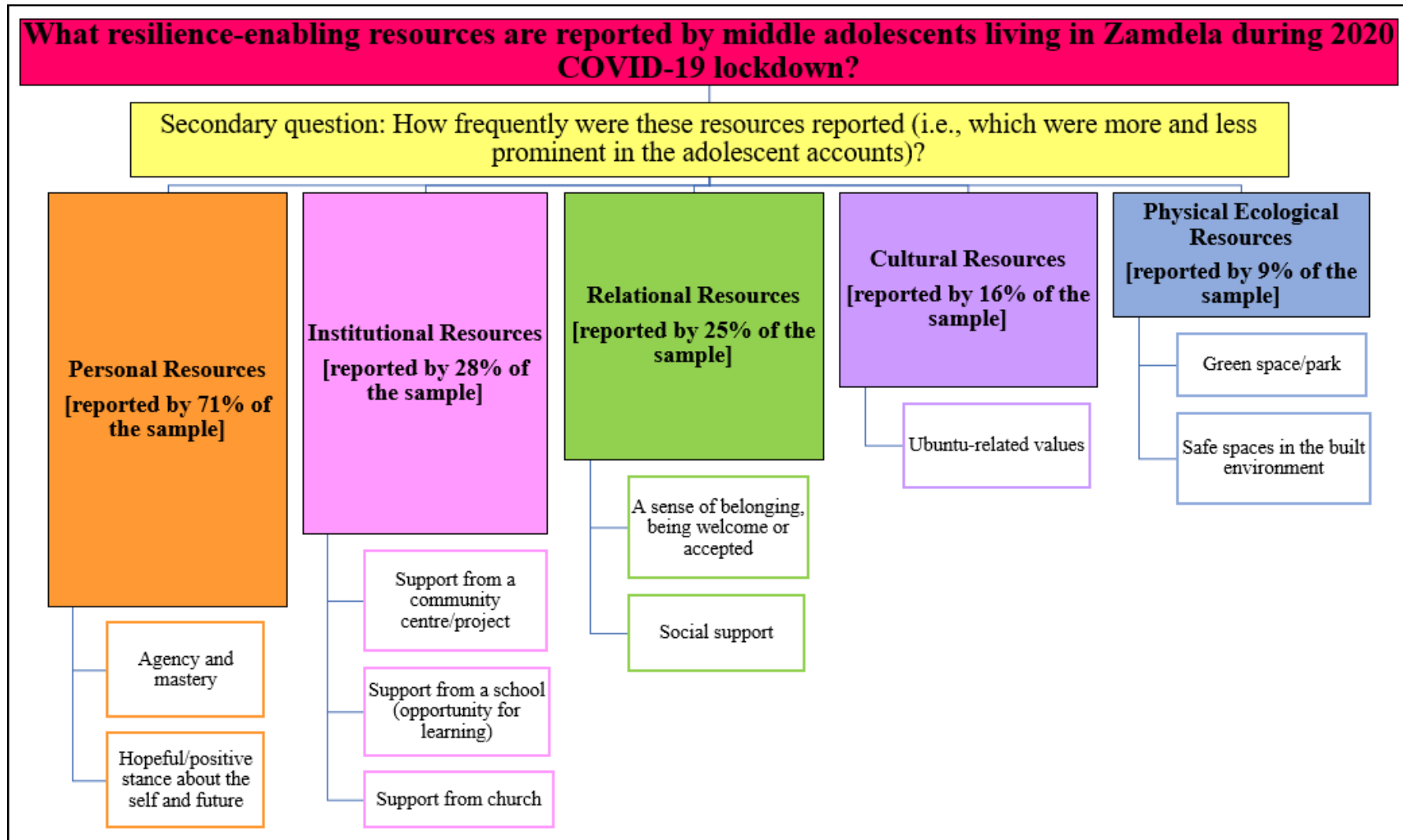


Figure 8

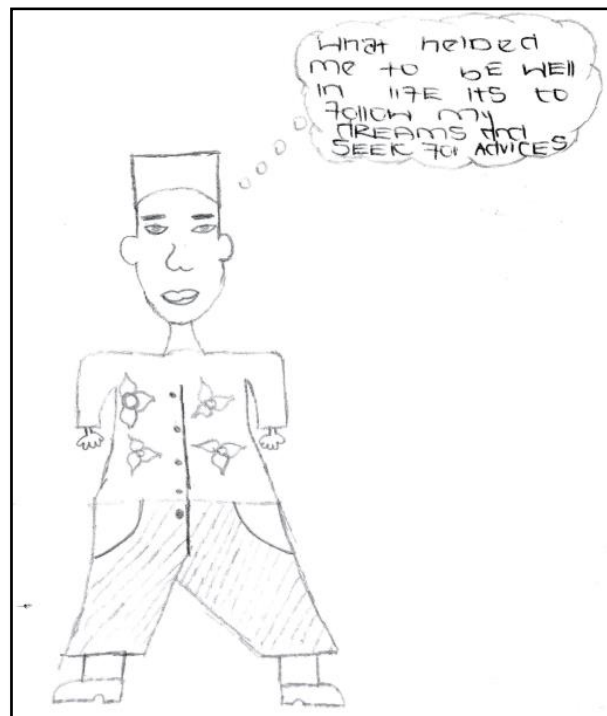
Visual summary of my study's findings



Help-seeking behaviours. Taking action to master a challenging situation included any actions taken to seek advice or guidance, work through difficult experiences and/or negative emotions, and/or learn about life or even how to handle it. These included interacting with people who could provide guidance and support and/or seeking motivation or even self-help from inanimate sources such as books. It did not include advice, encouragement, and/or motivation offered without the individual having taken action to seek it. For example, help-seeking behaviour was reported by Participant VO62 (a boy). He drew a picture (Figure 9) that depicted how seeking advice has helped him to do well in life so far and, in his description, he elaborated that one should “seek for good advice” in life.

Figure 9

Participant VO62’s drawing depicts that seeking advice has helped to foster his resilience



Similarly, participant VO72 (a girl) took action that brought relief. She wrote, “Venting out to my friends and family really helped.” Participant VO76 (a girl) echoed this by saying how, when she had a problem, she would “go to someone whom [she would] feel comfortable talking to or trust and then [she would] tell the person what was wrong.” Participant VO-085 (a girl) drew a picture (Figure 10) that showed an array

of things that have helped her to do well in life so far; she elaborated on her drawing by writing about the importance of taking action to “get help, get yourself out there, become your own best advocate . . .”

Figure 10

Things that have helped participant VO-085 do well in life so far



While the above examples imply interacting with other people to gain help or bring about relief, Participant VO-052 (a boy) wrote that “having a book on hand is like having a pocket coach. When you need it, you can reach for it at a moment’s notice.” Similarly, Participant V212 (a boy) and Participant V081 (a girl) reported on how books have helped to motivate them in life. Participant V212 said, “[My] drawing is about the book of Township Boys whereby it helped me solve my problem as a boy” while Participant V081 wrote, “[T]he Motivate Book that I read when my life is not ok so that I can be motivated so that I can be well in life.” Participant V084 (a girl) reported how she “went to music for strength” and how “music gave [her] the courage to hold [her] head up high and conquer everything.”

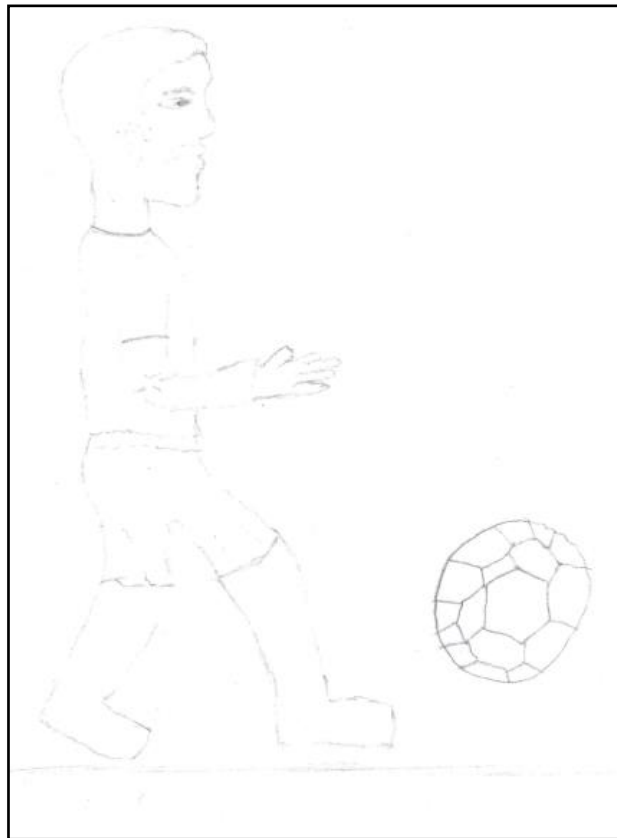
Taking action to keep busy. A few participants (16 out of 79 [20%]) reported on engaging in activities to keep busy or distract themselves from their challenges.

Taking action to keep busy did not include instances of others initiating engagement with the participant in order to help distract them from everyday life and neither did it include engaging in faith-based activities since faith-based activities were seen less as a means of distracting themselves and keeping busy but, rather, about connecting to a higher power or being.

Figure 11 is a depiction by Participant V061 (a boy) of a boy playing soccer. He explained, “The thing that has helped me to do well in life when I keep facing hard times is playing soccer. Playing soccer keeps me busy and entertained because I put my focus on it.”

Figure 11

Playing soccer is something that has helped to distract Participant V061 from their current life and situation

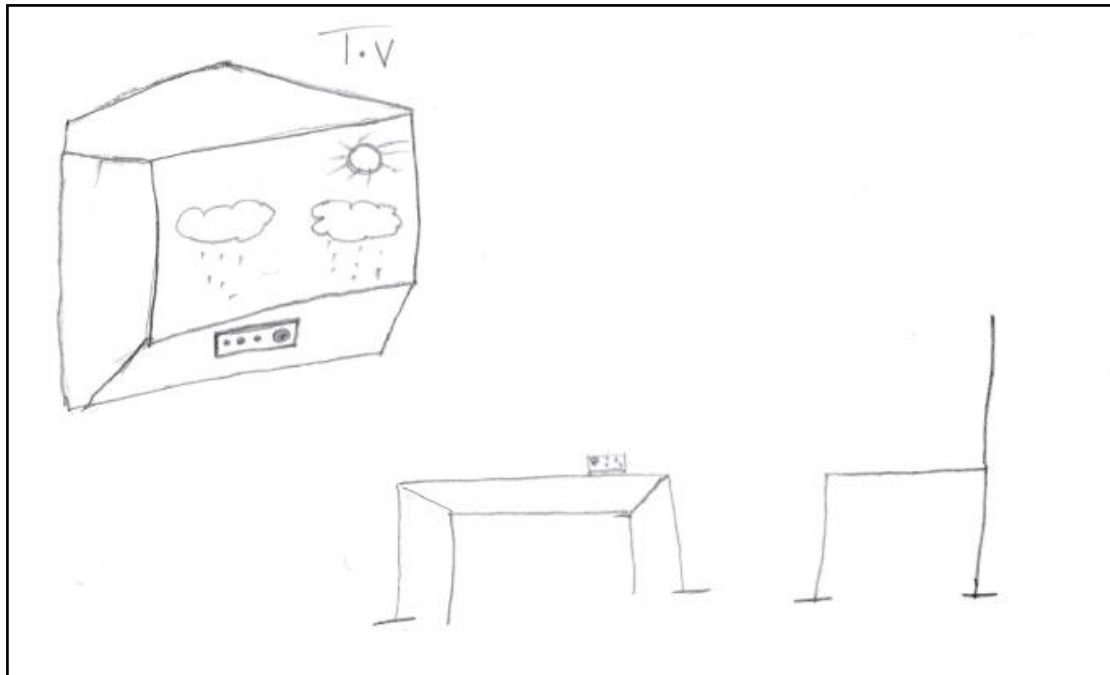


In addition to playing sport or exercising, participants used television, books, and extracurricular activities, such as debating, to keep busy and distract themselves. As seen in Figure 12, Participant V064 (a girl) expanded on her drawing of a

television to explain, “TV is a little getaway for my mind and reality in my own way.” Participant V215 also reported on how they “watch football and play video games” when they “are bored.” Boredom was a significant challenge for many adolescents during COVID-19-related lockdown conditions as Bösselmann et al. (2021) have noted. Participants V065 (a girl) offered a unique perspective on activities to keep them busy and distracted from challenges when they wrote, “Do[ing] debate so that I cannot think a lot about what I am going through” while VO-089 (a girl) wrote, “Since I was a photographer I was able to get my mind off things and negativity I got from people.”

