Vera Roos *Editor*

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Foreword

Use a picture. It's worth a thousand words.
Arthur Brisbane, Syracuse Advertising Men's Club, March 1911

"Telling it like it is" is best done in pictures, as the whole world knows, thanks to ubiquitous social media. Increasingly, tools are needed and used in research that capture the core essence of the phenomenon of interest and communicate effectively so that data speak to everyone and for themselves, thus allowing participants to co-own the meanings that emerge. These capabilities are inherent in visual representation approaches such as the Mmogo-method, which is the subject matter of this book. The Mmogo-method allows for visual, symbolic projection of meanings from significant relational experiences of, and to, participant informants in a manner that enables the co-construction of meanings pertinent to their shared social context with others. What distinguishes the Mmogo-method is that it is a powerful, context-sensitive approach to gaining a deeper understanding of the underlying processes and functions behind the meanings people ascribe to their interactions in the social spaces they share with others. Sense-making is what humans do continuously in their social contexts and it forms the basis of many of their actions.

In this volume, Professor Vera Roos has developed and matured a method for visual representation with impressive contextual transportability. For the Mmogo-method, participants use malleable clay, dried grass stalks, and beads (or substitute materials) to project their experiences from interactions in the social contexts of interest. The materials are widely available, even in severely resource-challenged settings. The participants use only the material they are provided with to make visual representations of any aspect of significance to them. This approach equalizes resources for self-expression for all and makes it possible to co-host with others in the relational space discussion to synthesize or crystallize emergent meanings more effectively than would be possible from visual constructions by individuals alone.

Using the Mmogo-method, participants access feelings, perceptions and attitudes that are difficult to report on by using direct interview or survey techniques. Multilayered meanings emerge from Mmogo-method representations: both explicit and implicit. The explicit meanings are those apparent from public scrutiny of the social phenomenon under study, while the implicit meanings are those subtle, covert and privately framed feelings, ideas and perceptions by individuals making sense of their lived relational experiences.

As the collection of chapters comprising this book eloquently demonstrates, the visual representational approach of the Mmogo-method has evidence of successful use in studying relational experiences with indigenous traditionalist African community members, the elderly in care settings, mental health workers, first-time pregnant mothers, marginalized people and communities and diverse student populations. This versatility of application has been demonstrated with minimal modification of procedure and materials. What is more, the Mmogo-method goes a step further than the widely known online digital tools by allowing direct participation of the informant others in manipulating the materials to co-construct authentic representations of their relational experiences: previous, current and prospective. The symbolic meanings to emerge from the visual presentations enable participants with researcher facilitation to gain insight into processes and outcomes for them; empowering them to co-construct alternative or preferred meanings. Inductively created meanings enhance their authenticity and ownership by the participant informants. This adds to the *action-ability* of the information to intervene positively with participant partners to make a difference to their situation. A few approaches to data collection stay sufficiently close to the participant partners' meaning, and the Mmogo-method does that by design.

Possible participant-partner-centred applications of the Mmogo-method also discussed in this volume include:

- Extending mental health services to all, particularly previously and currently disadvantaged and oppressed groups
- Transforming the way psychosocial problems and solutions are conceptualized taking into account context local knowledge and social issues
- Transforming psychological service delivery to include systemic interventions, including advocacy, lobbying, community mobilization, community networking and policy formulation
- Redefining the role of psychologists towards a broader public health portfolio with a focus on prevention and health promotion strategies
- The co-creation of an environment in which the sharing of resources and spaces that facilitate community development is nurtured
- Supporting collectiveness by opening up spaces for others, working together, sharing resources and helping others to build on their strengths to increase collective strength
- Conflict management in groups engaged in transformative experiences

The Mmogo-method is a widely applicable approach to community development, addressing the important but often overlooked space of relational meanings

from multilayered interactions by participant members. Relational meanings are the social glue of communities and critical to any development of community support interventions. Professor Vera Roos has uniquely added to the toolkit of social scientists for community action research in diverse settings.

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Preface

This is the first book about the Mmogo-method[1], a visual data-collection method used in exploring personal and group experiences. *Mmogo* is a word borrowed from Setswana, one of the indigenous languages of South Africa, and it refers to relatedness, co-ownership, togetherness, co-construction and interpersonal threads. These meanings capture the essence of the Mmogo-method: participants, who are viewed as relational beings, are invited to take part in a group to provide data in response to a research question. They are provided with unstructured materials (malleable clay, beads of different colours and sizes, and dried grass stalks or an appropriate substitute material) and are asked to construct visual representations of the social phenomena under investigation. The participants explain these to the group and its members, thereby complementing the discussion by giving their views. This involves participants actively and enables researchers to obtain rich and textured visual, interactional, observation and textual data. The visual representations participants create capture personal perspectives on social reality that have developed in the contexts in which people function and are embedded in broader environments. The group members' views provide additional perspectives so that detailed nuanced data are obtained.

This book is a culmination of my personal journey and academic insights as a psychologist. I have had the opportunity to develop a qualitative data-collection method that enables people to express themselves visually, and in which both researchers and participants are able to participate jointly – irrespective of their age, cognitive abilities or culture, and irrespective of my age, ethnicity or position as a psychologist and researcher.

I learned about the world as the oldest child in an Afrikaans (one of the indigenous languages of South Africa) family. In addition to the social and emotional skills I acquired in my family, I was able to develop my critical thinking abilities thanks to my father's constructive and active involvement in the

[1] Even though the Mmogo-method is trade marked, it will not be indicated in all cases used in the book, to ensure easier readability of the text.

disadvantaged communities at the time – in spite of the oppressive Apartheid system operating then. I became acutely aware of the inequality and exclusion of my fellow countrymen and women on the basis of race, and of the cruel disregard for humanity and the disrespectful treatment of people. However, I also learned to appreciate the remarkable expression of cultural diversity through my involvement in various community projects and I observed the resilience of individuals and their communities, and how they confronted and dealt with adversities and challenges. All this led me to question unhealthy systems, discern inconsistencies in human interactions and actively oppose segregation.

I was trained in Clinical Psychology, with a focus on individuals, intrapersonal processes and research conducted mainly quantitatively, which I found very limiting in the multicultural and multilingual context of South Africa. I was often challenged to find appropriate data-collection methods to address research topics on people as relational beings and which recognize the impact of broader socio-cultural, economic, cultural and political environments. I found my exposure to community processes to be incompatible with the tendency to seek largely causal explanations for individuals' behaviour, while failing to make clear how the broader environment informs the dynamic processes and interactions in human relations. Early in my academic career, I became attracted by the recognition Community Psychology accords to the reciprocal relationship that exists between people and different environments, its focus on diversity and the marginalized, and its preventative orientation. The awareness that relational interactions between people are grounded in particular interpersonal contexts, are continuously in the making and are informed by place, time and activity opened up the possibility for the development of the Mmogo-method.

Some encounters with visual methods stimulated my awareness of the wide range of application possibilities. This first occurred when one of the clinical psychology students I was supervising was asked to assist a child of six from a different cultural background who had presented with selective mutism. We decided to use the Scenotest developed by Gerhild von Staabs, which is based on play and various visual elements as a projection of lived experiences. Although the use of visual materials had been widely researched in therapeutic contexts, I was intrigued to know how an explicitly therapeutic intervention could be used to collect visual data. Even more significant was my participation in a workshop by Violet Oaklander, author of *Windows to Our Children* (1988). We were presented with an assortment of unstructured materials to express our experiences visually. In addition to the personal insights I gained from this, I was again struck by the way in which representations could be used as a reflection of their creators' perspective on reality.

These fresh insights made me aware of the potential of visual data in the researcher-participant relationship to extract detailed data. The Mmogo-method as visual data-collection method was originally developed to assist me in answering research questions for which I could not find appropriate tools. In my initial experimental use of the method, I followed the procedure described in this book, adopting an intuitive approach and enjoying how participants mostly reported that they had benefited from their active involvement in research projects (some volunteered to be included in future research). Many postgraduate students joined

me in various research projects, and we were constantly surprised by interesting discoveries. I became increasingly aware of the usefulness of combining knowledge of relational psychology with research elements and of the position of participants in the research context as co-researchers.

In the first article on the Mmogo-method (Roos, 2008), it was proposed as a culture-sensitive data-collection method that "appreciates the symbolic, contextual groundedness of lived meanings" (p. 659). The Mmogo-method was positioned as a qualitative data-collection method to conduct exploratory, descriptive research. The theories informing it were social constructionism, symbolic interactionism and community psychology. A second article (Roos, 2012) describes the Mmogo-method as a visual projective data-collection method. Visual representations were viewed as reflections of the conventions, interests and cultural meanings of the community and how they were formed within the contexts in which people developed these meanings. Visual representations were not, as with object representations, linked to desire and fantasy governed by distortion.

Springer's invitation to publish a book about the Mmogo-method prompted me to systematically record the processes I had applied in developing this new research method and to question the underlying assumptions. Proper reflection and rigorous discussions with Professors Norah Keating, Cecilia Bouwer, Andries Baart and Jaco Hoffman have helped me to present an explicit account of the route I had followed intuitively in applying the Mmogo-method.

Book Outline

The book is divided into four parts. Part 1 consisting of four chapters, discusses the Mmogo-method in terms of its foundations; how it developed, what it involves in practice, the theoretical frameworks underpinning it and issues of integrity, including ethical considerations before, during and after data collection and analysis. Part 2, in three chapters, presents practical examples of the application of the Mmogo-method and methods of analysis of textual and visual data. Part 3 provides examples of different applications in three chapters. Part 4 consists of two chapters and presents participants' and researcher's reflections, a postscript on future developments and applications of the Mmogo-method and concluding thoughts.

In Chap. 1, *Introducing the Mmogo-method as a Visual Data-Collection Method*, the method is positioned as a visual data-collection tool which developed from the Indingilize Structured Observation Technique (*Indingilize* means 'circle' or 'round'). The Mmogo-method proposes that we all have unique and different perspectives that develop in relation to a reality that is not mind-dependent. Researchers using this method do not impose predetermined categories which are subjected to testing hypotheses, but rather adopt an empathic position to probe and interpret the meanings participants attribute to their visual representations. The visual representations are regarded as reflections of their subjective meanings that develop in relation to a social reality. Therefore, from an onto-epistemological stance, both the subjective social constructions of participants and the social reality

that is not mind-dependent are used as a philosophical frame for the Mmogo-method. The importance of context is recognized in terms of situatedness, of how people develop meanings in particular social contexts and to acknowledge that these social contexts are always embedded in broader environments. Researchers also create an optimal context for participation in the research process by drawing a clear frame within which the interpersonal interactions take place. The chapter concludes by contextualizing the Mmogo-method in relation to other visual data-collection methods.

Chapter 2, *Conducting the Mmogo-method*, describes the method of application. It includes examples of the application of the method in different cultural settings, across age groups and by different subject disciplines. Before the method is applied, preparation takes place: researchers prepare materials and identify the venue and the appropriate use of equipment. Researchers should also prepare themselves for applying the method by ensuring that they have adequate skills to deal with emotional content that might be elicited in the course of a session, deal with group dynamics and ensure that support is available for participants, if required, when the research process has been completed. The method is applied in four distinct phases. Phase 1 demonstrates how to create a context for optimal participation by informing participants before data collection what will be expected from them and to request the group to deal confidentially with the information that is being shared in the group – thereby introducing group norms of respect. Participants are also assured that whatever they construct will not be subject to evaluation. Phase 2 deals with preparing participants for their involvement, by requesting them to form a group and by introducing an open-ended prompt to stimulate their constructions of visual representations from a standard set of materials. In Phase 3, the discussions of individual visual representations and group discussions are explained. Phase 4 details how participants and researchers are debriefed, which is also discussed more fully in Chap. 11. Chapter 2 highlights the different sets of data obtained from the four phases as well as the boundaries around the method in terms of the inclusion or exclusion of participants.

In Chap. 3, *Theories and Heuristic Constructs Informing the Mmogo-method*, Andries Baart and I discuss relevant heuristic constructs of theories underlying the Mmogo-method. The aim is not to provide a comprehensive discussion of the theories but to demonstrate how some constructs and principles informed the development and application of the Mmogo-method. This is approached from a hermeneutical viewpoint according to which researchers assume an onto-epistemological stance. From a meta-reflective position, researchers move to the position of participants, adopting a relativist position which is described from three perspectives. Participants visually and verbally express (social representations theory) their unique and subjective social constructions (constructivism), and the meaning these have for them (symbolic interactionism). The subjective meanings that are expressed through the visual representations are informed by the social and historical environments (social constructionism) that have developed in relation to a social reality (realism) that is not mind-dependent. From the position of researchers, three perspectives are described: (1) probe the subjective social constructions

expressed in three-dimensional visual representations to obtain the subjective meanings; (2) describe some of the broken patterns of the social reality after analysis of the multilayered data; and (3) interpret data to extend beyond the descriptive level to demonstrate the transferability of knowledge obtained from applying researchers' skills as methodologists and as experts in the subject field.

Chapter 4, authored by Jaco Hoffman, *Research Integrity and the Mmogo-method: Some Reflections*, deals with the issue of integrity and ethical considerations implied in the different phases of the method. Before data collection, ethical considerations in relation to the research topic, gaining access to the community, inviting participants and obtaining informed consent are relevant. Due to the nature of the Mmogo-method, which draws on principles of projection, an ethical attitude of protecting participants from harm is particularly emphasized when questioning participants and in debriefing them when they exit the research context. Ethical considerations that apply to the data are also discussed, particularly in the choice of an appropriate method to analyze data obtained in a different cultural context from the researcher. In reporting findings, an attempt is made to provide a comprehensive description of guidelines to ensure the trustworthiness of data. In this chapter, Hoffman positions the Mmogo-method in terms of its situational and relational relevance. Such an approach acknowledges that every case should be considered on its own merits, which does not ignore considerations of trustworthiness. A position of integrity is taken in terms of flexibility to the specific situation and the relational context, which is more nuanced than a more principlist approach, which is guided by specific pre-determined principles. Two important ethical considerations are raised: first, the introduction of a broad open-ended prompt requires flexible researchers to link it coherently with the often very specific research question, and second, the apparent contradiction in that the method allows (timewise) for minimal verbal explanation, but that the unit of analysis (including the visual) solely depends on the verbal explanations obtained from participants (Chap. 7).

Even though I have attempted to demonstrate the versatility of the potential application of the Mmogo-method by including a wide range of suitable topics, a large part of the book is dedicated to the relational experiences and interactions between older persons and members of younger generations. As a social gerontologist I am especially aware of the implications of the impact of global population ageing. The exponential increase in the numbers of older persons will, as research has indicated, place correspondingly heavier demands on governmental, mental health and psychosocial resources due to loss and diminution of various kinds associated with ageing. In the light of limited resources, particularly in the South African context, and of population ageing, it is certain that relationships are pivotal and will become even more so in facilitating the well-being and addressing the care needs of older persons. From a psychosocial perspective, people of all ages will be spending more time together, sharing their lives in different contexts, interacting with one another. When considering the position of older persons in South Africa, it needs to be borne in mind that the country's previous political dispensation contributed to creating the current conditions of disparity in which older persons find themselves today. The exclusive privileges Apartheid

accorded white people at all societal and communal levels contributed to the majority of white older persons finding themselves in well-resourced facilitated care settings while the majority of older persons (people of colour, proportionally the biggest group of older persons in South Africa) find themselves in poorly developed facilitated care or multigenerational community settings.

This imbalance prompted the study described in Chap. 5, *Implementing the Mmogo-method: A Group of Setswana-Speaking Older People's Relational Experiences in a Rural Community Setting*. In this chapter, I describe the implementation of phases of the method as suggested in Chap. 2. The chapter demonstrates how visual representations were used to elicit discussions from individual participants about the visual elements that they had constructed, and how probing questions were formulated to promote deeper understanding. In the verbatim transcription of the translated discussions of the Setswana-speaking older people, I included the rationale behind the questions I asked and reflected critically on specific questions, acknowledging that different questions could have steered the discussion in a different direction. I offer a summary of the verbatim discussion following each participant's explanation of their visual representations and use it to develop the theory discussed in Chap. 8. In Chap. 5, I also demonstrate how to involve the group in the discussions without losing the specific meanings the individual attached to his or her visual representation. This chapter also illustrates how people's subjective meanings are embedded in broader environments, and how the diversity of visual representations of this particular group highlighted the different meanings that develop in relation to a specific social reality.

Chapter 6, *The Mmogo-method and the Intergenerational Group Reflecting Technique (IGRT) to Explore Intergenerational Interactions and Textual Data Analysis*, provides an example of how the Mmogo-method may be combined with another data-collection method. The IGRT requires members of both generations to be present simultaneously and involved during data collection (Roos, 2011). In applying IGRT, one generational group explains their subjective perspective to another generational group who assumes a listening position. When the first generational group has explained their perspective, the listening generational members are requested to reflect on what they have heard (Roos, 2011). IGRT can be described as an orchestrated intergenerational interaction. In Chap. 6, the Mmogo-method was used to visually represent the younger generational members' perspective of their current relationship with older people, who were not related to them biologically, but who are part of a social context in which socially related generations are treated as if they are related. In this chapter, older people reacted to the younger generations' visual representations in a manner that confirmed findings of previous research on reportedly strained interpersonal relationships. By combining IGRT and the Mmogo-method, different dimensions involved in the relational interactions between two generational groups were revealed. The data obtained in this study involved a group of people who did not share the same social-cultural context as the researcher and therefore data were analyzed using Giorgi's (2012) descriptive phenomenological psychological analysis, which allowed the core message representing participants' explanations and

the group discussions to be accessed. This approach to data analysis was used to ensure that the translated discussions reflected the meanings participants attached to their visual representations and not on an analysis of the exact words (which could have been changed during the translation process). The findings in Chap. 5 were used together with those in Chap. 6 to develop the Self-Interactional Group Theory presented in Chap. 8.

In Chap. 7, *Analyzing Visual Data with Text from the Mmogo-method: Experience of Meaning During the Third Trimester of Pregnancy*, Amoné Redelinghuys and I propose a six-step visual analysis with text to analyze data obtained by means of the Mmogo-method. The example of data obtained from first-time mothers' experience of meaning serves to suggest the following steps in analyzing data. (1) Describe the research production context. The research production context is framed around the researcher's choices in terms of the setting, the type of participants, the choice of topic and so on. Since the meaning of qualitative data is always contextualized data, a comprehensive description of the research production context is important. (2) Assume an empathic position towards data. In accordance with a relativistic approach, researchers aim to stay close to the meanings participants express in relation to the visual elements in their visual representations. Researchers guard against reading meaning into the visual elements, unless verified by the participants. (3) Describe the observations of visual elements in terms of their obvious or literal presentation. This step allows researchers to focus on positioning visual elements, their size, composition and so on, which become relevant if the symbolic meanings are included in the analysis. (4) Describe symbolic meanings attributed by participants. Participants express the symbolic meanings they have developed in relation to specific objects. As with any other qualitative data-collection method, analysis starts with collection of the data. Therefore researchers should be mindful of the different elements that could be of symbolic value and ask participants about their potential symbolic meaning. (5) Describe participant-introduced contexts. Participants express the meanings of their social constructions in relation to a social reality in terms of contexts that are relevant for them. Therefore any context participants introduce spontaneously is relevant for the interpretation of the data and should be included in the analysis. (6) Conduct an interpretative analysis based on prior steps and identifies transferable knowledge. Roos and Redelinghuys suggest a few questions that might be asked to identify transferable knowledge. Transferable knowledge should not be confused with the principle of generalization in quantitative research, which depends on representativeness.

Part 3 consists of three chapters illustrating some applications of the Mmogo-method. In Chap. 8, *Theorizing from the Mmogo-method: Self-Interactional Group Theory (SIGT) to Explain Relational Interactions*, data described in Chaps. 5 and 6 are used to illustrate how to start a process of theorizing. SIGT as relational theory was developed. It proposes that from a pragmatic view, relational interactions between people may be described in terms of intra-individual, inter-individual and group units of analysis. The intra-individual unit of analysis encompasses subjective experiences (emotions/feelings) and the problems or meaningfulness

associated with their interactions in a particular interpersonal context. The intra-individual unit of analysis (feelings or emotions) gives an indication of what takes place in the inter-individual and group units of analysis. The inter-individual unit of analysis draws on Vorster's (2011) Interactional Pattern Analysis, which was refined by Vorster, Roos and Beukes (2013), and involves (1) the interpersonal context in which the interactions take place; (2) the definition of the relationship (either complementary, equal or symmetrical); (3) relational qualities which are observable behaviour of the interacting parties; (4) the motivation (social goals/needs) for interactions between people; and (5) the interactional processes, which are described as an interactional dance. The group unit of analysis describes intra- and intergroup behaviour. These units of analysis, which exist simultaneously and reciprocally, are embedded in the broader social, cultural, political and economic environments which informed them.

In Chap. 9, *The Development of a Board Game as Intergenerational Intervention: Secondary Analysis of Data from the Mmogo-method*, Maryke Hewett, Werner de Klerk and I describe how rich and detailed data may be obtained from the broad open-ended prompt in combination with using unstructured materials of the Mmogo-method. This combination provides researchers with an opportunity to ask secondary research questions aligned with the original research question. In this chapter, the relational experiences both of older people and young adults, who were not related, were used to identify their social goals or psychosocial needs for intergenerational interactions. Social goals and psychosocial needs are, according to SIGT, part of the need to relate or interact with people. Data obtained from the secondary analysis were used together with a literature review about intergenerational programmes, to develop a board game. The intergenerational programmes included older persons and young adults as well as psychological and sociological theories and heuristic constructs underpinning those programmes. The board game was based on secondary data of older people and young adults' generational needs, and the theories and heuristic constructs were involved in its content and structure. A detailed outline is provided to create a board game as an intergenerational intervention and a source of fun, and to create awareness between generational members of their similar identities and interests.

In Chap. 10, *Using the Mmogo-method to Explore Important Places and Their Meaning in Two Communities: The Importance of Context*, Karen Puren and I demonstrate how the Mmogo-method revealed context-specific data and, by using the same open-ended prompt with diverse groups, how the broader environments informed the meanings that had developed between people and places of importance. In this chapter, two distinct groups of people, residing in two different settings but in close proximity, representing two different cultural groups and speaking two different indigenous languages of South Africa, participated in the study. The one group of participants highlighted the importance of preserving places for future generations because of their historical value and the nostalgic memories associated with particular places. The other group took a developmental stance, emphasizing the value of developing or restoring places to cater for the needs of younger generations and of the vulnerable groups in the community. They

also wanted to preserve their cultural heritage for two reasons: to remind the youth of the older people's rituals, and to perform their cultural rituals in a particular place. The two groups expressed the importance of context, which was referred to in Chap. 1, in applying the Mmogo-method. Meaning for these two groups of participants developed in relation to particular social, economic, cultural and political environments and circumstances and was expressed by using the Mmogo-method. The usefulness of the findings obtained by the method for spatial planners is illustrated, particularly in being able to identify the meaning and importance of places in a group setting, thereby contributing to group consensus.

Part 4, consisting of two chapters, focuses on participants' reflections and a researcher's perspective. In Chap. 11, *Participants' Reflections on Participating in the Mmogo-method: The Example of Mental Health Workers' Coping Strategies*, Jenni van der Westhuizen, Anna Keyter and I take the example of mental health workers to illustrate the importance of context, group processes and of debriefing. The importance of creating context of optimal participation was illustrated by participants who compared the research production context to a therapeutic space – a safe space providing clear boundaries, unconditional acceptance and protection against harm. The importance of the group was also illustrated in this chapter. Through the group interactions and dynamics, participants shared their experience; became more aware of their coping strategies, occupational satisfaction and interpersonal relationships; and even remembered the coping strategies that they could be using more effectively. They also gained insight into adjusting their strategies to benefit their relational interactions. The mental health workers identified specific aspects relating to the material used in applying the method as contributing to awareness, maintaining their focus and helping them to exercise control – an aspect which is often lacking in a traumatizing environment. In reflecting on how the participants experienced their participation in the method, a debriefing space was created; this is the last phase of the Mmogo-method.

In Chap. 12, *Researcher's Reflections on Using the Mmogo-method and Other Visual Research Methods*, Avivit Cherrington describes how the use of visual data-collection methods, including the Mmogo-method, enabled a shared engagement and understanding of children's experiences of hope in a poor, rural environment. A participatory research methodology was used and different visual data-generation methods were applied: the Mmogo-method, drawings, collage and photo-voice. The visual data generation methods were supplemented with individual interviews, informal group discussions and the researcher's journal containing personal reflections (notes and photographs). The author reflects on the value of the Mmogo-method as a visual data-collection method that could be used with young children. She also discovered implicit cultural meanings and through the group dynamics was able to make observations about individuals' functioning that had not been noticed in other data-generation methods. The Mmogo-method here supplemented data obtained from the methods. This chapter also draws attention to two further contributions, which are often neglected: First, how researchers keep reflective notes and use photographs about the research process which could serve as rich and detailed data; and second, how issues of integrity may be negotiated with

participants, which is used as an example of the situatedness and contextual relevance to which Hoffman refers in Chap. 4.

Lastly, the Postscript presents concluding thoughts and points to potential future developments and applications of the Mmogo-method.

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I am indebted to the many participants who were willing to become involved in the research and in this way contributed to new knowledge. Many enjoyed the experience and one participant summed it up: "The Mmogo-method is a simple and refreshing method of communicating and socializing. One uses [the method] to express his or her deepest thoughts."

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Potchefstroom, South Africa Vera Roos

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Contents

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Amoné Redelinghuys is a registered research psychologist who specializes in online qualitative market research. She has experience in managing market research online communities (MROCs) looking at a variety of different topics. She is an expert in analyzing qualitative data and contributed to visual analysis in the Mmogo-method. She completed her Master's degree in Research Psychology at the North-West University with distinction in 2013 and has since been working in the market research industry. Her Master's dissertation on finding meaning through spirituality during pregnancy has been published in the international Journal of Psychology in Africa. She has presented papers both at national and international conferences.

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Jenni van der Westhuizen currently works as a clinical psychologist at Ngwelezana Hospital, Kwazulu-Natal, South-Africa. She completed her undergraduate studies in 2009 at the North-West University and went on to take a BSoCSCi (Hons) degree in Psychology at the University of Pretoria. She obtained an MSc

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Part I
Foundations

Chapter 1
Introducing the Mmogo-method as a Visual Data-Collection Method

Vera Roos

Abstract This chapter introduces the Mmogo-method as a visual data-collection method. The method requires participants to construct visual representations by using open-ended or unstructured materials stimulated by an open-ended prompt in a group setting. The Mmogo-method developed from the Indingilize Structured Observation Technique (Indingilize). The Indingilize uses pre-determined categories for the study under investigation, researchers' observations scored on four themes, and visual representations scored to generate quantitative data which are analyzed statistically. By contrast, researchers using the Mmogo-method adopt an onto-epistemological stance, assuming that people have developed unique and different perspectives (relativism), which they express verbally and visually in relation to a social reality that is not mind-dependent (realism). In applying the method, researchers create context for optimal participation and take an empathic position when probing and interpreting participants' visual representations. They involve members of the group to obtain detailed data and recognize the importance of context. Context is distinguished in terms of the situatedness of collected data (which does not limit knowledge transfer). Multiple data sources are obtained, namely visual, textual and observational, to explore and describe social phenomena and to develop theory or interventions. The method is bound by ethical considerations and excludes anyone who has been traumatized or is struggling to deal with reality. It also has limitations in its application to those who prefer not to participate in a group or an experiential research activity, and in the choice of materials.

'The Mmogo-method®' is a registered South African trademark of the North-West University.

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Introduction

The Mmogo-method is recognized as a visual data-collection method because participants use open-ended or unstructured materials (malleable clay, beads of different sizes and colours, and dried grass stalks, or substitute materials serving the same purpose) to construct visual representations. Participant-generated visual representations are stimulated by an open-ended prompt and participants are involved in a group ranging from six to 10 people, allowing for optimal participation. In the application of the method, participants construct visual representations which they explain and which serve the group members as stimuli to augment the subsequent discussion with their views. The visual representations are photographed and used as visual data while the individual and group's discussions are audio or video recorded, transcribed verbatim, and serve as textual data. Observational data are obtained by observing individual and group members' non-verbal behaviour and interactions.

The Mmogo-method is useful in exploring personal and group experiences of social reality that people may find difficult to talk about due to the implicit nature of their experiences. By generating visual representations, the visual becomes a representation of some dimension of the participants' experience of social reality, on which they can elaborate and which researchers can use to elicit further discussion about the meanings the creations hold for the participants. In addition, a group perspective is obtained through the visual representations and participants' initial clarifications stimulate further discussion. While the Mmogo-method serves primarily as a data-collection method, the principles of projection could easily draw the research context into a therapeutic process. Although the method seems straightforward in its compilation, its application requires researchers who are skilled in interviewing techniques and who are able to conduct focus groups. Boundaries have been set for this method to protect participants during data collection from divulging more personal information than intended. Those who prefer not to share their experiences in a group or who do not want to engage in an experiential type of research activity also fall outside the scope of this method.

Background to the Development of the Mmogo-method

The Mmogo-method developed from the Indingilize Structured Observation Technique (Indingilize) (Fiedeldey-Van Dijk, 1993a). The Indingilize (meaning 'circle' or 'round' in the Nguni languages of Africa) technique refers to a kit of building materials used to create or shape structures which researchers observe and code (Fiedeldey-Van Dijk, 1993a). The Mmogo-method and the Indingilize employ the same research materials as well as an open-ended prompt to stimulate participants to construct visual representations. The rationale of using open-ended or unstructured materials and an open-ended prompt is to elicit the associative meanings

attached to the social phenomenon under investigation, drawing on the principle of projection. Projection focuses participants' attention on their subjective experiences and on perspectives they may not be aware of and of which they do not necessarily have a propositional knowledge (Jung, 1961; Lincoln, 2009; Pain, 2013). The more open-ended the materials and prompts, the more participants will project their meanings in the visual representations (Catterall & Ibbotson, 2000; Roos, 2012). The open-ended nature of the prompt is ambiguous, thus leaving it open to the participant's interpretation.

The Indingilize and the Mmogo-method differ in their application, however, because of their different underlying ontological and epistemological assumptions. The Indingilize is based on probabilistic causality, which means that if the context is narrowed, observation of absolute causality is probable, and the harmonious mapping of the territory is possible (Fiedeldey-Van Dijk, 1993a). Based on this ontological assumption, a methodological orientation is proposed to investigate social life as both social facts and social process in a "highly structured observation process in which quantitative and qualitative approaches are used" (Fiedeldey-Van Dijk, 1993a, p. 105). In the application of the Indingilize the sample size can vary from several hundred or even thousands from which data may be obtained within a short period. Data are obtained by using researchers' pre-defined categories to score their observations of a particular group under study during construction of visual models; and completed visual models are scored according to fixed variables (Fiedeldey-Van Dijk, 1993a). The pre-determined variables are categorized under four themes, namely biographical and demographical data, non-verbal and interactive behaviour, the use of the Indingilize materials, and data on the specific study. Non-verbal or interactive variables include: enthusiasm, aggression, immediate start, passivity, concentration, uneasiness, planning, repetition, communicating about the task at hand, comparing models, correct use of materials (for example, participants are not supposed to break the dried grass stalks), natural talent, maximum use of materials, quality of figures, and so on. Researchers also score how much of the materials was used, such as how many different colours or sizes of beads, or dried grass stalks. Coding the visual models takes place when the researchers scientifically "transform the respondents' display into scientific language, using alpha-numerical and numerical symbols" (Fiedeldey-Van Dijk, 1993a, p. 51). For example, visual representations are scored according to participants' "level of westernisation on a five-point scale" but also in terms of the "visual objects' position, size, detail relative to other models, their central placing, and the roles and activities they display" (Fiedeldey-Van Dijk, 1993a, p. 51). In the application of the Indingilize, participants' meanings associated with the visual representations are not included as data. The group is also not involved in contributing views. On completion of the research, the coded information of all respondents form the dataset, which is subjected to statistical analysis (Fiedeldey-Van Dijk, 1993a). According to Fiedeldey-Van Dijk, the Indingilize may be used to make significant deductions in terms of pathology, interpersonal problems, family conflicts, self-identification, collectivism, values, preferences, and so on (Fiedeldey-Van Dijk, 1993b).

