



Resilience among children and young people in
impoverished urban areas in Kampala:
Strengths and the importance of context

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Erasmus Mundus Master's Programme in Social Work with Families and
Children

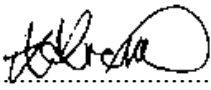
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Declaration

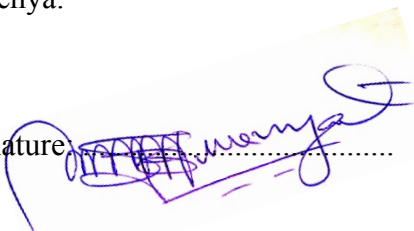
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Abstract

Title: Resilience among urban children and youth in Kampala: Strengths and the importance of context

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For social workers working with at risk populations, understanding the dynamic process of resilience presents an opportunity to enhance positive adaptation and provide adequate, contextually sensitive policy and practice to help fulfil the capacities of children and young people. Yet, there are limited studies examining this construct in the Ugandan context, particularly the contextually and culturally bound pathways navigating towards resilience despite adversity. Using a mixed-method approach, this study aimed to; examine the dynamic nature of resilience as it relates to children and young people in impoverished urban areas in Kampala, analyse the factors that influence resilience processes and document the understanding of resilience as a construct among key stake holders. The method included dialogue sessions, administration of the Child and Youth Resilience Measure 28 item (CYRM-28), and semi-structured interviews with key informants. The children and young people in the study ($n = 135$; $m = 47$, $f = 88$) ranged from 10-24 years across eight geographic areas of urban impoverishment around Kampala. Findings suggest that children and young people in urban poor contexts demonstrate resilience processes, scoring significantly higher on CYRM-28 than normative data ($p = 0.00$) and had unique ways to navigate and negotiate resources for positive adaptation despite adversity. According to this study children and young people in urban contexts rely frequently on their own abilities and skills to navigate their way to the resources that they need. Cooperation, problem solving, sense of belonging and social and practical skill development were all important for the sample population in adapting well despite the adversities that they faced. The combined analyses of the quantitative and qualitative components of the study suggest resilience is a highly relevant construct for application in policy and social work practice for children and youth in impoverished urban contexts.

Acronyms List

CYRM-28	Child and Youth Resilience Measure 28 item
IFSW	International Federation of Social Work
LAC	Local Advisory Committee
MoGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
MoLHUD	Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NHMRC	National Health and Medical Research Council, Australia
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PMK	Person Most Knowledgeable
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Children
UYDEL	Ugandan Youth Development Link
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and Context

The field of resilience has generated much interest from scientific research, policy makers, programmers and non-government organizations since its conception in the 1970s (Luthar, Cicchetti & Becker, 2000; Rutter, 2000). It presents a positive view of child protection, referring it to the “dynamic process encompassing positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity” (Luthar et al. 2000, pg 1). The construct of resilience is a part of the developmental psychopathological paradigm and challenges the notions of the dichotomy between abnormal and normal development. It demonstrates that adversity does not always lead to abnormality or maladaptive coping. Relatively recently gaining scientific attention, resilience is understood in terms of the dynamic processes occurring within an individual, as a function of interactions within and between the individual, family and the wider contextual environment (Boyden & Mann, 2005).

For social workers working with at risk populations, understanding resilience processes and how to promote resilience is critical for policy and programming. Linked to the strengths perspective in practice, resilience presents an opportunity to understand how individuals can negotiate and mitigate adverse life experiences to lead fulfilling lives (Boyden & Mann, 2005). In Uganda, there are many adversities affecting children, including extreme poverty, malnutrition, child labour and marriage (UNICEF, 2015). According to the UNICEF Situation Analysis of Children in Uganda (2015, pg 8), there are 17.1 million children in Uganda and more than half of these children are considered either critically or moderately vulnerable. Living without parental care is a huge challenge for many children in Uganda; a total 14% of children are orphans, many as a result of the AIDS epidemic (MoGLSD, 2011, pg 4). In Kampala, there are an estimated 27,400 child labourers (Walakira, Bukenya & Dumba-Nyanzi, 2014, pg 6). Further, there are an estimated 40,000 - 50,000 children living in institutions and approximately 10,000 children living on the streets in Uganda, with around 16

new children coming to Kampala streets every day (Walakira et al., 2015, pg 51; Fallon, 2014). Such a context provides an apt environment to investigate the processes of resilience, offering a pathway to enhance positive adaptation and provide adequate, contextually sensitive policy and practice to help fulfil the capacities of children and young people.

More specifically, children and young people in Uganda's impoverished urban areas experience significant adversity. Rapid urbanisation and unplanned settlements in cities leads to increased risk and multiple deprivations for children and young people (UNICEF, 2015). According to UNICEF (2015, pg 26), risks include "environmental degradation, unsafe shelters, high rates of HIV/AIDS infections, a lack of land rights and tenure security, contaminated water and sanitation facilities and higher concentrations of community violence". Such deprivation presents protection risks for children and young people by limiting access to education and health services, adequate nutrition and increasing exposure to violence (Perezniето et al., 2011). This places children and young people in a highly vulnerable position, often facing multiple levels of deprivation and layers of vulnerability, "some related to social status and others to social interactions" (ibid., pg 54). Exposure to violence, abuse, neglect, exploitation and abandonment characterise children's experiences in such impoverished environments.

In Kampala, these impoverished urban areas present real risks for children and young people which are compounded by limited research, inadequate and complex responses as well as limited financial resourcing (UNICEF, 2015, pg 26). Lacking adequate protection mechanisms in the home, school and community adversely impacts children living in these areas in Kampala (Perezniето et al., 54). According to children themselves, this results in school drop out, prostitution among young girls, life on the streets, child sacrifice, robbery and neglect (ibid., pg 52). How children and young people are able to not only cope, but also positively adapt in such adverse life situations is an area worthy of investigation. Understanding how children and young people are able to positively adapt despite such vulnerability and multiple levels of deprivation provides an opportunity to

capitalise and enhance the inherent strengths and resilience of individuals, families and communities in a contextually sensitive way.

1.2 Problem statement

Resilience presents an opportunity to capture and enhance positive adaptation following from significant adversity. Understanding the mechanisms by which individuals experience resilience processes could provide vital information on contextually bound experiences of adversity and positive adaptation to inform policy and social work practice. Such information could assist in understanding how resources within the individual, family/caregiver and context are being used for positive adaptation would promote a strengths based approach to harness the capacities and skills of children and young people, even in the most adverse life situations. However, understanding these complex and contextually bound processes of resilience is not an easy task (Ungar, 2011; Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000). Resilience encompasses individual, family/caregiver and contextual variables that interact across time and space, rendering the construct difficult to measure and apply (Ungar, 2011; Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000; Rutter, 2000). Recently, the development of a cross-contextual tool to measure positive adaptation and resilience in children across different contexts has become available (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011; Liebenberg, Ungar & Van de Vivjer, 2012; Liebenberg, Ungar & LeBlanc, 2013).

Such research techniques have not yet been applied among children and young people in Uganda. There are many adversities affecting children in Kampala, including but not limited to, children living in street situations, child labourers, trafficked children, child abuse and commercial sexual exploitation (UNICEF, 2015). Despite significant adversity, children are able to navigate and negotiate their circumstances to acquire the resources they need to for good developmental outcomes (Ungar, 2011). This study documented and measured the factors contributing to resilience processes and positive adaption among children and youth living in urban or slum areas in Kampala, across individual, family/relational and contextual domains. This provided the opportunity for contextually sensitive understandings of how children are able to navigate their

way to resilience, assisting those who work with children in such adverse life situations to enhance and build on the strengths of the child.

1.3 General and Specific Objectives

The overall objective of the study was to explore the unique and dynamic process of resilience among children and young people in impoverished urban areas in Kampala, Uganda. Specifically, this study:

- Examined the nature of resilience as it relates to children and young people in impoverished urban areas in Kampala, Uganda.
- Analysed factors influencing the dynamic process of resilience (individual, family/caregiver and contextual) among children and young people in urban impoverished areas in Kampala, Uganda.
- Investigated the understanding of resilience among key stakeholders dealing with child welfare policy and practice in Kampala, Uganda.

1.4 Research Questions and Hypotheses

The study addressed the following research questions:

1. What is the nature of resilience according to urban children and young people in impoverished urban areas in Kampala, Uganda?
2. What factors are promoting resilience among these children and young people and how do they differ across the following domains:
 - i. Individual
 - ii. Family/caregiver
 - iii. Context
3. What is the understanding of resilience among key stakeholders dealing with child welfare policy and practice in Kampala, Uganda?

In line with cross cultural resilience research as conducted by Ungar and colleagues (2007; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011), it was hypothesised that a unique set of factors contribute to resilience processes among children and young people

in impoverished urban areas, Kampala, across the individual, family/caregiver and contextual domains.

1.5 Scope of the study

The objective of the study was to understand the dynamic process of resilience as it relates to children and young people in impoverished urban areas in Kampala across the domains of individual, family/caregiver and contextual. Therefore, the study was limited to the population of children and young people growing up in urban areas that are highly impoverished, often lacking adequate water and sanitation and other basic necessities. Although there are many areas in Uganda that have similar circumstances, for convenience and sampling purposes the scope of the study was limited to areas around Kampala, including Rubaga (Nateete, Nakulabye), Kamwokya, Nakawa, Mukono, Bwaise, Masooli and Makindye divisions. To access sufficient participants, this study focused on child beneficiaries of the Ugandan Youth Development Link (UYDEL) that works with out of school children and young people to provide vocational training organisation. This study population included, but was not limited to, domestic abuse cases, young mothers, children formerly living in street situations, child labourers, victims of child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation in Kampala, Uganda.

Due to the ethical concerns on research involving vulnerable children and young people, the study was conducted in organised settings only. The lack of resources and time to provide follow up support to children and young people facing adversity in unorganised settings meant that such settings could not be included within the scope of this research. The study was an adaptation of the methods of Ungar and colleagues (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011; Liebenberg et al., 2012; Liebenberg, et al., 2013) in selection of study participants through a local organisation working with highly vulnerable children and young people, who are perceived as doing well despite their circumstances. Maintaining international definitions of a child as under the age of 18 (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, UNCRC, 1989) data was be collected on children aged 10-17,

and young people 18-24. As well as being geographically bound, the study was time bound with fieldwork being completed during two weeks in March 2016. The population for the study was accessed through UYDEL in organised settings and did not seek to evaluate or assess the organisation as part of the research. The approach to the construct of resilience is multilevel and included individual, family/caregiver and contextual domains, and did not include biological analysis (Cicchetti, 2010).

1.6 Justification and policy relevance

1.6.1 Contribution to Policy Development

One of the failings in policy and programming for children and young people experiencing extreme adversity are the misrepresentations of culturally and contextually bound experiences of vulnerabilities and capacities (Boyden & Mann, 2005). Boyden and Mann (2005) reflect on the ineffectiveness and inappropriateness of programmes that *protect* children in such cross cultural contexts, highlighting that the inherent strengths and capacities of children themselves must not be overlooked in child protection programmes. The study aimed to address this gap through contributing to a knowledge base on resilience through understanding resilience processes among children and young people in urban impoverished areas in Kampala, Uganda. In part this was done through testing, utilising a mixed-method approach and modifying existing cross-cultural tools for researching resilience for the Ugandan context. Following the research, the tool was made available for researchers through the Resilience Research Centre for future use. Further, the study provided insight into cross-cultural studies of resilience and suggested areas for future enquiry into resilience processes among this population group.

1.6.2 Contribution to Social Work Practice

As Boyden and Mann (2005, pg 20) state, “if we are to better protect children we urgently require more information about what renders them vulnerable or resilient, what circumstances are amenable to intervention and change, and how best to

assist them”. Understanding this, the study provided an opportunity to develop culturally appropriate interventions and programmes to address the needs of such vulnerable groups. Further, the findings highlight the individual capacities and skills of children and young people even in the most adverse life situations, giving weight to their culturally bound experiences of adversity and positive adaptation. Through the analysis of individual, family/caregiver and contextual factors influencing resilience processes, the findings made a contribution to social work policy and practice for children and young people facing adversity within this context. Further, the research conducted helped to position the construct of resilience in social work policy and practice in Kampala, Uganda. By providing practical tools and guidance for social workers to better understand the strengths and resilience of children in adverse life situations, the findings and recommendations moved away from victimisation towards empowerment.

1.6.3 Further research and knowledge generation

The study made a small but sound contribution to the growing literature on cross cultural understandings of resilience. Further, the study identified how the dynamic process of resilience is experienced by children and young people in impoverished urban areas in Kampala, Uganda. It adhered to recommendations in resilience research to develop understanding around the dynamic process of positive adaption despite significant adversity, through a socio-ecological perspective (Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000; Ungar, 2011). Taking an empowerment and strengths perspective, further contributions were made to understanding of resilience and coping in extreme adversity through a cross-cultural lens. Findings add to the growing literature that recognises children as competent and capable in their own right, constructing and navigating their way through social, environment and cultural contexts (Hart, 2008; Boyden & Mann, 2005). In a child protection context, children’s right to participation and involvement in decisions that affect their lives is critical and is addressed in this research through building knowledge about the experiences of children and young people in adverse life situations (Skivenes & Strandbu, 2006; Healy, 1998). Further, the mixed-method approach provided research tools to generate further knowledge on the topic and about the

experiences of children and young people themselves within this context. The adapted and translated CYRM-28 tool was made available for future use for researchers, social workers and policy makers, through the Resilience Research Centre.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter outlines the main contributions to the study of resilience. First, a brief history of resilience research is presented, followed by recent shifts in thinking about resilience as a construct. This is followed by the social-ecological approach to resilience and the research presented by Ungar and colleagues (2007; Ungar, 2008) in the International Resilience Project. Literature is then presented as it relates to the research objectives. It is worthy of mentioning that there is an abundance of research on resilience (Rutter, 2000; Masten, 2001 & 2007) and it is neither possible nor necessary to review this in its entirety within the scope of this thesis. However, the main academic contributions have been outlined, as well as the predominant literature as it relates to children and youth in urban contexts in Kampala, Uganda.

The process of searching for literature mainly used a snowball approach. Several literature reviews (Rutter, 2000; Luthar et al., 2000; Masten, 2001 & 2007) in relation to resilience were read and relevant sources gathered from these texts. Pivotal studies in resilience, such as those by Werner and Smith (1982 & 1992), Rutter (1989), Fergusson & Lynskey (1996) and Stattin, Romelsjö, and Stenbacka (1997), were used as sources to provide the historical conceptualisation of resilience. To understand resilience in application, Ungar and colleagues (2007) work in the International Resilience Project was reviewed and other relevant cross cultural applications of resilience in research were read (for example, Malindi & Theron, 2010). Ungar's (2012) book; *The Social Ecology of Resilience: A Handbook of Theory and Practice* was a very useful resource for recent conceptualisations and application of resilience in research cross-contextually. The literature review was further enhanced by searching the key words "resilience", "Uganda", "Africa", "children" and "young people" in online databases via the Super Search available through the University of Gothenburg Library. Search terms were refined to also include "risk factors", "quantitative methods" and "mixed methods" to enhance results. Overall, the search results were positive and provided the necessary information to construct the literature review.

2.1 The history of resilience research

Resilience is a concept that spans psychological, biological and social spheres, and has enjoyed an abundant history of scientific investigation (Luthar et al., 2000). Resilience is defined as “a dynamic process wherein individuals display positive adaptation despite experiences of significant adversity or trauma” (ibid., pg 2). In early research into children's experiences of stress and anxiety leading to psychopathology and mental disorders, it was found that children who experienced disturbed parent-child relationships varied in their response (Rutter, 2000). It was universally found that some children developed psychopathology or depression in later life, while some remained unaffected and some were actually strengthened through the experience of adversity (ibid., 2000). At first, these findings were largely unnoticed or dismissed. It was thought unexplainable and there was concern that focusing too much on children who coped would draw attention away from those who were not coping.

However, the evidence of children positively adapting in the face of adversity remained. Maternal deprivation studies in the 1970s again highlighted individual differences in outcomes between children experiencing maternal deprivation, some children were able to adapt positively yet others were not (ibid.). The concept of invulnerable children emerged, however this construct was problematic. It ignored the relative nature of children's reactions; the environmental and constitutional aspects involved with positive adaptation after stress and largely ignored variations in response as they occur across time and space (ibid.). As Rutter (2000) explains, there is no one-dimensional construct such as invulnerability that can be applied in all circumstances, yet resilience remained a construct worthy of investigation.

Over two decades, resilience research shifted from trait-based understandings to focus on the processes and outcomes associated with positive adaptation following adversity. Some noteworthy longitudinal studies, such as the Kauai Study (Werner & Smith, 1982; Werner & Smith, 1992), the Isle of Wight study

(Rutter, 1989) and the Christchurch and Stockholm studies (Fergusson & Lynskey, 1996; Stattin, Romelsjö, & Stenbacka, 1997) compared resilient and non-resilient children experiencing similar psychosocial adversity across time. They identified the processes and outcomes associated with children who managed to positively adapt despite adversity. Focusing on the constitutional factors, positive experiences, sensitising and steeling effects, in-direct chain effects, stress buffering, self-definitions, turning points, interaction processes and supportive family relationships they identified processes associated with children who coped well (Rutter, 2000). Such studies were a fundamental start to identifying how and why children demonstrated resilient outcomes following adversity.

2.1.1 The paradigm shifts in resilience research

Masten (2007) provides an account of the four waves of resilience research and scientific thought regarding the construct. Generally, the first wave described from a development/psychological perspective how people coped following adversity through identifying isolated variables within the child or environment (Lipsitt & Demick, 2012). The second wave of research looked at the underlying processes of resilience such as biological interactions, attachment relationships or levels of social support, as highlighted above (ibid.). The third wave attempted to identify the impact of prevention and intervention programmes on resilient functioning for at-risk populations, as in the work of Weissberg, Kumpfer, & Seligman (2003) for example. They employed measures to look at programmes, particularly in educational environments, which explained positive adaptation despite adversity. The fourth and current wave, according to Masten (2007), looks at resilience as a dynamic process that occurs as a function of interactions across the different levels of a person's life (Lipsitt & Demick, 2012). However, other authors (ibid.) have pointed out that it is not possible to fit all resilience research into these categories and in fact many studies address multiple components of resilience as a construct.

A notable shift in research and thinking about resilience came in during the 2000s when authors began to realise the methodological problems associated with

previous approaches to the study of resilience. Rutter (2000, pg 653) highlights that environmental risk indicators are not necessarily environmental risk moderators – actual and proximal risk mechanisms are hard to determine and individual interpretations and lived experience of risk play an important role. Further, it is unusual for risks to occur in isolation. They usually occur concurrently, which make them difficult to define and measure. There are also multiple outcomes since not everyone experiences coping and positive adaptation in the same way. Rutter (2000, pg 654) uses the example of how an individual experiences disease; some diseases result in the person developing immunity, others will be chronically ill, others will recover undamaged. Resilience can be understood in much the same manner.

Rutter (2000) also highlights the measurement error that can occur in the study of resilience. Positive outcomes may not, in fact, look positive to the biased researcher. An example used by Rutter (2000, pg 659) is sickle-cell anaemia, where a person has deformed red blood cells that result in low iron levels yet also positively prevents the person contracting malaria. Further, the fact that resilience varies across a person's lifespan makes resilience hard to measure and define without longitudinal evidence. The influence of biopsychology is also highlighted by Rutter (2000); brain structures actually change as a result of stress and adaptation. Rutter (2000, pg 657) uses the example of skydivers; first time divers experience heightened anxiety and cortisol levels, while more experienced divers exhibit limited amounts anxiety and cortisol. Similarly, if a person experiences a happy separation from caregivers, this may provide some protection against future separations, however it is neither constant nor consistent over time. Resilience therefore, needs to be considered as a process not a trait or a characteristic that remains stable over time. It must also be acknowledged that genetics and biopsychology play a role, as do individual interpretations and meaning derived from their own experience of risk and positive adaptation (Rutter, 2000; Ungar, 2012).

