DOLPHIN

3.1 TA-DAH!

I have found that dipping your toes in some practical aspects can facilitate an understanding of the theory covered at a later stage. I will thus start this chapter with a taste of theory followed by an introduction to TMD as well as a narrative on the changes she underwent during the research process. This will allow you to form your own first impression of her. I will then complete the chapter with some theory to aid you in your reflection on your reading of this text. The more complex issues of narrative method are discussed in detail in Chapter Four as well as the complex interaction of various themes in TMD's narrative.

Plummer (2001: 178) explains the most common strategy of writing up life document research. This process entails really understanding the subject's words and grasping them from an emic perspective. The researcher then takes on the role of having to structure the collaborator's words and make it coherent, while not losing the authentic meaning. While narrative research is not the same as life document research this approach to writing a narrative seems most appropriate for my research and will be used in this chapter.

"The telling of a life is a messy business. It comes in many forms, shifting across time and space. Sometimes it is silenced and at other times it speaks volumes" (Plummer, 2001: 78). Working with the complexity of narrative and experience is often confusing and overwhelming. The field texts generated can be so rich that the researcher may get lost in the complexity. Clandinin and Connelly (1994: 416), however, explain that "...it is the researcher's intentionality that defines the starting and stopping points". Our forays into the plan of inquiry have already given you some insight into my intentionality and lenses. Please remember in your reading that "[t]he voices of the field do not speak for themselves; it is the author who makes them communicate on his or her conditions" (Czarniawska, 2004:62).

3.2 TESTING THE WATER

This section serves to orientate you, the reader to the environment in which I first met TMD. She had been removed from her home by the police and taken to a place of safety. This functioned as a temporary placement where she would be safe until the Department of Social Development decided what the safest option for her future placement would be.

TMD was staying in the senior girls' section, which is a hostel with about 50 girls. Some four to eight girls share a room. There are security personnel that ensures that no one comes in that may be a threat to the children and also to ensure that the children do not run away. There are staff who are responsible for the care of the children, to make sure the children do their homework and to arrange activities to keep the children entertained. Meals are served on the premises in a dining hall. TMD was one of the children in the place of safety who were allowed to attend a school outside the premises and participate in extramural activities.

3.3 PUTTING ON YOUR LIFEBELT

This narrative is written in the first person. It relays the story as told to me by TMD during our interviews. I as researcher however act as biographer forming the narrative from TMD's words to present you with a coherent sequential account of her life. It is also necessary to consider that, as TMD is Afrikaans speaking, the text had to be translated and although, it was checked by TMD, the translations do add another dimension of interpretation and representation to the narrative. As the narratives presented are produced from the translated words of TMD, I have incorporated the edits suggested by Ruth Finnegan (in Plummer, 2001: 150) for presenting a narrative:

1. Leave out 'uh's and other hesitations... like 'you know' or 'I mean'
2. Repair false starts and corrections
3. Omit interviewer's responses like 'I see' or 'yeah'
4. Use standard spellings, not dialect
5. Do not use 'eye spellings' ('enuff' for 'enough')
6. Use punctuation as for normal written prose

My editing has however been more extensive. As Plummer (2001: 149) explains:

Collecting life stories can produce masses and masses of 'data'. By the time it comes to be 'written' as a book or thesis and ultimately 'read' by others, it will have been pared down, edited, truncated, streamlined. (Plummer, 2001:149)

In this narrative, I tried to remain as true as possible to TMD's message. However, inevitably I had to make certain choices as to what to include, what to omit and in which order to represent the incidents.

Within the narrative, TMD's voice is indicated by **this font**. Text sections indicated **in this font** represent the translated words of TMD. Such sections are referenced as follows: (PD 1, 31/03/2005: 123-127). This indicates that the quote was taken from Primary Document 1, dated 31/03/2005: lines 123-127. You are welcome to consult the original raw transcription by using the reference to locate it on the audit trail CD included. For, as Riessman (1993:43) states, "[a] reader can enter into the meaning-making process... only when the full narrative is included, or made available from the author".

3.4 CASTING OFF

I met TMD for the first time today. She was extremely quiet only nodding or saying very little for the first 20 minutes. My mind was racing a mile a minute. How can I do this without a participant that communicates more verbally? Why did the people suggest her if she is so reserved? How do you see someone as so resilient if they are so quiet?

I stopped myself and decided: 'This is okay. We have a lot of time to get to know each other, let's give it a try.' I spent the next few minutes discussing the research with TMD, including how she was selected by the personnel at the place of safety as a resilient child. I was not going to mince any words about it or practise deception. If her self-concept improves due to the process of the research, that is great. Her face just lit up for the first time, although she still wasn't speaking. (Research diary: 31/03/2005)

Studs Terkel (in Plummer, 2001: 139) explains the main concepts he wishes to convey to an interviewer he is training:

The first thing I'd say to any interviewer is... 'Listen.' It's the second thing I'd say too, and the third and the fourth... 'Listen... listen... listen... listen.' And if you do people will talk. They'll *always* talk. Why? Because no one has ever listened to them before in all their lives...

It seems so easy. Mishler (in Czarniawska, 2004: 51) even states that “[t]elling stories is far from unusual in everyday conversation and it is apparently no more unusual for the interviewees to respond to questions with narratives if they are given room to speak”. Here I was though, sitting with TMD and she wasn't saying anything and I was listening. Then it struck me, she had most definitely been listened to before. TMD had been in the system from the age of five. By age sixteen she had seen multiple psychologists and social workers flitting in and out of her life, often expecting of her to relay her story. Maybe another approach would be more appropriate. I asked TMD what she would like to know.

She said she wanted to know about me. I told her a bit about myself. That I work at a school for children with cerebral palsy, that I lecture for the education students and just love giving class. I progressed all the way to my cat's personality disorder. It might sound as if I glossed over who I was, and I really thought about this on my way home. I had told her that I had also had some really hard times in my life and have always been interested in how some people seemed to cope so well with it and that I would like to help other people in similar situations to cope with adversity even better.

This exploration of who I was definitely represented a turning point. TMD immediately became more talkative. I now felt it more appropriate to discuss the details such as the diary, the pseudonym, the time-frame and so forth. She asked a lot of questions and was really excited about the diary. (Research diary: 31/03/2005)

“[Narrative] demands the willingness to share one’s own experiences, if this seems appropriate... ” (Goodson & Sikes, 2001:20). The reality of this sentiment was clearly indicated by the event described in the diary entry above. At this point I suggested that we begin by exploring her biographical information as a starting point. This is something I often do in a first session with children, as the family history and make-up can be quite confusing. It also served a second function of allowing us to talk about something a little less threatening and concrete so that we could get to know each other and build a more trusting relationship. This is also quite similar to Goodson’s multiple data collecting strategies (in Goodson & Sikes, 2001: 30), such as time-lines, which touch on various information, including:

- Place and date of birth.
- Family background, birthplace and date.
- Parents’ occupations during the informant’s life; general character and interests.
- Brothers’ and sisters’ place and date of birth; occupations or school location, general character and interests.
- Extended family; occupations and character.
- Informant’s childhood: description of home and general discussion of experiences.
- Community and context: character and general status and ‘feel’.
- Education, preschool experience: courses taken, subjects favoured, credentials achieved; general character of school experience; peer relations; teachers; ‘good’ and ‘bad’ experiences.
- Occupations, general work history, changes of job, types of school, types of position.
- Marriage and own family; date and locations.
- Other interests and pursuits.
- Future ambitions and aspirations.

3.5 MAPPING THE DOLPHIN FAMILY

TMD has just turned sixteen. She is a tall, white female with a slight squint in her one eye. When she is feeling shy or embarrassed, she tends to hunch over to make herself look smaller. She laughs and smiles easily. She loves reading and has big dreams for her future. She is very much an introvert, but places great value on close friendships. During our first interview we drew the following genogram (Figure 3.1) to represent her

family and make it easier for me to follow her stories. Pseudonyms are used throughout. TMD often makes remarks that show high levels of reasoning and understanding which can catch one quite unawares.

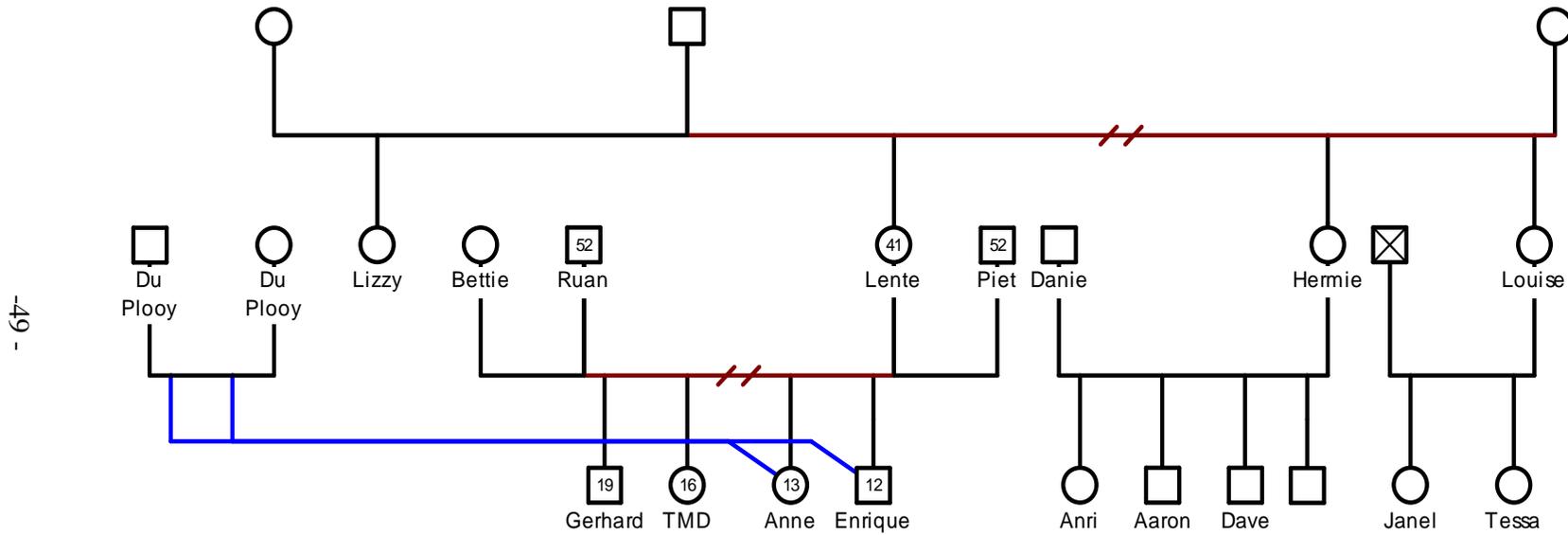
I was born in Pretoria North. I have a big, big family. There is my mother's family, my stepfamily and my half family. My mother's name is Lente. She is 41 years old and married to my stepfather, Piet, who is 52 years old. My own father, Ruan, and my mother are divorced, he is also 52 years old.

My mother and my real father, Ruan, have four children. The eldest is my brother Gerhard, 19 years, then it is me, at 16 years, my sister Anne who is 13 and lastly my brother Enrique who is 12 years old. We all have the same parents. My youngest brother and sister, Anne and Enrique have both been adopted by a couple, the Du Plooy's. My eldest brother Gerhard lives with my Aunt Hermie. I am the only one of us in this place of safety.

Both my mother and father have remarried. I have already mentioned my stepfather Piet. My stepmother's name is Bettie. Neither couple has had any other children. I have two aunts on my mother's side, Hermie and Louise, but I don't know them or their children very well. In any case, they are not really important in my life as they drink so much and I don't approve of this. My grandfather my mother's side and my real grandmother divorced and my grandfather had another daughter, Aunt Lizzy. She is my half-aunt and has a very special place in my heart. She also has two other brothers, but I don't know anything about them.

The most important person in my life is my mother. That is, the most important person on earth. In heaven it is God, but on earth it is my mother and my half-aunt, Lizzy. My mother does everything for me, anything that I ask. If I have problems I can speak to her. Before I came here I always spoke to Piet, my stepfather. Now I speak to my mother. She is very important to me, she gave birth to me.

Figure 3.1: Genogram of TMD's family



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KEY LEGEND

SYMBOL	MEANING	SYMBOL	MEANING
□	Male	—	Adoption
○	Female	┴	Child of
—	Marriage	X	Deceased
—//	Divorce		

My half-aunt Lizzy is a very friendly lady, she has four sons and she stays in Johannesburg. I haven't seen her in a while. I wanted to spend last December holidays with her. Unfortunately it didn't happen as she is working and, as my mother said, I can't go to a house where there wasn't supervision.

(PD2, 31/03/2005: 16-745)

I do a lot of my reflection travelling in my car. Travelling back today I was trying to re-hash the making of the genogram. This is a sound technique that I often use, not only to allow me to understand better, but also to allow the person to remain at arm's length in relative safety while venturing into an exploration of his or her family life.

With TMD it seemed that there was an added dimension. It was as if she felt a great sense of pride in having a big family and knowing each person's place in it. Even though she hadn't seen many of the people for a long time, they still had a special place in her heart. She and her brothers and sister have been scattered and separated for quite some time. She still derived, what seemed to be, a sense of belonging and security from this exercise, as if the biological bond in itself had great value to her. (Research diary: 31/03/2005)

After discussing the genogram of her family as presented above, we started exploring her life story. The next section is an integration of various sessions to create a chronological, logical account of TMD's story up to the point where I met her for the first time. I thus present the history of TMD as presented to me and packaged by my mind in order to facilitate my own understanding. However, we first make a foray into how this narrative was constructed, before we explore the vistas of this narrative itself.

3.6 MIGRATION ROUTE OF THE MYSTERIOUS DOLPHIN

3.6.1 GENERATING AN ACCOUNT OF TMD'S HISTORY

Although in some people's minds, narrative inquiry is merely a process of telling and writing down a story with perhaps some reflective comment by researchers and participants, the process of moving from field texts to research texts is far more complex. A narrative inquirer spends many hours reading and rereading field texts in

order to construct a chronicled or summarized account of what is contained within different sets of field texts. Although the initial analysis deals with matters such as character, place, scene, plot, tension, end point, narrator, context, and tone, these matters become increasingly complex as an inquirer pursues this relentless rereading. (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000: 131):

The following section of my research diary bears witness to the text from Clandinin and Connelly (2000: 131), as through emersion in the data a chronologically ordered account formed in my mind. *In re-reading and transcribing the materials a comprehensive, chronologically ordered account of TMD's life started to form in my mind. As I re-read the transcriptions for the computer aided qualitative data analysis I realised that this was not how TMD conveyed her story to me. As in any conversation we explored certain aspects and then returned to others at a later stage, the events had only become ordered events on a timeline in my own mind.* (Research diary: 12/06/2005)

I also utilised the critical incident approach. Czarniawska (2004: 43) proposes the use of Flanagan's conceptualisation of the critical incident approach to elicit narratives. Flannagan (in Czarniawska, 2004: 43) explains that a critical incident must be untypical in that such an incident does not happen regularly and that it must be important, thus relating to the research. I employed this method when we seemed to have exhausted specific avenues we were exploring. This meant that the narrative was not presented to me in the chronological order it is depicted in, in this text.

When I realised this complexity of chronology I had to take a step back and reconsider the next step. How was I to handle this complexity? According to Goodson and Sikes (2001: 27):

Any synthesis or rewording by the researcher is a step away from the original even when it is simply a matter of leaving out the 'ums' and 'errs'. Then there is the issue of how far the informant's words are left to speak for themselves and how much commentary analysis there should be. Whatever decisions are made, the researcher needs to be able to justify what they have done.

I also used the approach suggested by Goodson and Sikes (2001: 26), who compare the task of the Rogerian counsellor with that of the life history interviewer "...interviewers, like counsellors, listen, reflect back, ask questions which encourage further reflection, and are non-judgemental. Both are often dealing with intimate aspects of life." They (Goodson & Sikes, 2001: 26), however, add that the researcher is not practising therapy.

So this is where I have to make a stand. I have all along recognised that I cannot be 'objective'. I am present in the text and I merely need to be honest about this and try to remain true to the original message that was conveyed. Stepping back and trying to represent the narrative without this chronology in which I spontaneously placed the narrative would merely be a futile attempt to remove my own voice from the research text. The chronology is in a sense also a product of the iterative nature of this research and trying to reverse the process would decrease the rigour of the analysis and interpretation process in progress. Please be aware of this though, as well as the fact that a changed chronology may mean that the accent that TMD placed on some aspects may be somewhat distorted by this. You are welcome to examine the audit trail CD with the original transcripts to see if this telling is justified.

3.6.2 ON ROUTE WITH TMD

I was born in Pretoria West, my brothers, my sister and myself. My grandmother took care of us when my elder brother went to school. I have a mark on my backside. I got it one evening when the maid put me on the heater after she had bathed me. She just put a nappy on me and then she plonked me on the heater! That is when it burnt that mark onto my bum. I screamed and that is when my mother and them saw what the maid had done. My mother said 'Hey, what are you doing to my child?' So that is how I got scarred for life. [laughs] (PD3, 06/04/2005: 440-491)

We buried my grandmother last year. She would always tell me 'You always tried to spit out the food when I was feeding you and your nappy was always wet. You were a naughty little baby!' Then I would laugh and say 'Really grandma, was I really like that?' and then she would say 'Yes, I would know, I was the one that looked after you.'

She died of a heart attack. She would buy clothes for my brother and me. She also bought each of us a nice warm blanket for a single bed. Every birthday she would give us money, R20 or R10.

My grandmother only used to eat a specific breakfast cereal, Weetbix. We would eat the same, or some of my father's cereal. He was living there at that stage. He lived in his own room, away from us. So sometimes we would eat some of his cereal. If I didn't have soap or toothpaste when we visited grandma, sometimes my mother didn't want us to take any with, my grandmother would give some to us.

She would always let me sleep by her. My grandfather died in 1996. From then on my father's sister and her two children used to stay with my grandmother. My youngest cousin would sleep with my grandmother in her bed, but whenever I came he would sleep in the lounge, because he knew I always slept in my grandmother's bed. I also told her about my stepfather. She spoke to me and prayed about it.

When we were at grandmother's house my cousin and I would chase each other. My grandmother had a big cat that always had kittens. My grandmother gave me one, a white one. The flat we stayed in didn't allow animals, so my cousin took it with him to Jeffrey's Bay. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 941- 1094)

My own father raped me. That is why my mother divorced him. He raped my elder brother, Gerhard and he raped me. It started when I was three or four months old. My own father. I told one of my mother's friends about it and she told my mother (PD3: 06/04/2005 1187-1238). My mother only found out when I was four years old and then she divorced him. (PD2, 30/03/2005: 944-964 & PD3, 06/04/2005: 494-505)

That is when we all four were sent to the children's home in Johannesburg. That first time we were taken away, I cried, I didn't want to let my mother go. I was five years old. (PD3: 06/04/2005 1187-1238) It wasn't nice there. There were just too many children and too many houses. I was there for three years. Luckily I made lots of friends

and they helped me through it. At first I stayed with my brother, but they moved me out at a later stage to the house where my sister was. My brother and I started doing sexual things to each other. It was a consequence of us being molested. That is why they separated us. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 504-603)

At this point in the story I must say I was quite astounded by the way she explained these events. The way she described being separated from her brother is exactly how a psychologist would explain such an occurrence. This immediately reminded me of something that I had read. (Research diary: 06/04/2005)

Riessman (1993: 3) speaks of how some events are very difficult to speak about “[s]urvivors of political torture, war, and sexual crimes silence themselves and are silenced because it is too difficult to tell and to listen”.