In contrast, researchers following the Mmogo-method assume an onto-epistemological stance, embracing both the subjective social constructions of participants and a reality that is not mind-dependent but in relation to which people develop their subjective constructions (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Researchers adopt a meta-reflective position to obtain participants' subjectively formed social constructions (informed by the social, cultural, historical, political and economic environments) and use these subjective social constructions as reflections of reality. Reality is understood as consisting of three domains: the real, the actual, and the empirical. The real domain explains causes or causal mechanisms in whatever exists, naturally or socially, and the structures and powers of objects and hidden networks, situations and relationships (Clark, MacIntyre, & Cruickshank, 2007; Sayer, 2000). The real domain is not always observable or understood because it exists independently of knowledge (Sayer, 2000). The actual refers to what happens if and when the structures and powers in the real are activated, and the empirical refers to the meaning or perspectives people develop in relation to the real and the actual (Sayer, 2000). Although the real and the actual are not mind-dependent, people develop subjective perspectives in relation to these domains (Sayer, 2000). These perspectives are, however, fallible representations of the actual and real domains of reality because some entities in the real and actual are not observable (Clark, Lissel, & Davis, 2008; Sayer, 2000). Moreover, empirical data about subjective perspectives reveal only tendencies or broken patterns of reality (Sayer, 2000). These tendencies are not regular and patterns will not be detected in every instance. It is for this reason that the Mmogo-method often involves multiple data-collection strategies and proposes a specific manner of implementation to enhance the possibility of capturing detailed data from which patterns may be observed and described. Therefore, by drawing on principles of projection, the contextual groundedness of personal and group experiences, data obtained from the Mmogo-method can assist researchers to probe below the surface of the observable factors (the actual) to explore what is happening underneath (the real) (Clark et al., 2008).

First Application of the Mmogo-method

The Mmogo-method was first used to obtain the experiences of a group of Setswana-speaking students who were doing their internships in a mainly Afrikaans-speaking university in South Africa. The context in which data are generated is important in applying the Mmogo-method. Accordingly, background is provided about the South African political environment, the university's integration processes broadly, and the group of students involved in the initial application of the method. South Africa's socio-political environment before 1994 was characterized by a racially segregated society. The Apartheid ideology culminated in favouring the white section of the population at the expense of non-white people. In practice, it meant that the people of South Africa were divided racially on all levels

of societal functioning, and different standards were used for service delivery. As a consequence, a segregated tertiary educational sector consisting of racially divided universities existed and students could register only at certain universities, which were privileged to a greater or lesser degree. Post-1994, the first democratic government of South Africa attempted to redress the injustices and the unequal distribution of resources by merging racially advantaged universities with the previously disadvantaged tertiary educational institutions. Newly-merged universities had to integrate in terms of staff, culture, language and student populations. As a consequence of the broader political restructuring as well as internal restructuring processes in the university at which this research was conducted, a group of black students, registered on a mainly Setswana-speaking campus, had to relocate to a predominantly white Afrikaans-speaking campus to complete a 6-month internship in order to register as counsellors. These students also had to find accommodation in a white, racially orientated local town in which the university was situated. The students tried to find accommodation, but were rejected as potential tenants as soon as the home owners set eyes on them. It was only after the supervisor of the internship programme had intervened that a suitable arrangement could be made to accommodate the students. This particular group also faced having to integrate into an academic environment in which they were expected to attend classes (previously their lecturers often did not show up for class), to write assignments, and do practical work in hospital settings and clinics unfamiliar to them. They were challenged at every level but appeared to have adjusted exceptionally well and were able to excel in their internship.

Towards the end of the internship, the programme supervisor wanted to obtain feedback from the group. They were asked as a group and during individual interviews to share their experiences: what had enabled them to complete their internship despite challenges, and what had they learned? The students' responses in the group and individually were brief and communicated the general message that they had experienced everything as being "very good".

It was at this stage that I (as the researcher) realized that the participants might better communicate their experiences visually. I decided to use the Indingilize materials to provide another avenue to answer the question: what had enabled this group, despite adversities associated with adjusting into a new socio-cultural and academic environment, to reach their goal of becoming counsellors? To this end, Indingilize materials were applied in a different manner: students were provided with the unstructured materials and asked to visually demonstrate their experiences of their internship. A discussion of the findings may be found in Roos (2008), and Roos, Maine, and Khumalo (2008), but for the present purpose their response is given briefly. By making visual representations, the students indicated how their group had been formed and how they had been supported by one another and their lecturers to deal with the challenges they faced and to reach their goals. In Fig. 1.1, a student demonstrates how his knowledge increased during this internship (the oxen in the bottom row growing in size from small to big), and how his fellow students and the lecturers had contributed to the process. The load being pulled (by the oxen) represents fellow students and lecturers who had made it easier for him to achieve

Fig. 1.1 Participant's increased knowledge and the value of social support

his goals than if he had been hauling the load by himself. It would have been impossible for him to manage the load without the help of his fellow-students and lecturers. He needed help from others.

The participants were able to further identify specific aspects in the educational environment that had assisted them in their learning: availability of lecturers and their willingness to support them; learning content that contributed to their knowledge of counselling; and modes of curriculum delivery that assisted them to develop specific skills they could apply to their own communities back at home. They reflected on the challenges they had faced and how they had dealt with adversity. The visual representations and discussions about them stimulated the expression of personal as well as the group's meanings.

The Mmogo-method

The first implementation of the method with a Setswana group of participants set in motion further developments of the Mmogo-method and resulted in two publications (Roos, 2008, 2012). The method is distinctive in terms of its emphasis on involving participants in the research process, relatedness between people, and the togetherness of people in generating data (Roos, 2008). Consequently, in a discussion with Michael Temane and Itumeleng Khumalo, two Setswana-speaking psychologists and colleagues, it was decided to use the Setswana word *mmogo* (meaning 'together', 'as one', 'building together') to capture these different meanings of the method. In developing the Mmogo-method as a qualitative, visual data-collection method, my training as a clinical psychologist with a community psychology background and an interest in relational well-being led me to treat

participants in the research as the experts in their experiences, and to emphasize the value of research in a group and the importance of creating context for participation.

Participant Involvement in the Data-Collection Process

Participants are central to the method. They are asked to focus on a particular topic and to create a visual representation of it. By focusing their attention, a way is paved for attuned communication. Attention requires recognition, and by involving participants in the discussion of their visual representations they reflect on their experiences, formulate ideas and visually produce the meanings associated with the experiences (Rydzik, Pritchard, Morgan, & Sedgley, 2012; Theron, 2012). In the visual constructions, participants choose what to include and what to omit. Their visual representations and their explanations are informed by their experiences, identities, and intentions, which are often not conscious but related to the topic of the study (Rydzik et al., 2012). Therefore, every single element of a visual representation is important and could potentially symbolize a hidden position or relationship to reality (Chilisa, 2012; Collier, 2001; Rieger, 2011). However, researchers' interpretations should be verified with participants, and meanings associated with the visual representations should not be decontextualized. This will be expanded on in the following chapters.

The Importance of the Group

Multiple perspectives on the research phenomenon are obtained from collecting data in groups; but these cannot be utilized if the perspectives and meanings of the group are not tapped into. The group is important because people's social life consists of continuous experiences, dialogue and interactions both with their social world and with themselves (Moen, 2006; Stacey, 2003).

The group in the Mmogo-method functions on the basis of Chilisa's (2012) talking circles, which are also a form of focus group method. The underlying assumption is that a talking circle "symbolises and encourages sharing of ideas, respect of each other's ideas, [and] togetherness" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 213). As in the talking circles, the individual participants in the Mmogo-method are able to speak uninterruptedly about their visual representations, while the group members listen. When participants explain their visual representations to the group, the process of visual conceptualization and reflective discussions of the visual representations provide participants with an opportunity to voice their inner stories to others (Literat, 2013). In expressing his or her views while the group listens, the individual gains a place in the group. When an optimal context for participation is created and the group confirms the position of the individual, that individual is able to become

visible without fear for rejection (A. A. De Wet, personal communication, April 19, 2013).

If a collaborative context is created and the group functions with a degree of openness, spontaneity, acceptance, and respect, participants are able to re-assess their own personal point of view (Stryker & Vryan, 2006). A process of self-awareness is facilitated by collective self-enquiry and reflection (Reason, 1994). Through self-monitoring processes and dialogical exchange participants observe the others, evaluate their own and others' positions and can adapt their behaviour (Hermans, 2002; Vorster, 2011; Wood, 1995). In the group setting, multiple interactions between participants expose them increasingly to more and wider ranges of possible responses (Stacey, 2003).

The Importance of Context

Context has meaning on two levels. On one level context situates the perspectives and experiences obtained from people about issues affecting them in the "actual state of affairs" in which they live (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 58). This means that data obtained from people should be interpreted against the broader environments in which the experiences are embedded (e.g. the social, economic, cultural and political) and which are relevant to answering the specific research question. However, this does not mean that the data generated are useful only for the context in which they were obtained, because although data are contextually grounded, the knowledge produced is transferable (Keating, Eales, & Phillips, 2013; Keating & Phillips, 2008).

On another level context refers to how a research space (context) is created for optimal participation. Creating context is important because participants do not refer to a set research protocol to form meaning; instead they form it in every action of communication with the researchers (Stacey, 2003). Researchers create context for their research from the very first contact they have with potential participants. Context is created through verbal and non-verbal communication, because all human interaction is communicative interaction (Stacey, 2003). Creating a context for participants to play a part in research means providing a frame for the research to take place (Vorster, 2011). The effectiveness of the created context will impact on the quality of the data because participants will engage in the research context only if they feel safe. Emotional safety, like respect, openness and unconditional acceptance, is among others promoted when participants are assured that their visual representations will not be judged (Theron, 2012).

A sense of safety is further promoted when the boundaries of the research are made explicit. In applying the Mmogo-method, as with other data-collection methods, the boundaries of the research are usually clearly explained in the invitation to participate in the research and by obtaining informed consent. A sense of safety is promoted when the research goal is communicated clearly, by introducing norms of trustworthiness, and by getting to know participants.

A sense of safety is further promoted if participants experience a sense of control. In the application of the Mmogo-method this control is emphasized by reminding them of their voluntary participation; by exercising choices in what they want to construct, what they want to share with the group, and when they want to share it.

Pluralistic Data-Collection Method

The Mmogo-method employs an approach called pluralistic data collection because both visual and textual data are obtained during the different phases of its application (Gilgun, 1999). The specific research design to be used when the Mmogo-method is applied will be determined by the aim of the research. For example, if the aim is to develop theory, a constructivist grounded theory design can be used, or when the aim is to explore and describe social phenomena, a descriptive interpretive design can be used (Charmaz, 2006; Thorne, 2000).

Different qualitative data-collection strategies are applied to obtain visual and textual data. In Fig. 1.2, the processes of different data collection and analyses are explained. On Level 1, participants individually construct visual representations by using open-ended materials elicited by an open-ended prompt. In a group setting, participants simultaneously project their unique and subjective experiences and meanings related to the social phenomenon under investigation onto their visual representations. On Level 2, researchers adopt an empathic stance to obtain the subjective experiences of the socially constructed meanings in a discussion about the visual representations. In repeating the process for all the participants, further ideas for discussion are stimulated, thereby obtaining the meanings for the individual and the group. The group discussions aim to elicit narratives and participation from all members.

Different sources of data are obtained through the data generation process such as: (1) self-generated visual representations of individuals' experiences or perspectives (visual data); (2) individuals' verbal explanations of the visual representations (visual and textual data); (3) group discussions about individuals' explanations (textual data); (4) observations of individual and group interaction (observational data); (5) researchers' reflections; and (6) analysis of photographs of visual representations after data collection.

On Level 3, textual, visual and observational data are analyzed using different methods. On Level 4, the analyzed data are used to develop theory or to explain a social phenomenon or develop an intervention.

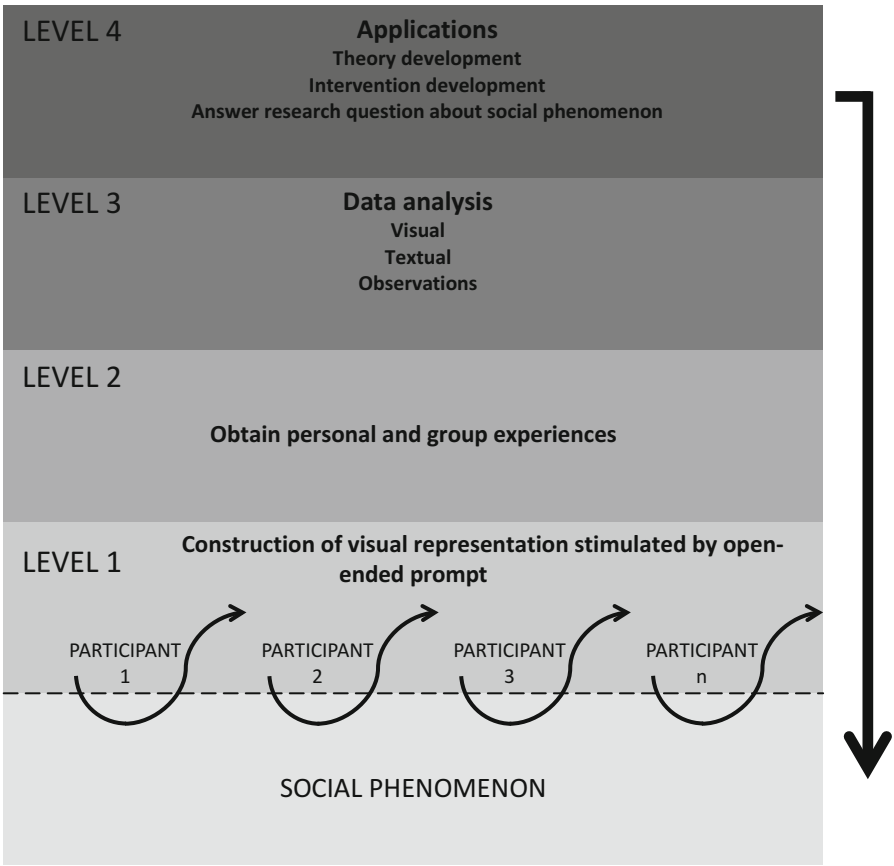

Fig. 1.2 Visual representation of the application of the Mmogo-method

Mmogo-method and Other Visual Data-Collection Methods

Visual data-collection methods are well-developed and applied in disciplines such as human geography, social anthropology, sociology, psychology, education, urban and regional planning, and tourism (De Lange, 2012; Kokk & Jönsson, 2013; McNiff, 2013; Pain, 2013; Pink, 2013; Rose, 2013; Spencer, 2010). The application of these methods differs: some researchers introduce existing visual data to stimulate discussions, or visual data are generated by participants (Prosser, 2007; Ravey & Johnson, 2008; Rydzik et al., 2012). Participant involvement can also vary from serving as co-researcher to participating in the process only (Chilisa, 2012). The Mmogo-method shares the concept that, by involving participants in the generation of data, their ownership is promoted and the power in the researcher-participant relationship is distributed (Chilisa, 2012; Mannay, 2010; Rose, 2013; Wall, Higgins, Hall, & Woolner, 2013).

In line with other visual data-collection methods, the Mmogo-method may involve participants of different ages, including children, adolescents, young adults, and older persons (Ebersöhn et al., 2012; Hinthorne, 2013; Johnson, Pfister, & Vindrola-Padros, 2012; Rydzik et al., 2012). The Mmogo-method, like other visual data-collection methods, may be used to obtain data from groups of people who share similar experiences (Flick & Foster, 2008; Harley, 2012; Mannay, 2010; Pink, 2003, 2013).

Researchers conducting visual research can either use existing visual materials or initiate the construction of visual data (Pauwels, 2011). The Mmogo-method joins other visual data-collection methods for which participants generate visual data; for example, kinetic family drawings are used to explore the resilience of children of HIV-positive mothers (Ebersöhn et al., 2012) and participatory videos to explore young persons' understanding of gender-based violence (De Lange & Geldenhuys, 2012). Drawings are used to obtain educators' perception of what children need to know about sex (Beyers, 2012) or to promote resilience (Theron, 2012). Photo-voice is employed to discover children's experiences as citizens of democratic South Africa (Joubert, 2012) and visual graphics to portray human rights, social justice, democracy and the public good (Nanackchand & Berman, 2012). Photography can assist in understanding the experiences of compulsive hoarders (Singh & Jones, 2012).

The scope of visual materials may include any sensory material and can range from self-constructed materials, videos, photographs, drawings, collages, and cultural materials, to films (Mitchell, 2008; Roos, 2012). Methods which generate visual data can use any appropriate visual material or tool for data collection, such as cameras, video cameras, paints, drawing tools, sand, magazine illustrations, Lego bricks, performance graphs, X-rays, or modelling clay (Hogan, 2013; Johnson et al., 2012; Literat, 2013; Nanackchand & Berman, 2012; Pain, 2011, 2013; Rose, 2013). However, in choosing the visual material or method, the participants' levels of skills and knowledge should be taken into account. For example, in using material such as Lego bricks, a certain level of skill is expected (Hinthorne, 2012a). Participants should therefore be given an opportunity to experiment with the medium before engaging in the research. The implicit meanings in visual materials, such as pictures in magazines used to make collages, may contribute at times to participants' feeling no connection to the implicit meanings expressed in the visual materials (Hinthorne, 2012b; McNiff, 2013).

More particularly, the materials chosen for the Mmogo-method are non-specific and require little skill to use. They allow participants to make three-dimensional visual representations that can be moved around, be engaged in interaction or be viewed from different perspectives. The unstructured nature of the material could, however, limit some participants in their visual expression because it may not be suitable or practical for constructing the mental images associated with the social experience.

Conclusion

By introducing a new participant-generated visual data-collection method the question that comes to mind is: why add yet another one to the list? The Mmogo-method grew out of the need to obtain the often hard-to-explain subjective experiences and meanings that have developed in particular contexts. Interviews and focus group discussions had failed to provide sufficiently rich data about personal and group experiences. This method has since been usefully applied to collect data in different contexts, from diverse groups of people, and on a variety of topics. The Mmogo-method combines social and research components to gather different sets of data. It is distinctive in its emphasis on the importance of context for participation and on the construction of a research space to allow researchers to access individual participants' subjective experiences and the group's perspective on a social phenomenon. The visual representations participants construct in the course of a research session serve as points of reference for stimulating individual as well as group discussions. The choice of materials and the open-ended prompt allow participants to choose what aspects of their experiences they would like to share, and how this may be done. The materials chosen and the prompt also provide researchers with opportunities to probe for deeper meanings of which participants themselves may by unaware. Researchers assume an empathic position and ask probing questions, following participants in their explanations. This empathic position is again assumed in the analysis of the visual and textual data, which takes into consideration the context in which they were collected. The Mmogo-method is limited by ethical considerations of not doing harm to those who struggle to deal with reality, or who had recently experienced trauma; and of respecting an individual's choice if he or she prefers not to engage in a group or an experiential type of research activity; or by the choice of research materials.

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Chapter 2
Conducting the Mmogo-method

Vera Roos

Abstract This chapter sets out to describe the Mmogo-method and four distinct phases in its application. In Phase 1, researchers create a context for optimal participation by introducing group norms. In Phase 2, participants are asked to sit together around a table. Each is presented with a standard set of materials: malleable clay, beads or buttons in different colours, dried grass stalks (or suitable substitute), and a circular piece of cloth, packed in a container. Following an open-ended prompt, participants construct visual representations (visual data) representing the phenomenon that is the focus of the research. The representations are photographed (visual data). In Phase 3, each individual explains her or his visual representation (visual and textual data), and group members discuss individual participants' interpretations of the images they have made (interactional data), augmenting content with their views (textual data). In Phase 4, the data-gathering session is concluded by debriefing participants as well as researchers (textual data). The fact that not all participants may want to join a group or construct visual images could limit the method's application. The Mmogo-method is not indicated for anyone who has been traumatized recently, or who finds it difficult to deal with reality or is unwilling to participate in a group.

Introduction

This chapter describes the Mmogo-method as a qualitative data-collecting method with which social researchers are able to obtain different perspectives and different types of data about social phenomena in a relatively short space of time. The Mmogo-method is used to collect visual and textual data. Visual data are generated by participants and serve to elicit discussions from individuals and the group.

'The Mmogo-method®' is a registered South African trademark of the North-West University.

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Photos are taken of the visual representations and are used with the verbatim discussions for further analysis.

The Mmogo-method is useful in accessing data about social issues in which people are so immersed that they find it difficult to distance themselves. For example, pregnant women were able to illustrate the meaning they attached to their first pregnancy (Redelinghuys, Coetzee, & Roos, 2014). Similarly, mental health counsellors demonstrated coping strategies they relied on when continually exposed to childhood trauma (Keyter & Roos, 2015; Roos, Van der Westhuizen, & Keyter, 2016); and young adults and older persons demonstrated their experiences in relation to one another (Roos, 2016a, 2016b).

The method can be used to explore implicit culturally-bounded phenomena, for example, the resilience of black youth in South Africa exposed to risks such as entrenched poverty, HIV and AIDS, and abuse (Theron, 2012). It can be applied to engage people without having to rely primarily on verbal accounts. For instance, field workers were able to identify risks in their communities that could potentially lead to disasters such as collapsing buildings, polluted water, and exposed electrical connections (Van Niekerk et al., 2007). Older persons were able to illustrate the different dimensions of their quality of life in long-term residential care facilities and complement these with minimal verbal explanations and journal entries (Van Biljon & Roos, 2016).

The Mmogo-method makes it possible to obtain insights in settings in which participants speak a different language from the researcher, for example, to learn about coping strategies of Setwana-speaking older persons who were dealing with drought as a slow-onset disaster (Roos, Chigeza, & Van Niekerk, 2010). This information was subsequently used in disaster risk management plans to harness the coping strategies of older persons. The method may be usefully employed as part of multiphased and transdisciplinary research projects. For example, to explore a sense of place in rural landscapes, participants visually constructed their experience of the landscape (Vredefort Dome World Heritage Site, in this instance) in Phase 1 of the research. The findings of Phase 1 were used in Phase 2 to develop a questionnaire to determine the sense of place of this particular landscape so that it could be integrated into spatial planning and to develop guidelines for development (Phase 3) (Puren, Drewes, & Roos, 2008). The Mmogo-method proved to be valuable in interdisciplinary research in a study in which spatial planners aimed to identify places of importance in communities so that urban conservation and urban development could be integrated. In that study, the method was applied to produce visual constructions of places of importance in two mining communities (Khuma and Stilfontein) (Puren & Roos, 2016). These served as a foundation for developing spatial guidelines.

The open-ended and eliciting nature of the Mmogo-method and its application in a group setting mean that it is not indicated for use with people who have recently been exposed to trauma or who suffer from a mental illness. The method's open-endedness could aggravate psychological distress in participants, and the group context may not be appropriate for the individual needs of participants who struggle to deal with reality. It is also contra-indicated, out of respect, if an individual is

uncomfortable about participating in a group setting, or to participate in research using these specific unstructured materials.

Phases of the Research Process

The phases of the research process consist of preparation for the investigation and four phases during which data are collected.

Preparation This entails obtaining the set of materials to collect data; assessing the venue for data collection to ensure that quality visual and textual information is captured; determining researchers' skills; and attending to the practicalities of conducting the research.

Materials The materials required should be as unstructured as possible to allow for the expression of all possible associations by participants. Each set of materials includes: a lump of malleable clay (two handfuls – see a recipe in Box 2.1), dried grass straws (a fistful) strong enough to hold clay and brittle enough to be broken into smaller pieces, beads or buttons in different colours and sizes (half a handful), and a circular piece of cloth (25 cm in diameter), which serves to define the working area in which participants construct their visual images (Fig. 2.1).

Box 2.1: Suggested Recipe for Malleable Clay (One Portion)

Mix together:	
500 ml cake flour	200 ml salt
50 ml cream of tartar	500 ml cold water
Cook at low temperature until a hard round ball has formed. Then add:	
30 ml oil	2.5 ml vanilla essence
5 ml brown food colouring	
Knead until mixed	
Add more oil when dough is dry	
Store in a sealed container	

The materials should be sufficient for the number of participants expected, and are divided into matching sets accordingly. Each set is packed into any kind of lidded container, which should be the same for all participants. Each container is filled with a portion of clay, packed in a clear plastic bag, the beads or buttons in a small container, and the grass stalks or straws, neatly arranged. The containers are placed in a basket or a bigger container for easy transport (Fig. 2.1).

Fig. 2.1 Set of materials used for the Mmogo-method

Venue and Equipment The room or area where data collection takes place should have tables and chairs that can be arranged in a circle or placed to allow participants to observe one another's visual representations and to facilitate discussion, as illustrated in Fig. 2.2 where two different communities (Setswana-speaking young adults in a rural community (on the left) and older persons in a residential facility (on the right) participated in the method.

The venue where data will be collected will determine how the research will be conducted and what equipment will be required to ensure that quality data are obtained. For example, if the research is to be conducted in a well-equipped room with wide-angle video facilities and directional microphones, only one researcher is required, provided that she or he speaks the same language as the participants. If they do not speak the same language, at least two additional people who are fluent in the participants' language are included: one translates to the researcher while the other confirms the translation.

More researchers are required if the venue is not well-equipped. Some would be needed to operate the video and audio recorders to ensure good quality verbal data. This means that they would be moving around during the group discussion to ensure that they capture every participant's input as clearly as possible. (See, for example, Fig. 2.3). Although it is possible for an individual researcher to conduct the data-collection process, more researchers are preferred because it allows for multiple descriptions and reflection (McNiff, 2013).

Researchers' Skills and Practicalities Researchers who conduct the method should be trained in qualitative interviewing so that they are able to deal with any emotional content elicited as a consequence of the projective nature of the process. They should also know how to conduct research in groups and deal with group dynamics.

Researchers should attend to practicalities such as sourcing name tags to identify participants and researchers, pens and paper and a camera to capture the participants' visual representations, and preparing informed consent letters. Because the data-collection session usually lasts for 2–3 h, refreshments should be provided for participants. Researchers should contact counsellors to be available for debriefing if individual participants should require this after the data-collection process has concluded.

Fig. 2.2 Participants in a circle

Fig. 2.3 Researchers using video and audio recorders to capture data

Data Collection Data collection is conducted in four distinct phases. In Phase 1, researchers enter the research context. Phase 2 covers construction of the representations, and during Phase 3 participants are questioned individually about the meanings of their visual representations, and the views of group members are obtained. In Phase 4, participants and researchers are debriefed.

Phase 1: Entering the Research Context This is achieved by creating a transparent context for participation, introducing group norms, and obtaining informed consent.

A transparent context for participation is created when researchers meet participants, introduce themselves and wear name tags so that participants may address them by name. A context of safety is created by explaining the goal of the research and the research process itself.

Although ethical considerations differ somewhat across settings and institutions, it is particularly important to inform participants before data collection takes place

that they will be asked to construct visual representations by using unstructured materials; that photos will be taken of the research process and the visual representations; and that the research will take place in a group, which means that anonymity can be assured only partially; and that the session will be video recorded. Participants should be assured that the representations they have created will not be assessed or judged and that there is no set right or wrong way to participate in the process. Participants will not be identified when reporting findings unless expressly requested to do so by the participants themselves (Cherrington, 2016).

To ensure that participants understand clearly what will be expected of them, researchers engage with them individually to explain the process. It is emphasized that participants are under no obligation to participate if they do not want to. Informed consent forms are explained and signed only after the participants have agreed to take part. Each is issued with a name tag. If participants wish to take part in the research by joining in discussions, but without constructing anything, they are also welcomed into the group.

Phase 2: Construction Phase Participants are asked to form one or more groups, depending on their numbers. The optimal group size is between six and 10 participants. The researchers present each participant with a set of materials in a lidded container. They ask participants to open the containers so that they can discover for themselves what is inside and unpack the materials (Fig. 2.1). To allow for participants' own interpretations, no specific instructions are given for using the materials.

Next, participants are given an open-ended prompt. To illustrate this, the following prompt is given as an example: *Please use the materials and make something that will show us how you experience your relationship with people younger than 25 years* (Roos, 2016a). The unstructured nature of the prompt and of the materials tends at first to provoke uncertainty. Participants often ask for the request to be repeated. The researcher repeats the instruction using the same wording. Participants are again reminded that there is no right or wrong way to proceed. They may create their visual representations in any way they like using the materials provided. Typical comments during the initial construction phase are: "This brings back childhood memories"; "Playing with clay feels only too familiar"; "We are not at all artistic"; "I do not know what to make"; "It's difficult"; "It's fun". Researchers remain silent and allow participants space to find their own interpretation of the prompt. When participants begin their visual constructions, the researchers retreat into the background and avoid making comments or a distracting noise.

Individual participants differ in their ability to deal with the uncertainty when they start constructing objects. Groups also respond differently. Some hardly talk among themselves, while others have lively conversations and share their materials. The researchers do not give them any instructions about this. The video and audio recorders are used during this phase to capture informal discussions among participants. Examples of participants engaged in the construction phase are shown in Fig. 2.4.

Fig. 2.4 Examples of participants constructing visual representation

Participants use the materials in various ways, sometimes breaking the dried grass stalks into smaller pieces, using the container or its lid, or selecting beads in specific colours to construct their objects. These details may be meaningful to participants and should be enquired about in the discussion phase. Figure 2.5 shows how a participant, in response to a prompt about experiences of relationships with younger people, carefully selected beads in specific colours which to her represented life and joy.

In Fig. 2.6, a participant used the container's lid to make a church. He explained that the church should be stable and solid because it represented spirituality and spiritual relationships which gave him the strength to cope with the challenges associated with his occupation as a mental health care worker who has to deal with child abuse on a regular basis.

In the example below (Fig. 2.7), the participant used the circular cloth to symbolize her house as a safe and secure place in exploring her experiences of quality of life in a residential setting.

Vigilant observations on the part of the researchers are most important. Sometimes participants struggle to open containers, or find it difficult to work the clay because it may be too hard or too soft for what they had in mind. Researchers assist participants if needed. They also observe if there are signs of emotional expression in participants' handling of the research material. For example, in research

Fig. 2.5 Colourful beads to symbolize life and joy

Fig. 2.6 Representation of a church as stable support to assist coping

conducted with older black Africans who were making visual images elicited by the prompt, *Please make any image that will tell us how you experience relationships in your life*, one older woman struggled to build a house (Fig. 2.8).

The straws were too short and kept falling on to the structure that she was building. She repeated the process patiently but seemingly without success. In the discussion phase, when asked about her visual representation, she described herself as part of a multigenerational household whose main source of income was the state pension she received. She said how tired she was of trying to keep everything together in managing the household. She also explained that she was solely responsible for a ramshackle house she had inherited from her parents and which required extensive renovations.

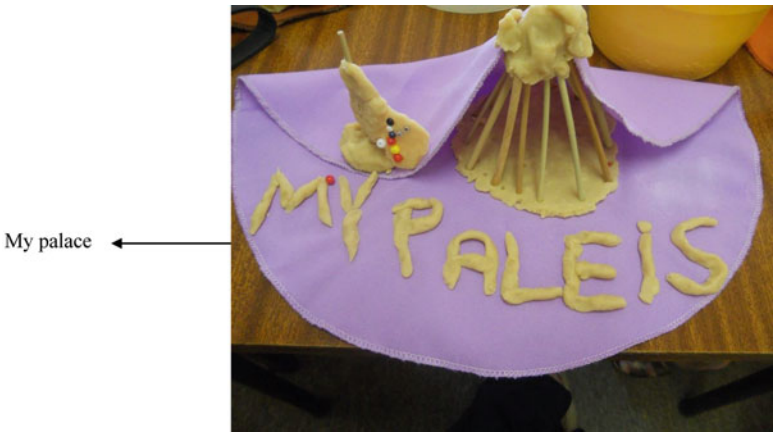

Fig 2.7 Representation of a safe and secure house

Fig. 2.8 Representation of a dilapidated house

In another example, a group of young adults was asked to make a visual representation of how they experienced their relationships with older people. During the visual construction, one female participant kept pointing out that she had an allergic reaction to the materials, because she couldn't explain her watering eyes. A researcher went to her and asked quietly if she would prefer to withdraw. She decided to continue, but in the course of explaining her visual representation she started crying about the loss of a grandparent four months previously. She decided to leave the group to recover her composure and a researcher accompanied her. She chose later to rejoin the group and contribute to the group discussion.

The construction phase usually takes about 30–45 min, with not all participants completing their constructions at the same time. When researchers see that some participants have completed their visual constructions, they approach them and ask if they would like to take a comfort break and wash their hands. Participants are also invited to help themselves to refreshments. When participants get up to wash their hands or to have refreshments, the researcher asks if their visual representations may be photographed. The participants' name tags are placed close to their visual representations in order to link the verbal discussion with the visual image during transcription. In presenting the findings, however, their names on the name tags will be removed from the photos. Photos of the three-dimensional visual representations are taken from different angles to ensure that all possible perspectives are captured. When all participants have had the opportunity to take a comfort break, the next phase begins.

Phase 3: Discussion When all the participants have returned to their seats, the researcher invites members of the group to explain individually what they have made and asks for a volunteer to start the discussion. The researcher usually stands behind the participant to have the same view as the participant's when making the construction. The researcher is thus able to observe the visual objects from the same perspective as the participant had in mind. By standing behind the participant, the other participants can have a clear view of the visual representation. In a research setting in which researchers have to manoeuvre the audio recorders to ensure good quality verbal data, they stand close enough to obtain a clear recording but need to ensure that they do not intrude into the participants' space.