Further, Masten (2001, pg 227) pointed out that “resilience is common and usually arises from the normative functions of human adaptational systems”. Masten (2001) goes on to promote a focus on the ordinary processes of resilience,

rather than the extraordinary processes, is more helpful in the study and application of the construct. Two major conceptualisations of resilience, variable-focused and person-focused, aim to explain the variations in children's reactions and coping following significant stress (Masten, 2001, pg 229). Variable or factor focused approaches tend to use multivariate ways to measure the degree of severity of the stress, the outcome and the potential personal or environmental variables that could result in positive adaption (ibid.). Person or individual focused approaches tend to focus more on comparing people, their qualities and attributes and how these may mitigate the effects of stress across time (ibid., pg 229-230). However, both approaches have significant problems. Masten (2001) argues that focusing on the variables misses the real human experience of risk and resilience, and the person-focused approach misses the variation across different adverse experiences.

2.1.2 New conceptualisations in resilience research and the International Resilience Project (Ungar et al., 2007)

Recently, research has focused predominantly on the interactive processes between individual, family and contextual factors to promote resilience and has moved toward a multilevel perspective (Rutter, 2000; Luthar et al., 2000; Cicchetti, 2003). Resilience is now universally understood as a dynamic, multilevel process, which encompasses positive outcomes despite exposure to adversity (Liebenberg, Ungar & Van de Vijver, 2012). Authors (Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000; Cicchetti, 2010; Ungar, 2011) now call for a multidisciplinary and contextual approach to researching resilience, with Luthar et al. (2000) pointing to the clear omission of biological perspectives in research as well as the lack of analysis of the divide between research and interventions.

One critical aspect of resilience worthy of attention is the process as it relates to the environment in which the child is located (Ungar, 2008). As a construct emerging from investigations predominantly conducted in the West, authors have begun to question and critically evaluate its cross-cultural applicability and usefulness (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011; Boyden & Mann, 2005). As Ungar (2011, pg 4) states, the study of resilience requires a "broader focus on processes in

complex environments that interact to foster good developmental outcomes of relevance to culturally diverse communities”. Ungar and Liebenberg (2011) further highlight that while an increasing number of researchers are calling for greater cultural relativism in studies of resilience, there remains little in the way of methodological innovation, particularly in quantitative studies. There is a clear need for further research in understanding the expression of positive adaptation in the face of adversity in a variety of contexts.

The International Resilience Project, conducted in 14 sites across 11 countries, identified global, cultural and context specific aspects of children’s lives that contribute to resilience processes (Ungar et al., 2007; Ungar, 2008; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). Through research involving over 1,500 youth globally, it was found that resilience is laden with contextually and culturally bound meaning (Ungar, 2008, pg 218). This research demonstrated that contextual influences are relevant the level and the pattern of resilience expressed in an individual (Ungar, 2008). Context defines the meaning and the opportunities available for the individual, and is a defining feature of how resources are navigated and negotiated toward resilient pathways (Ungar, 2012). Tensions experienced between culture and context reflect highly specific relationships between aspects of resilience for an individual (Ungar, 2008). Ungar (2008) advocates for a culturally and contextually sensitive definition of resilience:

In the context of exposure to significant adversity, whether psychological, environmental, or both, resilience is both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to health-sustaining resources, including opportunities to experience feelings of well-being, and a condition of the individual’s family, community and culture to provide these health resources and experiences in culturally meaningful ways (Ungar, 2008, pg 225).

Such a definition provides a pathway to understand resilience in cross-cultural contexts. Authors (Ungar, 2005; Boyden & Mann, 2005) point to the contextually biased nature of resilience research and challenge normative conceptions of what constitutes *risk* and *protection* in contexts outside the United States and Europe. Most resilience research reviewed comes from the minority world and reflects normative assumptions about the vulnerabilities and capacities of individuals

(Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). New methods of understanding resilience in different cultures propose that social constructivist knowledge is crucial for understanding children's own perceptions of their lives and experiences (Liebenberg et al., 2012). These perceptions and understandings are important for understanding resilient pathways. The contextually biased nature of much of the current literature in resilience overlooks cultural context as part of the experience of capacity and vulnerability (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011).

The current study aims to address this gap through applying techniques employed by Ungar and colleagues (2007 & Ungar, 2008) to a new context in Kampala, Uganda to increase understanding of resilience for children living in impoverished urban settings. Cross contextually and in youth populations, there are limited measures that can assess and account for resilience in ethnically diverse contexts (Masten, 2007). The limitations in research on human resilience are compounded by the fact that it has become increasingly used in programmatic interventions without thorough understanding (Ungar, 2008; Liebenberg et al., 2012). The study at hand aims to contribute to the knowledge base on resilience in cross-cultural contexts through using and enhancing relevant and appropriate tools to measure and explain resilience as it occurs among children in impoverished urban contexts in Kampala, Uganda. This study will engage children and young people in Uganda as part of the methodology, ensuring greater weight and influence can be given to contextual influences in the understanding of the dynamic process of resilience.

2.2 The nature of the dynamic process of resilience as it relates to children and youth in urban contexts in Kampala, Uganda

There is little research about resilience in Uganda as it relates to children living in impoverished urban settlements in Kampala. Studies looking at adversity in children and youth in Uganda tend to focus more on emergency or post conflict situations, rather than everyday life or lived experience of the urban poor. For example, a study on the sexual vulnerability of adolescent girls in Teso, Uganda, demonstrated that despite being affected by conflict, adolescent girls living in refugee camps were not inherently vulnerable (De Berry, 2004). These young girls

relied on the strengths amongst their peers and developed coping mechanisms such as walking together for protection from rape (ibid.). Some children in extreme adverse circumstances demonstrate high levels of adaptability and coping strategies (Boyden & Mann, 2005). Resilience processes and mechanisms have seldom been analysed in research in Uganda, particularly in non-emergency contexts and using a quantitative or mixed methodology.

The Situation Analysis of Children and Poverty in Uganda (Pereznieto et al., 2011) does include a qualitative component related to resilience and things children like in their lives. This study looked at seven scales of vulnerability; education, health, food, water, sanitation, shelter and information across five districts in Uganda. Kampala (Central and Rubaga division) was included in this analysis of data emerging from approximately 500 children. For these children, urban poverty, child labour and inadequate water and sanitation were features that characterised adversity in the central division sample. Part of the study addressed children's views on resilience. Qualitative assessment of interview data highlighted the capacities of children who had been exposed to risk and adversity and had navigated their own way out through support mechanisms such as parents, other relatives, teachers, NGOs and government programmes (ibid., pg 73). Children also expressed more everyday stories of resilience or coping. For example, one girl separated from her family for reasons of education expressed that she coped through positive role models and knowing that she had support from her parents to complete her education (ibid., pg 73).

In addition, there are some comparable studies that examined resilience in similar populations in different contexts. Malindi and Theron (2010) examined the hidden resilience of street children in South Africa, and employed and modified the techniques of the International Resilience Project and compared data collected to normative data (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). They found street children, although often seen as vulnerable deviants, do navigate towards and negotiate for resilience resources in unconventional ways (Malindi & Theron, 2010). Their findings suggest that street children in South Africa scored highly on resilience measures and give support to the concept of an asset-based approach to working with such at risk populations (ibid.).

Similarly, Libório and Ungar (2010) looked at resilience and child labour through an examination of relevant literature emerging from resource poor contexts such as Latin America, Asia and Africa. They argue, whilst not positioning themselves as supportive of child labour, that in some contexts child labour can be advantageous for children (ibid.). When conceived holistically, child labour can serve to empower children as economically independent. Libório and Ungar (2010) argue for a deeper understanding of resilience in different contexts and the need for children to be both protected and given opportunities. Both these studies suggest that resilient trajectories of children and young people in urban contexts may not exhibit adult or normative conceptions of positive adaptation, but may in fact be unique and context specific.

More information is needed on how children and young people in impoverished urban contexts are able to positively adapt despite coming from such adverse backgrounds in Uganda. The Slum Settlement Profile, Kampala (Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development (MoLHUD), 2014), highlights the severe deprivation in slum settlement areas. Inadequate housing, sewerage, access to drinking water, electricity supply and solid waste management characterise these areas. In combination with the Situation Analysis of Children and Poverty in Uganda (Perezniето et al., 2011) we can ascertain to some extent the different adversities facing children in such areas. When asked what makes them happy, children in the study highlighted very simple things: going to school, attention from parents, eating and sleeping well and access to basic services (ibid., pg 74). These are very different adversities from those experienced in a majority of the sample populations used in resilience research in Western contexts. Understanding the nature of resilience as it relates to children and youth in impoverished urban contexts would provide insight and clarity on how children can positively adapt despite experiencing multiple deprivations. This study aims to address this gap in the literature through utilising both qualitative and quantitative techniques to understand the lived experiences of adversity and positive adaptation among children and young people in impoverished urban areas in Kampala, Uganda.

2.3 Empirical contributions towards understanding the factors of the dynamic process of resilience in cross cultural contexts

As indicated at Section 2.1, resilience cannot be explained by one trait or characteristic of an individual, but rather represents the complex interplay between factors within the child, family, community and wider social environment (Ungar, 2011). Luthar and Cicchetti (2000) highlight the implications of resilience research for interventions and social policy. In their analysis, they highlight that the dynamic process of resilience represents a series of interactions between vulnerability factors and protective factors across time and space, individually constructed and mediated (*ibid.*). These factors are formed from multiple levels of influence, including the individual, the family and the context in which they take place. Luthar and Cicchetti (2000) assert that these factors can interact in simple ways, or in interactive, complex models and acknowledge the methodological considerations put forward by Rutter (2000).

Research on resilience “involves a progression from an empirical identification of vulnerability or protective factors to an exploration of processes underlying their effects” (Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000, pg 3). Yet, there are difficulties in measuring these factors and indeed resilience as a construct particularly when trying to identify factors contributing to resilient processes across cultures and contexts (Rutter, 2000; Ungar, 2011). Ungar (2011) points to the difficulties in measuring the construct of resilience due to its decentrality, complexity, a-typicality and cultural relativity. Taking a socio-ecological view of resilience, Ungar and colleagues (2007, pg 295) were able to identify seven tensions that young people were able to successfully navigate towards a pathway to resilience in culturally specific ways (see Table 1). These seven tensions are the foundation of different factors that occur in resilience process, and represent a multi-levelled context specific understanding of resilience.

Table 1: The Seven Qualitative Aspects of Resilience (Ungar et al., 2007, pg 295)

Tension	Explanation
1) Access to material resources	Availability of financial, educational, medical and employment assistance, resources, or opportunities, as well as access to food, clothing and shelter
2) Relationships	Relationships with significant others, peers and adults within one's family and community
3) Identity	Personal and collective senses of purpose, self-appraisal of strengths and weaknesses, aspirations, beliefs and values, including spiritual and religious identification
4) Power and Control	Experiences of caring for one's self and others; ability to affect change in one's social and physical environment in order to access health resources
5) Cultural adherence	Adherence to one's local and/or global cultural practices, values and beliefs
6) Social Justice	Experiences related to finding a meaningful role in community and social equality
7) Cohesion	Balancing one's personal interests with a sense of responsibility to the greater good; feeling of being a part of something larger than one's self socially and spiritually

These qualitative tensions were investigated and substantiated across different cultures by Ungar and colleagues (2007) in their International Resilience Project. This research demonstrated the relevance and cultural applicability of resilience as a construct (Ungar et al., 2007; Liebenberg et al., 2012). In qualitative interviews with 89 youth across 14 sites in eleven countries, unique and culturally specific ways to navigate and negotiate resilience were found (Ungar et al., 2007). The sites included Sheshatshiu, an aboriginal community in Northern Canada; Hong Kong, China; East Jerusalem and Gaza, Palestine; Tel Aviv, Israel; Medellin, Colombia; Moscow, Russia; Imphal, India; Tampa, USA; Serekunda, Gambia; Njoro, Tanzania; Cape Town, South Africa; Halifax, Canada; and Winnipeg, Canada (two sites with urban aboriginal youth, the other with non-aboriginal youth in residential care) (ibid., pg 291). In each site a range of two to 24 children and youth aged 12-23 years participated in face-to-face interviews (ibid., pg 292). Local Advisory Committees (LACs) were established in each research site to provide information on local norms and ethics that guided the research (ibid.; Ungar, 2008).

The International Resilience Project also included a quantitative component. In each research site, 60 youth participants were invited to complete a pilot version of the Child and Youth Resilience Measure (CYRM) (Ungar, 2008, pg 223). This 73-item measure was piloted with a total of 1,451 youth across the 11 research sites (ibid., pg 223). In each site, youth administered the self-report measure in a community setting with participants identified by the LAC who had experience trauma or adversity and were coping or doing well. In each research site different risks were found to be affecting youth, including violence, institutionalisation, mental health problems, homelessness, drug abuse, social dislocation, poverty and exposure to political war and turmoil (ibid., pg 223). The results of the International Resilience project found that the CYRM is a reliable way to measure factors related to resilience across different contexts (ibid.). The research findings substantiated the need for an ecological approach to resilience as it applies in both methodology and theoretical application.

Two sites; South Africa and Tanzania in the International Resilience Project (2006) have relevance to understand the factors contributing to the process of resilience in the Ugandan context. Both being conducted in Africa, the children and young people who participated ($n = 153$) experienced similar adversities to those in Uganda, such as poverty, gender inequality, lack of services and basic necessities, exposure to drugs and alcohol, low education and high impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic (International Resilience Resource Centre, 2006). In South Africa, factors such as education and feeling safe with family were found to be positive contributions to resilience processes. This highlights the necessity of supportive family environments for children (Williamson & Greenberg, 2010). Factors relating to knowledge about where to go in your community to get help were found to be contributing less to resilient pathways. The findings from Tanzania indicated a strong influence of the importance of education, being proud of one's nationality, cooperation with others and not using drugs/alcohol to solve problems. Religious activities and religion as a source of strength were factors found to be positively varied compared to global averages. Negative variance was found on questions relating to sexual expression and being able to talk to others

about sexuality. Such factors contributing to resilience processes could also be relevant in the Ugandan context.

Through subsequent research, Ungar and colleagues (2011) moderated these findings from the International Research Project into the Child and Youth Resilience Measure 28-item (CYRM-28), validated and applicable in different cultural settings as a measurement tool of positive contributions or factors to resilience (Liebenberg et al., 2012). The tool has demonstrated good content-related validity and is able to measure positive contributions to resilience across three domains; individual, family/caregiver and context (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). The individual domain or subscale measures personal skills, peer support and social skills; the family/caregiver subscale measures physical and psychological care giving; and the contextual subscale measures spiritual, educational and cultural factors (Liebenberg et al., 2012). A confirmatory factor analysis found that there exists a good fit between items, between minority and majority population samples (*ibid.*). Significant differences were found between girls' and boys' scores on the measure, however only accounted for 3% of the variance, whereas the differences in context between the majority and minority samples accounted for 18% of the difference in scores (*ibid.*, pg 223).

The current study employed the CYRM-28 to measure the factors positively contributing towards resilience processes among children and young people in impoverished urban areas in Kampala. Taking a socio-ecological approach to resilience, the study adhered to current research paradigms framing the construct as a dynamic process rather than a set of factors that are possessed and remain static over time (Luthar et al., 2000; Ungar, 2011; Liebenberg et al., 2012). Acknowledging the process of resilience across time and space between individual, relational and contextual factors, the study aimed to address the gap in the literature on cross-cultural studies of resilience by investigating the unique factors that contribute to resilience processes within a specific context and a timeframe. Whilst there is not scope within this study to investigate these factors across time, it is hoped that the findings will give an indication of the individual,

family/caregiver and contextual factors contributing to resilience processes in children and young people in impoverished urban contexts in Kampala. The study will utilise, modify and extend the mixed methods approach to resilience of Ungar and colleagues (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011; Liebenberg et al., 2012; Liebenberg et al., 2013), addressing the lack of literature about the factors contributing to resilience processes among children and young people in impoverished urban contexts in Kampala.

2.4 The understanding of resilience among key stakeholders dealing with child welfare policy and programmes in Kampala, Uganda

As Boyden and Mann (2005) highlight, children and families living in extreme poverty or other adverse life situations frequently must rely on their own resources and individual capacities. Globally, the sheer scale of people affected by AIDS, extreme poverty or armed conflict and war, means that international aid and funding simply cannot reach all those in need (ibid.). Neither can the state, with limited capacity and finance, provide assistance to all highly vulnerable groups, including children (ibid.). Children universally are often the most negatively affected population group living in stressful, adverse life situations (ibid.; UNICEF, 2015). Yet little is known about the ways in which they are able to not only cope, but also move towards positive adaptation in such contexts. Children and young people's capacities and strengths contribute to such positive adaptation despite adversity using resources at the individual, family/caregiver and contextual levels in culturally meaningful ways.

In Uganda, this perspective definitely rings true. Whilst acknowledging the efforts of government and non-government organisations in the protection and welfare of Ugandan children, the reductions in HIV/AIDS cases and the increasing life expectancy, we still see there are vast gaps in policy and programmatic support to protect children from violence, abuse, neglect and exploitation (UNICEF, 2015). Resilience is a construct that not only implicates the contextual environment as necessary for children to thrive, but also presents the opportunity to enhance and build on the strengths and capacities of the child, family and community. A gap in

the literature exists in understanding how the construct of resilience can be applied in the Ugandan context, through policy and practice. Through gaining more understanding of the level of knowledge about resilience amongst key stakeholders, this study will aim to position the construct of resilience in the Ugandan context.

Fundamental to the research at hand is how the construct of resilience relates to the field of social work, and in particular social work in Uganda. How social workers can mobilise resources within the micro, meso or macro levels to facilitate and promote resilience is fundamental for social work practice. Central to best practice in social work are the principles of empowerment, strengths and participation of individuals (International Federation of Social Work, IFSW, 2012). In East Africa, social work has become enmeshed with social development, encapsulating the principles of community-based, participatory and right-based movements (Spitzer, 2014, pg 19). Understanding resilience presents an opportunity to capitalise on individual, family/care giver and contextual resources to foster positive adaptation in the face of adversity in an empowering way. However, practical tools are lacking to make such an opportunity a reality. Masten (2001) highlights that resilience interventions could add more assets or resources to one area of an individual's life that are known to promote positive adaptation. Similarly, interventions could involve limiting the risk or threat posed in another area of an individual's life to mediate the influence of adversity (ibid.). Both these approaches are related to social work policy and practice where a contextually sensitive understanding and approach is essential (Boyden & Mann, 2005; Spitzer, 2014).

With the UNCRC being the most ratified convention globally, placing the child's best interests at the centre of programmatic and policy intervention has become imperative (Boyden & Mann, 2005). Yet increasingly, authors are questioning what are the best interests of the child across different contexts and how these needs can be met (ibid.; Healy, 1998). Assessing the level of understanding about risk and resilience across different contexts is imperative to upholding the UNCRC and best meeting the needs of children in adverse life situations, with due

respect to the evolving capacities of the child. Resilience as a construct presents an opportunity to understand the mechanisms by which individuals are able not only to cope but also to adapt positively in extreme adversity. In doing so, it is possible to move away from notions of vulnerability towards understanding the strengths and resilient processes that contribute to positive adaptation and growth (Boyden & Mann, 2005). This study aims to address the gap in the literature about how children and young people themselves experience risk and resilience, helping to inform this approach for in child welfare policy and practice.

