

**THE ROLE OF MOTHERING IN FOSTERING RESILIENCE
AND
COMPETENCE IN SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK CHILDREN**

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of Arts in Clinical Psychology.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Clinical Psychology, in the faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

Serenne Gina Kaplan
September 1991

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Home is where one starts from.
 As we grow older
 The world becomes stranger, the
 pattern more complicated
 Of dead and living. Not the
 intense moment
 Isolated, with no before and after,
 But a lifetime burning in every moment.

T.S. Eliot, "East Coker", Four Quartets
 (in Winnicott, 1986)

ABSTRACT

The idea of psycho-immunity stands as a relatively new field of inquiry focusing on resilience and coping instead of breakdown and pathology. In line with this shift in the literature, the present research has attempted to explore the relationship between the quality of mothering experienced by the child and subsequent patterns of perceived competence revealed by that same child. Black township children were selected as subjects as they are deemed to be a population "at risk" due to the cumulative political and socio-economic exigencies that have affected this community for many years.

A total of 72 township children between the ages of 12 -17 were assessed. Both structured and supplementary unstructured instruments were employed in order to measure the quality of the maternal relationship on the one hand, and the child's perception of his/her own competence (or resilience) on the other.

Results converged to indicate that for the sample investigated, it was the specific "holding" capacity, availability and involvement of the affectively engaged mother-figure that was most highly correlated with competence of a scholastic nature in early adolescence. Conversely, the intrusive mother who wields power as a parenting style was shown to be more likely to raise a child with a poor sense of social acceptance and competence.

These findings provide penetrating insights regarding the potency of the maternal dyad in fostering resilience and competence in off-spring. They offer further understanding of the role of black parenting styles in either promoting or demoting the development of psychologically healthy youths who have the potential to become active participants in a new and more just South Africa.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 RATIONALE

The idea of psycho-immunity stands as a relatively new field of enquiry focusing on invulnerability and coping instead of breakdown and pathology. A major thrust of this body of work examines what resources immunize or fortify children in adversity and stress. Writers in the area are interested in those factors that emerge as the stabilizing, organizing forces in a child's world.

In this way the focus moves to preventative intervention in an attempt to isolate and understand protective, buffering factors in their relationship to childhood resilience.

This paradigm reflects a movement away from sickness to health, where the interplay between internal and external resources are analyzed. Researchers have been interested in those children who are set apart - their lives revealing a clear pattern of recovery, restoration and gradual mastery in the face of adverse conditions (Anthony and Cohler, 1987). This corpus of inquiry extends on the comprehensive work of Garmezy and associates who have been involved in isolating factors associated with resistance to stress in childhood years. Garmezy (1971) has examined the process of competence and adaptation as opposed to failure and incompetence. Such research concerns itself with positive aspects of capacities to resist the effects of early childhood economic deprivation and discontinuities in child care.

The present study is similarly interested in those children who are able to discover respite from the enormity of socio-political realities affecting South African black communities.

There has been widespread concern amongst members of the helping professions locally as to the harmful effects of Apartheid on the mental health of black

children. While this is an issue of pressing importance, research is needed that examines those children who against a backdrop of sustained deprivation, have the capacity to "bounce back" against all odds.

This group of "invulnerable" children are in many ways our best research hope, where this capacity to overcome in adversity provides a future promise of productivity and creative participation in a Post-Apartheid society.

(He) has just turned fifteen, and he's still inclined to squirm and giggle nervously in the presence of a strange adult. Its hard to see him as a player in the deadly game of township politics, but that's how things were in the great uprising of the mid-eighties. In some ways, it was a Children's Crusade.

(Rian Malan - *My Traitor's Heart*, p. 282)

It is widely held that infants function within a dyadic relationship, where the mother's response in many ways sets the tone for future development. It is suggested that the nature of object relations from birth onwards is one of the distinguishing factors separating both competent and non-competent; vulnerable and invulnerable children in their group membership.

The hypothesis proposed in this research thus reads that there will be a directional positive correlation between the level of perceived competence and the quality of mothering experienced by black children.

1.2 SOCIO-POLITICAL BACKGROUND IN SOUTH AFRICA

I found myself haunted by an impression I myself would not understand. I kept thinking that the land smelled queer. It was the smell of blood, as though the soul was soaked with blood.

(Carl Jung, upon arriving in Africa)

This study comes at a time of heightened violence and political turbulence in South Africa. While the De Klerk administration has made the most meaningful attempt in Nationalist history to address black grievances, communities continue to seethe under threat of civil war. Whereas the eighties stand as a decade of clashes between government forces and township dwellers, the nineties has seen a new brand of violence of unprecedented proportions as faction fighting tears the country apart. Whatever the source or antecedents of the political upheaval, (the details of which exceed this study in complexity) a new wave of violence unequalled in recent times has claimed the lives of thousands more people (Malan, 1990).

The children who participated in the present study are of an age where they have lived through (whether directly or indirectly) a chapter of South African history marked by civil insurrection, oppression and repression.

The study at hand takes place against the dramatic and tragic background of over two decades of political turmoil culminating in the crises of 1985 - 86 and continuing well into the present time.

During the State of Emergency from 21 July 1985 to 7 March 1986, 787 black civilians lost their lives and 18 569 were detained under the Internal Security Act - a daily average of 81 detentions (Repression Monitoring Group - R.M.G., 1986; as reported by Skinner and Swartz, 1989; Apartheid Barometer, 1988).

By June 12, 1986, a total of 11 006 had been arrested for "public violence" and similar "unrest-related crimes" (Malan, 1990). Damage to property amounted to about R140 million according to official figures (Minister of Law and Order, Cape Times, 7 February, 1986; in Foster, 1987). The death toll from September 1984 rose to about 1 000 with roughly 60 percent of this number being killed by security forces (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1986). The number of people rendered victims of assault by sjambok, teargas, birdshot, buckshot and live ammunition used by troops in the occupied townships is difficult to calculate.

During the bloody year of 1986, Government Bureau for Information quotes official figures of 15 bombs having exploded, and detentions rising to 14 thousand in that year alone (Cape Times, 19 September, 1986, estimate). Guerilla activity increased dramatically during this period with 136 recorded incidents. In the townships, 7 700 buses had been petrol-bombed, 1 447 schools torched, and 985 black businesses raised to the ground. Forty-six churches, 26 clinics, 60 halls, 3 920 private homes, as well as numerous collaborators, rivals, dissidents and informers went up in flames. Many black children had barely seen the inside of a classroom in three years. During the autumn of 1986, 172 black people died inside the "ring of fire", inside the rubber necklace. The crime rate in Greater Soweto soared to yield a murder rate estimated at four or five times higher than in New York City (all cited in Malan, 1990).

It is estimated that 3,6 billion rand would need to be spent in order to meet the requirements for three million more housing units still outstanding (O.A.S.S.A, 1986). The number of homeless black squatters in industrialized regions was climbing toward the one million mark. In this same year, the unemployment figure was fixed at four million, with those who do work, likely to earn below R300 per month. About 50% of black people were under 20, with economists predicting that up to 44 percent of them would never find a job.

The costs in terms of human life, dignity and property has been formidable (Gibson, 1986). It culminates in a bleak picture of widespread indigence and poverty in the unequal distribution of State resources amongst population groups.

The negative implications for the mental and physical well-being of the disadvantaged are enormous, augmenting a socio-political context of staggering deprivation at the most fundamental level.

Of particular concern is the climate of violence that has become intrinsic to the very fabric of township life. While all township residents are implicated, there has continued to be mounting concern as to the effects on children, who since 1976

have themselves become involved in one way or another in violent events. The recent crisis has been dubbed the "Children's Crusade" but even for those who stayed on the periphery, the psychological sequelae remain topical amongst mental health professionals in the field (Black Sash, 1986; Dowdall, 1986; Jacobs and Hollingshead, 1985; Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 1986; Saxe and Elsworth, 1986; Swartz, 1987, 1986; Skinner, 1989; Lab, 1988).

Despite a massive government clampdown in 1986 which created a virtual numbing of the independent media, reports continued to describe incidents of children clashing with police in schools, rioting and shootings. By the end of 1985, more than 2 000 children under the age of 16 had been detained under emergency regulations (Sowetan, 13 December, 1985). A study of the greater Cape Town area in 1985 revealed that of 87 people killed by security force action during civil unrest, 30% were children (South African Medical Journal, 1986). S. Swartz (1986; in Skinner 1989) outlined a number of stressors that affect children in South Africa, including the following: detention and disappearances of family and friends, witnessing violence and injury or death of a family member or friend, being "on-the-run" from authorities, damage to property and possessions, disruption of regular routine, the experience of constant danger and tension, particularly as the "enemy" or "enemy territory" are ill-defined, and a general breakdown of family and community life. Swartz (Ibid, 1986) enumerates symptomatic responses of children to these acute (and more chronic) stressors as including separation anxiety, clinging, over-dependence, sleep problems, eating problems, heightened aggression and destructiveness, nightmares, phobias and fears with tearfulness, depression and withdrawal, and regression as typified by secondary enuresis and baby-like behaviour (in Skinner and Swartz, 1989).

Jacobs and Hollingshead (1985) in a memorandum on the violation of children's rights, conclude as follows:

Children have been affected in different ways by the current strife. There are direct ways, such as direct physical and psychological trauma, deaths, detention and arrest ... other children have also been affected in less direct ways, which are less easy to measure and document. Some of these include the effects on children of adults who are being repressed, and also on the children who have been exposed to violence in the school or in the community without suffering any physical harm themselves. (Gibson, 1986, p. 4)

1.3 AIMS

This study was conceptualized as a springboard from an earlier work investigating the psychological effects of township unrest on South African black children (Lab, 1988). Results of that study consistently indicated that a group of township children were significantly concerned with aspects of civil unrest, police presence in their areas and related political violence. It becomes clear that South African black children may be a population at greater risk for some form of psychopathology. However, the author became interested in what factors buffered children against the context and circumstances outlined above, orchestrating a pattern of resilience and coping as opposed to symptoms of stress-related illness.

In response to the violence described, there is a continuing need for socially-relevant research to understand the lives of individuals.

A broad aim of this research is to investigate coping amongst township children. More specifically, the present research aims to ascertain the relationship between the quality of the caregiving relationship and childrens perceived level of competence. This involves the assumption that the quality of caregiving affects a child's resilience in the world. The study measures resilience through one specific aspect; namely the development of a sense of competence.

The hypothesis proposed, is that the quality of mothering as directly experienced by the child, will have a directional positive correlation with the level of self-perceived overall competence of that same child.

I parked outside a primary school and walked into a quadrangle teeming with tiny black children. They fell dead silent at the sight of me Two hundred black children stopped chattering and laughing the instant I appeared. I smiled, but they didn't smile back.

(Rian Malan - *My Traitor's Heart*, p. 260)

It is hoped that this study will contribute to the paucity in the local literature on the subject, by increasing our knowledge of how black children cope with their daily circumstances.

1.4 A MOTIVATION FOR LOOKING AT COPING AND RESILIENCE IN CHILDREN

We pass a little kid selling bumper stickers at the roadside - "I love Soweto" they say, or "God Bless and Heal Africa"

(Rian Malan - *My Traitor's Heart*, p. 253)

In order to generate socially meaningful psychological research in South Africa, one has to move beyond merely describing results and symptoms. In the face of an alarming shortage of curative mental health services in disadvantaged communities, (Buch, 1987; De Beer, 1984) a focus on coping may become an important preventative measure. Skinner (1989) points out that by assisting a person to cope with initial stress, the possible negative sequelae that could arise may be reduced. By discovering more about competent or so-called resilient children, we may learn how best to assist their non-coping counterparts. Coping strategies have the potential to be taught via educational forums, thus mobilizing communities in self-help strategies. For example, parents may be educated via workshops or booklets on how to assist their children with the stresses of township life.

While Apartheid continues to render health-care facilities as divisive and inadequate, the teaching of coping strategies can be implemented outside of the state-controlled health system (Skinner, 1989).

Being black is not easy.

COLIN, 12, Nottingham Road

1.5 THE DOMAIN OF DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOPATHOLOGY

The beginnings of psychoanalytic child psychology can be traced back to the period of 1890 to 1900 when clinical observations first suggested to Freud that childhood experiences constitute one of the etiological factors in neurotic symptom formation in the adult (Kris, 1950). However, for decades, researchers and theorists have acknowledged the complexity of predicting adult psychopathology from early indicators in childhood. An ongoing challenge remains in understanding the origins, nature and course of psychopathologies as they present themselves to clinicians throughout the human lifespan.

It is clear that such prediction was even vexing to Freud (1920/1955, pp 167 - 168) who eventually deemed it "impossible".

So long as we trace developments from its final outcome backwards, the chain of events appears continuous, and we feel we have gained an insight which is completely satisfactory or even exhaustive. But if we precede the reverse way, if we start from the premises inferred from the analysis and try to follow these up to the final result, then we no longer get the impression of an inevitable sequence of events which could not have been otherwise determined. We notice at once that there might have been another result, and that we might have been just as well able to understand and explain the latter Hence the chain of causation can always be recognized with certainty if we follow the line of analysis (i.e., reconstruction), whereas to predict it is impossible.

Sroufe and Rutter (1984) quote Kohlberg, LaCrosse and Ricks (1972) who were nevertheless able to conclude some fifty years later that adult disorder was, in fact, predictable from broad indicators of early maladaptation (school failure, poor peer relations, pronounced anti-social behaviour). They go on to announce that adult status was predictable from "various forms of *competence* (my italics) and ego maturity rather than the *absence* of problems and symptoms as such" (p 1 274).

Since this early review the field of developmental psychopathology has concerned itself with the ontogenic process whereby early patterns of individual adaptation evolve to later patterns of adaptation. The aim is to understand the genesis and course of disordered behaviour, at once illuminating protective and buffering factors on the one hand, and vulnerability on the other. Such a research endeavour has provided valuable information for guiding early intervention and primary prevention in clinical work with children.

It is within the ambit of this discipline that the present study falls, providing the broad theoretical underpinning for the work.

1.6 ATTACHMENT THEORY

As for me, I can already see what a big part has been played in my work by the urge to find and to appreciate the ordinary good mother.

(*The Mother's Contribution to Society* (1957). In: The postscript to Dr Winnicott's first collection of broadcast talks, published under the title *The Child and the Family*, p. 123.)

The significance of early infantile experience for later development has been reiterated so frequently and so persistently that the general validity of this assertion is now almost unchallenged. Psychoanalysts are at one in recognizing the child's first object relations as the foundation stone of his/her personality.

For more than half a century it has been established that experiences of infancy and childhood play a large part in determining whether or not an individual grows up prone to develop psychiatric illness.

It has been both widely and consistently held that infants function within a dyadic relationship where the mother's response in many ways sets the tone for future development. This understanding of personality evolution is the major tenet espoused by object relations theorists who have long upheld the powerful resonances of the primary relationship.

However, the *nature* of the child's tie to his mother, is an area fraught with various debate and disagreement. The life time work of Dr John Bowlby on the nature of attachment and affective bonds does much to elucidate healthy development through the lifespan (Bowlby, 1969). For Bowlby, this tie is mediated by a number of *instinctual response systems* (I.R.S.), rather than the psychoanalytical emphasis on orality and the meeting of physiological needs (e.g. food and warmth).

Bowlby advocates that responses like clinging and following, which reach their zenith in the second and third years, require far more attention than other psycho-analytic commentators afford them. He states clinical evidence which he says traditional theory fails to account for, i.e. the intense attachment of child to mother-figure and the dramatic response to separation from her. Bowlby postulates that the attachment behaviour we observe so readily in a baby of 12 months, is made up of a number of component instinctual responses. These serve the function of binding mother to child. Bowlby identifies these as sucking, clinging, following, crying and smiling. (Notably the last three specifically are non-oral in nature and unrelated to food). These make up what Bowlby terms *attachment behaviour* which constitutes his theory of *Primary Drives*. The more physiologically-oriented psycho-analytic account of the mother child bond, he proposes to call the theory of *Secondary Drives* (Bowlby, 1969). The terms "primary" and "secondary" refer whether the response is built-in and inherited, or acquired through the process of learning.

1.6.1 Psycho-analytic debate

The hypotheses advanced during the last decades by psycho-analysts are numerous and diverse. In reading the works of Freud, we are impressed by the fact that it was not until comparatively late that he appreciated the reality of the infant's close tie to his mother. According to Bowlby, it was only in fact in his last 10 years that he gave it the unequivocal significance it enjoys today. In his 1931 paper on *Female Sexuality* he confesses how elusive everything connected with the first mother attachment had seemed to him in his analytic work. Freud's failure to give due weight to this early tie until the last phase of his work, has had, according to Bowlby, far-reaching effects on psycho-analytic theorizing. By 1920, Freud observed that the infant of 18 months dislikes being left alone (*Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, S.E. pp 14-16) and 6 years later we find him discussing why the infant desires the presence of his mother and fears losing her (*Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety*, S.E. pp 105-7). There remains however, a reluctance to advance any primary oriented drive explanation. Instead, the infant's anxiety that he may lose his mother, is seen as due to the fear that his bodily needs will not be gratified.

However Bowlby sees Freud moving away from a theory of secondary drives in his final synthesis in *An Outline of Psycho-analysis* (S.E., 1953, p 56). Here Freud appears to espouse a vivid conceptualization of the child's tie to his mother which seems to contradict much of his earlier opinions. He describes the mother-child relationship as:

"unique without parallel, laid down unalterably for a whole lifetime, as the first and strongest love-object and as the prototype of all later love-relations ..."

In this way, Bowlby aligns himself with what he supposes were Freud's last words on the subject - i.e. the notion that special drives are built into the infant as a product of evolution, and that these underlie this first and unique love-relationship.

Research in the area of attachment continues to be a complex area fraught with difficulties in definition, lack of a unifying theoretical approach and the subsuming of many disparate behaviours under the one heading "attachment" (Feldman, 1988).

Further review of the attachment literature is beyond the scope of this thesis, but in conceptualizing the unique mother-child bond, Bowlby's (1980) definition will be adopted.

"An attachment is an affectional bond that one individual forms between himself and another specific individual. Attachments are enduring and once consolidated, are not easily abandoned".

(p. 201.)

Bowlby's proposition, that the success of the infants' attachment to his/her mother will have considerable bearing on his/her ability to develop future attachments (as a sense of security and trust in the environment encourages further exploration and the establishment of new contacts) underlies the rationale for the present work.

Variations in the reliability, responsivity and sensitivity of the caregiving may be hypothesized to lead to individual differences in the security the infant derives from the relationship and all those subsequent to it as well as promoting instrumental competence (Ainsworth, 1962; Sroufe and Waters, 1977).

Establishing and describing individual differences in attachment facilitates an understanding of normative patterns as well as the origins and consequences of individual differences. Critical to the study at hand, early adaptations can be shown to be *qualitatively* similar to later adaptations, demonstrating continuity and stability over time (Matas, Arend and Sroufe 1978; Waters 1978; Waters, Wippman and Sroufe, 1979). In general, securely attached infants would be competent and confident in their later dealings with objects and people, and would be successful participants in the peer group and liked by teachers (Sroufe and Waters, 1977).

Finally, attachment has its roots in early interaction; and lays the foundation for subsequent development (Sroufe, 1979). It is held that the *degree* or *quality* of early maternal attachment endures into childhood and has significant bearing on the development of competence in children.

1.6.2 The role of the mother in normal development

My mother say I must go to another school because in Soweto there are no schools. The high school children are boycotting their classes.
My father say the people who are boycotting are people who had finished their studies and the people who are not working

Xolisile (11 years)

A critical developmental issue in the first year of life is the formation of an affective bond, an attachment between the infant and its mother. The quality of that attachment has been related to various aspects of the child's functioning in childhood and adult life (Engeland and Farber, 1984).

In order to trace the course of healthy development it is necessary to be able to assess qualitative differences in functioning among children, from early environmental transactions within the caregiver-infant relationship to later functioning (Sroufe, 1979).

It is perhaps the writings of D.W. Winnicott that best stand out in the literature as one of the most sensitive and elaborate descriptions of the caretaking role.

According to Winnicott (1960), the ego support of the maternal care enables the infant to develop and live in spite of his/her not yet being able to control, or to feel responsible for, what is good or bad in the environment. Winnicott offers a cogent description of early ego development which he situates *always* in the context of utter dependence which *cannot* be disentangled from the notion of maternal care. Winnicott (1960) describes infancy as a period of ego development, with integration as the main developmental feature.

The id-forces, at first external to the infant, "clamour for attention" (ibid, p 587). During the course of healthy development the id becomes gathered into the service of the ego, and is in this way mastered so that "id-satisfactions become ego strengtheners" (ibid, p 587). Ill-health in infancy fails in varying degrees to see achievement of this kind. Winnicott speaks of infantile psychosis (or schizophrenia) as a state in which the id remains relatively or totally "external" to the ego, and id-satisfactions remain physical, and have the effect of threatening the ego structure with the organization of defences a psychotic kind.

Winnicott postulates that the main reason why in healthy infant development the child is able to master and the ego include the id, is because of the maternal care with its maternal ego which implements the ego of the infant, making it powerful and stable.

Winnicott's theory of the mother-infant relationship embraces the infant's journey from absolute dependence through relative dependence, to independence, and, in parallel, it's movement from the pleasure principle to the reality principle, from autoerotism to object relationships. These tasks are always seen in the context of maternal care; the qualities and changes in the mother that meet the specific and developing needs of the infant towards whom she orientates (ibid, p 588).

For Winnicott (1958) what motivates the mother for her role as a "protective shield" (Kahn, 1963) for the infant is her "primary maternal preoccupation". The incentive for the mother's role is her libidinal investment in the infant and the

infant's dependence on it for survival. A period of maximum dependence is experienced during the "holding phase" which denotes not only the actual physical holding of the infant, but also the total environmental provision.

In this phase the ego moves from an unintegrated state to a structured integration, with the infant becoming able to experience anxiety associated with disintegration. In normal development, at this stage the infant retains the capacity for reexperiencing unintegrated states. This however, depends on the continuation of reliable maternal care or the build-up of memories of maternal care. The result of healthy progress in the infant's development during this stage is that she/he attains what Winnicott refers to as "unit status" (ibid, p 589). Hence the infant becomes a person, an individual in his or her own right.

In addition, a further development lies in the infant's capacity for object relationships. In Winnicott's words, here "the infant changes from a relationship to a subjectively conceived object to a relationship to an object objectively perceived" (ibid, p 589). This corresponds with the infant's new-found ability to relate to the mother, not as a merged entity, but as a separate "not-me" object. Winnicott believes that the basis for instinctual satisfaction and for object relationships lies in the handling and general management and care taken of the infant. It follows that the mental health of the child is laid down by this maternal care, which becomes a natural extension of the physiological provision of the prenatal period. According to Winnicott, what the mother's powerful identification with her infant provides, is a "live adaptation to the infants needs" (ibid, p 594).

In this way, with the care that it receives from its mother, each infant is able to have a personal existence, and begins to build up what Winnicott terms "a continuity of being" (p. 591).

Thus from this cursory overview, it becomes clear that this theorist places primary importance on the maternal role, which when optimally executed acts as a direct

shaper of infant ego development. It follows that when all goes well, the enduring nature of "good enough" early attachment resonates into functioning in childhood, fostering a sense of competence and resilience in the world.

1.6.3 The Role of the Mother in Pathological Development

We are moulded and remoulded by those who have loved us; and though the love may pass, we are nevertheless their work, for good or ill.

(Francois Mauriac, in Bowlby, Attachment and Loss, 1980; p. 331).