This seemed incongruent with my impression of many of the children in places of safety. Usually it is extremely difficult for a client to speak of abuse, but children in a place of safety will tell you about their abuse within a few minutes of meeting you, probably in-between telling you their names and which school they are attending. Quite often I was saddened by the fact that a child has been in the system so long that he or she thinks that talking about the abuse is not even an issue. In this case though my feelings were quite different. TMD seemed to be extremely ‘therapised’. TMD had been through various therapists who have helped her to understand and come to terms with many aspects of the abuse to such an extent that she could converse in psychological lingo with ease. This was evident in the way she described her separation from her brother, Gerhard in children’s home A. (Research diary: 06/04/2005)

We would all go home on certain weekends. We would be transported to Pretoria in a kombi and we would stay with my mother and stepfather. That is when my stepfather started to molest me. I made a case against him, which I later withdrew. That time I was placed in a school with a hostel. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 608-647)

Then I went back to my mother and stepfather. In about 2001, 2002, he still continued with the molestation and I was placed in a place of safety just for girls. In 2003 and 2004 my mother and stepfather moved to Pretoria Central, a nice, beautiful house. My stepfather still molested me. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 655-711)

I am here because my stepfather molested me, he touched me where he shouldn't have. I withdrew that case. After that he raped me another two times, but I have withdrawn that case as well. I still can't go home though. I would do anything to see my mother again, even go back to that house where my stepfather is. He still stays there. My external and internal social workers as well as the court believe he will do it again. I have forgiven him, but I can still get very emotional about it all. I cry easily. (PD2, 30/03/2005: 828-892 & PD3, 06/04/2005: 707-720) It is a good thing when I cry, at least I show my emotions then. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 340-392)

My friends and teachers are a great support to me. We sometimes talk about what my father and stepfather did to me and this usually helps me to feel better. (PD2, 30/03/2005: 940-946) It is also usually a friend or a teacher that encourages me to phone the police to make a case. (PD2, 30/03/2005: 970-983) They don't quite understand though, I always withdraw the cases I make against him. It is probably my own stupidity. I know he will do it again. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 665-702) If I did appear in court though I would say 'Yes, he did it!'. But I have forgiven him. I have forgiven, but not forgotten. I withdrew the cases because I still love him. He may be my stepfather, but he cares more about me than my real father. He has always bought me food and clothes and sometimes he would even give us money. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 665-853)

After the incident with my stepfather it took me a long time to trust again. The hardest thing was that my mother didn't believe me. She still doesn't. I regained my trust and faith when I came into this place of safety. I came into this place on 19 May, it was a Wednesday night. Every Thursday evening we have church in the hall. It is people from outside the institution that come in to minister to us. When I met these people I could see in their eyes that they knew God. From that evening I started trusting my mother a

bit more. I told her everything, my mom. When I was attacked by another girl in this place of safety I told my mother and she laid a complaint at the institution, because the staff didn't protect me from this girl. The girl hit me till my nose bled, she throttled me and her nails went into my neck. So in this instance I trusted my mother and she reacted to protect me. (PD2, 30/03/2005: 990-1024)

I am extremely proud of my mother, she means the world to me. I also love my friends in School A. I am no longer in School A. They had to move me from School A, because I ran away from school twice to see my mother. I can laugh about it now. School B is too far for me to run off to see my mother. (PD2, 30/03/2005: 725 -803)

School B is nice though, I have friends and there is a lot of things about it I like. I chat to my friends, and they know why I am here. There are also some female teachers that know why I am here. I find it easier to talk to them than the male teachers. It was hard for me, but I told my friends and my art teacher, I like my art teacher a lot. It takes me a while to see who I trust enough to tell. I don't quite know how I decide who to trust. Usually I can see in their eyes, possibly it is a gift from God. (PD2, 30/03/2005: 806-911)

3.7 MY SWIM WITH THE DOLPHIN

“Narration is the forward movement of a description of actions and events that makes the backward action of self-understanding possible. Stories provide direct access to the richness of an encounter, including the situations, perceptions, and feelings that guided that person.” (Stuhlmiller, 2001: 64).

This section will deal with some of the changes that TMD and I went through during this narration process. Here we thus examine the part of the narrative that took place during our time together and how certain themes changed from the beginning to the end of our collaboration. Many more of these themes will become apparent in the network discussions of Chapter Four. As Clandinin and Connelly (2000: 64) explain “... we come to each new inquiry field living our stories. Our participants also enter the inquiry field in the midst of living their stories. Their lives do not begin the day we arrive nor do they end as we leave. Their lives continue.” In the same way the participants “... institutions,

and their communities, their landscapes in the broadest sense, are also in the midst of stories” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000: 64). This section thus deals with the stories lived by TMD during the research process. I start with an excerpt from my research diary after my first meeting with TMD, which relates to my first impressions of her.

I really felt that we made a connection in this session. TMD is well organized. She manages her activities and diary very independently. She takes part in hockey and drama, activities she initiated on her own. She is aware of when her court dates are and negotiates them into the time frame of the research in advance. I was surprised with how well she knew the system of this place of safety, even down to the shift time-table for the staff. I wanted to organize that her food be kept a bit later for her on the days we see each other, but she said not to worry, she would arrange it herself. I was amazed at her level of independence. (Research diary: 31/03/2005)

Well you can come on Monday, Wednesday or Friday. Tuesdays and Thursdays I practise hockey. Wednesdays at five I also have drama classes. The pickup, drop off and food parcel arrangements can become quite complicated as a person from one shift may drop me off for an activity and a completely different person from the next shift might come and pick me up. Luckily I know the whole shift system and who is on duty when. There are three shifts at each section. (PD2, 30/03/2005: 1087-1205)

They already keep my food for me on Tuesdays and Thursdays. You can quite easily come at three o'clock. I will just arrange for them to keep my food, it is actually quite easy. Next week you have to come on Wednesday though, because Monday I have to go see a psychologist in Johannesburg. It is all part of the process of them deciding where I must be placed, a hostel or a children's home, etc. We might have to make another arrangement for the final part of the research as well as I am going to court in May and I might be moved from here shortly after that. (PD2, 30/03/2005: 1204-1538)

I really look forward to working with TMD. It was a strange interview session, starting with a position of thinking 'This will never work' to a state of 'Wow! Is this kid for real?'

The truth is, participating in research takes a lot of trust. It seemed to me that TMD took her time and assessed me first, seeing if I was worthy of that trust and then only deciding to participate fully. This I feel is a strength. There is a lot that TMD can show me and hopefully this process will contribute positively to her life also. (Research diary: 31/03/2005)

TMD asked me to bring some books on dolphins for her to read. I found this rather strange, because usually the children ask for money or sweets. Today she surprised me again. She started to talk about her future. I have often found that the children in a place of safety only think about how to get out and possibly get home. It is very rare for them to contemplate their future career without prompting. (Research diary: 06/04/2005)

One day I want to swim with the dolphins. I want to become a flight attendant, or a singer or a dancer or someone that works with dolphins. Most of all though I would like to become a flight attendant or someone that works with dolphins. If I became a flight attendant I could travel the whole world, see what I haven't seen and see how small the earth looks from the sky. I haven't ever been in an aeroplane. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 1-101)

As I was already busy with the transcriptions I asked TMD what pseudonym she would like. She immediately replied 'The Misery Dolphin'. She said the phrase in English. I was a bit shocked by this utterance, I hadn't experience TMD as having a depressive affect. Luckily with some further clarification I discovered she had just got the English words confused. She really meant 'mysterious' not 'misery' and she corrected herself as soon as I asked for clarification. She explained why she would like the name. (Research diary: 06/04/2005)

Dolphins always help people. If you want to go diving and a shark wants to eat you, the dolphin will help you. Dolphins are good friends, sea-friends. If I was a dolphin I would

be able to see all the things I have never seen before. I could see the ships travelling over the ocean whenever I look up. That is why I want to be The Mysterious Dolphin. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 232-329)

TMD spoke about how she adapts within a new environment. She has adapted it to a fine art as she has been through so many displacements. I am amazed how she practises some control over her environment. For me it seems that a place of safety is part of the bureaucracy of social development and the children often feel powerless to determine their future in such an environment. TMD, however, gets to know the system and uses this knowledge to gain a sense of security and navigate the system from within. (Research diary: 06/04/2005)

The first few days I am in a new place, I don't say much, it is still a bit strange for me. Then I don't really speak to anyone. I do my homework. Then I start to get to know the other children. We talk about who we are, where we come from and why we are here. Then I make a real effort to learn the rules and everyone's names. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 1098-1187) **I also make sure I have the telephone number. I asked the Aunty on night shift and she wrote it down in my diary.** (PD3, 06/04/2005: 1936 -1966)

TMD was identified as resilient right from the start. She thus exhibited many resilient characteristics right from our first meeting. The most significant change in this resilience that I experienced in TMD was her commitment to her schooling and training for future employment. In our first few sessions TMD already voiced a commitment to her schoolwork, but was unwilling to participate in after school classes in mathematics. **My teacher wants me to take extra maths classes on Wednesdays. How am I supposed to do that? I have hockey on Wednesdays. I am not going to do it.** (PD4, 11/04.2005: 67-70) When TMD moved to the children's home a definite shift took place. She now not only voiced a commitment to her schoolwork, but also acted upon it. She approached other learners to look at their books and catch up on the work that she lost. She did all her homework and even went to school to study for her exam, although she was allowed to stay at the children's home for block study periods. She also went to school while she was not feeling well to make sure she got all the information and work for the exams. **I**

still had stomach pain and headache yesterday, but I still went to school. Otherwise I will miss out and I won't know what to study for the exam. (PD6, 02/06/2005: 2123-2135).

These were some of the first things that I got to know about TMD. They struck me as unexpected, sometimes abrupt and often more insightful than I had expected. We will look in more depth at the various themes and how they interact in the next chapter.

3.8 COMPARING LOG BOOKS

On our voyage you have already had the opportunity to get to know our co-pilot a bit more. It might be appropriate at this stage to examine how TMD's characteristics compare with the operationalisation of a resilient child. This discussion is conducted in table format in Figure 3.2 to facilitate comparison with the operationalisation of resilience in the environment of the place of safety. The first two columns, on categories and characteristics, relate to the significant indicators of resilience for South African learners in middle adolescence as identified by Parsons (2005: 51-57) based on the transactional model of resilience of Kumpfer (in Glantz & Johnson, 1999: 183-184). The third column represents the operationalisation of the staff of the place of safety of these characteristics of resilience as identified in the selection work session. The comparison of this operationalisation with TMD's expression of resilience is explored in the fourth column. Shading was utilised to separate the various categories, as each category of resilience characteristics may encompass more than one characteristic of resilience.

Figure 3.2: Comparison of TMD’s expression of resilience with the operationalisation of resilience for the context of the place of safety (Adapted from Parsons, 2005: 51-57; PD1, 02/02/2005: 1-1813)

Category	Characteristics	Operationalisation	TMD
Autonomy	I can stick to my decisions, even if friends and family put pressure on me.	Amidst peer pressure: keeps to own religious values, doesn't abscond, doesn't smoke, doesn't get involved in mischief, etc. Doesn't change testimony in family court due to family pressure.	Faith in God played a large role in TMD's life. She did not smoke or participate in mischief. She did abscond on two occasions from her school to see her mother and repeatedly withdrew the charges of abuse against her stepfather
	When I make a decision I stick to it, even if it is difficult.	Remains committed to attend school and improve academically. Remains committed to work at a place to earn an income. Keeping to the rules in the organisation even if it is an adjustment. Telling others of their commitment and keeping them up to date about progress. Staying in drug rehabilitation.	TMD showed a commitment to improving her school work. She tried to align her plans for future employment with her current schoolwork. TMD made a concerted effort to adjust to new environments, paying specific attention to learning the rules and adhering to them.
Self - image	In difficult times I trust my own judgement.	Making decisions after being guided in exploring options. Rebelling against authority.	TMD identified confidantes whom she approached for support in difficult times, asking for guidance in decision making.
	I have good talents.	The child may boast about having talents, or practice his or her talents e.g. singing, athletics,	Participation in activities carried particular weight for TMD. She took particular pride in performing in activities which were related to her mother.

Internal locus of control	I am in control of my behaviour and am able to keep control, even if I am confronted.	Children who do not get involved in fights, even when taunted or teased. Not acting out even when frustrated with their circumstances.	This became more evident of TMD as she moved into the children's home where she could withstand taunting. In the place of safety TMD did react upon occasion resorting to shouting and name calling. ⁵
	I am responsible for what happens to me because I can choose how I act.	Children who apologise for misbehaviour even if they are not confronted on it. Acknowledging punishment was deserved or due to personal misbehaviour.	TMD showed great insight into her own actions. She often would react irresponsibly at first, such as running away or losing her temper, after a while she would calm down and return or acknowledge the inappropriateness of her behaviour. ⁵
Temperament	I can stay calm in a crisis and don't easily get worked up.	Child can stay calm in a crisis and doesn't easily get worked up.	TMD saw herself as very emotional and prone to crying. When confronted with further abuse, though, she accessed her resources in the children's home and gained the support she needed.
Stressors	I can think presenting problems through and look for solutions, without becoming too anxious.	Staying calm and rational while showing problem solving behaviour. Calmly negotiating various solutions for outside visitations with the social workers.	This was particularly evident in TMD's approach to negotiating her time schedule. For example when she was to go for an operation she negotiated with teachers concerning alternative arrangements for handing in work.

⁵ TMD quite often blamed the system for not being able to visit home. It was upsetting to her that she often could not control her environment to the extent she wished to such as in determining visits and future placements. This is indicative of an external locus of control. It is important to note that an external locus of control does not necessarily indicate non-resilience. An overdeveloped internal locus of control can lead to taking responsibility for things which are out of your control while an overdeveloped external locus of control would mean not acknowledging any personal role in events that take place. TMD displayed a balance of both internal - and external locus of control which was adaptive to her situation.

<p>Person-environment interaction</p>	<p>I try to find realistic solutions for my problems by thinking through different possibilities and choosing the best one.</p>	<p>Exhibiting problem solving behaviour. Negotiating the most favourable compromises, e.g. when not being able to go to someone specific for the weekend. Actively generating solutions to a problem, such as how to complete school, with or without approaching others for support in the process. Evaluating the solutions before presenting them.</p>	<p>TMD showed this behaviour in the way she planned for visitations with her mother to make sure she is not alone with her stepfather. She discussed alternatives with her mother about when she was working overtime and presented these to her social worker. She missed her younger siblings and thus pressurised her outside social worker to arrange visitations.</p>
<p>Process of resilience</p>	<p>I always try to make the best of a bad situation.</p>	<p>Adapting to this place of safety and trying to learn how to survive in the system.</p>	<p>TMD's approach to the place of safety was to keep a low profile and not upset the caregivers. She would learn as much as she could about the system and use the knowledge to gain the best out of it for herself.</p>
	<p>I can adapt positively to changes in circumstances, even if it's difficult.</p>	<p>Create opportunities, such as a soccer team within the place of safety. Trying to work hard in school while in the system.</p>	<p>This is clearly seen in how TMD reacted to having to go to a children's home. She immediately enquired about activities and who she should speak to in order to join activities such as hockey where the teams had already been formed.</p>
<p>Outcomes</p>	<p>I have handled difficult problems successfully.</p>	<p>Resilient behaviour shown during the abuse situation.</p>	<p>TMD reported the abuse perpetrated against her to the proper authorities.</p>

	Even if changes in my life were not ideal, I could handle it in such a way that I could make something positive of it.	May include getting help through support networks. Not acting out in the frustration while living in the system in order to pursue a positive placement. Phoning social workers to report abuse or to access support. If placed in a place where you don't want to be, such as e.g. an industrial school, working hard to better yourself.	TMD managed to maintain a relationship with her mother, even though her mother would not believe her about the abuse by her stepfather, Piet. TMD made the best of the situation and maintained a limited relationship with her mother, ignoring issues of abuse as opposed to losing all contact with her mother.
Task orientated / determination	I am able to motivate myself and work hard to reach the goals I set for myself.	Sharing specific, personal goals with staff in written or verbal format. Still trying to perform even if there is not family or friend support outside the system.	TMD was always very specific about her task orientation. She would share goals such as achieving well in upcoming school projects and joining productions such as talent evenings.
Pro-activity	I have the ability to foresee the possibility of an arising problem and can act preventatively in time.	Realising where you stand in the behaviour modification system and making sure you control your behaviour before privileges such as tuck shop and going home for weekends are revoked. Knowing when to stay out of the way of an abusive parent. Manipulating the system to serve their needs.	TMD showed particular adeptness at this particular behaviour. She would plan in advance how to handle difficult situations such as having to go into hospital or change schools. She planned visitations in such a way that she would not be left alone with her stepfather. She would hold people in the system accountable, reminding them of their responsibilities as far as she was concerned.

TMD very closely resembled the operationalisation of resilience generated by the staff in the work session. TMD differed from this operationalisation in terms of the repeated withdrawal of charges against her stepfather. It seems though that it was not mainly because of the fear of how it would influence her relationship with her mother, but because she had forgiven him and felt she did not need to seek retribution. TMD did not harbour any illusions that her stepfather would not abuse her again if given the opportunity; she just did not see the value in pursuing the matter further.

Environmental protective factors are in turn, influenced by contextual factors. This interaction translates into the influencing of the expression and degree of resilience by contextual factors (Freitas & Downey, 1998: 263-285).

The complex interrelation of the various themes will in some cases be represented in a graphic format through networks to facilitate understanding. We thus move from the more holistic presentation of the narrative in this chapter to the interpretation of the various themes in the context of this whole. Off we go!

CHAPTER FOUR

MAKING SENSE OF THE EXPERIENCE

A real danger on any tour is sensory overload. On a voyage you may experience great excitement at viewing your first tropical island, but on day three you are no longer staring at the panoramic views. The volcanic island with its unique population of tortoises has lost all intrigue for you. One view now merges with the next. In an effort to prevent this, we have started with an overall picture relating to what happened to TMD before we met and some of the processes she went through during our time spent together. In this chapter we look at our specific brand of narrative method binoculars being employed, as well as the finer details of our narratives, which are often missed when only taking in the broader view.

4.1 SHOPPING FOR BINOCULARS

As even the term narrative is hotly debated, selecting the most appropriate brand of binoculars for our voyage was quite complex. I found myself lost in advertising of various brands of narrative binoculars. Each brand would emphasise different aspects in its sales pitch, making it very hard to make an informed choice about which type of narrative analysis would contribute most to our voyage.

I am experiencing terrible frustration. I am reading book after book on narrative research methodology and analysis. At first I was struck by the fact that not even a consensus about the term narrative exists. This should have prepared me for the multitude of classification used for narrative research. With every book on narrative research I open, I find myself hoping that this will be it. With this book, everything will eventually make sense. There will be a clear exposition of the classification of various narrative methods and when my eyes land on one of these categories I will experience a light bulb moment. I will have complete clarity and understanding and know "This is it! This is exactly what I had in mind!"

This envisioned moment has not realised. With each book the author looks at classifying different narrative research methods from another perspective - emphasising only certain

aspects and completely neglecting others. Some authors took clear sides singing the praises of their own approach to narrative analysis and shooting down, what I though was, the worthy attempts of other academics. (Research diary: 05/01/2005)

In this section I will offer you a glimpse of the approaches to narrative method I read about, thereby affording you the opportunity to understand the processes that went into the decision of narrative method employed on this voyage. Issues of data generation have already been discussed in depth. The issue here relates mainly to the approach to narrative analysis. There are multiple approaches to narrative analysis varying from the linguistic to developmental, cognitive, social psychology, sociology and anthropology (Smith, 2000: 303). Plummer (2001: 186) identifies as many as 13 different strands of narrative analysis.

Narrative analysis had its birth in fairy tale with an author named Propp (in Czarniawska 2004:78). Propp (in Renekema, 1993: 118) states that "... there are always seven characters which may appear in 31 functions or domains of activity." Propp (in Renkema,1993: 118) defines a function as "...an act / deed on the part of a character determined from the vantage point of the meaning of that act for the course of event".

The seven fairy tale characters are:

1. Villain
2. Donor
3. Helper (magical agent)
4. Princess or person looked for
5. Dispatcher
6. Hero
7. False Hero

(Renkema, 1993:118)

This approach of Propp led to the birth of structural analysis of narratives. **Structural analysis** of narrative includes the work of Mandler (in Czarniawska, 2004: 82-83) who suggests a basic story structure that underlies all stories:

1. A setting which introduces a protagonist and other characters, and statements about the time and place of the story. One or more

episodes that form a plot of the story. They also have a similar structure:

- 2 Episode (s):
 - 2A a beginning (one or more events)
 - 2B a development:
 - the reaction of a protagonist: simple (anger, fear) or complex. If complex, it is followed by
 - the setting of a goal (what to do about the beginning event(s))
 - a goal path, an outcome (success or failure)
 - 2C The ending, including a commentary: concerning the consequences of the episode, or the protagonist's or the narrator's reflection. The ending of the final episode becomes
- 3 The ending, which might also contain a moral lesson.