Chapter 3: Theoretical/Conceptual Framework

Within the scope of this study there are two main theoretical frameworks useful to understand resilience. The first is the socio-ecological approach to development as it is applied in resilience. The second is the strengths perspective as it relates to resilience, particularly with a view to social work. It is important to note that resilience is not in itself a theory, since a theory is defined as a system of ideas that explain something (Oxford University Press, 2015). Resilience is rather a phenomenon, construct or concept and the theories highlighted below aim to explain how and why it occurs. Where possible in the current study, these theoretical perspectives, largely generated in Western contexts, have been given a cross-cultural lens to enhance their applicability to the Ugandan context.

3.1 The socio-ecological theory and its application to resilience

The socio-ecological theory of development, first described in Bronfenbrenner's *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design* (1979), applies a scientific approach to the interrelations and interactions between different levels within an individual's life; microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem. For Bronfenbrenner (1986), the focus is on human development through these interactions, with the individual placed at the centre of inter-related spheres corresponding to all the different aspects of an individual's life within a particular environment. In applying resilience as a construct, this model of human development is central, implicating the different processes of resilience as they relate to the individual within a family within a contextual environment (Ungar, 2011). Internal and external resources are fundamental to this theoretical approach to resilience, as they interact within each of the different levels of a person's ecology; micro, meso, exo and macro (Grotberg, 1997).

Moving away from earlier theoretical approaches to resilience that solely focused on individual traits, Ungar (2012) in his book *The Social Ecology of Resilience: A Handbook of Theory and Practice* highlights how fundamental the socio-

ecological approach is in relation to resilience. Context is everything; it dictates the complexity of interactions that take place mediating positive growth and development for an individual. Trait-based theoretical approaches to resilience are inadequate to explain the complex patterns of development. As Ungar (2012, pg 19) states “individual traits, behaviours and cognitions are always outcomes that result from positive developmental processes that have been made possible by an individual’s wider ecology”. Such a theoretical approach to resilience is fundamental, particularly in research and in application. It moves away from the emphasis on the individual and focuses more on the entire ecology of the child/individual. An ecological approach moves away from focusing solely on the deficits, and focuses on the broader context. In this sense, it is not possible to blame an individual for their lack of resilience, but rather an understanding of the processes in a wider sense that have led to such outcomes. A wider ecological perspective is required for understanding resilience processes.

In application, Ungar (2012, pg 19) adapts Lewin’s (1951, in *ibid.*) understanding of individual behaviour as a function of interactions with the environment. Expressed in the equation:

$$R_{B(1,2,3,\dots)} = \frac{f(P_{SC}, E)}{(O_{Av}, O_{Ac})(M)}$$

Where R stands for resilience, f stands for function. Function is the sum of the person (P) and their individual strengths and characters (SC) within the environment (E). This is divided by their opportunities (O) that are available and accessible (AV, AC) and are meaningful to them (M). This explains the patterns of individual behaviours as a function of what he/she is experiencing in a culturally relevant way. Further it is able to explain the culturally relevant paths an individual may take to negotiate and navigate resources to seek and obtain what is needed (*ibid.*; Boyden & Mann, 2005). This places the individual as a central agent in the developmental trajectory, mediated by individual, family/caregiver and contextual domains.

Ungar (2012) argues this is the significance of the concept of resilience. Resilience is necessarily context-bound. It “theorises factors and processes as contextually dependent, interacting with social and physical ecologies to create unique outcomes” (ibid., pg 27-28). Such socio-ecological perspective on development is useful for application of the construct of resilience, highlighting the strengths and capacities of the child, as being rather than becoming (Skivenes & Strandbu, 2006). Further, it explains and supports a view of resilience that includes atypical or maladaptive development pathways and acknowledges the complexities of protective processes as they relate to others and within the environment (Ungar, 2012).

3.2 The strengths perspective

Increasingly there is a shift in emphasis from risk to resilience among those working in the social field (Rutter, 2012, pg 33). Moving away from examining maladaptive coping, risky behaviours and psychopathology, those working with people are encouraged to look at the positives, the strengths and assets of an individual and how this can be promoted and enhanced, rather than how to fix the problems (ibid.). Such an approach is encapsulated in the strengths perspective in social work practice. The strengths perspective is not a theory, nor a model, but represents a lens through which we can appreciate experiences (Saleeby, 2006). It is appropriate to acknowledge this set of principles as it emphasises the capacities and strengths of an individual much like resilience as a construct does. The strengths perspective was first proposed by Weick et al. (1989) as a practice model based around the assumption that all people have inherent strengths (Brownlee et al., 2013). Moving away from deficit models, this new set of ideas aimed to orientate practice that enhanced and built on the inherent strengths of a person, even those perceived as traumatised, vulnerable or with psychological problems.

The strengths perspective was further elaborated by Saleeby (2006, pg 1) who encouraged social work practitioners to honour “the innate wisdom of the human spirit, the inherent capacity for transformation of even the most humbled and abused”. Focusing on syndromes and deficits of a person means the other aspects,

such as their experiences; character, hopes and dreams become merely “background noise” (ibid., pg 4). He asserts that far too frequently, the relationship between helper and help seeker is marred with power inequalities, control imbalances and manipulation that instead of aiding transformation leads to a reliving or continuation of problems faced (Saleeby, 2006). Salient to the strengths perspective and the socio-ecology of resilience, is the impact of the context. Saleeby (2006) highlights that when we focus on individualised problem-based approaches, we fail to see the ecology of the person. Knowing more about the social/physical spaces and places of an individual’s lives results in more understanding about what resources are available and what they mean to the individual (ibid.).

The basic assumptions of the strengths perspective as outlined by Saleeby (2006, Chapter 1) include:

1. Every individual, group, family and community have strengths;
2. Trauma and abuse, illness and struggle may be injurious but they may also be sources of challenge and opportunity;
3. Assume that you do not know the upper limits of the capacity to grow and change and take individual, group and community aspirations seriously;
4. We best serve clients by collaborating with them;
5. Every environment is full of resources; and
6. Caring, caretaking and context (the individual’s and community’s ability to care within a context).

The strengths perspective is not about ignoring a person’s problems or traumatic experiences, but rather asks the practitioner to start from the position that all individuals, communities and environments have strengths that can be built upon (ibid., pg 22).

The construct of resilience is addressed by Saleeby (2006, pg 15), as he explains that people do bounce back from adversity in their lives. Referring to the innate resilience of all, Benard and Truebridge (2006, pg 205) highlight that “resilience begins with what one believes”. Here, resilience is seen as the foundation of the strengths perspective in practice. It motivates us to see the potential and capacity

of all individuals for well-being and success (ibid.). The individual has the propensity for change, and it is from this premise that resilience based therapy can be used to inspire people to believe in their own capabilities. Authors conclude that more research is needed to link the new multi-level and process oriented construct of resilience to practical support for social workers and policy makers; putting beliefs and resilience into practice (ibid.).

It is evident that the strengths perspective in social work gives due weight to a person's socio-ecology and recognise the inherent abilities of all people in positively adapting from adversity. The strengths perspective assumes that all environments have resources and that resilience is about having the capabilities to navigate and negotiate these resources across time and space (Saleeby, 2006). Resilience implicates the individual's capacity to negotiate and navigate towards these resources (Ungar, 2012). The strengths perspective was applied in this research through the design and methodological approaches. It acknowledges that strengths in different contexts may not conform to normal trajectories of positive adaptation and that responses to adversity are dictated by context (Guo & Tsui, 2010). Authors (Guo & Tsui, 2010) encourage us to understand resilience and the strengths of an individual as contextually bound, as opposition or maladaptive coping may in fact be advantageous in resource poor contexts. The current research seeks to gather information and to understand what resources are available and how children and young people in impoverished urban contexts are able to navigate their way to these resources in culturally meaningful ways.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter outlines how the study was designed and conducted. The study site, geographic location, tools and analysis techniques are described as they apply to both the qualitative and quantitative techniques. Limitations and ethical issues are also discussed.

4.1 Study Organization and Study Sites

4.1.1 Study Organisation

To access the study population, the research was conducted with Ugandan Youth Development Link (UYDEL, www.uydel.org). As a non-government organisation working with children and young people in urban slum areas, it was an appropriate choice of organisation for the purposes of this study. Further, the variety of sites accessible through the drop-in centres across Kampala gave the opportunity for geographical variety in the sample selection. The presence of social workers in each facility meant that the study could be conducted with ethical considerations in mind, allowing for follow up support for study participants if needed.

UYDEL runs vocational training and rehabilitation programmes for out of school children and youth in urban slum areas. The organisation was established in 1993 and aims to target young people age 10-30 years as the primary beneficiaries, as well as other key stakeholders including families and community leaders. Mainly international and national donors, including Plan International, OAK Foundation, Terres des Hommes, Community Health Alliance Uganda and others, fund the organisation. In 2014, UYDEL reached a total of 24,562 young people through community outreach programmes and 1,197 young people received service through UYDEL drop in centres (UYDEL Annual Report, 2014, pg 9).

The vocational skills training programmes are the access point for the organisation to work with the children and young people on a variety of social welfare

programmes. Currently they have four programmatic areas run in conjunction with their vocational skills training programme:

- Child rights protection (child sexual abuse, child trafficking, commercial sexual exploitation and child labour)
- HIV prevention among high risk groups of children and young people
- Alcohol and substance abuse prevention/rehabilitation
- Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive health.

Social workers are present at all the centres and support the children and young people through their vocational programme and provide case management, follow up and resettlement once the vocational training has been completed and students have graduated. The children and young people are identified to participate in UYDEL programmes through either outreach work by social workers in areas of high vulnerability (such as brothels) or referred by community leaders, other beneficiaries, community health services, police and other organisations. Children and young people voluntarily join the UYDEL programme and are able to leave at any time. Follow up support is managed for up to two years post programme for all cases, and many continue to stay in touch with the organisation for longer periods of time.

4.1.2 Study site

The research was conducted in Kampala, Uganda. The latest census reports the total population of Kampala (Central District) 1,516,210 (UBoS, 2014 pg 12). Although most of Uganda's population lives in rural areas, urbanisation is rapidly increasing and so too the dimensions of inequality (Poverty Status Report, 2014). While Kampala has the largest population of middle class within Uganda, there are stark differences between the living conditions of the poor (0.7%), non-poor insecure (10.1%) and the middle class (89.2%) (Poverty Status Report, 2014, pg 12). The Slum Settlement Profile for Kampala (MoLHUD, 2014) highlights many of the challenges faced in areas where the poor and non-poor insecure reside. Inadequate housing, sewerage, access to drinking water, electricity supply and

solid waste management characterise these areas. An estimated 49,780 people are reported to be living in slum areas in Central Division (MoLHUD, 2014, pg 7).

The researcher choice to conduct the study in areas around Kampala that reflected such environmental adversity. Geographic variety was important to the researcher to allow for diversity within the study population. To document and measure the factors that contribute to resilience, a diverse sample was needed. The site selection was based on the locations of the organisation. The vocational skills training and other programmes of UYDEL are facilitated through eight centres across Kampala and Central Division; one residential facility at Masooli and seven drop-in centres located in Nateete, Nakulabye, Kamwokya, Nakawa, Mukono, Bwaise and Makindye (see map at Appendix A). While the site selection was based on the ability of the organisation to facilitate the research, the eight different sites reflect the adverse environmental conditions that many children and youth experience. The presence of the organisation in these areas is based on the needs of children growing up in impoverished urban environments.

4.2 Description of the research design

The research design consists of a small-scale, mixed-method analysis of the dynamic processes of resilience in urban children and youth. The mixed method approach to this research was selected to modify existing tools in cross-cultural studies of resilience (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). Further, by using different methodological approaches it is anticipated that the complexities of the process of resilience can be captured in the data collection, particularly in a cross-cultural context.

The research design complements Bryman's (201, pg 630) assertion that the connection between epistemology and methodology in social research cannot not be assumed. Acknowledging the paradigmatic arguments on the soundness of mixed-methods research, the design was selected to enhance the completeness of the data, address contextual and reflexivity concerns and to generate a process in using both quantitative and qualitative techniques to understand how the construct of resilience can be applied in the Ugandan context (ibid.). The researcher aimed

to adhere to epistemological commitments of each research technique to capitalise on the autonomy of each technique in its own right to fuse the data collected and generate comprehensive results.

As a cross-cultural study on a particular topic, the process of developing the research tools was important to consider. By adapting the methods of cross-cultural research on resilience performed by Ungar and colleagues (Ungar et al., 2007; Ungar, 2008; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011), this research design captured youth voices through dialogue sessions, using this information to inform a section of the quantitative component in the site specific questions. Key informant interviews were utilised to collect contextual knowledge and understanding in order to ground the results and provide further information about the study organisation and study population. Interviews were conducted with social workers and key stakeholders involved in program areas to do with child welfare. Such an approach is consistent with research conducted by Ungar and colleagues in similar contexts (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011).

However, the research design was evolving and there was some reflexivity in design and methodological approaches. Given the robustness of the data collected during the first dialogue session, two additional dialogue sessions were held to gather additional qualitative data to complete and contextualise the data. Authors (McDonald, Bammer & Deane, 2009; Parsons & Lavery, 2012) discuss the benefits of integrated research and the use of dialogue analysis in methodological design. They highlight the benefits of integrated research in understanding real-world problems as they relate to key stakeholders (McDonald et al., 2009, pg 1-2). Such an integrated approach was necessary, particularly given the time-bound and resource-constrained nature of the study and the fact that the study was conducted within a particular organisation.

4.2 Study population

4.2.1 Urban children and youth

The target population for the research was children and youth living in urban slum areas in Kampala, Uganda. This population group was selected as it meets the definition of adversity as employed in other cross-cultural studies of resilience (Boyden & Mann, 2005; Ungar, 2008). It also provides a variety of different adverse situations to make the data collected more robust in terms of factors contributing to resilience processes. This study conforms to the UNCRC definition of a child as a person up to the age of 18. Young people are defined as those aged 18-24 for the purposes of this study. It is believed this population group is a good entry point for the study of resilience processes in children and youth living in urban areas in Kampala, Uganda.

4.2.2 Key stakeholders

The key stakeholders were secondary to the children and youth who participated in the study. There are obviously many key stakeholders in relation to the welfare of urban children and youth in Kampala. In this instance, the population comprised social workers at the outreach centres of the organisation, as well as two key informants who are both familiar with the organisation and more generally policy and programming for children and youth who are facing adversity. The population reflects both those working directly with children and those in more policy areas.

4.4 Sample size, sample selection and access procedures

4.4.1 Urban children

In order to select an adequate and diverse sample of the study population, the researcher chose to consider location, age and sex of participants living in urban slum areas. It is difficult to ascertain an accurate number of children living in slum areas in Kampala from which to draw the sample size. To estimate the population of children (0-17) in the population of urban slum settlements in Kampala, the

proportion of children living in Uganda (55%) was calculated as a percentage of the total population living in slum areas in central division at 49,780 (Slum Settlement Profile, MoLHUD, 2014, pg 7). From these estimated figures, the adequate sample size is 379 (Table 2), determined using the Roasoft¹ method, where the margin of error is set at 5% and the confidence level at 95%. According to this method, the appropriate sample size (n) and the margin of error (E) are calculated using the formula below:

$$\begin{aligned} x &= Z(c/100)^2 r(100-r) \\ n &= \frac{N^2 x}{(N-1)E^2 + x} \\ E &= \text{Sqrt}\left[\frac{(N-n)x}{n(N-1)}\right] \end{aligned}$$

Where n is the total population size, r is the proportion of responses that you are interested in, and $Z(c/100)$ is the critical value for confidence level (c).

Table 2: Sample size determination

Estimated population 0-17 living in urban slum areas in Kampala	Adequate sample size 0-17	Actual sample size 10-17
27,379	379	79

For a number of reasons it was not possible to administer 379 surveys. The main reasons were the constraints of time and the availability of 10-17 year olds at each outreach centre. Instead, a convenience sample was selected according to the criteria for the survey administration, children aged 10-17, and boys and girls were selected from the population of children and youth attending UYDEL facilities across the eight study sites, see Table 3.

¹ <http://www.raosoft.com/samplesize.html>

Table 3: Sample selection according to location and gender

Location in Kampala	Number of girls	Number of boys	Total number
Nateete	6	4	10
Nakulabye	5	5	10
Kamwokya	10	0	10
Nakawa	8	1	9
Mukono	9	1	10
Bwaise	10	0	10
Makindye	3	7	10
Masooli	2	8	10
Total	53	26	79

In addition to the qualitative component, qualitative information was also gathered on children in impoverished areas. A dialogue session was held with children aged 10-17 at Masooli, where 18 children participated. This sample selected purposefully and was comprised of the total population of children living at the residential facility at Masooli.

4.4.2 Urban young people

The research sought to select a sample of young people who had experienced adversity to inform and contextualise the survey component. In collaboration with the organisation, young people aged 17-24 who had been trained in peer education were invited to participate in dialogue sessions. The sample was larger than intended, a total of 36 participants (m = 13, f = 23) across two sessions in two different locations, Bwaise and Masooli.

4.4.3 Key stakeholders

The selection of key stakeholders was purposeful, as the researcher sought to document the understanding of the construct of resilience at different levels, those working directly with children facing adversity and those at a more programmatic and policy levels. A convenience sample of social workers and other key stakeholders were selected to participate in semi-structured interviews. The social workers working at six locations participated in these interviews. The other key informants were selected due to their knowledge and expertise on children facing

different adversities in Kampala, and more broadly in Uganda and were identified to the researcher during the fieldwork component. These key informants consisted of a senior member of the organisation in which the study was conducted, and a professor and researcher at Makerere University who has done extensive research on child welfare issues.

4.5 Data collection (sources, methods)

Data collection consisted of three components both quantitative (CYRM-28 administration) and qualitative (dialogue sessions, key informant interviews). This source and method of data collection conforms to previous studies in cross-cultural resilience (Ungar et al., 2007; Malindi & Theron, 2010). A summary of the background characteristics of study participants and relevant data collection sources and methods is located at Table 4.

Table 4: Background characteristics, data collection sources and methods

Method	Participants	Age range	Number	Data collected
Dialogue session 1	UYDEL beneficiaries - Bwaise	17-24	17	Qualitative
Dialogue session 2	UYDEL beneficiaries - Masooli	18-22	19	Qualitative
Dialogue session 3	UYDEL beneficiaries - Masooli	10-17	18	Qualitative
CYRM-28 administration	UYDEL beneficiaries	10-17	79	Quantitative
Case studies	UYDEL beneficiaries	13-16	2	Qualitative
Key informant interview – Social Workers	UYDEL social workers	n/a	6	Qualitative
Key informant interview – Policy and Practice	UYDEL head office, Makerere University	n/a	2	Qualitative

4.5.1 Child and Youth Resilience Measure 28 item (CYRM-28)

The study followed the work of Liebenberg et al., (2012), Liebenberg, et al., (2013) and Ungar & Liebenberg (2011) in using the CYRM-28 (Appendix B). This tool was chosen due to its cross-cultural validity and application, and the Youth version of the tool was selected due to the age range in the sample. The

CYRM-28 Youth (CYRM-28) measure has recently been developed through interviews with young people and adults in 11 countries globally with a total of 1,451 youth participating in the pilot measure and qualitative interviews with 89 youth to construct a culturally sensitive 28-item measure of youth resilience (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). The CYRM-28 was used in this study to collect quantitative data on resilience factors among children (10-17) in impoverished urban areas in Kampala, across individual, family/caregiver and contextual domains.