The participant who volunteered first is asked: *Please tell us what you have made?* Researchers listen attentively to the explanation. The line of questioning is conducted in dialogue format, and the researcher asks questions that follows the participant's explanations. It is important to refrain from reading meanings into the visual images. Verification strategies to clarify participants' explanations could include a summary of what the researcher had heard the participant saying and requesting verification if necessary. The manner of questioning should be to prompt a more elaborate explanation. Researchers should ensure that they ask questions about specific objects, shapes, use of colours, placement of objects, relationship among objects, and most of all the relevance of the visual representation to the research question. Figure 2.9 provides an example of a participant explaining her visual representation.

After the individual has talked about the visual representation and responded to the researcher's questions, others in the group are invited to add their views. This combination of views is regarded as ongoing member checking. The individual member's visual representation thus becomes the stimulus material for group discussion. Video recordings may also be used to obtain data about the interactions between participants.

The dialogical nature of the discussions emphasizes the importance of training of researchers in interviewing techniques. All discussions are recorded and transcribed verbatim, thus serving as textual data.

Fig. 2.9 Participant explains her visual representations

Phase 4: Debriefing Debriefing on completion of the data-collection process is required both for the participants and the researchers. At the end of the discussion, participants are invited to take the representations they created away with them if they wish. They are asked formally, in the group, how they experienced the session and are invited to approach the researchers, who will be available for individual follow-up discussion about their experiences if they should want that. Researchers then approach the participants individually and informally to obtain their feedback about the process and to find out how they experienced participating in self-constructed visual research. If participants indicate that they would like to talk to counsellors about the emotions elicited by the process, they are provided with contact details of the counsellors who had previously been alerted to be on standby to help them, or where possible, provide counselling services on-site. The session is concluded when participants and researchers have shared refreshments informally. The models should be preserved in the presence of the participants. When participants depart, researchers collect the containers used for the materials and depart.

The researchers meet to share observations and to engage in discussion as soon as possible after data collection. This also serves as debriefing for them. Focusing on themselves, the researchers engage in a process described by Steier (1991) as "bending back on the self" (p. 2), noting how their interactions could have impacted on the participants and on the quality of the data obtained. The discussion also provides an opportunity for researchers to reflect on the impact the exercise had on them. This discussion is recorded and referred to once analysis of the data begins, thereby constituting another source of data.

Rationale for Using the Mmogo-method

The method is applied by bringing individual participants together in a group and requesting them to construct visual images which are used to elicit individual and group discussions. Involving people in this manner allows for data collection at the individual and the group level. At the individual level, participants share their perspectives or experiences about a specific social phenomenon by means of visual representations they construct and describe. On the group level, data are obtained that are uniquely group-specific because of the way in which context for participation was created and the composition of the particular group. Involving people in a group provides opportunities for acquiring multiple perspectives on the social phenomenon under investigation.

No method is without limitations. Involving people in groups to collect data offers many benefits, but some participants may feel uncomfortable about expressing themselves in a group context or making visual representations. As with any focus group, strategies should be applied to navigate the discussion if one or more members tend to take over. If a group is inclined to be judgemental or overcritical, researchers should remind the participants that there is no particular right or wrong way of responding to the research question.

Conclusion

The Mmogo-method is proposed as a data-collection method which combines research and social elements that mirror the complexity of social reality. A research context that is transparent, inclusive and safe is created to promote participation. In this research context, participants generate visual data about their personal experiences and perspectives by using basic materials with multiple possibilities to make visual representations elicited by an open-ended prompt. Involving people in groups in research creates opportunities for the multidimensionality of social phenomena to emerge from the discussions and interactions among the participants. Due to the projective nature of the method, debriefing participants is necessary to address any lingering emotional content. Researchers are part of co-construction of the social processes and they too require debriefing to allow for the impact they experienced during the research process and so that they may reflect on their own impact on data collection. The combination of research and social elements in the method as well as the manner in which data collection takes place contributes to the production of rich data that can provide nuanced descriptions of social phenomena in a short space of time. The several sources of data obtained in one data-collection session may be used to describe complex social phenomena such as intergenerational relationships (Chaps. 5 and 6), meaning-making during pregnancy (Chap. 7), coping strategies of mental health care workers (Chap. 11), and to develop theories (Chap. 8), and interventions (Chap. 9).

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Chapter 3
Theories and Heuristic Constructs Informing the Mmogo-method

Vera Roos and Andries Baart

Abstract This chapter provides a broad overview of the heuristic constructs of theories underpinning the Mmogo-method. To facilitate a point of discussion, different perspectives are described from the position both of researchers and of participants. Researchers assume an onto-epistemological stance (relativism-realism) to obtain detailed data from participants about their subjective perspective (discursive and verbal) in relation to social reality and use their methodological skills and expert knowledge to interpret findings to describe patterns and tendencies of social reality (realism). A more nuanced understanding of the social phenomenon under investigation is obtained when researchers adopt a meta-reflective position to move between participants' and the researcher's positions. From the participants' position, subjectively-informed and symbolic meanings are expressed verbally and visually through visual representations (constructivism). It is assumed that people behave towards things on the basis of the meanings they have for them; that they develop symbolic meanings in interaction with the social and physical world; and that meanings are handled through interpretative processes (symbolic interactionism). Since language can limit the ability to express symbolic meanings, visual representations are used to support the discursive representation to produce rich and nuanced data. Visual representations are the objectification of meanings (social representations theory). Social constructs are also informed by the social and cultural environment and therefore participants are collectively involved in data collection (social constructionism).

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Introduction

This chapter aims to describe the heuristic constructs of theories underpinning the Mmogo-method. It does not propose to offer a comprehensive overview of all the theories. Participants use unstructured materials and, stimulated by an open-ended, non-directive prompt, construct visual representations they associate with the social phenomena under investigation. Researchers assume an empathic position and use the participants' explanations and the visual representations as points of reference to enquire about the social phenomena by asking clarifying questions and by confirming their observations. Group members then add their views. Researchers adopt a meta-reflective position, studying data from the perspective of participants, but also from a position in which they use their knowledge of the subject matter and as methodology experts.

Research Approach Underlying the Mmogo-method

The hermeneutical research approach underlies the Mmogo-method. Considered within the hermeneutical approach, the method is a data-collection tool that endeavours to uncover meaning and to interpret those meanings collaboratively in order to "bring to light an underlying coherence or sense" (Taylor, 1976, p. 153).

Hermeneutical Research Approach

In applying the Mmogo-method, participants and researchers interact and reciprocally influence one another in a relational context. In order to describe the relationship, it is necessary to "invoke a double description of the relationship" (Phipps, 2005, p. 54) or to describe the research process from both sides – the position of the participants and that of the researchers. Since it is not 'possible' to describe the two positions at the same time, the discussion will highlight the different perspectives involved from each of the two positions.

Participants' Position Three perspectives are important from the participants' position.

Perspective 1 A visual representation is produced using unstructured materials and in response to the research question. This representation consists of tangible visual object(s) which have implicit meanings related to participants' feelings, intentions, ideas, and taken for granted routines. Moreover, the visual representations are a function of the participants' competence to handle the materials. This perspective is called 'responsive self-representation'.

Perspective 2 In response to the researcher's follow-up questions, participants are invited to explain their visual representations to the researcher and the other participants: what has been made, how should it be viewed, what is meant by it, why has it been made (with what kind of memories, feelings, intentions), and with what situation or events the representation is associated. This perspective is called 'responsive self-clarification'.

Perspective 3 From this perspective, participants respond as a group to the responsive self-representation and self-clarification by adding, correcting, commenting on or further clarifying information. This perspective is referred to as 'collective interpretation'.

Researchers' Position Three perspectives are important from the researchers' position.

Perspective 4 After collecting the data, researchers look for (possible) meaning in the data obtained from the previous perspectives, applying different types of analysis appropriate for answering the research question. This perspective is called 'overall descriptive analysis'.

Perspective 5 From this perspective, researchers, informed by the particular material they have gathered about the phenomenon studied, interpret meaning. They go beyond the descriptive level of understanding to interpret findings, demonstrate conceptual coherence and form a "fusion of horizons" (Gadamer, 1997, p. 302). This perspective is called 'case-bound understanding'.

Perspective 6 From this perspective, researchers go beyond the case-level of understanding and focus on obtaining a more general, theoretical interpretation, following an inductive or deductive approach. This perspective is referred to as 'moving beyond the descriptive'.

Theories Underpinning the Mmogo-method

The positions participants and researchers respectively occupy in the research process are discussed next.

Participants' Position

From the position of the participants (see discussion above), the three perspectives present people's local, subjective social constructions. In keeping with constructivism, meanings in the social and physical world are a function of the interactions between people and their social or physical environments (Hein, 1999). The meaning that emerges from these interactions is processed and modified through

individuals' subjective interpretation (Blumer, 1969; Meltzer, Petras, & Reynolds, 1975). According to the theory of symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969), individuals act in relation to things on the basis of the subjective meanings, expressed as perceptions, emotions, experiences and cognitions, that the social and physical worlds have for them. Subjective constructions develop not only in the constant, everyday interactions with other people (social world) and the physical world, but are also historically situated (Gergen, 2009).

The social representations theory studies the link between individuals and the social and cultural world (Howarth, 2006). In the application of the Mmogo-method, participants construct visual representations of their subjective constructions and these representations become the objectification of the meanings associated with the visual representations (Reavey & Johnson, 2008). The visual representations intrinsic to the method are not used in the way that Freud would approach them, namely as object representations of the unconscious governed by distortion (Prendergast, 2000; Roos, 2012). Visual representations are rather viewed as standing in for participants' interpretation of social constructs, according to the principle of substitution (Prendergast, 2000). Participants' interpretations of social constructs are obtained through language which, according to social constructionism, is a form of representation. However, language often limits people to expressing symbolic meanings that develop against a particular socio-cultural, educational, linguistic or historical background. Visual representations are therefore included as a medium of expressing the subjective meanings of individual participants as well as those that are collectively formed. The assumption is that when people express meanings, the verbal message in combination with the visual (a multimodal method of enquiry) will provide a more comprehensive understanding of the social phenomena than focusing on cognition or on discourse alone (Flick & Foster, 2008; Reavey & Johnson, 2008). The visual representations are also treated as expressions of a shared social code (Flick & Foster, 2008; Prendergast, 2000). Following Stacey's (2003) theory of complex responsiveness processes of relating, this shared social code exists simultaneously within individuals and the social environment. Research is therefore conducted in a group, to obtain the individual and collective interpretation simultaneously (see Perspective 3).

Researchers' Position

Participants express meanings through visual representations, which researchers use to elicit, investigate and explain the multiplicity of perspectives on social reality (Flick & Foster, 2008). When participants engage in processes of responsive self-representation, self-clarification and collective interpretation, researchers listen attentively and by adopting an empathic position obtain participants' subjective meanings that had been individually and collectively constructed and which are informed by the broader environments (for example the social, cultural, political, economic). Using descriptive research, researchers do not make predictions or offer

explanations (determine cause and effect), even though from this perspective some degree of interpretation is already implied (Sandelowski, 2000). It is also possible to conduct exploratory-descriptive research to produce rich and detailed descriptions of participants' subjective experiences and to develop detailed understanding of the phenomenon (Kodisang, 2013). In order to engage in an overall descriptive analysis and a case-bound understanding to obtain higher levels of abstraction, researchers use their methodological skills to analyze data. They move beyond the descriptive, contextualize findings in the broader environments that informed these perspectives, and demonstrate the applicability of findings to other contexts. The importance of the situatedness of data in the context of construction, as well as the broader environments in which the meanings have developed, is important.

Researchers therefore adopt a meta-reflective position to investigate the social phenomenon from the subjective perspective of participants, and to draw on their knowledge of theory and literature and methodological expertise to present the findings as part of the broken patterns of reality. The position adopted by researchers is not what Guba (1990) describes as taking "a paradigmatic stance that is most appropriate" (p. 21), but rather to study the social phenomena from different perspectives appropriate for answering the research question.

Onto-Epistemological Approach

An onto-epistemological approach is proposed because from this vantage point it is assumed that practices of knowing and being can be isolated (as points of focus in the discussion), even though they are mutually implicated (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). "The discursive is not privileged over the material, but the material is understood in discursive terms" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. 119). Both are involved in the production of knowledge. Researchers, who adopt an onto-epistemological position, therefore recognize the map and the territory (Bateson, 1979).

People's social constructions are socially generated and expressed in the discursive relationship with the social and physical world (Burr, 2015; Gergen, 2009). However, if reality is purely a social, linguistic construction, the notion of systems to be understood and patterns and regularities to be discovered is dismissed (Phipps, 2005). Jackson and Mazzei (2012) emphasize that the way of knowing social, cultural and material life and subjective being or perception does not presume a subject-object, or relative-realist dichotomy, but rather exists mutually as two parts of the same threshold (a passage serving both as entrance and exit) (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Since it is only possible to acknowledge one of the poles of this dualism at a time, researchers focus on each perspective individually and separately.

Focusing on the subjective social constructions of people, researchers position themselves with participants' relative ontology in relation to social reality. However, when the point of discussion is to answer the question 'why', people's

subjective social constructions are treated as tendencies or broken patterns of the hidden dimensions and relationships of social reality which people may not be aware of, but which inform their relationship with social reality (Clark, Lissel, & Davis, 2008). Changes in structures, powers, hidden networks or situations and relationships in broader systems inform people's perspectives and their experiences in relation to social constructs (Clark, MacIntyre, & Cruickshank, 2007). Researchers then move and adopt realism as ontology. This both/and approach includes the intersection between the real and the socially constructed (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Barad's (cited in Jackson & Mazzei, 2012) notion is confirmative that meaning develops through the discursive practices people develop in relation to "constituents of reality" (p. 115.).

In the application of the Mmogo-method, empirical data are obtained about people's experiences, their perspectives or meanings in relation to social reality. The visual representations of people's subjective expression of social constructs reveal some dimension of their construction of a social reality (Clark et al., 2008). Therefore, the subjective accounts about social constructs, which are expressed through visual representations, are regarded as some indications of social reality. It is for this reason that the method draws on the principles of projection (people visually construct their associations with an open-ended, non-directive prompt) to probe below the surface of awareness in order to discover social and culturally entrenched meanings in the subjective expressions of participants.

Conclusion

In the discussion of the theoretical underpinnings of the Mmogo-method, emphasis has been placed on the hermeneutical approach. Even though the Mmogo-method has not been designed to introduce change, the way in which it has been applied (involving participants as co-researchers; providing a research space in which they can express experiences, needs or meanings; and by involving them in a collaborative data-collection event), has led to serendipitous beneficial effects being reported. Heuristic constructs of theoretical frameworks explaining this process include constructivism, symbolic interactionism, social constructionism and social representations theory. Researchers who apply the Mmogo-method assume an onto-epistemological stance from where they are able to describe the map and the territory – referring to the subjective social constructions of participants as well as the social reality in relation to which subjective social constructions developed. This both/and approach provides opportunities for researchers to describe the positions of the participants as well as the researchers themselves from different perspectives. This flexible position for researchers holds much promise for producing nuanced descriptions of social phenomena. Researchers who can adopt an empathic position in order to assume the different perspectives of participants' subjective social constructions will be able to capture the essence of

the social constructions. These insights may be applied when analyzing the data and moving to higher levels of abstraction to answer the 'why' questions.

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Chapter 4
Research Integrity and the Mmogo-method: Some Reflections

Jaco Hoffman

Abstract The aim of this chapter is to reflect on the rigour and ethical practices of the Mmogo-method. The departure point for this reflection is an ethics of care approach which is relationally, contextually and situationally attuned. It is argued that such an approach enables a more nuanced outcome situated within the contexts in which ethical issues arise and have to be addressed. The chapter highlights the importance of contextually appropriate ethical actions, ongoing negotiation and decision-making while taking into account concerns for trustworthiness. It proceeds to explore the core concerns as they relate to the integrity of the research process, the researcher and the research participants in terms of the Mmogo-method specifically, while presenting some critical reflections.

Introduction

Generally, research integrity refers to 'straightforwardness' and probity in the conduct of the qualitative research process. It is indicative of rigour and ethical practice over the entire course of the research process, encompassing the conceptualization of the research, the data collection and analysis, as well as their dissemination. Integrity depends essentially on the honest coherence among the researcher, the participants, the research cycle as a whole and its outcomes. It specifically denotes the intent and the actual processes employed in operationalizing the particular method as well as, more broadly, both the ethical stance and the technical skills of the researcher using the method (Watts, 2008).

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This chapter aims to outline the main constitutive features of research integrity as these relate to the Mmogo-method in order to reflect on how this particular method adheres to sound research practice. It will draw broadly on relevant research methodology literature and, more specifically, practical illustrations from recent research projects in which the method was used. The chapter is intended as a critical introduction to assist researchers in identifying possible issues that might arise while undertaking research using this particular method and how these might be addressed. The review begins with a brief discussion of the suggested approach (an ethics of care approach) to shape researchers' ethical decision making in the construction and use of visual representations. It proceeds to explore the core concerns as these relate to the integrity of the research process, the researcher and the research participants in terms of the Mmogo-method specifically, while offering some critical reflections.

The Politics of Integrity: Points of Departure

A range of approaches in all their different configurations could be considered in relation to exploring research integrity, namely consequentialist approaches [in which decisions are based on the most beneficial outcome for society as a whole]; non-consequentialist approaches [in which decisions are based on the 'moral right', irrespective of the consequences] and related principlist approaches [specific pre-determined principles to adhere to like autonomy, beneficence, non-maleficence and justice] (Alderson, 2004; Israel & Hay, 2006).

The departure point for this particular critical review should, however, be considered chiefly from an ethics of care approach, which is relationally, contextually and situationally attuned (Clark, 2013; Tronto, 1993). This implies that research integrity entails the coherence of the whole: the respective role players and the research process in its entirety without compartmentalization of its different aspects as well as the socio-political context in which the researcher, research participants and research processes are based. In this approach all research decisions are made on the basis of the development of interdependent, collaborative relationships and an aspiration to behave in ways that benefit the individual or group which is the focus of the research (Banks, 2001; Harper, 1998; Mauthner, Birch, Jessop, & Miller, 2002; Pink, 2003, 2006, 2007a; Rose, 2007; Tronto, 1993). It is mostly used in feminist and participatory research, in which researchers engage with their participants in the research process (Edwards & Mauthner, 2002). Gold's (1989) argument for a covenantal ethics concurs with such an approach, whereby human interdependency, the cogeneration of knowledge, and the reciprocal and authentic exchange between researcher and participant transcend conventional notions of contract (Newton, 2009).

According to an ethics of care approach, it is furthermore recognized that research should be situated and contextual. Thus, the specific ethical dilemmas that arise are unique to the context in which each individual research project is

conducted. The argument is that decisions about ethical dilemmas cannot be arrived at simply by appealing to higher universal principles and codes (Simons & Usher, 2000). Rather, researchers have to approach each ethical challenge within the context in which the research is conducted (Birch, Miller, Mauthner, & Jessop, 2002; Renold, Holland, Ross, & Hillman, 2008). This situatedness is illustrated in the research done by Cherrington (2016) where, after prolonged engagement between the researcher and the community, participants waived their 'right' to anonymity for an empowered visibility through a process of negotiated and informed consent. Situated ethics provides space for dialogue between researchers and participants. Participants can, of course, contribute to the manner in which ethical decisions are made, and situated ethics encourages researchers to negotiate these issues with participants. This suggests that behaving with integrity is not a linear construct but points instead to the reality of ethical research practice, which is complex, often multifaceted and always dynamic (Watts, 2008).

A situated departure point offers a useful position from which to address the apparent tension between universalist and particularist approaches. By basing judiciousness on a case-by-case basis, situationism rejects the absolutist position that decisions concerning verification and ethics should be derived logically from either predetermined procedures or generalist principles (Simons & Usher, 2000). It is a stance that does not ignore considerations of reliability and verification but at the same time asserts that absolute rules cannot provide the researcher with an all-conclusive guarantee of routine [automatic] probity across the board (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012). This is not to say that a relational and situated position offers a straightforward answer to problematic issues presented by the Mmogo-method (or any qualitative method for that matter), but rather that it could enable a more nuanced outcome within the contexts in which these ethical issues arise and have to be addressed.

The reflections presented here bridge the procedural-ethics and ethics-in-practice dialectic (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Pope, De Luca, & Tolich 2010). This highlights the importance of contextually appropriate ethical actions and decision-making while recognizing research ethics as part of an ongoing process of negotiation and reflection (Allen, 2009; Clark, Prosser, & Wiles, 2010; Pink, 2007b; Wood & Kidman, 2013). In reality, however, there is always the danger of a situational relativism for which, as Plummer (1983, p. 141) puts it, there is "no wider accountability than the researcher's conscience". Taken to a logical extreme, rejecting universal ethics and their associated guidelines as overly protectionist or inadequate for specific contexts may lead to the laissez-faire use of unprincipled or untrustworthy practices conducted in the name of a situated research practice.

In order to establish and maintain research integrity, recognized guidelines of integrity should be dealt with as *concerns* rather than universal rules. Guba (1981) stressed that these criteria should be employed as a set of guidelines rather than mere orthodoxy (Guba & Lincoln, 1982). The research process should indeed be facilitated by concerns related to rigour and verification. The researcher's integrity in terms of skills and reflexivity should be considered and, of course, the position of the research participants relating to consent, anonymity, confidentiality, display,

ownership and legalities should all come into play when considering how best to protect them from harm and promote a trustworthy outcome. But in striving to act appropriately, it is important to consider the situations/contexts within which these actions take place and which inform such actions. These concerns will now be selectively and briefly discussed in relation to the Mmogo-method, and to the researcher and the research participants.

Concerns in Terms of Research Integrity

Research integrity refers to those activities which confirm the trustworthiness of data, such as ensuring methodological coherence and the development of a dynamic relationship between sampling, data collection and analysis towards theory development (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002). It is within this dynamic process that concerns of trustworthiness, namely credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), should be considered. At the same time Lincoln and Guba (1985) also recommend that specific methodological strategies be employed to attain trustworthiness, such as negative cases, peer debriefing, prolonged engagement and persistent observation, audit trails and member checks.

Research Process of the Mmogo-method and Its Operationalization

Research integrity within qualitative research is not simply an abstract matter of intent and an issue at the design stage but also constitutes a continuing practical concern throughout the entire research process, including the analysis and reporting phases in which issues of interpretation are key. Such methodological coherence ensures congruence among the wider ontological assumptions, the context, the research question and the components of data collection, analysis and dissemination. The interdependent character of the qualitative research process demands that the various research components relate credibly to one another. This process is not linear and the iterative interaction between data collection and data analysis is the essence of attaining trustworthiness. It is the back and forth movement between design and implementation that ensures congruence among question formulation, literature, recruitment, data-collection strategies, and analysis. As an outcome of this research process, conceptual/theory development should further move the micro perspective of the data beyond the descriptive towards a macro conceptual understanding (Hagestad & Dannefer, 2001).

In terms of the idea of congruence of the whole and thus credibility, two concerns could be raised (as examples) in relation to the Mmogo-method and its operationalization, namely:

- Is the broad, generally framed question that has been put to the participants coherent with the research aims, which are obviously more specific? How does the researcher manage to move coherently from the representation produced – based on the general question – to the more specific aims of the project? Roos (2016b) foresees this dilemma when she briefly lists the type of questions to be asked, namely "questions about specific objects, shapes, use of colours, placement of objects, relationship among objects and, most of all, the relevance of the visual representation to the research question" (p. 28 Chap. 2). If a process of funnelling (Harper & La Fontaine, 2009) is followed, it should be made explicit by the researcher. Much of this suggested 'elaboration' (Roos, 2016b, 2016c) will obviously depend on the skills of the facilitator of the data-collection process, but more explicit guidance will be needed regarding different domains that could be covered (Roos & Baart, 2016). The ultimate concern is thus: can sufficient data with the relevant detail to answer the specifics of the particular research project be elicited within the limitations of the specific Mmogo-session, given the general question posed to prompt participants? Can this method be utilised as a stand-alone method or is it best used in combination with other methods?
- Pivotal to the Mmogo-method is the narrow link between the visual representation and its meaning as interpreted by its creator. The method maintains a narrow stance on such interpretations: There is no interpretation of the object beyond that of the participant. It is important to refrain from reading meanings into the visual images (Roos, 2016b; Roos & Redelinghuys, 2016). This, however, is incongruent with the stance that "the method can be applied to engage people without having to rely primarily on verbal accounts" (Roos, 2016b, p. 20 Chap. 2). The narrow interpretation of the participant and the wider interpretation by the group in an engagement with the creator of the visual representation obviously promote trustworthiness. The role of a wider interpretation not to rely primarily on verbal accounts (Roos, 2016b) provokes questions regarding the scope of interpretation of the object without the direct verbal account provided by the composer of the visual representation.

Notwithstanding the above concerns, the Mmogo-method offers much scope to enhance the qualitative research endeavour. With multiple data sources complementary to the method; with data analysis methods (visual, textual and observational) inherent to the method; with an existing corpus of research evident across an array of communities (see Parts 2 & 3 of this book); and with the latitude to facilitate the individual view as well as that of the collective, the method is sufficiently dependable and flexible to supplement other methods (for example, in-depth interviews as follow-up) to explore and describe social phenomena and to develop theory or interventions (Goduka, 2012; Tracy, 2010).

Researcher's Responsiveness

Any particular method is only as effective as the researcher and his/her intent and skill set. The responsiveness of the investigator at all stages of the research process is pivotal for the integrity of the research and is greatly enhanced by the way in which the researcher engages with and is reflexive regarding the research setting and participants.

Researcher's Engagement and Reflexivity The position of the researcher as an outsider to the specific social and cultural setting of the participants in a study is not unique to the Mmogo-method; it is faced by all qualitative social researchers. At best, the act of entering into an unfamiliar social and cultural setting is a challenging one, especially if, as with the Mmogo-method, the data-collection activity is a once-off, snapshot occurrence. Thompson (1988) draws attention to the frequent inability to understand the nuances, social codes and layers of expressive meanings voiced by participants, with the result that certain responses might be misinterpreted. An unfamiliarity with the research setting and research participants alike might, however, enable the researcher as an outsider to ask for the obvious to be explained and to engage the group in elucidating the issue at hand.

The researcher's position as *insider*/*outsider* is often one of ambiguity, and cultural stereotypes can give rise to adverse power relationships, biased appraisals and resultant defensive or manipulative behaviours within the data-collection interaction (Taylor, 2003). Taylor (2003) goes on to suggest that this may occur as researchers and research participants will each seek to *locate* the other in their personal experience and prejudicial systems.

Researchers may adopt various positions during the data-collection process, which may range on a continuum from comparative involvement to comparative detachment. Depending on the duration of the engagement, establishing a particular position from which to explore social structures and investigate experiences forms a central activity of qualitative research (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2001). Most qualitative research involves roles and relationships somewhere towards the middle of the continuum. Decisions about which position to adopt depend on the methodological approach, the aim of the research and on the particular setting at hand: different roles provide access to different kinds of data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995).

The interpretive approach acknowledges subjectivity: the researcher's background, position and emotions are an integral part of the process of generating and collecting data. Whatever the position of the researcher, rigorous qualitative research is built on the notion of reflexivity. This is where researchers must account for the fact that their presence has had some influence on the research findings, and they should attempt to report how they, as the primary research instrument, may have influenced the study's results. It involves constant and conscious self-reflection and feedback loops on the methodological level, the theoretical level, awareness of the social setting of the research and an awareness of the wider social

context of the participants (Berg, 2007; Finlay & Gouch, 2003; Green & Thorogood, 2004). According to Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006), two aspects of reflexivity may be distinguished, namely personal and inter-personal reflexivity.

Personal reflexivity considers how the researcher's own background and assumptions may influence the research process and data collected, while *inter-personal reflexivity* examines how the production of data is influenced by the inter-personal dynamic between the researcher and participants within a particular research setting. In particular, Tindall (2003) highlights the role and importance of personal reflexivity in addressing personal biases and drivers evident in the context of qualitative interviewing. She considers personal reflexivity as a process of self-reflection that acknowledges the individuality of the researcher and how his or her personal interests, values and biases influence the stages of research from initial conception to outcome. Tindall (2003) proceeds to suggest that the influence of the researcher's life experience on the research and in the construction of knowledge, as reflected through personal reflexivity, needs to be a central feature of qualitative research. Within this framework, biases are sources of meaning. What matters is that such biases are understood and denoted within the research. The Mmogo-method in its design generously allows for these reflective feedback loops, whereby emerging interpretations may be sensitively fed back to the participants, gate-keepers and key informants for comment during the data-collection phases (Roos, 2016b).

Researcher's Skills In addition to a reflexive ethical sensitivity, the epistemic skills of the qualitative researcher are pivotal to the integrity of the research (Brinkman, 2007). It obviously refers to competence in the planning of a research project, ensuring an appropriate sample, data-collection techniques (in this case the Mmogo-method), and data analysis through an array of analytical tools (such as narrative analysis, discourse analysis, thematic analysis). These epistemic skills go beyond the usual qualities of organization, attention to detail, and analytical abilities that are necessary for all researchers. It also refers to the researcher-as-instrument with rapport-building, listening and observational skills in order to produce quality data ('thick description') for nuanced findings.

It is the researcher's responsiveness, creativity, sensitivity, flexibility and skill in using the verification strategies that determine the trustworthiness of the operationalization of the particular method(s) and the evolving study through all its cycles – the design cycle, the data-collection cycle and the analytic cycle (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2011).

Research Participants and the Mmogo-method Integrity is central to ethical research considerations that focus on the responsibility of the researcher to gain informed consent from participants, to do no harm, to allow for self-determination, to guarantee anonymity and confidentiality, and to represent respondents' views as accurately as possible as part of the epistemological process.

Respecting the position of the participant – not as a research object but as a person with rights and choices – demands an open and honest exchange between

researcher and participants, specifically relating to an openness about the aims and procedures of the research. It is crucial that there should be a commitment to being clear and honest with participants about the basis of their involvement and to obtain their informed consent. Two examples, however, illustrate that issues related to participation and consent could be delicate:

- The dilemma with an experiential method such as the Mmogo-method is that willing participants often do not accurately foresee (even with informed consent) how the data-collection process will play out and how they might relate/react to it. It may be argued that the participants have the freedom to disengage at any stage, but they could feel under pressure not to do so (Roos, 2016b). The analysis and synthesis of personal experience for broader consumption that characterize much qualitative research carry with it a particular obligation to see to it that research participants are not subjected to exploitation and considered only in terms of their 'usefulness' (Watts, 2008).
- Within visual research methodologies the concerns of confidentiality and anonymity are of particular relevance. Obviously, within group work complete confidentiality and anonymity cannot be ensured during the data-collection phase. This, and the position adopted during the dissemination phase, will have to be negotiated between the researcher and the participants (Cherrington, 2016; Roos, 2016a).

Researchers using principlist approaches tend to make rigid ethical decisions on the basis of specific principles (informed consent, autonomy, minimization of harm, anonymity and confidentiality) as absolute departure points. This raises the question whether these principles can be seen as conditional, and breaching them thus as compromising integrity. Here, however, it is argued that each of these concerns is viewed as important but it is recognized that they may conflict with one another. In such cases it is necessary for the researcher and the research participants to make a situated case for why one approach to ethics might need to be chosen over another. Achieving an equilibrium between rights and responsibilities in the qualitative research process entails balancing the search for knowledge with concerns about vulnerability, confidentiality, and intrusion into the lives of participants. These concerns are connected to the power dynamics that are likely to be present in research.

Concluding Inferences

Research integrity is a social construct situated in the recursive relationship between researcher, research process and research participants, and should underpin congruence, rigour and appropriate ethical positions. To be an effective safeguard for researchers and participants alike, ethical decisions should not slip into a relativism but should also not get stuck in a narrow purist model of universal principles. To possess integrity, ethical research processes must be pragmatic and

responsive to the situated context of the research and engage in an ethically reflexive scrutiny of practices within the wider political, moral and epistemic positions in which we are situated. Visual methodologies raise a number of issues regarding ethical practice, from the production to the analysis and the display of materials, as well as the ethics of representation. Depending on its operationalization, the Mmogo-method has the scope and depth to facilitate reflexive attention to the relational contexts in which such research is situated.

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Part II
Data Collection and Analysis

Chapter 5
Implementing the Mmogo-method: A Group of Setswana-Speaking Older People's Relational Experiences in a Rural Community Setting

Vera Roos

Abstract This chapter demonstrates how the Mmogo-method was implemented; how the visual representations were used to elicit discussions; and how probing questions were asked to obtain a deeper understanding of meanings expressed by participants. For illustrative purposes, research conducted with a group of Setwana-speaking older people (N = 8: 3 males, and 5 females, aged 60–79) is presented. In this example, participants visually constructed their relational experience with late adolescents and young adults, to whom they were not related, in a rural community setting in South Africa. The chapter is structured according to the four phases which constitute the Mmogo-method. Particular attention is focused on Phase 3, the discussion phase. Examples are provided to demonstrate facilitation of dialogue, introduction of norms of inclusion, and use of visual representation to probe for deeper understanding; and to illustrate how the researcher conducted the group discussion. The chapter concludes with a list of the different sets of data that were obtained by implementing the Mmogo-method.