Figure 12

Participant V064 drew a television that she saw as a distraction from life



Music and reading books were also mentioned as distractions and, as Participant VO-096 (a boy) described it, “I enjoy making music. . . and it is my escape from the world into my little world.” Participant V072 (a girl) also highlighted the powerful nature of reading as a form of distraction by describing reading as something she used to do “a lot to keep [her] mind off of many things.”

Taking action to self-soothe. Taking action to self-soothe included any reference to an action that brought a sense of calm or peace to a participant.

Participant V050 (a girl) drew a picture of speakers and music notes (see Figure 13) and wrote, “[E]very time when I’m sad or angry I’ve got my music to calm my nerves.” Participant V052 (a boy) echoed this sentiment by stating, “I often listen to music whenever I don’t feel well. It helps me calm my feelings.” Figure 14 is a drawing of how Participant V079 (a boy) depicted his statements: “Any time I feel bad I just write or listen to music” and “Listening to music really heals and reduces my anger and stress.”

Figure 13

Participant V050’s drawing of music used to calm or soothe herself

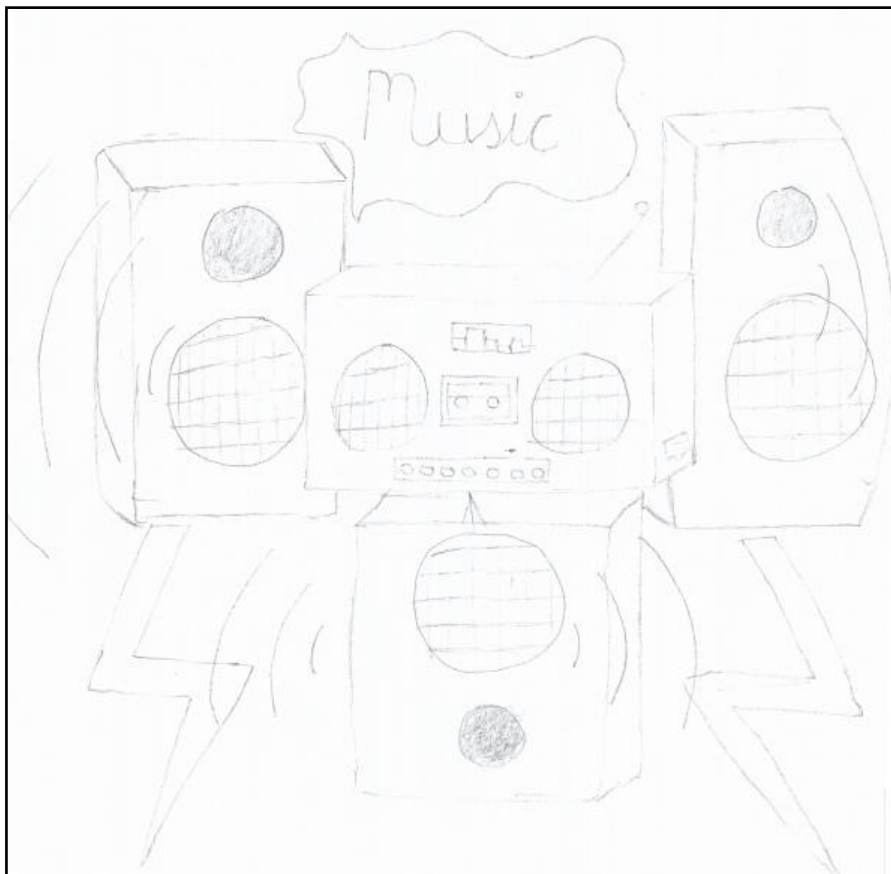
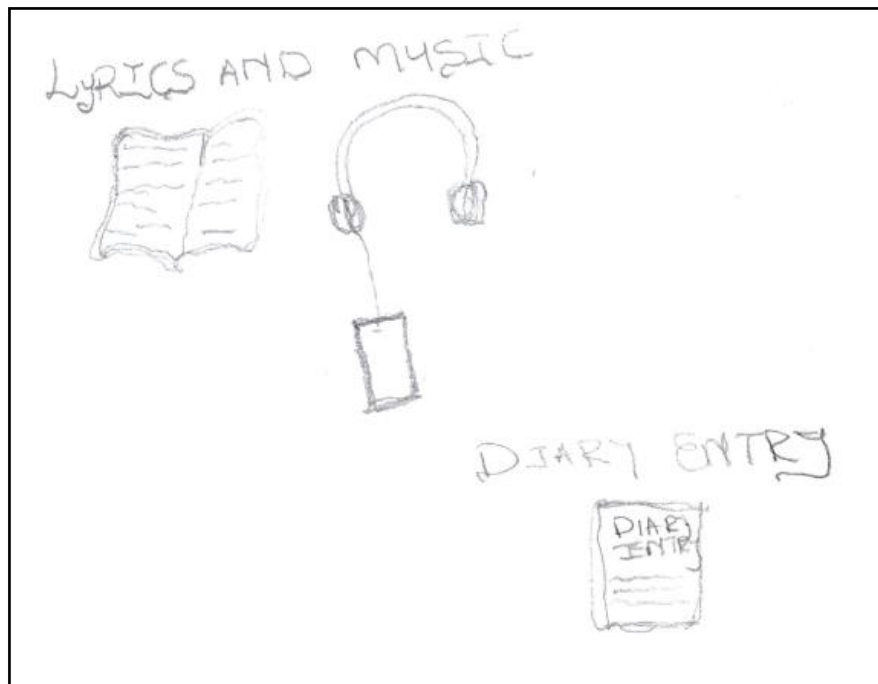


Figure 14

Listening to music and writing in a diary helped to distract Participant V079 from their life



4.2.2 Theme 1b: Hopeful or positive stance about the self and future

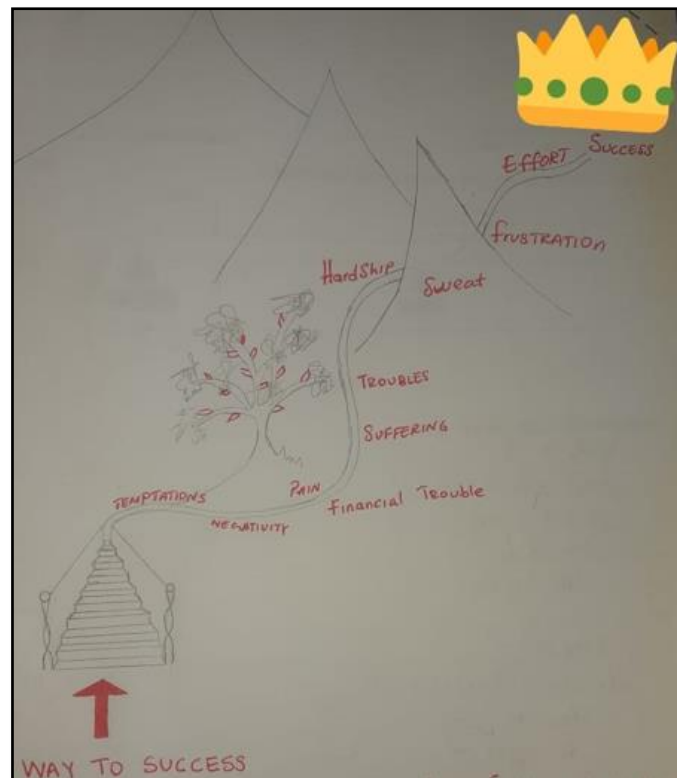
A hopeful or positive position towards the self and the future includes instances of positive and hopeful thinking and attitudes towards the self and the future as well as future-oriented ways of being and doing (Mikus & Teoh, 2022). This aspect of hope or positivity included setting goals, being engaged in education because of its potential to support future success, having feelings of being confident in one's abilities to achieve life goals, as well as having a powerful sense of self or a powerful identity. It also included the view that things will get better and will work out in the end or that there is a plan for their future that is good. It did not include instances of being happy or content in life or instances of faith-related beliefs that bring calm or peace since these are focused on the present, whereas hope and positivity are more future-oriented (Mikus & Teoh, 2022). Some participants (27 out of 79 [30%]) reported on how a hopeful or positive stance about the self and the future has helped them to do well despite being challenged by various hardships, including lockdown. Many of these participants were girls or young women (15 of the 24 participants).

For example, with regard to a positive stance about themselves, Participant VO-090 (a girl) wrote how she was “empowered and inspired” by attending a foundation for girls. Participant V062 (a boy) reported the hopeful, confident belief that he “can get what [he] want[s]. . . and [is] a person who does not give up in life.” Participant VO-083 (a girl) was similarly positive about herself. In reflecting on the helpful role of her sister on her resilience, she could recognise personal attributes that had improved. She wrote, “I have become a kinder, smarter and overall happier person.”

In relation to a positive or hopeful stance about the future, Participant VO-016 (a boy) drew the picture seen in Figure 15 about there being “so many trials to pass through before [he] can make it to the top” and that these trials “are not here to harm [him] but to build [him].” Mirroring this positive idea is the statement of Participant V094 (a girl) who wrote, “At hard times I know what I want and I always believe that I will make it someday.”

Figure 15

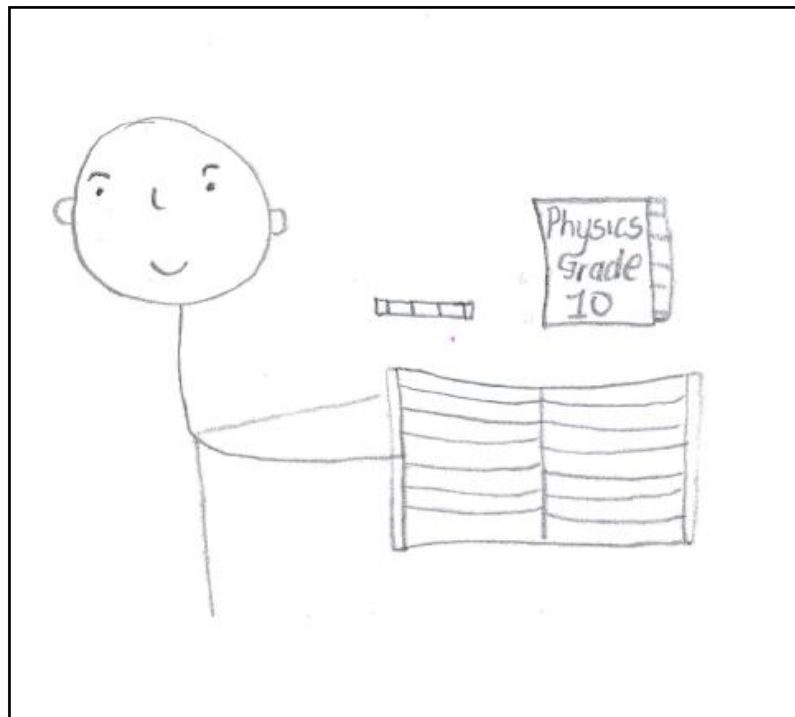
Various trials that Participant VO-016 sees as obstacles to build him on his path to success



Positive views about the self were also reflected in the sentiments of Participant V070 (a boy) who drew a picture of a cell phone and wrote, “I can help people.” Participant V089 (a girl) was similarly confident about herself and the future. She drew a picture of herself (see Figure 16) working and explained, “I believe if you are doing well in/with your schoolwork you can achieve anything in life.” The same was true of Participant VO-065 (a girl) who wrote that she would “study hard, achieve [her] goal, to turn out the best [she] can be.” She said she would “work hard to get where [she want[ed] to be.”

Figure 16

Participant V089’s drawing of herself engaging in her schoolwork that she believes will help her achieve in life



4.2.3 What the relevant literature reports about personal resources

The theme of personal resources being resilience-enabling is well-established in African resilience literature (Bester & Kuyper, 2020; Duby et al., 2022; Gittings et al., 2021; Goronga & Mampane, 2021; Jefferis & Theron, 2017; Pswarayi, 2020; Theron et al., 2021; Ungar & Theron, 2020) and is reported on in Chapter 2 (see 2.3.1). African resilience literature reports on how there is a greater reliance on

personal resources in situations where social ecologies do not foster resilience (Singh & Naicker, 2019; Theron, 2018b). My study aligns with this since the sample of Grade 8 to 10 adolescents in Zamdela had limited access to social and physical ecologies during COVID-19 (given social distancing regulations as well as legislation restricting the movement of people around the country) and this could explain why personal resources were the most reported resource in the data I re-analysed.