The manual for application of the CYRM-28 suggests three stages for implementation: firstly to establish a local advisory committee, secondly to prepare the CYRM-28 for local use (with the guidance of the committee) and then lastly administration of the CYRM-28. The CYRM-28 demonstrates good content validity and provides a tool to measure the factors of resilience in a culturally sensitive way (Liebenberg et al., 2012). Given the scope of the study, the Person Most Knowledgeable component of the CYRM was omitted. Unfortunately, it was not possible to establish a local advisory committee within the timeframe allocated for fieldwork. Instead, the researcher conducted an initial dialogue session with young people (17-24) to inform the site-specific questions. A total of seven questions were derived from thematic analysis of this dialogue session for inclusion in the CYRM-28 for the purposes of this research (see Appendix B, Section B). These were developed in collaboration with the research assistant, who had extensive knowledge on research with vulnerable children and had facilitated the dialogue session.

The CYRM-28 Youth measure was administered during two weeks of fieldwork. Children and young people attending the UYDEL centres were invited to participate. Children were made aware that their participation was anonymous, voluntary and no compensation would be given. The consent form was read to the child participating and the child was asked to mark the consent form to confirm that they had understood. The survey was translated and administered one on one with the child in the local language with the aid of a research assistant. Probing questions were used to confirm the child's answers as well as build the level of rapport between the child and research assistant. In cases where the child did not

understand the local language, an interpreter at the UYDEL centre was used to translate into a language that the child was more comfortable with. The researcher sought to ensure that a social worker familiar to the child was present and available at the time of survey administration.

4.5.2 Site Specific Questions

In accordance with the CYRM-28 manual, site-specific questions were designed through thematic analysis of the first dialogue session. The dialogue session transcripts were coded under the themes of individual, family/caregiver and contextual. Emergent salient themes related to positive contributions towards resilience processes included:

- Patience
- Hope
- Knowledge about programmes and services available
- Focus
- Determination
- Individual actions and attitudes important for health
- Relationship that are negative need to be avoided

A total of seven questions were developed out of these emergent themes in collaboration with the research assistant and social workers at the organisation (see Appendix B, Section B). Questions were developed on a likert scale, with the majority of questions relating to individual aspects of resilience, as they were the most salient in findings from the dialogue session.

4.5.3 Dialogue sessions

The dialogue sessions were a component of the qualitative methods and included a total of three dialogues with young people and children, using the question guide at Appendix C. These questions for discussion were selected from the Manual for the CYRM-28 Youth, by Ungar and colleagues (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011; Liebenberg et al., 2012; Liebenberg et al., 2013). The first dialogue session with young people (n = 17, age range 17-24) was conducted in order to inform the site-specific questions of the CYRM-28 as well as collected qualitative data.

The second two dialogue sessions with young people (n=19, n=18) were conducted to further contextualise the findings and gain a broader range of opinions from a variety of youth. The large numbers of participants varied in age (18-22 years and 10-17 years, respectively) and were living together at the residential facility located at Masooli. The researcher, research assistant, and the social worker present at the centre facilitated the discussion. The methodological approach to the dialogue sessions aimed to combine open space technology and strategic assumption surfacing and testing (McDonald et al., 2009). Open space technology allows for diversity of participants, large numbers and shared exploration of topics and ideas (ibid.). The researcher had intended to conduct smaller focus group discussions, however more participants turned up than expected at each session. At request of the organisation, all those who turned up participated, and to moderate the discussion a social worker, the research assistant and the researcher were present. Each participant was invited to respond to each of the seven questions asked and discussion flowed well.

4.5.5 Key informant interviews

The semi-structured interviews with social workers (n = 6) and other key informants (n = 2) were conducted in conjunction with the survey administration. The interviews were centred around understanding more about each drop-in centre, the cases they come across, the challenges experienced by children and young people growing up in each location, how young people cope or what they do when they experience adversity and the level of understanding of resilience in the Ugandan context (see Appendix D). The interviews were conducted in English by the researcher. Interviews for the social workers were transcribed and typed up and sent back to the interviewee for confirmation and clarification. The two other key informant interviews were based around a similar interview guide (Appendix E), and responses were recorded and transcribed. In all interviews, verbal consent was gained from the respondent, and it was made clear that responses would remain anonymous and confidential.

4.6 Data processing and analysis

4.6.1 Child and Youth Resilience Measure (CYRM-28)

The data collected from the CYRM-28 administration was processed and analysed using SPSS (version 22). In total, the CYRM-28 collected 46 variables; categorical and ordinal. These were coded on a daily basis to ensure consistency and to provide feedback to the research assistant. These coded variables were analysed using descriptive statistics and the scoring system as outlined in the CYRM-28 manual using SPSS (Liebenberg et al., 2012; Liebenberg et al., 2013; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). The descriptive analysis gave more information about the study population including age, gender, number of movements within a year, who the child was currently living with, who the child considers as family as well as ethnicity and race. The scoring of the likert scale gave a measurement of resilience across three domains; individual, family/relationship and context and an overall score on resilience. The scores on the subscales and total CYRM-28 were compared to the normative data on resilience provided with the CYRM-28 manual, using a one sample t-test for significance in the difference between the means. While it is acknowledged that the small sample size cannot generate generalisations, the comparison was made to provide an indication of resilience in the sample population. This comparison was also made between girls and boys in the sample.

4.6.2 Dialogue sessions

The qualitative data generated through the dialogue sessions was processed using a matrix developed in Microsoft Word and analysed using thematic techniques. Substantive significance, or consistency of themes across and within study participants was found (Floersch et al., 2010, pg 408). The transcripts of the sessions were placed into the matrix organised under the themes of individual, relationship/family and context; both for adversities experienced and factors related to resilience processes. The salient and repeated themes were coded under these three domains consistent with the CYRM-28 survey tool and theoretical understandings of resilience. Sub themes or themes within the broader categories were noted by the research and included in the analysis.

4.6.4 Key informant interviews

The interviews with social workers were transcribed and processed using a thematic analysis approach (Floersch et al., 2010; Bryman 2012). Each interview was transcribed and the transcript was sent back to the social worker for confirmation and clarification. This transcript was coded across the three domains: individual, family/relationship and context using a matrix. As in the work of Floersch et al. (2010, pg 408), substantive significance emerged within the themes across and within the study participants. Adversity and resilience factors for the children and young people emerged. The information regarding the centre was not coded but used to contextualise the results and provided more information on the survey respondents. The key informant interviews were recorded, transcribed and analysed using thematic techniques. Each transcript was placed into a matrix and key themes relating to individual, family/relationship and contextual domains were identified. In addition, key quotes and information regarding policy and programming were recorded and analysed.

4.7 Limitations and difficulties

The study had some limitations and the researcher experienced difficulties in conducting the research. The time bound nature of the fieldwork, limited resources and access to the study population meant that the collected data was not an adequate reflection of the study population. The constraints of time were mitigated by the researcher in organising her time effectively and contacting each drop-in centre prior to visitation. In addition, the research was not conducted independently, but rather with an organisation. Whilst this was advantageous to meet ethical considerations, it severely limited the researcher's ability to control data collection. This was particularly evident with the dialogue sessions, when more young people turned up than expected and the researcher felt pressured to include all present. None-the-less, the researcher mitigated the impact of this through communicating with the moderators and the participants clearly as to the purpose and that everyone was welcome to express their views. Every participant was invited to speak, and discussions were moderated well.

The unfamiliarity of the researcher with the context and culture was limiting in some ways, and also advantageous in other ways. Having minimal knowledge on what it might be like to grow up in an impoverished urban area in Kampala, rendered the position from the start of the research as exploratory, particularly regarding the nature and meaning of adversity and positive adaptation within this context. This could be conceived as limiting, however also meant that the experiences of the children and young people themselves were paramount. Conforming to the socio-ecological perspective on resilience which dictates both adversity and positive adaptation as culturally and contextually bound, the meaning of these for the child or young person within this context were the focus of the study. The children's and young people's views and perspectives were the most important aspect of this research. The researcher made extensive efforts to ensure that these perspectives emerged from the findings and adequately captured. Using a mixed-method approach, reflexivity in design and as a researcher, and wide reading about the context were important to mitigate the limitations associated with cross cultural research. Further, the use of an experienced research assistant throughout the study also minimised the limitations, particularly given the unfamiliarity of the researcher to the context and language barriers.

4.7.1 Methodological difficulties (CYRM-28)

Due to the small-scale nature of the study and the limited number of study participants, the findings cannot be generalised. Unfortunately, the sample was based more on convenience than on statistical significance and can be considered indicative only. In addition, a mixed-method design is not easy to achieve. Bryman (2012, pg 672) highlights that there are fundamental arguments against combining two different methodological approaches, and further that many researchers simply use quantitative and qualitative approaches in tandem rather than truly combining them. To address this, the researcher sought ways to incorporate the quantitative and qualitative measures as much as possible. The initial dialogue session with young people followed by the adaptation of the survey to include site-specific questions went some way to achieve this. The key informant interview data also aimed to contextualise the results from the CYRM-

28 and inform the findings across the three domains: individual, family/relationship and contextual. Whilst the findings are indicative only, they do contribute to the field of cross-cultural research on resilience among children facing adversity through adapting methods employed by other researchers, for example Ungar and colleagues work in cross-cultural studies of resilience (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011; Liebenberg et al., 2012, Liebenberg et al., 2013).

Another methodological limitation was the poor reliability results on the context subscale of the CYRM-28. As Bryman and Cramer (2011, pg 78) suggest, reliability should be established at a level of 0.7 using Chronbach's Alpha, however findings generated in SPSS indicate the context subscale had a level of 0.56, suggesting limited internal consistency of items in this subscale. Using SPSS analysis, it was found that if item one in this subscale "I have people I look up to" was deleted, the highest achievable Chronbach's Alpha of 0.63 was possible, bring it closer to reliability. Therefore, this item was deleted from the subsequent analysis. As this was the first time the CYRM-28 has been applied in a population of children and youth in impoverished areas in Kampala, Uganda, it is not surprising that some items were not consistently measuring factors related to the contextual domain. While the test for significance between sample mean and normative data mean were still applied for this subscale, they cannot be considered a valid and reliable measure of how children and young people are using resources within the context to promote resilience processes. A recommendation for future use of the CYRM-28 in Uganda would be to modify items of the context subscale to enhance reliability.

4.7.2 Urban children and young people

Limitations were experienced in relation to accessing the study population. The children and young people from the organisation who participated had time limitations. As the survey took place during programme hours, they were taking time from their classes to participate and survey administration did take time. This goes some way to explain the limited numbers of participants. In addition, some of the young people participating in the dialogue sessions had to take time from work and classes to participate. Also as mentioned at section 3.5.2 the inclusion of

all those who attended was necessary as time did not allow for consecutive dialogue sessions. Acknowledging the limitations of large group discussions in that they are hard to control and may be difficult to stimulate conversation (Bryman, 2012 pg 507), the discussions were well moderated by the social worker present at the site, the research assistant and the researcher. In addition, the familiarity of the participants (all lived together or had participated in training together) meant that discussion flowed freely and every participant was able to express their view.

4.7.3 Key informants

Access to key informants was limited due to the busy schedules of the respondents. In the case of the social workers, interviews were kept succinct and time bound in order not to take too much time from their work. Clarifying the information provided in writing and by email was also useful in allowing the social worker to do this during his/her own time. Accessing other key informants was also an issue. The limited time available was an issue, and also accessing the right people to conduct these interviews with was difficult given the researcher had limited time and capacity.

4.7.4 Language barriers

Inherent in cross-cultural research is the issue of language and barriers that exist in expression and interpretation. To mitigate this, the survey tool was translated into the local language and administered in this language in a one-on-one session. This allowed the respondent and research assistant to clarify as necessary. The researcher noted a lack of control over the data in this instance, and where possible clarified what was being said in the one-on-one sessions. The dialogue sessions were also conducted in the local language to ensure that the participants felt comfortable to express themselves. Again, the researcher noted the language barrier between herself and the participants, particularly when being directly translated. Allowing the research assistant and the social worker present and familiar to the children and young people to conduct the sessions mitigated this,

although again presented difficulties in the researcher's ability to control the discussion.

4.8 Ethical Issues

Ethical considerations were highly important during this research with vulnerable children and young people. The study proposal was presented and reviewed by the Social Work Departmental Academic and Research Board and sought to comply with the International Ethical Guidelines from the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW, 2012) in upholding transparency of information, self-determination of participants, confidentiality and autonomy. As a general principle, the study ensured the principle of do no harm and aimed for the least invasive approach to conducting the research. To ensure this, those invited to participate in the study were currently receiving assistance through the organisation and a social worker familiar with the children was present at each study site during data collection. The researcher also made clear the outcomes of the research, in that it would not be directly beneficial to either the organisation or the participants, however the results would be made available through a summary report provided to the organisation for dissemination.

Not being from familiar with the Ugandan context or culture, the researcher adopted a level of reflexivity in data collection. Marshall and Batten (2003) highlight that research in cross-cultural contexts needs to be reciprocal and collaborative, reflecting more a process where by researcher and participants actively construct the research. Increasingly, there are calls for ethical guidelines to meet the needs of culturally diverse populations (ibid.). Authors (Marshall & Batten, 2003; Honen et al., 2016) assert the need for researchers to recognise the differences in values and worldviews between the researcher and participants. Collectivist societies compared to individual societies generate differences in thinking and ways of relating that cannot be discounted in social research across cultures (Marshall & Batten, 2003; Healy, 2007).

Culturally embedded notions of ethical conduct were considered in this study, such as how the researcher showed respect in this context, how study participants were fully informed, and how the complex phenomenon of resilience was explained in culturally meaningful ways (Honan et al., 2016, pg 396). The researcher adopted a reflexive stance and looked for collaboration with the study organisation and study participants, yet remained aware of the ethical principles of integrity, respect for persons, beneficence and justice (National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC), 2009). Further, the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (Organisation of African Unity (OAU), 1986) was read in conjunction with interpretations of its application in practice (Mutua, 2000). This assisted in orienting the research within the context and provided understanding of the system human rights in Africa.

In addition to the cross-cultural nature of the study, the research involved participation of children and young people, many of whom had experienced adversity such as extreme poverty, commercial sexual exploitation, trafficking and hazardous child labour. Therefore, it was important that ethical concerns were addressed from the outset of the study. As mentioned above, the researcher chose to conduct the study in an organised context, where support and assistance from social workers was available if needed. In addition, the researcher chose the least invasive approach when working with children and young people in that they were not asked to recall traumatic experiences, and the study focused rather on the positives and strengths of the individual, family and community. Where cases of concern arose, the social worker at the centre was informed. Overall, the study aimed to follow the guidance from Ethical Research Involving Children (ERIC) in consideration of the harms and benefits for children, the dignity, well-being and rights of all children involved in the study. Rapport building and utilising staff already familiar with the children was essential and prioritised in the study.

4.8.1 Transparency

The purpose and intended outcomes of the research were made clear from the start of the research. Each participant was read a passage that explained the outcome and purpose prior to dialogue sessions, survey administration and interviews. The

researcher explained how the findings would be used and that the study participants would be provided with the findings through UYDEL's website and through feedback to the organisation. In addition, transcriptions from interviews with social workers were sent back to the social workers for confirmation and validation. This proved a very useful technique in clarifying the data and for transparency of the information collected. The biggest issue in transparency faced by the researcher was to explain the concept of resilience without significant simplification. This challenge was addressed through explaining in depth to the session facilitator and research assistant the construct and explanation to participants were in the local language. Further, questions in interviews and dialogue sessions were kept open ended and participants were informed that there were no right or wrong answers.

4.8.2 Compensation

The issue of compensation was addressed at the beginning of the research in discussion with the organisation. Noting the dilemmas that can emerge when compensation is offered for participation in research (Andanda, 2009), it was decided that research participants should not be economically disadvantaged because of their participation, nor should they benefit. Therefore, social workers were monetarily compensated for their facilitation of the research (airtime/phone calls) and for their presence during survey administration only. Young people participating in the first dialogue session were provided with travel reimbursement as many had taken time from employment or had travelled long distances. All participants were given the same amount of travel reimbursement. At all dialogue sessions refreshments were provided for participants as a sign of appreciation. All reimbursements and refreshments were given after the session to minimise the possible impact on findings. Participants in the surveys were not given compensation, as there was no travel involved. Survey administration time was kept to a minimum to ensure that they were not kept from their vocational training course for a long length of time.

4.8.3 Self-determination and autonomy

Issues of self-determination and autonomy were addressed from the outset of the research, even through the study design. The study aimed to document and measure the factors relating to the process of resilience among urban children and young people. Implicit in this topic is the strengths of the children and young people themselves and their abilities in negotiating and navigating their way to resilience and well-being, therefore children and young peoples right to self-determination were paramount to consider. Participation was completely voluntary and a person familiar to the participant was present at all times. Research was conducted in a safe, responsible and respectful way, to ensure that the children felt heard and their experience validated and respected.

Informed consent was gained from all participants in the study and of particular note, that their participation was voluntary. Each research participant was read the informed consent at Appendix F, and asked to sign or make a mark on the page to indicate they understood the research. The issue of informed consent as it relates to children without caregivers was managed in the same way as Ungar et al. (2007) in that informed consent was verbal and written and survey administration was witnessed by the social worker familiar to the study participants.

Study participants were informed of their right to not participate at any point in the data collection, and were free to leave discussion sessions or terminate their participation in the survey administration. Contact information of the researcher was provided to research participants and social workers at the study sites agreed to facilitate any further clarification on behalf of the children if needed. At the end of each dialogue session, interview and at the end of each survey administration, the researcher asked the participant(s) if they had any questions. For the key informant interviews, in most cases verbal consent was confirmed prior to the interview. The participant in this case was verbally informed about the study, how their answers would be used and that they would have the opportunity to review the material prior to analysis and inclusion in the results.

In addition, the researcher agreed to provide the organisation with a short report of the findings from the study. Particularly those who participated in the dialogue sessions asked about how they would access the findings after their participation. The researcher agreed that this information should be available to the children and young people, as well as the social workers from UYDEL who generously gave their time, honest answers and reflections about resilience. The researcher will provide this to UYDEL head office and social workers and will facilitate this information becoming available to the children and young people. If possible, the researcher intends to return to UYDEL to present this information.

4.8.4 Confidentiality

The study ensured that the privacy, anonymity and confidentiality of the research participants remain intact. The researcher asked all who helped facilitate the research, including the research assistant and social workers conducting the dialogue sessions to sign the confidentiality agreement at Appendix G. All participants were informed that their names would not be used as identifiers in the research, but that non-unique identifiers such as their age, gender and location would be used in the analysis and to present findings. Confidentiality in the dialogue sessions was harder to manage, as during the discussion some personal information emerged voluntarily. However to manage this, it was made clear before all dialogue sessions that information shared was to remain within the group and viewed as private. The researcher paid attention to the comfort levels in the group, and noted that the familiarity of the participants (having experienced training together in peer education, or living together at the residential facility) was an asset in the group dynamics. Discussion flowed freely and responses were well received. During the interviews with social workers and key informants, confidentiality was made clear at the beginning of each interview. Again it was highlighted that non-unique identifiers would be used only.

Chapter 5: Findings and Analysis

This chapter outlines the findings and analysis of both the quantitative and qualitative components of the study. It is structured around the research objectives and relevant research questions. Graphic representations and tables have been included to describe the population and relevant tables from SPSS generated from the significance test are also included.