Failures in maternal care, result in interruptions in the infant's continuity of being. This occurs through reactions to the consequences of that failure, producing weakening of the ego. When maternal care is not good enough the infant in fact does not really come into existence (since there is no continuity of being) and the personality is built up on the reactions to environmental impingements. These constitute annihilation on the part of the infants primitive ego and are manifest with the pain of psychotic quality and intensity.

In Winnicott's idiom (Kahn, 1963) the establishment of "the false self" is one result of the caretaking environment's failure to adapt through good-enough holding (Winnicott, 1949). This "false self" is a character logical consequence of the distortion and disruption of ego autonomy. Impingements (failures of the mother in infancy to regulate internal and external stimuli) are disruptive of true ego integration and lead to premature defensive organization and functioning (Winnicott, 1949).

Masud Kahn (1963) offers a useful concept of "cumulative trauma" in understanding pathological mother-child relationships in adolescence. Cumulative trauma, according to Kahn has its beginnings in the period of development when the infant needs and uses the mother as protective shield. He holds that the

inevitable temporary failures of the mother are corrected by the evolving complexity of the maturational processes. However where these failures of the mother are significantly frequent creating impingements that are overwhelming and immobilizing for the infant, they set up a pattern of pathogenic reaction (ibid, p 298). An insidious aspect of cumulative trauma, for Kahn, is the propensity to build-up silently throughout childhood right up to adolescence where the child him or herself becomes acutely aware of the distorting and disruptive maternal relationship. Anna Freud (1958, in Kahn 1963) described the concept of cumulative trauma as "subtle harm inflicted on (the) child the consequences of (which) will become manifest at some future date" (p. 299).

The concept of cumulative trauma correlates events at the preverbal mother-infant stage with what later becomes operative as a disturbed relationship between mother and child.

Again, what becomes clear, is the central role assumed by the mother (or main caregiver) where development goes awry. While Winnicott and Kahn describe the more severe end of the pathological continuum, milder, but nevertheless dysfunctional outcomes similarly implicate degrees of breakdown in an early affective bond. It follows that in terms of this study where a child fails to achieve competence or mastery in his/her world, there may be a correlation with a disturbance in the maternal relationship.

1.6.4 The Quality of early maternal care and later infant competence

"Oh, Daddy is clever, he's a clever sort of man,
But Mummy is the best since the world began...."
(A.A. Milne - *Winker*, *From Now we are six*, 1976, p. 15)

Fundamental to most theories of personality development is the assumption that parents display consistent modes of behaviour which serve as antecedent conditions for the behaviours of their offspring (Milton, 1958).

Indeed in the last two decades, study of the infant-mother attachment construct has had high priority in infant research as researchers become more convinced of the centrality of this early relationship for functioning across the lifespan.

According to several theoretical perspectives, adaptation at earlier developmental phases lays the groundwork for later effective adaptation (e.g. Erikson, 1956, Mahler, Pine and Bergman, 1975; Sroufe, 1979; in Arend, Gove and Sroufe, 1979).

An effective infant-mother relationship supports the toddler's early attempts at exploration and object-mastery and promotes a developing sense of effectance (White, 1959). According to several theorists, the early confidence resulting from mastery promotes further affectively positive engagement with the world, in turn leading to subsequent competence (Arend, Gove and Sroufe, 1979, p 956).

A series of recent papers has provided evidence for continuity of individual adaptation in the early years. These papers have demonstrated continuity in broadly based assessments of competence with respect to salient developmental issues - attachment in infancy, effective autonomous functioning during the toddler period, and peer competence in the pre-school and later.

Matas et. al. (1978) proposed that an effective attachment relationship supporting exploration and mastery and in which the infant can derive comfort from the caregiver when distressed - is a central manifestation of competence in infancy (in Arend et al., 1979).

Ainsworth and her associates (1978, 1974) through her widely used strange-situation procedure, repeatedly demonstrated a relationship between quality of attachment in infancy and later competence.

Waters, Wippman and Sroufe (1979) examined continuity in individual adaptation from 15 months to 3½ years by relating individual differences in the quality of infant-mother attachment to competence in the pre-school. Children who had

been secure in their attachment as infants scored significantly higher on scales measuring both peer competence and ego strength, than children who had been classified as anxiously attached as infants.

These results indicate that individual differences in quality of attachment in infancy are predictive of individual differences in competence in toddlerhood.

Jack and Jeanne Block (in press, in Sroufe, 1979) have done important work on two dimensions of personality organization. The first, *ego control* refers to the degree of control the child maintains over impulses, wishes and desires - over-controlled children are rigid, unable to be spontaneous; under-controlled children cannot delay gratification or behave purposefully. The second, *ego resiliency* refers to flexibility of controls. A resilient child is capable of planful behaviour, delaying gratification and is both spontaneous, curious and enthusiastic. The Block's contribution presents persuasive evidence for stable individual differences over time which are tied to patterns of care currently being followed up at ages 11 and 14.

Arend *et al* (1979) complement these findings with their longitudinal work where children with secure early attachment were independently described by teachers as highly resilient, resourceful, self-reliant and confident. Sroufe (1979) concludes that what began as a competent caregiver-infant relationship led to a flexible, resourceful child attachment assessments, in this way, predicted later functioning more powerfully than had any previously used measures (p 840).

Lieberman (1977, in Sroufe, 1979) has presented data suggesting a relationship between mother and child behaviour in the home and peer competence both assessed at age 3.

Easterbrooks and Lamb (1979) further demonstrate that individual differences in the organization of infant-mother interaction affect the infant's style of interaction with other social partners - both infants and adults. These studies underscore the extent to which the quality of infant-mother attachment affects the

social experiences and consequently the social development of children by developing an orientation to the broader social world. These early experiences would seem to be highly predictive of future social interactions as a powerful determinant of social competence.

In summary: this section has employed a developmental approach whereby stable individual differences in coping (while influenced by constitutionally based cognitive styles and inborn differences) have to do with variations in early experience, namely the continuity and consistency of "good enough mothering" (Winnicott, 1960).

Thus the development of the self as competent is the ability to bring internal states into harmony with the demands of reality, which according to Kohut, (1971; 1977) is *always* (my italics) as a result of a child's experience of early caretaking.

Sroufe (1979) posits that while all children are vulnerable to stress, what children experience early makes an ongoing difference and cannot be cancelled out by later experience. He maintains that lasting consequences of early inadequate experience may be subtle and complex "taking the form of increased vulnerability to certain kinds of stress, for example, or becoming manifest only when the individual attempts to establish intimate adult relationships or engage in parenting" (ibid, p 840).

In this way, variations in caretaking appear to be related to a child's subsequent capacity to cope with life changes and remain resilient when confronted with misfortune (Chess and Thomas, 1975; Werner and Smith, 1982 in Anthony and Cohler, 1987).

In general authors from Bowlby onward seem to converge in one way or another, in articulating the opinion that the quality of a child's attachment bonds relate to a sense of self-reliance and later competence, resilience and invulnerability in adversity.

It is again perhaps Winnicott who, in his own incisive style, accounts for invulnerability and resilience in children: where fundamental health derives from the ability to find a good caretaking experience and preserve it.

1.7 HIGH RISK RESEARCH

What's led today's youngsters to such depths of mindless violence? Why do good kids go bad? Who's at fault when kids, especially from middle class homes, commit crimes?

These are some of the questions we often ask ourselves.

(Anonymous, (1991) Soweto Standard 6 school pupil)

For Norman Garnezy modern psychiatry has come to espouse as its major goal, primary prevention which aims at "modifying the environment and strengthening individual capacities to cope with situations" in order to reduce "the incidence of new cases of mental disorder and disability in a population" (Kaplan and Grunebaum, 1967; in Garnezy, 1971, p. 64).

The present study addressing the issue of competence and resilience in children situates itself within the scope of an accumulation of work known as "high risk research". This body of literature is concerned with the identification and study of particular individuals or populations determined to be vulnerable or generally predisposed for specific psychopathology. The risk research paradigm has focused on identifying samples who are deemed to be at high risk for disability, but who, at the point contact, are symptom-free (Fisher, Kokes, Cole, Perkins and Wynne; in Anthony and Cohler, 1987). The definition of a high-risk child is one who is at greater than average risk for later deviances in behaviour because of membership in some identifiable population (Sameroff and Seifer, 1983). Groups of individuals are then followed up over time, with an attempt to isolate antecedents of disability, its development and course, and outcome data in the way of findings which are then correlated with premorbid and morbid variables (ibid, p 212).

Garmezy and Streitman (1974, in Anthony and Cohler, 1987) point out that this affords a rich source of developmental material spanning both normal and pathological development.

Farber and Engeland (ibid, p 255) discuss how a prospective, at-risk approach follows children who are known (based on actuarial data) to have a higher probability of specific outcomes than a random sample of children.

"It is based on the assumption that a group [of children] can be identified in which a certain problem will occur with a frequency great enough to warrant extensive study of a large sample ..." (ibid, p 255).

Felsman and Vaillant (in Anthony and Cohler, 1987) trace the origins of vulnerability research back to the early work of Fish (1957, 1959) and Mednick and Schulsinger (1971, 1973) in Denmark (both sources in Anthony and Cohler, 1987). Their work was concerned with the longitudinal study of schizophrenics and their offspring, but this orientation has been broadened to encompass groups determined to be vulnerable for various reasons to a range of different psychopathologies.

For a host of socio-political and economic reasons (already considered elsewhere) South African black township children may be seen as a population "at-risk". Whether it is in terms of Winnicott's (1960) view of mental illness as "an environmentally deficient disease" or the levels and degree of exposure to violence in day to day living, these children, as a group are distinguished by their vulnerability.

This review will concern itself with three areas of vulnerability in children, namely the offspring of parents with mental illness (notably schizophrenia) and secondly, the effects of chronic environmental hardship. A third area will be covered, namely the effects of war-stress and civil unrest on children, as a specific stressor pertinent to the sample investigated.

1.7.1 The Mentally Ill Parent

"Its mother had melted into the rays of the rising sun,
her face glittering with innocence
her heart as pure as untrampled dew".
(Oswald Mtshali - *An Abandoned Bundle*, from *Sounds of a*
Cowhide Drum, 1972, p. 60)

There has to date been considerable study of the development of children of psychiatrically impaired mothers. However, there is much ambiguity in findings in the area.

Children in these families are subjected frequently to unstable caretaking over many years, multiple caretakers during times when parents were hospitalized, and ongoing difficulties relating to living with caretakers who are at once unpredictable and who may espouse idiosyncratic understandings of the world (Cohler, Gallant, Grunebaum and Kauffman, 1983, Grunebaum, Gamer and Cohler, 1983; Grunebaum, Weiss, Cahler, Hartman and Gallant, 1982; all in Anthony and Cohler, 1987).

There is substantial evidence indicating that infants born to psychiatrically disturbed parents will be at heightened life time risk for psychopathology. The role of hereditary factors particularly schizophrenia, has been repeatedly demonstrated in twin, adoption and cross-fostering studies (Walker and Emory, 1983).

Researchers are for the most part in agreement that the degree of exposure to a schizophrenic parent is positively related to degree of later maladjustment in offspring (Reider and Nichols, 1979; Walker, Cudeck, Mednick and Schulsinger, 1981; Walker, Hoppes, Mednick, Emory and Schulsinger, 1981; all in Walker and Emory, 1983). While the rate of schizophrenia in the general population is about 1%, close to 10% of children with one schizophrenic parent become schizophrenic themselves (Hanson, Gottesman and Meehl, 1977; in Sameroff and Seifer, 1983).

Mednick and Schulsinger (1968, in Anthony and Cohler, 1987) hold that by the end of the risk period of age 45, about 12% - 14% of children of schizophrenic mothers will themselves have suffered some form of the disorder, with a further 35% likely to manifest some other form of deviant, atypical behaviour. However, some 50% (based on overt behaviour) can be expected to be functioning satisfactorily without symptomatology. In fact the work of Heston (1966) and Karlsson (1968) has revealed a small sub-set who exhibit aspects of creative expressiveness in their personality structure. It becomes clear that there is variability in outcomes, warranting further elaboration (Garrity, 1971).

A host of studies (Watt *et al.*, 1982; Weintraub and colleagues, 1975; 1978, both in Anthony and Cohler, 1987) found that children of schizophrenic or affectively ill parents were shown to display greater interpersonal disharmony, less scholastic motivation, more emotional instability, lower academic and social competence than children of well parents. Worland, Lander and Hesselbrink (1979) showed that children of psychiatrically ill parents were significantly more disturbed than children of non-psychotic parents, as demonstrated by the use of a number of standardized and psychodynamic measures.

These writers maintain that it is the general stress and upheaval associated with living with a mentally-ill parent that augments future maladjustment rather than the specific *form* of the parental psychiatric diagnosis *per se* (e.g. schizophrenia or affective illness).

Musick and her associates (1987, in Anthony and Cohler, 1987) embarked upon an intervention study in order to differentiate what factors separated resilient versus vulnerable children of psychiatrically ill mothers. These researchers evaluated variations in markers of childhood competence within the context of the early social and caregiving environment provided by the mother. Their findings were that more resilient children had a more facilitating relationship with their mothers, which manifested itself in two observable ways (Musick *et al.*, in Anthony and Cohler, 1987).

(1) Their active reaching out to others, and (2) their mother's support and permission to do that. These authors termed this second propensity "entablement"; where mothers enabled their offspring to turn to alternative significant adult others in order to enhance their own development. This finding concurs with those of Anthony (1983) and Werner and Smith (1982; both in Anthony and Cohler, 1987) that one of the key environmental factors in developmental resiliency in children at risk is a good mother-child relationship during the first year of life. Similarly, Heider (1966) in one of the earlier extensive studies on vulnerability in infancy, isolated an inverse relationship between vulnerability and good mother-child interaction, especially to the extent to which a particular caretaker meets the needs of a particular baby.

Anthony (1987) describes a sub-sample of 10% of a group of children at high genetic risk for psychosis who were not only "escaping (their) genetic transmission ... and not merely surviving ... (their)... psychotic parenting;... (but) were apparently thriving under conditions ... judged to be highly detrimental to a child's psychosocial development and well-being" (in Anthony and Cohler, 1987, p 147).

He draws on outstanding case histories described by Anna Freud (1969), Bleuler (1984) and Winnicott (1965) where particular children revealed developmental histories marked by astonishing parental psychosis and related abuse, but who nevertheless displayed extraordinary creativity, coping capacities and competence. In explaining these cases, the above-mentioned writers all isolate the importance of the early phase of the child's life for the development of good mental health and competence. In addition the resilient children were able to draw on the emotional support of the well-parent. Anna Freud concluded that in such cases, enough goodness was provided by the mother at the earliest time to compensate for the later psychotic mismanagement. Similarly, Winnicott (1949) emphasises the need for "a perfect initial environment" because "the mental health of the human being is laid down in infancy by the mother who provides an environment in which complex but essential processes in the infant's self can become completed".

1.7.2 The Effects of Chronic Poverty

kesono felo mme atsofetse
 gakena ntate othahetse kele ngwana
 kekopa dija komotseng kogae gagana boratho
 nyana gagana ie tae nyana malome
 waka ogola tshetele enyane oreka dikabanya
 na nnakeya kobalathang dijo konopa keje
 ie bana bakogae
 fake lwala gobana tshetele yagokisa ngakeng

(Everything is terrible. My mother is
 old and my father is dead. I beg for
 food because there's no bread or tea
 at home. My uncle helps us a little.
 Sometimes I go through the dustbins
 for leftovers. And I share the food
 with my sisters and my brothers. When
 I am sick there is no money for the
 doctor, so I stay sick)

ANNA, 10, Witkoppen

Concern as to the role of economic hardship as potential precursor for mental disorder, is the product of a belief that disadvantaged groups are subject to deleterious environmental influences powerful in the shaping of behaviour.

Kaplan and Grunebaum (1967; in Garmezy, 1971) speak of the unequal social structure that characterize communities:

"If a person happens to be born into an advantaged group
 in a stable society, his social roles and their expected
 changes over a lifetime will tend to provide him with
 adequate opportunities for healthy personality
 development. If, on the other hand, he belongs to a
 disadvantaged minority, suffers from economic
 deprivation, ... he may find his progress blocked and he
 may be deprived of opportunity and challenge. This may
 have an adverse effect on his mental health" (p 333).

Indeed Seifer and Sameroff (1983) quote Hess (1970) who asserts that different levels of socio-economic status "give children experiences that are both different and unequal with respect to the rewards of society" (p 457).

Over the last ten years, Garmezy's in-depth studies of stress-resistance in childhood have examined disadvantaged inner-city children and their capacity to cope. This high-stress group was differentiated by a high proportion of well-adapted children who were able to relate positively to peers and adjust to life circumstances (Garmezy, 1987).

As such, Garmezy (1971) emphasises that the hypothesized powerful negative effect of slum life on personal development, remains an assumption and not a given. Economic hardship, even extreme poverty (like other acute or chronic environmental conditions) seem to produce individuals who vary markedly in their ability to cope.

This variability is exemplified in Robins (1966, in Anthony and Cohler, 1987) classic investigation examining later life events, over a 30-year follow-up period, for a sample of more than 500 subjects initially seen as children in a clinic setting because of early deviant behaviour.

Garmezy (1971) points out that although the experimental and control groups were demographically extremely similar in terms of manifest physical deprivation, the controls when examined in adulthood, were found to be "extraordinarily well-adjusted" in the way of job status, home ownership, personal relationships and an absence of indigence or mental disorder. This variability in outcomes was further demonstrated within the experimental or clinic-group where prognosis for problem cases of a neurotic nature proved to be relatively favourable.

Werner and Smith's (1982; cited in Anthony and Cohler, 1987) study of 690 multiracial children who grew up in poverty and were exposed to a series of stressful life events, showed similar variability in distinguishing competent and incompetent children. These researchers attempted to determine which aspects of early experience appeared to buffer or protect children identified by their severe environmental circumstances. While outcomes were indeed lacking in clear-cut distinguishing criteria, it was found that the presence of many caretakers played a role in positive outcomes, with female adolescents appearing to be more

vulnerable than their male counterparts. Interestingly, this constitutes a sex difference which contrasts with studies identifying greater pathological potential in pre-school boys exposed to family stress (Rutter and Madge, 1976; in Elder, van Nguyen and Caspi, 1985).

Werner and Smith's "resilient" group were identified as having the following protective factors: good temperament, favourable parental attitudes, low levels of family conflict, counselling and remedial assistance, small family size, and a relatively smaller load of stressful life experiences.

This study aligns itself with numerous others (e.g. Sameroff and Chandler, 1975, in Anthony and Cohler, 1987) in targeting socio-economic status as an important moderator of child development. An impoverished environment brings with it a limited range of stimulating experiences, or trauma resulting from the increased number of stressful life-events associated with poverty: both of which may massively inhibit intellectual and psychological growth (Sameroff and Seifer, 1983).

In their longitudinal study since 1970, investigating the role of parental mental illness and social status as risk factors in the early development of children, Sameroff and Seifer quote data indicating interesting results. As far as social status is concerned, there is a significant and increasing impact on the intellectual growth and cognitive competence of the child after the first year. As children grow older, they report, those from higher socio-economic families are thriving more and more, while "lower-socio-economic status children are becoming more stifled" (p 1 259).

Furthermore Kohn (1973; in Sameroff and Seifer, 1983) asserts that stress from externally induced events is also more frequent at lower social class levels, with greater incidence of mental disturbance in members of lower social class groups than in higher ones (Langner and Michael, 1963; *ibid*, 1983).

The Isle of Wight Study (Rutter *et al.*, 1976) identified low socio-economic status and crowded living conditions as important variables in the development of psychiatric disorder in children. Similarly Neichterlein (1970) and Garmezy and Neichterlein (1972; *notl.* in Gibson, 1986), found that children from less crowded physical environments appeared to cope more favourably with stress.

Nra a kethasekolong Keya sakola kagae
 veyasokola kagae gababereke gserg. kebesamla
 maphoisa atshwarabatho Pitloypokogae emaswe

(We are also suffering at home
 because no-one has a job. I make the
 fire in the morning. People get
 arrested. It's dirty at home)

JULIA, 9, Fourways

It is particularly in this area, of widespread socio-economic disadvantage that black township children may be viewed as a group at risk.

The Apartheid years, with their adjuncts of politically and economically-based discriminatory legislation in the way of separate land acts, job reservation and second-class education has ensured that black South Africans have remained for the most part, more or less financially deprived.

The fact that the majority of black children have been reared in an atmosphere of economic oppression and the general bleakness engendered by township life cannot be dismissed in the evaluation of personal and psychological development.

1.7.3 The Effects of War-time Stress and Civil Unrest on Children

A fire-bomb has recently exploded on this very doorstep. A month or two hence, a teenaged son of the household within will be waylaid as he's coming home, stabbed with garden forks and burned alive. Right now however, the street seems peaceful.

(Rian Malan - *My Traitors Heart*, p. 259)

As has been outlined earlier in this chapter, the late seventies and eighties has seen the mobilization and militancy of many of South Africa's black children. Even those not directly involved in political activities and organizations have witnessed years of violence which has taken many forms. This section has been included in order to briefly review the international literature on the subject of children's involvement in, and reactions to politics which is often of a violent nature.

Children in War-time Stress

Finally, someone had put a bullet in his temple, dumped his body and built a fire on top of it. He was fourteen years old. The boy wore short pants. So it goes.

(Rian Malan - *My Traitors Heart*, p. 264.)

World War II heralded the awakening of a new and zealous interest in the possible psychological effects of war conditions on children. Exposure of children to bombings and severe civilian casualties in war-time, as well as the high levels of tension and anxiety in adults around them, prompted Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham's (1943) pioneering studies on the subject. Their main finding from observations of children's behaviour during the London Blitz and subsequent evacuations was that "... there were no signs of traumatic shock ...". (p. 104). Instead it emerged that war-time traumatization is related much more significantly to separation from parents or major attachment figures or results from the mediation of fear from adults around them.

The consensus from studies on children's reactions to war from the same time period (Brander, 1943; Despert, 1942; and Solomon, 1942) largely support the view that negative psychological effects were less than previously imagined. Decades later saw the reawakening of war-related stress research, with the occurrence of the 1973/74 Yom Kippur War in Israel (Breznitz, 1983).

Abundant studies (Ziv and Israel, 1973; Milgram and Milgram, 1976; Ayalon, 1987 etc.) have subsequently appeared, with the consistent finding that children under stress tend to model their parents reactions to the trauma, and are generally unexpectantly resilient in situations of considerable psychological adversity (e.g Rutter, 1979; Garmezy, 1987; Werner and Smith, 1982; Wallerstein, 1983, both the latter references in Anthony and Cohler, 1987).

Children in Civil Unrest

(His) relatives used to carry him to B.C (Black Consciousness) rallies and congresses before he could walk or talk.

"I joined politics when I was five," the boy says proudly.

(Rian Malan - *My Traitors Heart*, p. 270.)

While the literature pertaining to the civilian in war, as well as studies on the effects of natural disasters, offer a cogent springboard for an understanding of children under stress, Gibson (1986) emphasizes the specificity of civil unrest as an uniquely stressful experience. International research from countries engaged in civil war, provides an indispensable comparative cornerstone for an understanding of the kinds of stressors experienced by the black children of South African townships. Although an understanding of the psychological effects of growing up in an unre . . . y calls for a sound understanding of the historical, economic, cultural and political antecedents peculiar to a particular society, certain commonalities do emerge. Psychological data from Northern Israel, Israel and South America provide valuable insights which may be extrapolated to a greater or lesser extent to the current South African situation.