Labov and Waletzky (in Renkema, 1993: 122) also propose an underlying structure in all stories, but however have a different emphasis to Mandler (in Czarniawska, 2004: 82-83).

Although it was obvious that this structural approach to narrative analysis is well established and researched it did not seem to be the appropriate set of binoculars for our tour. I had no wish to explore multiple narratives and compare them for common underlying story structures. I rather wished to look at a specific narrative in depth to learn from the narrative of an exceptional young woman.

Further reading brought a more *literary approach* of narrative analysis to my attention. In this approach narratives were analysed by examining genres, plot, climaxes, rhetorical figures and so forth.

Riessman (2002: 231) indicates that a number of narrative genres can be identified apart from stories with protagonists, inciting conditions and culminating events:

habitual narratives (when events happen over and over and consequently there is no peak in the action), hypothetical narratives (which depict events that did not happen), and topic-centred narratives (snapshots of past events that are linked thematically). Genres of narrative, with their distinctive styles and structures, are

modes of representation that tellers choose (in concert with the listeners' expectations, of course)...

White (in Riessman, 2002: 232) contributes the idea of various archetypal plot forms into which narrators mould their lives to the more literary approach to narrative analysis. These include: tragedy, comedy, romance and satire. Czarniawska (2004: 20) also discusses the contribution of the four classical rhetorical figures or master tropes of metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony to the literary approach to narrative analysis.

Other authors (Polkinghorne, 1988:144) leave you with the impression that narrative analysis is similar to viewing a play.

The rules of narrative composition determine how to order action sentences into total action sequence of a story. Because of the sequential linking of sentences into a plot, the agents, their deeds, and their sufferings receive a deepened meaning.

Even Burke's (in Czarniawska, 2004: 103) pentad of the analysis of narrative explores narrative with a similar thespian approach. For Polkinghorne (1988: 18) the plot is "[t]he organising theme that identifies the significance and the role of the individual events". A plot recognises the contributions of events to the story development and outcome (Polkinghorne, 1988: 18-19).

For Clandinin and Connelly (1994: 416) the whole experiential quality of narrative is created by "...time and place, plot and scene". Plot is even seen as having the added dimension of contributing a feeling of wholeness, human values and meaning to narrative (Polkinghorne, 1988:159). Todrov (in Czarniawska, 2004: 19) explains plot as follows:

[It] consists in the passage from one equilibrium to another. An 'ideal' narrative begins with a stable situation which is disturbed by some power or force. There results a state of disequilibrium; by the action of a force directed in the opposite direction. The equilibrium is re-established; the second equilibrium is similar to the first, but the two are never identical.

McLeod (2001: 110) leans towards a more **poetic approach** to narrative analysis. McLeod (2001: 110) suggests stanza analysis as a useful analytic strategy. This makes visible the rhythmic quality of spoken language which is often lost in the process of transcription. "By presenting oral story-telling in the form of a poem, the meaning and emotional impact of the story and its narrative structure, become more readily apparent" (McLeod, 2001: 110).

Using the more poetic or stanza approach was something I seriously considered for representing my own introductory narrative. *Maybe the answer is a poem? Shifting much more of the responsibility of interpretation to the reader. I expected this thought to allow me some relief from the heavy burden of authorship. It did not. If anything, using the stanza approach was quite frightening. To leave so much in the hands of the reader is quite a daunting prospect. In the case of written words, you never even have the opportunity to view the reader's interpretations. What will they make, in essence, of your life story - of you? Although at first sight this approach seems an easy out, in reality, as I do not feel comfortable with this approach it is impossible for me to subject TMD to the stanza analysis approach to narrative. (Research diary 01/04/2005)*

The **developmental approach** to narrative as presented by Gubrium and Buckholdt (in Plummer, 2001: 192), with its roots in the psychology of life change, at first also seemed promising:

The important questions are not how people respond to life change or proceed through stages, but how they negotiate and generate the reality and meaning of change, stages, and development; how they come to have a sense of them as things separate from themselves; and how they subsequently respond to them as real things.

There are some elements of the developmental approach in our narrative analysis. This is seen in our exploration of how TMD negotiated and made meaning of moving from a place of safety to another children's home. For Plummer (2001: 195) developmental narratives aim at summarising a life, looking for an underlying master motif which

underpins the life e.g. the blessed life or the life of long worries. For TMD it seems to be a life of triumphing over adversity.

The **formalistic approach** to narrative analysis has its roots firmly planted in critical theory. In a formalistic framework it is acknowledged that nothing is as it is seen and thus "... the only things worth noticing are the terms, the formal structures, by which things are perceived" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000: 39). When working in this way the researcher reads for certain formalistic terms such as race, class, gender and power. Clandinin and Connelly (2000: 45) explain that "[p]art of the tension for a narrative inquirer is to acknowledge these truths while holding to a different research agenda. " In my work I would like to look at the critical elements the way people represent themselves in the stories, the imagoes they use. In this way I will maintain the whole of the story and not reduce the narratives into formalistic terms. The formalistic approach's critical paradigm makes it ontologically and epistemologically incompatible with the interpretivist paradigm employed on this voyage.

The social, holistic aspect of narrative is central to some authors. Clandinin and Connelly (2000: 50) define their three dimensional narrative inquiry space as consisting of the:

- personal and social (interaction)
- past, present and future (continuity)
- place (situation)

As you can see, there are a wide variety of narrative theories. Plummer (2001: 186) distinguishes between 13 theories of narrative ranging from the dialogical and hermeneutic to the feminist and the post-structuralist theories. He (Plummer, 2001: 187) explains that all these theories cover a variety of strands of thought in which key elements of narrative need attention. These elements include story, plot, characters, themes, poetics, genres and points of view, see Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Narrative elements (Adapted from Plummer, 2001: 187-190 & Smith, 2000: 330)

Story	The act of relaying to an audience some event that took place involving someone. There is usually an implied sequence and moral.
Plot	The dynamos of the story that act to organise the raw material of the story. “[A] dynamic tension which adds momentum, gives a coherence and makes the story interesting...” (Plummer, 2001: 187)
Characters	McAdams (in Plummer, 2001: 189 & in Smith, 2000: 330) refers to these as ‘imagoes’. The story is read looking for a number of recognisable story types e.g. the villains, heroes, fools, etc.
Themes and story lines	Content clusters that recur in the story. McAdams (in Plummer, 2001: 188) suggests that these clusters are always linked to power and intimacy.
Genres and structures	Forming imagoes and thematic line can lead to recognisable patterns and types of structures, which often perform a specific function. These genres or structures include the tragic, comic, romantic, satirical, ironic, mythical, comical, etc.
Speech acts and conversational units	Linguistic units governed by language rules. Content and form which may vary according to the culture of the narrator.
Tropes	The textuality of narrative that is conveyed by imagery, metaphors and ironies. Burke (in Plummer, 2001: 190) mentions four master tropes: metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony

The various narrative theories pay attention to various combinations of these key narrative elements (as shown in Figure 4.1). In my analysis I wish to focus on plot, thematic lines and imagoes. The narratives presented in Chapter Three embody some of the plots imbedded in TMD’s telling. In section 4.3 I present networks to you to represent some of the thematic lines in TMD’s narratives. Imagoes are “personified idealizations of the self such as ‘the rebel’ ‘the loyal friend,’ or ‘the survivor’” (Smith, 2000: 330). Imagoes will enjoy some attention towards the end of this chapter.

When reading about narrative analysis it seems to be a veritable minefield of various labelling practices with many authors adding their own flavours to each approach. I still

feel that merely noting which aspects mentioned in Figure 4.1 will be attended to in this study does not locate the narrative approach used in this dissertation appropriately. As such I have decided to utilise the two continuums suggested by Lieblich *et al.* (1998: 12-13) to position myself. The two continuums are the holistic versus categorical approaches and the content versus form continuum. These combine into four modes of reading narrative (Figure 4.2):

Figure 4.2: The four modes of reading narrative (Lieblich *et al.* 1998:13)

<i>Holistic- Content</i>	<i>Holistic- Form</i>
<i>Categorical- Content</i>	<i>Categorical- Form</i>

Categorical approaches are very close to content analysis, which focuses on specific words and sections which are placed into defined categories. Holistic approaches focus on the narrative as a whole, while specific sections and contents may also be analysed, but in the context of the complete narrative. Content approaches focus on the explicit or implicit content of the narratives. Issues of meaning are addressed. Form approaches ignore content and focus on the structural aspects of the narratives. (Lieblich *et al.* 1998: 12-13)

Components of the grounded theory approach are utilised in this dissertation. Lieblich *et al.* (1998: 10) contend that a narrative inquiry is inherently based on the grounded theory approach as suggested by Glasser and Strauss. This means that raw data will be analysed in terms of themes through inductive process, focussing on content and not form. McLeod (2001: 105) explains that a purely grounded or phenomenological study would be able to explore the constituent themes of a narrative. Narrative analysis however, contributes by exploring the meaning of the whole narrative. This dissertation thus leans towards the more holistic pole of the holistic-categorical continuum.

This dissertation represents a holistic-content mode of narrative analysis. This mode is common in case studies. The complete life story of an individual is explored and

separated sections of the life story are analysed in the context of the whole life story (Lieblich *et al.* 1998: 13). In Chapter Three I presented TMD's narrative holistically. In the following section the grounded theory aspects as represented by the inductive coding and creation of themes through Atlas.ti are explored. The analysis was conducted through Atlas.ti and will be discussed in the context of the narrative as a whole. This represents the content approach of this holistic-content mode of analysis utilised in my study.

4.2 A CRASH COURSE ON THE USE OF BINOCULARS

4.2.1 REMOVING THE BINOCULARS FROM THEIR CASE

You are now familiar with the theoretical brand of narrative research method employed on this voyage. Now I would like to take you through how I employed this tool to conduct the analysis for this research. Unlike my struggle to locate an appropriate approach of narrative analytical method, there seemed to be a lot of prescriptive ideas as to how to approach narrative analysis.

McLeod and Balamoutsou (in McLeod, 2001: 110) explain an approach to narrative analysis for psychotherapy transcripts comprising of three discreet inquiry phases. This is represented in Figure 4.3 below.

Figure 4.3: Procedures used in qualitative narrative analysis of psychotherapy transcripts (McLeod & Balamoutsou in McLeod, 2001: 110)

<i>Phase 1: Preliminary analysis: finding structure and meaning in the text as a whole</i>
Reading and immersion Identification of stories Identification of topics Summarising stories and sequences Constructing a representation of the case / session as a whole
<i>Phase 2: Micro-analysis: developing an understanding of specific therapeutic events and processes</i>
Selecting text segments for micro-analysis Transformation of text into stanzas

Separation of client and therapist narratives Identification of voices Identifying figurative use of language Story structure analysis Identifying cultural narratives
Phase 3: Communicating what has been found
Construction of summary representation Theoretical interpretation Writing
Throughout: Use of reflexivity; use of other readers

I should have been overjoyed by discovering this carefully laid out approach to data generation and analysis, although it specifically related to psychotherapy transcripts. It, however, only succeeded in making me wary. Henning *et al.* (2004: 101) state that “[t]he true test of a competent qualitative researcher comes in the analysis of data, a process that requires analytical craftsmanship and the ability to capture understanding of the data in writing”. Just following someone else’s map seemed a little too easy.

The approach outlined by Mcleod and Balamoutsou (in McLeod, 2001: 110) in Figure 4.3 did not fit exactly either. The approach was presented as a series of steps which followed on each other sequentially. If anything I experienced the process of analysis and data generation as iterative. The approach explained in Figure 4.3 also focused on certain aspects of analysis which I have already decided not to incorporate in this dissertation, such as stanza and structural analysis. For Henning *et al.* (2004: 101) a good qualitative researcher must be able to show how the analysis is congruent with the design logic and method. In the following section I will endeavour to show how the analysis used is congruent with the design logic and methodology employed in this dissertation.

4.2.2 ENTERING THE COORDINATES

The approach to narrative analysis has to be an appropriate means to reach the ultimate goal of the narrative analysis. For Riessman (in McLeod, 2001: 105) “[t]he goal of the analysis is to assist the reader to understand the meaning of the informant’s experience.” As explained earlier this dissertation represents a holistic-content mode of narrative analysis as described by Lieblich *et al.* (1998: 13). Resilience is thus explored in terms of TMD’s complete life story. Separate sections are analysed within the context of TMD’s entire life narrative. This detailed analysis of content will be accomplished through the rigour employed in the grounded theory analysis approach, although this is not truly a grounded theory study. The stated goal seems clear enough, but there are many complexities that have to be navigated in the process of data analysis to reach this goal. These complexities are discussed in the following section.

4.2.3 HEY! HOW DID YOU GET THERE?

Mertens (1998: 350-351) calls attention to the following principles and practices in qualitative data analysis:

1. Analysis takes place throughout the collection process. This means a movement between data collection and analysis takes place all the time sometimes including the participants’ feedback on the researcher’s initial impressions.
2. Analysis is systematic and comprehensive while remaining flexible. Data analysis ceases when data saturation takes place.
3. Reflective activities form an integral part of the analysis process, the focus is on the analytic process to provide accountability. This may include inquiry audits, peer debriefing or using outside referees to review the data analysis procedures and results.
4. Data analysis starts with looking at the data as a whole and then dividing the data into smaller meaningful units.
5. The smaller units are used to create an organised system, thus employing an inductive analysis process. While certain guiding questions may be incorporated into the analysis many new categories will emerge from the data.
6. The main analytic process incorporated is that of comparison through which categories are refined, conceptual similarities are defined, negative evidence is found and patterns are discovered.
7. Categories are flexible and modified as the further data analysis occurs.

8. The quality of the data analysis in qualitative research rests on corroboration that it reflects people's true reflections. Triangulation through the convergence of multiple sources is particularly important as far as quality in data analysis is concerned.
9. Findings are presented in terms of a higher-order synthesis which forms a descriptive picture, patterns or emerging theory.

The approach described here by Mertens (1998:350-351) was much closer to what I wished to employ during this research process, than that of McLeod and Balamoutsou (in McLeod, 2001: 110) set out in Figure 4.3. The approach described by Mertens (1998: 350-351) constitutes sound grounded theory analysis. Charmaz (in Henning *et al.* 2004:115) describes grounded theory analysis as consisting of

...flexible strategies for focusing and expediting qualitative data collection and analysis. These methods provide a set of inductive steps that successfully lead the researcher from studying concrete realities to rendering a conceptual understanding of them.

There are however significant differences between a pure grounded theory approach and the approach utilised in this dissertation. Point 1 in the exposition by Mertens (1998: 350-351) mentions data collection. Interpretive research is, however, not a mere process of data gathering. Through systemisation, organisation and rationalisation the data themselves are changed (Henning *et al.* 2004: 103). In this study we thus employ data generation as opposed to data collection. The iterative movement between data generation and data analysis is a definite part of this study.

Point 2 above refers to a pertinent characteristic of grounded theory analysis, namely the additional sampling that takes place to develop the emergent theory until theoretical saturation is achieved (Henning *et al.* 2004: 115-116). In this case data saturation is looked for, but not across various cases, rather only pertaining to the narratives of TMD. This is owing to the concern, in this study, with highlighting one exceptional case as opposed to trying to generate a theory as mentioned in point 9 above. This study will, however, also make use of higher order synthesis to describe an emerging picture.

I am definitely not using grounded theory as I am not attempting to generate a theory. I am however utilising aspects of it including working inductively and idiographically. I am also being guided by the data to generate categories and themes, using memos etc. The interviews with TMD will continue until no new categories emerge, thus indicating data saturation. In this way the iterative process of data analysis and data generation will be employed. At the same time my approach will incorporate greater reflexivity than that which is associated with grounded theory. (Research diary: 18/01/2005)

4.2.4. THE TOOLS OF THE TRADE

Conducting a detailed analysis of data may be a daunting task. In the case of this study it entails the detailed analysis of more than 210 pages of transcription. A manual method such as the cut and paste method would mean hours of manual labour resulting in a multiplicity of hardcopies which complicate cross referencing and placing of text segments in multiple categories. In order to maintain the flexibility and iterative nature of the research a computer aided qualitative data analysis approach was called for. Many packages exist such as AQUAD, Atlas.ti, HyperQuad2, HyperRESEARCH, Hypersoft, Martin, MAX, WINMAX, NUD.IST, QUALPRO, ETHNOGRAPH, Code-A-Text, Decision Explorer and Diction (Cohen *et al.* 2003: 156). In this study I decided to employ Atlas.ti to facilitate the qualitative data analysis process.

Atlas.ti can be described as both a code-based theory builder and a conceptual network builder (Mertens, 1998: 353). Not only does Atlas.ti help researchers to divide texts into chunks for coding and retrieval, but it also allows for making “connections between codes to develop higher order classifications and categories, formulate propositions or assertions that imply a conceptual structure that fits the data or test such propositions to see if they apply” (Mertens, 1998: 353). The conceptual network builder function will allow the researcher to graphically represent the relationships in the data (Mertens, 1998:353).

Memo writing is an essential part of the data analysis process (Willig, 2001:36). Memos refer to the writing of definitions of categories and justifying the labels chosen for them. It is a way of tracing the emergent relationship between categories and keeping a record of the progressive integration of higher- and lower-level categories (Willig, 2001:

36). Punch (in Henning *et al.* 2004: 132) promotes the use of memos as a tool to aid researchers in thinking and making decisions during the data analysis process. The memoing should be done throughout the data analysis process as reflective notes on what is being learnt of the data. Atlas.ti has functions that allow for the creation of code memos, theoretical memos and operational memos (Henning *et al.* 2004: 132).

Narrative analysis is similar to content analysis in that data are searched for indicators of narrative which are again searched for story qualities, which are categorised to construct patterns of meaning (Henning *et al.* 2004: 123-124). A program such as Atlas.ti can easily be employed in narrative analysis, especially in a holistic-content based narrative analysis such as this study.

Mertens (1998: 348) discusses the recursive nature of qualitative studies which means that findings are generated systematically as successive data gathering takes place. As mentioned above the flexibility of Atlas.ti facilitates this process. While Mertens (1998: 348) agrees that the findings emerge from the data, she emphasises that this is not through some mystic relationship between the data and the researcher, but involves a considerable amount of work for the researcher in the data generation and - analysis phase. This process is discussed in the next section.

4.2.5 CLUSTERING YOUR EXPERIENCES INTO MEANINGFUL UNITS

Miles and Huberman (in Mertens, 1998: 351) provide steps for qualitative data analysis.

1. Give codes to your first set of field notes drawn from observations, interviews, or document reviews.
2. Note personal reflections or other comments in the margin.
3. Sort and sift through the materials to identify similar phrases, relationships between variables, patterns, themes, distinct differences between subgroups, and common sequences.
4. Identify these patterns and processes, commonalities, and differences and take them out to the field in the next wave of data collection.
5. Begin elaborating a small set of generalizations that cover the consistencies discerned in the database.

6. Examine those generalizations in light of a formalized body of knowledge in the form of constructs or theories.

This process is a very good representation of the iterative nature of the data generation and analysis undertaken during this research. Point 6 is however not relevant as I aim not at theory generation in this study, but at the detailed narrative analysis of a specific case.

For me, data generation and analysis are integrated. Even while thinking about the last interview during my long drive home, certain categories or themes seem to draw my attention. Certain phrases uttered by TMD jump out at me. Even the process of transcription and editing of the transcripts allows for more opportunity to analyse and modify my coding. It also allows me to be reflexive about my own contribution to the data generation.

I am doing my own transcriptions. Lack of resources leaves me no choice. It is a very tiresome exercise, but at the same time the transcription is a great opportunity to immerse myself in the data. As I type I look for the things that worry me. Do I talk or lead too much? Is it really a collaborative process? Do I use some phrases too much? What am I not doing? (Research diary: 10/02/2005)

The transcriptions and analysis of the data generation not only allow for deeper reflexivity, but also give me the opportunity to note aspects which I would like to explore further during the next data generation. In essence, these are themes that can be explored further to achieve saturation. Atlas.ti facilitates these processes very well as it allows me to capture both the reflexive comments as well as notes on further exploration through the memo function. As the analysis continues I find myself refining codes, changing names, collapsing certain categories and incorporating new ones as the data grow around me and I become more familiar with it. Atlas.ti contributes significantly to this process as it is easy to change code names and cross-reference text sections which have been allocated to multiple codes.