5.1 The nature of resilience as it relates to urban children and young people in Kampala, Uganda

5.1.1 Background characteristics

It is important to comment on the background characteristics of the sample population, particularly as it adds contextual elements to the findings of resilience as it relates to this particular sample. As indicated at 3.5.2, all participants in the dialogue sessions (n= 54) were beneficiaries of UYDEL programmes and ranged from 10 years to 24 years. All participants were out-of-school youth who had dropped out of formal education for various reasons, the main reason being due to poverty and needing to work. There were more girls (n= 34) than boys (n= 20) among those who participated in the sessions. Many of the children and young people in the sample were former commercial sex workers or street children and young mothers. This information was gathered from the dialogue sessions, case level information and from semi-structured interviews with the social workers at the centres.

The first session was conducted with young people 17-24 who had participated in peer education programmes following vocational skills training from UYDEL. Many of those that attended were currently employed in their vocational skill. The second two dialogue sessions were held at the Masooli residential facility, with those aged 17-24 years and 10-17 years respectively. The backgrounds of those at the residential facility varied and were more critical than those in the first dialogue session as they required 24-hour care outside the family. The adversities

experienced by the participants were reported by the social worker and included trafficking, commercial sex work, child labour, orphanhood and abandonment among others.

5.1.2 Adversity

It is important to comment on the explanations of adversity as they were described in the dialogue sessions. Resilience by definition encompasses positive adaptation following adversity, and part of the dialogue sessions was devoted to understanding more about how the children and young people viewed and understood adversity. Two questions; “What does it mean to you, your family and your community when bad things happen?” and “What kinds of things are most challenging for you growing up here?” were asked to the participants, reflecting both subjective and objective perceptions of adversity.

Contextual and relationship themes were discussed in relation to adversity. Many of the participants spoke to the challenges of growing up in an area where resources were lacking, particularly basic necessities such as food and clean drinking water. Broader contextual factors were also discussed, including weak systems of child protection and welfare. Under the relationship theme, respondents spoke to the lack or absence of adequate parental care and supportive relationships. The participants from the residential facility also spoke to discrimination and bullying as a core challenge of growing up in that particular context. Exclusion became a key observation in the discussion. Adversity experienced from negative or maladaptive peer relations also emerged as a challenge. Participants spoke to the negative influence of peer groups, that peer relations could get them involved in maladaptive coping strategies such as drug taking. This finding was interesting as it confirmed assumptions of positive, not negative, relationships as being an important factor for resilience and positive adaptation (Rutter, 2000; Masten, 2007). Children and young people in urban contexts articulated that relationships could be and often were a negative influence on resilience processes.

It is of note too that the findings between the two groups in the dialogue sessions (non-residential and residential) were quite different. Many of the challenges that they were facing reflected their living situation, uncertainty in the future (as it is a six-month programme at the residential facility) and the dynamics of peer relations living among away from family. Never the less, all three sessions highlights individual, relationship/caregiver and contextual aspects of resilience processes, supporting the ecological approach to resilience. The older age groups, 17 years and above, tended to speak more broadly about the adversities they were facing, where-as those below 17 years tended to speak more specifically about life at the facility.

5.1.3 Individual aspects of resilience

Aspects of resilience according to children and young people were asked indirectly, phrased as “What do I need to grow up well here?” and “How do you describe people who grow up well here despite problems they face?” and “What do you do when you face difficulties in your life?”. Again, subjective and objective opinions were gathered, asking the participants to reflect on both their own experiences and how they perceive others around them who are doing well.

Individual aspects of resilience were frequently spoken about. Individual beliefs and behaviours were commonly reported as aspects to do with resilience and positive adaptation. In all dialogue sessions, hope and patience were frequently mentioned as being needed for positive adaptation following adversity. One respondent, girl 17 years, in describing people who grew up well despite the problem they faced replied that they are “passionate, determined and maintain a hopeful attitude”. Another respondent, aged 22 also female, when asked to describe what she did when facing difficulties in her life stated, “everything is possible” as a core belief needed to cope. Such statements reflected how individual attitudes and beliefs were fundamental to how these children and young people in urban contexts had overcome adversity. Motivation, courage and a thorough knowledge of yourself were also highlighted in the dialogue sessions. One respondent, male aged 17 stated that “self-soul searching” was an important part of coping with adversity. All three dialogue sessions talked about

determination and staying focused as a core part of growing up well in this context. Knowledge, particularly related to the UYDEL programmes were also frequently mentioned in sessions. This finding very much reflects the context in which the study took place, knowing the rules and regulations, the various programmes, in conjunction with knowing yourself were frequently reported as individual aspects related to resilience in this context.

Individual behaviours were also mentioned frequently. Generating and gathering knowledge, avoiding negative or “bad” behaviours, asking for help when needed and utilising the resources when they were available were spoken about. Behaviours like being able to negotiate for safe sex or for food as well as payment for sex was spoken about in the first dialogue session. Pro-social behaviours were also mentioned, such as not stealing, being open and kind to others, being respectful among others were discussed as things that an individual could do to maintain well-being. Participation was also a core finding for resilience aspects related to the individual. Participating in the activities at the UYDEL centres was talked about as a fundamental way to cope with adversities that occur in this context. This was also mentioned by the social workers, as one participant in a semi-structured interview mentioned “the children come here and forget their problems [...] taking part in group sessions and sports and recreation activities”. The children and young people themselves also spoke to the importance of active participation, as one participant (male, 15) in the dialogue session at the residential facility stated, “taking part in sports makes me feel healthy”. Participation was found to be a core component of resilience and well-being for the children and young people in the sample.

Beliefs and behaviours in relation to religion were talked about a lot in all three dialogue sessions. Many participants reflected on their belief in god and praying as a coping mechanism when bad things happen. One girl, aged 24 years, mentioned that praying before going for commercial sex work was a way she maintained health. Praying and a belief in god was a way these children and young people found strength in the adverse situations they were dealing with, it was said to be motivating and a way to feel looked after. This finding in particular was difficult for the researcher to code under the three themes; individual,

relationship and contextual, as in reality it could be assigned to all three. Individual beliefs and behaviours associated with religion appeared in some way to compensate for a lack of supportive relationships in their lives. It also could equally be coded as contextual, as religion is strongly present in Ugandan life and culture (Pereznieto et al., 2011). Either way, it was a frequent finding in all three categories and reflected in all dialogue sessions conducted.

Such findings highlight the strengths perspective in practice, that all individuals do have inherent strengths (Saleeby, 2006). It also demonstrates that resilient processes can generate from within the individual, particularly in their beliefs and attitudes. Findings in the dialogue sessions indicate that individual resources and strengths contribute to resilience processes in this context, and as Saleeby (2006) highlights, all individuals have the propensity to change and adapt. Further the findings support the link between beliefs and resilience (Benard & Truebridge, 2006). Much of what the children and young people identified as resilience processes were related to individual beliefs and behaviours.

5.1.4 Family/caregiver aspects of resilience

Family/care giving aspects of resilience were not mentioned as frequently as contextual and individual aspects in the dialogue sessions. This was a surprising finding, as other studies of resilience (Rutter, 2000) have noted that supportive relationships are critical components of children's ability to bounce back following adversity. However, supportive relationships were discussed in one of the dialogue sessions, particularly the need for constructive friendships. In the first dialogue session, one girl aged 23 years mentioned that walking together and in groups protected them from rape. Another participant said, "parental love is needed to stay healthy". Talking to peers, as well as counsellors and social workers at the centres was also identified as a relationship aspect of resilience. When asked "what do you need to grow up well here?" responses did implicate the need for supportive relationships and getting constructive friends. Relationships, including family and parents, were viewed as a resource when available.

Yet typically, the negatives associated with the lack of supportive relationships and the possible negative impact of peer groups were more salient in responses. Negative relationships and the impact of “bad friends” or the lack of supportive family environments were frequently discussed in response to “what does it mean when bad things happen”. The negative impact of peer relationships highlights the contextually defined nature of resilience in that for these children and young people growing up in impoverished urban environments, peer relationships could result in maladaptive development pathways. This is particularly salient when considering the lack of parental care for a large proportion of the sample population. Peer relationships are critical for support when the family is not a resource, and yet this in itself made them inherently risky for the children and young people in the sample. This finding was supported by the younger (10-17 years) dialogue session, where the main challenges discussed were discrimination and bullying. Exclusion from peer groups was another challenge faced by children and young people. Exclusion from family was also mentioned frequently, as one boy 15 years said when asked what it means when bad things happen, “when family take your property”.

These findings suggest that family and care giver relationships are not as much of a resource for resilience processes as compared to other factors. It is contradictory to the socio-ecological approach to resilience in that it implicates the meso/family environment as a contributor to resilience processes. However, as Ungar (2005; 2008) highlights, there are unique pathways towards resilience across different cultures. The sample population represent children and young people who have in many cases been displaced from their immediate biological family and have managed to cope well. Relationships were highlighted as important, both with family and peers, yet they also needed to be navigated carefully as more frequently mentioned were the negative aspects of unsupportive relationships. This represents a unique and contextually bound pathway to resilience and can only be considered in the context of Uganda.

5.1.5 Contextual aspects of resilience

The contextual aspects of resilience mentioned in the dialogue sessions frequently related to knowing and utilising services available, specifically those offered by UYDEL. The health, education, counselling and activities available at the outreach centres as well as the residence facility were talked about as helping children and young people to cope and part of their perceptions of what it means to be healthy. As Ungar and Liebenberg (2011) state, resilience is about negotiating the path to resources available and sharing these resources with family, friends and the community. Participants frequently mentioned knowledge about those resources as an important part of maintaining well-being even when faced with adversity.

In the dialogue session with 10-17 year olds at the resident facility, responses frequently mentioned knowing about the different programmes and services available as part of growing up there well. In addition, conformity was also mentioned as an individual component related to the context. Knowing and adhering to the rules and regulations of the UYDEL programmes and facility was said to be essential for positive growth. This context bound individual aspect of resilience was interesting, particularly in such a diverse study sample. The researcher noted that this aspect of the context was important for the children and young people in urban contexts, to promote structure and balance in daily life, but also to create a sense of belonging. The responses were indicative of a population who faced impoverishment and general lack of resources in other areas of their lives, however were able to negotiate their way to the things that they needed; health, education and social support through the support of UYDEL.

The findings confirm Ungar's (2008) assertion of contextually bound pathways to resilience. In a resource poor context such as areas of urban impoverishment, knowing what programmes are available was important for navigating towards positive adaptation for the children and young people who participated in the dialogue sessions. Resilience pathways described included securing economic stability and livelihood generation, which UYDEL were able to provide. For the children and young people who participated in the dialogue sessions, the

contextual elements of resilience related to gaining capital through stable employment. Such a finding resonates with Saleebey's (2006) assertion that all communities and contexts have strengths, even in resource poor contexts such as impoverished urban areas in Kampala.

5.1.6 Resilience as described by urban children and young people

If we are to look at resilience as described by children and young people in urban contexts, we would see that it is highly varied and unique in nature. When asked to describe resilience traits of others, one participant said, "they have gone through difficult circumstances and come out of it". Another mentioned "they became fed up with this situation and wanted something better". These responses highlight the understanding of resilience as positive adaptation after adversity. This conforms to theoretical understandings of resilience in other contexts, that individuals even in resource poor contexts are able to navigate and negotiate resilient pathways (Ungar et al., 2007; Lipsitt & Demick, 2012).

To gain a deeper understanding of what resilience means to urban children and young people, individual, family/caregiver and contextual aspects were analysed in the data. In particular, individual attributes, beliefs and behaviours were described as aspects of people who coped well. Patience, determination and the ability to care for others were salient themes in the dialogue sessions. Similarly, being able to navigate through adversity, using their own skills and abilities to find resources was frequently mentioned. In this sense, the nature of resilience as it relates to urban children and young includes attributes within the individual, as well as in the context that help to promote well-being and coping after adversity. Interesting, and contrasting to Ungar and Liebenberg's (2011) definition, family/care giving and the ability to share resources was not a core component of the nature of resilience according to children and young people in impoverished urban contexts. This finding is supported in other areas of the study, that for children in these contexts to positively adapt they rely much more on resources within themselves to navigate and mobilise resources in the context for positive development, which may include findings the supportive relationships they need.

However, critically, it should be noted that resilience is not just about resources within the individual, but also how the skills, abilities and knowledge individuals have are able to be used to find what they need in culturally meaningful ways. Many of the individual factors mentioned in the dialogue sessions indicated this, that knowledge and beliefs were important to secure economic stability and improve their pathway to positive adaptation following adversity. Here we see that the socio-ecological approach to resilience is useful in application (Ungar, 2012). Individual strengths and characteristics were found to be moderated by the environment, and that the opportunities available and accessible must also be meaningful to the individual and within the context (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). Much like the example from the Tanzania Site Report (International Resilience Project, 2006), we see that the meaning of resilience is tied to securing capital to rise above social discrimination. Individual and contextual elements combined to contribute towards the resilient pathways of economic independence among children and young people in impoverished urban areas in Kampala.

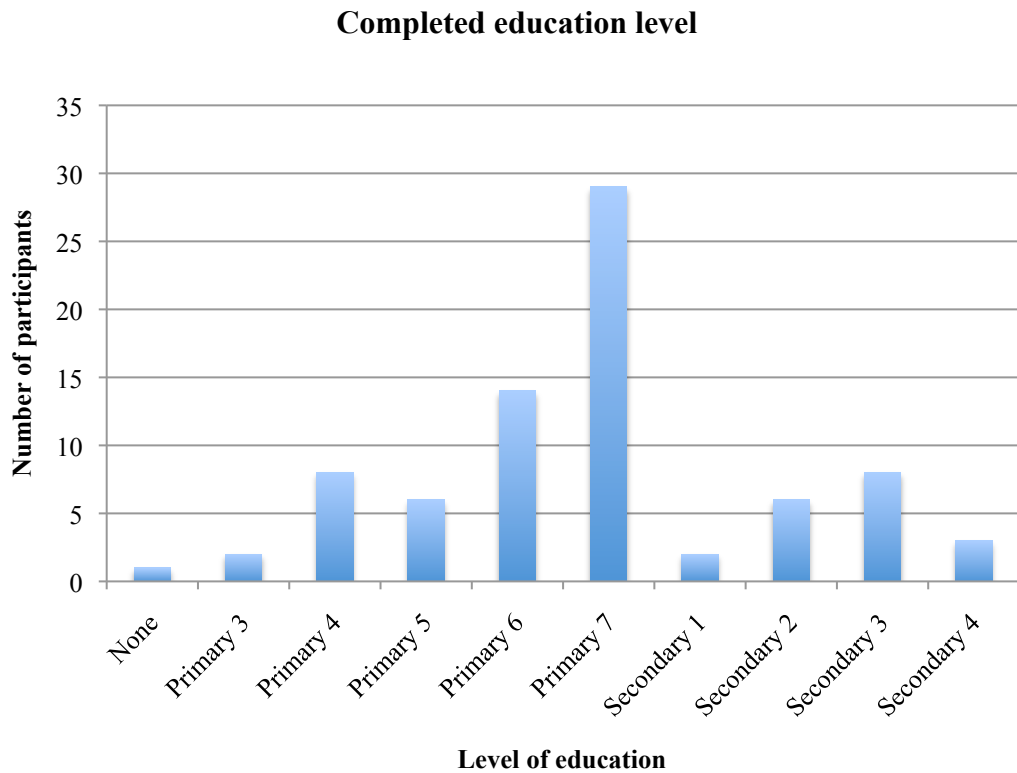
5.2 Factors that contribute to the dynamic process of resilience among children and young in impoverished urban areas in Kampala, Uganda.

5.2.1 Background characteristics – descriptive statistics

Of the 79 CYRM-28 surveys administered during the fieldwork across the eight research sites, there were 53 girls and 26 boys ranging from 10 years to 17 years. All had dropped out of school and were beneficiaries of UYDEL programmes. The survey collected some demographic information to complete the background characteristics for the study sample. As indicated at 3.4.1, *Table 3*, there is a fairly even distribution of numbers collected at each research site. One sample specific background characteristic was the length of time the respondent had been participating in the UYDEL programme. Whilst this was not collected by the survey, children were asked as part of the introduction and there was great variety in the sample in this respect. Some had just arrived at UYDEL and some were about to finish their vocational skills training and graduate. The levels of formal education varied in the sample, from no formal education to completing secondary

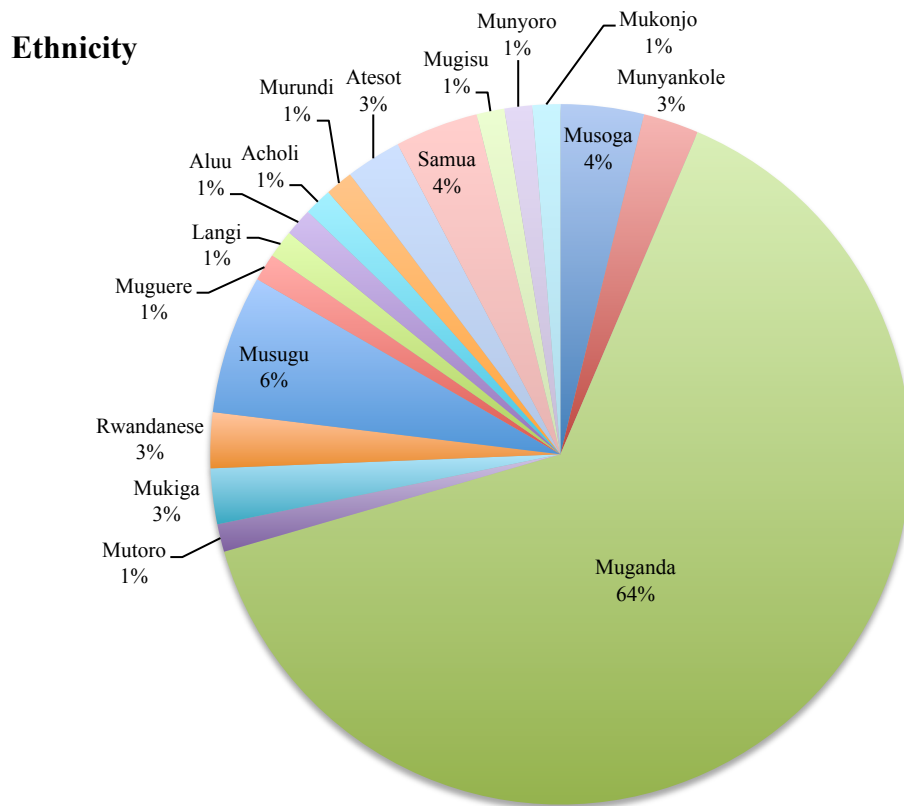
four, however none had completed full primary and secondary education (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Education levels



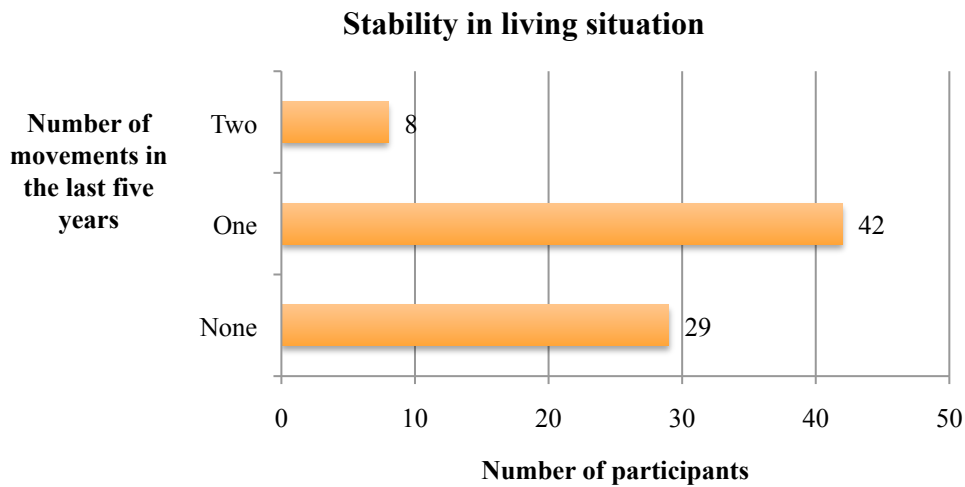
There were a total of 17 different ethnic groups in the sample (see Figure 2), the largest group being Muganda. The highly varied ethnicity of the study sample was surprising, many of the children had moved from other parts of Uganda, or identified with different ethnic groups. Further, the varied ethnicity perhaps goes some way to explain the high levels of discrimination expressed during dialogue sessions with urban children and young people.