My findings highlighted both agency and mastery (see section 4.2.1) as well as how having a hopeful or positive stance about the self and the future (see section 4.2.2) acted as a personal resource that enabled adolescent resilience in a sample of Zamdela adolescents (with an average age of 16). These findings align well with previously published resilience literature on agency and mastery and on having a hopeful or positive stance about the self or future as being resilience enabling (Christodoulou et al., 2019; Duby et al., 2022; Masten, 2021; Pswarayi, 2020). African resilience literature highlights how help-seeking behaviours (Singh & Naicker, 2019), engaging in activities to keep busy or to distract oneself (Duby et al., 2022) and taking action to self-soothe (Theron et al., 2020b) all enable resilience. Also, there is evidence in African resilience literature (Gorongana & Mampane, 2021; Theron & Van Rensburg, 2020) that shows how self-motivation (e.g., becoming educated and bettering oneself) and self-esteem (Pswarayi, 2020), and a sense of self-worth (Jefferis & Theron, 2017) are resilience-enabling. While only a few studies have considered the resilience of young African people during COVID-19 conditions (Duby et al., 2022; Gittings et al., 2021; Theron et al., 2021), these studies highlight how some young people still found ways to exert agency in their lives during lockdown conditions (e.g., leaving their homes to attend hair appointments or social gatherings). My findings echo this in that most of the personal resources reported by a sample of Zamdela young people (in Grades 8 to 10) were related to agency and mastery.

Despite there being an emphasis on having a hopeful or positive stance about the self and future in African resilience literature, during COVID-19 many studies reported on how adolescents' mental health declined with many young people reporting a lack of hope (Gittings et al., 2021; N'dure Baboudóttir et al., 2022). My

study, however, found that a hopeful or positive stance about the self and the future was the second-most reported personal resilience enabler among this sample of adolescents living in Zamdela during COVID-19 lockdown conditions.

Although personal resources were the most reported resilience resource, fewer than 50% of the participants reported on personal resources as being enabling of their resilience. This supports the multisystemic nature of resilience (Höltge et al., 2021; Masten, 2021) in that resilience is not just a result of personal strengths but, rather, involves the interactions between youths and their physical and social ecologies (Theron, L., Levine, D. T., et al., 2022).

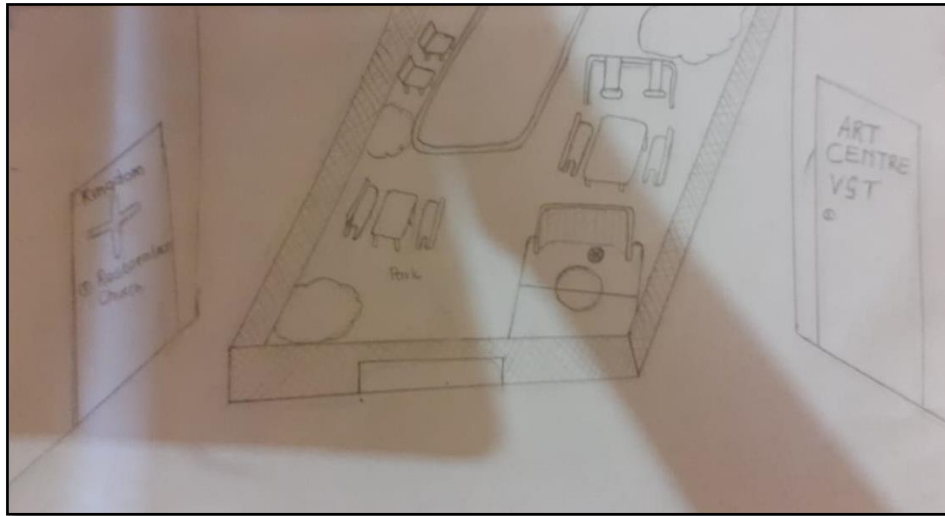
4.3 THEMATIC CATEGORY 2: INSTITUTIONAL RESOURCES

Institutional resources refer to various services offered by the state, an organisation, foundation, or establishment such as schools or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (Theron & Van Breda, 2021).

Participants reported that institutional resources provided services or allowed them to engage in practices that promoted a feeling of increased wellbeing in them along with a sense of community and/or acceptance that went along with the different institutional resources mentioned. Institutional resources included (i) support from a community centre or project, (ii) support from a school (opportunity for learning), and (iii) support from a church. Some participants (22 out of 79 [28%]) reported institutional resources that had helped them do well in life so far. Of the participants, 6 boys reported on institutional resources while the rest (16 out of 22) who did so were girls. Of these participants, 4 reported receiving support from a school and 18 from a church (detailed in the sub-themes). Participant VO-090 (a girl) was the only person to report on receiving support from a community centre or project. She drew the picture seen in Figure 17 and explained, “Whenever I feel like I’m not worth it, once a month I attend a victorious girls foundation and the speakers really motivate me and they help to improve my self-esteem.” Additionally, she explained, “After attending V.G.F. [Victorious Girls Foundation] everything changed because I’m empowered and inspired.”

Figure 17

Participant VO-090's drawing of the Victorious Girls Foundation that gave her a safe space to go and connect with others



4.3.1 Theme 2a: Support from an educational institution

Support from an educational institution meant that participants had the opportunity to learn, improve themselves, and increase their academic abilities. The 4 participants who reported on school being a resource for their resilience were all girls. This subtheme excluded reference to teachers since they are included in relational resources.

Participant VO-071 (a girl) drew a picture (see Figure 18) and reported that she goes “to school so [she] can live a better life and change. . . the situation [she is] living now.” Similarly, Participant V218 (a girl) drew a picture of a book (Figure 19) and wrote, “The book I drew represents education. Education is the key to success to me; it has helped me a lot.” Participant VO-049 (a girl) drew a picture of the school building (see Figure 20) and reported that “schoolwork has helped [her] to get going.” Participant VO-084 (a girl) had a lot to say about how her school “ha[d] helped [her] so far to do good” in that “it has given [her] purpose in life and taught [her] about self discipline and self love” and that it “has made [her] somehow feel like [she is] going somewhere in life and has made [her] see things differently.” She also noted that the school had not just helped her resilience but, rather, that “the

school has made a lot of learners feel at home [because] it has been a place of love and kindness.”

Figure 18

Participant VO-071’s drawing of herself going to school



Figure 19

Participant V218’s drawing depicting the idea that “Education is the key to success”

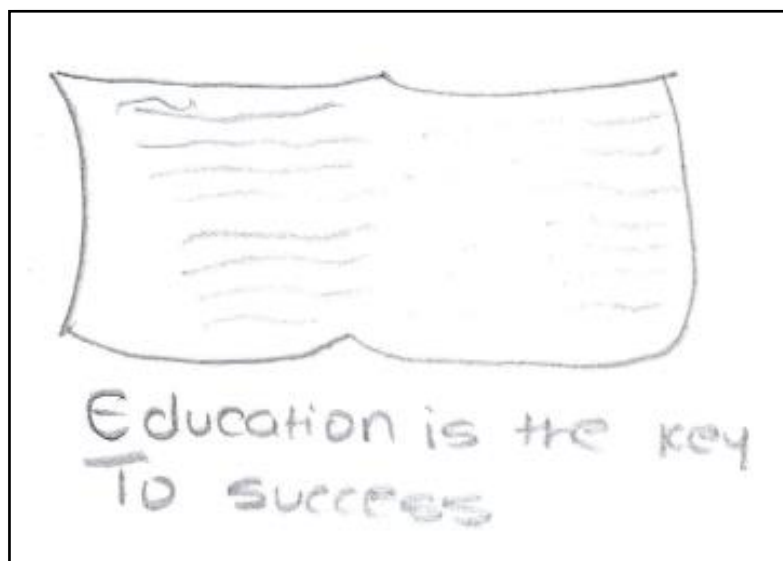


Figure 20

Participant VO-049's drawing of a school



4.3.2 Theme 2b: Support from faith-based organisations

This theme refers to emotional support and guidance and the facilitation of comforting beliefs offered by faith-based organisations, typically referred to as church by participants. It included examples of participants engaging in faith-based practices that comfort. Of the 18 participants who reported receiving support from a church, 6 were boys.

For example, Participant V059 (a boy) drew a picture of a church (see Figure 21) and wrote about how “church helped a lot because of the things [he] learned from church.” Participant V085 (a boy) reinforced this idea of learning from the church by reporting, “My church has helped me with many things . . . It also helped me to know more about the bible.” Participant V072 (a girl) reported on how “prayer and going to church helped [her] a lot during difficult times in [her] life.” This sentiment was echoed by participant V221 (a girl) who reported, “Church makes me feel good when I’m sad or upset.” Figure 22 shows a picture that was drawn by Participant V071 (a girl) who wrote, “This [the church] is what keeps me moving in life [and] church has a big impact in my life, a good one.” Participant V077 (a girl) said, “When my life became hard that I didn’t even know what to do, one thing I did was go to church

and pray.” Participant V087 (a girl) also drew a picture of a church (Figure 23) and reported that she drew it “because that is where one could find Christ and find inner peace regardless of any situation.”

Figure 21

Participant V059’s drawing of a church

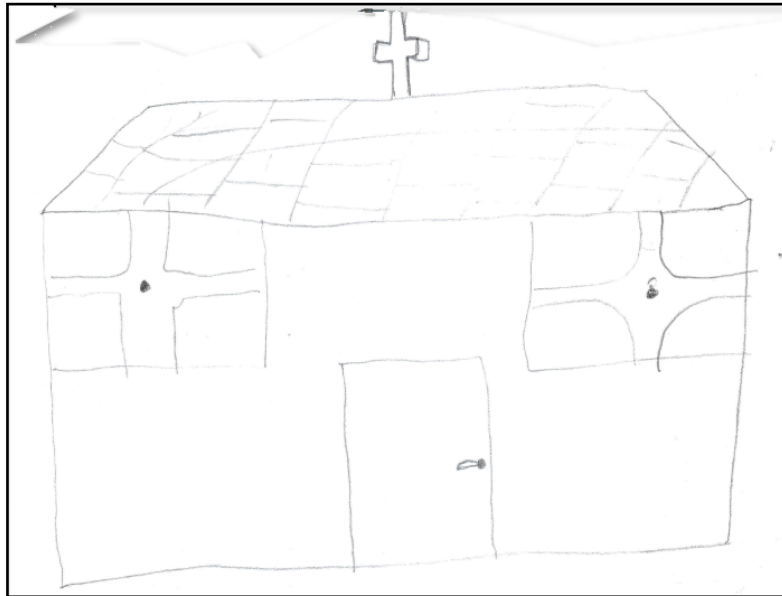


Figure 22

Participant V071’s drawing of the “house of God”

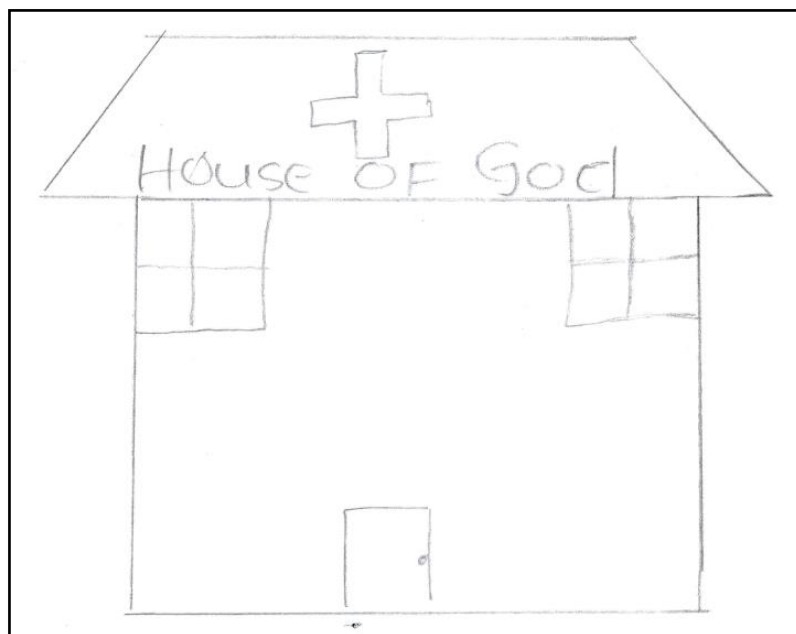
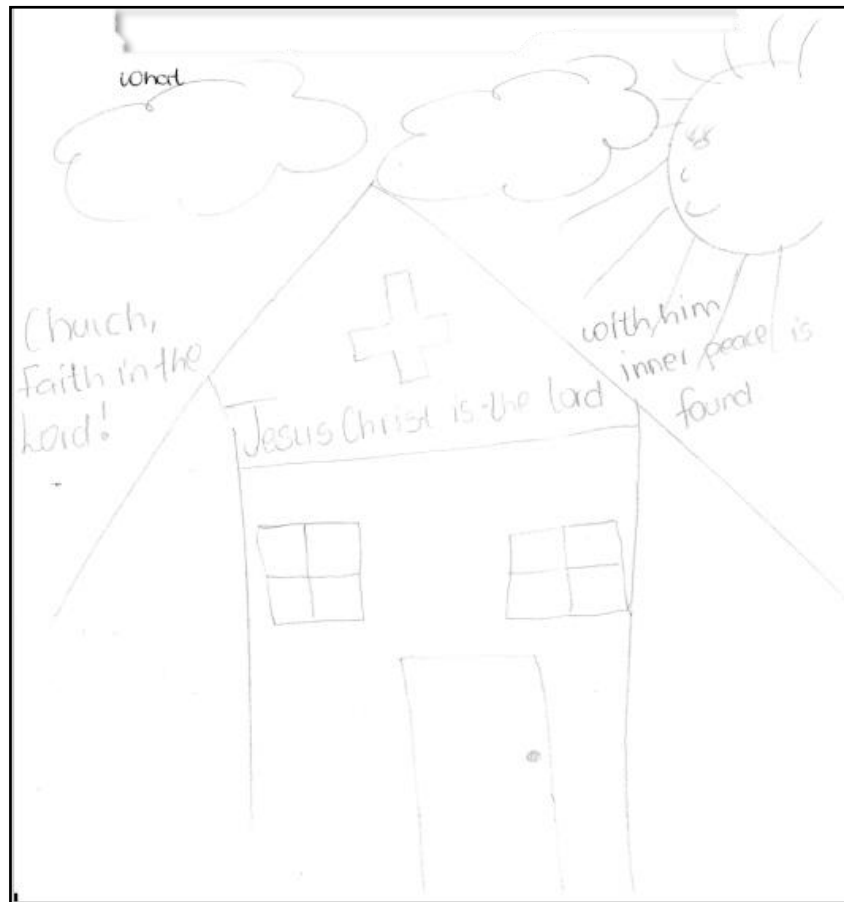