Mertens (1998:352) clearly discusses the three phases of coding in qualitative data analysis:

1. Open coding: The naming and categorising of the phenomena in the data through close examination. Data are broken down in discreet parts, differences and similarities are examined and questions of the phenomena as reflected by the data are examined: Who? When? Where? What? How? How much? Why?

2. Axial coding: Codes created in open coding are related to each other again to create connections between the categories. In this way the complexity of the context is re-introduced into the analysis process. A model of the phenomena is created. Data questioning now focuses on relationships between categories.
3. Selective coding: This specifically relates to theory building through focussing on a main category and relating the other categories to it. In this research the interest is not on theory generation, but the findings may well relate specifically to how the themes relate to the participant's identity formation for specific application in the therapeutic process.

All three levels of coding are employed in this study. The open coding is the first inductive coding that takes place in the Atlas.ti workspace. These codes are then clustered into themes by relating these codes to each other. This is accomplished through the generation of code families in Atlas.ti. The selective coding is facilitated through the use of the network function of Atlas.ti, which allows one to illustrate the relationship between certain codes and families. The complete coding scheme is presented in Appendix G: Coding scheme and generation of themes. Some of the themes have already been employed in the generation of Appendix B: Resilience – observation document. Other themes were touched on in the more holistic narrative presentation in Chapter Three. In this chapter we make a more in-depth exploration of the most pertinent themes through the exploration. The audit trail CD can be navigated at all three levels of coding.

Please note when reading the audit trail CD that coded text often includes some of my input to the conversation. These inclusions of my words were often necessary to provide a context for a specific segment of text as Atlas.ti reproduces the quotations outside of the original context under the specific theme to which it relates. My contributions are thus not significant in terms of interpretation, except for the function of introducing the context of certain conversations.

4.2.6 SOME FINAL NOTES

Even after the data have been neatly analysed using Atlas.ti the analysis must be taken a step further. Henning *et al.* (2004: 106) suggest certain questions with which to interrogate the data following categorisation:

- What are the relationships in meaning between all these categories?
- What do they say together?
- What do they say about each other?
- What is missing?
- How do they address the research question(s)?
- How do these categories (together) link with what I already know about the topic?
- What has been foregrounded in the analysis?
- What has been moved to the background?
- What additional data gathering and / or analysis has to be completed?

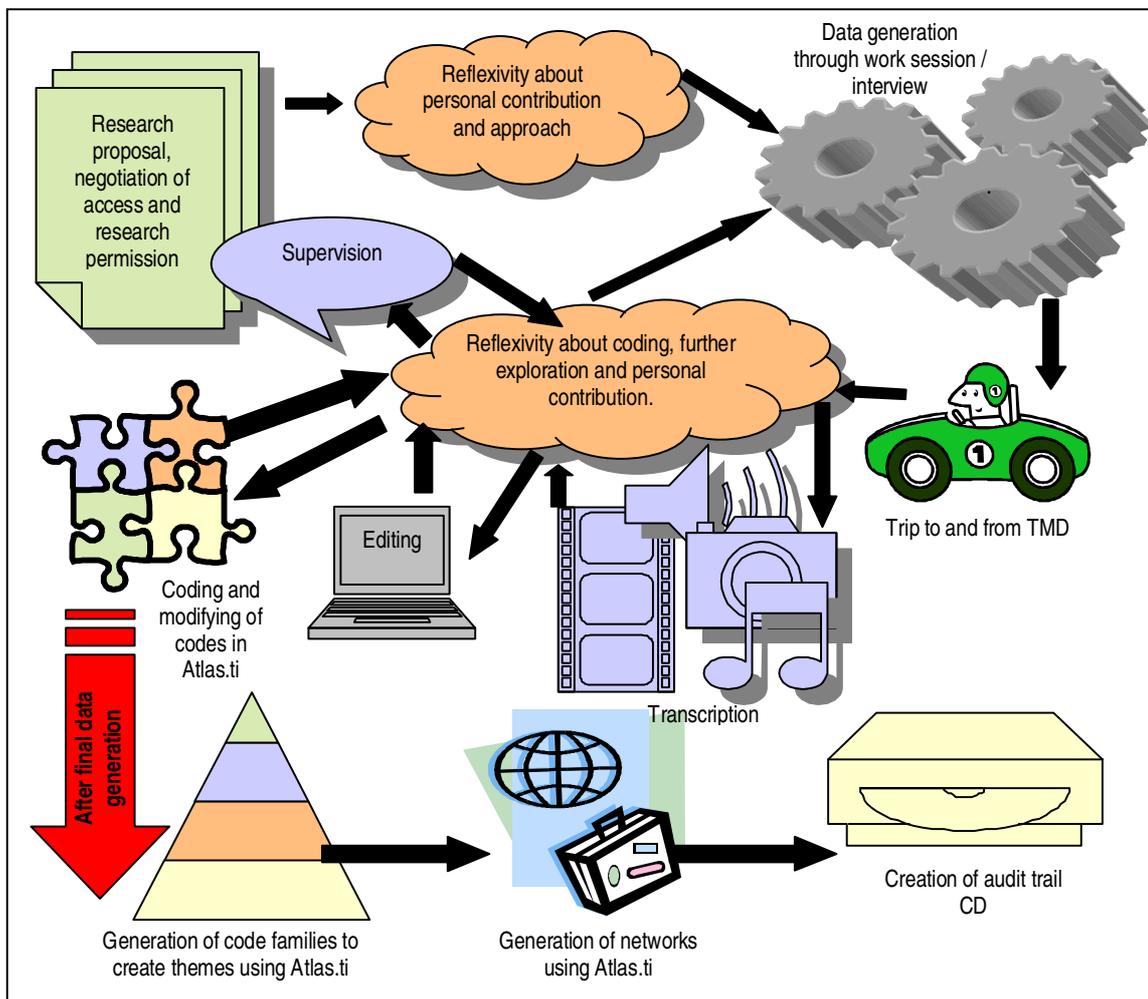
Riessman (1993: 2) explains the essence of this process succinctly:

Analysis in narrative studies opens up the forms of telling about experience, not simply the content to which language refers. We ask, why experience, not simply the content to which language refers. We ask, why was the story told *that way*?"

It is through this continued interrogation and deconstruction of the data that rigour is maintained. Henning *et al.* (2004: 107) suggest the use of a flow diagram to illustrate the analysis process to the readers, making them privy to the methods you employed. To contribute to the transparency of this research the process of data generation and analysis is illustrated in Figure 4.4 on the next page.

Henning *et al.* (2004: 108) note that re-contextualisation of the text must take place through the merging of data text and other literature text, an intellectual labour for the researcher. The following section deals with selected themes from the data and interprets these themes through the re-contextualisation of the text with other literature. This is accomplished through the discussion of core categories in the form of networks.

Figure 4.4: Flow diagram of the data generation and data analysis process



4.3 THE GUIDED TOUR

4.3.1 PURCHASE YOUR TICKETS HERE

I think I have found what I have been looking for. As I so often do, I have been postponing the writing of the discussion of the most prominent themes of this research. I had been playing out several approaches in my head in terms of presentation. I could discuss the themes alphabetically as printed out by the Atlas.ti programme, but this seemed an unintegrated approach. I considered starting with the themes I found most pertinent and then moving to other contributing themes, but how would I go about this? In my latest thoughts I imagined moving from the discussion of themes to the networks that I have produced in Atlas.ti to discuss how the themes relate to each other. Today I found it! I actually read an article which

solved the dilemma I am facing in a manner which I found more appropriate than any I had considered before. (Research diary: 17/09/2005)

The article I refer to is that written by Appalsamy (2004: 237-258), on a grounded theory case study of the diary of a man that committed suicide. Appalsamy (2004: 244) sees the creation of integrative diagrams or networks as the relating of various categories to (what she sees as) the core categories. This conceptualisation immediately allowed me a new perspective on my own approach. Although the networks I generated did not relate to specific higher order categories, they represented the main processes and relationships in TMD's life. In this guided tour we will thus first start with the visual representations of the various networks followed by a discussion of each of the themes, codes and memos incorporated in the network and how these relate to each other.

In the networks, certain symbols are employed to indicate the various nodes: a tree indicates a code with more than three quotations, a book and pen indicates a memo, a yellow node with a bracket indicates a code with a comment and a yellow node with a cross indicates more than five codes. All other codes are indicated by a plain yellow node.

Garnezy *et al.* (1996: xix) note that “[a]lthough the usual strategy in research is to isolate and study as few variables as possible, it is now clear that this approach is frequently inadequate”. This dissertation employs a holistic-content mode of narrative analysis which examines different factors within a holistic context, allowing the complexity of the context to contribute to our interpretation. The interpretation is enriched by combining it with appropriate aspects of existing literature. Clandinin and Connelly (2001: 41) see the literature reviewed as a “...kind of conversation between theory and life or, at least, between theory and the stories of life contained in the inquiry”. This approach by Clandinin and Connelly (2001: 41) is exhibited in our discussion of the findings.

4.3.2 INDIVIDUAL FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO TMD'S RESILIENCE

This section represents a focussed discussion of the network of individual factors contributing to TMD's resilience as represented in Figure 4.5 on the next page. Several codes and memos are incorporated into the network. I discuss the codes and memos in this section including some of TMD's own words.

- ***Sense of identity:*** (code with comment)

This is how TMD views herself and is influenced by the rest of the codes. It seems that the biological bond TMD shares with her mother plays an important role in the definition of self; it provides a sense of belonging for TMD.

My mother is very important to me. I came out of her tummy that is why she is so important to me. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 2-42)

- ***Mother Lente:*** (Code with more than three quotations)

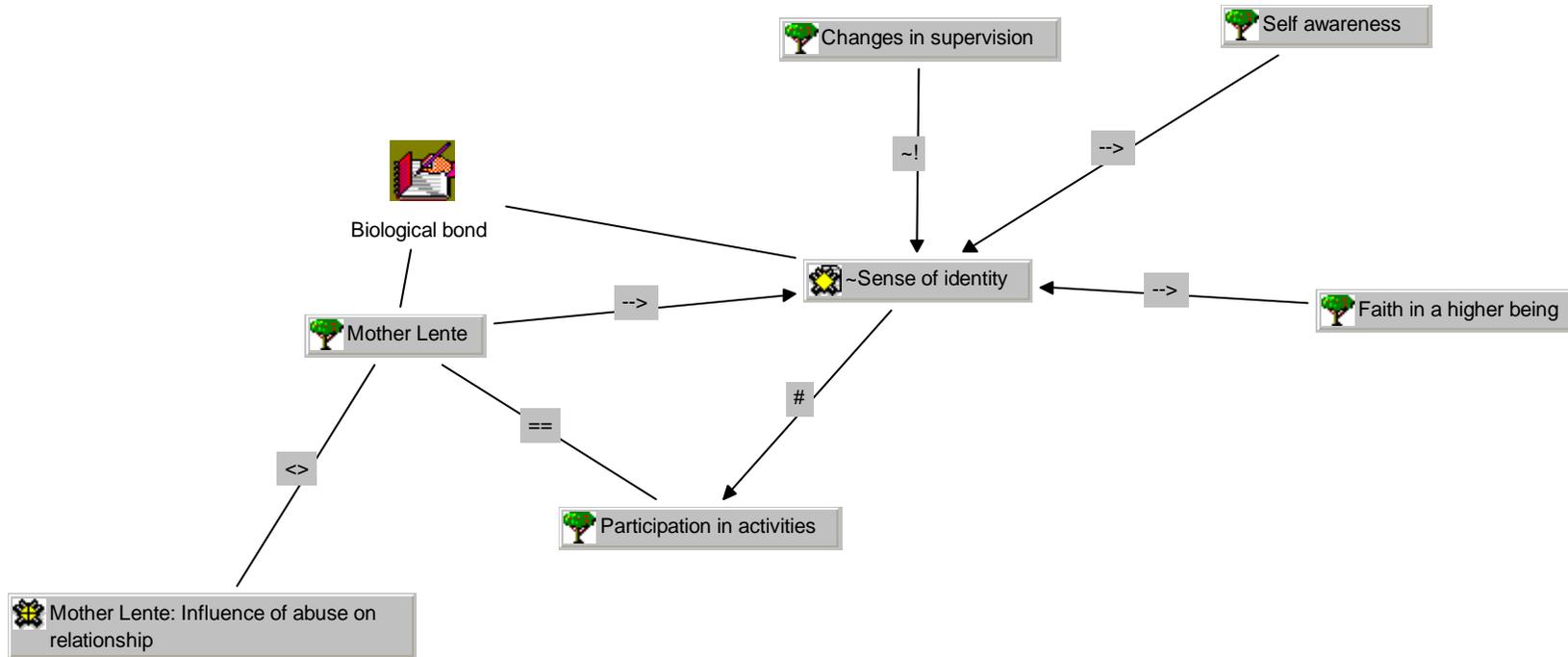
TMD sees her mother, Lente, as the most important person in her life. She sees her mother as someone who fulfils her wants and someone she can turn to in need.

The most important person in my life is my mother (PD2, 31/01/2005: 2-42). **My mother does everything for me, everything that I ask for. When I have any problems, I speak to her** (PD2, 31/03/2005: 672-678).

- ***Participation in activities:*** (Code with more than three quotations)

TMD associates her participation in activities with her mother. She feels that she gains access to a sense of identity through this participation.

Figure 4.5: Network of individual factors contributing to TMD's resilience



KEY LEGEND

SYMBOL	MEANING	SYMBOL	MEANING
==	Is associated with	#	Is accessed through
->	Contributes to	*}	Forms part of
<>	Is contradictory to	~!	Negatively influences

I am a very busy girl, I participate in hockey on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Wednesday at five in the afternoon I have drama classes. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 1084-1104) I think God gave me quite similar talents to those of my mother. I enjoy participating in similar sports as my mother did such as hockey and singing. Participating in the same activities as my mother did leaves me with a feeling of belonging, of sharing her world. It gives me a sense of belonging. (PD4: 11/04/2005: 720-790)

MacDonald, Gillmer and Collings (1996: 235) found that resilient individuals are more likely to seek social support as means of coping; they are also more likely to engage in challenging activities than their non-resilient peers. This is evident in TMD's approach to participation in activities and manner of actively seeking friends in any new environment.

- ***Mother Lente: Influence of abuse on relationship:*** (Node with more than five codes related to it)

The abuse by Stepfather Piet has had a significant effect on TMD's relationship with her mother. When Mother Lente first discovered the abuse perpetrated by TMD's biological father, TMD's mother divorced him and laid a charge against him. When TMD was abused by her stepfather, Mother Lente did not believe her. Still TMD was taken away and her access to her mother was severely limited as her mother still stayed in a relationship with Stepfather Piet. TMD does not hope that her mother will believe her about the abuse anymore, but still wishes to spend time with her mother. She states that she wishes to spend time with her mother even at the risk of suffering further abuse.

The first time I was abused was by my father Ruan. My mother found out about it and made a case against him. She also divorced him. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 1204-1235) My mother doesn't believe me about my stepfather, Piet. I told her that he abused me, but she doesn't believe me. It really makes me very unhappy. I know she will never believe me, but I still want to be with her. (PD4, 11/04/2005: 2251-2318) My mother means the world to me. I would do anything to be with her. I would even take the chance of further abuse, but the powers that be will not allow it. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 824-870)

Although TMD states that she would suffer anything to be with her mother, she immediately reports a further incident of abuse that takes place while she is in Children's home B.

My mother is angry at me now. I told my social worker that my stepfather, Piet abused me again over the weekend. I told my social worker when I came back. Now I will not be allowed to go home even over weekends. My mother still doesn't believe me. She says it is impossible that he did it, even though she was not there the whole weekend. (PD6, 02/06/2005: 1129-1167)

▪ ***Changes in supervision:*** (Code with more than three quotations)

TMD went through multiple placements in her life. This meant having to cope with a variety of settings and a multitude of guardians, which may have complicated the development of her sense of identity.

I was born in Pretoria West and I stayed with my parents (PD3, 06/04/2005: 440-446). **My paternal grandmother also took care of me from time to time. When they found out about my father, Ruan, abusing my brother and me, they took us to Children's home A. I was very small and I cried and didn't want to let go of my mother.** (PD3, 06/04/2005: 1187-1201) **In Children's home A I was in a house with my brother, but we performed some sexual acts together and they had to separate us by moving him to another house. I was in Children's home A for three years and then I was moved to a school with a hostel.** (PD3, 06/04/2005: 653-667) **After that I went back to my mother, she was already married to my stepfather and he started to sexually abuse me. From there I went into a place of safety exclusively for girls, I was there till about 2002.** (PD3, 06/04/2005: 706-720) **In 2003 and 2004 I was back with my mother and stepfather. The abuse persisted and I was placed in this place of safety, place of safety B. In May they will probably move me to Children's home B.** (PD3, 06/04/2005: 1187-1201)

- **Self awareness:** (Code with more than three quotations)

TMD shows an in-depth understanding of her own emotions, needs and personality. She sometimes struggles with the appropriate vocabulary to convey this well-developed sense of self-awareness, but expresses herself well enough to convey the concept. This self-awareness contributes to TMD's sense of identity.

I forgave my stepfather, Piet, for what he did a long time ago. I still get very emotional about it though. I cry about it quite easily. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 877-892) It really helps when I talk about what happened to me though. I just can't get it out of my head. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 942-946)

I have changed a lot since the first time I went to the children's home, then I just cried. Now I bide my time, I am quiet the first few days, I learn about my environment and the rules. (PD3: 06/04/2005: 1187-1193) I need to learn to control my temper though. I get angry easily and then I swear and lash out without control. (PD4: 11/04/2005: 208-224) I used to verbally abuse my mother. I am ashamed at how I used to address her, but now that I am in this place of safety B I talk to her in a much more civilised manner. (PD4, 11/04/2005: 1595-1613)

In May 2005 TMD was moved to Children's home B. She built a good relationship with a social worker there, Aunt Judy. During this time it seemed that TMD developed her self-awareness even further.

I can do the most irresponsible things. Last week I wanted to speak to Aunt Judy, but she was too busy and she couldn't see me. I was quite emotional at the time. I just started walking out of the gate. When I got to the park I realised that what I was doing was dangerous and came back. I often do rash things when I am angry, but I can be quite rational when I calm down a bit. (PD6, 02/06/2005: 1747-1790)

"Resilience as a potential will vary according to the specific risk, will be context specific and, most important, is a consequence of person-environment interaction (MacDonald,

Gillmer & Collings (1996:233). According to these authors the developmental framework of a person should not be neglected in considering resilience. In this section we can see how TMD's development contributed to her resilience as she no longer just mourns her losses, but actively engages in adapting to the new environment presented to her. She has also identified a need to deal with her emotions in a more appropriate way.

- ***Faith in a higher being:*** (Code with more than three quotations)

God is very important to TMD. Her faith played a large role in TMD rebuilding her relationship with her mother. She gains support through the spiritual group that visits place of safety B or even through religious books which she reads at an amazing pace. TMD sees God as a forgiving God of salvation who helped her restore her relationship with her mother and led to her mother and stepfather recovering from alcoholism.

The most important person in my life, in heaven is God (PD2, 31/03/2005: 664-666). I thought I would never forgive my mother and regain my trust in people after I came to this place of safety B. A few days after I came into this place there was a spiritual group that came to worship with us. I could immediately sense that these people were God's people. It is from there that I started to regain my trust in people and started sharing things with my mother again. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 989-1000) I was so happy, I received a Christian book for my birthday, I read through it even before my birthday was over (PD3, 06/04/2005: 1850-1868). My mother and stepfather turned to alcohol and eventually ended up in the streets while I was in state care. My mother told me the story of how they were picked up by a man in a pick-up truck one evening. The man saw their need and at every stop street and robot he would stop and read to them from the bible. A year after that they had completely recovered and were starting to make a life for themselves again. (PD4: 11/04/2005: 1505-1517)

4.3.3 TMD's RELATIONSHIP WITH HER MOTHER, LENTE

In this section our conversation centres around Figure 4.6: Network of TMD's relationship with her mother, Lente. The way that TMD negotiated her relationship with her mother is significant as this relationship contributed to her sense of identity. It also

illustrates how TMD deals with incongruence in her world. Some of the categories and themes have already been discussed in the previous section and will thus only be referred to here in terms of their influence on TMD's relationship with her mother.