Figure 2: Ethnicity of sample



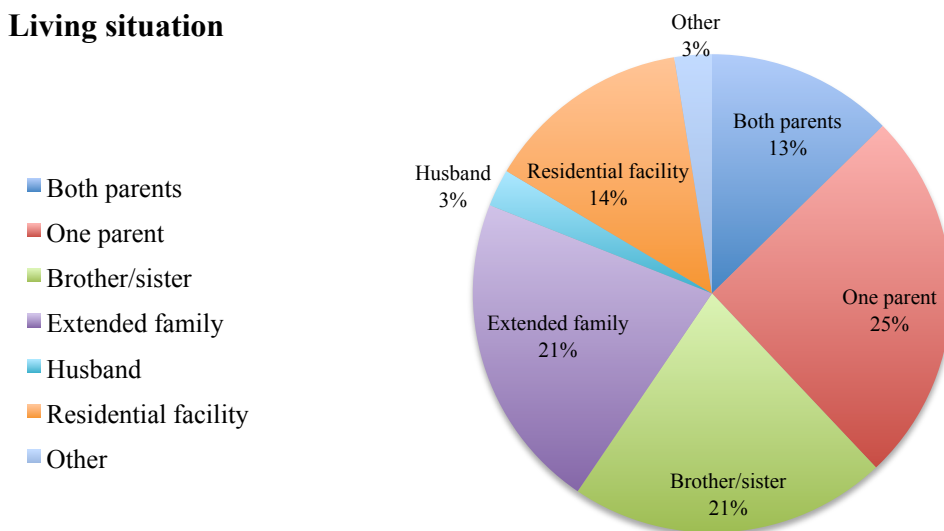
The sample demonstrated different levels of stability measured by how often they had moved in the last five years (see Figure 3). Most children in the sample had moved homes at least once in the last five years. The number (8) of the sample that had not moved indicated that they had lived in that area since childhood or for their whole life. This finding was also interesting, as many of the sample population had relative levels of instability. Moving frequently can demonstrate difficulties in dislocation from the community or even family, providing further adversity in maintaining supportive relationships or support from the community. Social dislocation was also an adversity experienced by the children and young people in the Tanzania Site from the International Resilience Project (2006).

Figure 3: Number of movements in the last five years in sample



Of the sample, the majority (81%) lived with a member of the biological family, either one or both parents, brother or sister, aunt or uncle or grandmother. A minority (19%) lived with non-relatives either at the residential facility, with friends, husband or other situation such as living on their own (see Figure 4). In this respect, the sample was varied in terms of living situation and levels of family support. Whilst not the focus of the research, it was an interesting snap shot into children living outside the family environment, or those that were separated from their families.

Figure 4: Living situation of participants



5.2.2 Overall CYRM-28 score

The overall score on the CYRM-28 gives an indication of resilience levels according to individual, relationship and contextual factors. The overall score represents the multiple pathways and processes that are embedded in the dynamic process of resilience (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). The CYRM-28 has three subscales; individual, family/caregiver and context, which combine to give an indication of the processes involved in resilient pathways (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). The measure is positively scored only, and the total reflects the overall levels of factors being used to promote resilience.

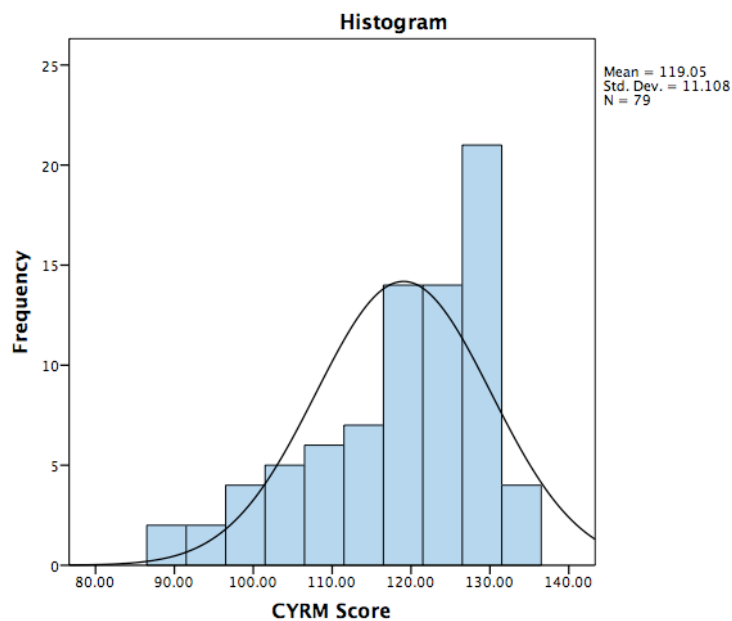
A one sample t-test was applied to compare the sample mean of the overall score to the normative data mean for the CYRM-28 (Bryman & Cramer, 2011, pg 170). The assumptions to perform a one sample t-test were tested. Firstly the dependent variable is interval, or scale. Secondly, the data represents independent variables; observations are not correlated or related. Thirdly, no outliers were identified in the sample population. However, when normality was tested in the sample population assumptions of normality were not met (see Table 5 & Figure 5). However, the one sample t-test was used for an indicative demonstration of the difference between the normative data and the sample scores.

Table 5: Test of normality, CRYM-28 total score

Tests of Normality						
	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
CYRM Score	.140	79	.001	.921	79	.000

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

Figure 5: Distribution of sample, CYRM-28 total score



Despite not meeting the assumption of normality, the sample population scored higher than the normative data for youth with complex needs (see Table 6), meaning that the sample was positively skewed. The difference between the sample mean of 123.51 and the normative data mean of 107.15 was found to be significantly different at the two-tailed probability level of 0.00 (see Table 7). Bryman and Cramer (2011, pg 172) ask us to also look at the standard error of the mean. The standard error of the mean represents the standard deviation of the sample means. The one sample t-test compares how likely the difference in the means has occurred by chance. The smaller the difference is, the more likely it is to have arisen by chance (Bryman & Cramer, 2011 pg 172). As the standard error of the mean is high (>1.2 , see Table 7) we can assume that the large difference has not arisen by chance. This indicates that the mean of the sample is significantly higher than that of the normative data.

Table 6: CYRM-28 total scores in sample compared to normative data for youth (10-17) with complex needs

	Sample		Norm (complex needs youth)	
CYRM Score	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
CYRM Total Score	119.05	11.108	107.15	17.168

Table 7: One sample t-test CYRM-28 mean (sample) and CYRM-28 mean (norm)

T-Test

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
CYRM Score	79	119.0506	11.10775	1.24972

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 107.15					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
CYRM Score	9.523	78	.000	11.90063	9.4126	14.3886

The overall scores on the CYRM-28 reflect a sample that are demonstrating processes of resilience, managing to negotiate and navigate their way to the resources that they need. The children in impoverished urban contexts in Kampala overall show that they have the capacity and skills to contribute towards resilient pathways (Ungar, 2008).

5.2.3 Individual factors

The individual subscale is a measure of the personal skills, peer support and social skills expressed by the individual (see Table 8). It is measured by three clusters of questions; *personal skills*, including “I cooperate with people around me”, “I try to finish what I start”, “People think I am fun to be with”, “I am able to solve problems without hurting myself (for example by using drugs and/or being violent)”, and “I am aware of my own strengths”. Another cluster of questions relate to reported levels of *peer support* which includes two questions; “I feel

supported by my friends” and “My friends stand by me in difficult times”. The last cluster of questions relates to reported levels of *social skills* and includes; “I know how to behave in different social situations”, “I know where to go in my community to get help”, “I have opportunities to show others that I am becoming an adult and can act responsibly” and “I have opportunities to develop skills that will be useful later in life (like job skills and skills to care for others)”.

The average of score of these questions is presented at Table 8. In all cases average scores were slightly higher than the normative data for complex needs youth. If we compare the mean for the whole subscale of 49.43 for *individual* with the mean for the normative data on the subscale, we see there is a significant difference ($p = 0.00$), see Table 9. This suggests that individual factors are highly relevant for resilience processes in the sample population. The findings suggest that children and youth in urban contexts rely frequently on their own abilities and skills to navigate their way to the resources that they need. Cooperation, problem solving, sense of belonging and social and practical skill development were all important for the sample population in adapting well despite the adversities that they faced.

Table 8: Scores and means of the Individual Subscale: sample compared to norm

CYRM Score	Sample		Norm (complex needs youth)	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
<i>Individual</i>	49.43	5.168	43.85	6.443
Personal Skills	4.73	0.428	3.87	0.632
Peer Support	4.06	0.944	4.04	0.998
Social Skills	4.45	0.531	4.10	0.755

Table 9: One-sample t-test Individual subscale mean (sample) and Individual subscale (norm)

T-Test

One-Sample Statistics				
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Individual Sub-Scale CYRM Score	79	49.4304	5.16816	.58146

One-Sample Test						
	Test Value = 43.85					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
Individual Sub-Scale CYRM Score	9.597	78	.000	5.58038	4.4228	6.7380

On average the different between the score on individual factors contributing to resilience were 5.6 points higher than normative data. This was the highest score among the subscales, and indicates that the sample population are using their own skills and abilities to navigate and negotiate the resources that they need in culturally meaningful ways. It supports the principles put forward in the strengths perspective (Saleeby 2006), and highlights how building on the capacities and the abilities of the child are fundamental in fostering resilient pathways for positive adaptation. Further more, the questions reflected on both actual and perceived beliefs and motivations, highlighting the linkage between an individual’s beliefs and resilience (Bernard & Truebridge 2006).

5.2.4 Family/caregiver factors

The family/caregiver subscale is a measure of the physical and psychological care-giving as expressed by the individual. The relationship subscale is measured by five questions under two clusters; the first being physical care giving which includes “My parents/caregivers watch me closely” and “If I am hungry there is enough to eat”. The second is psychological care-giving, which includes “My parents/caregivers know a lot about me”, “I talk to my parents/caregivers about how I feel”, “My family stands by me in difficult times”, “I feel safe when I am with my family/caregivers” and “I enjoy my family/caregivers cultural and family traditions”.

At Table 10 we can see the differences between the sample means for this cluster of questions and the normative data for complex needs youth. On physical care-giving the mean appears lower than the normative data. For psychological care-giving it appears slightly higher. In applying the one sample t-test to compare the overall means of the relational subscale we can see that there is not a significant difference ($p = 0.15$) between these two means, see Table 11.

Table 10: Scores and means of the Family/caregiver Subscale: sample compared to norm

CYRM Score	Sample		Norm (complex needs youth)	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Family/caregiver	26.43	5.101	27.27	6.196
Physical Care-giving	2.85	1.121	4.04	0.922
Psychological Care-giving	4.15	0.736	3.84	0.987

Table 11: One-sample t-test Family/Caregiver Subscale mean (sample) and Family/Caregiver Subscale (norm)

T-Test

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Relationship with Caregivers Sub-scale CYRM Score	79	26.4304	5.10074	.57388

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 27.27					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
Relationship with Caregivers Sub-scale CYRM Score	-1.463	78	.147	-.83962	-1.9821	.3029

There are some noteworthy observations in this finding. Firstly that some of the population were from the residential facility ($n= 10$) this may have been a confounding factor as they do not have the immediate attention of their parents/caregivers. However one could argue that the residential staff should be providing this in such cases. Another possible confounding factor is that physical care-giving also relates to having enough to eat, which as expressed in all dialogue sessions is not always the case for children and families living in impoverished urban contexts. Nevertheless the non-significant difference between the sample and norm mean is interesting, particularly when on the other subscale the scores were higher than the normative data. This suggests that for sample population, family/caregivers were not significantly contributing to resilience processes.

5.2.5 Contextual factors

The contextual subscale is a measure of the spiritual, educational and cultural factors that are positively contributing to the process of resilience as expressed by the individual measured by 10 questions. Under the spiritual cluster, the questions “Spiritual beliefs are a source of strength for me”, “I participate in organised religious activities” and “I think it is important to serve my community” measure reported spiritual beliefs contributing to resilient processes. The education cluster includes the questions “Getting an education is important to me” and “I feel I belong at school/programme”. Cultural cluster questions included, “I am proud of my ethnic background”, “I am treated fairly in my community”, “I enjoy my community’s traditions” and “I am proud to be a citizen of Uganda”. As mentioned at 4.7.1, the item “I have people I look up to” was removed to increase reliability of the subscale.

If we look at the means of each cluster of questions related to contextual variables, we can see that they are scoring slightly higher than the normative data for complex needs youth (Table 12). In applying a one-sample t-test to test the difference in the overall mean for the context subscale, we can see that this difference is significant ($p= 0.00$), see Table 13. This indicates that contextual factors in the sample population are important for resilience processes. Religious beliefs, being part of a community, education and traditions were important

factors as reported by children to cope with the adversity around them and positively adapt.

Table 12: Scores and means of the Context Subscale: sample compared to norm

CYRM Score	Sample		Norm (complex needs youth)	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Contextual	43.19	2.957	36.03	7.856
Spiritual	4.71	0.506	2.81	1.146
Educational	4.97	0.136	3.87	1.083
Cultural	4.71	0.445	3.97	0.816

Table 13: One-sample t-test Context Subscale mean (sample) and Context Subscale (norm)

T-Test

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Context Sub-scale CYRM Score	79	43.1899	2.95729	.33272

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 36.03					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
Context Sub-scale CYRM Score	21.519	78	.000	7.15987	6.4975	7.8223

It is important to note as well that this finding may have confounding factors. It was decided to include the education values as well, as the children participating in the study were in the vocational skills training programme provided by the organisation. The fact that scores were still high on this variable demonstrates that children in the sample believe that getting an education is important, and had navigated their way to this resource (vocational education) despite dropping out of formal education for various reasons. The responses about spirituality were the highest scoring amongst the contextual cluster questions. This finding was interesting as it indicates the importance of religion to the sample population. This was also reported in many of the dialogue sessions; praying and a belief in god

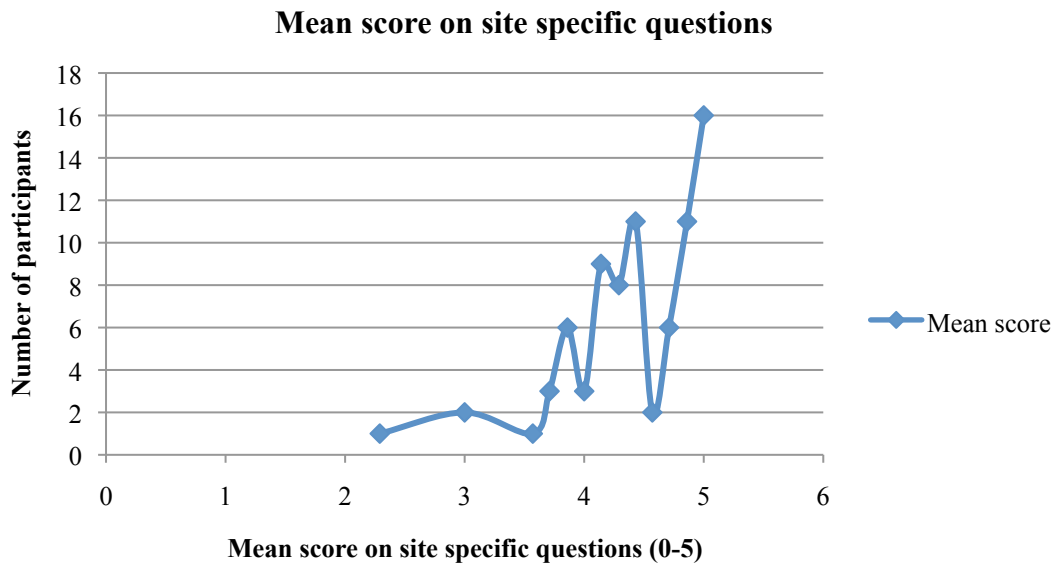
were a source of strength for children and young people in impoverished urban contexts. This is a similar finding to that of the Tanzania Site from the International Resilience Project (2006) where religious beliefs and practices were found to be a strong contributor to resilience processes providing a source of strength for children and young people.

However, as indicated at 4.7.1, this subscale had low reliability ($\alpha = .62$), which highlights that the subscale is not internally consistent (Bryman & Cramer, 2011, pg 77). As mentioned above, the confounding factors could have made the measure less reliable and also that this was the first time this tool was administered in this context necessitates further modification of the items to enhance reliability. Unfortunately, we cannot make generalisations or infer significance from the results on this subscale. This was surprising, as the CYRM-28 tool has demonstrated good content-related validity and reliability in other contexts with a larger sample (Liebenberg et al., 2012). Further discussion on the reliability is at 5.2.7.

5.2.6 Site specific questions

The responses to the site-specific questions reflect largely individual beliefs and behaviours associated with what youth in the first dialogue session identified with people who coped well despite adversity. Responses were scored in the same way as with the CYRM-28 scores; summing the scores to get a total, and then calculating the mean score. Mean scores were typically high (4.42 out of five) on the site-specific questions, see Figure 6.

Figure 6: Mean scores on the site specific questions



The site specific questions confirm findings on the importance of individual factors in contributing to resilience processes, as a majority of the questions reflected individual attitudes, beliefs and skills and the scores were overall high. Such a findings implicates Saleeby’s (2006) strengths perspective in practice. All individuals have strengths, and in the sample population demonstrated remarkable strength in terms of their beliefs, attitudes and hopes despite the adversity that they faced. Knowing the strengths within themselves, as their abilities and skills to navigate and negotiate toward resilient pathways were an asset in this context.

5.2.7 Reliability and validity

As mentioned at 4.5.1 the CYRM-28 has demonstrated good content validity and reliability. Validation of the CYRM-28 was conducted using two samples of youth with complex needs in Canada, ($n_1 = 497$, $n_2 = 410$) who were using multiple services such as child welfare, mental health services, educational support and juvenile justice and community programmes (Liebenberg et al., 2012, pg 219). The measure indicates high levels of content validity (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011, pg 128; Liebenberg et al., 2010, pg 223), however work is still being done on the measure’s discriminant, convergent and predictive validity. External reliability through test-retest methods has been established for the CYRM-28 (Liebenberg et

al., 2012, pg 221). Internal reliability of the three components of the CYRM-28; individual, family/caregiver and contextual was established using Chronbach's α (0.65 to 0.91), paired sample t tests between the three components ($p_1 = 0.614$, $p_2 = 0.154$, $p_3 = 0.630$) and interclass correlation coefficients between Time 1 and Time 2 responses (0.583 – 0.773) (Liebenberg et al., 2012, pg 221 – 222). Findings confirm acceptable reliability, stability across time and adequate psychometric properties of the scale across the components.