Figure 23

Participant V087's drawing of church where she "find[s] inner peace"



Participant VO-097 (a girl) wrote, "The Bible helped me to be relieved from all stress and bad things that have been happening in my life." This was echoed in the words of participant V081 (a girl) who explained, "When my life is hard, I often read a bible to make me feel ok." Participant V077 (a girl) elaborated further to include that they "go to church to pray" when "their life became hard." Participant V090 (a boy) echoed the idea when he wrote, "God help me all the time when it's hard in life, I just kneel down and pray. God protects us every day and also give us the blessing." In addition to prayer and reading the Bible to feel better or to feel comforted, Participant V088 (a girl) drew a picture (Figure 24) and wrote about how she would "go to church and pray a lot" and how, when she comes "back from church [she] feel[s] better."

Figure 24

Participant V088's drawing of going to church and reading her Bible to help her feel better



4.3.3 What the relevant literature reports about institutional resources

As detailed in Chapter 2 (see 2.3.3), institutional resources enabling adolescent resilience are quite well-reported in the resilience literature, also African studies of youth resilience (Jefferis & Theron, 2017; Little et al., 2021; Sulimani-Aidan & Melkman, 2022; Theron & Van Breda, 2021; Ungar & Theron, 2020; Van Rensberg et al., 2018). These resources often offer not just psychological and emotional support (Ebersöhn, 2015; Höltge et al., 2021), but may also provide for material needs (Bester & Kuyper, 2020).

Institutional resources were the second-most frequently reported resilience-enabling ones. The prominence of faith-based institutions fits with African studies of resilience that report that many young Africans draw strength from faith-based practices or supports (Theron, 2020; Van Breda & Theron, 2018). While there was some reference to educational institutions (schools), I was surprised that only four participants referred to schools as providing useful supports or practices. The South

African resilience literature has reported that schools are prominent resilience-enablers (Van Breda & Theron, 2018). Perhaps there were limited references in the data I used because schools were often closed or inaccessible in 2020 in response to lockdown (Spaull & Van der Berg, 2020).

Interestingly, no participants who generated the data that I used reported on how institutional resources enabled their resilience through providing for their material and/or physical needs. This could have been because of the COVID-19 lockdown conditions that were in effect during the Time 1 data collection (see 2.2.1). For example, COVID-19 lockdown conditions exacerbated existing food insecurity and financial concerns for many young people in South Africa (Gittings et al., 2021) and access to institutional resources (such as food parcels and social support grants) were sporadic at best (Habib, 2020).

4.4 THEMATIC CATEGORY 3: RELATIONAL RESOURCES

Relational resources are generally located outside of the individual (Liebenberg, 2020) and refer to any relationship that a participant reported as having been supportive of their resilience. A relational resource could be a person or people (Luthar, 2006), a spiritual being, or even an object or material resource that young people connect to (Masten, 2014). Resilience-enhancing relationships generally support problem-solving, promote open communication, and inform prosocial attitudes and behaviour (Liebenberg & Scherman, 2021). Relational resources can also allow for open communication. These resources, therefore, provide support while also providing contextual knowledge or information, affirmation, and guidance to the individual (Liebenberg, 2020).

In my study, relational resources included (i) a sense of belonging, being welcome or accepted, and (ii) social support. A quarter of the participants (20 out of 79 [25%]) reported these relational resources. Only 3 boys reported on relational resources and the rest (17 out of 20) were girls. Of these participants, 7 reported on a sense of belonging or being welcome or accepted and 16 reported on support and encouragement from others.

4.4.1 Theme 3a: Sense of belonging, being welcome or accepted

Some participants (6 out of 20) reported on a sense of belonging, being welcome, or being accepted as factors that aided their resilience. Only 2 boys reported on this subtheme. Typically, participants reported this sub-theme when they were made to feel welcome by parents, teachers, friends, and even when a journal felt welcoming. Similarly, this sub-theme related to interactions with parents, teachers, and friends supporting participants and making them feel that someone believed in them or allowed them to be themselves. It excluded any reference to conditional acceptance (e.g., being welcome provided they made their family or community proud).

Participant V083 (a boy) drew the picture seen in Figure 25 and reported, “My drawing simply means in every bad or sticky situation, my parents are always there for me. Even though my environment or society is not friendly I always depend on my parents.” Participant VO-068 (a girl) reported that “being surrounded by sisters who believe that you can actually make it are the best” while Participant VO-084 (a girl) echoed this when she wrote, “I feel like I’m valuable and important” to others, including her “teachers at school.”

Figure 25

Participant V083 drew a picture about how his family supports his resilience by being there for him even when his context is “not friendly”



Although mostly associated with family or friends, there were participants who also reported on feeling a sense of belonging and being welcome as a result of their relationship with a spiritual being, with people in their church communities, or experiencing a sense of connection to an inanimate object (e.g., a journal or a diary). For instance, Participant V085 (a boy) attributed a sense of belonging to his faith-based community "...where [he finds] peace and . . . get[s] to unite with many Christians." Similarly, Participant VO-090 (a girl) reported, "Knowing my identity in Christ made me to grow spiritually knowing that I have a father in heaven that loves me." Participant V080 (a girl) reported, "[W]riting to me is like a mute best friend I never had" and that "it [pen and book or paper] means a lot to me".

4.4.2 Theme 3b: Social support

Social support refers to any advice, encouragement, emotional and/or instrumental support offered by other people (typically friends, family members, and other significant adults). In my study, only 2 of the participants who reported on support and encouragement from others were boys. The remaining 14 participants were girls.

Emotional support, defined as empathy or caring for another's wellbeing and success (Lloyd-Jones, 2021), was the most reported form of social support. For example, Participant V223 (a girl) explained, "My best friend... understands me" and "they [my family] always make sure I am happy." Participant V084 (a girl) wrote about how her "grandmother was always there to support and [offer] advices". Also reflecting this viewpoint were Participant V083 (a boy) who reported, "My parents are always there for me" and participant V075 (a girl) who said, "My mother also helps me to do well when life is hard." The drawing in Figure 26 was done by Participant V049 (a girl) who explained, "A lot of things or people . . . actually get me in a good mood after difficult times." She also included, in her explanation, "My mother. . . showers me with her love; smile and she sings for me so that I can feel better." Her drawing and explanation demonstrate how others (i.e., her mother) have played a role in uplifting her or making her life better when things get tough.

Figure 26

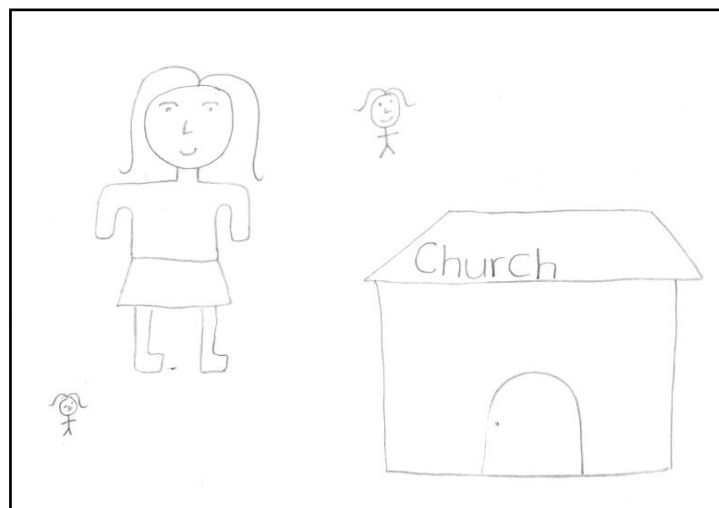
Participant V049's drawing about things that have helped her



People outside of the family unit also provided emotional support. Participant VO-084 (a girl) reported, “[B]eing at school helped me to deal with anxiety and the pressure that I got at home. My teachers at school make me feel like I’m valuable and important.” Also, Participant V096 (a girl) drew the picture seen in Figure 27 and wrote in her explanation, “I once lost hope and I wanted to give up in life. My friends came to me and asked me to join them at church after I told them my problems.”

Figure 27

Participant V096's drawing about how her friends and church were important once she had lost hope in life



Family members often provided encouragement. Participant V051 (a boy) drew the picture seen in Figure 28 and explained it by writing, “What has made me to do well in life are my mother’s words of encouragement. The motivational words that she speaks to me makes me to want to do more about life.” The notion of family members offering motivational support (i.e., support of competence, relatedness, and autonomy (Guvenc, 2015)) was also reported by Participants V094 (a girl) who wrote, “I am so happy that I have the most supporting family who always motivate me and advise” and VO-083 (a girl) who said, “My sister has always encouraged me to do well in my studies.” VO-070 (a girl) drew a picture (seen in Figure 29) and wrote, “They [my parents] always told me that I must work hard so that I could be successful.” In addition to family members offering motivational support, Participant V219 (a girl) reported, “My teacher . . . helped me to admit that I fail and I have to keep it up next time.” Participant V089 (a girl) reported, “What has helped me to do well is to always listen to my elders when they are reprimanding of something wrong that I did.”

Figure 28

Participant V051’s drawing of his mother who helps him to do well in life



Figure 29

Participant VO-070's drawing of her family that motivates her to be more successful in life



Instrumental support (help offered by someone else taking action or doing things for a participant (see Morelli et al., 2015)) was mentioned by Participant VO-048 (a girl). She reported that her “mom always makes things happen for [her].” No other participants reported on instrumental support.

4.4.3 What the relevant literature says about relational resources

Prior to the context of COVID-19, relational resources were identified as one of the most important resilience enabling resources used by young people (Laxton, 2021; Luthar, 2006; Masten, 2014), also in South Africa and Africa (Theron, 2020; Van Breda & Theron, 2018), as mentioned in Chapter 2 (see 2.3.2) This prominence might be because of the developmental stage of adolescence (i.e., the strong emphasis placed on peer relationships (Ebersöhn, 2015; Höltge et al., 2021; Lonigro et al., 2022)), as well as the collective nature of traditional African ways-of-being and related valuing of interdependence (Ebersöhn, 2015; Theron & Van Breda, 2021). African resilience literature highlights how relational resources for adolescents include relationships with their families (especially their parents), their peers

(Ebersöhn, 2015; Höltge et al., 2021), and even their teachers (Gorongwa & Mampane, 2021).

In African resilience research, specifically, there has been research done that supports the idea that emotional support from family members or adult caregivers is key to promoting adolescent resilience to life's challenges (Bester & Kuyper, 2020; Höltge et al., 2021; Pswarayi, 2020; Theron & Van Rensburg, 2020; Ungar & Theron, 2020). Additionally, peers and peer relationships have also been found to promote adolescent resilience in an African context (Pswarayi, 2020). Some studies (Duby et al., 2022; Gittings et al., 2021; Theron et al., 2021) highlight relational resources (especially in the form of an older female figure and/or teacher) as being paramount to enabling adolescents' resilience during COVID-19. This falls in line with cultural values of connectedness and the value of generosity among many African communities (Van Breda, 2019).