Chess and Thomas (1992: 83-86) assessed childhood resilience in poor-fit parent-child relationships by examining coping mechanisms employed and self-insight. The network in Figure 4.6 very much examines the same stressor investigated by Chess and Thomas (1992: 83-86). The way TMD copes with her relationship with Lente gives us some insight as to how TMD expresses her resilience in this environment.

Note

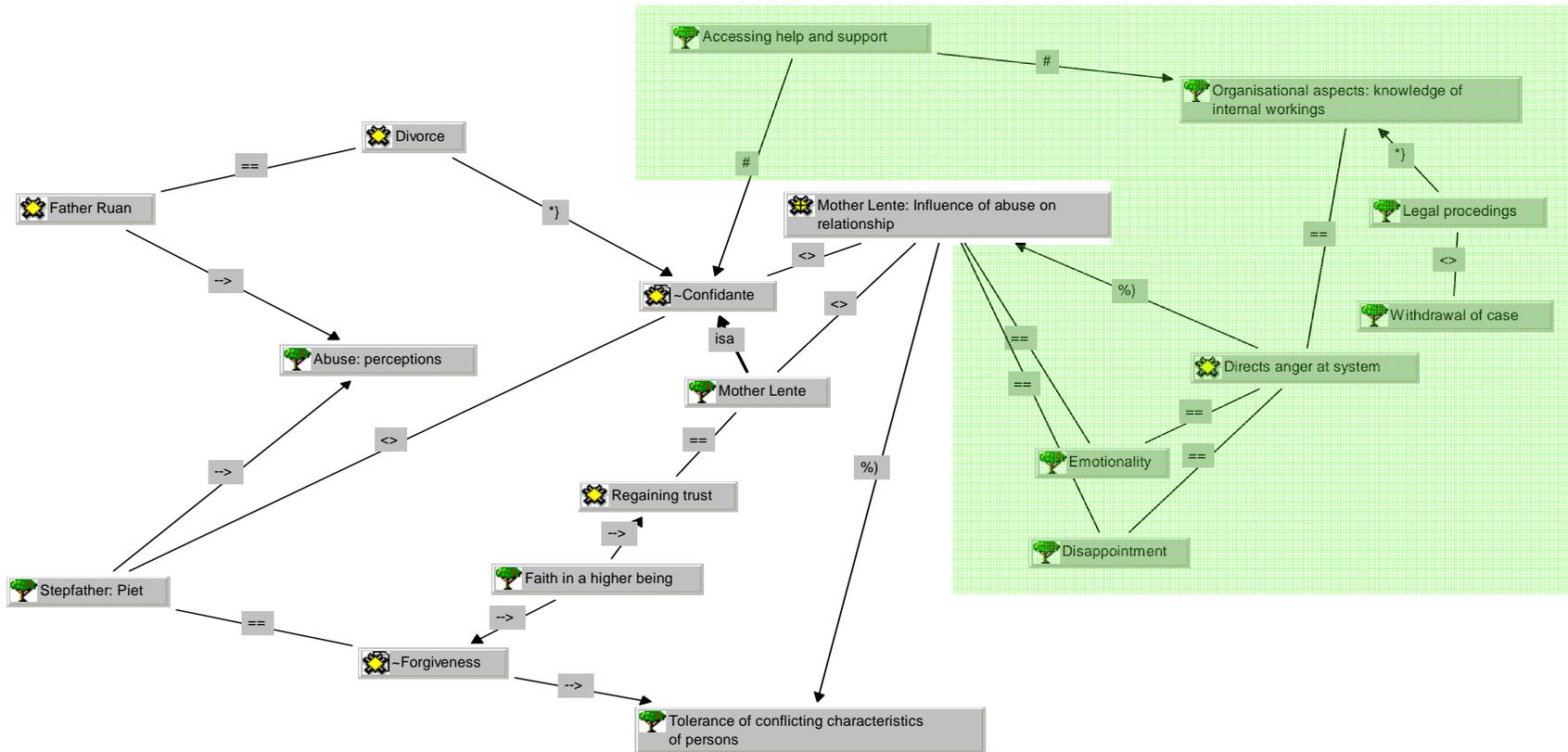
A section of this network is shaded. At first glance these codes may not seem directly applicable on TMD's relationship with her mother. These codes however serve an important function for TMD in maintaining her relationship with her mother while confronted with the reality of her mother's disbelief of TMD pertaining to the abuse by her stepfather, Piet. It is for this reason that these codes are represented in this network.

It is important to note that whilst TMD is well aware of the workings of the system¹¹ she directs a lot of anger, emotionality and feelings of disappointment towards it. She turns to the system to protect her, but at the same time is angry at the system for doing exactly this. She blames the system for separating her from her mother, although she has always been fully aware that her reports would lead to such a result.

Directing these feelings towards the system probably allows TMD an opportunity to divert some of the negative emotions she feels towards her mother and stepfather. This seems to enable her to maintain a limited relationship with her mother as she sees her mother, Lente, as a major contributor to her sense of identity. This displacement of emotions onto the system facilitates TMD's tolerance of conflicting characteristics in persons such as her mother and Stepfather, Piet.

¹¹ The system refers to being under the Child Care Act and therefore under the care of the state. This may take various forms from being in a place of safety to a children's home or foster care.

Figure 4.6: Network of TMD's relationship with her mother, Lente



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KEY LEGEND

SYMBOL	MEANING	SYMBOL	MEANING
==	Is associated with	#	Is accessed through
→	Contributes to	*}	Forms part of
<>	Is contradictory to	%)	Moderates the influence of

- **Confidante:** (Code with comment)

TMD places a lot of importance on her confidantes, of which she views her mother as one. TMD used to have a very close relationship with her stepfather prior to the abuse. After the abuse she started relying more on her mother as confidante.

My mother will do anything I ask of her. If I have a problem I speak to her about it. Before I came to this place of safety B, I used to speak to my stepfather a lot, but since I came here I share my problems with my mother. (PD2, 31-03: 672-678). My mother might not believe me about my stepfather, but she came to my aid when one of the girls in this place of safety B assaulted me. I told my mother and she laid a complaint. She is starting to win my trust again. (PD2, 31-03-2005: 989-1000)

- **Abuse perception:** (Code with more than three quotations)

TMD's perceptions of abuse were formed when she was sexually abused by her father, Ruan. When TMD's mother remarried, TMD was again subjected to abuse by her stepfather, Piet.

My father sexually abused me. I was very young and they only found out when I was four or five years old. That is why I was taken away the first time. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 942-973) Then I was molested by my stepfather, Piet. He touched me when he shouldn't have and afterwards he raped me twice. I am not allowed to go home now. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 823-840)

- **Divorce:** (Code)

When TMD's mother Lettie became aware of her husband, Ruan abusing the children she divorced him. In this incident TMD's mother believed her and acted to protect TMD. This is an aspect of TMD's conceptualisation of her mother as a confidante.

My own father raped me, that is why my mother divorced him. He raped my brother and me. This is the second time I have to go through this now, only this time with my stepfather. (PD2, 31/03/2005)

- **Stepfather Piet:** (Code with more than three quotations)

The second time that TMD experienced sexual abuse was at the hands of her stepfather, Piet. This time her mother, Lente does not believe TMD about the abuse. This has an adverse effect on TMD's relationship with her mother. It also seems to mean that TMD can only utilise her mother as a confidante in matters which do not involve the abuse by her stepfather. TMD saw her stepfather, Piet as a confidante prior to the abuse. Following the abuse TMD shifted most of this role of confidante onto her mother.

My mother doesn't believe me when I tell her about what my stepfather, Piet did. I would do anything to be with her though, so I just don't talk to her about it. (PD4, 11/04/2005) **Before I came to this place of safety B, I used to speak to my stepfather about all my problems. Now I speak to my mother.** (PD2, 31/03/2005: 672-678)

- **Mother Lente: Influence of abuse on relationship:** (Node with more than five codes related to it)

This code has already been discussed in the previous section. It is important to note that the abuse had a complicating effect on TMD's definition of her mother's role of a confidante, as well as her relationship with her mother as a whole.

- **Faith in a higher being:** (Code with more than three quotations)

This code has been discussed in the previous section. TMD's religion is very important to her. She gained access to religious practices in the place of safety B through religious groups hosted on a weekly basis and reading material provided to her as a gift for her birthday. TMD's faith in God is closely related to her forgiveness of her stepfather, Piet for the abuse he perpetrated against her. It also contributed significantly to her regaining trust in her mother in aspects not relating to the sexual abuse.

- **Forgiveness:** (Code with comment)

TMD has forgiven her stepfather for the abuse he perpetrated against her. The abuse has left a lasting impression on her and while TMD has forgiven him, she does not have

any illusions that he will not attempt to abuse her again if he is afforded the opportunity. TMD has also forgiven her mother, affording her the opportunity to try and renegotiate her relationship with her mother.

I have forgiven him [stepfather Piet] for what he did to me. I forgave him a long time ago. I have forgiven what he did to me, but I won't forget. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 877-884)
If I go home, I am scared he will do it again (PD4, 11/04/2005: 2158-2196)

▪ **Confidante:** (Code with comment)

Although this code has already been explored in terms of TMD's relationship with her mother, many other people play the role of confidante in TMD's life. TMD has gone through multiple displacements and school changes and at each opportunity she has ensured that she gained new confidantes in the form of friends and female teachers. She utilises these confidantes not only to discuss everyday issues, but also to try and cope with the abuse she has suffered. It is usually through the help and encouragement of these confidantes that she reports the abuse by her stepfather. During her time at children's home B, TMD again finds friends as confidantes, but this times her social worker, Aunt Judy, also takes on a significant supportive role.

I have new friends at my new school. Nice friends. We talk, they know why I am in a place of safety. Some of the female teachers also know. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 810-821) **It is emotional for me to talk about the abuse, I cry easily. It is difficult for me to tell my friends and teacher. I pick who I will tell about the abuse. If I meet someone I can usually tell from their eyes if they are trustworthy. It is a gift.** (PD2, 31/03/2005: 891-911) **Usually when I talk to my friends about the abuse I feel better** (PD2, 31/03/2005: 938-946). **It is usually my friends who encourage me to report the abuse to the police** (PD3, 06/04/2005: 880-9906).

Now that I am in Children's home B, I have a new social worker, Aunt Judy. I usually see her every week. I can come in and speak freely about the abuse and how I am doing.

This is usually very emotional and she always has a tissue ready for me. (PD6, 02/06/2005: 572-612)

▪ **Accessing help and support:** (Code with more than three quotations)

For TMD help and support is accessed through her confidantes. With her mother this help and support relates to issues outside of her stepfather, Piet's abuse. Her mother helps when she is attacked by other children, as discussed above, and supports TMD with school work. Friends motivate TMD to seek help with the law when she is abused. Social worker, Aunt Judy, not only supports TMD's emotional needs, but also acts decisively to protect her from continuing abuse.

When I go to the police about abuse it is never with my mother. It is always a friend and once my brother went with. (PD3, 06/04/02005: 731-761) **The first time I was taken away I told one of my mother's friends about my father, Ruan abusing me. She told my mother.** (PD3, 06/04/2005) **Two weekends ago when I went home my stepfather, Piet abused me again. I told Aunt Judy, she said I couldn't go home anymore. I was mad at her at first. My stepfather cannot visit me without supervision anymore. Aunt Judy said that if my mother is mean to me about the last incident I should call her.** (PD6, 02/06/2005: 476:535)

I was quite upset to hear that a further incident of abuse took place while TMD was on a weekend visit with her mother. I spoke to Aunt Judy, the social worker. She was very saddened by the incident and it had been arranged that TMD would no longer visit her mother. TMD could however still receive visitors. If they are family members of TMD though, these visits would occur with support within earshot to prevent the family from trying to intimidate TMD. (Research diary, 02/06/2005)

▪ **Organisational aspects: knowledge of internal workings:** (Code with more than three quotations)

TMD has a very extensive knowledge of not only the places in which she is placed, but also of the internal workings of child protection. She realises that if she turns to the

police about abuse she will be removed from that situation and protected from further abuse as far as possible.

I have been in this place of safety for almost 11 months. It is hard because I know I can't go home over the weekends, because my stepfather is there. I have to arrange for a visit with someone else, but it is not so easy to make such arrangements. (PD4, 11/04/2005: 1876-1918)

▪ **Legal proceedings:** (Code with more than three quotations)

TMD has a thorough knowledge of legal proceedings; this forms part of her knowledge of the internal workings of the system. TMD knows how to report a case as well as how children's court proceedings take place. She is also aware of how easy it is to withdraw a criminal case of child abuse once she is safely within the system.

I was at school during the afternoon for drama. I told a friend and my teacher about the abuse. They said I should phone the child protection unit (CPU). I phoned them. The CPU said I should phone the closest police station. The policeman at the station asked me where I was. I did not know the street name, because I was at a public telephone, but I told him the nearest landmarks. He told me how to get to the nearest police station. At the station a policewoman took down my statement. After that one of the inspectors brought me to this place of safety. I only had my school case and school clothes with me. It was evening when we got to this place of safety B and the policeman still had to complete a form when we got here. (PD4, 11/04/2005: 1638:1753)

I have to go to court again this week. I am going to prepare what I want to say. At court they talk about my case and decide where I should go. I am scared that if I go home my stepfather will do it again. I have been to court quite a few times. (PD4, 11/04/2005: 2158-2196)

- **Withdrawal of case:** (Code with more than three quotations)

TMD has a thorough knowledge of how the legal system can protect her. She often acts in a seemingly contradictory manner to this knowledge by withdrawing the legal cases against her stepfather. She is, however, well aware that her stepfather is likely to attempt further abuse granted the opportunity. At the same time, though, she feels that she has forgiven him and does not seek further conflict through a court case. As she has been through the system several times she also realises that a withdrawal of the case will not necessarily mean that she loses the protection that she is currently enjoying.

It is easy to withdraw a case. All you have to do is tell the people at court you want to withdraw the case. (PD3: 06/04/2005: 764-794) **I always withdraw the cases. It is probably my own stupidity, because I know he will do it again.** (PD3, 06/04/2005: 664-711) **I still love my stepfather in a sense, he took care of my needs for food and clothes** (PD3, 06/04/2005: 837-853). **I sometimes hope that withdrawing the cases would mean I can go back to my mother** (PD4, 11/04/2005: 1860-1873). **It doesn't matter anyhow. They won't let me go home even if I do withdraw the case** (PD2: 31/03/2005: 823-840).

- **Emotionality:** (Code with more than three quotations)

TMD experiences a lot of emotionality as she herself describes it. This includes anger and sadness about her mother for not believing her concerning the abuse perpetrated by Stepfather, Piet. Anger and sadness about not being able to spend time with her mother and being in the system¹² are also components. She is also fearful of re-victimisation if she does return home.

I cry easily sometimes. It is good when I cry though, because it makes things better as I am showing my emotions. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 379-396) **I can't speak to my mother about the abuse, she doesn't believe me. The fact that she doesn't believe me causes me a lot of pain. I still wish I could be with my mother. She means the world to me. The social workers don't understand. I am stuck in here [place of safety B]** (PD4,

¹² The system refers to being under the Child Care Act and therefore under the care of the state. This may take various forms from being in a place of safety to a children's home or foster care.

11/04/2005: 2251-2318) **I wrote a letter to Aunt Judy, the social worker. I am scared to go home, although I still want to go home** (PD6, 02/06/2005: 550-584). **It is really hard for me not to go home, especially on special occasions such as my mother's birthday which is coming up this Sunday** (PD6, 02/06/2005: 614-629).

- ***Disappointments:*** (Code with more than three quotations)

TMD experiences disappointment with her mother not only for not believing TMD, but also for her mother's prior lifestyle. TMD is, however, proud of her mother's return to God and turning around her life by giving up the abuse of alcohol. TMD is also disappointed at the system as she cannot go home and will not be placed back with her family.

My mother and stepfather used to live on the streets, as beggars. I was so stunned when I found out, I couldn't believe it. I thought to myself, 'how could the person who brought me into this world have done such things?' but I didn't say it out loud. It was a great disappointment. (PD4, 11/04/2005: 1528-1592) **My mother and stepfather used to drink a litre and a half of whiskey a day. They redeemed themselves though. On the 2nd of February they will be dry for seven years.** (PD4, 11/04/2005: 1174-1188)

- ***Tolerance of conflicting characteristics of persons:*** (Code with more than three quotations)

This tolerance of conflicting characteristics within people seems to be a mechanism through which TMD maintains relationships in a limited form with people who have previously failed her. In this way TMD still sees her mother as a confidante, but only outside of the scope of the abuse that she has experienced. She is able to trust her mother in selected spheres.

I used to speak to my stepfather about everything. Now I speak to my mother, but I still love my stepfather. He has always taken care of my need for shelter, clothing and food. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 841-853) **When I went home two weekends ago (from children's home B) my stepfather tried his tricks again. I told my social worker. My mother was**

angry. She wanted to know what I did again that I couldn't come home anymore. I told her it was my stepfather, but she wouldn't believe me again. It is just no use speaking to her about it. (PD6, 02/06/2005: 1129-1167). **It is very hard for me to deal with my mother not believing me, but I just have to. It is not something which is likely to change.** (PD6, 02/06/2005: 1220-1234)

4.3.4 TMD' s RESILIENCE WITHIN THE SYSTEM

TMD expresses her resilience within the system during this study. Her placements in place of safety B and children's home B are dealt with. It is apparent that the stressors involved in this case are not just the sexual abuse perpetrated against her, but also the pressures of surviving within the system¹³ and renegotiating her relationships with her family. It is in cases such as these where adversity seems to mount up that the adversity seems most debilitating (Gilligan, 2000: 38) The network on the following page, Figure 4.7: Network of TMD's resilience within the system⁸ is a complex network showing the interaction of various factors in TMD's process of resilience.

The bottom right hand quarter of Figure 4.7 relates to how TMD employs her knowledge of the internal workings of the system⁸ not only to negotiate the relationship with her mother, but also to gain safety from further abuse. This was discussed in the previous sections. These factors all contribute to TMD's sense of safety.

- ***Sense of safety:*** (Code)

TMD derives much of her sense of safety from her knowledge of the internal workings of the system. Her knowledge of the time schedule of the system also contributes significantly to her sense of safety. Even her personal knowledge of the various staff contributes to this as she knows how much protection she can expect from various staff members.

¹³ The system refers to being under the Child Care Act and therefore under the care of the state. This may take various forms from being in a place of safety to a children's home or foster care.

Those two care workers, (Aunt Sus and Aunt Jean) are very strict. When they are working you know you are safe. No one will utter an aggressive word or tease you. These ladies will take action, everyone knows it. When they are working you can feel safe. None of the children take any chances. (PD4, 11/04/2005: 298-316)

▪ ***Lack of control of environment:*** (Node with more than five codes related to it)
The system⁹ is very much a bureaucracy. Being in the system can feel very disempowering to any child as her world is negotiated by social workers, psychologists and the courts. TMD also experiences this feeling of lack of control over her environment.

I have been out to my mother over weekends, but it is not allowed anymore. It is difficult to organise someone else to visit over weekends and my outside social worker does not always put in the effort. (PD4, 11/04/2005: 1876-1918) **The court said I am not allowed to go home. So here I am in this place, I can't even visit home over weekends.** (PD4, 11/04/2005: 1925-1948)

This sense of lack of control over the environment is also associated with the many changes TMD has experienced in her supervision. This code is discussed in the previous section. TMD sometimes feels that her attempts to change her situation are futile; this is associated with her feelings of lack of control of her environment.

▪ ***Feel efforts are futile:*** (Code with more than three quotations)
TMD feels that her efforts in trying to improve her mathematics marks are futile. This is especially complicated by the many changes of schools. She also feels incapable of influencing the courts to pay proper attention to her needs.

I still don't understand the mathematics. I try very hard. My teacher said that I should attend extra class on Wednesdays, but nothing seems to help. (PD4, 11/04/2005) **I have tried to explain to the courts and social workers how much I need my mother. That I**

⁹ The system refers to being under the Child Care Act and therefore under the care of the state. This may take various forms from being in a place of safety to a children's home or foster care

really want to go home, even if it is just for visits on the weekend. They just don't seem to understand. (PD4, 11/04/2005) **They said I can't go home, but they never said I couldn't visit other people. My outside social worker just doesn't organise it** (PD4, 11/04/2005: 1925-1948).