Introduction and Background

This chapter serves as an illustration of how the Mmogo-method was implemented in a study to obtain the relational experiences of older persons using a different language from the researcher's, and coming from a different socio-cultural, academic and generational background. Visual representations made by Setwana-speaking (one of the 11 official languages of South Africa) older people from

'The Mmogo-method®' is a registered South African trademark of the North-West University.

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malleable clay, beads in various colours and sizes and dried grass stalks expressed their subjective relational experiences with late adolescents and early adults by constructing visual representations. Relational experiences between people consist of context-specific, implicit and explicit messages and subjective experiences (Roos, 2016b). The visual representations, however, provided an external point of reference which could be explored from different perspectives, namely those of the participants individually and of the group. For example, dialogue was facilitated by individuals' sharing their subjective experiences of relationships, and by asking probing questions about their visual representations in relation to the research question. Because the research took place in a group setting, further ideas about the relational experiences were stimulated.

The Mmogo-method as a data-collection method facilitates a process in which participants can show and tell. The specific nature of the Mmogo-method provides a research space in which people can participate, irrespective of their level of education and the socio-cultural contexts in which they have developed their experiences. Researchers, aware of their different generational, educational, and/or socio-cultural background, always follow an inductive approach, asking questions from a not-knowing position and probing for a deeper understanding by adopting an empathic stance towards understanding the perspective of participants. The aims of this chapter are: (1) to demonstrate how the Mmogo-method was implemented in four phases; (2) to relate the use of probing questions to obtaining a deeper understanding; (3) to motivate the rationale for asking specific probing questions; and (4) to critically reflect on questions asked during data collection. The findings of the data will be used to develop theory on intergenerational relationships which will be discussed in Chap. 8.

Choosing an Example

The importance of research into intergenerational relationships should be understood against the current phenomenon of ageing generations nationally and globally. A 'generation' is regarded as a cohort of people of roughly the same age who share similar historical experiences or events and who are exposed to specific socio-cultural influences (Mannheim, 1952; Pilcher, 1994; Spitzer, 1973). The interactions between cross-age groups are called intergenerational relationships, and two groups of intergenerational relations are distinguished, namely social (or unrelated) and familial (Uhlenberg, 2000). In ageing populations, members of different generations will be sharing the same physical and social spaces for a longer period of time than previously and will compete more fiercely for physical and emotional resources. Competition leads to dependence: under the pressure of competition, the numbers of social functions performed by people increase and people from different generations will become more dependent on one another (Stacey, 2003).

The study was also undertaken because most research has its roots in Western literature, and focuses mainly on familial relations. Research conducted in

South Africa into relational experiences between unrelated as well as related older persons and late adolescents and early adults reported strained relational experiences between these two generations (Makiwani & Kwizera, 2006; Roos, 2011; Van Dongen, 2008).

Historical generations in African ecologies traditionally provided social intergenerational support; they were closely connected and expressed positive attitudes towards one another (Eke, 2003; Stone, 2008). Traditionally in African communities clear norms guided the interactions between members of the different generations: members of the different generations reciprocally cared for one another as a collective, irrespective of whether they were familially or socially related (Chilisa, 2012). Older persons (also the deceased) were the most highly respected because they were presumed to be nearer to the ancestors (Oduaran & Oduaran, 2004). Older persons were responsible for the protection, socialization and care of members of the younger generation and gave their time and financial, physical and emotional support indiscriminately to the younger generation (Chilisa, 2012; Wilson & Adamchak, 2001). Members of the younger generation accepted this relational arrangement and in return respected the older people for their wisdom and the sacrifices they had made to raise them. In this collective unity, intergenerational relationships were the medium through which knowledge was transferred, people were connected, and members of the different generations shared responsibility for the collective good (Broodryk, 2010; Chilisa, 2012). Young people referred to older people as their parents or grandparents irrespective of whether the bond was a genealogical line of kinship or a social generation. In the same vein, older people referred to members of the younger generations, irrespective of the nature of their relationship, as their children (Chilisa, 2012). Therefore children did not necessarily belong only to their biological parents but also to the community and society at large (Eke, 2003).

In the modern era, however, tradition has seemingly been replaced with new family values which accept the individuation of family and community members. Many socio-political and cultural changes have also impacted on the historical relationships between members of different generations in traditional African ecologies. In the South African context, for example, these changes include forced relocation, migration, HIV/AIDS and extreme poverty (Aboderin & Hoffman, 2015; Hoffman, 2003, 2014). Consequently, if the relationship between the older people and young adults weakens, the support these generations would normally provide for each other in the community also weakens. As the support weakens and the strength of the intergenerational relationship becomes fragmented, the connecting tissue of the community also disintegrates. This could have detrimental consequences for the stability and health of the community. Since the relational experiences between unrelated older persons and late adolescents/early adults, from the perspective of the older persons, were not clear, it was decided to explore them further.

Contextualizing the Research

The research was conducted in a Setswana-speaking, rural African community in South Africa. This medium-sized community consists of approximately 5000 households and is regarded as a previously disadvantaged community that was established as a result of the forced removals that occurred in the apartheid era. Even though it is situated near mining and other economic activities, the socio-economic status in the area seems to be low due to the challenges of unemployment, strained economic conditions and poverty the community faces. According to the Census 2011 municipal fact sheet, at least 43.10 % of youth within this area are unemployed (Statistics South Africa, 2012). The older people are mostly retired and receive a state pension of R1505 ($103) per month, or in the case of people older than 75 years, R1525 ($104)). The devastating socioeconomic and psychological effects of HIV/AIDS have contributed to multigenerational households being largely dependent on older people's pensions and care management (Eke, 2003; HelpAge International/International HIV/AIDS Alliance, 2003; Hoffman, 2004). The socio-cultural environment in which the intergenerational relations are embedded is informed by a synthesis of traditional and modern family life values (Kayongo-Male & Onyango, 1984).

Preparation for Research In the rural setting where the research took place, there were no audio and video recording facilities available. A research team (n = 6) consisting of three Setswana-speaking postgraduate research students, one English-speaking researcher and two English-speaking field workers (all of whom had a background in counselling) was recruited to assist with data gathering. The field workers obtained research materials (name tags, biographical information sheets, pens and paper for observational notes) and the audio and video recorders, prepared the materials and packed them into containers and placed these in baskets for transport to the research venue.

Phase 1. Creating Context for Participation

Entry into the community was obtained through researchers who were already working in this community. Through their mediation a local community leader, informed the members of the community of the purpose and objective of the data collection, which was to explore older persons' (older than 60 years) experiences in relation to people aged from 18 to 25 years (late adolescents or early adults). Those who wanted to participate were requested to meet at the community hall on a set date. On the day of data gathering the older participants were welcomed by the three Setswana-speaking students at the entrance to the community hall where the research was to be conducted. They explained the aim of the research to participants individually and obtained their informed consent verbally since many of the older people were illiterate. The field workers provided all participants with name tags.

Before the research session started, participants were asked to introduce themselves to one another and were requested to treat the information that would be shared in group discussions as confidential. The researcher also emphasized that confidentiality could be provided only partially for the information that they would be sharing because they would be participating in a group, but that participants' identities would be protected in reporting the findings. To this end, the faces of the participants as well as the researchers are blurred in photographs so to ensure their anonymity. Eight older participants (5 females and 3 males, aged 60–79) participated in the research to obtain a better understanding of how they experienced their relationships with late adolescents/young adults.

Phase 2. Construction Phase

The participants were invited to sit around a table on chairs positioned so that they could see one another and everyone's visual representations. They were provided with the materials and asked in Setswana: *Please make a visual presentation of any aspect that will tell us more about how you think about young adults from the ages of 18–25 in your community*. The field workers operated the audio and video recorders to ensure that quality data be obtained.

During this phase, participants engaged in small talk about the research, common interests not related to the research topic, and how it felt as older persons to play with clay. The Setwana-speaking students translated the discussions between the English-speaking researcher and the participants and verified the translations. Participants also shared the materials among them. They completed their visual representation in 45 min and took a 10 min comfort break. Refreshments were provided and the discussion phase commenced.

Phase 3. Discussion Phase

In the discussion phase, the researcher asked participants to describe their visual representations, which consisted of a scene of figures or symbols telling a story. The researcher conducting the interview stood close to the participant to have the same view of the visual representation as the participant (Fig. 5.1).

The researcher asked participants about the visual elements only after they themselves had identified them and explained the associated meanings. If participants did not mention the actions that were taking place in their visual representations and/or the relationship between the different visual elements, researchers enquired about them. The researcher also probed about the relevance of visual elements in relation to the specific research question.

In the section below, some examples will be used to demonstrate how the researcher asked probing questions to clarify participants' explanations, explain

Fig. 5.1 Positioning of researchers and field workers in discussion phase with a participant

the rationale for asking specific probing questions, and demonstrate how to ask clarifying questions about visual representations. A critical stance will be taken regarding the manner in which the dialogue was conducted. Please bear in mind that the probing and questions are part of a dialogue and that, had other words been used or different questions posed, they could have produced different results.

The participants' visual representations are given in examples below in their actual order of presentation, starting with the participant who volunteered to initiate the discussion. Detailed examples have been included to demonstrate specific aspects of a phase. Example 1 demonstrates how the scene was set to promote dialogue in the research process. Example 2 demonstrates how the visual representation was used to ask probing questions to obtain the deeper significance of a participant's use of symbolic meanings that she had associated with the visual elements prompted by the research question. Example 3 is given to demonstrate how a visual representation of a futuristic prospect was used to explore current experiences. The remaining visual representations are reported without illustrations to provide a comprehensive overview of the data-gathering process. Data obtained from the group discussion are also included for two reasons: first, to demonstrate how participants contribute their views in the discussion that is conducted against the backdrop of the previous discussion; and second, to illustrate how theory may be developed from this data combined with the data included Roos (2016a), as presented in Roos (2016b).

Verbatim translated discussions (**with language errors**) are included. In the dialogues the following key was used: R = Researcher; P1–P8 = Participant;

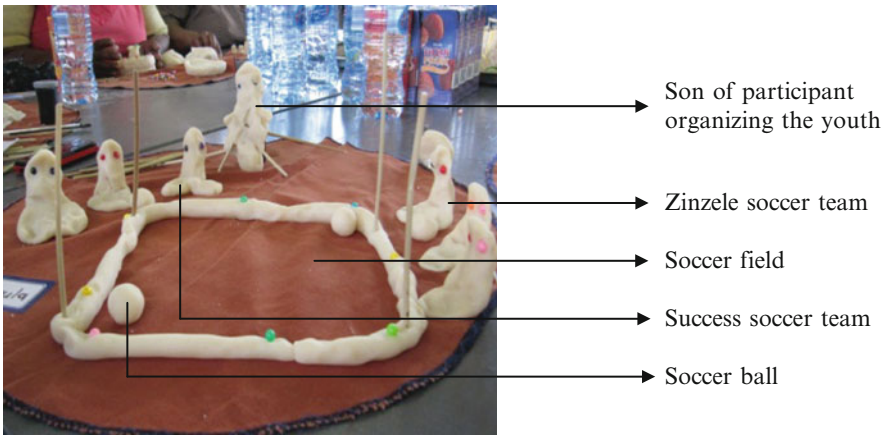

Fig. 5.2 Soccer field with two teams and an organizer

G = Group. The researcher's motivation for specific questions is given in a different colour.

Example 1: Setting the Scene to Promote Dialogue

The discussion phase was introduced by the researcher asking: *Who would like to start?*

Participant 1

Visual Representation by Participant 1

The visual representation is of a big square soccer pitch with four goal posts and two balls on the pitch. Viewed from the perspective of the participant, a standing figure is visible towards the back. This figure is the tallest and is identified as Participant 1's son. Closest to him is the Zinzele soccer team (left), and on the opposite side, facing the Zinzele players, is the Success soccer team. Three players represent each team. Unlike the participant's son they appear to be sitting (Fig. 5.2).

Verbatim Transcription of Translated Discussion with Participant 1

R Can you please tell us what you have made?

Used an open-ended question to allow participant to decide where she wanted to start.

P1 I have encouraged my child to gather other children from the location (the term for an inferior and degrading residential settlement at a distance from cities and towns, to which people were forcibly relocated during group areas removals at the time of Apartheid in South Africa), to show them to go to the soccer ground, so that he can teach them how to play soccer. There are two groups of children. This is the ground where they play soccer. That tall one is my son. They must leave crime so that they can play with their friends.

R How old are the people?

Not sure how old the people were as the images and the discussion seemed concerned with children in the middle childhood developmental phase.

P1 16–27.

R Tell us more about the groups.

Probed about the groups/teams and not the participant's son, because the focus of the study was on younger people and not a familially-related experience.

P1 This group is self-formed and their name is Zinzele. This side is called the Success group.

R What about these two groups, Zinzele and Success?

Probed deeper about the two groups but kept the question open to see where the participant would focus her explanation.

P1 Some of the kids (referring to one of the groups) were brought together by my son to play soccer. They were playing in the streets, so he is forming soccer teams so that they can do what is right and leave what is not right. They must be successful.

R Tell me more?

Invited participant to expand her explanation.

P1 Right now everything is changing for them. They are starting to show humanity (kindness). They didn't care about anything before. They were standing in the streets and scaring people. These ones (pointing to the other group) have never had problems. They were always fine.

R to the group Is that also how you see young people, that they are starting to get together to do sports?

Involved the group as soon as possible to confirm participant's view or to differ from it and to show early on in the research process that this was not a dialogue between two people only.

G Some of them.

R What does sport mean to the young people?

Probed the meaning of sport, to obtain older persons' views on the role of sport for younger people.

P6 They are entertaining themselves and maybe someone will see them perform and take them to PSL (professional soccer league).

R Did you see something happening here in in your community?

The example seemed very specific. Probed to find out if the participant referred to a hypothetical situation or something experienced.

P6 Yes. I saw it.

R to the group And the other people? Can you all then confirm what she is saying?

Involved the group in the discussion.

P4 That kid who took those kids out of the street to come and play football will all benefit because they were taken from the streets. They are going to play overseas. He will be a star tomorrow. They uplift the place where they stayed.

Summary of Participant 1's Verbatim Discussion

P1 made a playground for her son to play soccer. There are two teams with distinctive names; one group is self-formed and the other has been formed by the participant's son from people he had recruited from the street. The team, of who her son was always part of, was always doing fine in comparison with the other team, whose members used to commit crime and scare people in public places. P1 encourages her son to gather the children from the streets to play soccer and do what is right and leave what is not right. She wants them to be successful. Playing soccer had entertainment value and the potential for some to develop it into a professional career. If the youngster's talent is noticed, and he is provided with an opportunity to play professional soccer, it will give him international status and also uplift the community. P1 said that things were changing for younger people and that they were starting to show humanness (kindness) to other people.

Researcher's Reflections on Participant 1

The discussion with the first participant was very important to set the scene, promote dialogue between participants and the researcher and to introduce the norm of inclusion and participation. Accordingly I asked questions with an open-ended nature, and follow-up questions to clarify meaning and to follow the participant in her discussion. The visual representation could have been explored further by asking: What are the teams doing in the visual representation, because it looks as if they are sitting? Why are there two balls in the visual representation if only one is needed to play soccer? However, two aspects are important: first, I aimed to facilitate a process of involving people to share their experiences and to obtain the prominent themes from the group; and second, I was careful not to exhaust the group, consisting of older participants, by spending too much time on one participant. In any event, if the theme of passivity had continued to emerge from the conversation, I could always have returned to the first participant to ask more detailed questions about the visual representation.

Example 2: Using the Visual Representation to Probe for Deeper Meanings

In this example the visual representation was used during data collection to probe for the symbolic meanings participants associated with the elements in the visual representation.

Participant 2

Visual Representation by Participant 2

This visual representation is explained as a pot plant holder with petals of flowers. Under the pot plant holder are dried grass stalks to support it and they protrude a little. The verbatim transcription of the translated discussion of the visual representation is illustrated in Figs. 5.3 and 5.4.

Summary of Participant 2's Discussion

P2 made a pot plant because she loves flowers. She made the pot plant to show how much she loves her children and they love flowers. A place, according to her, that has flowers, shows love. If love exists the place is a home of love. It is important for the flowers to be firm and not fall, which will happen if there are no sticks. When the flowers start to fall, the beauty goes away but if they are standing firm, they are very attractive. The youth and the pot plant are similar because they show life. Everything in the house should be solid which is obtained when parents love one another; telling the youth when they are out of line and that they should be solid; and teach

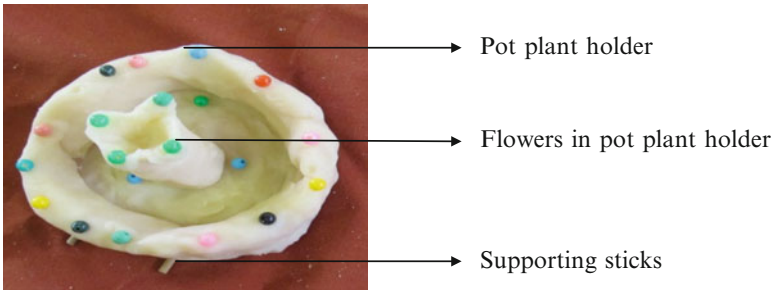

Fig. 5.3 Pot plant with flowers

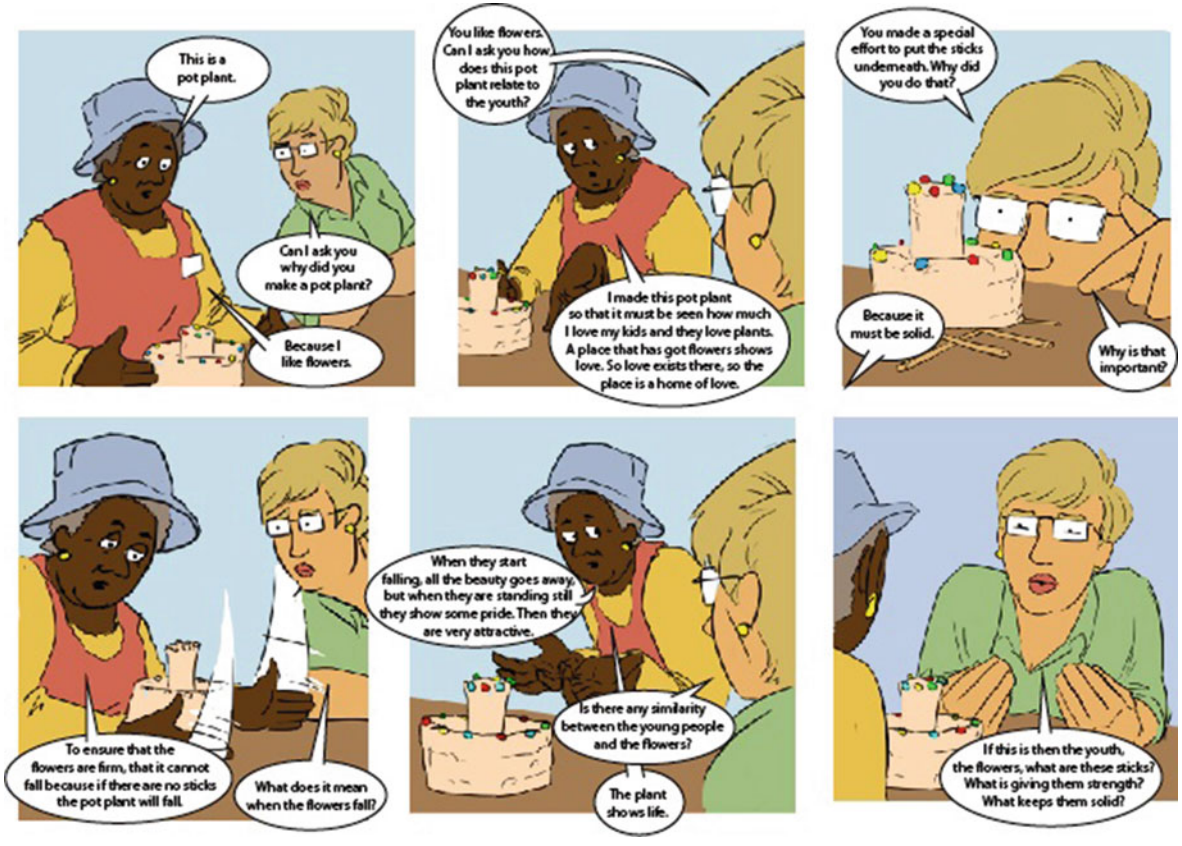

Fig. 5.4 Individual and group discussion about visual representation by Participant 2. (Figure designed by Willie Blignaut, illustrator and animator.)

Fig. 5.4 (continued)

the young people respect with love. Under these conditions, the younger people will do everything that the older people have taught them.

Researcher's Reflections on Participant 2

In this example, the metaphoric use of visual elements illustrated the importance of constantly checking my understanding of the symbolic meanings the participant associated with the representational meanings of the visual elements. I summarized the participant's response and systematically probed for deeper meanings, using her description and relating it to her and the other participants' relational experiences with younger people. It is also important to note here that I observed during the construction phase that this participant had made a special effort to place the grass stalks beneath her visual representation, and in the discussion I asked her what this meant. This aspect seemed to be significant for this participant and the group members in terms of how and what they regarded as supporting the youth. I also used her explanation of the meaning of her representation to involve the rest of the group in the discussion. The line of questioning was kept as closely as possible to the explanations the participant had offered, and this ensured that the group members were able to confirm or differ from the participant's perspective.

Example 3: Visual representation about future to discover current subjective experiences

Participant 3

Visual Representation by Participant 3

The visual representation consists of two raised surrounds bordering a soccer field, with an entrance. The first has bent dried grass stalks serving as a protective boundary, and the second, with colourful beads, represents spectators from the community. On the soccer field are two players, standing facing each other with a soccer ball between them. There are two sets of goal posts (Fig. 5.5).

Verbatim Transcription of Translated Discussion with Participant 3

P3 I have built a stadium for the youth, the way I would like to see it, because the current one is not nice, it looks bad. This one has chairs from that angle [to promote visibility] to the other one. This stadium I want it to have a roof. These small balls that I put here, these are goal poles where we score the ball. That person is playing soccer and kicking ball. I also want this kid, our kids, to

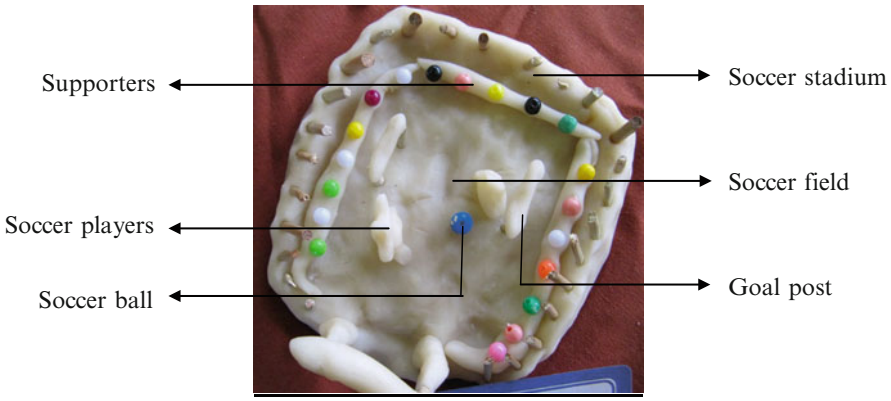

Fig. 5.5 Soccer stadium and players

leave the streets. The place where they play at the moment is open – anyone passing can see them, but this is a hidden ground (protected). What I built here is a stadium. The stadium is for the kids, for their future. So that their futures can and must look like this one.

R to the group When you look at the stadium what do you see of the young people?

Referred to visual representation to see on which aspect of his relational experience with the youth he wants to focus. I also wanted to reach beyond the mainly concrete description of the visual representation. The group members are also invited to participate in the discussion.

P7 We see happy kids playing, in the new stadium.

R How are the young people at the moment?

Tried to bring participant back to current relational experiences with the youth.

P5 The small children are still just as fertile ground, whether they receive good or bad. So people have to be very careful. Small children, they are sweet. Even if you are a leader – bad or good – they take it. They take it and run away. When they are that age (young adults), it depends on their background, where did they grow up, the way they grew up. They are always bitter, for the rest of their lives. The fortunate ones are the ones who got the correct leadership because they are much different.

R to the group And what do the others say?

Involved the group further to see what the members could contribute.

P3 These kids on this ground, they feel excited, they are proud of it. They are too proud. They even tell others that our ground is very beautiful. They are always happy. It gives them pride, especially if somebody responsible for them is treating them well. This is what I see in this ground.
P7 Others are very bitter. They are very beaten because of their living conditions. They are always bitter and angry for the rest of their lives. They can't accept their current living situation. They don't care about life.
R All the young people? Is that how you see them?

Clarified the generalized reference to the younger people as a group.

P7 Yes.
R But does the stadium say something about hope?

Used the visual representation and the potential for a hopeful alternative future postulated by Participant 3 to see if this view was shared by the group.

P3 I am giving them hope and also believe that there is some hope there.
P4 Even for adults, it won't be for kids only. We can go and support them. So the children will practise every day. They feel so proud of the stadium. And then when they are going to play matches on Saturdays and Sundays they are going to be very proud. Even if someone encourages them to go meet silly girls, they will say "No, no, no, we are playing tomorrow". They will say it with pride.

Summary of Participant 3's Discussion

P3 had built his vision of a soccer stadium because the current stadium did not have a roof (protection) for the younger people; it was exposed to the view from passers-by. The vision of a new, enclosed soccer stadium included balls, which symbolized the goals that could be scored. He visualized younger persons kicking a ball and leaving the streets. The stadium was for the younger people so that they would have a successful future that resembled the new stadium. According to P3, the children were happy to play in the new stadium. They would practise every day, feel proud of the new stadium, and would tell others about their beautiful stadium. The stadium was also for adults, who could support younger people and encourage them to practise every day. The younger people would be proud when they played

matches. They would remain focused on the game that they would be playing tomorrow, even if encouraged to meet "silly" girls.

Small children were considered to be like fertile ground, very impressionable and easily influenced for good or bad. People therefore had to be very careful about the way they guided them. When the children are small, they cannot distinguish between bad or good and they depend on their environment. When children grow older, their approach to life (currently always bitter) would depend on how and where they had grown up. The fortunate children were those who had correct guidance (leadership). The younger people who had been treated well were always happy and felt confident.

Some older persons realized that adolescents and young adults were severely affected by the living conditions, which they could not accept, and consequently did not care about life.

Researcher's Reflections on Participant 3

This visual representation showed how the participant envisioned a prospective future for younger people. In this example the researcher followed the participant and the group to see how the futuristic prospective that he and the group proposed could be used to obtain data about current relational experiences.

Inclusion of Other Visual Representations

The verbatim translated discussions of the remaining participants are included to provide a comprehensive account of the data obtained to provide background for Chap. 8, which describes how theory was developed from these data as well as the data in Chap. 6.

Participant 4

Visual Representation by Participant 4

An enclosed physical space is represented by dried grass stalks placed in a circle around two figures. A smaller figure, described as the mother returning from town, is standing in the doorway, and a bigger figure (a young male) is standing opposite the mother with a bottle of beer in his left hand (Fig. 5.6).

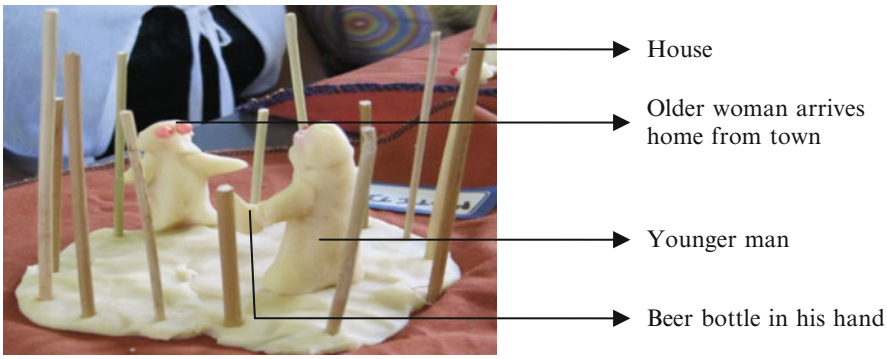

Fig. 5.6 An older woman faces an aggressive younger man

Verbatim Transcription of Translated Discussion with Participant 4

P4	Here I have made a father, this one is a woman (pointing to figure with pink bead eyes) coming in. The man inside the house is holding a bottle and has had too much to drink. Now he wants to establish from the woman if he is man of the house or not. He's holding a bottle of beer. He's drunk. This woman just walked in. How does it relate to young ones? (Question asked and answered by P4.) Our young people remind me of one thing in my whole entire life: our children right now, when they are sitting at home, and their mother went to town, when she comes back she find them sitting with two quarts (750 ml bottles of beer). When the mother asks what is going on, they take out their red eyes (anger) for her and threaten to beat her up. Now these are the things that I want to show our children – that this is not how to live your life.
R	Can you tell more?
P4	This is the mother from town. Now she is getting inside the house. This young man, he's got a bottle of beer in his hand. He says: "Hey, hey, you can't tell me nonsense."
R	Is he the man of the house? Is that what you said?
P4	Ja, ja.
R to the group	Have the rest of the group also observed some of this with the young people?
G	Everyone agrees.
R	Can you tell us about this person with a bottle of beer?
P4	He took the alcohol that he was drinking and came into the house because no one can tell him "just leave that here". This is the bad mind that our children have right now. The kids have rights now.
R	Can I ask something about these sticks?

P4 This is a house, it is not a jail. This is like a house. Ja, because why? I can't make all the things in the house but I can explain what it is.

R So the important thing is this young male is acting as if no one can tell him what to do. And he doesn't want to listen to the mother. (Turns to to the group.) You all say you have seen this? You have seen that younger people do this?

G Everyone agrees.

Summary of Participant 4's Discussion

P4 made a man whom he describes as the father of the house who is demanding recognition of his position as man of the house from a woman who has just entered the house, telling her not to question or talk to him about anything. P4 uses a hypothetical situation to illustrate how young people sit at home drinking excessively and when they are intoxicated they do not take instructions from an older woman, and they express their anger towards her by threatening to assault her physically. He uses this as an example to say that this is not how children should live their lives. But children have rights now (referring to human rights) and therefore they do not listen (to the older people).

Participant 5

Visual Representation by Participant 5

Four separate scenes are depicted. Starting from the top: A number of smaller figures are placed on a piece of clay which indicates where the community members live. Three smaller figures and a bigger figure, representing a parent, are placed next to the demarcated clay space. On the left is a school in an enclosed area. Below it, between the school and the next visual element, stands a lone figure with a hole in his head. To the right of this figure is a scene depicting a place where alcohol is sold illegally (shebeen). Smaller figures are placed inside and outside the shebeen (Fig. 5.7).

Verbatim Transcription of Translated Discussion with Participant 5

P5 This is the location (an inferior and degrading settlement) where people are staying. And good parents take their children to school. Here in the location there is nothing else besides the children. These shebeens, it's really not good for them. We know that consumption of alcohol is not a bad thing but it shouldn't be done in front of the children. It should be something not easily accessible to the children. It is better that

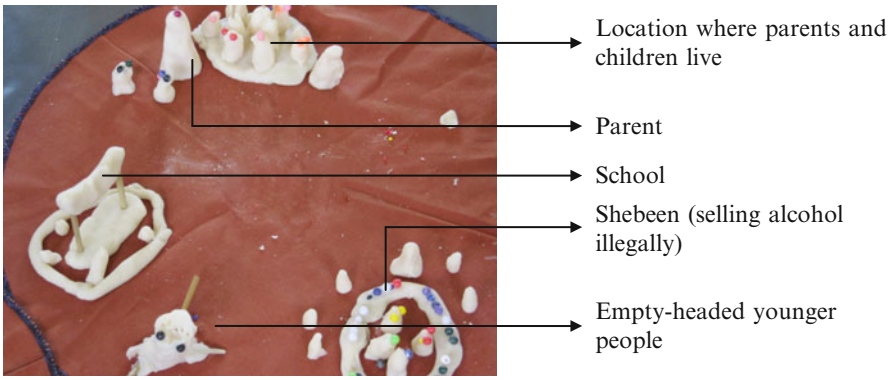

Fig. 5.7 Developmental cycle of younger people

	the parents buy liquor at the liquor store and put it at home. Even if it's in the home, children should know that that stuff must not be touched. That stuff is my father's and is something they should know that their time is coming.
R	What did you make here?
P5	This is the school. At school there is nothing except only the education and the parents. I mean, in the school they get input from the teachers. And the children are between 5 and 6 hours with the teachers. There is nothing of importance, no sports grounds there. When the children leave the school, there is the influence from home of seeing that maybe liquor made somebody very important, to feel very brave. At school it is only education, and it is worse. You punish the child with a stick. When they leave the school, they are empty-headed. They are just empty-headed but bitter in life. That is why today it is like everything seems to confuse.
R to the group	Can all of you tell us a bit more about that bitterness and confusion? What do you mean?
P5	They are bitter. They especially become rough at night. You are afraid to leave your house even to go next door. Because a young child won't meet you in the street and just pass you. They think of money, just taking your money or taking your cell phone, even killing you, raping you. Such things! It's bitterness, it's controlling them.
P4	Some of the things that are making them confused is liquor and then the drugs. When they are drunk, they can't see you as a person. They take you like a paper and treat you badly. That's why you hear her saying while they were at school they used to behave like humans. But now, in all this confusion and drugs and alcohol they are empty in their heads. They have nothing in their heads.