Although my research highlights that some participants found relational resources to be enabling of their resilience, it was reported as only the third-most frequent resilience enabler. The fact that other resources were cited more frequently could mean that they were more important or more accessible to the adolescents in my study. This finding differs from those found in African and other resilience literature that sees relational resources as being the most commonly reported on resilience enabler for adolescents (e.g., Laxton, 2021; Masten, 2014; Van Breda & Theron, 2018). I suspect that relational resources might not have been readily accessible to the adolescents who generated the data that I used, given how 2020 lockdown conditions often limited opportunities to meet up with people outside of the immediate household (Fouché et al., 2020; Gittings et al., 2021).

4.5 THEMATIC CATEGORY 4: CULTURAL RESOURCES

Culture is seen as “shared knowledge or shared expectation—a shared understanding of the world” (Panter-Brick, 2015, p. 234). This shared understanding often takes the form of collectively endorsed values (Masten, 2021). In my study, these values were typically related to Ubuntu. Ubuntu encourages appreciation for the interconnectedness of people (Barac et al., 2021). In addition, Ubuntu encourages moral ways of being, including being forgiving, and showing empathy,

respectful consideration towards others, and generosity (Van Breda, 2019). These moral aspects are often passed on by faith-based organisations and by elders (Van Breda & Theron, 2018), hence the references to both in this section. Some participants (13 out of 79 [16%]) reported Ubuntu values that helped them to be alright when life was hard. Of these participants, 8 were girls and 5 were boys.

Participant V085 (a boy) drew the picture seen in Figure 30 and explained, “Church has helped me with many things like being faithful and showing respect to others.” Participant V071 (a girl) also reflected this view in writing, “It [church] has taught me respect and caring for people” and adding, “When you respect someone you will be able to love value and care for him/her.” Respecting others includes caring for them as Participant VO-048 (a girl) explained after drawing a picture of her mother (Figure 31). “I can’t wait till I’m financially stable so that I can spoil her. We argue but I’ll never disrespect her.”

Figure 30

Participant V085 drew a picture of the church that has helped teach him Ubuntu values such as being faithful and showing respect to others

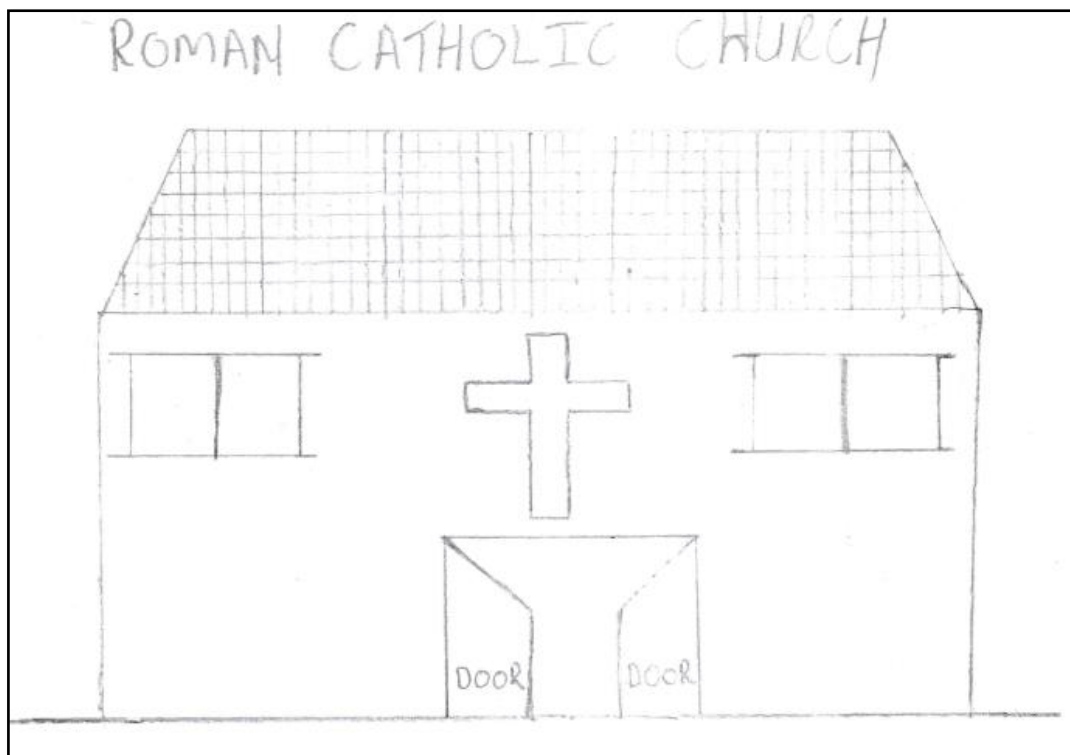


Figure 31

Participant VO-048's drawing of her mother



Glimpses of Ubuntu values can also be seen in the words of Participant VO-049 (a girl), who wrote, “It’s also said that children are the [ones] that should take care of their parents.” Similarly, Participant V078 (a boy) wrote, “Crime does not pay” and Participant VO-065s (a girl) advocated, “Respect . . . and love each other.” Likewise, Participant V074 (a boy) wrote about his appreciation of specific musicians related to how their lyrics reinforced Ubuntu values: “I also feel he’s [Rod Wave] telling a story, mostly about love, care, good people and bad people and the awareness of how little of the Earth you experience.”

Finally, Ubuntu values were evident in the desire to be generous to others (e.g., model resilience and so inspire others or share enabling information). Participant V094 (a girl), for example, summed this up in writing, “I want to see myself being an example to other youths outside.” Similarly, Participant V212 (a boy) reported on how a book [*Township boys’ book*] taught him respect for himself and others. He was generous in sharing this learning, saying, “It helped me to help other boys at my age to stop using drugs because it is not good for their health.” Participant VO-

090 (a girl) reported, “I was formed in my mother’s womb and He [God] really made/created me for bigger things and to help others or comfort others as I have been comforted.”

4.5.1 What the relevant literature reports about cultural resources

Cultural resources as an adolescent resilience enabler are sometimes reported in African resilience literature (Hage & Pillay, 2017; Hills et al., 2016; Van Breda, 2019; Vindevogel et al., 2015), and also reported on in Chapter 2 (see 2.3.5). Culture in Sub-Saharan Africa is typically characterised by a sense of togetherness or community (often termed Ubuntu) (Mkhize, 2013; Van Breda, 2019) as well as a respect for both God and ancestors (Mangaliso et al., 2021). When African adolescents honour these norms, they have access to others (e.g., their family and/or community and/or faith-based organisations) and the various emotional or instrumental supports they may offer (Theron & Van Breda, 2021). Additionally, culture affords the opportunity for individuals to find and foster their identity which is also resilience-enabling (Hills et al., 2016).

In my study, young people’s reporting on living morally, respecting others, extending generosity, and living for the collective good fits well with resilience studies that have reported on Ubuntu values (Mangaliso et al., 2021; Van Breda, 2019; Van Breda & Theron, 2018). Still, in my study, culture was second least frequently reported as a resilience-enabling resource. This was perhaps not surprising since there are reports that cultural resources are often under-reported in South African studies of child and youth resilience (Van Breda & Theron, 2018). I suspect that the infrequent reporting of cultural resources in my study could be explained by a lack of collective culture given the large migrant population in Zamdela (see 2.2.2). Additionally, cultural values may not be well reported on because of the growing Western influence that has meant that young people are identifying less with traditional African values (Ramphela, 2012). Adopting more of a Western view or culture could perhaps also account for participants in my study not mentioning ancestral beliefs as a source of resilience; this differs from some African resilience research (e.g., Hills et al., 2016; Mangaliso et al., 2021; Van Breda, 2019). The absence of references to ancestors in the data I analysed could perhaps also relate to the draw-and-write methodology. The studies that reported on the value of ancestral support

on adolescent resilience typically included individual or group conversation-style interviews with young people (e.g., Theron, 2016), rather than on drawings and written explanations.

4.6 THEMATIC CATEGORY 5: PHYSICAL ECOLOGICAL RESOURCES

Physical ecological resources refer to external resilience-enabling factors located in the built and natural environment (Ungar & Theron, 2020). In my study, physical ecological resources refer to various resources found in a participant's immediate environment that offered a sense of peace, security, escape and/or enabled a sense of wellbeing. These physical ecological resources included (i) a green space or park and (ii) safe spaces in the built environment. Of the participants, 7 out of 79 [9%] reported physical ecological resources that helped them to do well in life thus far. Only 1 boy reported on physical ecological resources while 6 out of the 7 were girls.

4.6.1 Theme 5a: A green space/park

This refers to any outdoor space that includes greenery, like built or designed green spaces or parks that offer a place for participants to safely visit. All 4 participants who reported on this resilience enabling resource were girls.

Participant VO-095 (a girl) drew a picture of an outdoor space (see Figure 32) and reported, "The sound of running water helped me to be calm during my difficult times." Participant VO-085 (a girl) drew a picture of a park with various activities and her explanation was about the personal resources (like believing in herself) that the space affords. Likewise, Participant VO-090 (a girl) reported, "A park helps me to have peace of mind because it is so peaceful restful and fresh air" while Participant V077 drew a picture of a park (Figure 33) and reported, "I just went to the park to clear my mind off to get some peace."

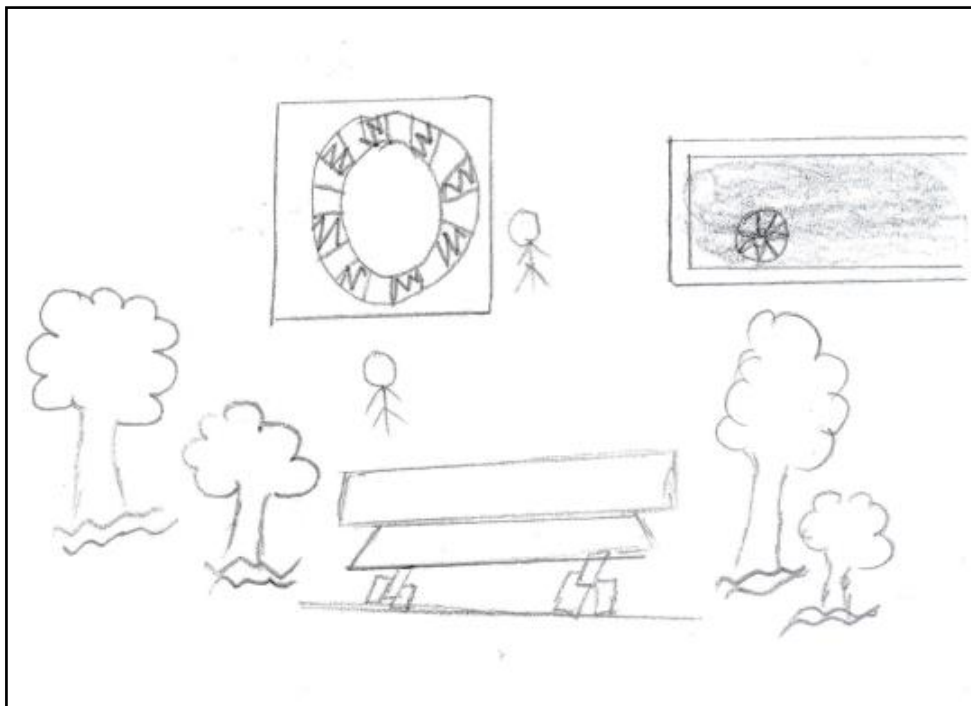
Figure 32

Participant VO-095's drawing of the running water that helps to calm her



Figure 33

Participant V077's drawing of a park where she goes to "get some peace"



4.6.2 Theme 5b: Safe spaces in the built environment

Safe spaces in the built environment are spaces that offer a sense of security or peace to participants when they access the space. These spaces included a library or a house. In my research, three participants reported on safe spaces that aided in their resilience to life's challenges. One participant was a boy and the other two were girls.

Participant V083 (a boy) and Participant V094 (a girl) both drew pictures of a house that they lived in with their families. While their drawings were of resources in the built environment, their descriptions were of the relational resources (parents and family) that the space afforded them. Participant V083 wrote, "My parents are always there for me" and Participant V094 wrote, "My drawing or picture it shows my family. . . and they support me."

Participant V217 (a girl) was the only participant to draw a picture of a library (Figure 34) and report on it being a building that brings comfort. She wrote, "When I am hurt, I always go to the library in my community so that I can feel better."