TMD's feelings of lack of control over her environment and her sense of futility are moderated by the way she checks up on the system's¹⁰ functioning. Her knowledge of the internal workings of the system¹⁰ and her awareness of the motivations for the decisions made by the system¹⁰ act to ameliorate TMD's feelings of lack of control and futility.

- **Organisational aspect: knowledge of time schedule:** (Code with more than three quotations)

Although TMD has very little control over managing the events taking place in the system⁹, including those involving her, she has a close awareness of the scheduled events. It seems that this knowledge of the timing of events provides TMD with a greater sense of control over her environment.

We can't have our meetings on Tuesdays and Thursdays, that is when I practice my hockey. Wednesday afternoons at five I also have my drama classes. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 1084-1104) **Tuesday and Thursday I stay at school for hockey practice. Wednesday I come back to place of safety B first. I eat and then one of the people on duty drops me off at school for drama. The shifts change while I am at drama, so another person picks me up after class.** (PD2, 31/03/2005: 1134-1146)

- **Awareness of future events:** (Code)

The knowledge of the organisational time schedule is closely linked with TMD's awareness of future events.

¹⁰ The system refers to being under the Child Care Act and therefore under the care of the state. This may take various forms from being in a place of safety to a children's home or foster care

We cannot do our interview next Monday. I have to go and see a psychologist in Johannesburg; he is going to see if I can go home for visits again or where I should be placed. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 1315-1358) The research sounds interesting. The only problem is I have to go to court in May. I will probably move to another place then, because they will decide where I have to go. This might disrupt our conversations. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 1455-1485) I am going to children's home B on the (X) of May at 08:30. I am going to go with my social worker to see how it is. (PD5, 25/04/2005: 396-456) I am going to have my eye operated on next week Wednesday. I should be back from hospital on Friday already. (PD5, 25/04/2005: 736-759).

- ***Informed: motivations of decisions in system¹¹***: (Code with more than three quotations)

TMD places great emphasis on understanding the motivation for the decisions taken in the system¹¹. She questions these decisions until she is comfortable that she understands the rationale.

I cannot go home to my mother on weekends anymore. They are all scared my stepfather will do it again: the court, my internal- and external social workers. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 868-875) I have to see this psychologist on Monday. He is going to see where I should go, where I should be placed. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 1348-1359) The first time we had to go to a children's home was because of my father, Ruan. He raped me. (PD3, 06/04/2005) I have to go to court in May. They make the final decision as to where I should go. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 792-814) I wanted to participate in my school's talent competition. I wanted to dance to Celine Dion's song. I got in, but then I couldn't make the practices, as I had to attend drama practice. So they told me I couldn't go through to the final. (PD4, 11/04/2005: 833:853) My mother wanted to come and see me play hockey. Unfortunately it was an away game and my parents didn't have the money for the petrol. (PD4, 11/04/2005: 1068-1079)

¹¹ The system refers to being under the Child Care Act and therefore under the care of the state. This may take various forms from being in a place of safety to a children's home or foster care

- **Process comment: comparing situations:** (Code with more than three quotations)

I was sometimes quite surprised at the process comments TMD would make about our research relationship as well as other relationships and situations. This awareness of process contributes to TMD's understanding of the system¹².

That first time I went to the children's home I just cried. Now when I get into a new place I am quiet, I watch and learn. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 1187-1193) I have been to a lot of schools. Having been to different schools makes you more aware of certain things. For instance the arrangements for changing classes at school B are ineffective. At school A we had much more space on the halls and the arrangements were more formalised. At school B changing classes is quite a long process and there are often traffic jams, it is much less organised than School A. (PD4 11//04/2005: 1363-1436) I feel much more confident with my mathematics now that I am in school C. It is not that I am working any differently, it is the teacher. She works the sums out with us. She explains it as she does the sums. I understand much better this way. (PD6, 02/06/2005: 187-200) It is strange, but when I talk to you (the author) I don't usually cry. When I go to speak to my social worker, Aunt Judy, I often cry. I come in quite happy, but within a few minutes the tears are usually rolling. I don't know why it is different with you, I talk to you about similar things, it is just not quite the same. (PD6, 02/06/2005: 575-612)

- **Self-awareness:** (Code with more than three quotations)

This code has been discussed in a previous network. This self-awareness is associated with TMD's ability to make process comments.

- **Checking up on system's functioning:** (Code)

It seems that part of TMD's awareness of the system¹² is her awareness of the system's¹² fallibility, especially pertaining to its human component. TMD actively monitors the people in the system¹² to ensure that they are concluding the issues that relate to her well-being.

¹² The system refers to being under the Child Care Act and therefore under the care of the state. This may take various forms from being in a place of safety to a children's home or foster care

I had to check up on the lady in the office today. They have to sign my school report as I am failing some of my subjects. I can get into trouble if they don't sign it and fax it back to the school. The lady said she couldn't get hold of it yet. It is probably a good thing I checked. (PD 5, 25/04/2005: 995-1004) **There are a lot of things to organise now that I am going to children's home B. The school has to send a transfer certificate to the new school. I will have to make sure it happens.** (PD5, 25/04/2005: 1203-1250)

- **Conflict management:** (Code with more than three quotations)

One of TMD's ways of conflict management is through her close monitoring of the system's¹² functioning. By making sure that everything is running smoothly she often avoids conflict situations. In some cases she avoids conflict by defining the boundaries in a particular way. This is evident in her relationship with her mother where she tries to avoid discussing the abuse perpetrated by her stepfather. Her approach to conflict management can be very emotional at times. TMD usually realises that her emotionality is impeding her judgement once she has calmed down.

The people that work at this place of safety always say 'just walk away'. I usually try this first when children are teasing. Usually it doesn't work and even telling the care workers doesn't always solve the problem. (PD4, 11/04/2005: 266-271) **Sometimes I get so angry, I just throw everything down. I swear at everyone, especially the care workers who just don't listen to you.** (PD4, 11/04/2005: 246-251)

There are some girls in my house at the children's home who are a lot of trouble. They back-chat the house mother and they make a noise when we want to work or sleep. The other day one of them swore at me. Her sister got in on the act too. I thought 'this is trouble', I just walked away. (PD6, 02/06/2005: 847-880)

- **Eye problem:** (Code with more than three quotations)

TMD had a squint in her one eye when we met. This was corrected through surgery later in the year. The eye problem often contributed to conflict and teasing with other children, it also exacerbated TMD's feelings of lack of control over her environment.

I am really sensitive about my eye problem. The children often tease me about it. It is very upsetting for me and I lose my cool by shouting at the children if they tease me. (PD4, 11/04/2005: 239-241)

- ***Approach to adapting to a new environment:*** (Node with more than five codes related to it)

TMD has a very specific approach to adapting to a new environment. This approach has evolved during the years she has spent in the system¹³. She is now very comfortable with her approach and it serves her well. TMD spends most of the time observing, doing her work and staying out of trouble. In this way she can slowly start to learn the rules and get a feel for the people in the institution.

The first day or two I am in a new place, I don't really speak to anyone. I still feel very alien. Usually I focus on doing my homework. Slowly I will begin to talk to the children. In a place like this everyone is usually interested in why you are here. Then I start focusing on learning everyone's names and the rules. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 1106-1160)
When I get in a new place I usually ask someone what the telephone number and address is. I write it down in my diary. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 1936: 1978) **Making new friends is an important priority for me when I go to a new school** (PD5, 25/04/2005: 1330-1352).

- ***Participation in activities:*** (Code with more than three quotations)

This code has already been discussed in connection with a previous network. Participation in activities is strongly associated to TMD's adaptation to a new environment and she actively seeks this participation.

When I go to school C, I am immediately going to join the hockey team. The first day I go to school I am going to tell them I played hockey in the other school and I wish to participate in this school's hockey team. (PD5, 25/04/2005: 1170-1200)

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- ***Sense of being part of a group:*** (Code with more than three quotations)

Participation in activities, especially team sports appears to give TMD a sense of belonging. It was apparent that TMD was starting to gain a sense of belonging in the children's home when she referred to her house's participation in the talent evening.

That day when you came to visit me here (children's home B) for the first time, we were all trying on funny clothes. We were practising for a talent evening. It was great fun. We came second. (PD6, 02/06/2005: 1244-1362)

- ***Learn from others:*** (Code)

TMD is a careful observer. She uses these observations to learn from other people in order to inform her own decisions. This learning is especially important to her in terms of her mother and other family member's experiences.

My brother, Gerhard, was caught smoking at school the other day. He promised he would never drink and he would never smoke. It is disappointing. Hearing about my parent's problems with alcohol should have made more of an impression on him. (PD4, 11/04/2005: 1207-1226). **My brother failed Grade 10 and he was held back in Grade 1. I don't want to be stupid like him. I want to improve on my mathematics this quarter. I am going to do all my homework and if I don't understand I am going to ask my teacher to help.** (PD4, 11/04/2005)

- ***Faith in a higher being:*** (Code with more than three quotations)

TMD's faith in a higher being, God, has already been discussed in the previous section. The emphasis in the previous section fell on how TMD's faith contributed to her forgiving others. TMD, however, also sees God as a confidante and support during difficult times and this forms part of her adaptation to new environments.

- ***Sense of independence:*** (Code with more than three quotations)

Although TMD speaks of really needing her mother, she shows great independence in her environment. This is a component of her approach to a new environment.

I have my own private lock to my cupboard in the place of safety. Everyone has locks, but usually it is this place of safety's lock so the care workers can gain access whenever they want to. Mine is my own private lock. (PD2 31/03/2005: 1415-1436)

You don't have to organise for my lunch to be kept separately when you come. As long as I know when we are meeting I will arrange for my food myself. I know the procedure at the kitchen. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 1497-1534)

At my previous school I was in the hockey team. The teacher always promised I could play in the games, but she never let me. I just up and left, found myself another activity where I could participate. (PD4, 11/04/2005: 581-635)

- ***Informed: boundaries and limitations in the system***¹⁴ (Code with more than three quotations)

As mentioned previously in her adaptation to a new environment TMD spends the first few days familiarising herself with the rules and boundaries in the new environment. This enables TMD to regulate her behaviour and contributes to her taking responsibility for her own actions.

I wanted to go to my Half-Aunt Lizzy, but she works, so I couldn't. You can't visit someone if there isn't supervision all the time. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 725-728) **In the place of safety B you could not have any money on you. All the money had to be paid in at the office for you to use at the tuck shop. At this children's home B you get money every week. Thirty rand a week for older children like me and you can keep it with you. If, like me, you don't smoke, you get ten rand extra. Some Saturdays you can go out to the shops and you can buy whatever you want.** (PD5: 25/04/2005: 1519-1525)

¹⁴ The system refers to being under the Child Care Act and therefore under the care of the state. This may take various forms from being in a place of safety to a children's home or foster care

- **Responsibility for own actions:** (Code with more than three quotations)

Having knowledge of the rules and boundaries contributes to TMD taking responsibility for her own actions. Taking responsibility for her own actions contributes positively to her adaptation to new environments.

I am going to school B now. It is my own fault. I ran away from school A twice to see my mother. Now they moved me to school B, because it is further away from my mother. At the time I was very angry, but now it is quite funny. (PD2, 31/03/2005: 782-799)

- **Future planning:** (Code with more than three quotations)

TMD is constantly busy working and planning towards her future. Whether it is exploration for the near future, such as her visit to the children's home prior to moving in, or long term planning such as for her career and academic performance. This strong, optimistic future perspective is one of the components of resilience mentioned by Smokowski, Reynolds & Bezruczko (1999: 427).

I have a number of dreams for my future. I want to work with dolphins, or become an air hostess or maybe an actress. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 12-64) **I have to choose subjects in Grade 10 to allow me to become an air hostess. I must learn to control my temper better as well if I want to become an air hostess.** (PD4, 11/04/2005: 173-214) **I am doing a task at school B at the moment about pregnancy. The teacher said we are going to hand it in later. I am going in for my eye operation next week and then I am going to children's home B and my new school. I am going to arrange with my teacher so that I can hand my task in earlier, then I can go to the new school with those marks complete.** (PD5, 25/04/2005: 841-892)

- **Reading:** (Code with more than three quotations)

TMD loves reading. She reads quite quickly. She is particularly interested in reading about her occupational interests. The reading encourages her to work towards her future and serves as encouragement.

I have been reading quite fast. I got a Christian book and I have already finished it. It really motivated me. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 1850-1868) **I don't have any of my own books, but we have a library at school. At the moment I am reading about dolphins. I really love dolphins and you never know when you have to give a speech for natural science.** (PD3, 06/04/2005: 1871-1903)

Clarke, (in Pilling, 1992: 89) in his study of 16 000 multiply disadvantaged, British children, measured resilience in terms of academic and reading performance. Clarke (in Pilling, 1993: 89) identified that strong academic and reading performance correlated with level of resilience. In the case of TMD her academic performance has been severely disrupted by three changes in school in one year. She however reads prodigiously and works diligently to improve her academic performance.

- **Pro-active:** (Code with more than three quotations)

TMD is very pro-active. This forms part of her future planning as TMD acts towards realising her plans for the future. It also contributes to her adaptation to the system¹⁵, such as in cases where she arranges to hand work in earlier to facilitate her move to a new school, as discussed in a previous section.

At children's home B I can go home to visit my mother on open weekends. The snag is that my mother may be working overtime. This time of year is crunch time at work and my mother works a lot of overtime on Saturdays. It would be a waste if the overtime and my open weekends coincided. Possibly I can arrange with my social worker that I can sit with my mother at work if she has to work over time on my open weekend. My mother is open to the idea. (PD5, 25/04/2005: 1616-1670) **I am going in for my eye at the end of the month. It is right during the exam. I will have to arrange with my teachers to either write my exams earlier, or in the next term. We are writing difficult subjects during that time, especially the mathematics.** (PD6, 02/06/2005: 197-262) **The moment I got to my new school I told all the teachers that I have to sit in the front row. This helps me as I sometimes struggle to see with my eye.** (PD6, 02/06/2005: 300-322)

¹⁵ The system refers to being under the Child Care Act and therefore under the care of the state. This may take various forms from being in a place of safety to a children's home or foster care

- **Diligence:** (Code with more than three quotations)

TMD often spoke of her diligence. It was not something she made a particular point of, but it soon emerged as a theme. This characteristic of TMD's was particularly visible in terms of her school work.

I always do my homework in the evenings. During the day I am busy with other things. (PD3, 06/04/2005: 1804-1818) **I am working very hard on my academics. It is hard going though; I am still failing most of my subjects.** (PD4, 11/04/2005: 22-60) **I have made new friends in this school C. I have done most of the work they did. I ask one of my friends to go through her books to make sure.** (PD6, 02/06/2005: 325-375) **I am afraid we cannot see each other next week. We are writing all week and I have to study.** (PD6, 02/06/2005: 1576-1598) **I have been sick this week. I went to school today even though I still have a headache and tummy ache. Otherwise I won't know what to study for the exam.** (PD6, 02/06/2005: 2123- 2135)

I am always a bit hesitant to believe children when they tell me they are working hard at their studies. I was on my way out after an interview with TMD and I ran into her social worker, Aunt Judy. We spoke a bit and I asked her how TMD was coping at school. She said 'I have never seen a child work so hard. Every time I see her she is studying'. I was quite surprised. It really heartened me to hear this, as it seems that TMD really is working very hard to ensure a good future for herself. I am very glad that Aunt Judy is in her life - she truly seems to care for TMD. (Research diary: 02/06/2005)

4.3.5 SINK OR SWIM

Figure 4.7 and the discussion in section 4.3.4 clearly illustrate TMD's capacity for adaptation. She is able to utilise the knowledge she has of the system to adapt to her environment. In this way not only not avoiding negative attention from care workers, but creating the safest environment in which she may develop and learn. These findings strongly support the definition of resilience opted for in this research as indicated in Chapter One: "the process of, capacity for, or outcome of successful adaptation despite

challenging or threatening circumstances” (Best & Garmezy in Heller, Larrieu, D’Imperio & Boris, 1999: 322).

4.3.6 ISSUES SURROUNDING RESILIENCE PERTINENT TO OUR NETWORKS

Haggerty, Garmezy and Rutter (1996: xvii) recognise that there is a complex relationship between stressors and outcomes which depends on a variety of factors which are influenced by developmental status, social background and cultural context. As such, they (Garmezy *et al.* 1996: xvii) suggest that research should “...increasingly examine the processes and mechanisms by which children of different ages deal with adverse life experiences, rather than merely studying the stressors themselves”.

In the case of TMD there are multiple stressors: sexual abuse perpetrated by her father and stepfather, multiple placements with various guardians, the vulnerability she experiences because of her squint eye, multiple school placements complicating her academic performance, a strained relationship with her mother and many more. Using the network approach we have tried to explore the mechanisms and processes TMD employs to deal with these life stressors and move towards a positive future.

Rutter (1995: 75) divided protective mechanisms in resilience into five categories.

1. factors that reduce personal impact of risk experiences
2. factors which reduce negative chain reactions
3. factors promoting self-esteem and self-efficacy
4. factors which make positive opportunities accessible
5. positive cognitive processing of negative experiences

(Rutter, 1995: 75)

In 1996 this was developed further by Nettles and Pleck (1996:157) who identify four protective processes:

1. reduction of risk impact, including processes that alter the risk or the person’s exposure to the risk
2. reduction of negative chain reactions that follow exposure to the threatening effect and contribute to long-term effects of exposure

3. self-esteem and self-efficacy, developed through personal relationships, new experiences, and task accomplishment
4. opening up of opportunity, processes that permit the individual to gain access to resources or to complete important life transitions

Most of these processes are apparent in TMD's approach to her environment.

1. TMD wishes to participate in a self-defence course to defend herself from her stepfather if it were to become necessary again (PD5, 25/04/3005: 691-709). She was planning how she could arrange weekend visits where she would never be alone in her stepfather's presence (PD5, 25/04/2005: 1616:1670).
2. TMD actively seeks out support through her social worker to address the effects of the abuse. She speaks to Aunt Judy on a weekly basis concerning the abuse. (PD6, 02/06/2005: 575-612)
3. Participation in activities as discussed above, as well as her diligence contribute significantly to TMD's sense of task accomplishment.
4. TMD's reading creates opportunities for her to explore life transitions. The approach of her external social worker to take TMD to the new children's home for a visit allowed TMD to plan and explore opportunities open to her during this transition. (PD5, 24/05/2005: 287-316)

For some researchers, such as Emery and Forehand (1996: 81), protective factors are not just a process, but also reside within the child, family and extra-familial support. The following figure (Figure 4.8: Three categories of protective factors identified in child resilience research) illustrates these categories. Highlighted characteristics indicate characteristics which are present for TMD as seen from our discussions in the networks.

Figure 4.8: Three categories of protective factors identified in child resilience research (Adapted from Emery and Forehand, 1996: 81)

Individual factors	Family factors	Extra-familial support factors
Temperament (active, cuddly, good-natured) Gender Age IQ Self-efficacy Social skills Interpersonal awareness Feelings of empathy Internal locus of control Humour Attractiveness to others	Warm, supportive parents Good parent-child relationship Parental harmony	Supportive network Successful school experiences

It seems that the majority of TMD's protective factors reside in herself and in extra-familial support. In many instances her family act as a stressor to her, although she has drawn her boundaries with her mother and she is still able to glean some support from her mother if it does not relate to the abuse perpetrated by her stepfather, Piet. Note that, although TMD struggles with performing at school, she experiences success in her sport and in certain subjects such as art.

Figure 4.8 might make it seem that the identification of risk and protective factors is quite easy. In reality it is not. A risk factor may well be a protective factor in one context, but a risk factor in another (Rutter, 1995:78). The inverse may also be true. Elders (in Rutter, 1995:80) found that entry into the armed forces at an early age was a protective mechanism for young men from disadvantaged backgrounds, as it allowed them to continue their education and postpone marriage to a later stage. Entry in later life was, however, often a disruptive factor in the men's lives as they may already have had families and established careers.

In the next section we are exploring a new type of landscape. I take you on a short exploration of some of the imagoes that TMD exhibits.

4.4 PLAYING THE PART

During our time together I got to know TMD in several roles. These included: the good child, the protégé, the sexual being, the opponent of the system and the demanding consumer. This list of imagoes is by no means exhaustive, but was the most pertinent to me.