P5 And [when] they grow up [there is] even in the locations, there is nothing of interest, there is nothing to keep them busy. No sports or even swimming or something just to keep the child happy, and busy.

R What about the older people and the parents? Do they help the young people?

P7 That is why I said, there is one basic problem, because we are there but we don't have money to establish things like playgrounds. We are there, but we are useless. We don't have money, or something to do. Even we don't have somebody on top in the government to hear our voices.

P5 There's nothing of interest for children of 18. Children of 18 don't take much from the parents. They only think they are better off because they are already from school. Others even go to an extent of undermining the parents because maybe the parents did not go to school or halfway school. They consider themselves better, leaving the school, but with an empty head.

P4 All these things are caused by usage of drugs, drinking of alcohol. They don't have any facilities or anything that will take them out of those activities. Because if we had such things all of them will just carry their bags and know that I am going to play soccer. All these things are things that worry us. If we can get things like that, I think these kids, they will minimize those types of behaviours.

Summary of Participant 5's Discussion

Parents and their children were living in 'locations'. According to the older persons, there was nothing in the locations for the children: there were no sports such as swimming or activities to occupy the children or to keep them satisfied. Parents did not have money to build facilities like playgrounds. So although parents were present, they were powerless and felt useless and did not have anything to offer. Moreover, they did not have someone high up in government who could act on their behalf. The older persons saw themselves as responsible parents who took their children to school because nothing was more important than the children. Younger people received information from teachers at school and their parents. The teachers spent 5–6 hours with the children to educate and discipline them. Teachers hit children at school; the school environment was not stimulating and lacked playgrounds.

There were places where alcohol could be obtained illegally by children; this was to be condemned. Older persons knew that the consumption of alcohol in itself was not wrong, but children should not be exposed to it or have easy access to it. Parents were not role models for their children if they consumed alcohol to feel in control. Parents should rather buy their liquor at legal outlets and drink it at home. If children found alcohol at home, they should know that it did not belong to them and that it was not intended for them. The younger people should consume alcohol only

when they were old enough. There was also the influence of drugs, which prevented younger persons from acknowledging other people as human beings. Drugs caused younger people to disregard and dismiss older persons.

Younger people who left school after having been exposed to such environments and influences did not develop an adequate capacity to think and were extremely negative about life. Furthermore, there was no alternative for them because there were no facilities or activities to occupy them. If there were, the younger people could play sport and refrain from doing wrong.

Late adolescents and young adults were confused. They did not listen to their parents. The late adolescents undermined their parents' authority because of the parents' lack of education. Although the younger people were better educated they were, according to the older persons, 'empty-headed'.

Younger people became unmanageable, particularly at night. Older persons were too frightened to leave their houses to visit neighbours because, according to them, the younger people they encountered outside would stop and work out how they could steal their money or their mobile phones, or even kill or rape the older persons. Extreme negativity was controlling the younger people. Older persons were concerned about the things they had discussed.

Participant 6

Visual Representation by Participant 6

A visual representation consisting of different scenes has been made. On the far left is a structure representing the government. On the right is the church and the spiritual leader. In front of the church and the spiritual leader are two bigger figures with smaller objects in front of them. The bigger figure on the right is described as a daughter and in front of her are her three illegitimate children. To her right is her brother, with bottles of beer on the ground in front of him. Directly in front is the school. To the left, beyond the school is the parents' house, a father looking at the children, and a mother looking straight towards the children (Fig. 5.8).

Verbatim Transcription of Translated Discussion with Participant 6

R	What did you make?
P6	This is a girl, a boy, the church, home and school. These are kids, and these are bottles of wine. This is the spiritual leader of the church, and this is the parliament. This girl got kids out of wedlock, the boy is using drugs. They have made Standard 10 (Grade 12), but we (parents) don't have money to take them to university or other education. So this is the mother and the father and the home. We are looking at them with heartache because we do love our kids but we don't have money. We hate

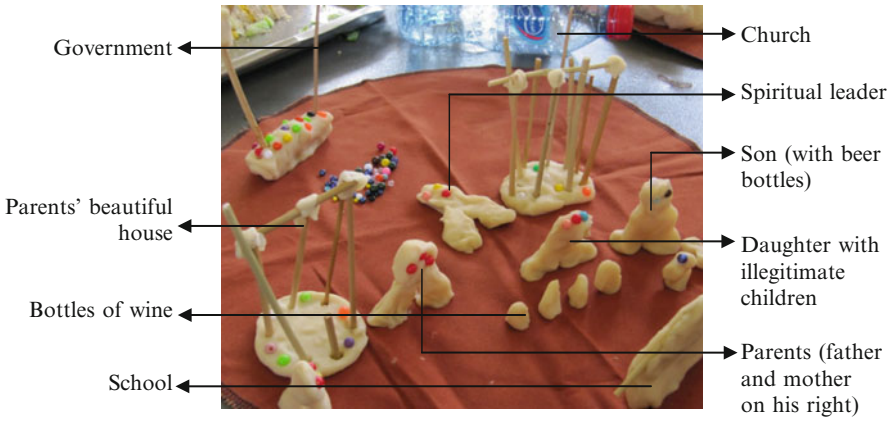

Fig. 5.8 Different systems impacting on the life of parents and their children

this; we don't want this girl to have kids before she can stay on her own, and to have an education. [She is supposed] to get married and to be professional. We don't like these kids. We don't like that the boy is drinking – we hate this. That is why the mother and the father there look with heartache on the things that they [the children] are doing. This is the beautiful home where we raised them. The father is looking at the government. What can the government do to cancel all the taverns and where they buy drugs? Do help us (parents) so that they (the children) can go to church! And the spiritual leaders they do nothing because there is no youth in the church, only old men and women. So the reverend (spiritual leader) needs to get the young kids to go and praise the Lord and to change their lives.

R I just want to make sure that I understand what you said. You made children with problems and the parents look at the government, church and education to solve the problems.

P6 Ja.

R to the group Is that also what all of you think?

P4 Ja, I think so. The government, churches and we, the community and our councillors, we can solve all these things.

R You need outside help, is that what you are saying?

P6 Ja I think so. We the community, our government, churches and I mean even you (researcher), we can handle this.

P4 Yes, Participant 6 is quite correct. But the main thing is that those people (owners) of the taverns are making a living [out of] that, the alcohol. Now when the alcohol can be taken to one place and that place is closing by nine o'clock, then everything can be very

smooth. In the days before, we were drinking but nine o'clock there is no one at the bar because it is closed and you go to sleep.

P5 Even our elders, the politicians, those who have somehow made all this democracy, they had little liquor. Whatever they were fighting for there was some sense. Today even if the children that are striking at school are just bossy. They just want the teachers to be afraid of them, that's the only thing. They've seen it happening at home because these shebeens were put right inside the location. They even cause trouble between the parents. The parents don't have time for their children. Children are growing on their own, parents are either fighting or suffering. The father is working far away just to make a living happen in the home.

R Please help me to understand. What is the relevance of democracy to what you just said? What does democracy have to do with disobedient youth? Help me to understand?

P5 We grew up and our parents did not say anything of being afraid. We were just being told. At least with democracy, we are able to say what we think is right and what is wrong, we are able to talk. It has somehow opened up and there are some other things. I wanted to be a lawyer and I went to school, knowing that I was going to do that. But I was told by the principal that you go for teaching, I couldn't say anything else. My mother told me, my child go and take that teaching and run with it. But today's children they won't do it, that I can tell you.

R Democracy? Why did you refer to it?

P5 At least you are able to say what is good for you or what you want and what you don't want. But the pity is now that there are just bitter [younger] people.

P3 What all these people said when they talked about these kids who drink a lot, is true. These kids drink carelessly, they don't even listen to parents. When you hear Participant 5 talking about democracy it is because anybody can sell liquor at their own home, and not pay licences to sell liquor. Now you see taverns [that are open] from six to six. When you ask the person (owner), the person will say this is my home. When the police come, they bribe them with liquor. So that democracy spoiled everything. So now kids drink liquor at night, these people at the taverns don't look at the age of the child they only look at the money they receive. There are drugs at school and liquor. Our hearts are very sore. We are feeling pain because of these things. When we try to call the police, the law says you must open a case for you. You can't even call your own child to order, now these kids are spoiled by democracy because the democracy gives the child rights.

P6 Democracy comes with being responsible. They don't know anything about responsibility, it is only bitterness like I said. They see the parents fighting at home. They are going to bed without food

> because there is nothing to eat in the house. The father is not there, but working far away. The mother is looking after the kids and tries that the children should go to school.

Summary of Participant 6's Discussion

A family which consisted of a mother, father, daughter and a son was represented. The parents loved their children and raised them in a beautiful home, but their children's behaviour caused them pain and intense disappointment. The daughter had illegitimate children and the son abused alcohol. The daughter was supposed to become independent, obtain an education, have a professional career and marry before having children. The parents also condemned their son's alcohol abuse. Both children completed their formal schooling, but the parents' lack of money prevented them from continuing further.

Parents did not have time for their children; they experienced conflict and struggled to survive financially. Families were disrupted by fathers who were working away from home and mothers who looked after the children, doing their best to see that the children attended school, and the children were physically and emotionally neglected. Younger people abused alcohol and substances, and they did not listen to their parents. There was a serious problem of alcohol abuse by children and it was aggravated by the owners of the taverns who were benefiting from selling alcohol illegally to younger people. These owners would not compromise their profit by verifying the age of the children.

Solutions to the problems of the younger people are expressed as something beyond the control of the older persons. It is the responsibility of the government, spiritual community, the community in general, the community leaders and even the researchers to solve the younger people's problems. The spiritual leader, and the spiritual community as well as the government should take action. The government should close down all the taverns and places where children can buy drugs. The spiritual leader should motivate younger people to join the spiritual community, to engage in spiritual activities and to change their lives. The spiritual leader is accused of a lack of action because there are no young people in the church. The sale of alcohol should be confined to one place and closing times enforced. The older persons express a sense of helplessness about solving the problems that they have identified.

The conduct of the younger people is compared with the way the older people behaved when they were young themselves. Previously, older persons' consumption of alcohol was controlled and they behaved responsibly. Moreover, younger people obeyed their elders when told what to do. For example, one of the participants wanted to become a lawyer and went to school to achieve this goal but was told by the principal that she should become a teacher instead, which she accepted. Her mother encouraged her to become a teacher and to excel at it. Older persons used not to be afraid of the younger people. The children today intimidate people.

Everything changed for the black older persons under a new political dispensation when a fair, inclusive and democratic society was established after 1994. Older

black people were able to express their opinions, their preferences and their dislikes freely, but some interpreted democracy as the freedom to sell liquor in their homes without paying for licences and to run taverns that stayed open all night. When confronted, the owner of the tavern would claim that it was his house and, if investigated, he would bribe police officers. Democracy is also interpreted by older persons as giving children rights and being unable to call them to order. For them as older persons, democracy means behaving responsibly. The younger people do not know anything about responsibility; they are just bitter (negative).

Older persons are sad and experience emotional pain because of these things.

Participant 7

Visual Representation by Participant 7

The visual representation consists of a big boat, a skipper in the boat and an oar in front of the skipper (Fig. 5.9).

Verbatim Transcription of Translated Discussion with Participant 7

P7 It's a boat.
R Can you tell us more about the boat? Why did you make that when you think about the youth? Why did you think that?

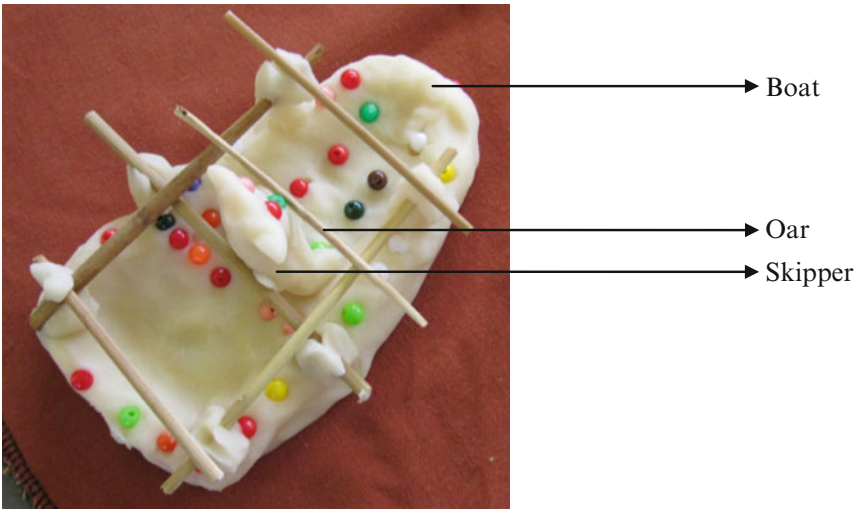

Fig. 5.9 A boat to teach younger people skills

P7 It shows young people how the boat looks, they don't know the boat. I was responding to the question that says we must form anything that comes into our minds when we think of the youth.
R That's good, but why a boat?
P7 To make them aware it is not only cars that we have. So that they can use the boat for the seas and not only concentrate about learning about cars.
R Okay so it is important for you then to teach the youth certain things that they don't know.
P7 Yes.
P You made something that you would like to teach to the children. Is that also relevant for 18 to 25-year-old people? Do you want to teach them things?
P4 You can start from 16 up to 28 or 30. I think this is very clear because our kids can learn to drive this ship and then they can go there in Durban to go fishing with those boats, driving the people from place to place.
R So you can teach them a skill, to find work and for them to do something?
P4 Yes, they can gain something from it and grow.

Summary of Participant 7's Discussion

A boat was built to educate younger people about different modes of transport. They could also use the knowledge if they moved from their current location to a seaside (approximately 900 km/559 miles away) so that they, it is hoped, could secure employment by applying this knowledge.

Participant 8

Visual Representation by Participant 8

The scene depicts where alcohol is sold illegally, in a shebeen, and legally in a tavern. On the ground in front of the tavern and the shebeen are drunken youths. In the centre of the visual representation there is a three-dimensional image with a piece of paper with the word 'Beer' written on. The words 'Tavern' and 'Shebeen' are also written on the clay (Fig. 5.10).

Verbatim Transcription of Translated Discussion with Participant 8

R Our last participant. What did you make?
P8 So the boys are lying on the floor. They are drunk. I want to know, how are we going to take this kids out of the tavern?

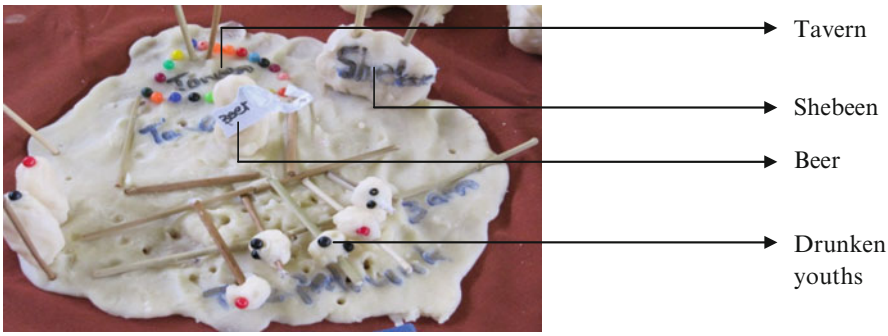

Fig. 5.10 Drunken youth lying on the ground close to drinking places

Summary of Participant 8's Discussion

Data saturation is obtained when another older person, who expressed concern about younger people's alcohol abuse, refers to the excessive drinking of young adult males, which immobilizes them, and their helplessness as older persons to remedy the situation.

Comfort Break

Participants took a comfort break and were provided with refreshments. They were asked if photographs could be taken of their visual representations to serve as visual data. The group discussion started after 10 min.

Group Discussion

R You are welcome to join the discussion. You talk about the youth. You want to teach them something, you want to teach them values, you want to see them get an education, you want to involve them in sports. My question is: How do you talk to them about things that are important to you?

I provided the context for the group discussion by summarizing the main themes that had emerged from the individual participants' visual representations. I wanted to steer the discussion towards how they related to the younger people when they communicated with them about the topics that had been mentioned.

P6 We sit down with them. I used to sit down with my children, every day. I ask them how do you feel about me? And they tell me. They ask me how do I feel about them? And I told them, I want you to do this: Go to school, I am a single mother, I am trying, I am giving food, I am giving clothes, I am doing everything for you. I am single, five children, I have tried on my own to make sure they can go to school. They have done Standard 10 (Grade 12), all of them. I didn't have enough money to send them to... you know tertiary [education]. But at least I have tried.

R You sit down and talk to them, is that what all of you do?

Individual participant's contribution is acknowledged, but the group is also involved.

P3 You see, the problem is, if government can only change the thing of rights, because now that they have rights, children do not listen.

R Do you all feel that the children must not have rights?

I make sure that I have understood what Participant 3 meant.

P7 No, they must not have rights. There must be [a] policy, with the rights.

R What do you mean?

Probed for further clarification.

P7 The rights were just thrown on to the papers, media, and radio and we were not called to sit down with the government and say: but look, we are going to do this, with your kids. Their rights are this and this and this. When we hit a child, he has got the right to go to lay a claim [against] you. The way you hit him or her, maybe you used your fists or kierie (walking stick) or something. There must be some method or something written down. What you must not do when you hit a child.

P4 I want to add that to the rights of the kids. The small kids from one up to ten, you can't hit with a stick or whatever, because he is not full in his mind. The one from fifteen up to twenty, he must get a little bit *schy-ya* (slang word indicating a hiding) so that he must get to the right position of the people.

R Is there only one position that the youth can take or are there different positions?

In this question and the follow-up discussion, I clarified the participants' perspectives in terms of how the youth could relate to older people.

G There are different ways, but. . .
R So if the children's way of doing is different from your way of doing. Is that right or wrong?
P6 It's wrong.
R It's wrong. There is only one way to do that, and it's your way.
P1 Yes.
P6 I think so, ja, when they are in the home.
R In the home?
P4 They do funny things, funny things. When I am talking about it, and say don't do that it is wrong. They won't answer me. When Participant 2 over here says: "Hey my child you can't do that", they say: "You're not my mother, you're not my father."
R So you say that if another older person says something to your child and the child says you are not my mother, that is not the way to do it?
P4 NO! Each and every mother, even if it is you (researcher), you tell them: "You don't do that." I can't put a question why should I not do that thing? Say OK madam, I am sorry. I won't do it again.
R You want the children to do like you tell them to do.
P4 Ja, to be obedient.
R Is that true for all of you?

I seek to obtain other group members' opinions.

P3 Sometimes kids do wrong things, thinking they are doing what is right, and the fact that they don't know. So when you sit down with them and ask them about what they are doing and explain why you don't like that, and they listen carefully to know that my father doesn't want this thing. Now the democracy has taken these kids out of the way things used to be.
P6 We talk to our children every day and night. We try to guide them, you know, but they don't listen, because they've got rights.
P7 Like this girl who's got kids outside of wedlock is one of the problems because when they grow up they want to know, who is my father? And say there are three, different fathers. And it starts there when you say you don't treat me like that number one, number two, you mistreat me, so you tell me which one my father was. I want to know him, maybe he is a good man. I want to follow his steps. Then in our culture we are not allowed. My parents say you must not tell them who their fathers are because they will disrespect you.

If you say: "John, Dube, Adam" (different putative fathers), immediately they'll say: "I see what kind of mother are you."

R Do you mean that when your children are young and they go through school but that they ended up empty-headed and do things you don't like. Why? What is happening?

P4 Like I said a lot of things happen, at school they don't exercise discipline and parent can't discipline their children.

P5 They used to get their IDs at 18 and you knew that I got my ID when I was 18 now I am a big person. Now they get their IDs at 16, can you see now the number is multiply? It's wrong this age of 16. What is a 16 year old going to do with an ID?

Summary of Group Discussion

Every day, the older people sit down with their children to talk to them. They ask how the children feel about them and then the older people use this opportunity to tell the younger people to go to school. Despite challenges faced as a single mother, one of the older participants mentioned the sacrifices she had made to enable her children to go to school and how lack of finances limited the younger people's options for obtaining tertiary education.

Some older people blamed the government for the introduction of children's rights that were implemented without consulting with them as parents or a policy guiding how the rights should be implemented. The older people only learned about it through the media and blame the government for not taking into consideration the consequences that it may have for their children. The rights of the children are mentioned particularly in relation to corporal punishment (which was used as method of discipline); younger people could now lay a claim against an older person if they hit them. Even though some of the older people differed about how to discipline the children, they unanimously confirmed that theirs was the only perspective that mattered when the younger people were in their homes. The younger people disobeyed the older people, which was (according to their understanding of the social-cultural norms) not acceptable. Older people should not be questioned by the younger people and they should apologize.

Older people felt that when the younger people did wrong things, they wanted to sit down, and talk to the children, who should listen to the older people. Somehow, democracy and the rights of children had made them disobedient.

Some of the older women had had children with more than one man and the children complained about not being treated equally fairly. The younger people also wanted to know who their fathers were so that they could use them as role models, but women were not allowed to share this information because of cultural constraints (according to them) and the risk of being judged by the younger people.

Phase 4. Debriefing Participants

After 45 min, when participants has started to discuss different topics, it was decided to conclude the session. Participants were thanked for their time and contribution and were invited to tell the researchers how they had experienced the session. The participants responded that they felt happy that they were able to talk about their relational experiences with late adolescents and early adults. They were told that they could take their visual presentations away with them if they liked. Participants were approached individually and asked if they needed to talk to a pre-arranged counsellor about emotions that may have been aroused in the course of the research session. None requested counselling. Researchers and participants enjoyed refreshments together and after 15 min the researchers cleaned the tables and said farewell to each participant individually. The researchers regrouped later in the afternoon to reflect on the research process and their personal experiences.

Types of Data Obtained

The translated discussions were transcribed verbatim and served as textual data, while the photographs of the visual representations served as visual data. Observational notes and the video recordings were used to analyze the interactions between participants. Chap. 6 provides an example of how the textual data were analyzed. An example of the analysis of the visual in relation to the textual data is discussed in Chap. 7. The analysis of the interactions in the video recordings falls beyond the scope of this book. The findings in this chapter will be presented in future publications by Roos and Baart (in press).

Conclusion

This chapter illustrates how the Mmogo-method was implemented in 4 phases. In Phase 1, context was created for participation and norms for inclusion and participation were introduced. Participants constructed visual representations in Phase 2, which served as stimulus for individual and group discussions in the next phase. In Phase 3, probing questions were asked to obtain a deeper understanding of participants' relational experiences through the visual representations they had made. Group discussion augmented individual discussions to obtain rich data. In Phase 4, the group adjourned and participants were debriefed, counselling services were offered, and participants were thanked and farewells said individually. Visual, textual and observational data were obtained from implementing the Mmogo-method. Visual data were obtained from photographs taken of the visual

representations. The individual participants' explanations and group discussions were translated verbatim and served as textual data. Observational data were obtained from observational notes and the video recordings. The data obtained in this chapter will be used to develop the Self-Interactional Group Theory discussed in Roos (2016b).

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Chapter 6
The Mmogo-method and the Intergenerational Group Reflecting Technique to Explore Intergenerational Interactions and Textual Data Analysis

Vera Roos

Abstract This chapter has a two-pronged aim: First, to demonstrate how the Mmogo-method is combined with the Intergenerational Group Reflecting Technique (IGRT) (Roos V, J Intergen Relat 9(1):90–98. doi:10.1080/15350770.2011.544217, 2011); and second, to demonstrate how textual data obtained from generational Setswana-speaking members were analyzed. The Mmogo-method was combined with IGRT to obtain data about the interactional nature of relationships between older persons and young adults. In the IGRT, two groups of participants are involved – while one group shares its perspectives the other group members listen and reflect on what they have heard. Young adult males (N = 10, aged 20–25) were requested to make visual representations of their relational experiences with older people who are socially related to them, while the older persons (N = 6; 1 male and 5 females, aged 60–78) were asked to listen to the young adult males' explanations and to reflect on what they had heard. The descriptive phenomenological psychological method was used to analyze the textual data. The findings from this chapter will be used to develop theory that will be discussed in Chap. 8.

Introduction and Background

In this chapter the aims are: to demonstrate how the Mmogo-method was combined with the Intergenerational Group Reflecting Technique (IGRT) (Roos, 2011) to explore the relational/interactional nature of the relationships between two

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generations, and to illustrate how the data obtained were analyzed. The IRGT requires participants in the research to be divided into two groups. The members of the one group sit in a circle (inner group), while the other group (outer group) is asked to sit behind the inner group (Roos, 2011). The inner group is asked to give its perspectives, while the outer group assumes a listening, reflecting position, following Andersen (1990). The outer group is then asked to reflect on what its members have heard, while the inner group's members listen to their reflections. This method, according to White (2000), contributes to rich descriptions of personal experiences and relational dynamics. According to Roos, the IGRT "facilitates active listening positions among members of the bookend generations who participate in a joint research endeavour" (p. 2). The IGRT is also a useful research tool for confirming information between generational members and to observe implicit sociocultural norms that guide intergenerational interactions. It also enables the emergence of additional information about intergenerational interactions (Roos, 2011).

In this research, ten young adult male participants (between 20 and 25 years) were seated in the inner circle and six people (older than 60 years) (one man and five women, aged 60–78) sat in the outer circle. The willing and available participants (Creswell, 2007; Ritchie, Lewis, & Elam, 2003), were from the same community as the participants described in Roos (2016a), but not part of the same multigenerational household.

On the appointed day of data gathering, the research team (one English-speaking researcher, three Setswana-speaking postgraduate students, and three English-speaking field workers) and the prospective participants introduced themselves. The Setswana-speaking students explained the informed consent form to participants individually, stating the purpose of the research, namely to explore younger people's relational experiences of older persons. It was explained that the young adults would be invited to make visual representations by using unstructured materials of something that reminded them of older persons in their community and on completion to explain what they had made, while the older persons listened to them. The older persons would then be asked to reflect on what they had heard. It was emphasized to prospective participants of both groups that their participation was voluntary; that they could withdraw at any stage of the research without prejudice; that their identities would be protected in the presentation of the findings by using participant numbers, but that confidentiality could be ensured only partially during the data gathering because participants would be sharing their experiences in a group context. Participants were asked, however, to treat the discussions as confidential. All present agreed to participate in the research on these terms.

The young men were provided with the materials and asked, *With the materials in front of you we would like you to make anything that reminds you of the older persons in your community*. Participants completed the visual representations in about 45 min. The process of translation was followed as discussed in Roos (2016b). The young participants explained what they had made in Setswana. One

of the Setswana-speaking students translated the explanation verbatim into English, while the other two students confirmed or complemented the translation.

Data Analysis

Translated discussions were transcribed verbatim and used as textual data. The verbatim translated discussion was included with language errors uncorrected. The visual representations were photographed on completion of the individual participants' explanations and served as visual data, complementing the textual data. The data obtained were analyzed using the descriptive phenomenological psychological method (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2008; Giorgi, 2012).

Descriptive Phenomenological Psychological Analysis

A description of the visual representations and group discussions is presented in two columns below. The column on the left contains the verbal account in the participants' translated words, while in the column on the right the same words (e.g. in translated form) are used to produce a coherent descriptive account of the discussions. The descriptive meanings are presented as closely as possible to the translation of the original text. Following Giorgi and Giorgi's (2008) and Giorgi's (2012) descriptive phenomenological psychological analysis, the verbatim translated transcriptions of the individual and group discussions were read and re-read, and the visual data studied in relation to the textual data to become familiar with them and to obtain a sense of the whole. Descriptive meanings obtained from the data were then organized into summaries to represent the core message of the participants' explanations and the group discussions from an interactional perspective. Finally, core summaries were used to generate a general structure of the phenomenon. For the purpose of this chapter, the verbatim translated data gathered and the process of analysis will be presented together. In this particular example, the aim was to obtain patterns in the relational interactions between members of two generations. Therefore the emphasis is not on the visual data, but more on the process and the patterns that have emerged. The visual was used to stimulate discussion between participants.

Illustration of Data Analysis

It should be noted that the open-ended prompt may have been too vague or unspecific, because some of the younger participants (e.g. 1, 2, 3 and 7) described their current relationships with older people, while other young adults (e.g. 4, 5, 6)

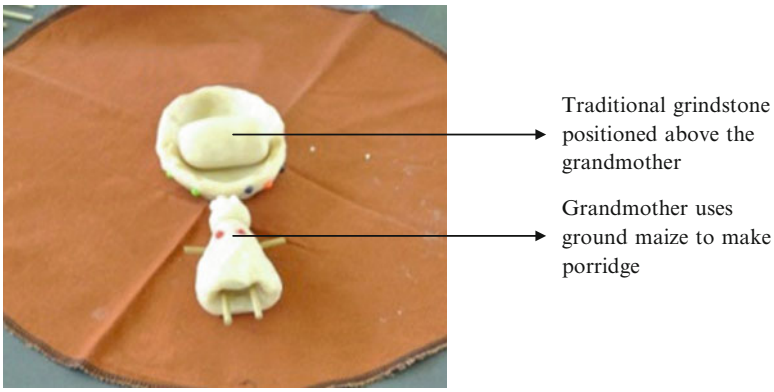

Fig. 6.1 Grandmother and traditional grindstone

described past relationships with older persons. Moreover, the data were obtained from a group of young adult males and findings are gender biased. In the dialogues below the following keys were used. R = Researcher; OP = Older Participant; YP = Younger Participant; G = Group.

Participant 1 (Fig. 6.1)

	Verbatim translation of discussions	**Descriptive account of discussion**
YP1	I have made a grinding stone.	Traditional utensil to grind maize.
R	Why did you make that?	
YP1	I have made this because it reminds me of my grandmother at home.	His first association with older persons is with his "grandmother at home".
R	Why?	
YP1	It is something that reminds me of the older people.	A memory of food preparation related to a significant older person that is generalized to other older people.
R	Can you explain a bit more?	
YP1	I like them. I love them so much. My granny, this is why I think of them, and this grinding stone.	A general expression of affection in relation to older people but an associative memory of his relationship with his "granny".
R	You think about the grinding stone, when you think about older people. What made you think of that?	

YP1	It is because I grew up eating that corn that was grinded with that stone.	He has personal experience of being cared for by a specific older person while growing up.
R	Did you like it?	
YP1	I liked it so much. That is what reminds me of the elderly people. When I think of elderly people, I think of that kind of corn, when I ate it (porridge) made by my grandmother, who is here (points to figure).	The food and eating the food (prepared by a significant older person) were so positive that they inform his perception of other older people positively.

Summary of core message
A young adult expresses positive emotions in relation to a significant related older person (his grandmother) and the way in which food was prepared by her. He projects this positive experience onto other older people.

Participant 2 (Fig. 6.2)

Verbatim translation of discussions		**Descriptive account of discussion**
R	What did you make?	
YP2	I just made a place where we keep life stocks, cows and chickens. So this is a person who takes care of the cows, who milks the cows and who feeds them. Here is the gate. He just put them inside and he is about to close the gate. It is like when you	This participant has presented a traditional practice indicating how livestock were taken care of. The animals have been placed in a *kraal* (a traditional enclosed pen). A person takes care of the animals by milking and feeding them and

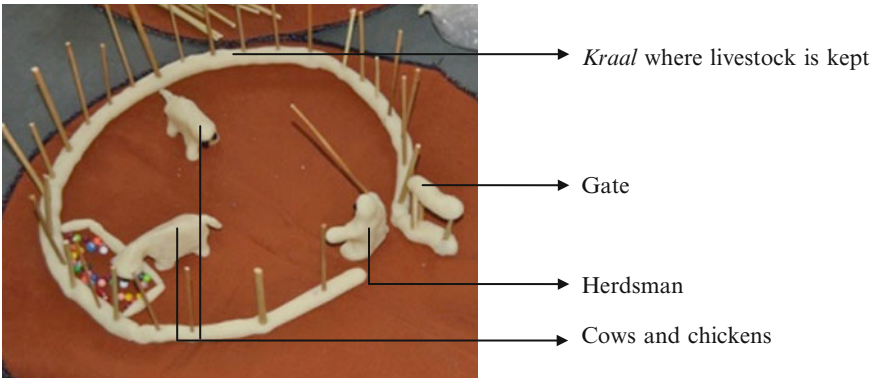

Fig. 6.2 Kraal with livestock and herdsman

	enter [community name], next to the police station, on the left hand side, there are some farms there, but nowadays there is no place for people of the past days.	making sure that they are safe by closing the gate. Taking care of animals is associated with farming and older persons. Older persons and farming activities do not have a place today as they had in the past.
R	Why did you make these objects when we asked you to make something of older people?	
YP2	I made it because if you look at our lives, we are no longer focused on the agriculture things. We are thinking of going to school, pursuing positive care – forgetting about our roots. That is the motivation for this.	This participant identifies himself with a group no longer focused on agricultural "things". They rather think of pursuing an education and "positive care". They are forgetting about the traditional practices.