The last 15 years have witnessed a plethora of research on the psychological and psychiatric effects of children in the violence-torn areas of Northern Ireland.

In the case of Israel, Breznitz (1983) describes the pervasive feeling of national insecurity which is felt to a greater or lesser extent on a continuous basis in the face of ongoing civil unrest. As is the situation in Northern Ireland, children are exposed with alarming frequency to incidents of civil strife and civilian violence, both of which must colour their perceptions of the world around them in an ongoing way.

The South American states under seige of civil war, provide a further context for investigating the psychological adaptation of children under unrest-associated stress. Although literature from Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, El Salvador and other Central and Latin American countries is sparse, the toll on the psychological well-being of children exposed to the horrors of totalitarian rule, demands further investigation.

There is a lack of research in all these countries, but the findings that emerge suggest that children are not unaffected by the circumstances under which they find themselves developing and growing up. This paucity in research is even more apparent in South Africa. South African writers have offered useful comments and some exploratory studies on the potential effects of political violence, aimed at pragmatic assistance to community workers and clinicians (Dowdall, 1986; Swartz, 1987; Gibson, Swartz, 1986; Straker, 1987; Skinner, 1989; Lab, 1987) but what is lacking is direct empirical data on children.

It is hoped that the present study will contribute to the local literature by increasing our knowledge of how black children cope in a situation referred to by many, as one of civil war.

1.8 STRESS AND STRESS THEORY

Much of the theoretical underpinning of this study of competence and resilience in children, is located within the very broad corpus of stress-related research.

The rapidity with which the concept of stress has propelled itself into the minds of professionals and laymen alike, remains almost unprecedented in recent times. Since Seyle (1956) popularized the term in his work on the General Adaptation Syndrome (G.A.S) abundant studies have demonstrated its pivotal role in the genesis of psychopathology (Breznitz, 1983; Garnezy and Rutter, 1983, etc). A number of models have been generated over the years, which attempt to explain the role of stress in illness and psychopathology. In response to these, several writers have criticised existing models citing problems such as the decontextualization of the stressors, and an assumed universality of response (Gibson, 1986; quoted by Skinner, 1989).

Turton (1986) and Gibson (1986) have both advocated a more relevant theoretical approach which address the ideological limitations of stress research divorced from social context.

As such, the examination of *individual* psychological reactions within a socio-economic framework, imbues both the events and responses with social meaning.

1.8.1 Stressful Life Events in Children : A Question of Measurement

In contrast to the extensive literature on stressful life events in adults, there is a surprising paucity of evidence on the importance of stressful life events in the genesis of psychiatric disorders in childhood (Rutter, 1981). The study of stressful childhood events has largely paralleled methods used to evaluate adult levels of stress as measured by life-stress scales such as those developed by Holmes and Rahe (1967), Paykel (1974, in Garnezy and Rutter, 1983) etc. Garnezy and Rutter (1983) criticize such an approach to an understanding of childhood stress, in its primary focus on the correlation between life change scores and various

various forms of physical illness; with the focus on psychological or behavioral aspects of adaption receiving only secondary attention. While scales rating the magnitude of life change units necessary for readjustment (such as those advanced by Coddington 1972; Murphy and Moriarty 1976, etc., in Garmezy and Rutter, 1983) provide a useful understanding of childhood stress, these have serious limitations in the context of the present study. "Stressors" themselves are usually construed of as finite or circumscribed events occurring in isolation without a sense of the magnitude of a continuum of stress (e.g. as living in civil unrest or in extreme poverty) significantly affecting the life of a child in all his or her entirety.

1.8.2 How Children Cope

That's where (Yvonne) is today - in some A.N.C refugee camp in the Botswana desert, an unhappy and lonely fifteen year old, desperate to come home.

(Rian Malan - *My Traitors Heart*, p. 284.)

Over recent years, there has been an upsurge in interest in the area of coping in children, pioneered by Michael Rutter, who has systematically investigated what he calls "*protective factors*". This term has now become firmly established in the field of psychiatric risk research (Garmezy, 1987; Rutter, 1979, 1985). "*Protective processes*" is the term used to focus on factors that counter risk, involving a process where there is a change from risk to adaptation (Rutter, 1987).

The term refers to influences that modify, ameliorate, or alter a persons response to some environmental hazard that predisposes one to a maladaptive outcome (Rutter, 1985).

Protective factors do not constitute a pleasurable or beneficial experience. Rather they may be experiences that fortify a person against future negative, stressful happenings or sensitise the individual to danger signals. Furthermore, they are not by definition *experiential* but can be constitutional, in the form of a personality trait or characteristic of social status. Finally, they do not necessarily have a beneficial effect in their own right, but only when seen in interaction with a stressor.

In general protective factors in the way of dispositional attributes, environmental conditions, biological predispositions, and positive events that can act to contain the expression of deviance or pathology have according to Garmezy and his associates (1984), been neglected for too long.

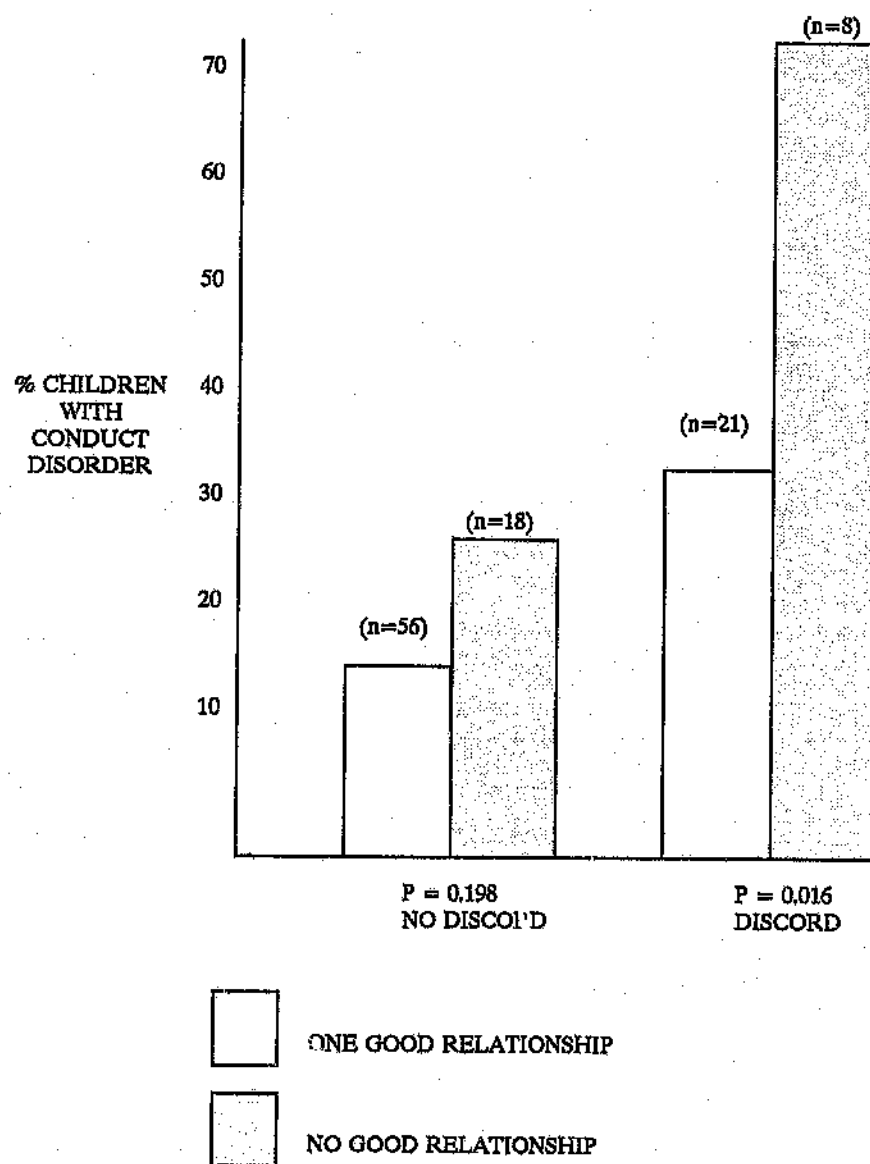
Rutter's (1985) conception of protective factors is consistent with the fact that most psychosocial stressors do not constitute a short term, single stimulus event, but rather take the form of a complex set of changing conditions that have both a history and a future (Mechanic, 1978; in Rutter, 1987).

The factors Rutter isolates that have been shown empirically to provide protection are: age, sex temperament, prior experience, the security of the child within relationships with both parents and significant others, good parental relations and parents with adequate parenting skills (listed by Skinner, 1989).

Coping strategies, or what Rutter (1985) refers to as interactive factors, come into being after the stressor has occurred. These constitute behaviours on the part of parents or children which are seen to reduce the negative impact of the stressor for the child. Such variables include subsequent matters of parent-child relations, social supports, a lack of obvious anxiety on the part of the caregivers (discussed earlier), the presence of an active or available parent and good care post the event.

It is clear from this discussion, that there are numerous and complex factors both within and outside of individual children which affect their coping capacity. Writers on this topic refer to individual vulnerabilities relating to temperament, gender, and level of intelligence or education.

Following the observations made by Bowlby and other writers (Bowlby, 1969, 1973, 1980) on attachment theory, one of the most salient buffering or protective factors appears to be the presence of a stable adult-child relationship. This factor is almost always shown to be correlated with better social adjustment on the part of the child (Garmezy, 1987; Rutter, 1985, 1987. See Figure overleaf).

BELOW: FIGURE 1**Showing the Protective Effect of Good Relationship (Rutter, 1987)**

In Rutter's (1979) study of disadvantaged children, the incidence of psychiatric disorder was found to be 75% in a group who lacked good parental relationships, while another group who benefited from parental affection yielded a figure of 25%. Garmezy (1987) concludes that there is a protective component provided by a supportive, stable and cohesive family climate. In agreement, Rutter (1987) writes that available data from an accumulation of studies continue to suggest that the experience of secure early attachments play a powerful role in fostering self-esteem and self-efficacy thus protecting children against later risk involvement.

Finally, in conclusion Rutter (1979) poses a challenge to the scientific community to continue to investigate coping in children exposed to stress and disadvantage. He says;

"Protection does not primarily lie in the buffering effect of some supportive factor, operating at one point in time, or even over a prolonged time. Rather, the quality of resilience resides in how people deal with life changes and what they do about their situations. That quality is influenced by early life experiences, by happening during later childhood and adolescence, and by circumstances in adult life. None of these is in itself determinative of later outcomes, but in combination they may serve to create a chain of indirect linkages that foster escape from adversity. It cannot be claimed that we have an adequate understanding of how this development takes place, but already the little we do know provides pointers to the elements likely to be necessary in effective prevention and therapeutic intervention." (Rutter, 1985, p 608)

This endeavour calls upon both developmentalists and writers in the field of psychopathology to produce work that will continue to have significant implications for the understanding and treatment of children in distress.

1.9 THE CONCEPT OF RESILIENCE

A tiny black tyke led (the comrades) through a call-and-response routine. In America, such a boy would have been playing video games, but here he was already a soldier, smiting the sky with his tiny fists, puffing out his child's cheeks and howling, "Harrrrrr", in electrifying imitation of a machine gun.

(Rian Malan - *My Traitor's Heart*, p. 249)

Stemming directly from the work on coping in children, the 1970's saw an increasing preoccupation amongst researchers with the concept of *invulnerable* children. The popularization of this term created the misleading notion that there existed "some children so constitutionally tough that they could not give way under pressures of stress and adversity" (Rutter, 1985, p 599).

Due to the inherent problems of absoluteness implied by the concept, Garmezy and his colleagues (1987) dropped the term for the less dramatic one of "stress-resistant" or "resilient" children.

The idea of resilience stems from the universal observations by child psychiatrists, that even in the face of the most severe stressors and the most extreme adversity, it is unusual for more than half of children to succumb to some form of illness or pathology (Rutter, 1979).

A host of such observations were made in studies of stress in various forms, notably children raised by psychiatrically (often psychotic) ill parents (Garmezy 1971; discussed earlier) as well as the epidemiological investigations into protective factors (Rutter *et al.*, 1987, discussed earlier) all of which provide reports of children's behaviour marked by adaptability and competence.

Nevertheless, there has been a conspicuous dearth in the wider scientific literature of a phenomenon which Garmezy (1987) calls "ubiquitous in the real world" (p. 36).

This neglect is consistent with the roots of the discipline of psychopathology which reflects a "problem" focused literature concerned with abnormality and mental disorder to the exclusion of what is normative and healthy (Murphy and Moriarty, 1976).

However an increasing number of writers are becoming interested in this phenomenon of resilience, espoused by children who fare well despite experiencing stress which is known in the general population, to carry a considerable risk of adverse outcome (Anthony, 1974; Antonovsky, 1979; Coelho *et al.*, 1974; Garmezy, 1976, 1981; Lazarus, 1966; Moos, 1976; Murphy and Moriarty, 1976; Rutter, 1978; 1979; Vaillant, 1977; Werner and Smith, 1981, all quoted by Rutter, 1981).

Resilience, as a concept, has sprung out of the consistent findings of workers in the field that there exists marked variability in responses of individuals exposed to risk or stress situations (discussed earlier). When confronted with adversity, one person may succumb to the stressful exigencies, while another overcomes the potential hazard with a return to non-stressful functioning. In this sense, resilience may be described as an individual's capacity to make a "*psychosocial comeback*" (Kadner, 1989) in the wake of adversity. The idea of resilience incorporates the ability to recover from or adjust with ease to misfortune or negative life changes or may be defined as a certain preparedness that is mobilized when a stressful situation occurs.

The notion of resilience has been studied in conjunction with the vulnerability model in psychiatry. "It is conceptualized as brevity in the breakdown of coping strategies and is juxtaposed with high vulnerability to a psychotic episode following repeated failures to adapt" (Zubin and Spring, 1977). What distinguishes the resilient child, is the capacity to regain equilibrium after a transient period of distress. This stands in contrast to the vulnerable child, where a temporary breakdown in adaption may manifest in more serious or ongoing problems.

Rutter (1987), points out that resilience cannot be viewed as a fixed attribute of the individual. The term is, rather a relative one where people who cope optimally with stressors at one point in the life-cycle, may react negatively to other adversities in different situations. Thus, resilience is a dynamic concept, subject to change as life circumstances alter.

As mentioned earlier, resilience has been studied as part of the search for the genesis of psychiatric disorders in childhood (Kadner, 1989). This has included a number of studies reflecting childrens' adaption to a variety of stressors namely poverty, war (both of which were discussed earlier), migration, the Holocaust, loss and bereavement, divorce, chronic illness, physical handicap, parental psychopathology (discussed earlier), natural disasters etc; all of which combine to firmly establish the notion of resilience in the literature (Garmezy, 1987)¹.

Due to various familial, biological or ecological factors, these children have a prognosis that could be viewed as unfavourable. Yet a group of these children "bear the visible indices that are hallmarks of competence: good peer relationships, academic achievement, commitment to education and to purposeful life goals, early and successful work histories..." (Garmezy, 1971, p 114).

Following these observations, Kobasa (1979; Kobasa, Maddi and Kahn, 1982) has advanced the notion of psychological hardiness which describes these individuals who appear less likely to fall ill as a consequence of stressful life events. Similarly Hull and his co-workers (1987) has used the term hardiness as a description of optimal human response to adversity where individuals are able to regain their repertoire of healthy functioning after a brief fragmentation in response to severe stress.

¹Garmezy (1987) alerts us to the potential political manipulation of the concept of resilience, a critique which becomes of particular relevance in South Africa. He cautions how those who appear to transcend their poverty and disadvantage may be used by political advocates of an ideological viewpoint holding that "anyone can emulate such achievements if they only try hard enough" (p. 43). In a country where the disparities in the distribution of wealth and advantage are so glaring, the concept of resilience, may be manipulated to absolve the state of providing what is fundamental to the healthy development of its citizens, adults and children alike.

Fana was by no means the youngest comrade, but he was one of the smallest, short and fat like a snub-nosed revolver. That's why they called him Gunman - Comrade Gunman Mhlongo, a soldier at the age of fourteen.
(Rian Malan - *My Traitor's Heart*, p 261)

1.9.1 The role of significant others

Throughout this review, the powerful ameliorative role of the available caregiver has been reiterated. Again, this aspect is highlighted when examining the literature pertaining to resilience.

Rutter's vast contribution to this area consistently suggests that a lack of early intimate relationships increases the deleterious effects of stressors. As such early events may alter sensitivities to stress or modify styles of coping that then protect or predispose to disorder in later life (Kadner, 1989).

Murphy and Moriarty (1976) have isolated the encouragement and guidance of parents in assisting their children in the mastering of early experiences of stress which reinforced confidence and bred further resilience in the child. When this instrumental availability or guidance is absent, the sequelae for personality development may be negative. Sheehy (1986, in Anthony and Cohler, 1987) investigated young adults who had mastered severely traumatic environmental changes, and found that these individuals were able to find a strong relationship with an older person who served as a "proxy parent", providing endorsement and direction. In agreement, Vaillant (1971) sees the quality of sustained, intimate attachments as shaping a child's future, rather than isolated childhood traumas.

Finally, it is Rutter (1981) who reminds us that there can be no single most successful coping strategy to foster resilience. Rather this may depend on

flexibility and adaptability which are always in relation to a present and attentive caregiver.

In conclusion Garmezy's (1971) words, written some twenty years ago, emphasise the social importance of the continued study and understanding of resilience:

"were we to study the forces that move such children to survival and adaptation, the long range benefits to our society might be far more significant than our many efforts to construct models of primary prevention designed to curtail the incidence of vulnerability" (p 114).

1.9.2 A Note on Ego-strength, Resourcefulness and Competence - Their Relation to Resilience

In the search for the identification of essential psychological and social resources in the genesis of resilience, the concept of *ego strength* has been bandied about with liberalism. It is a notion germane to the psychotherapeutic literature, notable for its ubiquitous appearance in personality and other theories. It is a dimension used as a significant predictor of outcome for psychotherapy (Wolberg, 1967; Barron, 1953; Kernberg, 1980; Malan, 1976, all in Lake 1985) as well as being related to mental health. Ego-strength has been seen to embrace the various aspects of effective personal functioning, adaptability, personal resourcefulness and all the ego synthetic or constructive forces necessary for the integration of the personality (Minnesota Multi-phasic Personality Inventory, MMPI, Barron, 1953).

Adequate ego-strength has been seen in close relation with the development of resilience. The latter has been conceptualized as an aggregate of specific psychosocial resources, for example ego-strength and the attendant capacities for social intimacy and personal resourcefulness (Kadner, 1989).

Ego-strength may be construed as a the genetic and environmental endowment which forms the basic foundations of personality. It also describes the extent to which that personality is well-integrated (Lake, 1985).

In order to objectify this somewhat abstract concept, Lake (1985) has offered useful operationalized description of ego-strength, as encompassing personal and social competence. These are perceived as the observable outcome of effectively performing ego functions or adaptive self-management.

Resourcefulness is a related notion, and implies a difference in the manner in which individuals are able and willing to self-regulate internal responses (such as emotions, pain and cognitions). It includes flexibility and adaptability in controlling thought processes and in this way is more cognitive in its origins. Rosenbaum (1981, in Rosenbaum and Jaffe, 1983) defined resourcefulness as the skills used to monitor, control, and change unpleasant or dysfunctional internal events to minimize the undesirable effects of these events on affect and behaviour. Meichenbaum's (1977) term "learned resourcefulness" stands in contrast to Seligman's (1975) "learned helplessness" (in Meichenbaum, Butler and Gruson, 1981). The former is based on the assumption that self-instructional behaviour leads to effective coping styles. In this light, resourcefulness is not actually about coping *per se*, but is rather a readiness to cope or deliberate attempt not to be overwhelmed by a stressor. Amato and Ochiltree (1986) have extended the idea of resourcefulness to include a behaviorally-based aspect of the acquisition of life-skills. These may be defined as the practical abilities that are required in order to meet day-to-day needs (e.g. make a bed, cook a meal, use public transport, iron clothes). Rutter, (1987) refers to this as "task accomplishment" which he believes leads to high self-esteem and self-efficacy. Elder's (1974, 1979 in Elder and associates, 1985) study of children growing up in the Great Depression, showed that the taking on of domestic responsibilities and part-time work proved beneficial for many children. While appearing mundane, these are likely to be important in giving the developing child a sense of independence and mastery which translate into success in a number of realms in adult life.

This observation is consistent with the recent change in emphasis in child development from childhood pathology to manifest signs of *competence* in children (Collins, 1981; Edgar, 1980; White, 1979; Wine 1981, all in Amato and Ochiltree, 1986). Since White's (1959) early focus on the concept of competence some three

increased. Equating it with "a feeling of efficacy", White defined competence as the capacity, fitness or ability to carry on transactions with the environment that results in the maintenance, growth and thriving of the organism. Much later, Anthony and Cohler (1987) referred to competence as "the capacity to effectively resolve problems presented in daily life, leading to a sense of mastery and positive self-esteem" (p 49). One understanding of competence is that it quantifies Erikson's (1963) fourth stage in the life-cycle termed "industry versus inferiority". Erikson himself describes the dominant virtue of this stage as competence, which amongst other things may be seen as the "free exercise of dexterity and intelligence in the completion of serious tasks" (Erikson, 1968, p 289).

In a longitudinal study on resilient children as adults, (Felsman and Vaillant, 1987) competence, reflecting success at Erikson's fourth stage, correlated most strongly with all facets of adult adjustment. As such childhood competence appeared to be a measure of ego strength as well as an indicator of emotional well-being. Competence stands as a reliable indicator of childhood resilience, holding some continuity and predictive power for long-term outcome.

In this way, the construct of competence² (including resourcefulness) emerges as the closest to the elusive concept of ego-strength (Lake, 1985) which orchestrates a child's cognitive, affective and physical resources to meet internal and environmental challenges. It is for this reason that Anthony and Cohler (1987) suggest that feelings of competency in the world are perhaps one form of armament carried about by the resilient child.

²John Ogbu (1981) has provided a cogent critique of the essentially middle-class understanding of competence. He argues that required competence varies from one cultural group to another. He demonstrates this using the case of middle-class white American children and urban ghetto blacks. In South Africa, comparably, what may comprise competent behaviour in Soweto, is far removed from a competence repertoire in Sandton. Ogbu proposes a cultural-ecological model, devoid of ethnocentricity, which facilitates the study of competence in the context of the cultural imperative in a given population.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 SUBJECTS

A total of 72 black children between the ages of 11 - 17 comprised the sample investigated in the study³ (see Table 1). As a group these black children are identified as a population "at risk" for the reasons outlined in Chapter 1.

The mean age across the sample is 13,5 years with the range approximating a normal distribution. The extremes of the age distribution are represented by a frequency of 2 at the 11 year old mark, and 2 of 17 years of age. Almost three-quarters of the sample (73,6%) are 14 years old or younger with only 19 children over this age. The gender breakdown for the sample is 45,8% male and 54,2% female (See Table 2).

Geographically, the children were drawn from a number of townships. The majority of the sample reside in Soweto (47,9%) with others coming from Alexandra (4,2%), Vosloorus (7%), Tembisa (15,5%) and 25,3% from other areas like Katlehong, Kwa-Themba, Ratanda and Ramokonopi East (See Table 3). The fact that the children in the study are currently residing in the townships is a fundamental baseline description of the sample. This isolates them as a distinct group, allowing at least some generalizability to the wider black child population living in the townships.