Reliability refers to the level of consistency of a measure (Bryman & Cramer 2011). Unfortunately due to time constraints, external reliability of the CYRM-28 results from the sample could not be established through test-retest measures (Bryman & Cramer 2011). However as Bryman and Cramer (2011, pg 78) point out, internal reliability is particularly important for multiple item scales such as the CYRM-28. Therefore, Chronbach's Alpha was tested for the CYRM-28 overall score and the subscales in the sample data collected (see Table 15). It was found that the overall score, individual subscale and family/caregiver subscale were found to be internally reliable (.842, .709, .736, respectively).

However, unfortunately, the context subscale was not found to be internally reliable. As Bryman and Cramer (2011, pg 80) suggest, removing items may help to correct overall reliability. The highest achievable Chronbach's α was 0.63 when item one "I have people to look up to" was deleted from the analysis. The low reliability could be a reflection of the small sample size, and also could reflect the relativity of questions in the Ugandan context. The researcher decided to perform the one sample t -test to give an indication of the variance in means between the sample and normative data, however cannot be considered reliability measuring this construct in the sample. Unfortunately too, not all of the smaller subclusters of questions demonstrated internal reliability when tested with Chronbach's Alpha, so therefore have not been included in the analysis above. However, the overall subscales of questions were included in the analysis.

Table 14: CYRM-28 subscales and Chronbach's Alpha

Subscale name	Number of items	Chronbach's Alpha
CYRM Total score	28	.842
Individual Subscale	11	.709
<i>Individual Personal Skills</i>	5	.594
<i>Individual Peer Support</i>	2	.759
<i>Individual Social Skills</i>	4	.272
Family/Caregiver Subscale	7	.736
<i>Family/Caregiver Physical Care giving</i>	2	.207
<i>Family/Caregiver Psychological Care giving</i>	5	.789
Context Subscale	7	.625
<i>Context Spiritual</i>	3	.526
<i>Context Education</i>	2	.783
<i>Context Cultural</i>	4	.458

The findings on the factors that contribute to resilience processes among children and youth living in impoverished urban areas indicate that individual beliefs and behaviours are most salient contributions to children positively adapting despite adversity. Despite limitations of reliability and the small sample size, it does indicate that for these children and young people individual skills are most influential for pathways towards resilience. It confirms Saleeby's (2006) assertion that all individuals have strengths, however findings do not implicate families, caregivers and the context as influencing resilient trajectories. The analysis of the factors at the individual, family/caregiver and contextual levels highlights individual factors as most salient in their contribution towards resilient pathways in the sample.

5.3 The understanding of resilience among key stakeholders dealing with child welfare policy and practice in Kampala, Uganda.

5.3.1 Background characteristics

To gather information on the understanding of resilience among key stakeholders in child welfare policy and practice in Kampala, a small sample of social workers

(n=6) and people involved more in policy levels (n=2). Whilst the sample was smaller than hoped, it gave an indication of the understanding of resilience as a construct and how it may be applied to social work in Kampala, at different levels. The social workers were interviewed at different UYDEL centres, a senior member of UYDEL staff and a senior staff member at the Makerere University Social Work Department were also interviewed. Each gave a unique perspective on the concept of resilience and what it means in the Ugandan context according to their experience and knowledge base. The questions were phrased to encourage thinking and answers that reflected the definition of resilience as positive adaptation after adversity, and what this may look like at the individual, family/caregiver and contextual levels (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). All interviewees had qualifications in social work, and had been working in the field for a number of years, whether directly with children or at a policy or programmatic level. The transcripts were analysed according to the thematic areas of individual, family/caregiver and context, looking at either the adversities as well as the positive adaption or resilience pathways that occur in these thematic areas.

5.3.2 Adversity as it applies to urban children and youth in Kampala

Each respondent was able to identify adversities for urban children and youth in an individual, relationship/family and contextual frame. For the social workers, less emphasis was placed at an individual level, and more placed at the family and contextual levels. However, individual illness and medical problems were among the adversities highlighted by the social workers. The poor choices available to individuals, such as coping through the use of drugs, criminality or commercial sex work was not spoken of as a problem within the individual, but rather the contextual circumstances that left them with little or poor choices. Other studies of resilience have noted that such coping mechanisms, such as child labour, may be perceived as negative however in fact aid the child with economic support (Libório & Ungar, 2010). Once gaining more independence financially, the individual then has more power and ability to move out of that situation. Such broader definitions of coping and positive adaption are needed in resource poor contexts (Libório & Ungar, 2010; Guo & Tsui, 2010).

Lack of parental care and supportive family environments were described as one of the biggest challenges faced by urban children and youth at the UYDEL centres. Social breakdown was spoken of as a major problem for many individuals in the sample population of key informants. One social worker in particular noted that “family is where it starts” and that parents not taking adequate care of their children is a big problem for children and young people in urban contexts. Parents and families were spoken of as a core learning place for children, teaching values and supporting them to go to school. If this is disrupted, the child or young person will resort to other ways of finding the support they need, physically, emotionally and economically. For both the key informants who were not social workers, family breakdown or orphanhood were named as the top adversity facing children and youth in urban contexts. This confirms international literature on the importance of the right of the child to grow up in a supportive family environment (Williamson & Greenberg, 2010). A family provides the first line of defence in protecting children and loss or inadequate parental care presents a significant adversity for children and young people.

Contextual adversities were most salient in discussing adversities affecting children and youth growing up in impoverished urban environments. Lack of resources, lack of basic necessities, inadequate health and social services were all frequently mentioned by key informants. Both informants at policy and programmatic levels talked about the ‘vicious cycle of poverty’ in how individuals get caught in a revolving door of poverty and disadvantage. Social workers spoke frequently about the difficulties of their beneficiaries due to poverty and an inadequate education system. A lack of interest to go to school and boredom were cited as challenges facing children and young people in accessing education in impoverished urban contexts. Boredom was also mentioned several times, as a more contextual reflection on the individual circumstances of these children. Lack of opportunities for employment or stimulation of some kind resulted in the children and young people resorting to maladaptive behaviours, such as criminal gangs or drug taking. The contextual adversities are in fact too many to cite, however it was a clear finding that the environment negatively impacted these children and young people in many ways.

5.3.3 Individual, family/caregiver and contextual aspects of resilience

All key informants described individual, family/caregiver and contextual aspects of resilience. Most frequently reported were individual abilities to navigate pathways to the resources that they need. For example, the social workers highlighted that the UYDEL programme aims to empower and teach the young people the skills that they need so they can make the right choices. Encouraging self-esteem, self-confidence, self-understanding were found to be large components of the UYDEL programme. The high scores on the CYRM-28 in the sample indicate a population who are coping well despite adversity. Individual attitudes and beliefs were fundamental in descriptions about how young people cope with adversity and positively adapt. The more programmatic and policy related key informants spoke to certain individuals who had overcome significant adversity, for example children who formerly lived on the street yet manage to go on and live healthy, happy lives. The resources and abilities within the individual were talked about as critical aspects of positive adaptation and also were core areas of intervention in UYDEL programmes.

Family/caregiver aspects of resilience were less frequently mentioned in all the interviews conducted. One interviewee mentioned family and economic strengthening programmes as a way to promote positive development following adversity. In addition, the fact that UYDEL social workers do make house visitations and follow up indicates an awareness of the need to repair or strengthen families as part of creating resilient pathways for individuals. Contextual aspects of resilience were also discussed less frequently than individual aspects. Many key informants noted the severe adversities that the context and environment presented, and an inability to resolve poverty or a severe lack of resources. Instead, building resilience at an individual level through teaching skills and equipping the young people and children with necessary tools to navigate resilient pathways was the targeted approach for fostering resilience and positive adaptation in the sample of key informants.

5.3.4 Understandings of resilience

Resilience as a term was not widely understood by the key informants, however as a construct, findings were very positive. When asked about challenges (rather than adversity) and positive adaptation (beyond coping to strength in development) the key informants adequately spoke to the many adversities at different levels and also the pathways the children and young people took to attain well-being. It was important to take a broad approach to the construct given the cross-cultural context and the multiple adversities that children were facing in the sample (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). Social workers in particular, demonstrated a broad perspective to understand and reflect on what they saw and had helped to facilitate positive adaptation in the young people.

The policy and programmatic key informants were more proficient in understanding both the term and the construct of resilience. Both spoke to the fact that some children, a small number, are able to get what they need and move out of their situation. It was also emphasised that a large majority don't and fail to navigate their way to resources. The relevance of understanding resilience processes in this context was frequently spoken to, that understanding more what helps children and young people move out of their adverse situation toward positive adaptation could be of benefit to others. Learning from the children and young people themselves was talked about as fundamental to understanding more about resilience in the Ugandan context. One key informant stated:

We need to learn from children, if we don't care, how do you cope [---] because at times we present ourselves as Christmas fathers, you know, social workers, and yet we don't meet all the needs of the kid (Key informant #1).

The linkage between strengths, empowerment and resilience was a core finding from the key informant interviews. Participation and learning from children who do manage to positively adapt despite the enormity of challenges that they face was highlighted in responses. The researcher noted that responses typically focused on the individual, giving and building capacities within the child. Few responses highlighted the need for the family/caregiver and contextual elements to

allow for the individual to navigate resilience pathways. This could be somewhat problematic in that it presents a risk of blaming the individual for not being resilient and implies resilience as more of a trait than a dynamic process between the individual, family/caregiver and the context. Conversely, it reflects the context in which the study was conducted; resources are not readily available in impoverished urban areas, and many families have experienced breakdown due to reasons of severe poverty as well as the impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Such findings highlight that taking a socio-ecological approach to resilience and applying it in social work practice and policy would be useful to broadly address adversity and highlight the strengths, importance and capacities of the individual, family and community.

5.4 Gender analysis

Applying a gender analysis was not necessarily the intention of the researcher, however looking at both the qualitative and quantitative components of the study, it would be inadequate to leave out a discussion on the gender differences in the findings. Purely the fact that there were almost double the numbers of girls than boys in the sample indicates that some kind of variation is occurring based on gender differences. The researcher noted that there were more girls participating in UYDEL programmes than boys, and that these differences were more than simply the nature of the vocational skills offered at each centre. Other research (Morano, 2010) indicates that boys and girls report their experience of adversity and positive adaptation differently, and have different perceptions of their own abilities to navigate resilient pathways in different ways. However there are no significant differences in overall levels of coping or resilience after trauma, rather their perceptions are different (Morano, 2010).

In Uganda, the situation for children and young people is remarkably different between girls and boys. The Sector Analysis on the Situation of the Ugandan Child (2015) highlights that girls experience adversity differently to boys, with well-being indicators being much lower for girls than they are for boys (Walakira et al., 2015). Girls are more likely experience early school drop out, exposure to sexually transmitted diseases, early pregnancy, traditional harmful practices such

as Female Genital Mutilation and high levels of sexual violence (ibid., pg 93). Authors (Walakira et al., 2015, pg 93) demonstrate that girls in Uganda are “experiencing a cyclical circle of vulnerability which is structural – underpinned by cultural beliefs and practices”. The levels of vulnerability are more numerous and experienced differently by girls. Such findings are reflected in the qualitative and quantitative findings of this study. However limited in scope, it is clear that girls in the sample experience adversity differently and find ways to navigate and negotiate resources differently to boys, often requiring more support and assistance. The findings support recommendations by Walakira et al., (2015, pg 93) that specific vulnerability and resilience pathways need to be analysed to find programmes that address the needs of girl children and young people throughout their life cycle, to combat the significant adversity that affects girl children in Uganda.

5.4.1 Qualitative findings on gender

Whilst there was no specific question regarding gender in either the dialogue sessions or semi-structured interviews, gender differences emerged regardless. The vast majority of participants in the dialogue sessions were female and responses varied between the genders. Particularly in relation to the experience of adversity; girls more frequently spoke to commercial sex work whereas boys more frequently spoke about violence and lack of economic stability. Gender differences were also reflected in coping mechanisms and resilience pathways, the girls reported praying before sex work or finding someone to look after children when they went for sex work. The boys spoke much more about securing economic resources, such as finding a job.

Gender differences were also strongly highlighted in the key informant interviews, both with the social workers and with the other key informants. Findings suggested that girls and boys experienced adversity differently and found ways to cope differently. Drug taking and criminality was highlighted as a major risk facing urban boys, whereas girls in impoverished urban areas were more frequently exposed to commercial sexual exploitation. It was also reported that being born a girl was inherently a risk in impoverished urban contexts, one

respondent stated “for the girl child, many, many challenges, [for example] early pregnancy”. Early pregnancy was also frequently cited by the social workers as the reason that girls dropped out of school. One social worker reflected on this saying that “the men don’t stay to look after the girl, she becomes pregnant and then is left to fend for herself”. One key informant also highlighted the very real risks for girls “our culture does not prepare girls to stand on their own, our culture prepares girls to get married”.

The gender differences in adversity, as well as coping or positive adaptation were described as a reason that there were more girls than boys in the sample. The findings suggest that girls experience multiple levels of discrimination and vulnerability that are structural as well as cultural. Therefore girls require specific assistance, as they frequently are not able to navigate pathways to well-being on their own through such multiple levels of adversity.

5.4.2 Quantitative findings on gender

In order to compare the CYRM-28 scores of the girls ($n = 53$) and boys ($n = 26$) in the sample, an independent t-test for significance was applied. The Levene’s test for equality of variance was found to be significant ($p = .005$) and therefore the differences between the mean scores for girls and boys were significant on the CYRM-28 total score (Bryman & Cramer, 2011 pg 175). When looking at the means between the groups at Table 15, we can see that the boys ($m = 122.7$), on average, scored higher than the girls ($f = 117.2$). This finding adds weight what was said in one key informant interview, that girls in the Ugandan context are less able to independently navigate and negotiate the resources they need.

To explain this further, a comparison of the scores on the different subscales was conducted, see Table 16. As above, an independent t-test for significance was applied to the mean scores between genders on each of the subscales. The Levene’s test for equality of variance was found to be significant for the individual subscale ($p = 0.013$), however if we look at the t value based on the equality of variance between the means we see that it is not significant ($t = 0.058$). From this we assume the difference is close to non-significance with a 95%

confidence level. For the relationship sub-scale, no significance difference was found with the Levene's test ($p = 0.746$), and the t value was also found to be not significant ($t = 0.287$). However, for the context subscale, a significant difference was found ($p = 0.000$, $t = 0.009$). We could infer from these findings that girls and boys use different skills and resources in resilience processes in the sample.

Table 15: Independent t -test for variance of mean score between girls and boys, CYRM-28 total score

T-Test

Group Statistics										
	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean					
CYRM Score	F	53	117.2453	12.17644	1.67256					
	M	26	122.7308	7.45417	1.46188					

Independent Samples Test										
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
CYRM Score	Equal variances assumed	8.359	.005	-2.108	77	.038	-5.48549	2.60279	-10.66830	-.30267
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.469	73.082	.016	-5.48549	2.22139	-9.91262	-1.05835

Table 16: Independent t -test for variance of mean score between girls and boys, individual, family/caregiver and context subscales

T-Test

Group Statistics										
	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean					
Individual Sub-Scale CYRM Score	F	53	48.6604	5.73767	.78813					
	M	26	51.0000	3.32265	.65163					
Relationship with Caregivers Sub-scale CYRM Score	F	53	26.0000	5.13660	.70557					
	M	26	27.3077	5.01014	.98257					
Context Sub-scale CYRM Score	F	53	42.5849	3.35945	.46146					
	M	26	44.4231	1.20576	.23647					

Independent Samples Test										
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Individual Sub-Scale CYRM Score	Equal variances assumed	6.419	.013	-1.923	77	.058	-2.33962	1.21658	-4.76214	.08289
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.288	74.744	.025	-2.33962	1.02263	-4.37691	-.30233
Relationship with Caregivers Sub-scale CYRM Score	Equal variances assumed	.106	.746	-1.072	77	.287	-1.30769	1.22014	-3.73729	1.12191
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.081	50.920	.285	-1.30769	1.20966	-3.73627	1.12089
Context Sub-scale CYRM Score	Equal variances assumed	20.393	.000	-2.699	77	.009	-1.83817	.68118	-3.19457	-.48177
	Equal variances not assumed			-3.545	72.497	.001	-1.83817	.51852	-2.87169	-.80465

In sum, the findings on gender differences within the sample show that girls and boys negotiate and navigate differently towards resilient pathways. This is not surprising given the multiple levels of adversity experienced by girls. Whilst the

data, both quantitative and qualitative indicate that girls are overall using individual, family/caregiver and contextual resources, one could equally argue that the girls in the sample are doing remarkably well. They have managed to find the resources that they need for economic stability through the UYDEL vocational training programme, which is defined as a core component of resilience in this context. It is also important to note that the small sample size, and small number of boys does not give allow for an adequate comparison between the genders and can only be considered indicative. However findings do imply that girls and young women need more support and skill development to help navigate resilient pathways.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and recommendations

This chapter outlines the conclusions of the research about resilience among children and youth in impoverished urban contexts in Kampala. Presented is a summary of the analysis of the findings (both qualitative and quantitative), as well as recommendations for children and young people, for those working directly with children and young people in this context, for those working at a policy level, and for researchers. Further, it outlines some of the considerations to further research on resilience among at risk children and youth in cross cultural contexts.

6.1 Conclusions

While there were a number of challenges and limitations in the research, the study on resilience processes among children and young people in impoverished urban contexts in Kampala did generate interesting findings and gave the researcher an insight into resilience processes in this population group. The use of a mixed method approach to understanding resilience processes in this context was useful in confirming findings, as well as giving further insight and depth into how children and young people are able to navigate and negotiate resources for positive adaptation.

6.1.1 Overall findings

Resilience presents the opportunity to capture and enhance the strengths and abilities of the child or young person to navigate and negotiate their way to the resources that they need. In impoverished urban contexts in Kampala, findings reflect a unique and dynamic process of resilience among children and young people. The children and young people participating in the UYDEL programmes are demonstrating resilience processes, scoring higher than normative data on the CYRM-28. The dynamic process of resilience was unique among children and young people in impoverished urban contexts in Kampala, as they navigated and negotiated towards the resources they need for positive adaptation in culturally meaningful ways. The nature of resilience, the factors influencing resilience and

the understandings of resilience among key stakeholders exemplified the socio-ecological and contextually bound construction of resilience.

Luthar and Cicchetti (2000) and Ungar (2012) also encourage us to understand resilience from a cross-cultural, socio-ecological perspective. As society becomes increasingly multi-cultural it is essential to understand the diversity in processes contributing to positive adaptation (Luthar & Cicchetti 2000, pg 1). Whilst the study was limited in identifying the underlying mechanisms of resilience processes, the findings identified factors contributing to positive outcomes in a small sample of children and youth in urban impoverished areas. A broader more in depth analysis is necessary to explain the full gambit of mechanisms that are assisting these children and young people. However, despite the small-scale nature of the study, individual resources were highlighted as the most significant positive contribution towards resilience trajectories.

The findings support the socio-ecological approach and strengths perspective in understanding resilience. Unique pathways towards resilience and ways to navigate and negotiate resources were found in this context. Beliefs and hopes for a better future were key individual aspects highlighted in responses, corresponding to Benard and Truebridge's (2006) assertion that resilience and beliefs are linked. Further, results support Ungar's (2008, pg 1) findings that "tensions between individuals and their cultures and contexts are resolved in ways that reflect highly specific relationships between aspects of resilience". The individual behaviours and beliefs, the differences in gender and contextually available resources demonstrate that children and youth in urban impoverished areas in Kampala are able to navigate towards resilient pathways in ways that are meaningful for them. Further, it highlighted the relevance of the strengths perspective in practice, children and young people in this context are able to navigate and negotiate the resources they need utilising strengths within themselves and within the context.