Summary of core message
This participant expresses a memory of farming practices he associates with the past and older persons. He (together with the group he belongs to) is no longer interested in pursuing these, but would rather focus on education to "pursue positive care".

Group Discussion 1

Verbatim translation of discussions		**Descriptive account of discussion**
R	Is that how it is for all of you?	
YP4	Some of us want to forget, but some of us, who stays with our grannies, at the moment, they listen to them. The grandparents always correct them where they go wrong.	YP4 states that some of the young people would like to forget about the past, but those who stay with their "grannies" obey them. Grandparents always correct them when they go wrong.
R	How do the older people experience it?	
OP1	(Stands up to address the group). I want us to go back to Participant 1's project (visual representation). His project is very good. Even if the family wasn't able to provide, the maize was always there. When you grind with that stone, there will be flour that comes out that can be made	OP1 (male) takes a standing position in relation to the researchers and the younger persons. He compliments YP1 on his visual representation. He states that food was always available, even if the family could not provide (being provided for by the community?). He tells the group

	into something. We would make something like bread, or what people called dumplings.	how the grindstone works and what food was made from the ground maize.
R	But how is the relationship now between the older people and the younger people as opposed to the past?	
OP1	(Stands up). The young people right now... My sister was born in 1912 and she's still using this grinding stone today to make the porridge that we eat.	The same participant again stands up and begins to explain something, but then interrupts himself to emphasize the usefulness worth of the traditional utensil, which is still being used by an older female relative of his to prepare food.
R	Young people, what do you feel about things of the past? Do you want to keep the things or go ahead with your education?	
YP3	These things (of the past) should go on, because at the end of the day they will help us. Like in olden days, they used to take three-legged pots (to cook), because there was no electricity. Even today we see ourselves using those three legged pots, and not only baking on electricity.	YP3 says that the practices of the past should be maintained because of their usefulness then and also today. He (and the group he identifies with) sees the usefulness of the traditional practices even though they have access to modern technology.
R	Please tell us, YP 3, what did you make?	
OP1	(Stands up). We are not finished talking about this one (referring to participant 2's visual representation) and we need to before we go to the next one. I like this one of the *kraal* (place where the animals are kept) and animals. When our children bring those questions from school, we know the colour of these animals (the answers).	When the researcher wants to continue to participant 3, the same older person says that they have not finished talking about YP2's representation. He compliments YP2's visual representation. He says that when children from school ask questions, the older persons know the answers.
R	How do older people tell the younger people of things in the past? How do the older people talk about that?	
OP2	The problem I noticed is that parents do not communicate with their children regarding old things that	An older woman indicates that she noticed a problem because parents do not communicate with their

	happened. When these kids come with questions from school, I don't think that in these days there are parents who still tell their children regarding what it is that they used to do. Like for instance talking about the grinding or maybe how weeds were grinded to make other things. In these days, those things do not happen.	children about things that happened in the past. She doesn't think that in the present times, when children come from school and ask questions, parents tell them about what they (as older persons) used to do, such as talking about grinding weeds to make "other things". Today these things do not happen.
YP2	Most of us do not experience these things on a critical basis, but I think some of us do. The mother, she is my neighbour, she is my friend and everything. She knows during the past days before my parents died. My mother is from Lesotho. In Lesotho there are lot of kraals. I used to go there. I used to ride on donkeys, horses. They used to show me. . . We have chickens; we have milked cows for their needs. They showed me a lot of stuff about what I did right here. I don't know about other people.	YP2 responds that although most of the younger people do not experience these things directly, some of them do. He refers to his "mother" who is his neighbour and his friend, from another African country, who cared for him emotionally after his parents died. In this other African country where this participant used to go, there are many *kraals* and he was introduced to riding on animals and to other farming activities.
R	How is it for the other young people? Do you also know about the traditional ways of living?	

Summary of core message

The group discussion highlights the existence of different groups in the intergenerational community. Among the younger persons there is a subgroup who are dependent on their grandparents and who have to obey them, and they accept being corrected by the older persons. There is also a subgroup of younger persons who want to maintain the practices of the past in conjunction with modern technology and who have direct personal experience with farming activities. There is a group of older persons who want to exert control and who regard themselves as knowledgeable and able to educate others and their children; and there is a group of older persons who do not transfer knowledge about the past to the younger generations through direct learning.

Participant 3 (Fig. 6.3)

Verbatim translated transcription		Descriptive account of discussion
YP3	Yes, I can explain a little bit. So, here is a cow. This one is a house and a feeder. Most of the old people usually like cows. They like animals. So each and every time I see a cow, I see that most old people care about animals. Usually animals were very important to them. Nowadays we don't see young people that care for the animals.	Participant 3 made a cow, a house and a feeder. According to him, most of the old persons like cows and animals and when he sees a cow he associates it with older persons caring about animals. According to him, animals were very important to older persons, and young people are not seen to care for animals.
R	You said that young people don't care for animals like the old people? What happened in terms of the importance of animals to young people?	
YP3	I think in this current generation, technology has improved, so most of us focus on things like computers – forgetting about animals, forgetting that the meat that you eat came from the animals. So normally we are forgetting those things, because we are focusing on the technology and things.	The participant explains that for the current generation of young people, technology has improved and consequently most of the young people are focusing on modern technology (computers) and they forget about the animals and that meat as food comes from animals. He says that he (and the group that he belongs to) tend to forget because they focus on technology.

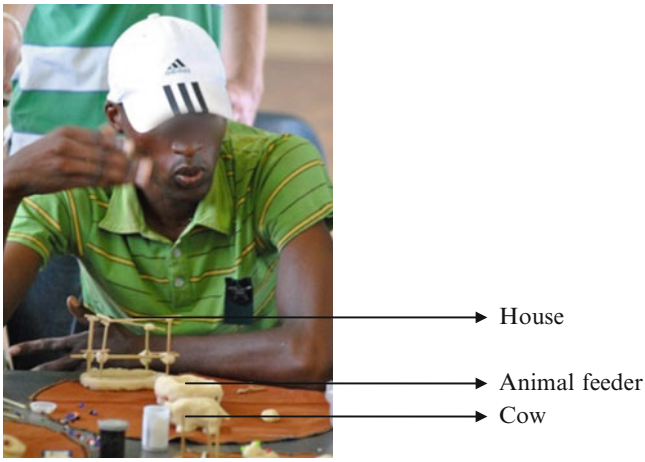

Fig. 6.3 House and animal with feeder

Summary of core message
Older persons are associated with cows because of their love for cows and other animals. Younger people do not care for animals but would rather focus on modern technology (computers) and forget where the meat that they eat comes from.

Group Discussion 2

	Verbatim translated transcription	**Descriptive account of discussion**
R	Is that how the older people also see that? That the younger people are focusing on technology?	
OP1	(Stands up). They are more focused on technology. The most important thing is how the relationship is between the parent at home and his children. The parent has to sit down and talk to the children about the journey of how they grew up with all this things. You find that this cow does different types of work. We have to tell these children about these cattle. We have to let them know about cattle and how we have been working with them (cattle) and using them.	The older male participant stands up and confirms that younger people are more focused on technology. He emphasizes the primary importance of the relationship between the parent and his children within the home setting. The parent has to sit down with his children and talk to them about how they as parents grew up with "all this [*sic*] things". For example, cows do different types of work. Older persons have to tell the younger people about the cattle and how the older persons have been working with and using the cattle.
R	My question to the young people: Will you sit and listen?	
OP3	Most of them are not interested in listening. They don't want to take advice from their parents. Our children, these days, have a lot of rights. They misuse the rights that they have. They are elevating their rights. In that way, if I want to call my child so that we can sit down and maybe communicate something with him, especially about the past (to educate him), the response will be: "It's things of the past. I'm interested in new things. Not things of the past. We are living in the modern time."	Although the question was directed at the young people, an older woman responds, saying that the younger people are not interested in listening to such information. They do not want to take advice from their parents. According to the participant, children currently have a lot of rights which they misuse and "elevate". When she calls her children to sit down to talk to them, particularly about the past, they dismiss them as "things of the past". They declare they are interested in "new things",

		not things of the past. They live in modern times.
R	Is that how all the older people feel?	
OP1	(Stands up). That is very same for me. I have nine kids and three or two of them will listen, but the rest won't take it. They are going to tell you that thing is a past thing. That time was your own time, it is not my time.	The older male participant stands up and confirms that it is much the same for him. Only three or two of his nine children will listen but the rest will reject it, declaring that it does not exist anymore. They distance themselves from their father's time, stating that it is not theirs.
R	Can we go on to the next participant and then continue the discussion?	

Summary of core message

Only the older persons participate in the discussion despite one question being directed expressly at the younger people. The older persons confirm that younger people are more focused on technology. The relationship between older persons and younger people is regarded as important. Older persons have to transmit knowledge about how they grew up and about cattle to the younger people. The younger people are viewed as not interested in listening to the older persons; they do not take their advice and they appeal to their rights, rejecting what older persons want to discuss with them, particularly about the past. The vast majority of younger people stated that matters from the past were irrelevant in comparison with their own time.

Participant 4 (Fig. 6.4)

Verbatim translated transcription		**Descriptive account of discussion**
R	What did you make?	
YP4	A pancake. At the time of the ancient, they had no yeast. This one is the animal that sits on the water with its head on a stone, this one is a traditional pot, and this one is a tree.	This participant has made food from the time before yeast was available, an animal (maybe a crocodile) in the water, a traditional pot and a tree.
R	Why did you make all this? What is the relevance of it in relation to older people?	
YP4	Most of the older people liked to go to the rivers. Just sitting, catching the fish. They didn't like to sit at home. They just want to walk.	According to him, most older persons liked to go to the river, where they just sat and caught fish. They did not like to sit at home; they just wanted to walk.

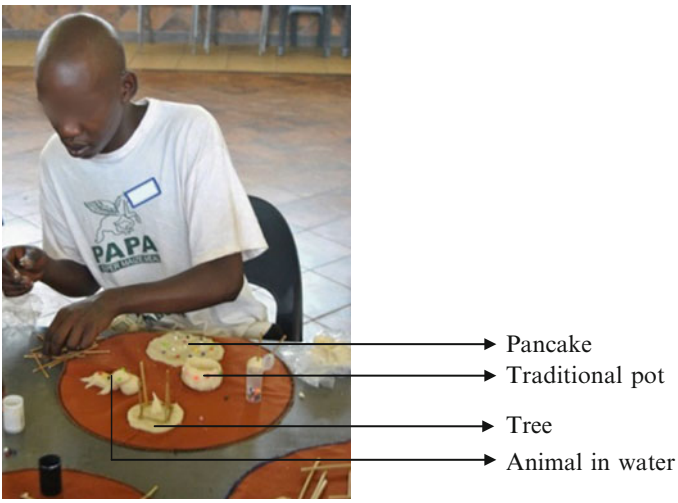

Fig. 6.4 Pancake, traditional pot, animal and tree

R So all this reminds you of older people?
YP4 Yes.

Summary of core message
These objects, with no apparent relationship between them, reminded him of older persons. The tree and the crocodile represented older persons who are fishing at the river and the pancake and pot represented food from the past.

Participant 5 (Fig. 6.5)

Verbatim translated transcription
YP5 These are old houses, because at the time bricks weren't available. So they were making use of straw to build houses. In the olden times they used to cook outside. So this is a pot and this is what they used to stir. It is a big spoon. This is a bed. In the olden times, there were no beds. So they used straw to make mats, to sleep on. This one is for collecting some water and it was made out of clay.

Descriptive account of discussion
This participant has made a house representing ancient houses that were built from straw at a time when bricks were not available. In the distant past, people used to cook their meals outside in a traditional pot using a big spoon. There were also no beds and sleeping mats were made as beds to sleep on. He also made traditional clay pots which were used for collecting water.

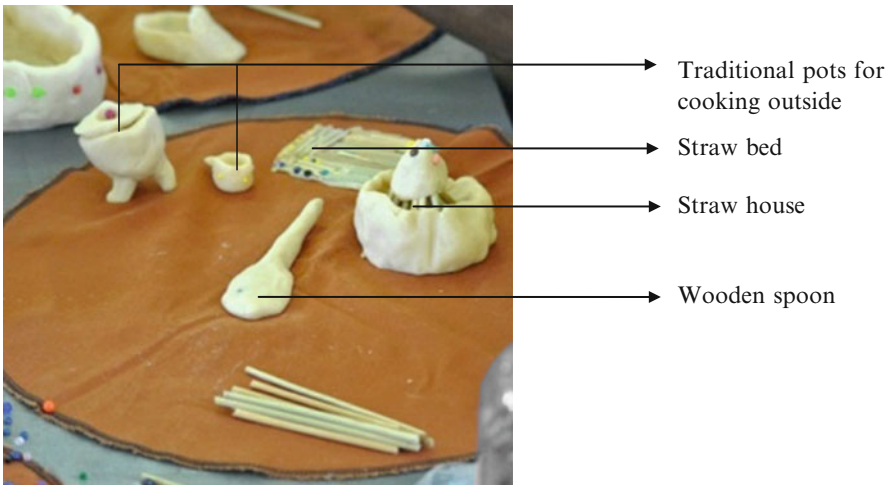

Fig. 6.5 Traditional pots for cooking outside and fetching water

Summary of core message
This participant refers to how houses were built in the past; the sleeping mats that were used to sleep on; where and how food was prepared; and what was used to fetch water.

Participant 6 (Fig. 6.6)

Verbatim translated transcription

YP6 What I have made is a black pot. This is a smoking pipe that old people used to smoke. This is a basket which was used for collecting water. In the olden times they didn't make use of modern cigarettes that kill. They used to smoke from the pipes. This is the father. He's going to slaughter this animal. This is a boy, putting on African, traditional clothes.

Descriptive account of discussion
This participant has made random objects associated with people of the past: a black pot, a traditional pipe they had smoked, and that was according to him not as harmful as modern cigarettes, and a container for collecting water. He has also made a father who is going to slaughter an animal, and a boy clad in traditional African clothes.

Summary of core message
People of the past (older persons) are associated with random objects ranging from traditional utensils used for cooking food and collecting water to smoking a traditional pipe which is, according to this participant, less harmful than modern cigarettes; to slaughtering an animal; and to traditional clothing.

Fig. 6.6 Obscured view of traditional pots for cooking outside and fetching water

Participant 7 (Fig. 6.7)

Verbatim translated transcription

YP7 I have made a bowl here. It reminds me of the old times. This is the house, my grandmother, and this is her house. She likes to sit next to the house. This is the three-legged pot that the grandmother is using to cook meat at this moment. This is the dog we go out hunting with when we are home. Here is a garden. I wanted to show an old man – older people used to love nature and to do things for themselves. This is the water thing that he uses to water his garden.

Descriptive account of discussion

This participant has made a bowl that reminds him of the past, his grandmother and the house that belongs to her, which she loves to sit beside. His grandmother is using a traditional pot to cook meat. He has also made the dog the young people go hunting with when they are at home, a garden that is taken care of by an older man (not included) and a watering can used to water the garden. He mentions older people's love of nature and their self-sufficiency.

Summary of core message

This participant's visual representation depicts a domestic scene of his past, with his grandmother and her house that she loves to sit beside, preparing food using traditional utensils. He ascribes behaviour and preferences to the two generations according to his knowledge and understanding of them: older persons take care of gardens (food security), love nature and are self-sufficient, while younger people take the dog and go hunting.

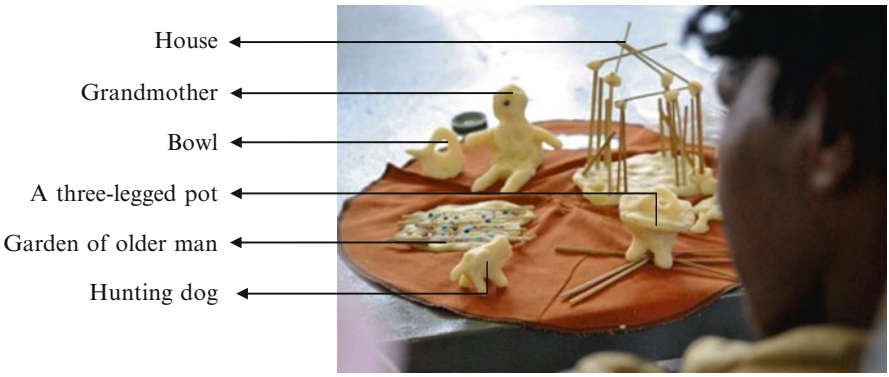

Fig. 6.7 Grandmother and traditional objects

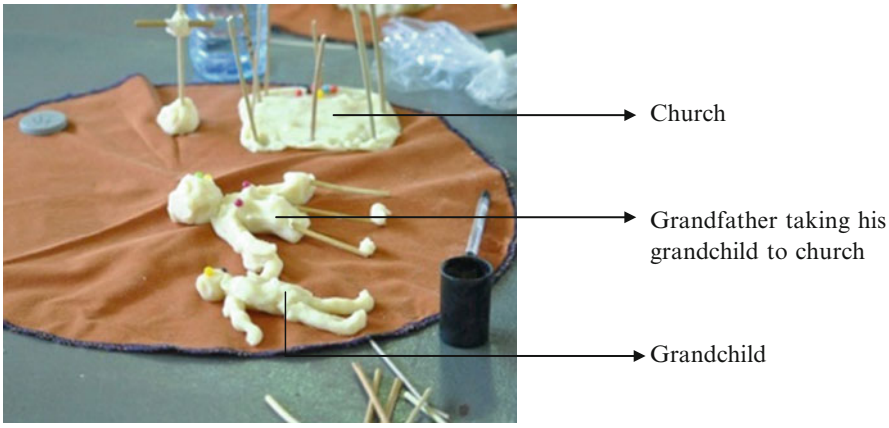

Fig. 6.8 Grandfather holding his grandchild's hand on the way to church

Participant 8 (Fig. 6.8)

Verbatim translation of discussions

YP8 Here I made an elderly person taking a walk, taking his grandchild to church because we know that nowadays children don't want to go to church. They just know they have to go to the taverns to drink. That is the only thing they like or know. This is the church that we go to. This is the church of those old days. This is the walking stick for the old man.

Descriptive account of discussion

An older man (grandparent) is taking his grandchild to church. The participant says that it is generally known that children today do not want to go to church, but prefer to go to taverns to drink. According to him, that is the only thing that the younger people like and feel they have to do. The church is where they went to in the past. The older man is using a walking stick.

Summary of core message
This participant describes an older man (grandfather) who is taking his grandchild to church. This younger person acknowledges this as a ritual of the past because, according to him, children no longer want to go to church but would rather visit taverns to drink.

Participant 9 (Fig. 6.9)

Verbatim translated transcription
YP9 I made an old cart. They used carts and had no problems with petrol, like nowadays. They use it when they go to town. This is a trailer where they put their stuff inside. The baby reminds me of how the elderly people take care of their grandchildren. This is an old rondavel.

Descriptive account of discussion
The participant has made an old cart (transport of those times), as an earlier form of transport requiring no petrol, and which is used when people travel to town, and a trailer to put their "stuff" into. He has also made a baby which reminds him of how older people take care of their grandchildren, and an old rondavel (a traditional round hut or house).

Summary of core message
The participant lists old items of transport and housing he associates with older persons. Grandparents take care of grandchildren.

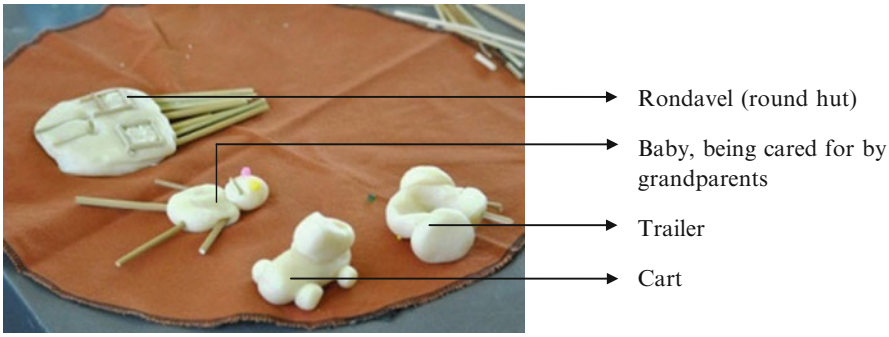

Fig. 6.9 House, baby, cart and trailer

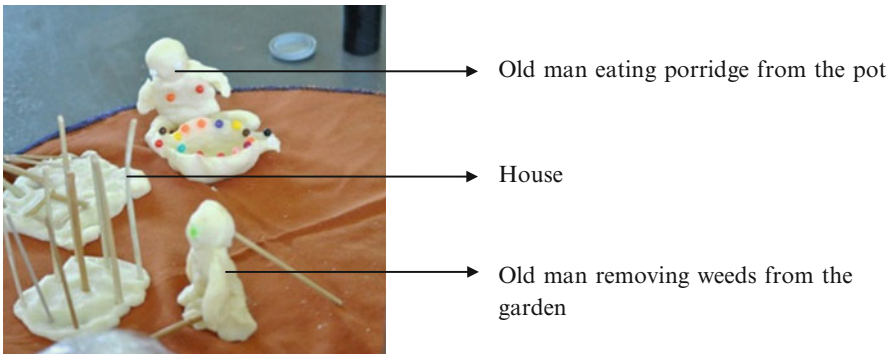

Fig. 6.10 Two men, a house and a garden

Participant 10 (Fig. 6.10)

Verbatim translated transcription		**Descriptive account of discussion**
YP10	This is a house. This is a garden. The old man is removing weeds from the garden. The old man is eating some porridge from the pot. We aren't interested in agriculture – seeing the way they lived. We wouldn't have jobs, like we are having nowadays. If we grew up like them, we wouldn't create jobs for ourselves.	This participant has built a house and two older men – one is eating porridge from a pot and the other is weeding a garden. His generation is not interested in agriculture and seeing how older persons lived. He says that if they grew up like the older persons they would not have secured employment, as they have today; they would not have created jobs for themselves.

Summary of core message

The participant has made a house and two older men, one eating and one working in his garden. Without any prompting, this participant mentions that younger people are no longer interested in agriculture, or knowledge of the older persons' way of life. If the younger people had maintained the old way of life, they would not have been able to create jobs for themselves, thereby securing employment.

Group Discussion 3

Verbatim translation of discussions		**Descriptive account of discussion**
R	Younger people, thank you so much. Can I ask the older people? What did you hear?	

OP1	(Standing up). Before we can go on with the question I want us to make it clear that some of the things that they have made are wrong.	The older male participant says that some of the visual objects the younger people made were wrong.
R	We want to know your perceptions, whether they are right or wrong. What did you hear? What did they tell us?	
OP1	Our idea behind them, when they go out, they need to know exactly the truth about what they know. That is what we are trying to do. (Sits down).	The same participant emphasizes that when the younger people go out (and into the world), they should exactly know what is correct and that is what they as older people are attempting to show them.
R	And the other older people? What did you hear?	
OP2	The way we understand, it appears that if they are longing for those olden times. As if they want to see the things happening the way they were in the past.	An older woman says the way the older people understand it, is that the younger people long to see how things happened in the past and the way it was and to maintain it.
YP4	We aren't interested in agriculture. Seeing the way they lived. We wouldn't have the jobs then like we are having nowadays. If we grew up like them, we wouldn't create jobs for ourselves.	A younger participant denies this, saying that they are not interested in agriculture and seeing how older persons lived. Repeating a statement of YP10, he says that if the younger people grew up like the older persons, they would not have the jobs they have today and they would not create jobs for themselves.
R	And the older people?	
OP4	They want to learn more about the past, like they said earlier. But space is very small to have cows and everything. Even gardens. We cannot have gardens. We have paving and everything, but they do long to live like olden days. Even if we had space next to our houses to have three or four cows which they can milk and goats.	An older woman repeats that the younger people would like to learn more about the past and refers to earlier statements of the younger participants. She says that the space around their houses is small and there is paving, so they can't have livestock or even gardens. She insists that the younger people long to live as in the "olden days", expressing a wish for space around

		their houses, for a few cows to milk, and some goats.
	Many spoke about church. Our children don't want to go to church. And everyone can see that they have built a church, so they are longing maybe about teaching them about church and the old people who go to church. So they can be given the hand to go to church.	She remembers (erroneously) numerous references to the church, acknowledging that the younger people do not want to go to church. Since the younger people have built a church, she thinks that they perhaps long to be taught about the church and about the older people who are attending, so that they can "be given the hand" to go to church.
R	Any response, young people?	
YP7	We are interested in knowing about that. We could see some of those things that had happened in the past. When we talked about the three-foot pot, we wished that we could have some of that first-hand experience of what had happened in the past.	One younger participant says that they (the group of younger people that he belongs to) are interested in knowing about things of the past and what happened in the past. He says that when talking about the traditional pot, they were wishing for first-hand experiences of the past.
OP1	(Standing up). I just want to say, our youth are very interested in this, but the first things that they have to know that any older person should be seen as his father. In the olden times the elder people made their own courts. Even mothers had their own courts here. They have been teaching girls things. They all should know that every elderly person is a parent to them.	The older male admitted that the youth are interested in learning about the past, but demanded that they give recognition to any older person as their "father" (an authority figure). In the past, older people made their own courts – older men and women, where they taught the younger people gender-specific matters. All the younger people should know that every older person is regarded as a parent to them.
	If they accept that from the beginning, it will help them learn a lot of things easily. Even it is not the real father, he can teach everybody.	If the younger generation accepts this principle from the outset, it will help them to learn many things easily. Even if they are not related, every older person can educate everybody.
R	Is that not happening?	

OP4	In the olden times every child respected every older person, even when they weren't his parent. Even those cows that they are talking about, they have been looking after in another person's yard by the child. Maybe that child forgot how to play with other kids, that child would've been punished by any parent, not necessarily his own.	The older participant says that in the past all children respected all older persons, even if they were not related. She explains it by using an example of cows being herded by a child, in another person's yard, and if that child transgressed ("forgot how to play with other kids"), any older person could punish the child, even if they were not related.
R	I see young people know a lot about older people's habits and about things that happened in their lives. If we ask the older people to make something that they think of when they think about the young people, what will you make?	
Older women	Drunken men! Pregnant girls at the age of twelve, with her second child! Rape! Lack of respect! Stealing!	All the older women associate the younger generation with drunkenness, early and multiple pregnancy, rape, lack of respect and stealing.
OP1	(Stands up). Our kids are corrupt. We should not defend them. My kids do not work. In the morning when I wake up, my two boys put money here (pointing to the table in front of him). I don't know where they go or what they're doing outside. They had to kill to bring the money. People are corrupt to their mother and father.	The older man says that their "kids" are corrupt and that the older persons should not defend them. He says that his own children do not work. In the morning when he wakes up his two sons put money on the table. He doesn't know where they go or what they are doing. According to him, they had to kill to get the money. Younger people are "corrupt" to the mother and father.
	I would like to know, [are] the parents to be blamed? If it is true what is he saying to us, what is he showing here in terms of relationships?	He also asks if the older people should be blamed, and if that is the case, he questions what the younger persons are showing in terms of the relationship.
OP2	We are afraid to ask where they get the money, because we are scared. Some of them will talk, but they are very aggressive.	An older woman says that the older people are afraid to ask where the younger people get the money. Even though some of the younger

		people will tell them, they are very aggressive.
R	How do the young people feel about what the older people are saying?	
YP6	It is a bad feeling.	A younger participant says that he feels bad about what the older persons are saying.
R	You feel bad when you hear these things. If you feel that your heart is hurting when the older people say that to younger people, what will you tell the older people so that they can hear you?	
YP9	We want our parents to be open to us. They shouldn't keep secrets from us. It is a hurting thing to hear from the next door neighbour that your father is so and so. Why doesn't your parent tell you about your biological father? When you are hurting, you get stressed and when get stressed you want to release your stress by drinking beer. As you go out to drink beer, something else happen and you end up taking out your anger on somebody else and commit crime.	A participant says they would like to ask their parents to be open (honest) with them and not to keep secrets from them. They experience pain when they hear about their father's identity from a neighbour. He asks why your parent does not tell you about your biological father. He says that the hurt causes stress and when stressed, you resort to drinking beer. Under the influence of alcohol, "something else happens", resulting taking out your anger on somebody else and committing crime.
R	So you want them to be open with you?	
YP6	I think it is a point of communication because in whenever I want to express myself towards my parents – whenever I speak my mind, they feel I am being disrespectful. So I have to watch how I talk to them. It doesn't matter how I feel as individual. In most cases it is about parents being right and you being wrong.	Another young participant says that he thinks communication is at issue, because whenever he wants to express himself and speak his mind to his parents, they feel that he is disrespectful. He has to be careful how he talks to them, regardless of how he feels. Mostly the issue is about parents being right and a younger person being wrong.

	It [should rather be] about two parties who work together and show out the way (find solutions), saying: "You know my child you are doing this, and this is wrong – you are out of line". That is how I feel.	He suggests that the two parties in the interaction should collaborate to find a solution to the problem. He suggests that the older person should tell his child: you are doing this and it is wrong, he is "out of line".
R	You would like to have respectful guidance from your elders and your parents; to be listened to when you speak and not to say that you are disrespectful. Can I ask the older people, is it possible to listen to the younger people in an open manner that you can hear what they say?	
OP6	The younger generation (indicating the younger people in front of her) is very noisy. They don't have time to sit down with us to tell them what's wrong. They are always going out, always running around; never have time to sit down, maybe to ask: What are you doing today? Can I help you? Can I peel the potatoes? What are you going to cook today? They are always out. They always need money. And we parents are afraid. We give them money to go out.	The older person says that the younger people are very "noisy". They do not take time to sit down, to be told what is wrong. They are always going out, running around. The younger people never have time to sit down and to ask the older person what she is doing and how they can help, for example offering to prepare food, and asking what she is cooking. She says that the younger people are always out and they always need money. And because the older persons are afraid, they give them money to go out.
R	Why are you afraid of them?	
OP5	Because they are noisy. If you say stuff, like that man said we don't tell them who their real father is. I don't know the father's name to tell him who the real father is. Like I don't want to tell him his real father, so he hears from the neighbour. They come out very angry from what he hears outside. So he doesn't give [me a] chance to sit down and hear what I tell him, the	The older woman explains that the reason for their fear is that the younger people are "noisy" in response to what is said. Denying the accusation that the older person refuse to tell him them who his biological fathers is, she explains that she does not know the father's name. Her child then finds out from a neighbour and becomes very angry. So the child does not give her a chance to sit down and

	truth. That's why, they don't listen to anything.	to listen to her telling the truth. The younger people do not listen to anything.
OP1	(Stands up). I would like to respond to what they say. If you lack discipline, you don't know how to talk to your parents when they are trying to say something to you. Then it won't be easy for you to come and say something and ask them.	The older man stands up, wishing to respond to the above: if you lack discipline, you do not know how to talk to your parents when they try to say something to you. Then it would not be easy for the younger person to approach the parents and to ask them something.
	If they are trying to discipline you, you run, go and don't listen. You shout at them, and then how are you going to come back when you want to know about something?	If your parents try to discipline you, you run away and don't listen. You then shout at your parents, and how will you then come back when you want to know about something?
	Some of our children are trying to correct them [the older persons] but you are not supposed to speak this way to your mother or grandmother. If you people here can have one concept: if I want to respect my parent and there is some conflict between you and your parent, you are very, very angry, keep quiet and don't say anything. When both of you are calm say it out and tell your mother that this is what I was thinking and that was wrong to me. If you can keep it this way then things will be fine.	Some of the younger people try to correct their parents, but you are not supposed to speak like this to your mother or grandmother. Addressing the younger participants, he holds out one "concept": a respectful way of dealing with conflict in relation to a parent is to keep quiet and not say anything when you are extremely angry. When both are calm, you can tell your mother what you were thinking and what was wrong for you. If the younger persons can keep it this way, things will be fine.
R	I want to ask to you as young people: Do you think that the older people will listen to you, or do you think they would want you to do the things they want you to do?	
YP4	No, I think they would listen to us, because based on our past experience living as neighbours I am very certain they could be open minded and stop judging each other. Whenever we include God in our	A young participant holds the opinion that the older people would listen to the younger generation. According to his past experience with his neighbours, he is very certain that older people could be open minded and stop

	lives we will live together very happy.	being judgemental. If they include spirituality in their lives, they will be living happily together.
YP9	Things are different. Some parents groom their children, with traditional beer in the house, which they will give to children at a very young age. These children learn to drink beer from a very young age, and they say that my dad taught me this. Now the thing is that respect comes from my dad. We wish we could listen to them, but because they drank with us as their children, you can't respect somebody that is drinking in the tavern doing funny things and who is supposed to correct the child. My question is when you say that my child disrespect me or I am not able to control him, how are you able to say that if you brought the child to the act.	YP9 differs from YP4 because some parents "groom" their children from a very young age to drink traditionally brewed alcohol. The children say that their fathers taught them that. Respect comes from his dad, and the younger people wish they could listen to them, but because they drank with the younger people as their children, they can't respect someone who is drinking at the tavern and doing "funny things", and who is supposed to correct the child. He questions how an older person can say that his child disrespects him or he is not able to control the child, if he raised the child to act in this way.
OP3	I realized that our children of today are disrespectful because they are going through issues of unemployment. They go to school and when they are finished, they sit at home without employment. What they have done [building visual representations] today is something very, very beautiful and impressive. I will say to them that our young people, come together to look for a parent or two. Talk to them about what we did today about things from the past that you want to learn from them. I think when you start doing that it will help you go somewhere.	An older woman says she realizes that the younger people today are disrespectful because of unemployment issues. The young people go to school and when they have completed their education they sit at home without any employment. She says that the visual representations made by the younger people are beautiful and impressive. She would encourage young people to come together and to find an older person (parent) or two to talk to. The younger people should talk to them about the visual representations and discussions of the day and about things of the past that they would like to learn from the older persons. She thinks that

		doing so will help them find direction.
	Instead of going to a tavern, you think of which elder I can go to, so that I can learn things from the past?	Instead of going to taverns, they should rather think who the older person is they can go to so that they can learn from the past.
	Then from learning those things, you can create your own jobs, make your own living out of that.	By learning about those things, the younger people can create their own jobs and make their own living.
OP1	(Still standing). I am refusing to bring the youth culture and the older people culture together. I still stand that we have to teach our children that whether somebody comes whether an older white lady, they have to know that this is my mother. Finish!!!	The older man (still standing) says that he refuses to bring the culture of the younger and older people together. He reiterates his view that any younger person should be taught that whoever is around who is older, even an older white lady, is his/her "mother". And according to him that is the end of the story.
R	We have to end now. We can still talk in smaller groups unless there is anyone that would like to say the last word.	