Children were asked if their families had enough money for food, rent, clothes, school fees, transport etc. as one way of assessing socio-economic levels. It is interesting that 80 percent of the sample answered in the affirmative indicating that in *relative terms* some of the children come from more privileged, so-called "black middle-class" homes. This is somewhat confirmed by analysis of parental

³It was felt that a minimum of 60 subjects were necessary in order to facilitate meaningful statistical analysis. The original sample comprised 105 children, but 33 were excluded on the basis of incorrect or incomplete responses to questionnaires.

BELOW TABLE 1: Showing Age Distribution Across the Sample

AGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
11	2	2.8	2	2.8
12	18	25.0	20	27.8
13	23	31.9	43	59.7
14	10	13.9	53	73.6
15	9	12.5	62	86.1
16	8	11.1	70	97.2
17	2	2.8	72	100.0

$$\bar{X} = 13,5$$

BELOW TABLE 2: Showing Gender Breakdown of the Sample

SEX	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
MALE	33	45.8	33	45.8
FEMALE	39	54.2	72	100.0

BELOW TABLE 3: Showing the Geographical Residence of Children in the Sample

AREA	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
SOWETO	34	47.9	34	47.9
ALEXANDRA	3	4.2	37	52.1
VOSLOOSRUS	5	7.0	42	59.2
TEMBISA	11	15.5	53	74.6
OTHER	18	25.3	71	100.0

decades ago, it's centrality in explaining the development of personality has increased. Equating it with "a feeling of efficacy", White defined competence as the capacity, fitness or ability to carry on transactions with the environment that results in the maintenance, growth and thriving of the organism. Much later, Anthony and Cohler (1987) referred to competence as "the capacity to effectively resolve problems presented in daily life, leading to a sense of mastery and positive self-esteem" (p 49). One understanding of competence is that it quantifies Erikson's (1963) fourth stage in the life-cycle termed "industry versus inferiority". Erikson himself describes the dominant virtue of this stage as competence, which amongst other things may be seen as the "free exercise of dexterity and intelligence in the completion of serious tasks" (p 289).

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grandparents or an uncle and aunt (See Table 9). The majority of the sample (59,7%) viewed *both* parents as their current main caretakers. Almost 30% cited their mother as main caregiver, with approximately 3% quoting fathers in this capacity. A further 8,4% spoke of other family members as fulfilling this major role (either a grandparent, uncle or aunt).

BELOW TABLE 4: Showing Parental Occupations of Children in the Sample

MOTHER'S WORK	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
WHITE COLLAR	40	55.6	40	55.6
BLUE COLLAR	17	23.6	57	79.2
UNEMPLOYED OR HOUSEWIFE	7	9.7	64	88.9
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION	4	5.6	68	94.4
SELF-EMPLOYED	4	5.6	72	100.0

FATHER'S WORK	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
WHITE COLLAR	31	43.1	31	43.1
BLUE COLLAR	16	22.2	47	65.3
UNEMPLOYED	10	13.9	57	79.2
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION	7	9.7	64	88.9
SELF-EMPLOYED	3	4.2	67	93.1
DECEASED	5	6.9	72	100.0

BELOW TABLE 5: Showing the Type of Accommodation Children Live In

TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION	FREQUENCY
SEPARATE HOUSING UNIT	68
ROOM OR SHACK IN A YARD	1
FLAT IN TOWNSHIP	3

BELOW TABLE 6: Showing the Number of Rooms Per Residence

NUMBER OF ROOMS	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
1	1	1.4	1	1.4
2	4	5.6	5	6.9
3	12	16.7	17	23.6
4	14	19.4	31	43.1
5	12	16.7	43	59.7
6	9	12.5	52	72.2
7	4	5.6	56	77.8
8	7	9.7	63	87.5
9	3	4.2	66	91.7
10	2	2.8	68	94.4
11	1	1.4	69	95.8
12	1	1.4	70	97.2
14	1	1.4	71	98.6
15	1	1.4	72	100.00

BELOW TABLE 7: Family Size i.e Number of Persons Residing In One Unit

FAMILY SIZE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
2	3	4.2	3	4.2
3	9	12.5	12	16.7
4	23	31.9	35	48.6
5	11	15.3	46	63.9
6	12	16.7	58	80.6
7	5	6.9	63	87.5
8	6	8.3	69	95.8
10	1	1.4	70	97.2
13	1	1.4	71	98.6
20	1	1.4	72	100.0

BELOW TABLE 8: Marital Status of Parents of Children In the Sample

MARITAL STATUS	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
MARRIED	47	65.3	47	65.3
DIVORCED	10	13.9	57	79.2
SEPARATED	5	6.9	62	86.1
NEVER MARRIED	3	4.2	65	90.3
WIDOWED	7	9.7	72	100.0

When asked about their main caretaker as a little child, 40 out of 72 children (55,6%) spoke of *both* parents, with 22,2% citing mother alone, and no children (0%) referring to fathers. Approximately 22% of the sample mentioned other significant adult caretakers as being most prominent when they were small. This figure may attest to the fact that many parents (including mothers) are forced to return to work early in their child's life, rendering other family members or adults as significant, or even surrogate caretakers. However when questioned about the *importance* of early caretakers, children continue to refer to both parents (48,6%) or mother (33,3%) or father (11,1%) alone.

In order to make a comparison over time, the sample were asked about the most important adult figure in their lives currently. Here 55,6% quoted both parents, with 29,2% and 8,3% citing mother and father respectively. The lowered percentage reporting "mother" as single most important adult now (and the increased proportion reporting "both parents") may point to a shift away from the material dependency characteristic of earlier childhood years. This is replaced with a shared focus on both sex parents as adult role models in adolescence.

As the quality of mothering experienced by the child over time forms a basis of investigation in the study, it was felt to be necessary to ascertain some information pertaining to major separations from the maternal figure. Fifteen (20,8%) of the children in the sample described some sort of major separation from their mothers. The ages at which this occurred varied as did the circumstances. Often

mothers went away to work or study; or children were sent to school far off, or separations took place as a result of family discord. It is significant that when asked how they dealt with the separation, 100% of these 15 children responded in terms of having experienced marked difficulty with this situation.

While not all these separations took place in the first three years of life, the childrens' descriptions attest to the ongoing difficulty experienced by the developing child during major separations from their mother figure.

The subjects are currently being schooled at Centurion Academy situated in the centre of Johannesburg. The school is a member of the South African Association of Independent Schools (S.A.A.I.S) which offers a non-racial alternative to government schools in the black townships. (To be discussed further under 2.1.1).

BELOW TABLE 9: Adult Figures With Whom Children Currently Reside

ADULT FIGURE LIVE WITH	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
MOTHER	23	31.9	23	31.9
FATHER	2	2.8	25	34.7
BOTH PARENTS	43	59.7	68	94.4
GRANDPARENT(S)	1	1.4	69	95.8
OTHER SIGNIFICANT ADULT	3	4.2	72	100.0

Children at Centurion Academy live in local townships but are bussed into the inner city centre and schooled there.

The subjects comprised the three Standard six classes in the school. This sample was selected for a number of reasons:

At the time of writing, ongoing faction fighting, student and teacher protests and boycotts as well as general township discord made access to township schools highly problematic. Where schools under the auspices of the Department of Education and Training (D.E.T) were amenable to accommodating research and investigative work, these aforementioned issues stood as considerable practical

obstacles. Furthermore, it was felt that the general atmosphere and philosophy engendered in D.E.T schools was not in keeping with the nature of the research at hand. The administrators and staff of the S.A.A.I.S, however, are particularly responsive to research endeavours which attempt to support and advance their commitment to progressive education.

The medium of education in these schools is English instruction, which given that the research questionnaires are in this language, constituted a distinct advantage.

Standard six pupils were targeted for a number of reasons:

Educationally, children at this level have attained a level of proficiency in English due to at least some exposure through teaching, and are more able to express themselves in this language than their primary school counterparts. However this does not rule out the difficulties implicit in testing in a second language. For this reason an assistant accomplished in several black languages accompanied the researcher to the testing situation. This proved invaluable in explaining linguistic (as well as cultural) misunderstandings, ensuring shared meanings and yielding reliable data.

Developmentally, Standard six pupils were seen to be at an appropriate emotional and cognitive level.

Gibson (1986), drawing upon the work of Gesell (1971, 1973, 1976) and Greenspan (1981) offers a useful developmental framework within which to assess the sample at hand.

The majority of the children (mean age = 13,5) fall into the developmental description of early adolescence. This means that most of the children are at the intermediary age between childhood and adulthood, with all the corresponding changes in aspects of life functioning and coping. Cognitively, these children are engaged in Piaget's conception of formal operational thinking. Furthermore this group of children have completed the pre-adolescent developmental tasks of "competency" as described by Erikson (1963).

As the notion of *competence* is central to study, the age group selected is appropriate. Abstractions and the ability to generate hypotheses greatly influences the adolescent's experience of the world and accounts for the challenging of established ideas and pronounced idealism. Social involvement in the outside world becomes greater, with a shift from the family to school and peer groups as sources of identification. Adolescence, while generally thought to be accompanied by great psychological upheaval and disturbance, is also a time of increased introspection and soul-searching. It is during these years that identity and self-concept undergoes massive scrutiny, and personal competence is critically evaluated by the adolescent.

While taking on its own developmental flavour, the crises ushered by adolescence, allow for vociferous expression on the subject of parental relationships as well as feelings about the self. As these issues are central areas of investigation in the in the present study, adolescents were seen to be appropriate subjects⁴.

2.1.1 Southern African Association of Independent Schools (S.A.A.I.S)

Over the last twenty years, a number of independent, non-racial schools have developed in South Africa. As their commitment to education for the disadvantaged and oppressed increased, these schools felt increasingly uncomfortable with both segregated government schools, and traditional private schools who imposed racial quotas. In 1987, the heads of five non-racial schools established the S.A.A.I.S as a forum for contact between non-racial schools in the region, and adopted the statement of non-discrimination of the U.S. National Association of Independent Schools as a requirement for membership of the Association. Centurion Academy became one such member. The movement to equalize education across races gained momentum from the school boycott of the Seventies and Eighties when students from oppressed communities irreversibly rejected apartheid education. As students demands for equal academic standards

⁴During analysis of the data, the traditional rebelliousness against parental and authority figures and ambivalence as regards feelings about the self (all peculiar to the adolescent years) were evident. These were taken into account in the final analysis.

for all gathered momentum, their parents sought out non-racial independent schools for their children, and schools succeeded in finding bursaries for children whose parents were unable to pay fees.

2.1.1.1 The Rise of Alternative Schools

The *de facto* and *de jure* closing of D.E.T schools during the early Eighties, together with the annual increase in the number of pupils who could not be accommodated in overcrowded D.E.T schools, led parents, teachers and concerned members of the community to embark on alternative educational initiatives. Sometimes referred to as 'street academies' and 'squatter schools', these schools attempted to expose students to progressive education in order to prepare them for a non-racial future. When the alternative schools refused to register with racially-based education departments the S.A.A.I.S understood and supported their stand. The more established members of the S.A.A.I.S aided these schools in their struggle for high academic standards; and the S.A.A.I.S presented a united front in the face of South African government disapproval, and has continued to lobby for government grants which are awarded to segregated private schools but refused to the majority of non-racial schools. Many of the alternative schools have become members of the S.A.A.I.S.

2.1.1.2 Educational Reform

As a result of the educational crisis in South Africa, a positive development surfaced: the rejection of prescriptive solutions to educational problems and the demand for consultation with communities on these problems. All over Southern Africa teachers, parents, students, and communities have demanded the right to be consulted about education at every level.

Though the movement was at first regarded with some trepidation within non-racial schools, it rapidly gained momentum. Prefect bodies have been replaced by Students Representative Councils. Parents meetings are no longer a harangue

of parents by the staff but a dialogue between the parents and staff. Teachers have rejected the inviolability of curricula and set about the daunting task of undermining the foundations of perpetual inferiority laid down by the syllabi of the Department of Education and Training. In their place 'People's Education' emerged, which has no one syllabus but is an attempt to uplift whole communities through progressive education. Heads have embraced modern educational trends rejecting rote learning and emphasising the development of critical thinking. Boards of Governors and Trustees have refused to act as a rubber stamp but have emerged as the arm of the community charged with the regulation of the schools, and demanded that schools reject elitism and that students begin to serve the communities from which they come. While the South African Government spoke about subversion under the guise of 'Peoples Education', the S.A.A.I.S schools have been at the forefront of educational reform.

It is against this backdrop, and under the auspices of the S.A.A.I.S member, Centurion Academy, that the present research was undertaken. While Centurion emphasises a largely academically weighted curriculum, the prevailing ideology conforms to the initiatives set out above and embodied by the S.A.A.I.S.

2.2 THE TESTING SITUATION

Testing took place in the first week of March 1991, on a "once-off" basis. Full parental permission for children's involvement in the research was acquired (see Appendix A). The researcher, accompanied by three research assistants (all teachers independent of Centurion Academy) administered the tests. Some time was spent in rapport-building, which while flexibly approached, contained carefully thought-out points of introduction to the research questions. For example, there was some discussion of general difficulties of township life and consequent stress upon residents (with an emphasis on young people). It was clarified that our interest was in trying to find out and understand how young people in the townships cope at home and how they experience themselves and feel about

themselves in general. More specifically the maternal (or main caregiving) relationship was highlighted. With this in mind the testing was commenced and lasted approximately three years with an interval half-way.

The testing took place after the academic day, in an extra-mural slot set aside weekly between the hours of one to four o'clock in the afternoon.

An additional teachers questionnaire was distributed to the teachers of the three classes, as a further, more objective evaluation of children's competence (See Appendix 6).

2.3 PROCEDURES

Before commencing the assessment sessions, considerable time was spent in an attempt to establish some level of rapport with the students. Introductions were made and as mentioned earlier, some discussion around township life was initiated as an "ice-breaking" strategy. Children were encouraged to participate in this informal manner before the testing itself began. This is consistent with Beloffs (1980) advocacy of a humanistic, anthropological-type approach to such research, with subjects and researcher interacting in some sort of social exchange. The purpose of the research was clearly communicated and aspects of confidentiality ensured. Questions were encouraged, individual differences emphasised in terms of feelings and experiences, and children were told that the research was independent of school marks. Also, while results would be fed back to the school at the conclusion of the study, individual responses were entirely confidential.

Subjects were presented with a sixteen page booklet for completion (see Appendices 1-6). At all times, questions were clearly read aloud and instructions explained in order to avoid misunderstandings and ensure shared meanings.

Individual difficulties were attended to by one of the four researchers. Linguistic difficulties were handled by one researcher au fait with several black languages.

In order to gather comprehensive data pertaining to children's relationships with their main caregiver and corresponding levels of competence and resilience, a variety of measures were used. These constituted on the one hand structured, internationally well-established tests, and on the other, open-ended unstructured questions devised by the researcher as a more consultative means of tapping appropriate themes.

2.3.1 The Biographical Questionnaire (see Appendix 1)

The first section of the booklet comprised the biographical questionnaire. This was designed to elicit information considered to be important for descriptive purposes as well as facilitating understanding of the sample. The questionnaire had, built into it, aspects of details of subjects home situation necessary for analysis. Personal details, socio-economic position, type of accommodation, intactness of the marital relationship and living arrangements were tapped. In addition subjects were questioned about their main caregiver presently, as well as during childhood. Most important adult attachments were questioned and periods of separation from significant others investigated in terms of what happened, at what age, and how subjects coped with the situation. (As discussed under 2.1.)

2.3.2 Feelings About Mother (see Appendix 2)

The second section of the questionnaire focused upon open-ended sentences designed to elicit thoughts and feelings pertaining to the mother-figure and home atmosphere in general. Positive and negative attributes of the mother figure, memories of childhood experiences and quality of parental support during difficulties were all questioned in some way. Free-association was encouraged,

with children told to respond with whatever thoughts came to mind, in an honest and spontaneous fashion. The historical antecedents of the maternal relationship, up until the quality of communication as it is currently experienced; were investigated respectively.

2.3.3 Feelings About Personal Competence (See Appendix 3)

The third component of the booklet aimed to discover more about childrens' level of personal competence, feelings about the self, resourcefulness and resilience, all within the unstructured question-response style. Learned helpfulness, and the acquisition of practical life-skills were areas of investigation and included the extent to which children were relied upon to assist with a host of household duties. Personal development, planfulness, the ability to generate initiative, and social and political involvement were questioned in a variety of ways. More broadly, self-concept and resilience in the face of adversity were further investigated. This behaviourally-based inquiry is indicative of a certain "coping capacity" in making the best of a situation or the environment. Other aspects such as having a regular part-time job; participation in household chores or minding younger siblings, and taking part in extra curricular activities, all provided information as to a child's overall competence in the world.

The fourth section comprised the first of the two *structured* measures in the study. Given the very pivotal role of the holding-environment and specifically the nature of early caregiving for later development, it was necessary to select an appropriate measurement instrument with much consideration. While it has been maintained that the first year of life and very early object-relations are most important for development, the present research has assumed that the essential goodness of the dyad as perceived by the child *now*, is a reflection of its quality in the past. The theoretical importance of the child's *perceived* experience of his/her parenting in personality development, has been widely documented (Ansbetel *et. al.*, 1954; Kagan, 1956; etc.).

2.3.4 The Bronfenbrenner Parent Behaviour Questionnaire B.P.B (See Appendix 4)

The Bronfenbrenner Parent Behaviour Questionnaire (B.P.B) was selected as a research technique for measuring children's perceptions of how their parents treat them (i.e. child's own experience of his/her mothering). Siegelman (1964) has illustrated that the B.P.B has considerable promise as a reliable and valid research instrument. The questionnaire requires that the child answer questions about how his/her parent acts towards him/her. Indeed Ansobel *et al* (1954) note that parent behaviour "affects the child's development only to the extent and in the form in which (s/he) perceives it" (p 173)⁵.

The B.P.B consists of 45 questions⁶ concerning parental behaviour. The same 45 questions are used for mother and father, but for the purposes of this study, the mother alone was the focus. Children are asked to indicate the extent to which questions in the questionnaire are true of how their parent acts towards them. The subject selects one of five choices for each of the questions: *All the time, often, sometimes, seldom, never*. The scoring ranges from 1 (*all the time*) to 5 (*never*), so that a low final score indicates affirmation of certain parental behaviour, and a high score, denial of some parental tendency. Fifteen variables are purportedly measured by the B.P.B and there are three questions for each variable. The range of scores for a single variable therefore, is 3-15. Examples of the variables with their representative questions are as follows:

⁵Ansobel *et al* (1954) advocate the use of *children's perceptions* of parent attitudes and behaviour instead of measures based upon actual behaviour of parents as reported by them or as rated by observers. They maintain that although parent behaviour is an objective event in the real world, it affects the child's ego development only to the extent and in the form in which he perceives it. Hence, they say, perceived parent behaviour is in reality a more direct, relevant and proximated determinant of personality development than the actual stimulus content to which it refers. Furthermore, it is felt by these researchers that parents may have a strong motivation to perceive their role behaviour in a favourable light when responding to questionnaires whereas children are more likely to respond spontaneously with their actual feelings.

⁶The original B.P.B was altered by the researcher in a number of ways to suite the sample being tested. Firstly, the American diction was frequently altered e.g. "yells" and "scolds" was changed to "shouts" and "spank" to "hit". Furthermore, language was simplified wherever possible e.g. "affectionate" was changed to "loving". The original B.P.B appears in statement form (e.g. finds it difficult to punish me). These statements were converted into questions as it was felt that these were easier for the children to respond to. Finally the order of questions pertaining to different variables was randomly mixed.

Nurturance

Question 2 *Can you talk to her about any problems?*

Question 15 *Does she comfort you and help you when you have troubles?*

Question 18 *Is she there for you when you are in trouble?*

Expressive Rejection

Question 3 *Does she say that other children behave better than you do?*

Question 24 *Does she shout at you and say you are bad?*

Question 31 *Does she nag you?*

The other thirteen variables in the questionnaire are as follows:

Affective Reward, Instrumental Companionship, Affiliative Companionship, Prescriptive, Social Isolation, Physical Punishment, Deprivation of Privileges, Protectiveness, Power, Achievement Demands, Affective Punishment, Principled Discipline, Indulgence.

As the notion of "competence" forms an important variable in the study, it was importance that the author find a reliable and sensitive measure for this construct. There are serious problems with existing instruments designed to tap the self-evaluative processes of "self-esteem", "perceived competence" and the like (e.g. Coopersmith Self-esteem Inventory, 1967; and the Piers & Harris Self-concept Scale, 1964, 1969). These scales are both too all-inclusive and global in their design.

2.3.5 The Self-perception Profile for Children (see Appendix 5)

The Self-perception Profile for Children (Harter, 1985) comprises the fifth and last of the sections in the booklet and constitutes the second of the structured measures

employed. It is a revision of the *Perceived Competence Scale for Children* by Susan Harter (1979, 1982)⁷. The original measure was devised in order to tap children's domain-specific judgements of their competence as well as a global perception of their worth or esteem as a person. Thus, the scale tapped three competence domains, *cognitive* competence, *social* competence, *athletic* competence as well as one's sense of *global self-worth* or self esteem. These four sub-scales each yielded a separate score, allowing one to examine a profile of the child's evaluative judgements. Underlying the construction of the original scale was the assumption that an instrument providing separate measures of one's perceived competence in different domains as well as an independent assessment of one's global self-worth, would provide a richer and more differentiated picture than those instruments providing only a single self-concept score (e.g the Coopersmith Self-esteem Inventory, 1967). The revised scale used in this study contains an additional two sub-scales added to the original four. These are *physical appearance* and *behavioural conduct*.

The original scale focused primarily on children's judgements of *competence*. However, the revised scale is broadened to encompass the notion of *self adequacy* without necessarily involving competence in the form of actual skills. The scale taps childrens' perceptions of themselves and yields a *profile* allowing for the examination of differences in an individual's scores across the various domains of his/her life. This amounts to a rich and accurate picture of a child's self-concept.

There are six separate sub-scales tapping five specific domains as well as global self-worth:

⁷In studying children (grades 3 - 9) Harter (1982) provides support for the scale as being internally consistent and factorially distinct in terms of its separate and differentiated sub-scales of competence. In fact the scale shows internal consistency reliabilities for all 6 sub-scales, for four different samples, based on Cronbach's Alpha. Thus the psychometric properties of the scale are shown to be sound in comparison with many other measures of self-esteem.

- 1) *Scholastic Competence*
- 2) *Social Acceptance*
- 3) *Athletic competence*
- 4) *Physical Appearance*
- 5) *Behavioral Conduct*
- 6) *Global Self-worth*

Content of each domain

- 1) **Scholastic Competence**. All items in this domain are school-related. They tap the child's perception of his/her competence or ability within the realm of scholastic or cognitive performance.
- 2) **Social Acceptance** taps the degree to which the child is accepted by peers or feels popular. The items do not tap competence directly in the sense that they do not refer to social skills. Rather they tap the degree to which one has friends, feels one is popular, and feels liked by other children.
- 3) **Athletic Competence** taps items relevant to sports and outdoor games.
- 4) **Physical Appearance** taps the degree to which the child is happy with the way s/he looks.
- 5) **Behaviourial Conduct** taps the degree to which children like the way they behave, do the correct thing, act the way they are supposed to, and avoid getting into trouble.
- 6) **Global Self-worth** taps the extent to which the child likes him/herself as a person, is happy the way and one is leading one's life and generally content with the way one is. Thus it constitutes a global judgement of one's worth as a person rather than domain-specific competence or adequacy. While the domain-specific approach has merit, it is also the case that children

(aged 8 and older) can make a more global judgement about their self-worth; a more gestalt-like evaluation about the self, in general. The test taps this judgement *directly* as well as *independently* of the domain-specific judgements. This approach to global self-worth is different from the procedures of those who have sought to operationally define general self-concept as the sum or average of a child's responses to a large array of items tapping diverse content (e.g. Coopersmith's self-esteem measure). Harter (1985) does not adhere to the view that global self-worth is best assessed by summing responses to an aggregate of items which ask about a wide variety of self-descriptions. Rather, Harter and her colleagues believe that one's feelings of worth should be tapped directly, by asking about self-worth itself. The items in the scale thus encourage children to *think about* the global perception of their worth as a person rather than inferring it from the sum or average of their responses to many specific questions about their abilities or characteristics⁸.