6.1.2 Resilience as it relates to children and young people in impoverished urban contexts

Resilience in the context of impoverished urban environments in Kampala can mean a variety of things. For children and young people growing up in such a resource poor environment, they demonstrate culturally and context specific pathways to navigate and negotiate the resources they need. The findings show that many children and young people growing up in this context positively adapt in unique ways. Given the multitude of adversity around them, many children and young people spoke to the means by which they stayed healthy or positively adapted; through religion, through their personal motivations, through acquiring knowledge about programmes available. Many of these represent unique pathways and can only be understood within the resource poor context. Resilience as it relates to children and young people in this context suggests individual skills and capacities are most important for securing economic stability and overcoming social stigmatisation to positively adapt in this context.

6.1.3 Factors that contribute to resilience processes among children and young people

The findings from the CYRM-28 indicate that the sample population are demonstrating processes of resilience. The average score overall was found to be higher than that of the normative data for youth with complex needs. As hypothesised, and in line with cross cultural resilience research as conducted by Ungar and colleagues (2007; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011), findings indicate a unique pattern of factors contributing to resilience processes among children and young people in impoverished urban areas in Kampala, Uganda. On analysis of the subscales, it can be seen that individual factors are influencing resilience processes most, much more than through supportive relationships with others, particularly family/caregivers. This finding was salient in all the results, both qualitative and quantitative and suggests that many of the children in the sample population did not have supportive relationships as a positive contribution towards resilience processes.

More frequently, resources or factors within the individual were being utilised by the sample population to navigate toward resilient trajectories. Predominantly, this study found that individual factors are the most relevant for resilience processes among children and young people considered in this study. Accordingly, children and young people in urban contexts rely frequently on their own abilities and skills to navigate their way to the resources that they need, such as cooperation, problem solving, sense of belonging and social and practical skill development. Many of the participants in the study had experienced significant adversity and were able to navigate their way to the resources they need toward positive adaptation. The results demonstrate that resilience, as a construct is useful to understand the strengths and capacities of the child/young person at the individual, family/caregiver and contextual levels in negotiating and navigating resources that they need in culturally meaningful ways.

6.1.4 Understandings of resilience among key stakeholders

The understanding of resilience as a construct was found to be high among the key stakeholders, despite the fact that *resilience* as a term was not well known. Social workers in particular highlighted the strengths and capacities of the child as a fundamental approach to working with this population group. Social workers also articulated the very real adversity of growing up without a supportive family environment, and the resource poor contexts that lack basic necessities. Other key informants highlighted the compounding nature of poverty, impacting and affecting individuals and families in a highly negative way. Supportive relationships for children and young people in impoverished urban contexts were not mentioned as frequently, as many spoke much more to the individual and contextual factors in resilient pathways.

6.2 Recommendations

Despite the limitations of the study and the time available to the researcher, a number of recommendations could be made from the findings and analysis. The researcher had the opportunity to capture and discuss the dynamic process of resilience relating to children and young people in impoverished urban areas.

Comparatively this group are under-studied and also under resourced in terms of programming. Yet this group have such spirit and such bravery in the face of adversity. The recommendations have been made in relation to each group relevant to the study; children and young people themselves, those working directly with children and young people, those working in policy and practice, and for researchers. This structure aims to capture the existing strengths and areas for improvement relevant for each group.

6.2.1 For children and young people

Children and young people in impoverished urban contexts in Kampala need to be reminded how strong and resilient they really are. Frequently in the dialogue sessions and face-to-face survey administration, young people reported clearly how they were able to move past the adversities of growing up in a resource poor environment and positively adapt. Their values and beliefs had a big impact on the researcher, maintaining hope and continuing to work for a better future despite the adversities they were facing. It is worthy of note to remind participants and other children and young people that they do have the skills they need to positively adapt despite adversity and are doing well.

6.2.2 For those working directly with children and young people in impoverished urban contexts

The social workers interviewed also remarkably understood and worked with the children and young people to enhance their skills and capacities towards positive adaptation. It could be said though that such programmes as the UYDEL vocational skills training one, could be enhanced by addressing all three of the levels of resilience as indicated in the CYRM-28; individual, family/caregiver and contextual. Strengthening and supporting families as well as providing economic assistance for travel or food could help support and foster resilient pathways for these children and young people. Luthar et al (2000, pg 17) argue for a more linkages to be made between research and intervention. The present study provides insight into what children and young people within this context are using to promote positive adaption. It would be beneficial to incorporate this into other

programmes and interventions, to enhance, foster and build upon the strengths of the child, family and context, even in resource poor contexts.

6.2.3 For those working with child welfare policy and practice

Attention to the individual, family/caregiver and contextual elements that comprise resilient pathways for children and young people is essential. In the Ugandan context, the findings indicate that there are many adversities being faced in all these levels. Despite this, many of the children and young people are able to navigate and negotiate the resources they need in culturally meaningful ways. However the lack of supportive relationships was an important finding, highlighting more work needs to be done in strengthening and maintaining supportive family environments for children to grow up in. As highlighted by Liebenberg et al. (2012, pg 225), “when used in research and evaluation, the CYRM-28 complements needs and risk assessments of populations of youth, identifying existing components available to youth that can be built upon through intervention and changes to social policy”. One recommendation is that the CYRM-28, which highlights the strengths and capacities within the individual, family/caregiver and context, be applied in practice to further give insight into existing gaps and available resources in the context of urban impoverishment in Kampala, Uganda.

6.2.4 For researchers

Employing a small-scale mixed research methodology generated robust and in depth data in the area of inquiry. Whilst mixed methods are increasingly being employed in the social sciences (Bryman, 2012), it is important to pay due weight and consideration to both the quantitative and qualitative components. This requires time to organise, reflect on and modify when necessary. Whilst this was not available to the researcher in this case, the benefits of employing such a methodological approach was clear. That fact that both the qualitative and quantitative components told a similar story and had very similar findings highlights the advantages of utilising mixed methods in the social sciences to give

weight and clarity to complex social phenomena, such as the construct of resilience.

In addition, the study recommends that more research need to be conducted on resilience processes in Uganda, in different contexts. In particular, more needs to be done to generate theories and methodologies relevant for the Ugandan context in line with the African Charter for Human Rights and social work practice as it relates in the Ugandan context. The researcher chose the methodology employed by Ungar and colleagues (2007; Ungar, 2008) because of its cross-cultural applicability. However there is scope to further develop this tool and provide practical guidance to social workers on how to apply the socio-ecological approach to resilience and the strengths perspective in practice. Of particular note, modifying the context subscale questions would be beneficial to increase the overall reliability of this measure.

It also would be of value to employ a random, snowball sampling methodology and have the opportunity to capture children and young people in unorganised contexts, such as children currently living on the streets. Such further research would contribute to understanding resilience process across the sheer variance in types of adversity faced by children and young people, from conflict in the north, to gender discrimination, HIV/AIDS, child labour and child trafficking. Longitudinal studies and comparative studies would also generate more insight into resilient pathways for children and young people at different points in their lives. This would conform to calls in the literature for more longitudinal studies on resilience (Luthar et al., 2000). Understanding more about the underlying mechanisms of both adversity and resilience in this context is critical for enhancing and building upon the innate strengths and resilience of all children and young people.

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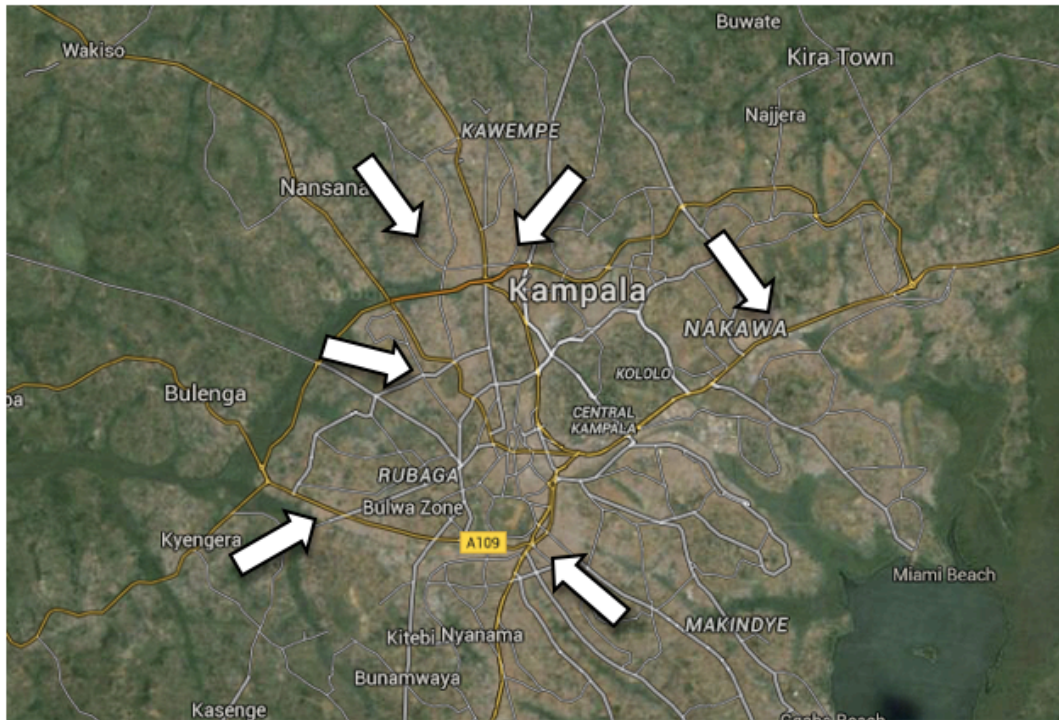
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Appendices

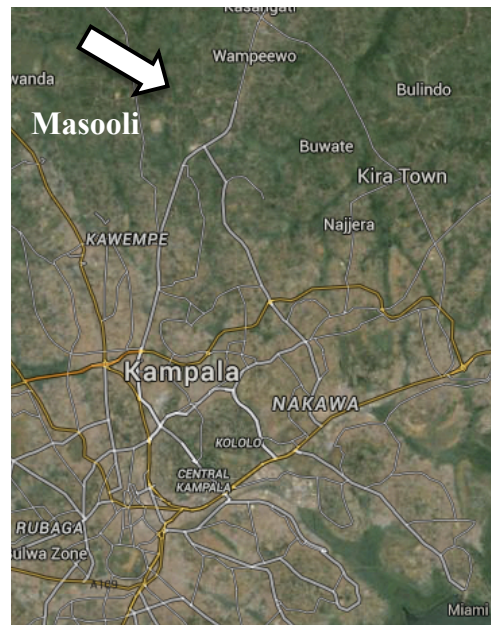
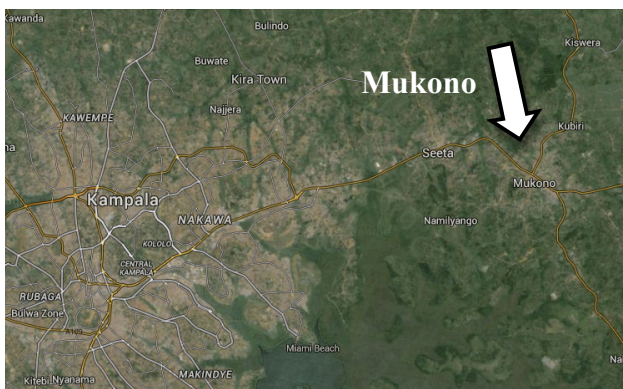
Appendix A: Maps of relevant locations

Map of slum settlement areas where the research took place – Kampala Central



Source: Google Maps

Maps of Mukono and Masooli



Source: Google Maps

Appendix B: CYRM-28

3. THE CHILD AND YOUTH RESILIENCE MEASURE YOUTH VERSION

For office use only	
Participant Number:	
Site ID:	
Data number:	
Date of administration:	

Child and Youth Resilience Measure (CYRM)

DIRECTIONS

Listed below are a number of questions about you, your family, your community, and your relationships with people. These questions are designed to help us better understand how you cope with daily life and what role the people around you play in how you deal with daily challenges.

There are no right or wrong answers.

SECTION A:

Please complete the questions below.

1. What is your date of birth?
2. What is your sex?
3. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
4. Who do you live with?
5. How long have you lived with these people?
6. How many times have you moved homes in the past 5 years?

7. Please describe who you consider to be your family (for example, 1 or 2 biological parents, siblings, friends on the street, a foster family, an adopted family, etc.).

8. People are often described as belonging to a particular racial group. To which of the following group(s) do you belong? (Mark or check the one(s) that best describe(s) you.)

{ Aboriginal or Native

{ South Asian (e.g., *East Indian, Pakistani, Punjabi, Sri Lankan*)

{ South-East Asian (e.g., *Cambodian, Indonesian, Laotian, Vietnamese*)

{ West Asian to Middle Eastern (e.g., *Armenian, Egyptian, Iranian, Lebanese*) { Asian (e.g., *Korean, Chinese, Japanese*)

{ Black (e.g., *African or Caribbean descent*)

{ White or European { Filipino

{ Latin American (e.g., *Mexican, South American, Central American*)

{ Other (please specify):

{ Mixed Race (please list all groups that apply):

9. People are often described as belonging to a particular ethnic or cultural group(s). (For example, Chinese, Jamaican, German, Italian, Irish, English, Ukrainian, Inuit, East Indian, Jewish, Scottish, Portuguese, French, Polish, Vietnamese, Lebanese, etc.) To which ethnic or cultural group(s) do you see yourself belonging? Please list as many groups as you want.

SECTION B:

To what extent do the statements below describe you? Circle one answer for each statement.

		Not at All	A Little	Some-what	Quite a Bit	A Lot
1.	I know myself well. I want a better future.					
2.	I am determined. I know that things pass and I can be better because of it.					
3.	I understand that many things have contributed to where I am					
4.	I feel connected to and care for others					
5.	I know I can rely on others					
6.	I am hopeful					
7.	I know where I can go to get help. I believe that everything is possible.					

SECTION C:

To what extent do the sentences below describe you? Circle one answer for each statement.

	Not at All	A Little	Some-what	Quite a Bit	A Lot
1.I have people I look up to	1	2	3	4	5
2. I cooperate with people around me	1	2	3	4	5
3. Getting an education is important to me	1	2	3	4	5
4. I know how to behave in different social situations	1	2	3	4	5
5. My parent(s)/caregiver(s) watch me closely	1	2	3	4	5
6. My parent(s)/caregiver(s) know a lot about me	1	2	3	4	5
7. If I am hungry, there is enough to eat	1	2	3	4	5
8. I try to finish what I start	1	2	3	4	5
9. Spiritual beliefs are a source of strength for me	1	2	3	4	5
10. I am proud of my ethnic background	1	2	3	4	5
11. People think that I am fun to be with	1	2	3	4	5
12. I talk to my family/caregiver(s) about how I feel	1	2	3	4	5
13. I am able to solve problems without harming myself or others (for example by using drugs and/or being violent)	1	2	3	4	5
14. I feel supported by my friends	1	2	3	4	5
15. I know where to go in my community to get help	1	2	3	4	5
16. I feel I belong at my school	1	2	3	4	5
17. My family stands by me during difficult times	1	2	3	4	5
18. My friends stand by me during difficult times	1	2	3	4	5
19. I am treated fairly in my community	1	2	3	4	5
20. I have opportunities to show others that I am becoming an adult and can act responsibly	1	2	3	4	5
21. I am aware of my own strengths	1	2	3	4	5
22. I participate in organized religious activities	1	2	3	4	5
23. I think it is important to serve my community	1	2	3	4	5
24. I feel safe when I am with my family/caregiver(s)	1	2	3	4	5
25. I have opportunities to develop skills that will be useful later in life (like job skills and skills to care for others)	1	2	3	4	5
26. I enjoy my family's/caregiver's cultural and family traditions	1	2	3	4	5
27. I enjoy my community's traditions	1	2	3	4	5
28. I am proud to be a citizen of _____ (insert country)	1	2	3	4	5

1. Ungar, M., and Liebenberg, L. (2011). Assessing resilience across cultures using mixed-methods: Construction of the Child and Youth Resilience Measure-28. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 5(2), 126-149.

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Appendix C: Dialogue session question guide

Dialogue session question guide

1. What do I need to know to grow up here well?
2. How do you describe people who grow up here well despite the many challenges they face?
3. What does it mean to you, your family and your community when bad things happen?
4. What kinds of things are most challenging for you growing up here?
5. What do you do when you face difficulties in your life?
6. What does being healthy mean to you and others in your family and community?
7. What do you and others you know do to keep healthy? (Spiritually, mentally, emotionally, physically)

Appendix D: Interview question guide for social workers

Interview guide for key informant interviews with social workers

1. What kind of cases do you most commonly receive at this centre?
2. What are the main challenges for young people growing up here?
3. How do you support the children and young people during the programme?
4. How do you support them after the programme?
5. What do you understand about resilience? How do you see young people bouncing back after adversity?

Appendix E: Interview question guide for key informants

Interview guide for key informant interviews

1. What do you think are the main challenges or adverse situations facing children and young people in urban areas?
2. How do you see them positively adapting despite these challenges?
3. Do you think young people and children are able to navigate to the resources they need? How?
4. What is your understanding of the concept of resilience in the Ugandan context?
5. Do you think resilience as a construct has relevance in policy and programmes for children and young people in Uganda?

Appendix F: Informed consent English version – children and young people

Informed Consent

Hello, my name is Anna and I come from Australia. I am completing my university education here in Kampala, at Makerere University. I am studying topic resilience – understanding how children and young people become stronger and are able to get the things they need from the family, caregivers, community and environment for well-being. I would like to ask you a few questions on your own experience, thoughts and feelings on this topic. The following is a presentation of how I will use the data collected in the survey/interview.

In order to insure that projects meet the ethical requirements for good research I promise to adhere to the following principles:

- You will be given information about the purpose of the project.
- You have the right to decide whether they will participate in the project, even after the interview has been concluded.
- The collected data will be handled confidentially and will be kept in such a way that no unauthorized person can view or access it.

The survey/interview may be recorded as this makes it easier for me to document what is said during the survey/interview and also helps me in the continuing work with the project. In my analysis, some data will be changed so that no participant will be recognized. After finishing the project, the data will be destroyed. The data I collect will only be used in this project.

You have the right to say no to answering any questions and there is no right or wrong answer. You can leave the survey/interview at any time without giving an explanation. You are welcome to contact me or my supervisor in case you have any questions (e-mail addresses below).

Anna Richardson
(acl.richardson@gmail.com)

Dr Badru Bukenya
(badrubuk@yahoo.co.uk)

Participant

Appendix G: Confidentiality agreement

Confidentiality Agreement

This form may be used for individuals hired to conduct specific research tasks, e.g., recording or editing image or sound data, transcribing, interpreting, translating, entering data, destroying data.

Project title – Resilience among children and young people in impoverished urban areas in Kampala: *Strengths and the importance of context*

I, _____, the _____
(specific job description, e.g., interpreter/translator) have been hired/asked to:

I agree to -

1. keep all the research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) with anyone other than the *Researcher(s)*.
2. keep all research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) secure while it is in my possession.
3. return all research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) to the *Researcher(s)* when I have completed the research tasks.
4. after consulting with the *Researcher(s)*, erase or destroy all research information in any form or format regarding this research project that is not returnable to the *Researcher(s)* (e.g., information stored on computer hard drive).

Researcher:

(Print Name)

(Signature and date)