Summary of core message

In the third group discussion, the generational members expressed their expectations of the relational interactions with the generational other more explicitly and repeated the core messages they wanted to convey. The older male participant represents a group of older people who felt compelled to educate the young adults about what they regarded as conveying the correct information. They believe younger people should acknowledge all older people, irrespective of their relatedness, as authority figures. All older people could discipline younger people if needed and younger people should: know how to approach older people; not correct older people; keep quiet if they are angry with the older people; not talk back at the older people; and when both generational members are calm the younger person should approach the older person. Younger people should know this traditional protocol and accept that any older person is an authority figure.

The advice of the older women for the younger people is to identify an older person to guide them and to whom they as younger people can talk and from whom they can learn about the past. This would give them direction (not to go to illegal drinking places) and assist them to become entrepreneurs.

Older women viewed the relationship with young adult males from a position of fear. They were afraid to ask the younger people where they got money because of their unpredictable but mainly aggressive behaviour. The older women also feared

the ‘noisiness’ of the younger people when they wanted to talk to the younger people and to explain that some of them did not know who the biological fathers of the younger people were, and then they delayed talking to the younger people about it. The older women also complained that the young people never ask about their daily lives.

The older women maintained that the younger people wanted to see how things had been done in the past in order to maintain the old ways and also said that the younger people wanted to go to church with the older people. Even though some of the younger people emphasized that they were not interested in the past because that would limit their opportunities to secure employment, the older women highlighted that lack of space (small plots) limited their efforts to demonstrate practices of the past to the younger people. The older people referred to the younger people as a group, generalizing their perceptions and portraying all younger people in an extremely negative and depersonalized manner.

In response, younger people expressed feelings of hurt and discomfort. The younger people wanted the older people to be honest with them about who their biological fathers were. The younger people also described how these painful feelings led them to seek comfort in alcohol and how their aggression was expressed in committing crime. Some of the younger people described a relationship with older people in which they could be listened to but also in relation to older people from whom they did not receive respect, because older people’s behaviour was at odds with what they expected of the younger people. Younger people were also divided on their position regarding older people. Some of the younger people were still dependent on the older people and had to comply with their rules. However, there was a group of younger people who wanted to learn more about technology and who were not interested in the (current or past) world of older people or in relational interactions with older people that involved topics the older people were interested in. Even though some younger people preferred to have an open, trusting and mutually respectful relationship, it seemed as if they as younger people always had to take a submissive position in relation to older people. Some younger individuals had different experiences with older people and described their relationship as a friendly relationship.

Reciprocity of Intergenerational Relational Interactions

The discussion will first focus on the older persons, then on the younger people, and lastly on the interaction between them.

From the perspective of the older persons, any older person, irrespective of their relatedness to the younger people, should be in an authoritative position towards the younger people. It is older persons’ responsibility to transfer norms and values that should inform the younger people’s behaviour and moral judgements; to create

opportunities to educate the younger people (about gender roles and the leading position of older persons); to discipline younger people when they misbehave; and to correct them when they are wrong. Younger people, according to the older persons, should accept a submissive position and learn how to talk to and deal with conflict in relation to older persons; and to take the initiative to identify older persons from whom they can learn about the past in order to equip themselves to be self-employable. The older persons tended to view the relationship with the generational other solely from their frames of reference. They interpret the visual representations according to what they want to hear. Even though some of the older persons displayed cognitive empathy towards the possible impact of younger people's unemployment and validated their visual representations, they also suggested a linear and prescriptive way in which the younger people should approach older persons. They also labelled the younger people in stereotypical and judgemental terms as immoral, promiscuous and disrespectful of other people and their possessions. Older persons blamed younger people for a lack of parental guidance because the younger people did not want to listen to the older persons; they ran away, created distance and appealed to their rights. They also expressed a need for the younger people to take an interest in them as older persons and offer to help them. The attempts of the older persons to empathize with the younger people about their unemployment seem manipulative since older persons use them to get the younger people to comply with the existing norms of the older persons.

In contrast, some younger people argued for a dialogical relationship in which communication between generational members is important and young people get an opportunity to express themselves. On an individual level, younger people also described relational experiences with older persons who are non-judgemental. They expressed ambivalence in relation to learning about past practices and the fact that it is expected of them to listen to older persons. Some of them expressed an interest, while others rejected it completely, based on their assessment of what a feasible livelihood would consist of. The younger people expressed emotions such as feeling bad or hurting in relationship with older persons. Some of the younger people expressed the need to be listened to without being blamed or judged by the older persons. Other younger people described a relationship in which older persons corrected them when they were wrong. The submissive position of the younger people was maintained by their financial dependency on the older persons. On a personal level, younger people described experiences with older persons as flexible and able to accommodate the viewpoint of the younger people without judging them. They also highlighted that some older persons behaved in an incongruent manner because they preached something different from what they did. Younger persons expressed a need for having an open and honest (visible and trusting) relationship with older persons, particularly about knowing who their biological fathers were.

Both the younger people and the older persons tended to generalize when they talked about the other generation. They tended to view all the members of the other generation as people who displayed stereotypical behaviour. Different groups

emerged from among the older persons and the younger people. Older persons and younger people identified with a specific group to achieve their goals or to satisfy their needs.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to obtain data about the relational interactions between members of two generations – people in the late adolescent and in the young adult developmental phase, and older persons. In this regard, the Mmogo-method in combination with the IGRT provided detailed data. The visual representations served as an external narrative to stimulate discussions between generational members and the orchestrated research context facilitated a space in which members of different generations could engage in an interactional dance. The descriptive phenomenological psychological method was used to illustrate how textual data were analyzed. This method of analysis is aligned with the method of data collection, namely to adopt an emphatic stance and a learning-sensitive attitude (Giorgi, 2012). The data obtained on the different perspectives of the respective generational members by combining two data-collection methods are used to describe and explain social phenomena as well as to develop theory, which will be illustrated in Chap. 8.

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Chapter 7
Analyzing Visual Data with Text from the Mmogo-method: Experience of Meaning During the Third Trimester of Pregnancy

Vera Roos and Amoné Redelinghuys

Abstract The chapter demonstrates how to analyze visual data with text obtained from the Mmogo-method. First-time mothers' experience of meaning during pregnancy is used as an example. Data were obtained from six Afrikaans-speaking women (aged between 22 and 40 years) in the third trimester of their first pregnancy. The research was conducted at a private hospital which offered prenatal classes for pregnant women in the North West Province, South Africa. Visual data with text are analyzed using the following six steps: First, the research production context is described. Second, researchers assume an empathic position towards the data. Third, literal observations of elements in the visual representations are described. Fourth, the symbolic meanings attached by participants to the visual elements, which are determined during data collection and treated as such during data analysis, are described. Fifth, participant-introduced contexts are described. Sixth, informed by the previous four steps, researchers conduct an interpretive analysis, applying their skills as methodologists and subject experts. In the sixth step, findings are further compared with literature and the transferability of knowledge is demonstrated. Visual data analysis aims to move beyond the descriptive level while refraining from decontextualizing the content.

Introduction

In applying the Mmogo-method, participants construct visual representations (using malleable clay, beads or buttons of different colours and sizes, and dried grass stalks) in response to an open-ended prompt. These representations are used

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as external points of reference to stimulate discussion among participants (Roos, 2016a). Participants express subjective experiences through their visual representations, which often have symbolic meaning. Researchers use the visual representations to confirm their observations and interpretations of the visual elements with participants and to probe for deeper meanings (Roos, 2016b). On completion of data collection, the visual representations are photographed and treated as visual data, while participants' and the group' discussions are transcribed and serve as textual data. This chapter aims to illustrate how the visual data, with text obtained from the Mmogo-method, were analyzed in a particular study. Visual data captured by video recordings during the application of the method fall outside the scope of this chapter.

Visual data obtained from the Mmogo-method are always analyzed in relation to textual data or what Collier (2013) refers to as how participants "give birth to [their] stories" (p. 46). The assumption is that visual representations do not have any inherent meaning that can be assessed on its own without including the textual or narrative data. Following Van Leeuwen and Jewitt (2013), visual data are thus always analyzed with text and treated as one unit of analysis.

Literature describes different types of visual data analysis, such as: content analysis, and iconographical and semiotic analyses. In content analysis, researchers test hypotheses by means of the quantification of categories (Bell, 2013). Iconographical and semiotic analyses aim to identify the implicit, underlying meanings of visual arts data (Collier, 2013), or to describe the 'mind' and the intentions of the producers of the visual data (Diem-Wille, 2013). This type of analysis relies mainly on the researcher's ability to identify conventional meanings in the symbolism portrayed by visual data, which requires an in-depth knowledge of the specific theme and competence to interpret integratively (Van Leeuwen, 2013). For the most part, visual analysis methods focus on the visual image itself (Liebenberg, Didkowsky, & Ungar, 2012).

The application of visual analysis with text on data obtained from visual data-collection methods through which personal and group experiences are obtained is, however, not well-described in literature. In this regard Liebenberg et al. (2012) introduced the analysis of image-based data using grounded theory. In their proposed analysis, Liebenberg et al. (2012) suggest that the meanings of visual images are anchored in the text and analyzed from the perspective of participants. Text is obtained from participants' transcribed discussions about the visual images and then analyzed. First, line-by-line coding of the transcribed data is applied (open coding) to include the subjective perspectives of participants and to obtain their contextual interpretations (Liebenberg, 2014). In this phase of analysis researchers reflect on the content and initiate a coding structure. If meanings are unclear, participants may again be involved to reflect on the raw data. Second, focused coding of data is carried out in order to synthesize and explain. As codes emerge from the data, comparisons are made across the different participants' descriptions, and categories which make the most analytical sense are generated. Categories and subcategories are connected to generate themes from which concepts and theoretical understandings are formulated (Liebenberg, 2014; Liebenberg et al., 2012).

Although some of the methods of analysis of visual data recognize the importance of context, this element is not always explicitly included. In this respect, iconological context analysis has made a significant contribution. Iconological context analysis distinguishes three contexts: (1) the form or 'Gestalt' of the visual; (2) the production context, and (3) the reception context (Müller, 2011). In the analysis of the form or 'Gestalt', the historical context of the visual image is considered (Müller, 2011). The production context refers to specific contexts in which visual data were generated to serve a specific purpose. For example, visual images constructed for journalistic reasons can serve different purposes, such as communicating information or as comment on social discourses. The reception context refers to the audience on whom the visual images are intended to have an impact. Visual data, for example, generated in a scientific context can serve to communicate findings or indicate trends. Context is important because people have developed subjective experiences and perspectives in relation to a social reality that is embedded in particular contexts (Roos, 2016c; Puren & Roos, 2016). Moreover, meaning without context is obscured (Vorster, Roos, & Beukes, 2013; Watzlawick, Bavelas, & Jackson, 2011).

6-Step Analysis of Visual Data with Text

The following steps of analyzing visual data with text are proposed:

- Describe the research production context.
- Assume an empathic position towards data.
- Describe the literal observations of visual elements.
- Describe symbolic meanings attributed by participants.
- Describe participant-introduced contexts.
- Conduct an interpretative analysis based on the previous steps and identify transferable knowledge.

Step 1: Research Production Context

The research production context provides the frame in which visual data are constructed and collected. It serves as the background music for the visual data, which become the lyrics. The research production context is informed by the aim of the research and ethical considerations, and how researchers introduce context, for example by: deciding on a research topic; selecting participants purposively in terms of specific requirements to obtain rich and detailed data; choosing the physical setting where the research will be conducted; and by selecting methods to collect data and setting the duration of data collection. In the construction of the research production context, researchers create an interpersonal context for optimal

participation from their first interaction with potential participants: by introducing group norms through obtaining informed consent; and by interaction with participants or co-researchers during data collection (Roos, 2016c). The research production context is regarded as the first phase of data analysis because, in analyzing data, researchers are mindful of the context in which the data were collected, by whom, and for what purpose.

Step 2: Assume an Empathic Position Towards Data

An emphatic position means that researchers analyze the data from the participants' perspective. Researchers put themselves figuratively in the shoes of the participants when they study the data. Assuming an empathic position therefore implies that researchers keep as closely as possible to what participants said and to the meanings they attributed to the visual elements in their visual representations. Researchers refrain from offering their interpretations unless the participants agree to it. Assuming an emphatic position also implies that visual and textual data are treated as one unit of analysis. For this step of the analysis, researchers assume an active listening position to determine the significance of a particular word or visual element used by the participant.

Step 3: Describe Literal Observations of Visual Elements

The description of the literal observations applies to visual elements in terms of expression (form, composition) and content (Nöth, 2011). In this step, form and composition are described narratively in terms of the physical placement of visual elements; how materials have been used; and, if more than one visual element is presented, their relationship. Content is described in terms of participants' position in relation to their visual representations during data collection. Visual elements are described according to the spatial orientation, from participants' view, of the visual representation.

Step 4: Describe Symbolic Meanings Attributed by Participants

The subjective meanings (which may also have a symbolic meaning) that participants attach to the visual elements identified during data collection are described in this step. Because people develop idiosyncratic perspectives and subjective meanings in relation to social reality, "every explanation people put forward is a socially constructed account of reality" (Stacey, 2007, p. 11), and therefore important. Researchers consequently refrain from drawing any inferences about the meanings

of visual elements, and do not resort to "an unwritten dictionary" (Van Leeuwen, 2013, p. 97) to ascribe meanings to the visual elements.

Step 5: Describe Participant-Introduced Context

Contexts that participants introduced spontaneously to explain or position their visual representations are significant. Examples may include socio-cultural, experiential, environmental, political and historical contexts.

Step 6: Conduct an Interpretative Analysis

Informed by the previous steps, researchers conduct an interpretive analysis across all the cases, and ask questions such as: What is the relevance of context? Do the cases all contain the same themes? What has been omitted? What is the relevance of the data in relation to the research question in this specific context, and with this particular group of participants? In this cross-case analysis researchers use their research skills, knowledge of subject matter and theories to analyze the visual and textual data. The aim of the interpretative analysis is to move beyond the descriptive to an explanation in order to reveal some of the hidden relationships that are part of the social reality under investigation (Clark, Lissel, & Davis, 2008). In this step, researchers compare findings with literature and identify knowledge that is transferrable to other contexts.

Application of 6-Step Visual Data Analysis with Text: Example of First-Time Mothers' Experience of Meaning

The example of mothers' experience of meaning during the third trimester of a first pregnancy is used to demonstrate how visual data with text were analyzed.

Step 1: Research Production Context

Choice of Topic for Investigation The research production context that provided the frame for the research to explore meaning of first-time pregnant women, was motivated by the significance of pregnancy as one of the most important and challenging transitions some women will experience in their adult lives (Ben-Ari, Shlomo, Sivan, & Dolizki, 2009). Pregnancy is a turning point because it alters the

normal flow and direction of women's lives (Tavernier & Willoughby, 2012; Vedova, Ducceshi, Cesana, & Imbasciati, 2011). Some women experience changes in self-identity, relationships and physique during pregnancy that may tax their psychological and tangible resources (Hamilton & Lobel, 2008). In addition, according to Abe et al. (2007), pregnant women are exposed to different sources of psychological stress, for example: anxiety about their babies, lifestyle changes they have to make, financial implications, workplace concerns, changes in relationships in general, adaptation to a new maternal role, and establishment of a mother-child relationship with their baby, to name a few (Etowa, 2012).

The third trimester is significant because although the relationship between the mother and her unborn child develops gradually throughout the pregnancy (Saastad, Israel, Ahlborg, Gunnes, & Froen, 2011), it is in the third trimester that the foetus begins to show distinct patterns of activity and rest. As the mother responds to these in an increasingly synchronized fashion, ideally her feelings of affection and competence are expected to grow (Saastad et al., 2011; Siddiqui & Hagglof, 2000).

Meaning during pregnancy is significant because a sense of meaningfulness and living a meaningful life are an aspect of well-being which is important both for mother and child (Baumgardner & Crothers, 2010; Wong, 2010). The maternal awareness of the unborn baby influences the mother-child relationship positively (Saastad et al., 2011). The early establishment of the mother-child relationship is critically important as it forms the basis for the child's future social, emotional and cognitive development (Siddiqui & Hagglof, 2000). Furthermore, sensitive and responsive caregiving by the mother can significantly influence the infant's behaviour and development (Ravn et al., 2011).

When people are confronted with turning points in their lives, such as pregnancy, they try to comprehend, or make sense of, or see the significance in their lives (Steger, 2009). These processes consist of cognitive associations (to provide structure and predictability), but also subjective experiences, in the attempt to make sense or meaning of the turning point (Tongeren, Hook, & Davis, 2013). Meaning in life is a basic resource that is used to maintain well-being (Steger, Frazier, Oishi, & Kaler, 2006). Meaning promotes personal worth, hope, and a reason for living and feeling significant (Briggs & Dixon, 2013; Farby & Frankl, 1968; Frankl, 1992; King & Hicks, 2009). Meaning is present when an individual feels that an event makes personal sense and fits in with pre-existing beliefs and expectations (King & Hicks, 2009). According to King and Hicks (2009), meaning can be both present and awaiting detection, or it may be viewed as a construction according to which the person moulds it from events that occur. When meaning is detected, the individual readily connects an event to a pre-existing framework and the meaning of the event becomes clear. However, sometimes these events do not fit pre-existing assumptions. When assimilation and accommodation are not possible, the events in someone's life can shatter the very pre-existing beliefs that would have helped to detect meaning automatically (King & Hicks, 2009). The individual will begin to construct meaning by searching for satisfactory answers to questions about why the

event happened to him or her in particular, what it means and what should be done about it (King & Hicks, 2009).

Choice of Research Setting The research production context is also introduced by choice of the specific research setting. For the present study, researchers approached one of the private hospitals in the North West Province of South Africa to recruit participants. The private hospital offers multidisciplinary services by a variety of specialists, and also provides acute care. In order to access the hospital's facilities, including the prenatal classes, the patient or client would be expected to intend to give birth in the hospital, and to belong to a medical aid or be able to pay for the full cost of the delivery. The prenatal classes consist of six two-hour sessions, presented weekly by a registered nurse. In the choice of this particular physical setting, implicit values of the socio-cultural and economic contexts are embedded, which should be taken into account. For example, if the choice of a physical setting to conduct the research had been a low-resourced clinic in a community setting, the implicit values of the socio-cultural and economic contexts would have differed accordingly.

Choice of Participants Six participants (n = 6) between the ages of 22 and 40 and in their third trimester of pregnancy indicated their willingness to participate. The group was small, fairly homogenous in terms of language and income, with all the participants being Afrikaans-speaking and having a self-reported standard of living between average (n = 5) and above average (n = 1). All were involved in long-term relationships, with one unmarried participant and five in heterosexual marriages.

Choice of Research Method Because meaning is an abstract intrapsychic construct, it was decided to introduce the Mmogo-method in order to study pregnant women's experience of meaning. The choice of this method for the study enabled first-time pregnant mothers to express themselves visually and to use the visual representations as an external reference to show and tell how they experienced meaning during pregnancy. Each participant was asked to use the materials (clay, grass stalks, a cloth and coloured beads) to create a visual presentation. The following open-ended prompt was used to stimulate associations: *Using the materials, please create a visual representation of your experience of meaning during your pregnancy*.

Introducing Group Norms and Duration of Data Collection On the day of the data collection, researchers introduced norms of respect, care and emotional safety in the interpersonal context. Participants were requested to treat the information shared during data collection as confidential and they were assured that their identities would not be revealed when the findings were reported. They were also informed about the aim and nature of the study and what their involvement would require. The participants were regarded as a vulnerable group and special care was taken with them. They were provided with refreshments and encouraged to take regular comfort breaks. Data collection did not exceed 90 min.

Analysis of Visual Data Collection in Production Context The analysis of visual data commences during data collection in the research production context. For

Fig. 7.1 Meaning in relation to God and mother and movement like "sparks"

example, during data collection the following conversation took place between the researcher and Participant 1 (see Fig. 7.1). (Please note that for all participants verbatim translated transcriptions are used).

P1	First, this is my stomach with the little beads. They (the beads) were initially too big, but then I saw the smaller beads. This is the movement and it is like sparks that excite you, every time [it is felt].
R	You have used the beads only on one side of the stomach. What does it mean?
P1	Oh, this was only. . . I was scared that it would raise a question, but it does not have to. I just wanted to show that there is something going up, like a spark. There is really no meaning in it. There is however meaning in that it is placed at the bottom, because everything started below and it has now spread so far.

In the process of analyzing the data, the researcher assumed an empathic position, mindful of what participants had emphasized during data collection. The researcher did not draw any inferences from the visual elements and refrained from reading meanings into the visual representations, or encoding messages, unless confirmed by the participant. For this participant, meaning is associated with a physical awareness of the unborn child in the womb as the foetal movements become more noticeable during the third trimester and she experiences excitement and joy. It could be that the participant was not aware of the potential sexual undertones in her reference to "everything started below and it has now spread so far". However, she did not make the connection, but for the purpose of the study, if it had been relevant to meaning, it would have been explored further.

The participant connected her experience of meaning with the blessings of God which she receives without asking and with her mother's support. In relation to her

mother the participant expressed meaning as a realization of how her mother actually felt about her and this evoked a feeling of guilt. The guilt was related to not understanding why her mother had [at some point] behaved in a certain manner and of the participant's dismissive reaction.

Practical Suggestions for Analyzing Visual Data Pragmatically the visual data with text are presented in table format (see Tables below). The photo of the visual representation created by the participant is provided in Column 1. The literal observations of the elements in the visual representation are described in words and added in Column 2. The spatial order in which the visual elements are described is taken from the participant's view of the presentation. The transcriptions of the participants' discussion about the visual representation are read to obtain the subjective symbolic meaning attached to the visual elements and the meanings are noted next to the literal descriptions of the respective visual elements (Column 3). An additional row is included below the table to record any contexts related to the data that participants introduced, as indicated in the examples.

Steps 2–4: Assuming an Emphatic Position, Literal Observation and Subjective, Symbolic Meaning

The first example, Table 7.1, shows how the data obtained from a participant are captured in a table designed for use as described above. It also illustrates how visual data obtained from this method are always analyzed in conjunction with text.

Step 5: Participant-Introduced Context

The examples in Tables 7.2 and 7.3 illustrate the experiential context introduced by two participants. In Table 7.2 the experiential context of an unplanned pregnancy is expressed as a dream fulfilled. In Table 7.3 the experiential context of age and difficulty conceiving is introduced.

In Table 7.4 an example is provided to demonstrate how meaning of a social reality of being pregnant for the first time is informed by the socio-cultural context in which the participant finds herself.

Table 7.1 Example of visual and textual data as one unit of analysis

Visual representation	Description of literal observations	Subjective, symbolic meaning
 **Fig. 7.2** Hands in prayer	Four visual elements.	The hands together represent prayer. The experience of meaning is expressed as gratitude to God for this pregnancy because the woman's first pregnancy ended in a miscarriage.
	1. The first visual element, on the left, closest to the participant, is two hands held together and placed upright.	
	2. To the right of the hands is a heart shape in clay covered with red beads.	The heart symbolizes parental love. In light of her own pregnancy, she understands parental love – her parents' love for her and her love for her unborn child whom she has not yet held. Meaning is to understand things better.
	3. In the centre of the round piece of cloth is a representation of a face: two eyes, a nose and a smiling mouth.	The facial features symbolize happiness. Happiness is associated with feeling privileged to have and to raise a child.
	4. Above, left, are seven round balls of clay, each topped with a different-coloured bead.	The seven items represent her wish to produce and raise a big family. Meaning is also associated with a big family.

Significant visual element

From the perspective of the participant, gratitude to God is visually and verbally emphasized. This is seen in the emphasis of the only visual element in the representation that is positioned upright: hands held together. This visual element was also the first to be described by the participant during the discussion of her visual representation.

Table 7.2 Experiential context of fulfilled dream

Visual representation	Descriptions of literal observations	Subjective, symbolic meaning
 **Fig. 7.3** A pregnant woman leaning against meaningful symbols	Two visual elements.	This represents the participant in her pregnant state. Her arms are folded over her pregnant stomach.
	1. A figure with her arms around her stomach leaning against a lump of clay.	
	2. Behind the pregnant figure are a blue letter J, and an orange letter K, a row of yellow beads, a cross of grass stalks, and a red flower (between the letters J and K).	The second visual element is positioned behind her head, because the elements she included are constantly at the back of her mind. The letter J represents the first initial of her unborn child's name, and the letter K is the initial of her husband's name. The yellow beads represent a ray of sun to support her in bad times in the future. A wooden cross represents her faith, which is very important to her. The red flower represents her happiness.
Experiential context of an unplanned pregnancy		
The experiential context in this example is of an unplanned pregnancy, which the participant experienced as a dream fulfilled. She experienced complications during the pregnancy and it is as if God protected her unborn child.		

Table 7.3 Experiential context: surprise of pregnancy

Visual representation	Description of literal observations	Subjective, symbolic meaning
 **Fig. 7.4** Meaning develop in socio-cultural context	One visual representation, placed in the centre of the cloth circle. A face with two eyes, eyebrows, nose and smiling mouth. Rays attached to the facial representation. The rays are made of dried grass stalks and strips of clay alternately. The clay strips are decorated with beads of different colours.	The visual representation demonstrates how the participant felt when she found out she was pregnant – as if the sun rose for her. The detail of the visual element represents how she meticulously cares for herself and her health. The rays are different, to demonstrate brightness – a spark!
Experiential context of age and struggle to conceive		
The context introduced by the participant is that she is the oldest of the group and that she and her husband had struggled for some years to conceive. When she received the news of her pregnancy, she felt it was a miracle. Meaning was expressed in terms of the unexpectedness of the pregnancy and the realization that the participant and her husband would in future be not two, but three people together. The contrast comes from not having had any prospect in the past of having children and then suddenly receiving a present. This heralds a new chapter for which she is grateful to God. She cannot stop expressing her gratitude.		

Table 7.4 Socio-cultural context informing experience of pregnancy out of wedlock

Visual representation	Description of literal observations	Subjective, symbolic meaning
 **Fig. 7.5** Perspective on socio-cultural context	One visual element. Three flat rounds of clay are placed one on top of the other in the centre of the circular cloth. Three dried grass stalks have been placed upright in a row on top of the clay rounds. Three rows of white beads are arranged in front of, between and behind the row of dried grass stalks.	This participant made a representation of God. The three layers of clay, as well as three dried grass stalks, represent God as a Trinity. The white beads represent a sense of happiness, and "mixed-up joy". Meaning is associated with the grace of God, the joy of being pregnant, the anticipation of having children, the thought of two small people growing inside her, and the realization that she was able to conceive. She describes it as a blessing. The participant said she was young and unmarried and was expecting twin girls.
Socio-cultural context introduced by participant		
The mixed feelings that the participant express are linked to her own subjective experiences of joy and happiness, but according to her, due to her unmarried status, in the particular socio-cultural context in which she finds herself her children will be viewed as illegitimate and consequently she also experiences exclusion and guilt and said she felt like a "snake". This participant developed meaning of being pregnant out of wedlock in a particular socio-cultural context in which she experienced herself and her children as being judged and excluded.		

Step 6: Interpretive Analysis

Following the data analysis as described above, the researcher produces an interpretive analysis of the data obtained from all participants to answer the research questions posed in the particular study.

What Is the Relevance of Context? In this analysis approach two contexts are relevant: the research production context introduced and created by researchers, and the contexts the participants introduced. The setting is a private hospital where pregnant women attended prenatal classes. Therefore the frame for interpreting the findings for this particular group, when they experience a turning point for which they are trying to find meaning, is not set in a socio-cultural context without financial resources. A context that participants introduced as part of meaning for them as first-time mothers is that pregnancy is something that could not always be planned or that people have control over. The socio-cultural context that was introduced confirmed that subjective experiences are embedded in the particular socio-cultural context in which meaning for first-time mothers develops. In this socio-cultural context the norm of having children out of wedlock is not acceptable. Meaning is therefore not limited to a personal or subjective expression, but should also be contextualised against broader environments in which people develop meaning.

Do All Cases Contain the Same Themes? What Has Been Omitted? The first-time mothers all described meaning through their spiritual awareness of a relationship with a Divinity – a feeling that God is encompassing, constantly involved, blessing couples with pregnancy, bestowing love through unborn children and protecting their unborn children. In response, first-time mothers expressed their gratitude through prayer (Redelinghuys, Coetzee, & Roos, 2014). The question that arose from the findings was whether spirituality was unique to this group of participants when they expressed their experience of meaning as first-time pregnant women. Literature indicates that pregnancy can be a profoundly spiritual time for a woman and that many draw on their spirituality as a resource for coping and consolation (Dailey & Stewart, 2007; Jesse & Reed, 2004). Pregnant women use their spirituality and religious beliefs to aid them in their search for meaning (Dailey & Stewart, 2007; Price et al., 2006). There is also substantial evidence to show that spiritual and religious beliefs provide a mechanism for helping people to find meaning in transitional life events, which in this case is a first pregnancy (Ivtzan, Chan, Gardner, & Prashar, 2011; Mann, Mannan, Quiñones, Palmer, & Torres, 2010).

The pregnant women studied reported on aspects they became aware of such as parental love, and feelings related to the pregnant women's own mothers, and to their partners (De Beer, 2014). Some participants reported awareness of parental love in terms of being the recipients of their parents' love but in their turn also the givers of parental love to their unborn children. Some participants expressed a newly-discovered awareness of their mothers' involvement in their lives when they were children. Feelings of appreciation or guilt were associated with the relationship. In relation to their own mothers, pregnant women's establishment of their own maternal roles is the biggest contributor to their psychosocial development

(Herishanu-Gilutz, Shahar, Schattner, Kofman, & Holcberg, 2009; Mercer, 2004). Carrying and bearing a child creates an awareness of what it is to be a mother and this enables mothers-to-be to adopt the perspective of their own mothers (Biggs & Lowenstein, 2011; Vorster et al., 2013). Even though the supportive role of partners is well-described in literature (Ben-Ari et al., 2009; Coetzee, Wissing, & Temane, 2010; Sawyer, Ayers, & Smith, 2010; Spielman & Taubman-Ben-Ari, 2009), and confirmed in this study, only one of the participants included her husband in all the visual elements as an integral part of her subjective experience of meaning related to her first pregnancy, which is illustrated in the visual representation in Fig. 7.6, Table 7.5.

What Is the Relevance of the Data in Relation to This Specific Context, and with This Particular Group of Participants? In the experience of meaning for first-time pregnant women, emotional expression is central. In all the cases studied, except one, different emotions were expressed, and included happiness, excitement, joy, amazement, gratitude, guilt and mixed joyful feelings. Emotions are interpreted in terms of the personal experiential context of the pregnant women and in relation to the broader context. For example, the participant who reported that she had previously miscarried experienced gratitude and feeling privileged to have a child; and the participant who did not think that she would be able to conceive expressed gratitude because she felt as if the sun had risen for her. Emotions that were expressed also indicated the subjective experiences that had developed in relation to a particular socio-cultural context. For example, the participant who reported happiness when she reflected on being pregnant with twins and her ability to reproduce also expressed mixed emotions – joy as well as feeling judged and excluded – when she related her unmarried status and her pregnancy to the particular socio-cultural context in which she developed meaning about pregnancy. Two themes which emerged, but not in detail, and which could be explored in future research are the relevance of physical experiences and meaning, and meaning and hope for future pregnancies.