- ***The Good Child***

This imago could best be seen in TMD's approach to adapting to a new environment. She took time to learn the rules. She did her homework and followed the rules, thus not eliciting the attention or anger of her caregivers in the system.

- ***The Sexual Being***

TMD, in describing some of her earlier relationships referred to a highly sexual aspect of her interactions. The first relationship she had with a boy in Grade 1 bears witness to this. **He was a beautiful boy with blonde hair. I loved the way he would hug me. We would kiss and then go to deep kissing. We used to talk a lot, about his life and mine. I thought he was my dream man.** (PD3, 06/04/2005: 1389-1527) As TMD grew older she learnt a much safer way of interacting, often being judgemental about boys' sexual innuendos, but still taking pleasure in sharing the more controversial aspects with others. **The boys at my school can be so dirty. It is horrible. They speak of sex and cum, do you know what cum is?** (PD3, 04/04/2004: 1546-1558). From our discussions it was evident that TMD was sexualised early through the abuse she suffered.

▪ ***The Opponent to the System***¹⁶

TMD's imago of opponent to the system¹⁶ became clear in the blame she placed on the system¹⁶. This included the blame for separating her from her mother and limiting her visits to outside people. She also strongly felt that the system¹⁶ did not understand her point of view and negated her feelings.

▪ ***The Demanding Consumer***

Early on in our relationship I realised that TMD would not let me get away with anything. Even if I was delayed by a few minutes she would investigate why. In the same way TMD monitored other people in the system and her life. She would check up on the staff who should sign her report cards, her social worker, Tannie Judy, would be reminded of their appointments and the school would be reminded to complete her paperwork for transfers. This was one of TMD's more pertinent personifications of self.

4.5 COMING IN TO BERTH

It has turned at to be a very long voyage. As with any good voyage I hope you are feeling a little drained from all the new experiences and explorations of your mind. A comfortable tiredness may be flowing through your veins, calling you home to that which you know after a challenging voyage into the new world. In our next chapter we pay the credit card bills and check our voyage contract to make sure we fulfilled all our promises. We start our photo-album, as the voyage of the mind through the vistas of memory is often even more pleasant than the original trip.

¹⁶ The system refers to being under the Child Care Act and therefore under the care of the state. This may take various forms from being in a place of safety to a children's home or foster care

CHAPTER FIVE

PAYING THE CREDIT CARD BILLS

The idea that what happens to a child in those early years in the family determines the future is much too simple. It assumes, first, that the child is a passive receptacle; second that the experiences of early childhood inevitably dwarf everything that happens afterwards. In reality, however, how the child handles those early experiences makes a difference in the outcome. As does what happens in the years ahead... too much intervenes between infancy and adulthood for the experience in the family alone to govern how a life will be lived... (Rubin in Plummer 2001:193)

TMD's story was not completed with the adversity she suffered, but is still being written as we speak. Polkinghorne (1988: 182) states that "[t]he writing of one's story involves a major life change – both in one's identity and one's interpretation of the world – and is usually undertaken with difficulty". TMD undertook this task with great relish. This feat of authorship brought about great change in my life and I believe that TMD experienced the voyage similarly.

5.1 SO, WHO STEERED THE CRUISE LINER?

5.1.1 BEHIND THE WHEEL

This dissertation is my re-presentation of TMD's words. Although these narratives were constructed in a mutual space between TMD and me, it was always my pen that captured our experiences on paper. So, how unbiased was my pen? TMD was identified as resilient through the selection work session. How did this influence me? Did I only focus on the resilient story line? Did I ignore any non-resilient aspects? I told TMD that she had been selected as a resilient child. How did this influence her telling? These issues are explored in the following sections.

5.1.2 TACKING TO COMPENSATE FOR THE WIND

My diary entry of my first meeting with TMD (Research diary, 31/03/2005) speaks directly of any sort of bias I may have experienced. In this entry I at first experienced

TMD as very quiet and reticent. Immediately I experienced a terrible fear that the selection process had failed and that TMD was not resilient.

Although I did not realise it at the time, this diary entry was very revealing. My fear could only be accounted for if I had formed a preconceived idea of what TMD should be like. She caught me off guard at first and in a sense this was a blessing. In gathering myself and reconsidering my approach to the research and TMD I was afforded the opportunity to step away from that preconceived profile I had envisioned and recalibrate my binoculars.

I trust that my interpretations of my interactions with TMD are justified as captured on the audit trail CD. The inductive coding, conducted in Atlas.ti, generated 102 codes, which were clustered into 30 themes. The thorough nature of the analysis aided me in remaining as unbiased as possible in this re-presentation. The contribution of some of my critical readers to the rigour of this dissertation will be discussed a little later in this chapter.

5.1.3 CATERING TO THE TOUR GROUP

Wolfson (in Cortazzi, 2001: 56) expresses a view that the narratives told in an interview situation will differ from narratives in other contexts. Cortazzi (1993: 56) sees this as a crucial limitation in using research interviews to elicit narratives. I would like to debate this issue of performance, as I see all narratives as a collaborative act. All narratives are directed at an audience with a specific purpose. Every narrative is an interpretation of the world being re-interpreted by the audience. As such, a different purpose of presentation does not detract from the value of the narrative; it just dictates a different emphasis in the re-presentation.

In this research TMD was aware of being selected as a resilient child. The research as well as the intended audience and purpose were explained to her. Did TMD cater to her audience and represent only elements of resilience?

That every narrative is told to an audience is not debatable. In the interpretive paradigm multiple realities are acknowledged and it is not only conceivable, but probable that TMD's co-construction of the narratives was influenced by her knowledge of the research.

Rutter (1995: 77) explains that resilience is not an absolute or single entity. That often resilient people have scars from enduring stresses and that resilience is therefore a graded phenomenon. TMD is only human and her resilience is not absolute. Although her telling may have been influenced by her pre-knowledge a revealing honesty is still present in her narratives.

She reveals her early, controversial relationship with a boy in Grade 1. **We would chase each other all over the school ground. When we caught each other we would kiss. We didn't care if the other children or the teachers saw us.** (PD3, 06/04/2005: 1389-1527). At the end of our second interview on 06/04/2005 TMD had a very emotional experience. I am not at liberty to discuss the incident other than to state that it was a very human incident which defies the notion of presenting a particular front to the audience.

TMD asked me not to transcribe the incident and it is not presented in the audit trail. I did, however, find it significant that TMD was able to identify a safe environment in which to express her emotions. It was also impressive that she was able to stand on her rights and request me not to represent the incident in the transcriptions.

5.2 ADDING SOME VOICES

5.2.1 VOICES ON THE WIND

The process of the creation of this dissertation was very difficult for me. Upon occasion I would turn towards people such as my supervisors, other academics and therapists to act as critical readers to question and comment on my work. In any piece of narrative research the issue of whose voice is being represented is a complex matter. Until now I have endeavoured to limit these voices to those of TMD, the literature and my own. My

critical readers however, raised some issues which I wish to share with you in this section.

5.2.2 SOUNDING THE DEPTHS WITH A CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST

Today I had a conversation with a friend of mine who is a clinical psychologist. Much of our training in educational psychology has been in the more positive psychologies, focusing on developmental opportunities and trying to overcome barriers. For clinical psychologists¹⁷ the focus is much more on pathology and diagnosis.

She read a number of interesting things into the transcripts, seeing much which alarmed her. I had interpreted much of the transcripts differently. She first noted that to her it seemed that TMD bonded easily and then detached again with relative ease, something which was worrying to my friend in her capacity as a clinician. This was food for thought. I re-read the transcripts, re-visited my coding and debated the issue in my mind. (Research diary: 09/07/2005)

Although TMD was at first very quiet when she met me, she did form attachments with her friends quite quickly. She did not express severe anxiety at having to move from one school to another, but made a concerted effort to make friends and confidantes in the new environment. The attachments she did initiate with the people she selected as confidantes (such as with her art teacher and the social worker, Tannie Judy) attested to the real attachment in relationships where she felt safe to express and explore her emotions.

Taking a further step back it is important to note that TMD's approach to attachment is quite adaptive for her environment. She had been part of the system¹⁸ for a number of years and was familiar with the multiple displacements that occur in the system¹⁸. As

¹⁷ Some of the language represented in this section forms part of the clinical psychology jargon and is not necessarily compatible with the interpretive paradigm. It is represented here to lend authenticity to my friend's voice.

¹⁸ The system refers to being under the Child Care Act and therefore under the care of the state. This may take various forms from being in a place of safety to a children's home or foster care

such TMD's approach to attachment allowed her to access emotional support through confidantes while still being aware that her time with these confidantes may be limited.

My friend in clinical psychology and I also discussed TMD's relationship with her mother. TMD was projecting all her anger towards her mother (for not believing her about her stepfather) onto the system¹⁹. In Freudian terms she was displacing her anger onto the system¹⁹. It was only in her disappointment in her mother's abuse of alcohol that TMD expressed any negative emotions towards her mother.

Defence mechanisms usually carry a negative connotation. I, however, felt in this case that it was an adaptive mechanism. Through this mechanism TMD is able still to maintain a relationship with her mother, although it was limited in the sense that the abuse by her stepfather could not be discussed. The abuse by her stepfather was the elephant in the living room. TMD and her mother were both aware of it, but they could not acknowledge or discuss it with each other.

In writing Chapter Four, I began to develop a different perspective on this phenomenon. In Figure 4.8 three categories of protective factors identified in child resilience research are depicted: individual factors, familial factors and extra-familial factors. TMD accesses multiple protective factors in the individual and extra-familial categories, but protective factors in the familial category are sorely lacking. Through the use of this displaced anger towards the system TMD is capable to access some support in the familial category, although in a limited manner.

5.2.3 SIGNALS FROM THE LIGHTHOUSE KEEPERS

I always anxiously await feedback from my supervisors. They are two very different people with very different approaches to academic writing. This time I was caught unawares by one of the comments: 'I really enjoyed the narratives, but was she really abused by her stepfather?'
(Research diary, 07/10/2005)

¹⁹ The system refers to being under the Child Care Act and therefore under the care of the state. This may take various forms from being in a place of safety to a children's home or foster care

I had previously worked with clients who had falsely reported abuse by their stepfathers. Had TMD falsely reported the abuse in order to win more of her mother's attention? Was she jealous of the attention that her mother gave to her stepfather?

It was a scenario that had crossed my mind early on in the research, but which I had long since laid to rest. It was something I considered, not because of what I experienced in my relationship with TMD, but because of previous experiences with other clients. This question from one of my supervisors, however, made it clear that you, as reader, may also have similar qualms.

I can unfortunately assure you that the report of abuse TMD concerning her stepfather was true. This is based on a discussion I had with TMD's social worker, Aunt Judy. *I was really impressed with TMD's social worker at the children's home. She seems to really care about TMD. Tannie Judy walked me out after my interview with TMD today. She marvelled at how well TMD was adapting. She expressed her sadness that TMD had to have experienced abuse at her stepfather's hands. She had also met with children that had falsely reported abuse. Tannie Judy had secretly hoped that this was the case with TMD - that she had not suffered such trauma. Tannie Judy, however stated that TMD's visit to the clinic in Johannesburg confirmed the abuse. It was only when exactly the various incidents took place which was debatable. (Research diary: 02/06/2005)*

It is strange; whenever I go to speak to Tannie Judy I am usually fine, but when I start speaking the tears will start streaming out. When I speak to you the tears just don't come. (PD6, 02/06/2005: 575-612). "So why doesn't TMD cry?" my supervisors asked. When I first heard these words from TMD I felt myself go cold. Wasn't I a good therapist? Was TMD accusing me? Did my research lack depth? After a moment, clarity returned. I was not acting as a psychologist in this context. TMD was commenting on how the context of her interactions with Aunt Judy and that with me differed. Although this was by no means an eloquent verbalisation, TMD was in essence stating that she

could differentiate between the types of relationships she was experiencing with Aunt Judy and me. With her social worker TMD was in a therapeutic relationship in which emotionality played a large part in the healing process. Although our research relationship might also have contributed to healing, it represented a different form of expression. This comment by TMD at second glance appeared to be an insightful process comment, not regret about our relationship.

5.3 OTHER AREAS FOR EXPLORATION ON FURTHER VOYAGES

“One’s past events cannot be changed... [h]owever, the interpretation and significance of these events can change if a different plot is used to configure them” (Polkinghorne, 1988:182). Narrative therapists collaborate with their clients on a journey of exploration. Certain questions are formulated to explore both the landscapes of action and those of the identity of collaborators and to construct a strategy to approach the future allowing for alternative attribution of interpretation and significance. Morgan (2000: 17-45) notes the use of specifically phrased questions in exploring the history, context and effects of the problem. In Chapter One I stated narrative questions. These questions are also employed to explore unique outcomes, tracing the history of unique outcomes and thickening an alternative story (Morgan, 2000: 51-74). Specific questions and examples of questions are often presented to trainee narrative therapists to help them in their narrative collaborations. In my interaction with TMD it became clear that certain questions would have been valuable in exploring and thickening TMD’s experience of resilience. These questions might not be completely appropriate for another child, but may serve yet as guidance for other therapists working in the field with adaptations to their specific context.

Questions pertaining to the exploration of TMD’s history played an important role. These questions not only aided in the exploration of TMD’s experience of her abuse, but were also very important to TMD in terms of locating herself and identifying unique outcomes. In TMD’s case questions about participation were extremely important e.g.

- What does the participation in sports tell you about who you are as a person?
- What effect does school have on the way you handle emotions?

- How does the abuse influence your relationship with your friends?

During my conversations with TMD it became clear that certain people in her life were important to her, as they saw her in specific ways. Morgan (2000: 77-84) relates how each person in our lives sees us differently in some way. Each person is thus a witness to different aspects of who we are. According to this approach if someone dies it is not only the loss of that person we mourn, but also the parts of ourselves to which that person was a witness. The narrative therapy approach towards bereavement described by Morgan (2000: 77-84) is referred to as re-membering conversations. During these conversations those aspects which the deceased person saw in the collaborator are explored and celebrated, thus the aspects are given the opportunity to enjoy new significance.

For TMD the people in her life played a very important part in defining who she was and witnessing different aspects of her character. Some of these people such as her grandmother and half-aunt Lizzy have been absent from her life for a significant time. Through our conversations it became clear that these people saw TMD in a very different light and through the conversations those aspects could enjoy renewed attention and significance.

In their discussion of psychosocial risk factors Cope, Mann, Pelosi and David (1996:1198) explain that a linear model to determine the weight of risk factors is inappropriate. Multiple risk factors cannot merely be added to determine how severe their influence in a person's life is. The same seems very much true of resilience. TMD's experiences of resilience seemed to augment one another. The interviewing process was introduced as involving TMD's resilience and with each relation of a resilient experience TMD's narrative of resilience was thickened, although not in a linear fashion. This reminds me strongly of Richardson's (2002: 319) metatheory of resilience as mentioned in Chapter Two.

5.4 WAS THE VOYAGE WORTH IT?

“Every good narrator tries to defend against the implicit accusation of a pointless story, warding off the question: ‘So what?’” (Riessman, 2002: 233). This fear was a reality to me as a researcher as well. Was all this work worth it? Was there a point? In this section we examine transferability, the usefulness of narrative in itself and the importance of this study.

5.4.1 TRANSFERABILITY

Usually researchers debate the generalisability of their findings. Lincoln and Guba (in Mertens 1998: 355) discuss case-to-case translation as opposed to generalisability. They call this case-to-case translation, transferability. Clandinin and Connelly (2000: 42) explain that “[t]he narrative inquirer does not prescribe general applications and uses but rather creates texts that, when well done, offer readers a place to imagine their own uses and applications”. With transferability the “burden of proof for ‘generalizability’ lies with the reader, and the researcher is responsible for providing the ‘thick description’ that allows the reader to make a judgement about the applicability of the research to another setting” (Mertens, 1998: 355).

This may at first glance seem to be a shifting of responsibility by the researcher to the reader, but it is much more complex than that. In the case of narrative research the researcher carries a heavy burden of authorship as discussed in Chapter Two. The narrative approach provides great flexibility for application by recognising the expertise of the readers to perform interpretations and make decisions about application themselves.

As a reader you would have made your own interpretation of the narrative that is rendered here. Czarniawska (2004: 60) explains Hernadi’s hermeneutic triad. I provide this triad to facilitate your process of interpretation.

1. The rendering of the text in a reader’s vocabulary – What does the text say?
2. Ways of explaining the text – Why does the text say what it does? How does the text say what it does?

3. The reader's interpretation – What do I - the reader - think of all of this?

5.4.2 WHY SAIL USING THE NARRATIVE LINER?

In this dissertation I have already discussed the usefulness of narrative in depth. In this section I would just like to re-iterate the value of sharing someone else's narrative in de-constructing and reconstructing your own life narratives. Plummer (in Goodson & Sikes, 2001: 101) postulates that reading the narratives of others:

...with similar characteristics, backgrounds, experiences and perceptions, can be empowering and emancipatory because it can show an individual that they are not alone. Learning how someone else has dealt with the situations that we face can be extremely empowering because it provides a model, a way to proceed, which we can adopt, adapt or reject.

The narratives re-presented on these pages are firmly situated in the South African context. This facilitates the process of relating to the narratives for South African readers. In such a way it contributes to the South African voices on resilience. At the same time I have to acknowledge that I am a South African and form part of the South African context. As such I cannot evaluate if the South African context is inherently different to that of other contexts in terms of the expression of resilience. This must be left to be determined by readers with a different frame of reference to my own.

5.4.3 WHAT IS THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS STUDY?

Connelly (in Plummer, 2001: 12) explains that we are witnessing the "arrival of a more provisional world where there is an increased sensitivity to diversities, differences, differentiations..." Plummer (2001: 12) states that "[i]n this world view the world becomes less dominated by generalities and 'master narratives'. And there is a turn towards 'local cultures' and 'multiplicity of stories'". This study is representative of this turn towards acknowledging the value of post-modernism.

There have been many attacks on post-modern epistemology. Plummer (2001:13) discusses the work of the champion fighter of methodology, Norman K. Denzin, and states:

[Denzin] argues that researchers should take sides; should study experiences that are biographically meaningful for the researcher; should attend to pivotal turning point experiences; should uncover and display models of truth, accuracy and authenticity; should privilege languages of feelings and emotions over those of rationality and science; should examine multiple discourses and should write multivoiced polyphonic texts, which includes the researchers' own experience.

“[I]n order to understand their own lives people put them into narrative form – and they do the same when they try to understand the lives of others” (Czarniawska, 2004: 5). This dissertation aims to create accessibility to this understanding and exploration of another life through the narrative presentation of the research.

5.5 EVALUATING THE SAFETY PROTOCOLS

Reflexivity played a major role in maintaining the rigour of this study. To Plummer (2001:208) reflexivity means:

... a much greater social and self-awareness / consciousness of the whole intellectual / research process: of (a) the subject of the research along with (b) the social spaces in which the research knowledge is produced, as well as (c) a much fuller sense of the spaces / locations – personal, cultural, academic, intellectual, historical – of how the researcher is actually building the research knowledge. There has to be an attentiveness to time – what people take into research situations and take out of them; as well as feeling, identity, body... 'research knowledge' only makes sense if we can acquire understanding about the active processes through which such knowledge becomes produced. If we wish to understand a life story, then, we need also to know where both the researcher and the teller of that life are coming from, what kind of relationship they are having together, and how this fits into the wider social order.

Now with your feet firmly back on solid ground you are in a position to reflect on how well I adhered to this process of reflexivity. I also invite you to examine other aspects of the rigour promised in this study. Mertens (1998: 354) suggests several questions for dependability and confirmability:

- Are findings grounded in the data? (Is sampling appropriate? Are data weighted correctly?)

- Are inferences logical (Are analytic strategies applied correctly? Are alternative explanations accounted for?)
- Is the category structure appropriate?
- Can inquiry decisions and methodological shifts be justified? (Were sampling decisions linked to working hypotheses?)
- What is the degree of researcher bias (premature closure, unexplored data in field notes, lack of search for negative cases, feelings of empathy)?
- What strategies were used for increasing credibility (second readers, feedback to informants, peer review, adequate time in the field)?

5.6 DID WE ROUND ALL THE ROUTE MARKERS?

In Chapter One I stated three critical questions for this research, a main critical question and two sub-questions.