Figure 34

Participant V217's drawing of a library that helps her feel better when she is hurt



4.6.3 What the relevant literature reports about physical ecological resources

The theme of physical ecological resources being enabling of adolescent resilience is included in some African resilience literature (DaViera et al., 2020; Feng et al., 2022; Li et al., 2021; Scorgie et al., 2017; Theron & Van Breda, 2021) and is detailed in Chapter 2 (see 2.3.3). In this literature, primary forms of physical-ecological resources associated with adolescent resilience include schools, churches, libraries, living spaces, and green spaces or parks (Scorgie et al., 2017). These places were seen as resilience-enabling only if they were seen as safe and free of violence (Adams et al., 2017; Nissen et al., 2020; Scorgie et al., 2017). Additionally, there is evidence to support the idea that physical-ecological resources provide access to social and relational resources (e.g., opportunities to meet up with supportive peers) that are also linked to enabling adolescent resilience (see Scorgie et al., 2017; Theron & Van Breda, 2021). In other words, it is not just about the space, but the supports that are accessible via those spaces.

My research aligns well with the above-mentioned literature in that participants reported on how spaces such as schools, libraries, their homes, and parks fostered their resilience. Additionally, participants also reported on how access to these spaces allowed them to access support from others or even provided the opportunity to find peace and calm or distract them from life's challenges. It should also be noted that physical-ecological resources were the least frequently reported resilience-enabling resource in my research. In some ways, this fits with the tendency for physical ecological resources to be somewhat under-reported in African resilience studies (Theron & Van Breda, 2021). Also, the limited reporting of physical ecological spaces could reflect the under-resourced physical ecology of most townships (e.g., few green spaces; poorly maintained public buildings) (Christodoulou et al., 2019; Theron et al., 2021), also in Zamdela (Rampedi, 2017). At the same time, the limited reference to physical spaces could be related to young people feeling unsafe in different settings or spaces in Zamdela (as detailed in 2.2.2) as opposed to an absence of physical-ecological resources.

4.7 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the findings in my study predominantly align with trends already seen in the African and international resilience literature that I reviewed. My study shows that personal, relational, physical ecological, institutional, and cultural resources mattered for the resilience of the 79 adolescents who participated in the RYSE-RuSA study during 2020 lockdown. This fits with what we know broadly about adolescent resilience elsewhere (Beames et al., 2021; Eichengreen et al., 2022; Fullerton et al., 2021; Masten & Motti-Stefanidi, 2020) and locally (Bester & Kuyper, 2020; Duby et al., 2022; Goronga & Mampane, 2021; N'dure Baboudóttir et al., 2022; Pswarayi, 2020; Theron & Van Rensburg, 2020; Van Breda & Theron, 2018). These resources also generally fit well with the limited research on young people's resilience during COVID-19 in a township context (Maree, 2022; Theron et al., 2021; Theron, L., Levine, D. T., et al., 2022), in the sense that these studies reported personal, relational, ecological, institutional, and cultural resources too.

Overall, my study contributes an understanding of what enabled middle adolescent resilience in a specific context (Zamdela township) at a specific point in time (COVID-related lockdown, 2020). Of all the identified resources, personal resources were most frequently reported on and physical ecological resources least. It is possible that 2020 lockdown limitations, which frequently restricted access to resources in young people's social and physical environments (Fouché et al., 2020; Gittings et al., 2021; Tomlinson et al., 2021), could account for the emphasis on personal resources. Still, it is interesting that resilience studies with emerging adults in township contexts during 2020 lockdown did not place similar emphasis on personal resources (Theron et al., 2021; Theron, L., Levine, D. T., et al., 2022). Relational supports were central to how they adjusted to the challenges of lockdown in a township context. Their emphasis on relational supports versus the emphasis on personal supports by the participants in my study is a timely reminder that even in the face of the same stressors (i.e., COVID- and township-related challenges), which resources matter more could vary across developmental stages (Yoon et al., 2019). Put differently, resilience is complex (Ungar, 2011).

In the next chapter I return to the theoretical framework informing my study to make further sense of my findings and conclude this study of limited scope.

5. CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I conclude my study of limited scope by considering the extent to which my findings address my primary research question. I then reflect on the effectiveness of my chosen research methodology as well the various limitations of my study. Finally, using the findings from my study, I highlight various recommendations for future research and for educational psychologists in South Africa.

5.2 RESEARCH QUESTION REVISITED AND FINDINGS DISCUSSED

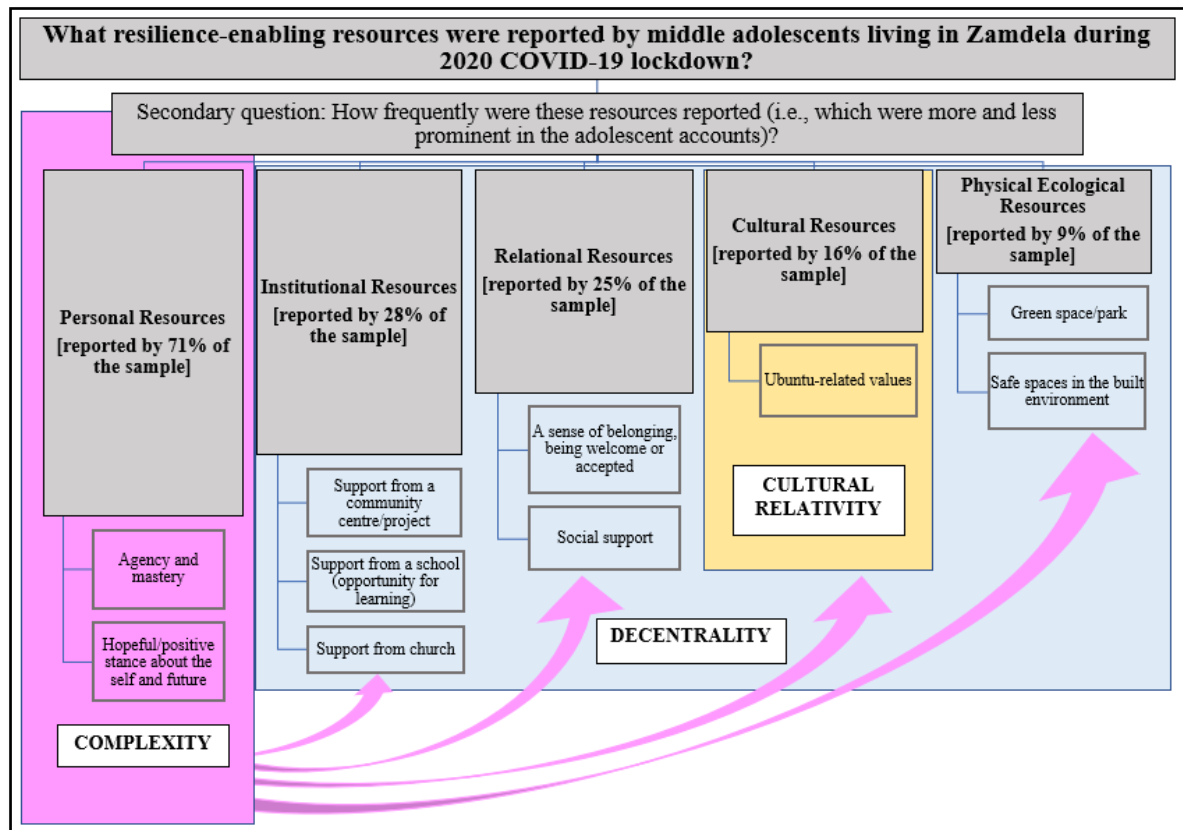
The primary research question that directed my study of limited scope was: ‘What resilience-enabling resources were reported by middle adolescents living in Zamdela during 2020 COVID-19 lockdown?’ It links to the following sub-question: “How frequently were these resources reported (i.e., which were more and less prominent in the adolescent accounts)?” Figure 35 provides an illustrated summary of my findings as they relate to my primary and secondary research questions as well as how they relate to the relevant principles of SETR (Ungar, 2011; 2015) since the SETR approach to understanding resilience is the theoretical framework that underpins my study. Figure 35 illustrates the SETR principles of decentrality, cultural relativity, and complexity that are applicable to my study

The findings of my study were based on the data generated by 79 middle adolescents living in the township of Zamdela during COVID-19 lockdown conditions in 2020. I identified five thematic categories in the data: personal resources, relational resources, physical ecological resources, institutional resources, and cultural resources. Said differently, and as presaged by SETR (Ungar, 2011), my study showed that the resilience enablers of a sample of adolescents (average age 16) living in a South African township during COVID-19 2020 lockdown conditions were multisystemic. This notion of resilience resources being multisystemic is emphasised in the more recent resilience literature (Höltge et al., 2021; Masten, 2021; Theron, L., Levine, D. T., et al., 2022), and challenges more historic

understandings of resilience as person-centred or mainly psychological (Masten, 2014).

Figure 35

Visual representation of how the SETR principles relate to my research findings



With regard to my sub-question, personal resources were the most reported enabler of adolescent resilience (56 out of 79 participants [71%]). Personal resources were reported in international studies (Beames et al., 2021; Masten & Motti-Stefanidi, 2020) and local ones (Duby et al., 2022; Gittings et al., 2021) on adolescent resilience during COVID-19, but these reports did not place as much emphasis on personal resources compared with resources in other systems as my findings did. As noted in the previous chapter, it is possible that 2020 lockdown limitations, which frequently restricted access to resources in adolescents' social and physical environments (Fouché et al., 2020; Gittings et al., 2021; Tomlinson et al., 2021), could account for the emphasis on personal resources. Alternatively, it is possible that personal resources were most reported since they form part of everyday life and are potentially more easily identified by the adolescent participants (Van Breda

& Theron, 2018). For example, Life Orientation—a compulsory subject in high school—can be used to help learners connect with themselves and focus on internal resilience resources through identifying their strengths and dreaming of their futures (Theron, 2018a). All the participants who generated the data that I used were school attending. Further, relying on personal resilience resources is especially evident in contexts in which social ecologies are resource constrained and so struggle to provide relational, institutional or ecological supports (Sanders et al., 2017; Singh & Naicker, 2019; Theron, 2018b).

In my research, the least reported enabler of adolescent resilience was physical ecological resources (it was reported by only 7 out of 79 participants [9%]). This, too, aligns well with resilience literature. Typically, resilience studies prioritise human resources and neglect to report ecological ones even though these are important to resilience (Ungar & Theron 2020). This neglect is perhaps more prominent in an African context, like Zamdela township, where physical ecological resources are limited (Christodoulou et al., 2019; Rampedi, 2017; Theron et al., 2021). Likewise, young people are unlikely to report physical ecological spaces or places if they do not feel safe in these contexts (Adams et al., 2017; Nissen et al., 2020; Scorgie et al., 2017).

My findings, as reported on in Chapter 4, differ from studies explaining what enables adolescent resilience, including adolescents living on the African continent, in terms of the emphasis placed on relational resources. Unlike in some resilience literature (Laxton, 2021; Luthar, 2006; Masten, 2014; Van Breda & Theron, 2018), in my research, relational resources were not reported to have been one of the predominant resilience resources for adolescents with only 20 out of 79 participants [25%] reporting relational supports. Relational resources could be less reported on in my research since the data was generated during COVID-19 lockdown conditions when gatherings and the movement of people were restricted. Additionally, during lockdown conditions, there was a reported increase in family violence (Gittings et al., 2021), as well as school closures that could have inhibited adolescent access to relational resources as resilience-enabling ones (Fouché et al., 2020; Government of South Africa, 2021c). This difference is a reminder that the most

reported/preferred enablers of resilience may differ based on the temporal context in which adolescents find themselves (Ungar, 2019).

In interpreting my findings through the theoretical lens of SETR (Ungar, 2011), it is evident that aspects of decentrality, complexity, and cultural relativity are all applicable to my research. The aspect of atypicality, however, is not evident in my study. I shall elaborate on each of these principals and discuss them in the context of my findings.

Decentrality, in SETR, aims to decentralise the individual and their personal resilience resources while placing greater focus on the context or environment in which the person operates as well as the interactions between the two (Ungar, 2011). This means that resilience would be possible only to the extent that the social ecologies make resilience resources available (Van Breda, 2018). Although my research did not find extrinsic resilience enablers to be the most prominent resource for a sample of middle adolescents in Zamdela, there was clear evidence of a relationship between external resources and how they interact to foster resilience. For example, Participant VO-084 drew a picture of a school building and reported on how an external resource (i.e., school) “has helped [her] so far to do good” and that it helped foster her intrinsic resources by teaching her “about self discipline and self love.” Also, even though personal resources were most prominently reported, they were not the only resource to be reported. In short, the fact that adolescents reported more than personal resources speaks to the relevance of the decentrality principle.