Question Format

Harter (1982) criticises question formats of earlier self-concept scales in that there is a tendency to pull for socially desirable responses. In addition, these two-choice formats (e.g. True-False or Like Me - Unlike Me) did not provide respondents with enough latitude to qualify their responses. Thus the authors devised a "structured alternative format" (Harter *et al.*, 1985) in which the child is presented with the following type of question:

Really True for me	Sort of True for me			Some children often forget what they learn	BUT	Other children can remember things easily		Sort of True for Me	Really True for Me
☐	☐							☐	☐

⁸It should be noted that the global self-worth sub-scale is NOT a measure of general competence. Others employing Harter's original scale have misinterpreted the sub-scale, treating it as a broader index of competence *per se*. However, by assessing global self-worth separately or independently of the specific competence domains, one can then examine the relationship between global self-worth and the domain-specific perceptions of competence.

The child is first asked to decide which kind of child is most like him or her, and then asked whether this is only *sort of true* or *really true* of him or her. The effectiveness of this question format lies in the implication that half of the children in the world (or in one's reference group) view themselves in one way whereas the other half view themselves in the opposite manner. That is, this type of question legitimizes either choice. In eliciting childrens' verbal elaborations on the reasons for their choice, Harter *et al.* (1985) found that children indicated that they are giving accurate self-perceptions rather than socially desirable response.

Specific Scale Structure

Each of the six sub-scales contains six items, constituting a total of 36 items. Within each sub-scale, three of the items are worded such that the first part of the statement reflects high competence or adequacy, and three items are worded such that the first part of the statement reflects low competence or adequacy. The six sub-scale items are presented in the following order for the first six items of the scale, and then continue to repeat themselves in that order throughout the instrument.

- (1) *Scholastic Competence* (2) *Social Acceptance* (3) *Athletic Competence*
 (4) *Physical Appearance* (5) *Behavioral Conduct* (6) *Global Self-worth.*

The actual questionnaire, filled out by the child is entitled **WHAT I AM LIKE.**

In summary, the *Self-perception Profile for Children* represents a new self-report instrument which provides a more refined evaluation of childrens' feelings of efficacy in their world and stands as a more differentiated and therefore more sensitive instrument.

2.3.6 Teacher's Rating Scale of Child's Actual Behaviour (see Appendix 6)

A teacher rating scale, which parallels the *Self-perception Profile for Children* was also employed in order to elicit a more objective evaluation of childrens' competence. For each of the five specific domains, the teacher rates the child's *actual behaviour* in each area (*not* how s/he thinks the child would answer). That is, the teachers independent judgement of the child's adequacy in each domain is required. Harter *et al.* (1985) posit that from past experience with teachers' ratings, only three items per sub-scale were needed to obtain highly reliable judgements. (Teachers only rate the five specific domains, since global self-worth items do not translate into attributes which an objective observer can rate.) Thus the teacher's rating scale contains 15 items, three per domain. They are listed in the same order as on the child's form. As can be seen on the copy in Appendix ..., the format is basically the same as on the child's version. Domain scores are similarly calculated for both the teachers and child scales so that scores can be directly compared.

2.3.7 Summary of Procedures

The use of multi variate methods of inquiry including descriptive and consultative statistics along with the more formal means of experimentation are employed. In this way it is believed that a comprehensive data base was obtained.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS

3. RESULTS

3.1 DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTIONS

The initial phase of the statistical procedures employed in the methodology were a detailed series of frequencies used to describe the sample. (Already discussed under Chapter 2 - "Methodology", see 2.1.)

3.2 OUTLINE

This chapter will firstly move on to a discussion of the different variables within the 2 specific structured scales selected, in order to test the hypothesis. These scales are firstly the *Bronfenbrenner Parent Behaviour Scale (B.P.B)* and secondly *The Self-perception Profile for Children*. This will involve reporting of the means, standard deviations, minimum and maximum values of each variable in the analysis derived from the above-mentioned scales.

The next step in the analysis of the data, was to run *inter-measure* correlations on each of the two scales in order to establish whether any two or more variables were purported to be measuring the same (or similar) constructs.

The analysis then included correlations between the *intra-measure* variables. This procedure stands as the main statistical manipulation of the data used in order to test the hypothesis.

This section will be followed by a discussion of the *Teacher's Rating Scale*. A table reporting the means, standard deviations, minimum and maximum values of each variable in this measure is included.

Following the same procedures as outlined for the above two scales, *inter-measure* correlations will be presented.

Finally *intra-measure* correlations will be discussed, involving the *Teachers Rating Scale* and *The Self-perception Profile for Children*. Detailed discussion of all results presented here will appear in Chapter 4.

3.3 THE MEASURES USED

The two structured measures employed for statistical purposes were the *Bronfenbrenner Parent Behaviour Scale (B.P.B)* and the *Self-perception Profile for Children*.

3.3.1 The Bronfenbrenner Parent Behaviour Scale (B.P.B)

This scale has been discussed in detail in Chapter 2, under 2.3 - "Procedures". The B.P.B yielded 15 discrete variables which measure and describe childrens perceptions of how the mother-figure treats them (i.e the child's own experience of the maternal relationship). The 15 variables, in other words, stand as dimensions of different parental tendencies which the child either endorses or denies according to how he or she rates a particular variable.

The 15 variables used are as follows:

- 1) *Nurturance*
- 2) *Affective Reward*
- 3) *Instrumental Companionship*
- 4) *Affiliative Companionship*
- 5) *Prescriptive*
- 6) *Social Isolation*
- 7) *Expressive Rejection*
- 8) *Physical Punishment*
- 9) *Deprivation of Privileges*
- 10) *Protective*
- 11) *Power*
- 12) *Achievement Demands*
- 13) *Affective Punishment*
- 14) *Principled Discipline*
- 15) *Indulgence*

3.3.2 The Self-perception Profile for Children

Again, this scale has received detailed discussion elsewhere (see Chapter 2 - "Procedures"). Suffice to say that the instrument was used in order to tap childrens domain-specific judgments or self-evaluations of their competence or self-concept, and sense of personal adequacy.

The scale yields a profile consisting of 6 subscales or variables pertaining to domain-specific perceptions of the self as well as global self-worth.

The 6 variables used are as follows:

- 1) *Scholastic Competence*
- 2) *Social Acceptance*
- 3) *Athletic Competence*
- 4) *Physical Appearance*
- 5) *Behavioral Conduct*
- 6) *Global Self-Worth*

3.4 DESCRIPTION OF THE SEPARATE VARIABLES

3.4.1 The Bronfenbrenner Parent Behaviour Scale (B.P.B) (See Table 10)

TABLE 10

Showing Means, Standard Deviation and Minimum/Maximum Values for the 15 B.P.E Variables

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE
Nurturance	6.333	2.858	3.000	14.000
Affective Reward	5.125	2.545	3.000	15.000
Instrumental	4.972	2.337	3.000	12.000
Companionship	5.027	2.621	3.000	13.000
Affiliative Companionship	6.986	2.197	3.000	13.000
Prescriptive	12.777	2.501	3.000	15.000
Social Isolation	11.958	3.173	3.000	15.000
Expressive Rejection	11.250	2.866	5.000	15.000
Physical Punishment	10.750	2.652	3.000	15.000
Deprivation of Privileges	7.916	3.183	1.000	15.000
Protective	8.430	2.886	3.000	15.000
Power	5.597	2.576	3.000	12.000
Achievement Demands	9.555	2.736	3.000	15.000
Affective Punishment	9.166	3.263	3.000	15.000
Principled Discipline	8.805	2.464	3.000	15.000
Indulgence				

N = 72

The first variable in the scale is '*NURTURANCE*'. It has a mean of 6.33 and a standard deviation of 2.86. It has a minimum value of 3.0 and a maximum value of 14.0.

The second variable within the scale is '*AFFECTIVE REWARD*'. Here the mean is 5.12 and the standard deviation 2.54. Minimum and maximum values are given as 3.0 and 15.0 respectively.

'*INSTRUMENTAL COMPANIONSHIP*' is the third variable, having a mean of 4.97 and a corresponding standard deviation of 2.33. The variable has a minimum value of 3.0 and a maximum of 12.0.

Fourth variable in the scale is *'AFFILIATIVE COMPANIONSHIP'*. Here the mean and standard deviation is 5.02 and 2.62 respectively. Minimum and maximum values stand at 3.0 and 13.0.

The variable *'PRESCRIPTIVE'* has minimum and maximum values of 3.0 and 13.0 each. The mean is 6.98 and standard deviation is 2.19.

'SOCIAL ISOLATION' stands as the sixth variable within the B.P.B. It's values range from 3.0 - 15.0 with a mean of 12.78 and standard deviation of 2.50. The seventh variable *'EXPRESSIVE REJECTION'* yields a mean of 11.95 with a standard deviation of 3.17. The range of values goes from a minimum of 3.0 to a maximum of 15.0.

'PHYSICAL PUNISHMENT' constitutes the eighth variable in the scale. It's minimum and maximum values are fixed at 5.0 and 15.0. Standard deviation is 2.86, with a mean of 11.25.

'DEPRIVATION OF PRIVILEGES' is variable number nine which has a mean of 10.75 and standard deviation of 2.65. Range of scores run from between 3.0 and 15.0.

'PROTECTIVENESS' has a mean and standard deviation of 7.91 and 3.18 each. Minimum and maximum values are 1.0 and 15.0 respectively.

The eleventh variable, *'POWER'* contains scores between 3.0 and 15.0. The variable has a mean of 8.43, with a standard deviation of 2.88.

The next variable is *'ACHIEVEMENT DEMANDS'* which has a mean and standard deviation of 5.59 and 2.57 respectively. The range of minimum to maximum scores is 3.0 to 12.0.

The mean and standard deviation of *'AFFECTIVE PUNISHMENT'* is 9.55 and 2.78 each, with minimum and maximum values fixed at 3.0 and 15.0 at each extreme.

'*PRINCIPLED DISCIPLINE*' emerges as the pen-ultimate variable, with its range of scores from 3.0 to 15.0. The mean is 9.16 and standard deviation, 3.26.

The fifteenth and final variable comprising the B.P.B. is '*INDULGENCE*'. Scores range from 3.0 to 15.0 with a mean of 8.80 and standard deviation of 2.4.

3.4.2 The Self-Perception Profile for Children (see Table 11)

TABLE 11

Showing Means, Standard Deviations and Minimum/Maximum Values for the 6 Variables in the Self-Perception Profile for Children

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE
Scholastic Competence	2.806	0.528	1.200	4.000
Social Acceptance	2.604	0.484	1.200	3.700
Athletic Competence	2.593	0.593	1.200	4.000
Physical Appearance	2.884	0.686	1.500	4.000
Behavioral Conduct	2.936	0.567	1.800	4.000
Global Self-Worth	3.056	0.635	1.500	4.000

N = 72

The first variable in this scale is '*SCHOLASTIC COMPETENCE*'. It has a mean of 2.80 and a standard deviation of 0.52. Minimum and maximum values range from 1.20 to 4.0.

'*SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE*' is the second variable, with a mean of 2.60 and standard deviation of 0.48. The variable has a minimum value of 1.20 and a maximum of 3.70.

Third in the scale is '*ATHLETIC COMPETENCE*' yielding minimum and maximum scores of 1.20 and 4.0 respectively. Mean and standard deviation are fixed at 2.59 and 0.59 each.

'*PHYSICAL APPEARANCE*' stands as the fourth variable which has a mean of 2.88 and standard deviation of 0.68. The minimum and maximum values for the variable are 1.50 and 4.0.

The fifth variable in the scale is '*BEHAVIORAL CONDUCT*' yielding a mean of 2.93 and standard deviation of 0.56. The scores range from 1.80 to 4.0 at either extreme.

Finally, the sixth and last variable is '*GLOBAL SELF-WORTH*'. Here the mean and standard deviation is 3.05 and 0.63 respectively, with minimum and maximum scores of 1.50 and 4.0 on each side of the distribution.

3.5 INTER-MEASURE CORRELATIONS

Before any higher order statistical procedures could be employed, it was necessary to run intra-test correlations of each measure in order to establish whether any two (or more) variables were in actuality measuring the same (or similar) constructs. This will be taken into consideration in later interpretation of the data.

3.5.1 The Bronfenbrenner Parent Behaviour Scale (B.P.B)

Here, a strong correlation of size 0.5 or larger was used for significance, in keeping with the practice standardized in psychological research.

The following pairs of variables emerged as being highly correlated.

TABLE 12**Showing highly correlated variable pairs within the B.P.B**

Strongly Correlated Variables	Size of Correlation	Probability Level
Instrumental companionship Nurturance	0.562	0.0001
Affiliative Companionship Affective Reward	0.605	0.0001

Discussion (see Table 12 Above)

The first pair of highly correlating variables occurred on variable 3 and variable 1 (size of correlation = 0.562). These are *Instrumental Companionship* and *Nurturance*. We are thus able to conclude that variables 1 and 3 are measuring the same or similar variations of some parental tendency or quality. In this case, this may not be a surprising finding, as it is clear that the notions of Instrumental Companionship and Nurturance contain within their respective meanings, considerable overlap.

For example, the items represented by each variable are not dissimilar.

Those items making up the '*NURTURANCE*' variable are as follows:

Question 2 (from the Questionnaire, see Appendix 4)

Can you talk to her about any problems?

Question 15

Does she comfort you and help you when you have troubles?

Question 18

Is she there for you when you have troubles?

These items are highly similar to the 3 items comprising the variable 'INSTRUMENTAL COMPANIONSHIP'.

Question 34

Does she teach you things you want to learn?

Question 35

Does she help you with things you don't understand?

Question 39

Does she help you with problems in your life?

Clearly these above 6 items embrace the notions of availability, accessibility, emotional provision, affective involvement, active adult guidance and mediation.

Therefore, it is not wholly surprising that this overlap should be reflected at a statistical level. The mother-figure who is nurturant, is likely to be, at once, the provider of instrumental companionship. The two maternal qualities are highly related, and any later correlations with each other are to be expected for this reason.

The second pair of highly correlating variables occurred on variable 4 and variable 2 (size correlation = 0.605). These are 'Affiliative Companionship' and 'Affective Reward'. Again, it appears that variables 2 and 4 are in fact measuring similarities within a common maternal characteristic.

The items represented by each variable contain highly similar notions which accounts for the statistical overlap reported.

For example, those items making up the 'AFFILIATIVE COMPANIONSHIP' variable are as follows:

Question 14

Does she enjoy talking to you?

Question 25

Does she do many things with you like shopping or outings?

Question 26

Is she happy when she is with you?

These items compare in similarity to those comprising the variable 'AFFECTIVE REWARD':

Question 9

Does she say nice things when you have done something good?

Question 19

Does she say nice things about you to other people?

Question 37

Is she very loving with you?

The above 6 items together espouse a clear overlap in perceived maternal behaviour. The items engender a sense of positivity which manifests in praise, mutuality, togetherness, affective involvement, encouragement and overall reinforcement of the child.

In this light, the strong correlation evidenced upon statistical analysis, is again not entirely surprising. The mother who is able to provide affiliative companionship to her off-spring, is likely also to be the provider of affective rewards within that relationship.

The two maternal propensities are highly related, and this should be taken into consideration in later analysis.

3.5.2 The Self-Perception Profile for Children

Again, 0.5 was used to indicate a significantly strong correlation. The following 5 pairs of variables were found to be highly correlated:

TABLE 13

Showing highly correlated variable pairs within the Self-Perception Profile for Children

Strongly Correlated Variables	Size of Correlation	Probability Level
Physical Appearance Scholastic Competence	0.544	0.0001
Scholastic Competence Behavioral Conduct	0.586	0.0001
Scholastic Competence Global Self-Worth	0.543	0.0001
Global Self-Worth Behavioral Conduct	0.623	0.0001
Global Self-Worth Physical Appearance	0.608	0.0001

Discussion (see Table 13 Above)

As may be seen from Table 14, five pairs of variables emerge as being highly correlated, with many individual variables appearing in several pair combinations. Clearly, the overlap of variables is more pronounced than in the other structured instrument vis à vis the *B.P.B.*, where only two pairs emerged.

From this, we may deduce that although *The Self-Perception Profile for Children* purports to measure 6 *discrete* domains, or sub-scales of competence, in the study at hand, these areas appear to have marked overlap. That is, it is more likely that

children will rate themselves with a fair amount of consistency across the 6 dimensions of self-competence. Children in the study may be less astute in their ability to evaluate, with sufficient precision or sensitivity, their *differing* relative strengths or weaknesses across the various domains. It may be that a given child is more readily able to offer a global self-evaluation without accounting for the peaks or troughs afforded by profile examination. It is interesting that when teachers were asked to rate their students on these same domains, no such extensive overlap resulted (see 3.8.2). This supports the theory that while an adult evaluator has the cognitive or objective capacity to make more sensitive judgements, their child counterparts may not.

Nevertheless, the pairs that emerged as being highly correlated are interesting and warrant further elaboration. Variable 1 (*Scholastic Competence*) and variable 4 (*Physical Appearance*) of the scale were highly correlated (size of the correlation = 0.544). As the children in the sample are in their adolescent years (mean age = 13.5) the concern regarding physical attractiveness and bodily appearance receives heightened preoccupation or, awareness at least, increases.

This awareness or self-critical regard on the part of the adolescent may spill over to his or her evaluation of other areas of experienced personal adequacy. In this variable pair, it intersects with the child's evaluation of his or her scholastic competence. It is again of interest that the only single pair to overlap strongly in the teachers rating of the same variables, was indeed that of Scholastic Competence and Physical Appearance (see 3.8.2). This may point to a bias in teachers themselves to rate "good-looking" children as more academically competent. In a society where physical attractiveness is revered by the media, it is not unexpected that teachers and children alike, should use it as a yardstick of worth in other areas. *Physical Appearance* appears to be highly correlated with *Global Self-Worth* (variable 6; size of correlation = 0.608) which supports this postulation (see discussion of 'Physical Appearance' and 'Behavioral Conduct' under 3.7.1). *Scholastic Competence* (variable 1) forms part of two more pairs, namely *Behavioral Conduct* (variable 5) and *Global Self-Worth* (variable 6). For school-going children,

in the Standard 6 class, academic achievement is a heavily loaded area of their lives. This becomes more pronounced in the case of black children, where educational success is expounded as a virtue amongst both parents, peers, and the wider political milieu. Children in the sample are schooled in the inner-city area at great financial cost and sacrifice to parents, and it is not surprising that this variable should feature as prominently tied up with childrens global feelings of worthiness. Doing well at school is similarly linked to behavioral conduct, where diligence and good behaviour are seen as the hall-marks of success.

This notion is extended into explaining the overlap in the final variable pairing, that of *Global Self-Worth* and *Behavioral Conduct*. While Centurion Academy does not espouse the same D.E.T brand of unquestioning compliance, discipline however retains it's integral role in the formula for scholastic achievement.

In summary, it seems that many of the so-called sub-scales of the scale are not as clearly demarcated as previously imagined. Rather, for the 72 subjects comprising the sample, aspects of self-perception and self-adequacy are significantly linked and inter-related.

The remaining variables in the *B.P.B* and *Self-Perception Profile for Children* are therefore independent or statistically pure, and may be said to be standing for discrete entities of measurement.

3.6 INTRA-MEASURE ANALYSIS

The next step in the statistical analysis was to examine inter-test correlations between the 15 *B.P.B* variables and the 6 *Self-Perception Profile for Children* variables.

This analysis forms the focus of the study at hand. As the correlation matrix for this analysis is large and cumbersome, a probability level of 0.01 was selected for significance. Although psychological research generally accepts the 0.05 level of significance, this stricter cut-off point was retained in order to limit the occurrence of type 1 error.

TABLE 14

Showing significant correlations between the B.P.B and the Self-Perception Profile
for Children using Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficients

Significant correlations	Size of Correlation	Probability Level
Nurturance - Affective Reward	0.418	0.0003
Nurturance - Instrumental Companionship	0.562	0.0001
Nurturance - Affiliative Companionship	0.481	0.0001
Nurturance - Expressive Rejection	-0.369	0.0014
Nurturance - Deprivation of Privileges	-0.299	0.0107
Nurturance - Principled Discipline	0.359	0.0019
Nurturance - Indulgence	0.353	0.0023
Affective Reward - Instrumental Companionship	0.469	0.0001
Affective Reward - Affiliative Companionship	0.605	0.0001
Affective Reward - Indulgence	0.444	0.0001
Affective Reward - Scholastic Competence	0.388	0.0007
Instrumental Companionship - Affiliative Companionship	0.485	0.0001
Instrumental Companionship - Prescriptive	0.315	0.0070
Instrumental Companionship - Expressive Rejection	-0.410	0.0003
Instrumental Companionship - Principled Discipline	0.392	0.0007
Instrumental Companionship - Scholastic Competence	0.329	0.0048
Affiliative Companionship - Social Isolation	-0.319	0.0063
Affiliative Companionship - Expressive Rejection	-0.385	0.0008
Affiliative Companionship - Scholastic Competence	0.360	0.0019
Affiliative Companionship - Indulgence	0.284	0.0155
Affiliative Companionship - Deprivation of Privileges	-0.280	0.0170

TABLE 14 continued

Significant correlations	Size of Correlation	Probability Level
Social Isolation - Expressive Rejection	0.337	0.0037
Social Isolation - Physical Punishment	0.322	0.0058
Social Isolation - Deprivation of Privileges	0.430	0.0002
Social Isolation - Power	0.333	0.0042
Social Isolation - Affective Punishment	0.287	0.0142
Expressive Rejection - Affective Punishment	0.301	0.0102
Deprivation of Privileges - Expressive Rejection	0.450	0.0001
Deprivation of Privileges - Affective Punishment	0.298	0.0108
Physical Punishment - Affective Punishment	0.321	0.0059
Physical Punishment - Expressive Rejection	0.296	0.0113
Power - Protectiveness	0.479	0.0001
Power - Affective Punishment	0.300	0.0102
Power - Social Acceptance	-0.275	0.0193
Scholastic Competence - Physical Appearance	0.544	0.0001
Scholastic Competence - Behavioral Conduct	0.586	0.0001
Scholastic Competence - Global Self-Worth	0.543	0.0001
Physical Appearance - Behavioral Conduct	0.466	0.0001
Physical Appearance - Global Self-Worth	0.608	0.0001
Behavioral Conduct - Global Self-Worth	0.623	0.0001

3.6.1 Discussion of Correlations

Significant correlations were found using Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficients.

See Table 14.

Discussion will now move on to examining the correlations in an attempt to account for their significance.

The variable *NURTURANCE* was found to be significantly correlated with several other of the variables.