2. What stories are entrenched in the voice of a resilient child survivor of abuse?
 - c. What is the indigenous knowledge operationalisation of resilience constructed by the staff involved in the care of child survivors of abuse?
 - d. How does collaboration and ownership of the research influence the resilience of a child survivor of abuse?

The main research question was addressed throughout this paper with specific emphasis in Chapter Three in which three narratives are re-presented and with Chapter Four with its network discussions and exploration of imagoes.

Sub-question a) played a significant role in the selection of my co-pilot. The transcripts are captured as Primary Document 1 on the audit trail CD. Out of this work session Appendix B: Resilience-Observation document was generated. The IKS knowledge of the staff at the place of safety and how it relates to the co-pilot selection was also discussed in Chapter Three.

Sub-question b) relates to the changes that TMD went through during the research process. The change narrative in Chapter Three relates to this. The whole process however brought about change for TMD as did her definition as co-pilot. The influence

of her collaboration and ownership of the research is discussed in 5.1.3 Catering for the tour group. Clandinin and Connelly (1994: 415) explain that “[p]eople live stories, and in the telling of them reaffirm them, modify them, and create new ones” The research process itself brought about change and augmentation of resilience for TMD.

5.7 THINGS WE MISSED ON THIS VOYAGE

No matter how packed the itinerary for any voyage, there are always some sights that you miss, something that whets your appetite for another voyage in the same waters. This is also true of this dissertation. A wealth of data was generated and the analysis and interpretation only made use of some tools to delve into their depth and gain a better understanding. There are a number of areas of further research that can still be explored.

- This research only explores the networks generated during the research. 102 codes and 30 themes were generated during the analysis using Atlas.ti. Further research may explore these codes and themes in much more depth.
- This study examines the resilience of TMD while she was in two contexts, the place of safety and the children’s home. Both these contexts share some characteristics. Both form part of a system. The two places are both part of bureaucracies with service deliverers such as social workers and care workers. TMD is familiar with this type of environment and has developed appropriate techniques to employ the system²⁰ to the best of her advantage. In both environments TMD had access to extra-mural activities and could attend school, two major sources of support and protective factors. Further research could explore how TMD would cope after she has left the protection of the Child Act and has to cope on her own in a less regulated environment. This would entail a much more longitudinal view of TMD’s resilience, exploring the processes of resilience in more depth.

²⁰ The system refers to being under the Child Care Act and therefore under the care of the state. This may take various forms from being in a place of safety to a children’s home or foster care.

- Suggestions for application to the therapeutic context are made in this paper. Much is however, left to the reader in the application of this research. Further studies could explore various applications of this research in the therapeutic context.
- This research contributes to the South African voices of resilience. Further research could explore how the South African context contributes to the resilience expressed by TMD. This could be accomplished by comparing TMD's narratives to those of children in other contexts.

This research is but a part of TMD's ongoing narratives. The narratives related here are not fixed substances that remained unchanged for me to re-present easily on paper, but are in the process of flux and continue to change even as this particular re-presentation is finalised. Narrative itself is ever present and changing.

The narratives of the world are numberless. Narrative is first and foremost a prodigious variety of genres, themselves distributed amongst different substances- as though any material were fit to receive man's stories. Able to be carried by articulated language, spoken or written, fixed or moving images, gestures, and the ordered mixture of all these substances; narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting ... stained glass window, cinema, comics, news item, conversation. Moreover, under this almost infinite diversity of forms, narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society, it begins with the very history of mankind and there is not nor has been a people without narrative. All classes, all human groups, have their narratives... Caring nothing for the division between good and bad literature, narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural: it is simply there, like life itself.

(Barthes in Czarniawska, 2004:1)

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APPENDIX A: Working document on resilience

Best and Garmezy (in Heller, Larrieu, D’Imperio & Boris, 1999: 322) define resilience as: “the process of, capacity for, or outcome of successful adaptation despite challenging or threatening circumstances”.

The following statements are mostly applicable to a resilient person:

1.	I can stick to my decisions, even if friends and family put pressure on me.	
2.	When I make a decision I stick to it, even if it is difficult.	
3.	In difficult times I trust my own judgement.	
4.	I have good talents.	
5.	I am in control of my behaviour and am able to keep control, even if I am confronted.	
6.	I am responsible for what happens to me because I can choose how I act.	
7.	I can stay calm in a crisis and don’t easily get worked up.	
8.	I can think presenting problems through and look for solutions, without becoming too anxious.	
9.	I try to find realistic solutions for my problems by thinking through different possibilities and choosing the best one.	
10.	I always try to make the best of a bad situation.	
11.	I can adapt positively to changes in circumstances, even if it’s difficult.	
12.	I have handled difficult problems successfully.	

13.	Even if changes in my life were not ideal, I could handle it in such a way that I could make something positive of it.	
14.	I am able to motivate myself and work hard to reach the goals I set for myself.	
15.	I have the ability to foresee the possibility of an arising problem and can act preventatively in time.	

The following statements are mostly not applicable to a resilient person:

1.	Difficult circumstances and problems get me down.	
2.	I do not always achieve the goals I set for myself.	
3.	Even if I know a problem is arising, I don't always act in time.	
4.	I am easily influenced by others when I have to make a decision.	
5.	Other people sometimes make me do things I don't really want to do.	
6.	I don't always learn from my mistakes and then make the same mistakes again.	
7.	I become negative in difficult circumstances and can not handle set-backs well.	

Adapted from Parsons (2005: 51-57)

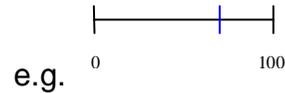
Utilizing these criteria, suggest children to participate in this study

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

University of Pretoria Archer E (2006)
APPENDIX B: Resilience – observation document

Operationalisation refers to the behavioural examples which show that a child in this place of safety possesses this characteristic. There may be other examples that have not specifically been mentioned.

Examples and extent refers to the extent to which the child possesses this characteristic (indicate it on the number line

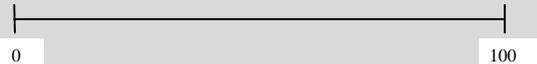
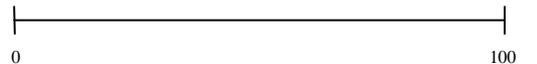
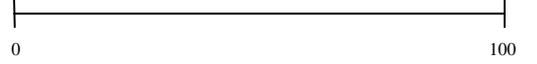


e.g. for about 80%). This column also provides space for you to note specific examples of the child's behaviour that falls in this category.

The following statements are mostly applicable to a resilient person:

Category	Characteristics	Operationalisation	Examples and extent
Autonomy	I can stick to my decisions, even if friends and family put pressure on me.	Amidst peer pressure: keeps to own religious values, doesn't abscond, doesn't smoke, doesn't get involved in mischief, etc. Doesn't change testimony in family court due to family pressure.	
	When I make a decision I stick to it, even if it is difficult.	Remain committed to attend school and improve academically. Remain commitment to work at a place to earn an income. Keeping to the rules in the organisation even if it is an adjustment. Telling others of their commitment and keeping them up to date about progress. Staying in drug rehabilitation.	
Self - image	In difficult times I trust my own judgement.	Making decisions after being guided in exploring options, Rebelling against authority.	

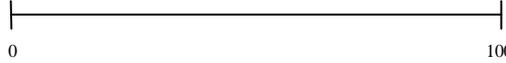
	I have good talents.	The child may boast about having talents, or practice his or her talents e.g. singing, athletics,	
Internal locus of control	I am in control of my behaviour and am able to keep control, even if I am confronted.	Children who do not get involved in fights, even when taunted or teased. Not acting out even when frustrated with their circumstances.	
	I am responsible for what happens to me because I can choose how I act.	Children who apologise for misbehaviour even if they are not confronted on it. Acknowledging punishment was deserved, or due to personal misbehaviour.	
Temperament	I can stay calm in a crisis and don't easily get worked up.	Child can stay calm in a crisis and don't easily get worked up.	
Stressors	I can think presenting problems through and look for solutions, without becoming too anxious.	Staying calm and rational while showing problem solving behaviour. Calmly negotiating various solutions for outside visitations with the social workers.	

Person-environment interaction	I try to find realistic solutions for my problems by thinking through different possibilities and choosing the best one.	Exhibiting problem solving behaviour. Negotiating the most favourable compromises, e.g. when not being able to go to someone specific for the weekend. Actively generating solutions to a problem, such as how to complete school, with or without approaching others for support in the process. Evaluating the solutions before presenting them.	
	I always try to make the best of a bad situation.	Adapting to this place of safety and trying to learn how to survive in the system.	
Process of resilience	I can adapt positively to changes in circumstances, even if it's difficult.	Create opportunities, such as a soccer team within the place of safety. Trying to work hard in school while in the system.	
	I have handled difficult problems successfully.	Resilient behaviour shown during the abuse situation.	
Outcomes	Even if changes in my life were not ideal, I could handle it in such a way that I could make something positive of it.	May include getting help through support networks. Not acting out in the frustration while living in the system in order to pursue a positive placement. Phoning social workers to report abuse or to access support. If placed in a place where you don't want to be, such as e.g. an industrial school, working hard to better yourself.	

Task orientated / determination	I am able to motivate myself and work hard to reach the goals I set for myself.	Sharing specific, personal goals with staff in written or verbal format. Still trying to perform even if there is not family or friend support outside the system.	
Pro-activity	I have the ability to foresee the possibility of an arising problem and can act preventatively in time.	Realising where you stand in the behaviour modification system and making sure you control your behaviour before privileges such as tuck shop and going home for weekends are revoked. Knowing when to stay out of the way of an abusive parent. Manipulating the system to serve their needs.	

The following statements are mostly not applicable to a resilient person:

Difficult circumstances and problems get me down.	Depressed, acting out, eating disorders, school sickness related to circumstances.	
I do not always achieve the goals I set for myself.	Promises to staff about improving behaviour which are not met.	
Even if I know a problem is arising, I don't always act in time.	Knowing they are about to lose privileges such as tuck shop and weekend visits according to the amount of demerits they already have and still persisting in poor behaviour. Hanging out with the wrong crowd even if they know it will get them in trouble.	

<p>I am easily influenced by others when I have to make a decision.</p>	<p>Stating to smoke in the place of safety. Absconding or missing school due to peer pressure.</p>	
<p>Other people sometimes make me do things I don't really want to do.</p>	<p>Blaming others for misbehaviour.</p>	
<p>I don't always learn from my mistakes and then make the same mistakes again.</p>	<p>Participating in the same poor behaviour even after punishment. Impulsivity, not controlling emotions. Repeated bullying behaviour.</p>	
<p>I become negative in difficult circumstances and can not handle set-backs well.</p>	<p>Constantly complaining about circumstances. Constantly seeking sympathy.</p>	

Anything specific you would like to note of this child:

APPENDIX C: Informed consent for work session

The purpose of my research is to explore the phenomenon of resilience among abused South African children. The identification of common story elements in the narratives of resilience can be used to foreground elements in narrative conversations that can be employed to enhance resilience in children who have been abused.

This component of the research will consist of a work session to operationalise the concept of resilience in the context of this specific place of safety. This operationalisation will be used to identify children whom are showing resilience and can participate in the research process. The operationalisation will also be utilised during the research process as a guide to measure changes in the participants during the research process.

This means an investment of an hour in a work session and 15 minutes per month for three months for completing the form to monitor changes in the participants during the research process. The research will have a direct positive impact for the institution as the findings can be employed in therapy by the in-house psychologist with the knowledge that it was developed specifically for this context.

The findings of this research will be published as a mini-dissertation for completion of a Masters in Educational Psychology and may also be used to publish articles in academic journals. You are free to discontinue participation in this research at any time. If you have any inquiries during the research process you can contact the researcher, Elizabeth Archer at [REDACTED].

I, have read the above mentioned and understand my rights. I hereby consent to participate in the sampling and monitoring process of this research.

Signed this day of February 2005 at Pretoria.

Participant

Witness

I, hereby consent that the work session be recoded on tape in order to be transcribed and, or incorporated in a multi-media production. I understand that my identity will be protected in the research process and product.

APPENDIX D: Informed consent from collaborator

The purpose of this research is to explore the phenomenon of resilience among South African children who have experienced abuse. The identification of common story elements in the narratives of resilience can be used to foreground elements in narrative conversations that can be employed to enhance resilience in children who have been abused.

You have been identified as a resilient person by the staff of this institution. This component of the research will consist of a weekly sessions of conversation about who you are, your life, how you handle negative situations, etc. The aim of these sessions is to form a basis for therapeutic practice with other children who have faced similar challenges in order to help them cope as well as they can.

This means an investment of an hour per week for about three months for in-depth interviews. You will also be provided with a diary to write in in-between the interviews. This can be employed in any way and you do not have to disclose anything in it unless you wish to. It will form a sort of research companion for you. The research will have a direct positive impact for the institution as the findings can be employed in therapy by the in-house psychologist with the knowledge that it was developed specifically for this context. It will also serve to help other children going through similar challenges that you are in other contexts.

Your identity will be protected at all stages during the research process. You can even choose your own pseudonym. You will also be given the opportunity to read through some of the transcriptions and work to see if it has been interpreted correctly.

The findings of this research will be published as a mini-dissertation for completion of a Masters in Educational Psychology and may also be used to publish articles in academic

journals. You are free to discontinue participation in this research at any time. If you have any inquiries during the research process you can contact the researcher, Elizabeth Archer at [REDACTED]

I, have read the above mentioned and understand my rights. I hereby consent to participate in the weekly sessions. Signed this day of May 2005 at Pretoria.

Participant

Witness

[REDACTED]
Head [REDACTED]
Guardian

I, hereby consent that the sessions be recoded on tape in order to be transcribed and, or incorporated in a multi-media production. I understand that my identity will be protected in the research process and product.

Participant

Witness

[REDACTED]
Head [REDACTED]
Guardian

Participant

Witness

APPENDIX G: Coding scheme and generation of themes

Abuse

Codes(3):

- Abuse: perceptions
- Alcohol abuse
- Mother Lente: Influence of abuse on relationship

Adaptation skills

Codes(16):

- Approach to adapting to a new environment
- Avoidance of situation, Awareness of future events
- Checking up on system's functioning
- Diligence, Directs anger at system
- Future planning
- Informed: Boundaries and limitations in system
- Informed: Motivation of decisions in system
- Legal proceedings
- Organisational aspects: knowledge of time schedule
- Organisational aspects: knowledge of internal workings
- Participation in activities, Process comment: comparing situations
- Reading
- Withdrawal of case

Adversity

Codes(6):

- Abuse: perceptions
- Changes in supervision

- Disappointment, Divorce
- Eye problem
- Mother Lente: Influence of abuse on relationship

Approach to conflict management

Codes(2):

- Avoidance of situation
- Conflict management

Boundaries

Codes(6):

- Abuse: perceptions
- Confidante
- Early sexualisation
- Emotionality
- Heterosexual relationships
- Informed: Boundaries and limitations in system

Brother: Gerhard

Codes(2):

- Brother Gerhard
- Family constitution: Brother Gerhard

Children's homes

Codes(3):

- Children's home A
- Children's home B

- Children's homes: large

Control of environment

Codes(14):

- Checking up on system's functioning
- Conflict management, Diligence
- Directs anger at system, Feel efforts are futile
- Forgiveness
- Future planning
- Informed: Boundaries and limitations in system
- Informed: Motivation of decisions in system
- Lack of control of environment
- Organisational aspects: knowledge of time schedule
- Organisational aspects: knowledge of internal workings
- Participation in activities

Expressed need

Codes(3):

- Wish for nurturance
- Wish to explore and learn
- Wish to protect others

Factors contributing to non-resilience

Codes(5):

- Avoidance of situation
- Forgiveness, Lack of control of environment
- Legal proceedings
- Withdrawal of case

Factors contributing to resilience

Codes(33):

- Accessing help and support
- Approach to adapting to a new environment
- Awareness of future events
- Checking up on system's functioning
- Conflict management, Diligence
- Directs anger at system
- Disappointment
- Emotionality
- Forgiveness
- Friends
- Future planning
- Half-Aunt Lizzy
- Informed: Boundaries and limitations in system
- Informed: Motivation of decisions in system
- Learn from others, Mother Lente
- Organisational aspects: knowledge of time schedule
- Organisational aspects: knowledge of internal workings
- Participation in activities
- Paternal grandmother
- Pro-active
- Process comment: comparing situations
- Reading
- Regaining trust
- Responsibility for own actions
- Responsible behaviour
- Self awareness
- Sense of being part of a group
- Sense of identity

- Sense of independence
- Sense of safety
- Tolerance of conflicting characteristics of persons

Faith

Codes(3):

- Faith in a higher being
- Forgiveness
- Regaining trust

Father Ruan

Codes(2):

- Family constitution: Father Ruan
- Father Ruan

Future perspective

Codes(4):

- Future planning
- Informed: Motivation of decisions in system
- Pro-active, Reading

Genogram: original info

Codes(17):

- Biographical information
- Faith in a higher being
- Family constitution: Maternal grandparents
- Family constitution: Sister Anne

- Family constitution
- Family constitution: Aunt Hermie
- Family constitution: Aunt Louise
- Family constitution: Brother Enrique
- Family constitution: Brother Gerhard
- Family constitution: Cousin Aaron
- Family constitution: Cousin Anri
- Family constitution: Cousin Dave
- Family constitution: Father Ruan
- Family constitution: Half-Aunt Lizzy
- Family constitution: Mother Lente
- Family constitution: Stepfather Piet
- Family constitution: Stepmother Bettie

Half-Aunt Lizzy

Codes(2):

- Family constitution: Half-Aunt Lizzy
- Half-Aunt Lizzy

Insight

Codes(4):

- Informed: Motivation of decisions in system
- Process comment: comparing situations
- Responsibility for own actions
- Self awareness

Mother Lente

Codes(3):

- Family constitution: Mother Lente
- Mother Lente
- Mother Lente: Influence of abuse on relationship

Narrative

Codes(1):

- Narrative

Need fulfillment

Codes(5):

- Basic need fulfillment
- Faith in a higher being
- Nurturance
- Sense of identity
- Sense of safety

Operationalisation of characteristics of resilience

Codes(9):

- WS: Autonomy
- WS: Internal locus of control
- WS: Outcomes
- WS: Person-environment fit
- WS: Pro-activity
- WS: Process of resilience
- WS: Self-image
- WS: Stressors
- WS: Task orientated / determination

Operationalisation of characters not found in resilience

Codes(7):

- WS: Becomes negative
- WS: Brought down
- WS: Easily influenced
- WS: Lack of goal achievement
- WS: Lack of learning from mistakes
- WS: Lack of pro-activity
- WS: Poor ability to handle setbacks

Operationalising resilience

Codes(15):

- WS: Autonomy
- WS: Becomes negative
- WS: Brought down
- WS: Internal locus of control
- WS: Lack of goal achievement
- WS: Lack of learning from mistakes
- WS: Lack of pro-activity
- WS: Outcomes
- WS: Person-environment fit
- WS: Poor ability to handle setbacks
- WS: Pro-activity, WS: Process of resilience
- WS: Self-image
- WS: Stressors
- WS: Task orientated / determination

Schools

Codes(4):

- School A
- School B
- School C
- Teachers

Self-concept

Codes(5):

- Self awareness
- Sense of being part of a group
- Sense of identity
- Sense of independence
- Sense of safety

Significant people

Codes(13):

- Confidante
- Family constitution: Half-Aunt Lizzy
- Family constitution: Mother Lente
- Family constitution: Stepfather Piet
- Friends, Half-Aunt Lizzy
- Mother Lente
- Mother Lente: Influence of abuse on relationship
- Paternal grandmother
- Social worker 4

- Social worker Judy
- Stepfather: Piet
- Teachers

Social workers

Codes(2):

- Social worker 4
- Social worker Judy

Stepfather Piet

Codes(2):

- Family constitution: Stepfather Piet
- Stepfather: Piet

Strengths

Codes(15):

- Accessing help and support
- Awareness of future events
- Conflict management, Diligence
- Faith in a higher being
- Forgiveness
- Future planning
- Participation in activities
- Pro-active
- Process comment: comparing situations
- Reading
- Regaining trust
- Responsibility for own actions

- Responsible behaviour
- Self awareness

Utilisation of system

Codes(6):

- Accessing help and support
- Checking up on system's functioning
- Directs anger at system
- Informed: Boundaries and limitations in system
- Informed: Motivation of decisions in system
- Legal proceedings