Complexity, as an element of SETR (Ungar, 2011, 2019), highlights the notion of how resilience enablers could differ over time and at different points in time, and in different contexts. In my study of limited scope, relational resources were not as well emphasised by my sample of middle adolescents living in Zamdela during COVID-19 lockdown. As mentioned earlier in this section, this was probably related to lockdown factors. Simultaneously though, this illustrates complexity in that what is typically key to adolescent resilience i.e., relationships (Masten, 2014) was not key for middle adolescents participating in the RYSE-RuSA study during lockdown in a township. SETR’s principle of complexity is also associated with multisystemic

theories of resilience i.e., the understanding that resilience draws on personal (physical/psychological), relational, physical, ecological, institutional, and cultural resources (Ungar & Theron, 2020). In totality, my findings (see Figure 35) highlight how a number of different resources from different systems enabled resilience and so illustrate this complexity. Often, resources from two or more systems interacted. For example, some participants reported on physical ecological resources (e.g., a community centre) as well as relational resources (e.g., encouragement from others) that these spaces afforded them. Others reported on how institutional resources (e.g., churches and related services) afforded them access to cultural resources (e.g., learning respect for others).

Cultural relativity, in the SETR framework, highlights the culturally-specific nature of resilience in that different cultures identify and prioritise different resilience resources (Ungar, 2011). The findings of my research refer to the culturally-specific resilience resource of Ubuntu-related values. Still, cultural resources were not well reported as a resilience resource among this sample of Zamdela middle adolescents during COVID-19 with only 13 out of 79 [16%] reporting on how Ubuntu-related values helped foster their resilience. Zamdela adolescents may not have reported on cultural resources because of a growing Western influence in their context, leading them to identify less with traditional African values (see Ramphele, 2012).

In the SETR framework, atypicality highlights how resilience enablers are sometimes unexpected or not endorsed by the mainstream (Ungar, 2011). My findings do not point to any atypical resilience resources among a sample of middle adolescents from Zamdela. This could be because of COVID-19 lockdown regulations enforced school closures and encouraged everyone to stay at home. In the home setting, participants may not have been able to draw or write about their resilience enablers in privacy and may also have needed to use shared resources to get their data to the RYSE-RuSA research team. For these reasons, participants may have chosen not to share any atypical resilience resources to avoid conflict or being judged by their family members who could have been privy to the information they offered (Braciszewski et al., 2018).

5.3 REFLEXIVITY

To work reflexively I needed constantly to try to identify personal biases in an attempt to minimise their impact on the research process (see Christensen et al., 2015; Pousti et al., 2021). Reflexivity in my study involved my questioning the relationship with the research context and data (Corlett & Mavin, 2018) and was an ongoing activity that occurred throughout the entire research process (Smith & Luke, 2021). Since my study was a secondary analysis of qualitative data that was generated in a township context, I worked hard to understand that context. As explained in Chapter 3, that included regular conversations with the RYSE-RuSA team about the context and repeated searches for information that would help me understand the context of Zamdela. Also, I was aware of my own assumptions of what a township would be like and what I assumed would be enabling of adolescent resilience in this context (see 1.7). I found this research process to be eye-opening in terms of the importance of keeping an open mind through the research process since the information I found out (i.e., the types of resilience enablers for Zamdela middle adolescents) may well have been different from what I was expecting as Braun and Clarke (2013) cautioned. This is especially important since I am a student educational psychologist who will be working with young people in the future, and I want to be able to help foster their resilience. To do this, I will need to keep an open mind regarding their risks and resilience resources and allow them, as the young people of Zamdela did, to inform me of the details of their own unique context.

Also, my positionality in being a 27-year-old white, English-speaking female from an upper middle-class urban area may have impacted how I interpreted the data and made meaning of the findings (see Corlett & Marvin, 2018). Since my study was a secondary analysis of qualitative data in which I used inductive thematic analysis, it was important for me to be aware of my own privileged position and how this was different from the demographic of the participants in the study. Being aware of my privilege throughout the process of analysing the data allowed me to guard against my biases and engage with the data more objectively. Based on my assumptions (see 1.7), I thought that adolescents living in Zamdela during COVID-19 would primarily rely on personal, relational, and institutional resources to foster their resilience. Through my analysis of the data, my assumptions were mostly confirmed,

but it was clear that relational resources were less reported on than I had expected, and this finding helped me to expand my own understanding of resilience in a context different from my own.

As a master's student involved in an already established study, I experienced a sense of security and support, for the most part, while I was conducting this research. Since this was the first time I had conducted a secondary analysis of qualitative data and the first time I had engaged in inductive thematic analysis, there were times I felt overwhelmed by the unfamiliar process. As an inexperienced researcher, I was able to draw on the expertise of others (e.g., my supervisor and members of the original RYSE-RuSA research team) to guide me in practical ways. For example, my supervisor provided feedback and input into my candidate themes and thematic categories and a member of the original research team taught me how to code the data before he critically considered my findings to ensure that they aligned well with the context and data with which he was already familiar. This input of the original RYSE-RuSA research team members contributed to the confirmability and overall trustworthiness of my study (see Connelly, 2016).

5.4 LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

Reflecting on my study helped me to identify specific limitations that include the following.

- A limitation could be that the primary study excluded follow-up interviews. This could have deepened my insight into the drawings and explanations of the participants by allowing me to ask any clarifying questions and to allow participants to inform the data in the form of a member check. This would have added to the study's credibility (see Rule & John, 2011; Yardley & Bishop, 2017) and could have allowed for less of a research-practice gap (Collins et al., 2018)
- My study explored the resilience-enabling resources reported on by a sample of adolescents in Grades 8 to 10. Therefore, although this sample addressed my research questions about middle adolescents, it did not account for adolescents in other grades or individuals at other life stages.

- Another limitation of my study is that I analysed only the data generated by a sample of Zamdela middle adolescents at a single point in time using data during Time 1 of the RYSE-RuSA study. I did not use data from Time 2 or 3 (primarily because the volume of the data did not fit with the limited scope of a mini dissertation). Still, cross-sectional studies are limited, especially when the focus is something as dynamic as resilience (Beames et al., 2021; Fullerton et al., 2021).
- A limitation could be that my study explored resilience resources among a gender-diverse sample of Zamdela adolescents. This could be problematic since conceptualisations of risk and resilience could vary depending on sex (DaViera et al., 2020; Scorgie et al., 2017). I might have achieved greater insight had I focused only on data generated by either girls or boys.
- Since the RYSE-RuSA study included only school-attending adolescents in 2020 another limitation is that my findings do not help us to understand the resilience of non-school attending middle adolescents. A substantial number of 16-year-olds in South Africa are not school-attending and this was made worse during COVID-19 as Hall (2022) has noted.

5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

5.5.1 Recommendations relating to future research

To address the limitations, I recommend the following.

- A future study on middle adolescent resilience that uses one-on-one interviews, in conjunction with draw-and-write methodologies, to explore individual insights (see Creswell, 2018) could be carried out. Using interviews to allow participants to clarify and/or inform the data would add to the study's credibility (see Rule & John, 2011).
- Second, since there is a need for more resilience research that draws on adolescent (rather than adult/researcher) insights (Liebenberg & Theron, 2015), I suggest instituting a follow-up study that conducts a secondary analysis of the data generated by all the adolescent participants (not just those in Grades 8–10) from Time 1 in the RYSE-RuSA study to conceptualise a more complete view of multisystemic adolescent resilience during COVID-19 lockdown conditions. This study's findings could then be compared with

my own to establish a more comprehensive view of adolescent resilience during COVID-19 and what role the stage of adolescence itself might play (see Yoon et al., 2019).

- Third, since enablers of resilience are contextual and change over time (Ungar 2011, 2019) it would be beneficial to conduct a secondary analysis of the primary data generated during Time 2 and Time 3 of the RYSE-RuSA study to create a more comprehensive understanding of adolescent resilience over time. There is a need for more longitudinal studies in resilience research (Beames et al., 2021; Masten et al., 2021).
- Fourth, since resilience resources could vary depending on sex (DaViera et al., 2020; Scorgie et al., 2017), I suggest an exploration of the resilience resources in a gender-specific subset of data. Additionally, since further research is needed into resilience resources among transgender and gender diverse people (Gorman et al., 2022; Chavanduka et al., 2021) such a study could explore resilience resources among a sample of participants who fit into this demographic.
- My final recommendation is that there be a follow-up study that purposefully explores the resilience of middle adolescents who have dropped out of school. Since many adolescents are no longer in school (Hall, 2022), a study of this scope would allow for a more comprehensive understanding of adolescent resilience.

5.5.2 Recommendations for Educational Psychologists

As reported in Chapter 3 (3.3.3.3.2), the findings of my study could be valuable to educational psychologists working in similar contexts to that in which the data for my study was generated. It is important to be aware of the multisystemic and contextual nature of resilience when one is working as an educational psychologist (Lerner & Johns, 2015; Masten, 2021; Ungar & Theron, 2020). It is my hope that my findings will encourage South African educational psychologists to explore contextual and multisystemic resilience factors with their clients and, where possible, draw similarities from my findings. My findings, although potentially relevant to other township contexts, may not be transferable to other more affluent contexts. However, based on the age demographic, educational psychologists could use my findings to create a basic frame of reference for which resilience resources

might be most important for middle adolescents. Additionally, my recommendation for educational psychologists would be to involve a draw-and-write technique to help foster resilience among their clients. It could be used in a group or in individual settings and would be appropriate given the language diversity in the country (see Rule & John, 2011). While engaging in a draw-and-write activity, educational psychologists would also be fostering resilience by presenting the opportunity for clients to connect with themselves and identify resilience-enabling resources (Coad, 2020; Masten, 2009).

Also, it is my hope that my research might contribute to interventions directed at increasing resilience among adolescents living in South African townships. With townships often being resource-constrained (Titi et al., 2022), it is essential to facilitate multiple resources to foster adolescent resilience. Put differently, I hope my study encourages multisystemic interventions that do more than build strengths in adolescents (see Ungar (2011) on SETR's principles of decentrality and complexity). Additionally, since systems are interlinked and impact one another, using a multisystemic intervention in a township context has the potential to have a positive impact not just on individual adolescents but on their families and community members as well (Porter & Nuntavisit, 2016; Splett et al., 2015).

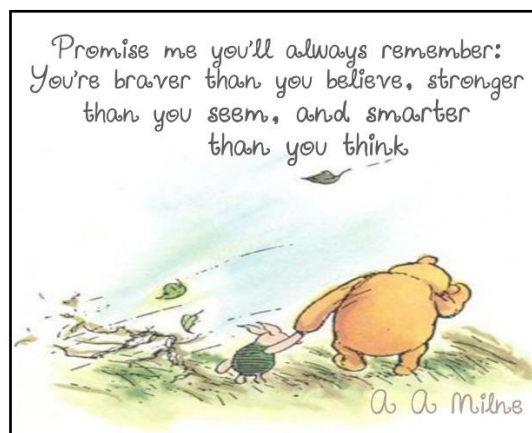
My study is a timely reminder that educational psychologists must become aware that townships are not only about risk, given that there are resources available that can enable resilience (Maringira & Gibson, 2019; Mulligan, 2015; Theron et al., 2021). While these need to be amplified and/or sustained (Titi et al., 2022), such professionals should not assume that their clients from township contexts have no access to environmental and other resources. For example, Participant VO-095 illustrated the multisystemic nature of resilience as well as how she was able to draw on a resource within her environment ("running water") and her own agency ("writing poems") to enable her resilience.

5.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the findings of my study show that many resilience-enabling resources from different systems (i.e., psychological, social, institutional, ecological, and cultural) mattered for the resilience of a sample of adolescents (in Grades 8 to

10) living in Zamdela township during COVID-19 2020 lockdown conditions. If professionals take cognizance of the multisystemic and contextually sensitive nature of resilience, my findings could empower them with knowledge to help bolster resilience among adolescents living in townships. This knowledge could also impact the type of intervention provided since there is evidence to support the belief that multisystemic interventions have a greater and more sustainable impact on adolescent resilience (Porter & Nuntavisit, 2016; Splett et al., 2015).

While reflecting on my findings, I was inspired by the young people from my study who, despite COVID- and township-related challenges, found ways to use resources (both within and outside of themselves) to bolster their resilience. With this in mind, calling on A.A. Milne's famous advice, we need to remember that "[adolescents] are braver than [they] believe, and stronger than [they] seem, and smarter than [they] think", provided they can draw on culturally relevant resources in themselves, their families and peer group, accessible institutions, and the physical ecology.



(Trevino, n.d.)

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7. ADDENDA

7.1 ADDENDUM A- Audit Trail (open codes, candidate themes, and defined themes)

Question guiding coding: What resilience-enabling resources were reported by adolescents living in Zamdela during 2020 COVID-19 lockdown?