Nurturance and *Instrumental Companionship* were very highly correlated (0.562; $p \leq 0.0003$). However as illustrated in 3.5.1 these variables are seen to be measuring highly similar constructs, so this strong correlation is to be expected.

Nurturance and *Affective Reward* yielded a correlation of 0.418 at a probability level of 0.0003. This is not surprising as aspects of the behaviour denoted by the one variable may be seen to be subsumed by the other. Both variables are strongly suggestive of some form of positive maternal stance directly perceived by the child as being characteristic of the relationship.

Similarly, the high correlation of *Nurturance* with *Affiliative Companionship* (0.481; $p \leq 0.0001$) again points to the fact that these are variations of a generally positive behavioral repertoire on the part of the caregiver.

Nurturance was significantly correlated with *Indulgence* (0.353) at the 0.0023 level of probability. Indulgence may be seen through the child-rater's eyes as being an integral part of the nurturant disposition. An adult evaluator may be more able to distinguish the difference between the two stances, but for the young adolescent, the indulgent parent, is ostensibly the nurturant parent.

An interesting correlation (0.359; $p \leq 0.0019$) emerged between *Nurturance* and *Principled Discipline*, which seems, in part, to underscore the former point. While children may on the face of it desire permissive (indulgent) parenting; clinical experience and theory tell us that firm boundaries and clear parameters are highly containing in the context of child development. The notions of justice and fair-play embodied in the items comprising the variable *Principled Discipline* (e.g Does she punish you fairly?; and, When she says you must do something does she explain why?) are at some level appealing to the emotional holding.

of the child. Ultimately (although perhaps not as readily) the child comes to experience principled discipline as an adjunct or aspect of a nurturant, caring maternal relationship⁹.

There were 2 negative correlations with the variable '*Nurturance*'. The first (-0.369; $p \leq 0.0014$) occurred with '*Expressive Rejection*'. This finding is easily accounted for, as the two variables are denoting almost diametrically oppositional behaviours. Similarly the negative correlation of -0.299 ($p \leq 0.0107$), with '*Deprivation of Privileges*' may be explained by the oppositeness intrinsic to the variables. The more nurturant the caregiver, the less likely she is to exhibit expressive rejection or employ punitive deprivation techniques.

'*AFFECTIVE REWARD*' was found to have 4 positive, significant correlations. '*Affective Reward*' and '*Affiliative Companionship*' have already been shown to be measuring greatly similar behaviour, thus their extremely strong correlation (0.505) is hardly unexpected (see 3.5.1).

The significant correlation (0.469, $p \leq 0.0001$) that emerges between '*Affective Reward*' and '*Instrumental Companionship*' is similarly expected, although for different reasons. The items encompassed by these variables tap an aspect of active participation in a child's life, characterised by affective expression and direct involvement. If one aspect is reportedly present, the chances are great that the other will be too.

The third positive correlation exists between '*Affective Reward*' and '*Indulgence*' yielding a coefficient of 0.444 at a probability level of 0.0001. In the same way as '*Nurturance*' and '*Indulgence*' were highly correlated, the latter variable appears once again in another combination with '*Affective Reward*'. The underlying

⁹This idea is given credibility when considering some of the raw data concerning children's responses to the open-ended item (number 19, see Appendix 2). 'The thing I like best about my mother is?' The researcher was impressed by the number of subjects who spoke of their mother's role as a disciplinarian when answering this item. Her firmness (and often strictness) was construed by these children in highly favourable terms.

explanation, it is suggested, is similar. For the young adolescent, often engaged in intra-generational 'battles', the indulgent parent (who lets the child off easily when s/he is naughty - item 1; and who can be spoken into gratifying the child's will - item 11) is the good parent. From the child's point of view the permissive parent is also the emotionally available and giving caretaker.

A significant positive correlation ($0.388; p \leq 0.0007$) was found between '*Affective Reward*', and '*Scholastic Competence*'. This is a most interesting finding, as it in part confirms the thrust of the main hypothesis put forward in this thesis i.e. that the quality of mothering as directly experienced by the child, will have a directional, positive correlation with the self-perceived competence of that same child. Indeed, the direct and unequivocal emotional provision suggested by the variable '*Affective Reward*', appears to create a context of positive reinforcement, praise and overall confirmation of the child within the maternal relationship. It seems that this quality, or capacity of the mother to provide consistent affective involvement with her child, in some way sets the stage for future competence, particularly in the scholastic realm.

The variable '*INSTRUMENTAL COMPANIONSHIP*' formed part of 5 significantly correlating pairs. The first, '*Instrumental Companionship*' and '*Affiliative Companionship*' yield the highest correlation ($0.485; p \leq 0.0001$) in this sequence. It may be that for the children in the sample, the parent who is helpful, assists with problems and is available in both an understanding and didactic capacity ('*Instrumental Companionship*') is also one who offers '*Affiliative Companionship*' (i.e. enjoys being with the child, spends quality time with him/her etc.). From this correlation, we begin to see the emerging picture of parent-child relationships as described by the children in the sample. This is one of immediate and direct engagement of the parent in the lives of their off-spring, which is experienced by children as a subsidiary of an overall loving involvement. This description takes on more clarity when considering the next significantly correlating pair, namely '*Instrumental Companionship*' and '*Prescriptive*' ($0.315; p \leq 0.0070$).

Here the more (or less) didactic the mother-figure is, the more (or less) expectations she is likely to place on her child. The parent who is involved in teaching the child, offering help and understanding of problems, will be more likely to insist on clear-cut expectations and role-reciprocity in the way of carrying out assigned household chores. It would appear that this prescriptive quality is experienced as part of a context of positive involvement. It may also be that this correlation reveals more about the nature of parent-child relationships amongst the black population. Whereas white adolescents may experience prescriptive parental behaviour in negative terms, it seems that their black counterparts do not. Perhaps role division and intra-generational boundaries are more defined in black families, sanctioning more of what white children would construe as intrusive parenting.

The next correlation of '*Instrumental Companionship*' and '*Principled Discipline*' (0.392; $p \leq 0.0007$) furthers this line of discussion of the power relationship characteristic of black parents and their children. Democratically executed discipline is viewed (as was prescriptive tendencies) as part of the teaching-helping continuum implied by '*Instrumental Companionship*'.

This is corroborated by the significant negative correlation between '*Instrumental Companionship*' and '*Expressive Rejection*' (-0.410; $p \leq 0.0003$). This statistic means that the more instrumental companionship intrinsic to the mother-child relationship, the less likely the presence of expressive rejection in that dyad. Given the extremely high correlation between '*Instrumental Companionship*' and '*Nurturance*' (see 3.5.1 - indicating that the two variables are essentially measuring the same quality), it is not surprising that a polar opposite construct like expressive rejection should yield a negative correlation.

The final correlation with '*Instrumental Companionship*' is a positive one (0.329; $p \leq 0.0048$) with '*Scholastic Competence*'. This is again a highly significant finding in the light of the hypothesis central to this dissertation, namely that there will be a positive relationship between the quality of the caregiving relationship and the

child's perceived level of competence. *'Instrumental Companionship'* describes a context characterised by the powerful mediating role of the available mother in meeting the needs of her child. The variable encompasses the mother's readiness to intervene in a teaching and helping capacity as well as her propensity to offer understanding of her child's difficulties or life problems in general. It appears to be this maternal mediation of the environment into more manageable units, that facilitates later scholastic competence in the developing child.

'AFFILIATIVE COMPANIONSHIP' yielded two significant positive correlations; the first being that with the variable *'Indulgence'* (0.284; $p \leq 0.0155$).

'Indulgence' correlated earlier with both *'Nurturance'* and *'Affective Reward'* and the underlying explanation given there applies again in its combination with *'Affiliative Companionship'*. That is, from the child's perspective indulgence on the part of the mother is seen as being related to that parent's positive affective expression.

The next positive correlation was found with *'Affiliative Companionship'* and *'Scholastic Competence'* (0.360; $p \leq 0.0019$). This pairing of variables does much to confirm the hypothesis fundamental to this work. That is, the quality of mothering experienced by the child will directly affect a child's competence in the world. *'Affiliative Companionship'* is a variable that denotes positive relatedness between mother and child based on intrinsic connectedness, close kinship and affirmative rapport. This finding points to the correlation between this brand of intimacy or affability in the maternal relationship that appears to be related to the child's competence (in the scholastic field).

The other 4 correlations are all negative. *'Affiliative Companionship'* is significantly negatively correlated with *'Deprivation of Privileges'* (-0.280; $p \leq 0.0170$); *'Social Isolation'* (-0.319; $p \leq 0.0063$) and *'Expressive Rejection'* (-0.385; $p \leq 0.0008$). These combinations are to be expected as they all stand in contradistinction to the positive expression encompassed by *'Affiliative Companionship'* (e.g. pleasant shared activities, expression of happiness when with the child, and an enjoyment of the

child's company). The variables 'Deprivation of Privileges', 'Social Isolation' and 'Expressive Rejection' all contain within their accompanying items (see items 3, 23, 30, 32, 38, 40, 42, 44, 45; Appendix 4) varying degrees of punitive or malevolent maternal interaction.

The next variable 'SOCIAL ISOLATION' was positively correlated on 5 counts. These correlations are not difficult to account for as they all involve variables that cluster around negative descriptions of maternal interaction with the child. 'Social Isolation' is made up of 3 items namely item 32 "Does she punish you by sending you out to 'house'"; item 38 - "Does she complain to other people about you?" and item 40 - "When you are naughty does she stop you from playing with your friends?" These items combine to describe a punitive disposition involving banishment and social humiliation. 'Expressive Rejection' (0.337; $p \leq 0.0037$) coincides in its manifest emotional abusiveness (e.g. "Does she say unkind or bad things to you?"). 'Deprivation of Privileges' (0.430; $p \leq 0.0002$) correlates highly with 'Social Isolation'; the withholding quality intrinsic to both explaining this statistic. 'Affective Punishment' (0.287; $p \leq 0.0142$) and 'Physical Punishment' (0.322; $p \leq 0.0058$) were both correlated with 'Social Isolation'; the recurrent theme linking these variables being punitive maternal behaviour, either involving actual physical expression or more subtly (but no less powerful) an emotional brand. (For example of physical punishment; item 41 - "Does she hit you?" or emotional punishment; item 17 - "Does she make you feel ashamed or bad when you are naughty?").

The last correlation in this cluster occurred with 'Power' (0.333; $p \leq 0.0042$). 'Power', with its notions of intrusiveness and control (e.g. item 13, "Does she want to know how you spend your money?") may be seen to fit with the parent who exercises social isolation as a means of gaining or retaining authoritative leverage.

'EXPRESSIVE REJECTION' correlated significantly (0.301; $p \leq 0.0102$) with 'Affective Punishment' a pairing that is hardly surprising given the negative affective component common to both variables.

'DEPRIVATION OF PRIVILEGES' is similarly correlated with 'Expressive Rejection' (0.450; $p \leq 0.0001$) and 'Affective Punishment' (0.298; $p \leq 0.0108$); once again all 3 variables containing the commonality of some form of negativity or punitiveness at their core. It makes sense therefore, that 'PHYSICAL PUNISHMENT' should correlate significantly with both 'Affective Punishment' (0.321; $p \leq 0.0059$) and 'Expressive Rejection', all three once again distinguished by punitive thematic content.

The variable 'POWER' yields 2 interesting positive correlations. 'Power' and 'Protectiveness' have a correlation size of 0.479 at a probability level of 0.0001. Both 'Power' and 'Protectiveness' denote a clear role definition where the mother figure assumes a position of control. Both variables could imply certain amount of intrusiveness in the exerting of the adult will over that of the child, as well as suggesting a measure of over involvement. While these behaviours may be more readily extrapolated from the 'Power' variable, 'Protectiveness' hovers on a fine line between them. Indeed, in being protective towards her off-spring, this mother-type could be exerting very real power in the relationship. That power is open to abuse, is illustrated in its correlation with 'Affective Punishment' (0.298; $p \leq 0.0108$). The controlling propensity of the powerful mother, can easily become the executor of emotional punishment by virtue of the unequal roles. This idea is extended in the negative correlation (-0.275; $p \leq 0.0193$) between 'Power' and 'Social Acceptance'. The mother who wields power as a parenting style is likely to raise a child with a poor sense of social acceptance. The more power meted in the maternal relationship; the less the likelihood of the mother in fostering feelings of social acceptance and competence in her child. This finding is highly significant, as it has implications for parenting styles and their subsequent effects on self-esteem, adequacy and self-concept in children. This correlation in part confirms the converse of the hypothesis put forward in this thesis. Whereas a positive maternal relationship was posited to augment competence in children, here, a negative maternal attribute (namely the exerting of power) characterised by intrusiveness and an over-controlling disposition, is likely to foster feelings of poor social acceptance, and hence poor social competence in children.

The next cluster of correlations occurred on '*SCHOLASTIC COMPETENCE*'. However, all of these ('*Physical Appearance*', '*Behavioral Conduct*' and '*Global Self-Worth*'; which have correlations of 0.544; 0.586 and 0.543; all at the 0.0001 level of probability) have been shown under 3.5.2 to be tapping the same (or highly similar) concepts, rendering these findings somewhat redundant.

For the same reasons, the very high correlations between '*PHYSICAL APPEARANCE*' and '*GLOBAL SELF-WORTH*' (0.608) and '*BEHAVIORAL CONDUCT*' and '*GLOBAL SELF-WORTH*' (0.623) are to be expected and cannot be further interpreted.

The only correlation in this group to receive further discussion is that between '*Physical Appearance*' and '*Behavioral Conduct*' (0.466; $p \leq 0.0001$). This relationship implies that the more physically attractive the child perceives him or herself to be, the better the perception of his or her behavioral conduct will be (of course the converse is also true). This finding concurs with earlier conclusions made under 3.5.2 where '*Physical Appearance*' was highly correlated with '*Scholastic Competence*' (size of correlation = 0.544) as rated by children. In that section, the author concluded that as physical attractiveness is something of a preoccupation peculiar to the adolescent years, the young person's self-criticism may generalise to include other areas of his or her experience of personal competence. (In that case, academic success and achievement at school, as well as the adolescents feelings of Global Self-Worth).

It was noted earlier that in a society where physical attributes are heavily loaded, children are not the only members of the population to espouse a bias in favour of attractiveness. Indeed, teachers themselves, when asked to rate the domain-specific competence of their pupils, tended to report a bias in favour of physically attractive children as being more scholastically competent (see 3.8.3).

These prejudices surface again, where adolescents have linked '*Physical Appearance*' and '*Behavioral Conduct*'. This probably reflects a societal emphasis on physicality

as endorsed by the media, parents and teachers alike. It seems that subjects in the study perceive more physically attractive children as being better behaved (and hence more likeable and competent) than less attractive children; whose behavioral competence is viewed as less favourable. Resulting from this ubiquitous societal bias, is the probability that more physically attractive children are less likely to engender relationships characterised by conflict with authority figures, and are thus more likely to be perceived by themselves and others as competent in a variety of domains.

3.7 THE TEACHERS RATING SCALE

This scale has been discussed in some detail in chapter 2.3. Briefly, this measure parallels the *Self-Perception Profile for Children*, and offers further (more objective) information about children's actual competence as assessed by the teacher. The teachers independent judgment of the child's *actual* behaviour or adequacy in each domain is required. The scale consists of 5 sub-scales (or variables) yielding a profile made-up of 15 items; with 3 items per sub-scale. The domains are identical to those in the *Self-Perception Profile for Children* (with the exception of the Global Self-Worth sub-scale).

The 5 variables are as follows:

- 1) *Scholastic Competence*
- 2) *Social Acceptance*
- 3) *Athletic Competence*
- 4) *Physical Appearance*
- 5) *Behavioral Conduct*

3.7.1 Description of the Separate Variables in Tabular Form

TABLE 15

Showing Means, Standard Deviations and Minimum/Maximum Values for the 5 Variables in the Teachers Rating Scale

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	MINIMUM VALUE	MAXIMUM VALUE
Scholastic Competence	2.794	0.977	1.000	4.000
Social Acceptance	3.033	0.817	1.000	4.000
Athletic Competence	2.660	0.601	1.300	4.000
Physical Appearance	3.076	0.765	1.000	4.000
Behavioral Conduct	3.178	0.920	1.000	4.000

N = 72

3.7.2 Inter-Measure Correlations

For the reasons previously discussed under 3.5, an inter-test correlation of the *Teachers Rating Scale* was necessary in order to establish whether any variables in fact describe the same or similar concepts. Again a strong correlation of 0.5 or above was used for significance.

It is of interest that only *one* pair of variables correlated highly on the Teachers Rating Scale, as compared with the 5 pairs found in the inter-measure correlations of the same scale when presented to children (see 3.5.2). While children were less able to assess their own competence in a *domain-specific* manner, teachers appear to have achieved this profile analysis with greater ease. It seems that teachers were more able to offer an evaluation of children's competence that took relative strengths and weaknesses into cognizance. The following variable pair emerged as being highly correlated.

TABLE 16

Strongly Correlated Variables	Size of Correlation	Probability Level
Physical Appearance Scholastic Competence	0.554	0.0001

Discussion (see Table 16 Above)

Only one pair of variables correlated highly when inter-measure correlations were sought. '*Physical Appearance*' (variable 4) correlated strongly with '*Scholastic Competence*' (variable 1) at the 0.0001 level of probability, yielding a correlation coefficient of 0.554. This leads to the conclusion that variables 1 and 4 are measuring the same or highly similar variations of childrens' characteristics as rated by the 3 teachers in the study. Again we are alerted to the strong bias that appears to be shared by pupils and teachers alike, where physically attractive children are apparently rated as being scholastically more competent, than their less attractive counterparts (see 3.5.2 where these same two variables overlap significantly in childrens' ratings).

The remaining variables in the *Teachers Rating Scale* are however independent of one another, and may be considered as such in later interpretation of the data.

3.7.3 Intra-Measure Analysis

This section of the statistical analysis will examine the intra-test correlations between the 6 variables in the *Self-Perception Profile for Children* and the corresponding 5 variables of the *Teachers Rating Scale*.

Once again, the more stringent 0.01 level of significance was adopted, ensuring meaningful interpretation of the data.

TABLE 17

Showing Significant Correlations between the Teachers Rating Scale and the Self-Perception Profile for Children using Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficients

Significant Correlations	Size of Correlation	Probability Level
Scholastic Competence - Athletic Competence	0.307	0.0091
Scholastic Competence - Behavioral Conduct	0.425	0.0002
Scholastic Competence - Physical Appearance	0.554	0.0001
Athletic Competence - Social Acceptance	0.479	0.0001
Athletic Competence - Physical Appearance	0.417	0.0003
Behavioral Conduct - Physical Appearance	0.415	0.0003
Behavioral Conduct ₁ - Behavioral Conduct ₂	0.360	0.0020

Discussion

Significant correlations were found using Pearsons Product Moment Correlation Coefficients.

(see Table 17 Above)

Discussion will now move on to examining the correlations in order to explain their significance.

The variable '*SCHOLASTIC COMPETENCE*' was found to be significantly correlated with 3 other variables.

'*Scholastic Competence*' and '*Physical Appearance*' were particularly highly correlated (0.554; $p \leq 0.0001$). However, as illustrated in 3.8.2 the variables are seen to be measuring highly similar constructs, therefore the strong correlation is to be expected.

'*Scholastic Competence*' and '*Behavioral Conduct*' yielded a correlation of 0.425 at the 0.0002 level of probability. This pairing of variables may be alerting us to a further teacher bias, or at least an upholding of the stereotype, that well-behaved or compliant students are more likely to excel in their academic studies. The converse too holds true - that poor behaviour, or behavioral problems are associated with lack of scholastic achievement.

The significant correlation between '*Scholastic Competence*' and '*Athletic Competence*' (0.307; $p \leq 0.0091$) may again be tapping into a teacher bias of some kind. Athletic prowess is at some level associated with good physique or positive bodily appearance. It has been discussed elsewhere (see 3.7.1) that teachers may be party to subscribing to a pervasive societal orientation towards physical attractiveness. Athletic prowess may, in the eyes of the teacher raters, pay homage to this notion and therefore explain the matching between '*Athletic Competence*' (those physically attractive children) and those children deemed to be competent in the classroom (see correlation between Athletic Competence and Physical Appearance in this section).

It is necessary however, at this point to make mention of an essential fact regarding teachers accurate evaluation of their pupils athletic abilities. Centurion Academy, has notably an academically weighted curriculum with less emphasis on sporting activities than is perhaps the tradition in mainstream schools. While sporting events do take place on grounds away from the inner-city location of the school, it does not appear to be an area of great emphasis, nor are many teachers involved in these activities. However, what remains important in the interpretation of the data is the *perception* the teacher has regarding different areas of a child's competence. Clearly, in the case of athletic mastery, preconceived biases or stereo-typical images may be in operation.

This hypothesis finds compelling continuity in the next two variable combinations that occur with '*ATHLETIC COMPETENCE*', namely '*Social Acceptance*' and '*Physical Appearance*' (0.479 and 0.417; $p \leq 0.0001$ and $p \leq 0.0003$ respectively). For teachers

in the study, the athletically able child acquires social acceptance from peers and is more likely to be rated as physically appealing.

The variable '*BEHAVIORAL CONDUCT*' is strongly correlated with '*Physical Appearance*' (0.415) at the 0.0003 level of significance. This correlation was also found when children were asked to rate their own competence (see 3.7.1). It appears that there exists a well-established prejudice which extends to teachers and children alike, to view more physically attractive children as being better behaved. That this bias is shared by educators and their younger pupil counterparts, is validated by the significant correlation found between '*Behavioral Conduct*' as rated by teachers, and '*Behavioral Conduct*' as rated by children (size of correlation = 0.360; $p \leq 0.0020$).

This statistic translates into the interesting finding that how teachers rate behavioral conduct intersects strongly with childrens' assessment of behavioral conduct.

Given the hierarchical structure of the school system; that adult teachers values are readily transmitted to their students, is perhaps not surprising. While adult-figures are always construed as powerful role models for children, this power relationship becomes even more pronounced when one considers the unique exigencies peculiar to the independent schools operating in South Africa. Out of the 3 teachers who participated in the study, two were white females, and one, a white male. In a country like ours, where racial superiority has dominated the statute books for over forty years, white (especially male) adult figures who hold a position of authority, may still be seen by black children to carry considerable clout. It follows that what these figures define as acceptable behaviour will be emulated and incorporated into the belief system of children.

CHAPTER FOUR
DISCUSSION

4. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The results of the previous chapters will now receive more detailed discussion. For supplementary and illustrative purposes, the content of the unstructured or open-ended questions administered to the children (see Chapter 2) will be introduced where applicable, as part of the secondary analysis.

4.1 THE B.P.B AND SELF-PERCEPTION PROFILE FOR CHILDREN (SEE TABLE 15)

For reasons of parsimony, and in order to offer a cogent summary of the analyses, the results from this section will be discussed under discrete categories of variables. At this point, it is useful to re-iterate that the strength of the B.P.B lies in its capturing of childrens *actual* experience of their mothering, involving their direct perceptions of the parenting they have received.

4.1.1 Positive Maternal Qualities

During the analysis, it was clear that certain maternal qualities were perceived by the children in the sample as being highly correlated by virtue of their inherent positivity. These variables, when grouped together, constitute a profile description of what the children perceived positive mothering to be about.

Firstly, from earlier *inter-measure* analysis, certain variables emerged so highly correlated between each other, that it was clear they were measuring variations of the same construct. Hence '*Nurturance*' and '*Instrumental Companionship*' were seen as aspects of the same continuum of mothering, as indeed were '*Affective Reward*' and '*Affiliative Companionship*'.