Extract 1

V064: What helps me to be ok when life is hard, it is mostly watching tv. Because most of the series/movies or Soap make me escape the reality am face because when I watch a tv/movies I get interested a lot because I want to understand each and every step of the movie and to learn a little tip/advice there, because they always show something to know about in life or for fun. So, by watching tv is a little getaway for my mind and reality in my own way.

Extract 2

VO-085: Sisters are the most precious present sent by God I can proudly say I've got the best one. At times I may be upset with her sometimes I make her mad. At times I will make her sad, but I will never find another girl that loves me more than her. My sister has always encouraged me to do well in my studies and she made me feel like I'm the most special girl ever. My sister has always had my back like nobody's business she always corrects me whenever I am wrong. I thank my sister for sharing in my happiest moments. For listening to my saddest stories and telling me when I'm being stupid without fear that I'll get upset. She's the only person who tell me the truth no matter how hard it may be to say. Seeing my sister makes me happy I wish the best for her cause she deserves it. I thank my sister for making me a better person I know I have become a kinder, smarter, and overall happier person since my childhood.

Extract 3

VO-095: The sound of running water helped me to be calm during my difficult times. I put all my thoughts and pain on a paper. I use a pen and paper to get things off my chest. I am a writer (poetess). Writing poems helped me a lot during the lockdown most.

Extract 4

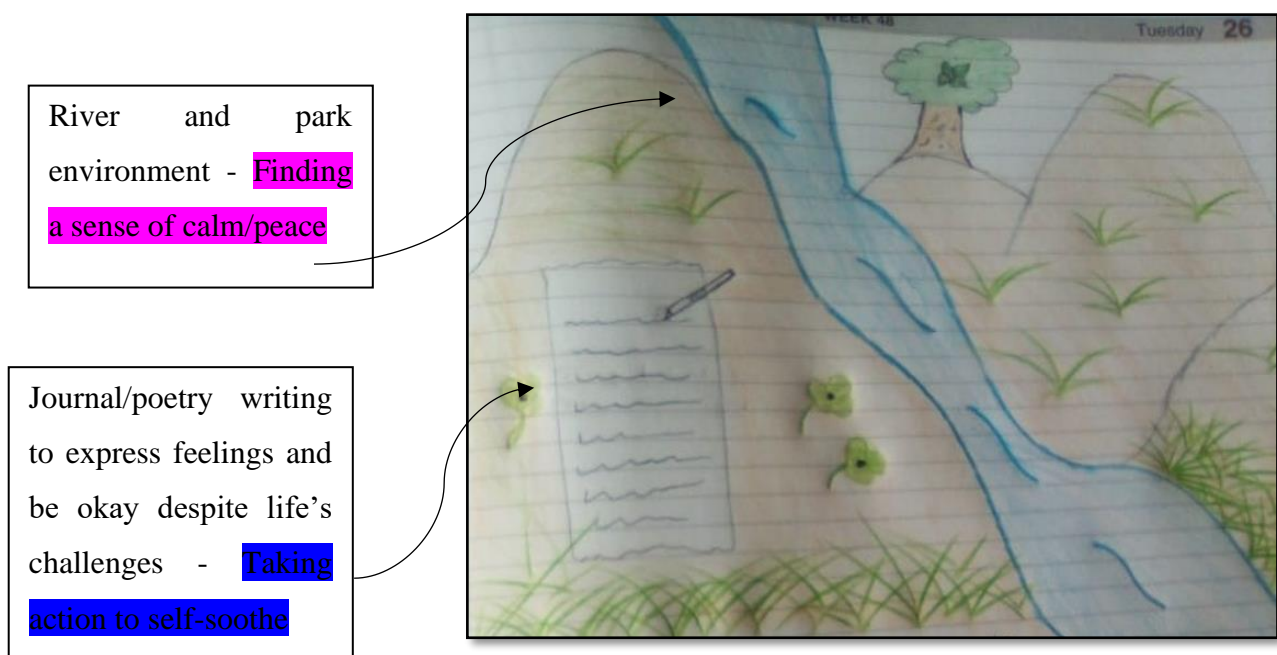
VO-084: School has helped me so far to do good. It has given me purpose in life and taught me about self-discipline and self-love. School made me feel like the most alive human being ever and has made me somehow feel like I'm going somewhere in life and has made me see things differently. Being at school helped me to deal with anxiety and the pressure that I got at home. My teachers at school made me feel like I'm valuable and important. The school has made lots of learners feel at home it has been a place of love and kindness most of the things that I know I was taught them at school. It taught me about humility, respect mostly loving one another as sisters

Extract 5

V071: My drawing indicates the church, the house of God. There are many things that I can talk/share about my drawing. For instance, this is what keeps me moving in life. Church has a big impact in my life, a good one. It has taught me respect and caring for people, respect is a key point in life because when you respect someone, you will be able to love, value and care for him/her. Church has taught me not to give up in life, no matter how hard it is no matter how the situation confusing or difficult, but you must have perseverance.

Figure 36 - Participant VO-095

Sample of inductive data analysis of visual data



<i>Extracts that appeared to address my research question</i>	<i>Open code</i>	<i>Candidate themes</i>
<i>What helps me to be ok when life is hard, it is mostly watching tv. . . most of the series/movies or Soap make me escape the reality am face . . . watching tv is a little getaway for my mind and reality in my own way</i>	<i>Doing something to escape reality/hardship</i>	<i>Taking action to keep busy</i>
<i>because when I watch a tv/movies I get interested a lot because I want to understand each and every step of the movie and to learn a little tip/advice there, because they always show something to know about in life or for fun</i>	<i>Seeking help or advice</i>	<i>Agency and Mastery</i>
<i>I will never find another girl that loves me more than her. My sister has always encouraged me to do well in my studies and she made me feel like I'm the most special girl ever. My sister has always had my back like nobody's business she always corrects me whenever I am wrong. I thank my sister for sharing in my happiest moments. For listening to my saddest stories and telling me when I'm being stupid without fear that I'll get upset. She's the only person who tells me the truth no matter how hard it may be to say. . . I thank my sister for making me a better person</i>	<i>Being supported by a loved one</i>	<i>Social support</i>
<i>I know I have become a kinder, smarter, and overall happier person since my childhood</i>	<i>Positive view of the self</i>	<i>Hopeful/positive stance about the self and future</i>

<p><i>The sound of running water helped me to be calm during my difficult times</i></p>	<p><i>Finding a sense of calm/peace</i></p>	<p><i>A green space/ park</i></p>
<p><i>I put all my thoughts and pain on a paper. I use a pen and paper to get things off my chest . . . Writing poems helped me a lot during the lockdown most.</i></p>	<p><i>Taking action to self-soothe</i></p>	<p><i>Agency and Mastery</i></p>
<p><i>I am a writer (poetess)</i></p>	<p><i>Positive view of the self</i></p>	<p><i>Hopeful/positive stance about the self and future</i></p>
<p><i>School has helped me so far to do good. It has given me purpose in life and taught me about self- discipline and self-love. School made me feel like the most alive human being ever and has made me somehow feel like I'm going somewhere in life and has made me see things differently. Being at school helped me to deal with anxiety and the pressure that I got at home. My teachers at school made me feel like I'm valuable and important. The school has made lots of learners feel at home it has been a place of love and kindness</i></p>	<p><i>Benefits of school to be okay/feel good about self/life</i></p>	<p><i>Support from a school (opportunity for learning)</i></p>
<p><i>It taught me about humility, respect, mostly loving one another as sisters</i></p>	<p><i>Being respectful of others/ Ubuntu values</i></p>	<p><i>Ubuntu-related values</i></p>
<p><i>For instance, this is what keeps me moving in life. . . Church has a big impact in my life, a good one</i></p>	<p><i>Benefit of a faith based-organisation to help keep going/be okay in life</i></p>	<p><i>Support from faith-based organisations</i></p>
<p><i>It has taught me respect and caring for people, respect is a key point in life because when you respect someone, you will be able to love, value and care for him/her</i></p>	<p><i>Being respectful of others/ Ubuntu values</i></p>	<p><i>Ubuntu-related values</i></p>

<i>Drawing of a river and park environment</i>	<i>Finding a sense of calm/peace</i>	<i>A green space/ park</i>
<i>Journal/poetry writing to express feelings and be okay despite life's challenges</i>	<i>Taking action to self-soothe</i>	<i>Agency and Mastery</i>

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Category	Candidate theme	Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion criteria
<i>Personal resources</i>	<i>Agency and Mastery</i>	<i>Instances of help-seeking behaviours (e.g., interacting with people who can provide guidance/support and/or seeking motivation or even self-help from inanimate sources [such as books]), engaging in activities to keep busy/distract from challenges and/or taking action to self-soothe (an action that brought a sense of calm or peace)</i>	<i>It did not include advice, encouragement, and/or motivation offered without the individual taking action to seek it; instances of others initiating engagement with the participant in order to help distract them from everyday life or engaging in faith-based activities</i>
	<i>Hopeful/positive stance about the self and future</i>	<i>This included setting goals, being engaged in education because of its potential to support future success, feelings of being confident in one's abilities to achieve life goals as well as having a powerful sense of self/powerful identity. It also included the view that things will get better and will work out in the end or that there is a plan for their future that is good</i>	<i>It did not include instances of being happy or content in life or instances of faith-related beliefs that bring calm or peace</i>
<i>Institutional Resources</i>	<i>Support from a community centre/project</i>	<i>Included participants referring to a physical community centre or community-based project that offered an opportunity for connection</i>	<i>This excluded reference to learning or improving themselves in a school or faith-based setting</i>

		<i>with others and/or self-improvement</i>	
	<i>Support from a school (opportunity for learning)</i>	<i>Included participants having the opportunity to learn, improve themselves and increase their academic abilities in a school environment</i>	<i>This excluded reference to teachers since they were included in relational resources</i>
	<i>Support from faith-based organisations</i>	<i>Emotional support and guidance, and facilitation of comforting beliefs offered by faith-based organizations, typically referred to as “church” by participants. It included examples of participants engaging in faith-based practices that comfort</i>	<i>It excluded instances of feeling safe in the physical setting of the church since this was included in physical ecological resources</i>
<i>Relational resources</i>	<i>Sense of belonging, being welcome or accepted</i>	<i>This included instances of participants being made to feel welcome/comfortable by parents, teachers, friends, and even an inanimate object (e.g., a journal). Similarly, this sub-theme related to interactions with parents, teachers, friends, and even an inanimate object (e.g., a journal) supporting participants to feel as though someone believed in them or their being able to be themselves</i>	<i>It excluded any reference to conditional acceptance (e.g., being welcome provided they made their family/community proud)</i>
	<i>Social support</i>	<i>Social support refers to any advice, encouragement, emotional, informational and/or instrumental support offered by other people (typically friends, family members, and other significant adults)</i>	<i>It did not include support sought out/initiated by the individual</i>
<i>Cultural resources</i>	<i>Ubuntu-related values</i>	<i>Included examples of appreciation of moral ways of being, appreciation for interconnectedness of people,</i>	<i>It did not include examples of faith-based actions to comfort or soothe and did not</i>

		<i>respect for others, generosity, empathy, and forgiveness. These moral aspects are often passed on by faith-based organisations and elders</i>	<i>include instances of seeking support from faith-based institutions</i>
<i>Physical ecological resources</i>	<i>Green space/park</i>	<i>This refers to any built/designed green spaces or parks that offer a place for participants to visit or to relax in and feel safe/peaceful in</i>	<i>This did not include any instances in which participants were made to feel better by spending time with others in a green space/park (e.g., playing soccer with friends in a park). These were coded as relational resources</i>
	<i>Safe spaces in the built environment</i>	<i>Safe spaces in the built environment are spaces that offer a sense of security or peace to participants when they access them (e.g., library/house)</i>	<i>This did not include instances of being made to feel safe by individuals in physical buildings (e.g., being made to feel safe by teachers at school). This was coded under relational resources</i>

7.2 ADDENDUM B - Ethical clearance for my study



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Faculty of Education

RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

CLEARANCE NUMBER: **UP 17/05/01 THERON 21-02**

DEGREE AND PROJECT

M.Ed

Exploring adolescent resilience during
COVID- 19 in a township context

INVESTIGATOR

Mrs Shannon Wakefield

DEPARTMENT

Educational Psychology

APPROVAL TO COMMENCE STUDY

08 June 2021

DATE OF CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

27 July 2022

CHAIRPERSON OF ETHICS COMMITTEE: Prof Funke Omidire

CC

Mr Simon Jiane
Prof Linda Theron

This Ethics Clearance Certificate should be read in conjunction with the Integrated Declaration Form (D08) which specifies details regarding:

- Compliance with approved research protocol,
- No significant changes,
- Informed consent/assent,
- Adverse experience or undue risk,
- Registered title, and
- Data storage requirements.