Later analysis of an *intra-measure* kind, revealed further positive correlations which could be grouped together to form a comprehensive picture of what children in the study perceived to make up that elusive conception of "positive mothering".

Nurturant behaviour on the part of the mother, was highly correlated with '*Affective Reward*' and '*Affiliative Companionship*'. These variables share considerable overlap in terms of the notions of availability, accessibility, emotional provision, affective involvement, active adult guidance and mediation intrinsic to all. (The overlap is similarly extended to include '*Instrumental Companionship*'.) '*Affective Reward*' and '*Instrumental Companionship*' were highly correlated, the latter correlating similarly with '*Affiliative Companionship*'. All of these variables (and those mentioned above) combine to engender a sense of positivity which manifests in affective involvement with the child, marked by mutuality, encouragement, praise and overall reinforcement of the child. These correlating variables create a positive perception of mothering which unite providing a context which affirms the developing child.

This positivity germane to the loving maternal style of relating described below, finds thematic continuity in children's expressions in the free-response section of the methodology.

When asked what they liked *BEST* about their mothers, 65.3% of children spoke of aspects of nurturant behaviour on the part of their mothers. This included caring for their personal well-being, "looking after" behaviour, and expressions of love. Emotional provision was cited by 43.1% as being the best part of their relationship with their mothers. The vast majority of the children (81.9%), made reference to positive qualities embodied by their mothers, including a patient, friendly disposition, along with a kind, loving and caring nature. This favourable description of the mother was seen in 40.1% of cases to extend into the home environment where the maternal figure creates an atmosphere distinguished by peacefulness, familial camaraderie and an absence of conflict or disharmony.

4.1.2 Negative Maternal Qualities

During the analyses, it became evident that there was a certain cluster of variables that were distinguished by the negativity intrinsic to each. As a group, these

variables made up a picture of what the children in the study perceived to constitute negative mothering.

The variable '*Social Isolation*' was associated on several counts with maternal propensities of an exceedingly unfavourable kind. This variable intersected significantly with '*Expressive Rejection*', '*Deprivation of Privileges*', '*Affective Punishment*', '*Physical Punishment*' and '*Power*'. '*Expressive Rejection*' was similarly correlated with '*Affective Punishment*' which was itself associated with '*Physical Punishment*'. '*Physical Punishment*' was in turn correlated with '*Expressive Rejection*'. '*Deprivation of Privileges*' was linked with both '*Expressive Rejection*' and '*Affective Punishment*' which was itself correlated with '*Power*'. '*Power*' also correlated with '*Protectiveness*' (a form of control, see Chapter 3).

The inter-relationships between these variables yield a composite perception of mothering at its least positive. Thematic continuity as regards negatively experienced maternal behaviour is again found in the unstructured material.

When asked what was *WORST* about their mothers 44.4% referred to aspects of negative assertion of her authority. This included strictness, shouting and demanding behaviour which constitutes affective punishment. Emotional abuse in the way of blaming, insulting and denigrating comments were offered. For almost 10% of children, this extended to physical punishment of some sort. Unavailability was rated by 16.7% as being a negative component of their maternal relationships. Reference was made to some sort of expressive rejection and undemocratic assertion of her parental powers. Negative qualities, like capriciousness, unpredictability, short-temperedness and with-holding behaviour emerged in one third of the responses. This conflicted relationship was seen by 20.8% of children to extend to the family environment. The home atmosphere was described by these children as being pervasively critical and demanding, with marked discord at a sibling and/or marital level. These same children also offered negative early childhood memories characterised by impatience on the part of their mothers; sustained feelings of anxiety and persecution; separation difficulties,

and behavioral disorders on the part of themselves. (These included excessive crying, clinginess, disobedience, school refusal and truancy.) 11.1% of children situated these negative memories at the earliest possible time, namely from birth onwards. Negative expressions included parental fighting, feelings of not being wanted and gender ambivalence or anxiety.

When asked what they would have liked to change about their relationship with their mother while growing up, almost one quarter of the children wished there had been less negativity. These children told of wanting less conflict and less of an intrusive or demanding atmosphere. They wished their mothers had been less moody and punitive, and had drunk and sworn less. Again, the same figure reported a wish for a less conflicted or negative relationship at the present time.

Similar themes emerged, with repeated reference to punishment and affective abuse, with all of these 25% desiring later independence from the mother figure, and a wish to break away from her sphere of influence.

4.1.3 Positive and Negative Maternal Qualities Correlating Negatively

Five variable pairs correlated negatively, where positive and negative maternal qualities were seen in clear juxta-position to each other. These variables were perceived by the sample as being diametrically opposite, or at least incompatible constructs.

'Nurturance' was seen as the polar opposite behaviour of 'Expressive Rejection' and 'Deprivation of Privileges'. Similarly, 'Instrumental Companionship' was negatively correlated with 'Expressive Rejection'. This variable was again negatively paired with 'Affiliative Companionship' which itself formed negative combination with both 'Social Isolation' and 'Deprivation of Privileges'.

From these results, we are able to deduce that children in the sample seem to perceive maternal behaviour patterns in somewhat either/or terms. It would appear that the structured measures do not easily accommodate *ambivalence* on the part of the child respondent. For this reason, namely the reductive nature of structured material, open-ended questions were included in order to specifically tap children's ambivalence as regards their mother-figures. This secondary measure supplements the original data and provides for more sensitive understanding of children's perceptions.

When asked about their maternal relationships in an unstructured, free-response form, it is highly significant that exactly half the answers (50%) included some form of ambivalence in them. This took the form of contradictory statements, uncertainty, through to clear expressions of vacillating emotions. Furthermore, almost one third of the children (30.6%) provided answers reflecting similar ambivalence when writing about their home-life. It seems that this analysis in some ways offers more realistic information than the compartmentalization of the structured scales of maternal perceptions in children.

4.1.4 Maternal Qualities Requiring Further Elaboration

As mentioned at the outset of this chapter, one strength of the B.P.B lies in its ability to elicit children's actual perceptions of styles of maternal behaviour. After analysis of the data, certain idiosyncratic ideas pertaining to mothering were identified as specific perceptions of children in the population sample.

The variable '*Indulgence*' appeared in combination with 3 other positive maternal qualities, namely '*Nurturance*', '*Affective Reward*' and '*Affiliative Companionship*'.

From these pairings, we are able to deduce, that from the immediate cognitive stand-point of the child, more permissive (or indulgent) mothering, is associated with all the positivity espoused by nurturant maternal behaviour, the emotionally available and directly engaged mother-figure. It seems on the face of it that the child-rater lacks the objectivity in distinguishing a generally emotionally-providing

maternal relationship from an indulgent one. Early adolescence is a time of heightened intra-generational conflict where the youngsters's demands and desires are often pitched against those (apparently) constraining ones of the parent figure. Disputes around curfews, the peer-group and relationships the adolescent forms and limit-setting *per-se* become areas of disagreement where parent and child wills battle for ascendancy. It would appear that for the young adolescent, the indulgent parent (who gives in easily, or gratifies every demand) is the good parent.

However, the variable '*Principled Discipline*' appears in similar combination with '*Nurturance*' and again with '*Instrumental Companionship*'. Furthermore, a positive correlation was found between the latter and the variable denoted as '*Prescriptive*'. These findings seem to underscore the points made above. While children may ostensibly desire permissive (indulgent) parenting, clinical experience and theory tell us that firm boundaries and clear limit-setting are highly containing (and confirming) in the context of child development. The notions of fair-play embodied in the '*Principled Discipline*' as well as the didactic stance central to the '*Prescriptive*' variable at some level appeals to the need for emotional holding in the child. Ultimately, (although perhaps not so readily) the adolescent comes to experience principled discipline and clear prescriptive adult propensities as part of the fabric of a nurturant, caring maternal relationship.

Once again this theme is repeated in the unstructured material. Of the sample, 26.4% reported that the best part of their relationship with the mother-figure was to be found in her ability to perform a didactic role. This took the form of telling them when they were wrong about something, insisting upon certain standards of behaviour and also laying down clear expectations which help to define the parent-child relationship.

4.1.5 Hypothesis Related Maternal Qualities

Four variable pairs emerged, each building upon each other to provide persuasive material in confirmation of the main hypothesis put forward in this thesis i.e that

the quality of mothering as directly experienced by the child, will have a directional, positive correlation with the self-perceived competence of that same child.

It is interesting that of the 4 variable pairs, 3 of them included '*SCHOLASTIC COMPETENCE*' in their significant combinations. While the original hypothesis did not specify competence *in any specific domain*, it is unequivocally scholastic competence that has emerged as the most distinct area of relevance in relation to mothering.

In South Africa, the demand for educational reform has been a rallying cry central to the political rhetoric of the times since the drawing up of the Freedom Charter (1954). Both parents and children alike have united around the banner proclaiming the right to first-class education for all South Africans. This tenet of the democratic movement has led to the high prioritising of education amongst the black population. It is not uncommon for parents to sacrifice a great deal in the provision of education for their children, who in turn see it as their entrée to a better future.

Hence the very strong emergence of '*Scholastic Competence*' as a variable central to the hypothesis at hand is perhaps not surprising. For black parents and students, success at the educational level is of peremptory importance. This value is reflected at a school level, where Centurion Academy endorses educational advancement as the equivalent of security in adult years and throughout the lifespan.

Significant, positive correlations were found between '*Scholastic Competence*' and 3 positive maternal qualities.

The first occurred with '*Affective Reward*' which is a variable suggesting emotional provision augmenting a context of positive reinforcement and general positive confirmation of the care and concern present in the maternal relationship. From

this correlation, it appears that this quality or capacity of the mother to provide consistent affective involvement with her off-spring, in some way sets the stage for future competence, particularly in the scholastic realm.

The second correlation is to be found between '*Scholastic Competence*' and '*Affiliative Companionship*'. This variable donates a positive relatedness between mother and child, based on an intrinsic connectedness, close kinship and affirmative rapport. This finding points to the correlation between this brand of intimacy or affability in the maternal relationship that appears to be related to the child's competence in the scholastic field.

Of the 15 variables contained within the B.P.B it is perhaps these variables; namely '*Affective Reward*' and '*Affiliative Companionship*' that best exemplify that elusive notion of '*holding*' which is at the essence of almost all developmental theories on attachment. Inherent in all these accounts of early mother-child relating, is the recurrent idea of the available parent as the *sine qua non* of healthy development (Bowlby, 1960, 1979, 1984; Winnicott, 1958, 1960; Erikson, 1956; Sroufe, 1979; Kahn, 1963; Arend, Gove and Sroufe, 1979; Kohut, 1971, 1977; Rutter, 1979, 1985, 1987; see Chapter 1 for full review).

The literature is replete with postulations and assertions regarding the instrumental role of the physically and affectively present mother in catering to the developing needs of her child. While theorists may differ marginally in their emphasis, it is Winnicott's simple description of the holding capacity of the "ordinary, good-enough mother" that is the most salient common denominator.

It is this *availability* that children in the sample appear to have isolated as being significant precursors of competent behaviour in early adolescence. The variables that emerge as significant seem to directly correspond with this accessibility on the part of the mother, which fosters competence in children.

This emotional provision at the root of both '*Affective Reward*' and '*Affiliative Companionship*' are echoed in the unstructured material reported by children in the sample.

The mother's affective proximity was highlighted by over two thirds of the children as being the most valued aspect of their relationship. This responsiveness took the form of verbal expressions of praise imbuing the child with a sense of pride and unconditional acceptance. Her direct involvement in their lives, and investment in their well-being was seen as a source of positive recognition to children. The ability of the mother to provide an ongoing source of emotional re-fuelling (Mahler, 1963) attests to both the affective and affiliative roles of the caregiver in the eyes of her child. Children's verbatim accounts perhaps best capture this parental capacity.

Bevlene, age 15 says; "She always tells me she loves me, even when I've done something bad". Zandele, age 13 speaks of a mother figure who, "Always cares what happens to me, even since I was a small child". Justice captures his mother's consistent availability when he says, "My mother is there by me through thin and thick".

The mothers efficacy in meeting the specific emotional needs of her child through affiliative companionship, was cited by over forty percent of the sample. Thulani, age 14 says of her mother, "She tells me cute stories about people and things, and often takes me with her when she goes out". Vusumuzi writes that "she shares her ideas with me even although I'm still a youngstar". Antoinette concludes as follows; "we are like best friends - we take tea and bread together and I can tell her of my worries about the boys at my school".

This 'holding' attribute of the mother was similarly found in 68.1% of answers pertaining to early childhood. Here children told of feeling indulged, spoiled, cherished, loved and nurtured. Many children recounted memories tinged with the rosy hues of a "mother-infant reverie" where the dyad existed in idealised mutuality to the exclusion of the outside world. Maude, age 12 describes her

childhood in the following way, "It was nice! All the attention was with me - my parents they was so very proud of me". Nomapha, who is 13 remembers how all her dependency needs were met when she says "Anything I wanted they were giving to me. I think I was spoiled a lot. Even if I needed to wash or eat something, (she) was always help me".

Taking a temporal step back, childrens' positive comments about what happened when they were born, again reflect this affective and affiliative involvement. Nonhlanhla, age 12, recounts with delight, "That day (I) was so special. My parents were happy and excited and they were being so proud". Nthato says, "They were very pleased as my father was wanting a boy". Many children recollected little anecdotes that have clearly been imparted to them by parents, about endearing or particularly idiosyncratic things they did as babies or young infants.

Children were asked what they enjoyed doing with their mother as a little child. The vast majority of children (83.3%) spoke of activities involving shared mutuality and a high degree of affiliative companionship. Similarly, when asked what things they enjoy doing together with their mother now that they are older, over half of the children 51.4% duplicated their earlier response by referring to shared, pleasant activities, e.g singing, reading, outings, socializing and visiting, going to church, shopping and knitting. A further 38.9% made specific reference to companionship which took the form of discussing issues and problems, casual pleasant conversation, sharing of ideas, laughing, having fun and telling jokes together.

Interestingly, when asked what they would like to have changed or be different in their maternal relationship when growing up (as well as now that they are older), children made recurrent reference to a wish for greater affiliative companionship, and more positive affective involvement. Alice, age 16, wished she could have more special time with her mother who "(was) away working in a factory in Witbank" for most of her early years. Mapitso, age 14, describes a highly conflicted relationship with her mother, and wistfully wishes they had "better

communication, so that I could tell what is happening in my heart". Petronella, age 13 yearns for "more understanding. That she doesn't shout me". Glen, who is 13 years old wishes his mother could "say what she feel. She always have her head closed to me. I wish she could be more pride of me like another one's mum".

A third important hypothesis-related correlation is to be found between '*Scholastic Competence*' and '*Instrumental Companionship*'.

This variable describes a relationship characterized by the powerful mediating role of the available mother in meeting the needs of her child. The variable encompasses the mothers readiness to intervene in a teaching and helping capacity, as well as her propensity to offer understanding of her child's difficulties or life-problems in general. It seems that this maternal mediation of the environment into more manageable units, facilitates later scholastic competence in the developing child.

The importance of the mediating role performed by the significant adult, has been well documented in recent literature. Feuerstein's (1980) Mediated Learning Experience (M.L.E) has at its helm, the available parent (or other adult) who provides Instrumental Enrichment (I.E) and hence modifies the impingements of the environment at large. The variable '*Instrumental Companionship*' perhaps best captures this mediating maternal role. It is this variable that children in the sample appear to have distinguished as being a significant antecedent of scholastic competence in early adolescence.

It is perhaps not surprising that these two variables should emerge as being highly correlated. The mother who provides a context of teaching and learning, in all probability infuses in her child a greater motivation and keenness to excel scholastically. She is likely to be the provider of a stimulating environment which would inspire an innate willingness in the child to pursue knowledge and attain academic success.

The role of mother as provider of '*Instrumental Companionship*' was readily evidenced in the free-response section of the data illuminating the role of mediator in the minds of children in the sample.

For 26.4% of children, their mothers role as educator or mediator was of paramount importance in their relationship with her. This amounts to instrumental companionship and took the form of providing information; imparting social morés and manners; assisting with areas of difficulty and teaching of various previously unlearned behaviours as well as homework. Interestingly, a considerable proportion of these respondents made specific reference to high achievement demands on the part of their mothers. (Again accounting for the high correlation with '*Scholastic Competence*'). A further 54.2% of children alluded to instrumental provision on their mothers part, in the way of financing a good school education through her own hard work. It is perhaps peculiar to a sample of this nature that mention was often made of basic food provision. This is a sobering reminder that nutritional needs are not automatically met in South African black households.

When children were required to speak of aspects of the maternal relationship negatively experienced, 16.7% of the sample referred to a *lack* of instrumental provision. For some children this meant a failure to supply food or money for fundamental needs, while for others it meant an "out-of-touchness" with the child where misunderstanding prevailed.

A significant proportion of the children (45.8%) reported that they turned to their mothers when things went wrong, indicating her importance in offering support and advice. Upon being asked about shared activities, almost one third (30.6%) mentioned enjoyment of chores, often involving a teaching or helping role (e.g. baking, cooking, mending).

A similar percentage (33.3%) specifically referred to the mother figures direct involvement with their education, in helping with studying and school work.

Another 27.8% of the sample wished for more of this type of maternal involvement while they were growing up.

Siyabonga who is 13 years old says, "It would be nicer if she could help me more with my troubles" while Yvette (age 14) says, "I would have like her to spend some more time with me not only with my brother. And she may be at home more because I miss her".

In another section, the sample was asked what their families relied on them for. Along with the high proportion who referred to helping with household chores and the like an unexpected 22.2% made *specific* mention of a high parental expectation to attain educational success (do well at school and make parents proud). This finding concurs with an earlier point about the high prioritization of education in the black family ethos; accounting for the repeated statistical significance of '*Scholastic Competence*'. Indeed the importance placed on scholastic achievement is again highlighted by the high-order ranking assigned this theme in childrens discussion of their interests and hobbies. A remarkable 43.1% of respondents included school work in their list, even though the researcher was in fact targeting extra-mural or extra-curriculum activities. That the children in the study are highly motivated and orientated towards ongoing scholastic competence is reflected in the answers given to the question about their intentions after leaving school. An extremely high proportion (80.6%) aspired to a university education, with a further 13.9% intent upon attending some other tertiary education institution (e.g technicon or college).

The fourth important correlation to be discussed in this section involves a negative relationship between the variables 'power' and 'social acceptance'. This correlation in part confirms the *converse* of the hypothesis put forward in this dissertation. Whereas a positive maternal relationship was posited to augment competence in children, here, a negative maternal attribute (namely the exerting of parental power) characterised by intrusiveness and an over-controlling disposition, is likely to foster feelings of poor social acceptance, and hence poor social competence in children. More simply, the mother who wields excessive power as a parenting

style, is likely to raise a child with inadequate or deficient social competence. The more power meted in the maternal relationship; the less the likelihood of the mother in facilitating feelings of social acceptance and competence in her child. This finding is highly significant, as it has implications for parenting styles and their subsequent effects on self-esteem, adequacy and self-concept in children.

Indeed, 25% of children characterized their mothers as using power as a means of parental control. This corresponds with 16.7% who spoke in negative or self-denigrating terms when asked to describe themselves, and a further 41.7% who expressed some form of self-doubt (underconfidence, ambivalence, shyness or a mixed self-appraisal). While the latter percentage may be inflated due to the negative introspection and self-evaluation that goes with the adolescent years, these figures are never-the-less significant. Included in the 16.7% of negative responses were derogatory physical descriptions, short-temperedness, depression (suicidal ideation), feelings of intrinsic badness, anxiety and aggression as well as inter personal difficulties. A similar proportion of children displayed a marked lack of internal resources (or ego-control) in confronting conflict situation. These same children tended to indulge in acting-out behaviour, excessive compliance or fearfulness of authority figures, and a pervasive sense of learned helplessness (Seligman, 1975).

The only other significant variable combination in this section is that between '*Physical Appearance*' and '*Behavioral Conduct*'. As this exact pairing re-appears in the next section, discussion will take place there.

In brief summary of this section, using both structured and unstructured material, children in the study tended to group maternal behaviours in certain distinct ways. These were in terms of their positive qualities and negative qualities which from the structured response appeared initially to exclude the possibility of ambivalence on the childrens part. However, when unstructured measures were considered, half the sample in fact expressed an ambivalent standpoint when asked about their maternal relationship. Specific styles of maternal interaction involving indulgence

on the one hand, and prescriptive behaviour on the other appeared at first to be contradicting one another. However, upon further analysis, it was concluded that while children may ostensibly desire permissive parenting from their mothers; a more didactic or principled discipline stance proves to be both containing and confirming for the young adolescent.

Three specific variables correlated highly with '*Scholastic Competence*' going a long way to confirm the hypothesis at hand. '*Affective Reward*' and '*Affiliative Companionship*' were the variables that best exemplified the holding relationship so cogently expressed by developmental theorists. Similarly '*Instrumental Companionship*' best corresponded with the mediating maternal role demonstrated to be important in healthy child development. These 3 variables were seen to be significant in facilitating scholastic competence in children; a domain-specific set of skills of special importance to the black children in the study. '*Power*' and '*Social Competence*' were negatively correlated, pointing to an inverse relationship between the two variables and providing the confirmation of a converse aspect of the hypothesis. This meant that the more power a mother wielded, the less social acceptance (and competence) she was able to engender in her off-spring.

4.2 THE SELF-PERCEPTION PROFILE FOR CHILDREN AND THE TEACHERS SCALE (see Table 17)

The 6 significant correlations that emerged under this section are striking in that they all point to a well-established set of biases upheld by teachers in the sample. In fact, several of these are shared by teachers and pupils alike.

For example, the correlation between '*Behavioral Conduct*' and '*Physical Appearance*' was similarly found in childrens own ratings of their personal competence, as well as in teachers evaluations. It appears that there exists a shared prejudice to view more physically attractive children as being better behaved. Furthermore, '*Behavioral Conduct*' as construed by teachers and children alike seems to refer to the same kind of demeanour, as may be extrapolated from the correlation between the two variables of the same name.

A wider societal bias is reflected in a similar way in all the remaining variable pairs. Teachers in turn, tend to subscribe to the stereo-type that well-behaved or compliant students are more likely to excel in their academic studies. The converse would apply i.e. that poor behaviour, or behavioral problems are associated with lack of scholastic competence. In addition children who excel in the athletic sphere are perceived to be more scholastically endowed as well as more physically attractive. These athletically able children are also seen by teachers to elicit greater social acceptance from their peers.

In the unstructured material 65.3% of children made direct reference to some sort of athletic or sporting activity when asked about their interests or hobbies. However, only 19.4% of the respondents spoke of social interests (spending time with friends, playing, talking etc). However, this finding does not necessarily tap social acceptance *per se*, but rather elicits those children with a particularly developed social orientation. Childrens sense of social acceptance was perhaps better tapped in the paragraph they were asked to write about themselves. Here, exactly three-quarters (75%) of the sample did offer statements pointing to feelings of peer acceptance (e.g. being well-liked, having been told s/he has a good personality, having many friends, being thought of as friendly, respectable and honest). Almost one quarter (23.6%) of the sample indicated that they felt competent in the behavioral sphere, in terms of "doing the right thing" or knowing what was expected of them. These children employed statements signifying a well-developed sense of social mindedness which manifested in self-pride, self-containment and maturity. They were children who expressed a capacity for empathy seen in a keen sense of sensitivity and awareness of the world around them. Of the sample, 30 children gave answers which reflected feelings of social inadequacy or a difficulty in understanding and responding appropriately to behavioral cues.

CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSIONS

5. CONCLUSIONS

The concluding chapter is intended to provide a summary of the most important findings of the present study. In addition, due to the paucity of investigative work into the lives of black children in South Africa, some suggestions for further research in this country will be made. Finally, the limitations of this thesis will be discussed.

5.1 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There remains undoubtedly, a pressing need for additional large-scale, multi-method group studies employing multi-disciplinary and community-based approaches. In a comprehensive anthology on the contexts of childhood in South Africa, Burman (1984, in Burman and Reynolds, 1986) calls upon professionals and experts from a wide variety of disciplines "to focus on the concerns of childhood in relation to the encompassing social, political and economic issues" (p 12). While this study has attempted to understand the relationship between the quality of mothering experienced by black children and subsequent competence, there remain countless other areas pertaining to the lives of black children that demand further exploration.

An examination of the international literature on children living in violent societies reveals that this research has been conducted largely in a theoretical vacuum. Contributions from developmental psychology may offer invaluable insights into what may be construed as normal development on the one hand, as opposed to pathological responses on the other.

A particular dearth exists in the local literature concerning clinically-oriented case history type research which attempts to document and understand individual differences. Breznitz (1983) points to stress as being a potential amplifier of latent or mild vulnerabilities which would emerge in studies of the individual child. Future research of a more intra-psychic orientation could add immeasurable depth to our understanding of the exigencies peculiar to growing up as a black child in South Africa.

An ongoing and vexing problem facing the researcher in South Africa, is the absence of appropriate standardized psychological tests for use with the black population. While organisations like the Human Science Resource Centre (H.S.R.C) have increased the number of measures available, there remains a conspicuous gap in this area. As such one has often to employ measures intended for a completely different child population, creating all the attendant difficulties around norms, generalization, validity, linguistic and cultural points of departure.

While the thrust of this thesis was a focus on *coping* in black children, the actual treatment of vulnerable children, or those displaying symptomatology of some sort, remained unexplored. Clearly in South Africa this is of extremely high priority. Treatment strategies should be at an accessible community level and should ideally move towards a preventative model of psychology. "Grass-roots" clinics, and "hands-on" strategies should be made readily available to parents and teachers alike. With the gradual demise of segregated Apartheid infrastructure put into motion by the de Klerk regime, mental health resources need to undergo radical change and democratization in a move towards a Peoples Health Care system. There continues to be a need to move beyond the mere description of results and symptoms so much a feature of traditional research. Rather workers in the field should develop workable methods of dealing with members of disadvantaged populations in distress. Skinner (1989) suggests that work in the area may go towards the development of therapeutic strategies on the one hand (Daves and De Villiers, 1987; Friedman 1987; Hayes, 1987; Somnier and Genefke, 1986; Straker and the Sanctuaries Treatment Team, 1987; all cited by Skinner, 1989) or the provision of services on the other.

However, there continues to be shortage of curative health-care services in South Africa. This study has embraced the idea of *coping* as providing important inroads towards preventative measures. Skinner (1989) has illuminated the value of assisting people in the initial stress phase in order to ameliorate later pejorative symptoms. Skinner goes on to say that the concepts behind coping and the process of implementation are often less sophisticated and thus easier to understand than service-orientated measures. This naturally leads to the smooth

teaching and understanding of treatment strategies facilitating coping on a wider scale via educational forums. While the white segment of the population has to a greater extent enjoyed such educational settings, programmes set-up to address the needs of more disadvantaged populations have remained few. Workshops, pamphlets and booklets are accessible means of reaching groups of people in a logistically viable way. The study at hand may, in these terms serve as a springboard for primary intervention, where parents, teachers and children themselves are targeted in order to impart fundamental coping skills. As Skinner (1989) has highlighted, this complies with an international movement towards the studying of coping, as community-based health care systems increase in popularity world-wide.

Expanding on this idea, and rising from the focus on mothering in the study, it is suggested that parents become an important target group for preventative treatment programmes. As mentioned in Chapter 1, parents are important mediators of childrens anxieties. By equipping parents with basic skills, these significant caregivers will have resources on which to draw should the need arise. This takes on further significance given the important finding of the study, namely that mediation and active "holding" or affective involvement on the part of mothers best correlate with the scholastic competence of the child.

Clearly a positive mother-child relationship is a probable precursor of later scholastic competence, making this dyad an important one for intervention should discord or poor communication be its feature. More specifically, *early* intervention is likely to prove most helpful, even it is suggested, in toddlerhood. This is based on the underlying premise in the study that the quality of mother-child interaction is likely to be stable over time. Taking this a step further, difficulties in bonding soon after birth may be addressed by community-based nursing professionals in order to ameliorate the development of later mother-child difficulties.

Stemming again from research findings, the host of ingrained societal biases and adherence to well-established stereotypes by teachers, is another area for concern. Subscribing to seemingly innocuous prejudices regarding childrens physical

appearance and their concomitant behavioral and scholastic propensities, while at once perpetuating these stereotypical belief systems, may also be the cause of anxiety and feelings of poor self-esteem in those children who do not fit the mould. At this level, teachers themselves require intervention due to their close proximity to the child, in imparting values, attitudes and indeed promoting or demoting scholastic and other forms of competence. It is unclear whether these biases extend to parents themselves. Perhaps further research could focus on perceptions of caretakers in this light, as well as regarding their feelings about their parenting role. As mentioned in Chapter 1, parents are important mediators of childrens' anxieties. By equipping parents with basic skills, these significant caregivers will have resources on which to draw should the need arise.

Still on the theme of intervention, further suggestions for initial management as well as psychotherapy are required for the generation of helpful therapeutic principles (Lab, 1987). In South Africa, psychotherapy is fraught with issues pertaining to shared frameworks, ideological disparities and particularly, trust and credibility. Clinicians and councillors involved in therapeutic work with different communities need to take cognizance of these realities and incorporate them into their intervention plans.

Finally, while this study has maintained an emphasis upon coping and resilience in children, this area has received little formal attention in South Africa. It is maintained that this approach has tremendous and wide-reaching implications for clinical child psychology in this country, and should be considered by other mental health workers in the field.

5.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

A central problem pertaining to the study at hand, was the use of overseas measures not standardized or normed for a black South African population. While attempts were made at every level to adjust the semantics or culture-bound content of these tests, they were clearly not ideal for use with the given sample.

Due to the paucity in locally available instruments, these tests were selected, resulting in certain implications regarding reliability and validity.

Another difficulty was to be found in the issue of race as it manifests in research methodology. Three white researchers were involved in the administration of the various measures, eliciting all the attendant suspicions and issues of trust conjured by such circumstances. These effects cannot be excluded in the analysis of material gathered furthermore, because assessment sessions were conducted in English (as well as questionnaires being written in that language) problems in expression and understanding, however carefully addressed, cannot be ignored.

5.3 CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The aim of the present research was to examine the relationship between the quality of mothering and competence in children. Results from the study, using both structured and unstructured instruments isolated certain *aspects* of the mothering repertoire that appeared to be significantly associated with *Scholastic* competence in particular. These were firstly the mothers capacity to provide affective responsivity, and a context of bonded mutuality as encapsulated by the two variables '*Affective Reward*' and '*Affiliative Companionship*'. It was felt that these two variables most powerfully captured the holding propensity of the good-enough mother given such immediacy throughout the work of D.W. Winnicott. The second was the available mothers enabling quality of acting as mediator between the child and the world at large. This notion best found its expression in the variable '*Instrumental Companionship*'.

The converse of the research hypothesis was substantiated in the inverse relationship discovered between the mothers wielding of power in the relationship, and her child's feelings of self-acceptance in the social realm. Clearly while the emotionally available and engaged mother fosters scholastic competence in her charge, the caregiver who uses power and intrusive control as a parenting style, sabotages the child's own feelings of potency and sense of social acceptance.

From a summary of the central findings of the study, it would appear that there is indeed a powerful relationship between the role of mothering in the fostering of resilience and coping in children. Consistent with the body of literature of developmental psychology, it is always the physically and psychologically present mother who is the breeder and shaper of the roots of resilience in children.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Dear Parent,

My name is Serenne Kaplan. I am a Clinical Psychology Master's student at the University of the Witwatersrand (W.I.T.S). In co-operation with Centurion Academy, I am studying how black children cope and manage in their lives in South Africa. I am interested in how children manage at school, with their friends and also how they feel about themselves.

In addition, I am interested in how children feel about their home lives in the township.

I would appreciate your permission for your child to participate in this research. It will probably involve 2 afternoon sessions after school hours. Transport will be arranged accordingly.

I hope the results of the research will give us greater understanding of what helps school children to cope in these difficult times in our country.

Thank you.

Please complete the tear-off slip and return it as soon as possible via your child to the school.

I, Mr/Mrs/Ms _____ give full
permission for my child (full name) _____
to participate in the research.

APPENDIX 1

These questions will help us to understand a bit about you and your situation at home.

PLEASE ANSWER IN THE SPACES PROVIDED.

1. Name : _____
2. Age : _____
3. Standard : _____
4. Sex : _____
5. Area where I live : _____
6. Mother's work : _____
7. Father's work : _____
8. How many people live in your home with you? _____
9. How many rooms do you and your family have to live in? (excluding kitchen and bathroom) _____
10. Do you and your family have enough money for food, rent, clothes, school fees, transport etc? _____

Now, please put a X in the box next to the correct answer:

11. Do you and your family live in
 - (a) ☐ own house
 - (b) ☐ rooms in someone else's house
 - (c) ☐ room or shack in a yard

12. Your parents are

- (a) ☐ married
- (b) ☐ divorced
- (c) ☐ separated
- (d) ☐ never married
- (e) ☐ widowed

13. I live with

- (a) ☐ mother
- (b) ☐ father
- (c) ☐ both parents
- (d) ☐ grandparent(s)
- (e) ☐ uncle / aunt
- (f) ☐ sister / brother
- (g) ☐ Other Adult. Please state who _____

14. The main person who looks after me now is

- (a) ☐ mother
- (b) ☐ father
- (c) ☐ both parents
- (d) ☐ grandparent(s)
- (e) ☐ uncle / aunt
- (f) ☐ sister / brother
- (g) ☐ Other Adult. Please state who _____

15. When I was a little child, the main person who looked after me was

- (a) ☐ mother
- (b) ☐ father
- (c) ☐ both parents
- (d) ☐ grandparent(s)
- (e) ☐ uncle / aunt
- (f) ☐ sister / brother
- (g) ☐ Other Adult. Please state who _____

16. When I was small, the most important adult in my life was

- (a) ☐ mother
- (b) ☐ father
- (c) ☐ both parents
- (d) ☐ grandparent(s)
- (e) ☐ uncle / aunt
- (f) ☐ sister / brother
- (g) ☐ Other Adult. Please state who _____

17. Now that I am older, the most important adult in my life is

- (a) ☐ mother
- (b) ☐ father
- (c) ☐ both parents
- (d) ☐ grandparent(s)
- (e) ☐ uncle / aunt
- (f) ☐ sister / brother
- (g) ☐ Other Adult. Please state who _____

18. Has there been any long period of time that you have spent away from the main person who cares for you (e.g mother)

(a) ☐ Yes

(b) ☐ No

If you answered YES, please say what happened and how it was for you (e.g difficult or easy). Please also say how old you were at the time

APPENDIX 2

Please now finish these sentences in any way you like using your own thoughts and feelings

19. The thing I like BEST about my mother is ...

20. The thing I like **WORST** about my mother is ...

21. In my home _____

22. When I was a small child

23. When I was born, my parents _____

24. When things go wrong, I _____

25. My mother _____

26. The main person I turn to when I have troubles is _____

27. Some things I enjoyed doing with my mother when I was little were

28. Now that I am older, things my mother and I enjoy doing together are

29. Write a short paragraph about your mother, Describe what kind of person she is and how you get along together. Add any other thoughts about her you might have

30. What things would you have liked to change or be different about your relationship with your mother when you were growing up?

31. Now that you are older, what things would you like to be different about your relationship with your mother

APPENDIX 3

Now we are interested in finding out a bit more about your life and what you do.
Please fill in this question with a X in all the places where true for you.

16. These are some of the things I help with around the house

- (a) ☐ cooking
- (b) ☐ cleaning (e.g polishing, dusting, sweeping)
- (c) ☐ tidying
- (d) ☐ washing (e.g clothes, dishes)
- (e) ☐ look after younger sisters and brothers
- (f) ☐ shopping
- (g) ☐ odd jobs (e.g painting, fixing things)
- (h) ☐ gardening
- (i) ☐ helping with budgeting (e.g earning extra money to help the family)
- (j) ☐ None of the above

Please now finish these sentences in any way you like using your own thoughts and feelings

33. Other things my family rely on me for. Please state what _____

34. Some part-time jobs I have had are _____

35. If I got lost in town I would _____

36. Some of my interests and hobbies are _____

37. When I leave school I plan to _____

38. I have at some time been involved with a

- (a) ☐ street committee
- (b) ☐ student representative council (S.R.C)
- (c) ☐ political youth group
- (d) ☐ community youth group
- (e) ☐ church group
- (f) ☐ other group. Please state what _____

39. I have held a leadership position in one of the above groups

- (a) ☐ Yes
- (b) ☐ No

40. Write a short paragraph about yourself. Describe yourself - what kind of person you are and how you feel about yourself

41. Write about one difficult happening in your life. Describe how you managed to cope or improve the situation

42. A fellow-student blames you for doing something wrong and reports you to the headmaster. What would you do to prove your innocence?

APPENDIX 4

Please carefully read these sentences about your Mother (or person who takes care of you). Put a cross (X) in the column that best describes how she acts towards you. Remember there are no right or wrong answers.

	All the time	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
1. Does she let you off easily when you are naughty?					
2. Can you talk to her about any problem?					
3. Does she say that other children behave better than you do?					
4. Does she worry that you cannot take care of yourself?					
5. Does she expect you to help around the house?					
6. Does she tell you what time you should come home?					
7. Does she find it hard to punish you?					
8. Does she say you must make a big effort in things you do e.g school work?					
9. Does she say nice things when you have done something good?					
10. Does she stop you from walking alone in the streets because something might happen to you?					
11. Can you talk her into allowing you to do what you want?					
12. Does she punish you fairly?					
13. Does she want to know how you spend your money?					
14. Does she enjoy talking to you?					
15. Does she comfort you when you have troubles?					
16. Does she say you must do better than other children at school?					
17. Does she make you feel ashamed or bad when you are naughty?					
18. Is she there for you when you are in trouble?					

APPENDIX 4 cont.

	All the time	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
19. Does she say nice things about you to other people?					
20. Does she want you to do jobs for her?					
21. Does she make you get permission before you can go out?					
22. Does she come with you when you have to go somewhere for the first time to make sure everything is O.K?					
23. Does she punish you by making you do extra work at home?					
24. Does she shout at you and say you are bad?					
25. Does she do nice things with you like shopping or outings?					
26. Is she happy when she is with you?					
27. Does she say you must get very good marks at school?					
28. Does she say you must do something, does she explain why?					
29. Is she disappointed and sad when you are naughty?					
30. When you are naughty does she stop you from doing the things you like?					
31. Does she nag you?					
32. Does she punish you by sending you out the house?					
33. Does she expect you to keep your things tidy?					
34. Does she teach you things you want to learn?					
35. Does she help you with things you don't understand?					

APPENDIX 4 cont.

	All the time	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
36. Does she tell you she wants nothing to do with you when you are naughty?					
37. Is she very loving with you?					
38. Does she complain to other people about you?					
39. Does she help you with problems in your life?					
40. When you are naughty does she stop you from playing with your friends?					
41. Does she hit you?					
42. Does she punish you by taking your favourite things away?					
43. Does she threaten to hit you?					
44. Does she make you feel upset or sad?					
45. Does she say unkind or bad things to you?					
46. Does she say she loves you?					

APPENDIX 5

What I Am Like

Name _____ Age _____ Birthday _____ Month _____ Day _____ Group _____

Boy or Girl (circle which)

SAMPLE SENTENCE

	Really True for me	Sort of True for me			Sort of True for me	Really True for me
(a)	☐	☐	Some kids would rather play outdoors in their spare time	BUT	Other kids would rather watch T.V.	☐
1.	☐	☐	Some kids feel that they are very <i>good</i> at their school work	BUT	Other kids <i>worry</i> about whether they can do the school work assigned to them.	☐
2.	☐	☐	Some kids find it <i>hard</i> to make friends	BUT	Other kids find it's pretty <i>easy</i> to make friends.	☐
3.	☐	☐	Some kids do <i>very well</i> at all kinds of sports	BUT	Other kids <i>don't</i> feel that they are very good when it comes to sports.	☐
4.	☐	☐	Some kids are <i>happy</i> with the way they look	BUT	Other kids are <i>not</i> happy with the way they look.	☐
5.	☐	☐	Some kids often do <i>not</i> like the way they <i>behave</i>	BUT	Other kids usually <i>like</i> the way they behave.	☐
6.	☐	☐	Some kids are often <i>unhappy</i> with themselves	BUT	Other kids are pretty <i>pleased</i> with themselves.	☐
7.	☐	☐	Some kids feel like they are <i>just as smart</i> as as other kids their age	BUT	Other kids aren't so sure and <i>wonder</i> if they are as smart.	☐
8.	☐	☐	Some kids have <i> alot</i> of friends	BUT	Other kids <i>don't</i> have very many friends.	☐

	Really True for me	Sort of True for me			Sort of True for me	Really True for me
9.	☐	☐	Some kids wish they could be alot better at sports	BUT	Other kids feel they are good enough at sports.	☐
10.	☐	☐	Some kids are <i>happy</i> with their height and weight	BUT	Other kids wish their height or weight were <i>different</i> .	☐
11.	☐	☐	Some kids usually do the <i>right</i> thing	BUT	Other kids often <i>don't</i> do the right thing.	☐
12.	☐	☐	Some kids <i>don't</i> like the way they are leading their life	BUT	Other kids <i>do</i> like the way they are leading their life.	☐
13.	☐	☐	Some kids are pretty <i>slow</i> in finishing their school work	BUT	Other kids can do their school work <i>quickly</i> .	☐
14.	☐	☐	Some kids would like to have alot more friends	BUT	Other kids have as many friends as they want.	☐
15.	☐	☐	Some kids think they could do well at just about any new sports activity they haven't tried before	BUT	Other kids are afraid they might <i>not</i> do well at sports they haven't ever tried.	☐
16.	☐	☐	Some kids wish their body was <i>different</i>	BUT	Other kids <i>like</i> their body the way it is.	☐
17.	☐	☐	Some kids usually <i>act</i> the way they know they are <i>supposed</i> to	BUT	Other kids often <i>don't</i> act the way they are supposed to.	☐
18.	☐	☐	Some kids are <i>happy</i> with themselves as a person	BUT	Other kids are often <i>not</i> happy with themselves.	☐
19.	☐	☐	Some kids often <i>forget</i> what they learn	BUT	Other kids can remember things <i>easily</i> .	☐
20.	☐	☐	Some kids are always doing things with <i>alot</i> of kids	BUT	Other kids usually do things <i>by themselves</i> .	☐

	Really True for me	Sort of True for me			Sort of True for me	Really True for me
21.	☐	☐	Some kids feel that they are <i>better</i> than others their age at sports	BUT	Other kids <i>don't</i> feel they can play as well.	☐
22.	☐	☐	Some kids wish their physical appearance (how they look) was <i>different</i>	BUT	Other kids <i>like</i> their physical appearance the way it is.	☐
23.	☐	☐	Some kids usually get in <i>trouble</i> because of things they do	BUT	Other kids usually <i>don't</i> do things that get them in trouble.	☐
24.	☐	☐	Some kids <i>like</i> the kind of <i>person</i> they are	BUT	Other kids often wish they were someone else.	☐
25.	☐	☐	Some kids do <i>very well</i> at their classwork	BUT	Other kids <i>don't</i> do very well at their classwork.	☐
26.	☐	☐	Some kids wish that more people their age liked them	BUT	Other kids feel that most people their age <i>do</i> like them.	☐
27.	☐	☐	In games and sports some kids usually <i>watch</i> instead of play	BUT	Other kids usually <i>play</i> rather than just watch.	☐
28.	☐	☐	Some kids wish something about their face or hair looked <i>different</i>	BUT	Other kids <i>like</i> their face and hair the way they are.	☐
29.	☐	☐	Some kids do things they know they <i>shouldn't</i> do	BUT	Other kids <i>hardly ever</i> do things they know they shouldn't do.	☐
30.	☐	☐	Some kids are very <i>happy</i> being the way they are	BUT	Other kids wish they were <i>different</i> .	☐
31.	☐	☐	Some kids have <i>trouble</i> figuring out the answers in school	BUT	Other kids almost <i>always</i> can figure out the answers.	☐
32.	☐	☐	Some kids are <i>popular</i> with others their age	BUT	Other kids are <i>not</i> very popular.	☐

	Really True for me	Sort of True for me			Sort of True for me	Really True for me
33.	☐	☐	Some kids <i>don't</i> do well at new outdoor games	BUT	Other kids are <i>good</i> at new games right away.	☐
34.	☐	☐	Some kids think that they are good looking	BUT	Other kids think that they are not very good looking.	☐
35.	☐	☐	Some kids behave themselves very well	BUT	Other kids often find it hard to behave themselves.	☐
36.	☐	☐	Some kids <i>are</i> not very happy with the way they do alot of things	BUT	Other kids think the way they do things is <i>fine</i> .	☐

Susan Harter, Ph.D., University of Denver, 1985

TEACHER'S RATING SCALE OF CHILD'S ACTUAL BEHAVIOR

(Parallels the self-perception profile for children)

APPENDIX 6

Child's name _____ Class/grade/group _____ Rater _____

For each child, please indicate what you feel to be his/her actual competence on each question, in your opinion. First decide what kind of child he or she is like, the one described on the left or right, and then indicate whether this is just sort of true or really true for that individual. Thus, for each item, check one of four boxes.

	Really True	Sort of True			Sort of True	Really True
1.	☐	☐	This child is really good at his/her school work	OR	This child can't do the school work assigned.	☐
2.	☐	☐	This child finds it hard to make friends	OR	For this child it's pretty easy.	☐
3.	☐	☐	This child does really well at all kinds of sports	OR	This child isn't very good when it comes to sports.	☐
4.	☐	☐	This child is good-looking	OR	This child is not very good-looking	☐
5.	☐	☐	This child is usually well-behaved	OR	This child is often not well-behaved.	☐
6.	☐	☐	This child often forgets what s/he learns	OR	This child can remember things easily.	☐
7.	☐	☐	This child has a lot of friends	OR	This child doesn't have many friends.	☐
8.	☐	☐	This child is better than others his/her age at sports	OR	This child can't play as well.	☐
9.	☐	☐	This child has a nice physical appearance	OR	This child doesn't have such a nice physical appearance.	☐
10.	☐	☐	This child usually acts appropriately	OR	This child would be better if s/he acted differently.	☐
11.	☐	☐	This child has trouble figuring out the answers in school	OR	This child almost always can figure out the answers.	☐
12.	☐	☐	This child is popular with others his/her age	OR	This child is not very popular.	☐
13.	☐	☐	This child doesn't do well at new outdoor games	OR	This child is good at new games right away.	☐
14.	☐	☐	This child isn't very good looking	OR	This child is pretty good-looking.	☐
15.	☐	☐	This child often gets in trouble because of things he/she does	OR	This child usually doesn't do things that get him/her in trouble.	☐

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