What Is the Significance of the Data in Relation to the Research Question? What Knowledge Is Transferable? Pregnancy serves as an example of a significant growth, transitional or turning point. When people reflect on the meaning of a life-changing experience, awareness is created of those specific issues people are trying to make sense of. This knowledge is transferable to other contexts. Meaning is shaped by spiritual beliefs and the coherent framework spirituality provides. Relationships with people significant to the subjective experience of meaning are emphasized. In this research, it was in the participants' relationships with their unborn babies, partners and mothers in that meaning acquired significance. The experience of meaning is not limited to negative life events. Meaning is also associated with physical experiences and has strong links with a variety of emotions. The experience of meaning gains significance if contextualized against the personal experiential context and in terms of the broader contexts in which the meaning develops.

Table 7.5 Illustration of husband as integral part of meaning in visual representation

Visual representation	Description of literal observations	Subjective, symbolic meaning
 **Fig. 7.6** Meaning related to relationship with husband	Three visual elements. In the centre of the round cloth, a cross on a heart-shaped piece of clay with different colours of beads, placed between two matching hearts connected at the base. To the right of the connected hearts, almost touching it, is a tree with a thick trunk, and two branches growing out of the stem. Smaller branches lead off the two main branches with beads of different colours at their tips. At the bottom of the tree, touching the base is a long rolled-out piece of clay. This is topped with two round pieces of clay with, each with two beads in different colours.	The cross symbolizes God and the small colourful heart represents the love that God used to form the baby, as well as representing the baby. The two same-sized hearts represent the participant and her husband. The hearts are connected at their bases to indicate their connectedness to each other through marriage. God connects the two hearts, and uses the baby as symbol of their love. The rolled-out piece of clay represents the wonderful road on which God has sent the two people, who are represented by the round pieces of clay on top of the "road".
		These two people have walked together on the road and have grown together. Their growth is represented by the tree, and the two different persons are seen as joined together to form the tree unit. The branches represent what each has learned or discovered about the other, as well as different good qualities in each.

Conclusion

There are different methods of visual data analysis which are conducted on the basis of the conceptual framework guiding the research. In the Mmogo-method, visual data are obtained when participants construct visual representations, which they explain according to the meanings the visual elements have for them. Therefore, in the analysis of visual data, the research production text is always important when data analysis is approached from an empathic position. Visual data are described in terms of the literal observations of the visual elements and the meanings (which could also include symbolic meanings) participants associate with them. Subjective experiences and meanings always develop in relation to particular contexts and therefore context is analyzed from the contexts participants introduce. From these basic descriptive levels of analysis, researchers assume a higher level of abstraction in their interpretative analysis. In the suggested method of analysis of visual data with text, researchers refrain from making their own assertions about the data, but use the visual, the textual and context. Literature is used to compare findings. In the integrative analysis researchers' expertise as methodologists and as subject experts is combined to describe the subjective experiences and meanings of participants to explain social reality.

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Part III
Applications

Chapter 8
Theorizing from the Mmogo-method: Self-Interactional Group Theory (SIGT) to Explain Relational Interactions

Vera Roos

Abstract This chapter sets out to demonstrate how data obtained from the Mmogo-method, in combination with the Intergenerational Group Reflecting Technique, were used to develop the Self-Interactional Group Theory (SIGT). SIGT explains the relational/interactional nature of intergenerational relations. Relationships are viewed as the reciprocal, continuous communicative interactions between members of different generations. Thus, from a pragmatic perspective, focus or punctuation enables observation and description of different units of the relational interactions, namely the intra-individual, inter-individual, and group units of analysis. The intra-individual unit of analysis encompasses individuals' subjective experiences (emotions/feelings), and the problems or meaningfulness associated with the interactions between people. The intra-individual unit of analysis gives an indication of what takes place in the inter-individual and group units of analysis. The inter-individual unit of analysis involves (1) the context in which the interactions take place; (2) the definition of the relationship; (3) relational qualities (observable behaviour); (4) the motivation (social goals/needs) for interactions between people; and the (5) interactional processes. The group unit of analysis describes intra- and intergroup group behaviour. These units of analysis, which occur simultaneously and reciprocally, are embedded in the broader social, cultural, political and economic environments which informed them.

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Introduction

The Mmogo-method is a data-collection method for which participants use unstructured materials to construct visual representations in a group. Individual visual representations are used to "see the world as our research participants do – from the inside" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 34). Older participants (60 years and older) were sampled purposively to obtain their experiences as a group in relation to late adolescents and early adults. The Mmogo-method was applied to obtain a deeper understanding of the relational experiences, and researchers probed, reflected and summarized individual participants' explanations of their visual representations (Roos, 2016a).

In a second round of data collection, the Mmogo-method was combined with the Intergenerational Group Reflecting Technique (IGRT) (Roos, 2011) to obtain data about the relational/interactional nature of intergenerational relations. IGRT is based on the assumption that a facilitated discussion of subjective experiences between members of both generations could contribute to awareness and understanding of the world of the generational other (De Wet, 2005; Nortje & Venter, 2006; Roos, 2011; White, 2000). In addition, the data obtained were used to develop the Self-Interactional Group Theory to explain the relational/interactional nature of intergenerational relations. Applied to this research, IGRT required participants to be selected specifically on the basis of their age, namely a generational group of late adolescents and young adults and a group of older people. In the application of IGRT, the two groups of participants were simultaneously involved in the data-collection session and a safe research context was created for participation by introducing norms of respect, trustworthiness and confidentiality (although only partial because the research is conducted with people from the same community). First, the younger group's members shared their visual representations of their experiences in relation to older people, while the older people assumed a listening, or reflective, position. Second, older people were asked to reflect on what they had heard, while the younger people listened and reflected on the responses. In this research, the researcher's role could be compared to that of a director, guiding the discussion among individual group members.

Constructivist grounded theory, informed both by the interpretative tradition and realism (Charmaz, 2006), was used for the purpose of theory development from the data obtained from the Mmogo-method, as well as from the combination with the IGRT. Following an interpretivistic perspective, and informed by symbolic interactionism and social constructionism, it can be assumed that intergenerational interactions between members from different generations consist of subjective experiences, relational interactions and broader structures, often with hidden positions and relationships (Charmaz, 2006). It was through processes of synthesis and interpretation of the data (Roos, 2016a, 2016b) that SIGT was developed. As a clinical psychologist with an interest in the interactional nature of relationships, I was sensitive to people's emotions, how they interacted and what group processes emerged.

Contextualizing the Development of Self-Interactional Group Theory (SIGT)

In research conducted in 2011 (Roos, 2016a, 2016b) to obtain the relational experiences of older persons and children in the middle childhood developmental phase following the psycho-social developmental theory of Erikson (1963), members of both generations confirmed the relationship between them as mutually beneficial. Older persons were educating the younger people, who accepted the instructions about how they should behave in the wider environment to ensure their safety; what was regarded as responsible citizenship; and how they should relate to older persons. The relationship between the two generations was described as mutually beneficial, with both generations able to express their needs in the relationship and satisfy them (Roos, 2011).

It was also in the 2011 study that older persons described their disappointment with people in the late adolescent and young adult developmental phase. From the perspective of older persons, the younger people did not conform to what was expected traditionally and it was difficult to relate to and interact with them. Since the data obtained in the research were limited, it was decided to focus specifically on older persons' experiences of their relationships with people in the late adolescent or early adult developmental phase. Consequently, older persons were involved in the Mmogo-method, which was described in Roos (2016a).

From this research, the following findings emerged: older persons described mixed emotions such as fear, frustration and disappointment as well as feeling proud in relation to the late adolescents and young adults. The emotions of fear, frustration and disappointment were related to how younger people challenged the older persons' position as elders; when the younger people disobeyed them; and when they did not comply with the elders' expectations. Older persons felt proud of younger people because of their ability to change from being careless to being responsible or when they obeyed older persons.

Older persons expressed themselves differently in relation to younger people: some demonstrated empathy towards younger people by noting that the latter had to deal with many changes in their lives, which they might find difficult. These older persons were able to understand the views of the younger people, but others described younger people's behaviour (ill-mannered, empty-headed) from their own judgemental perspective and did not understand that there were other perspectives. Some older persons acknowledged that the way they treated younger people (providing structure, guidance and love) could elicit obedience and conformity from the younger people. Other older persons depicted themselves as helpless and dependent on the government and spiritual leaders to assist them with money, with disciplining the younger people or dealing with the illegal sale of substances. The role of the broader environment (political environment; apartheid), the physical environment (barren playground; new sports stadium; places where alcohol is sold illegally), the cultural environment (traditions of disclosure,

intergenerational respect), and the social environment (educators, peers), in informing people's emotions and their interactions was also recognized.

These findings were useful in obtaining the subjective experiences of the older persons who participated in the research in relation to late adolescents and early adults, but in order to observe the interactions between younger people and older persons it was decided to involve the younger people in the Mmogo-method and to combine it with the IGRT (Roos, 2011). The findings are described in Roos, 2016b. From this combined data collection, findings revealed the (1) subjective experiences of young adult males; (2) actions and reactions of members of both generations; (3) specific needs and strategies to satisfy these needs in relation to one another; and (4) different groups among older people and young adults as well as intra- and inter-group dynamics.

The findings of the two studies (Roos, 2016a, 2016b), showed the interactional/relational nature of the relationships between members of two generations. However, since very little literature provided an integrated theory explaining the interactional/relational nature of intergenerational relations (VanderVen, 2011), I sought to attend experiential workshops on Interactional Pattern Analysis (IPA) developed by Vorster (2011). Since the findings also revealed feelings and emotions played an important part in relationships, literature was consulted about the role of emotions in interpersonal relations (Greenberg & Johnson, 1988; Lazarus, 2006) and group theory (Booysen, 2007; De Wet, 2005; Hogg, 2013). The Self-Interactional Group Theory (SIGT) was developed using a constuctivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2006; 2008; 2014), and by using the data obtained from the Mmogo-method and the IGRT, as well as sensitizing constructs of IPA (Vorster, Roos, & Beukes, 2013), relationship psychology (Kitching, 2010; Stacey, 2000, 2001, 2003) and systems theory in action (Smith-Acuña, 2011). SIGT explains the interactional/relational nature of intergenerational relations. In the discussion that follows, SIGT will first be described as a theory that developed from the Mmogo-method and IGRT data; and second, SIGT will be applied using the two studies from which it emerged.

Self-Interactional Group Theory (SIGT)

From a pragmatic perspective, relationships are viewed as the verbal and non-verbal interactions between people (Baxter, 2011; Greenberg & Johnson, 1988; Hill, Watson, Rivers, & Joyce, 2007; Mitchell, 1988; Stacey, 2001). The exchange of verbal and non-verbal messages takes place continuously. In every act, people subjectively evaluate the verbal or non-verbal message and react according to their subjective experience (impact) (Baxter, 2011; Greenberg & Johnson, 1988; Hill et al., 2007; Vorster, 2011).

Since relational interactions between people develop through ongoing interactive processes that are continuous, reciprocal and complex, it is not 'possible' to focus on the intergenerational interaction as a whole at one time. Focus can be

achieved through punctuation, which means paying attention to one unit of analysis of the relational interactions at a time and to observe and describe them (Vorster et al., 2013; Watzlawick, Bavelas, & Jackson, 2011). Intergenerational relations/interactions are punctuated to observe and describe them in terms of the intra-individual, the inter-individual and the group units of analysis, although these three units are ontologically and analytically regarded as different viewpoints of the same process. A visual representation of the different units of analysis is presented in Fig. 8.1 below:

In Fig. 8.1, the three units of analysis are the intra-individual, inter-individual and the group, taking place in an interpersonal context, embedded in broader environments:

- The intra-individual unit of analysis focuses on (1) the subjective feelings/emotions (impact) of members or individuals of the different generations, for example G1 and G3; and (2) the problems (concerns) or meaningfulness in the relational interactions.
- The inter-individual focuses on (1) the particular interpersonal context in which interactions are observed; (2) the relational definition, which describes how participating members define control in the verbal and non-verbal messages between them; (3) relational qualities that are observed in the interactions; (4) the social goal or psychosocial needs expressed in the interactions; and (5) the interactional processes, referring to the ongoing sequence of interactions (Suchman, 2006).
- The group unit of analysis includes aspects of intra and inter-group behaviour. Intra-group behaviour deals with the processes that take place within the group, such as group formation, leadership, creating of group norms (Roos & Du Toit, 2014). Inter-generational group behaviour refers to what can be observed and described when groups compete for similar goals, or when a social identity is activated (Stets & Burke, 2000).

The three units of analysis (intra-individual, inter-individual and group) are contextualized against the broader environments in which the interactions are embedded. A summary of the different units of analysis and indicators is provided in Table 8.1.

Each level of analysis will be discussed in more detail below.

Intra-Individual Unit of Analysis

The first unit of analysis is the intra-individual and it involves an analysis of subjective experiences (feelings/emotions) of generational members in relation to problems (concerns) or the meaningfulness associated with the relational interactions. These subjective experiences (feelings/emotions) are seen as a consequence of the impact of the interactions between people (Greenberg & Johnson, 1988; Lazarus, 2006). Emotions are viewed as interactional productions of the individual

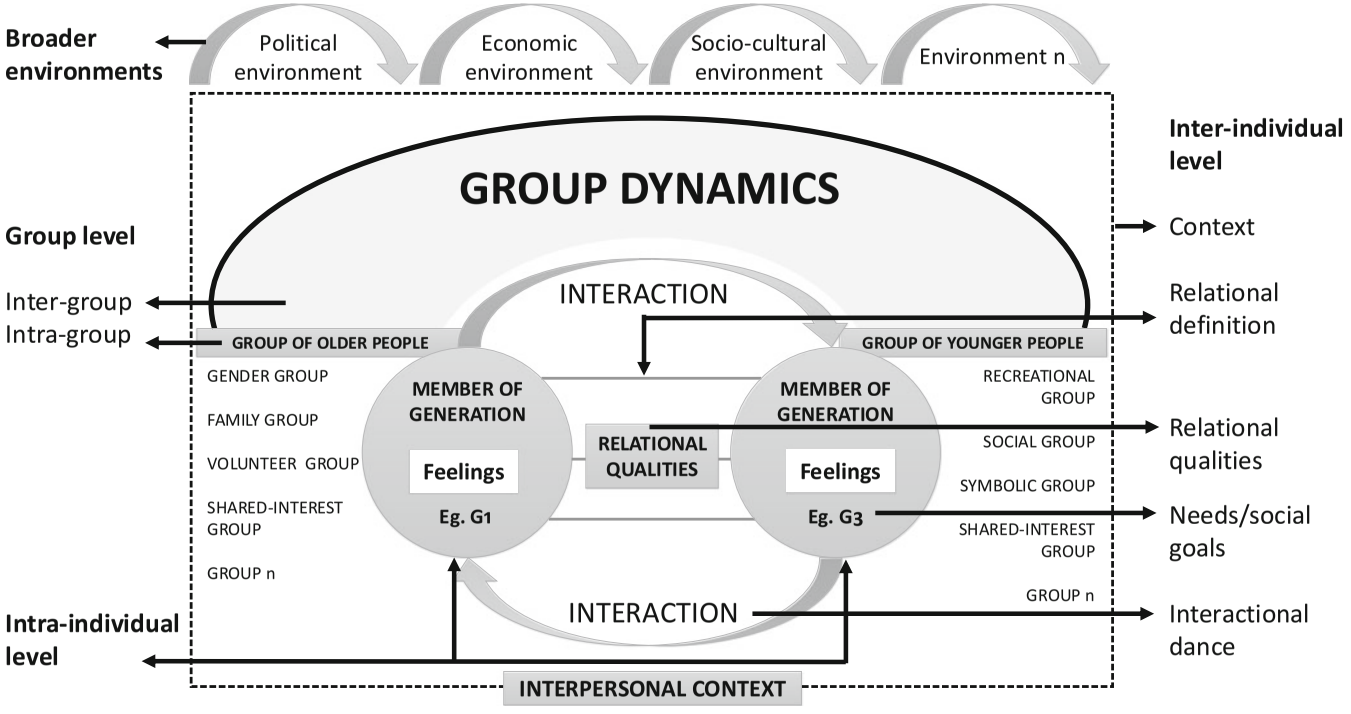

Fig. 8.1 Visual representation of SIGT

Table 8.1 Levels of analysis and indicators

Level of analysis	Indicators
Intra-individual	Subjective experiences
	Feelings or emotions in relation to concerns (problems) or meaningfulness in the interaction
Inter-individual	Relational context (who/where/why)
	Relational definition (control in relational interactions)
	Complementarily-defined relationship
	Parallel-defined relationship
	Symmetrically-defined relationship
	Relational qualities (observable behaviour)
	E.g. Perspective-taking
	Empathy
	Unconditional acceptance
	Congruence
	Presentation of the self
	Rigidity/Flexibility
	Locus of control
	Emotional closeness/distance
	Social goals/needs
	Specific goals/needs
	Strategies to address goals/needs
	Interactional processes/dance between
	Intra-individual
	Inter-individual
Group	Intra-group (within groups including the intra- and inter-individual levels of analysis)
	Intergroup (between groups including intra- and inter-individual levels of analysis)
Broader environments	

in relation to other people and the environment (Denzin, 1992; Stacey, 2000). Emotions organize verbal and nonverbal patterns of communication, which in response again organize the emotional states (Greenberg & Johnson, 1988). Although people can attend to or ignore their feelings, they always register them (Greenberg & Johnson, 1988; Hill et al., 2007), and act (observable behaviour) on the basis of the meaning yielded by their interpretation (Hill et al., 2007). In addition, the subjective experiences of generational members are linked to what they subjectively experience as a concern or problem for them or what they experience subjectively as effective or meaningful in the intergenerational interactions (Roos & Du Toit, 2014; Roos & Malan, 2012). The subjective experiences of feelings/emotions in relation to the concerns (problems) or meaningfulness direct the focus to the inter-individual and intra/intergroup unit of analysis.

Inter-Individual Unit of Analysis

The inter-individual unit of analysis has been derived from the variables proposed by Vorster's (2011) Interactional Pattern Analysis. These variables were adapted according to literature and theories explaining interpersonal interactions and suggest the following descriptors on the inter-individual level of analysis in terms of: (1) the context in which the different relational qualities are observed and which determine the meaning of the interactions between members from different generations (Greenberg & Johnson, 1988; Roos & Malan, 2012; Vorster, 2011; Watzlawick et al., 2011); (2) the definition of the relationship between the members of the different generations (Watzlawick et al., 2011); (3) relational qualities (observable behaviour) (Vorster et al., 2013); (4) the motivation for the interactions (goals/needs) (Steyn, 2015); and (5) the interactional processes (moves and countermoves) between the members of the different generations (De Wet, 2005). In the discussion which follows the inter-individual unit of analysis will be explained and the indicators will be described.

Context Describing the context requires an indication of who is interacting with whom, where, and for what purpose. Context determines the interpretation of meanings between interacting members of different generations (Vorster, 2011; Watzlawick et al., 2011). It is only within a particular context and in a particular interaction between generational members that the properties of verbal and non-verbal communication gain meaning (Suchman, 2006). It is because of the importance of context determining meaning that interacting people experience "feeling like a different person in the presence of different people" (Suchman, 2006, p. 543).

Who is interacting with whom includes a description of the interacting generational members present: for example, an employer (G1) initiates a first encounter with a graduate (G3) in the tearoom with other colleagues. The purpose of the interaction refers to the reason why people are interacting. The purpose of the interaction is initiated by the manager to discuss the graduate's reluctance to perform certain duties. The employer, sitting with one foot on the table, starts the conversation by saying: "Can you please be more sensitive towards others." The graduate, who feels confused and embarrassed, responds: "I do not understand what you mean, sir." The employer shrugs his shoulders and says to another senior colleague: "These youngsters do not know anything about respect anymore." Later that day, the graduate resigns.

This example serves to illustrate how the interaction between the employer and the graduate took place in a physical setting (tearoom) that was not appropriate for the purpose of the discussion, namely to provide feedback to a junior colleague. Furthermore, the employer did not create boundaries around the discussion. Creating a boundary around the discussion could take the form of the employer saying something along the following lines to the graduate: "This is our first opportunity to discuss your experience of the organization and to give feedback about your

performance." The employer's communication was ambiguous, which elicited confusion in the graduate, who eventually rejected the relationship by resigning.

Relational Definition An analysis of the relational definition implies an understanding of the way in which control emerges in people's communicative interaction. Three relational definitions are distinguished:

- A complementarily-defined relationship is a relationship in which both participants in the relationship find it acceptable that one is a leader and the other a follower (Haley, 1963; Jackson, 1965; Swart & Wiehahn, 1979; Watzlawick et al., 2011).
- In a parallel-defined relationship, the participants in the interaction alternate in terms of adopting the leading and follower positions in different contexts.
- In a symmetrically-defined relationship, both participants convey the same message and exchange the same behaviour to compete for control (Jackson, 1965; Swart & Wiehahn, 1979; Watzlawick et al., 2011).

The relational definitions between interacting people may be accepted, qualified or rejected (Swart & Wiehahn, 1979). Questions that could be asked to describe this relational quality are:

In the intergenerational relationship, does the generational other always take the lead; usually take the lead; sometimes take the lead; or never take the lead? Taking the lead refers to taking control in the relationship and could be observed in: giving people instructions; commenting on people's actions and giving feedback; probing and questioning; ignoring people; occupying space by talking too much; making statements of ultimate truths and giving someone permission to behave in a certain way (Personal communication, Alda de Wet, 12 April 2012).

Relational Qualities The following discussion of relational qualities does not attempt to provide a complete list of the qualities proposed by Vorster et al. (2013), but uses those that emerged in the research findings discussed in Roos (2016a, 2016b). Relational qualities are observed in the interactions between people. They are the observable behaviour of how people relate to one another, which Vorster (2011) describes as variables and Watzlawick et al. (2011) as the content and relationship components of interactions. The content component is the explicit information exchanged in the interaction, while the relationship component refers to the implicit or analogical definitions of the self and other. The examples of relational qualities discussed here serve the purpose of illustrating (1) how to identify different relational qualities; and (2) how the clusters of relational qualities emerge in the interactional processes between interacting generational members. In the next section, a discussion of the relational qualities follows.

Taking the Perspective of the Generational Other Vorster et al. (2013) describe this relational quality as the ability to incorporate the perspective of the other person involved in the interaction. Perspective-taking is, according to Grandin and Barron (2005), the most important relational quality that will determine social success. When people tend to view the interaction only from their own point of view, they

take a linear perspective of the interaction. A lack of perspective-taking can thus be seen in: the inability to adopt the perspective of another; analyzing situations from a self-centred position; and the inevitable judgement of others' behaviour and attitudes from own pre-conceived ideas and beliefs (Biggs, Haapala, & Lowenstein, 2011; Elliott, Bohart, Watson, & Greenberg, 2011; Lardén, Melin, Holst, & Långström, 2006). The inability to adopt a circular view of the interaction can result in being stuck in interpersonal conflict situations without the "possibility of working towards negotiated and sustainable solutions" (Biggs & Lowenstein, 2011, p. 1). The following questions could be asked to determine this relational quality:

- To what extent do the interacting members take each other's perspective in the interaction?
- To what extent does the generational other talk about his or her contribution to the outcomes of the interaction?

Empathy Empathy differs from perspective-taking because it implies the ability to 'feel' into the world of the other (Howe, 2013). Empathy includes both the cognitive and affective processes during the interaction that accompanies an accurate assessment of a verbal and non-verbal message (Goldman, 2006; Hill et al., 2007; Juujärvi, 2003; Segal, 2006). Empathy suggests a cognitive challenge which, if verbal and non-verbal reactions are observed accurately, is referred to as empathetic accuracy (Howe, 2013). Cognitive empathy means being able to see, imagine and think about the situation from another generation's point of view, while affective empathy refers to the communication of compassion and understanding of the generational other's emotional experience (Howe, 2013; Roos & Wheeler, 2016). Accurate empathy brings about emotional closeness as does unconditional positive regard and congruence, while the opposite creates emotional distance. This relational quality is determined by observing to what extent the generational other demonstrates listening skills that communicate understanding and the feelings of the other. This would include questions such as:

- Does the person enter the other person's frame?
- Does the person give empathy by *identifying* the emotions associated with the position of the generational other?
- When talking about/with the generational other, to what extent is the generational member able to express *accurate* accounts of the subjective experiences of the generational other, demonstrating 'affect mirroring' (Howe, 2013) to the extent that the generational other feels understood?
- To what extent does the generational other demonstrate *listening skills* that communicate understanding and feelings for the other?
- To what extent does the generational other *elicit* empathy from the other?
- Does the person blame the other, which would entail the opposite of empathy?

Unconditional Acceptance Unconditional acceptance is regarded as being totally accepting of the generational other. This refers to a deep respect for the generational other's worth and rights as a free individual and implies that the generational members may freely express themselves without fear of judgement (Swart & Wiehahn, 1979; Truax & Carkhuff, 1967). Refraining from judgement means to accept people unconditionally and to understand others from their own unique perspective and situation (Lardén et al., 2006). Questions that could be used to identify this relational quality are:

- To what extent is the generational other blaming or judging the other?
- To what extent does the generational other criticize, and project expectations onto, the other?
- To what extent does the generational other create a safe space to share emotions?
- To what extent does the generational other accept the other unconditionally?

Congruence Congruence refers to the correspondence between non-verbal and verbal messages (Rogers, 1957). According to George and Cristiani (1995), it manifests when internal experiences are consistent with the messages being communicated externally. When someone is congruent, he or she is experienced as genuine in the relationship. Incongruence reflects a lack of consistency between verbal and non-verbal messages which, according to Swart and Wiehahn (1979), can contribute to feelings of mistrust and uncertainty. Incongruence in intergenerational interactions may be observed by asking the following question:

- Is there correspondence between the generational other's verbal and non-verbal messages?

Presentation of the Self This relational quality is a combination of the content and relationship component as described by Watzlawick et al. (2011). People present themselves in the act of communication through verbal and non-verbal cues. The manner in which people present themselves can elicit subjective experiences of confusion or a clear picture in the receiver. If people communicate incongruently or vaguely, using non-specific statements, or jump erratically from topic to topic, or if they lie, they elicit misunderstanding or rejection from the generational other (Vorster et al., 2013). Questions that could be asked about this intergenerational interaction are:

- To what extent is it possible to follow the generational other?
- Does the generational other create context between topics to allow for communicating a clear message?
- Is the presentation of the generational member totally confusing, confusing to some extent, or easy to follow?
- To what extent is it possible to experience the generational other as 'visible and open' (not obscured)?

Rigidity/Flexibility Rigidity/flexibility refers to the diversity of people's relational repertoire and their responsiveness in accepting change and responding to changing conditions (Grandin & Barron, 2005). This relational quality also refers to how open or closed people are to being influenced in the interaction. If generational members remain closed or "unaffected by one another, there is little opportunity for an emerging new pattern" to develop (Suchman, 2006, p. 542). Similarly, members of different generations can be over-flexible to the extent that they yield their positions for the sake of the generational other (Chigeza & Roos, 2012; Vorster, 2011). Questions that could be asked to determine this relational quality can include:

- To what extent does the person adjust his or her own communication in different contexts or settings?
- To what extent is the generational other able to move their own position in response to the generational other's messages?
- To what extent are generational members applying their own perspective/position: rigidly (not moving), or ranging from fairly flexibly to over-flexibly (giving up their personal position)?
- To what extent is the generational other able to tolerate ambivalence?

Locus of Control Locus of control can manifest either internally or externally and is based on subjective evaluations of rewards and punishments in a particular context (Ross & Mirowsky, 2002). If someone subjectively evaluates that he or she is able to influence the external environment and to determine rewards or punishments, it demonstrates an internal locus of control; but those who evaluate the external environment as beyond their control and are consequently subjected to rewards and punishments inflicted on them from outside demonstrate an external locus of control (Cherry, 2014). Questions suggested to identify this relational quality are:

- What are the subjective experiences of the generational other in relation to other people and the environment?
- To what extent does the person make his or her own decisions and act on them?
- To what extent does the generational other express feelings of being in control in interpersonal demands and/or happenings in the environment?
- To what extent does the generational other express feelings of being overwhelmed by interpersonal demands and/or happenings in the environment?
- To what extent do people and the environment respond with hostility to the generational other? Always, often, never?

Emotional Closeness/Distance In everyday social intercourse people interact on a continuum between being 'too close' and 'too far' at the extremes, and experience a certain level of emotional distance/closeness (Bell, 2013; Vorster, 2011). Different aspects influence the emotional closeness between people, such as the length of the

relationship, its type and nature, the history of interaction, and the context in which the interaction takes place (Smith-Acuña, 2011). Emotional closeness is achieved when the generational other is empathic, congruent and unconditionally accepting. Emotional distance is created when the generational other blames, is judgemental and incongruent. Emotional closeness/distance can be observed when the generational other is:

- Extremely distant and totally inaccessible.
- To a certain extent distant and untouchable.
- Reasonably distant and inaccessible
- Untouchable.
- Extremely and uncomfortably close.

Motivation for Interaction with People (Goals/Needs) People interact with one another to pursue social goals and/or to address their needs (Steyn, 2015). Social goals are generated and observed in the inter-individual domain, while needs are generated in the intra-individual domain but become visible in the inter-individual domain. A need, according to Deci and Ryan (2000), is an innate psychological nutriment. The extent to which people are able to satisfy their needs in inter-individual relationships is linked to their psychological well-being and mental health or discomfort (Roos & Du Toit, 2014; Van den Bergh, 2008; Vorster et al., 2013).

Social Goals/Needs Weimann and Daly (2011) identified critical social goals such as achieving compliance, generating affinity, resolving social conflict and offering information. Basic needs include being cared for, mastery, curiosity, attachment, recognition and confirmation (Greenberg & Johnson, 1988; Hycner & Jacobs, 1995). Confirmation, according to Hycner and Jacobs (1995), is the most basic human need. "Confirming the other means an active effort of turning to and affirming the separate existence of the other person" (Hycner & Jacobs, 1995, p. 24), even though some behaviour may not be acceptable.

Strategies to Pursue Social Goals/Needs The strategy people use to pursue their social goals or needs is a plan of action (Weimann & Daly, 2011), or interpersonal manoeuvres (Vorster, 2011) or goal-directed attempts to achieve a desired outcome (Hargie, 2011). The different strategies to pursue social goals and address needs can include manipulation, blaming, demanding, requesting, coercing. A person who expresses her or his needs in an over-demanding manner will most probably elicit defensiveness, rejection or withdrawal from others.

Interactional Nature of Relationships The interactional nature of the relationship becomes visible from a second-order level of observation. This level of observation involves moving to a position where both the intra-individual and inter-individual units of analysis are visible and from where the interactional processes can be observed. The interactional processes are described in terms of a circular 'dance' (Vorster, 2011) or a 'joint action', drawing on Blumer (1969).

These interactional processes take place in every interpersonal interaction: the subjective experience of the moves and countermoves elicits behavioural responses between people (Hill et al., 2007). The moves and countermoves are recognized in conscious and subconscious levels because people register the effect of the interaction on both levels. As the interaction continues, a 'pattern of interaction' develops between people, setting in motion continuous manoeuvres and subsequently impacts on the parties (Vorster, 2011).

Group Unit of Analysis

A group is regarded as a perceptual classification of individuals into discrete categories or groups involved in social interaction and interdependent goal setting and achievement (Hogg, 2013). Individuals' social identity is defined as that part of their self-concept that derives from their own categorization and group membership, and it develops though a process whereby they become part of the social group and social groups in turn become part of them (Booysen, 2007; De Wet, 2005). Typically, individuals develop social identities while their interactional networks expand to include more and more interactions with other people (Harwood, Giles, & Ryan, 1995; Tajfel, 2010). Individuals could have as many social identities as the groups to which they feel they belong, with varying degrees of belonging (Booysen, 2007; Hogg, 2013).

Social identity is part of individuals' self-concept and involves cognitive processes (the extent to which they have knowledge of the membership) and emotional significance (meaning and value attached to membership) (Tajfel, 1981). Cognitively, people detect similarities and differences between them and other groups, and through processes of categorization they distinguish in- and out-groups. The in-group is the social group to which individuals perceive themselves as belonging to, while all the other groups are regarded as out-groups. The emotional significance of group membership contributes to individuals' personal self-evaluation and self-esteem. Consequently, individuals will view their own self-category membership as positively as possible, as may be observed when a particular social categorization becomes activated (De Wet, 2005). Individuals then no longer respond in terms of their personal characteristics, but in terms of the category of their social identities. Social categorization distorts the intra-category similarities and differences, resulting in evaluation and discrimination, and favouring the in-group.

Inter-group behaviour is activated when a particular social categorization is cued and individuals evaluate other groups or the members of groups relative to their own groups (De Wet, 2005). The evaluation requires them to exaggerate the similarities of the in-group and the dissimilarity of the out-group or its members (Fiskce, Cuddy, & Glick, 2002; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel, 2010). The need for a positive social identity creates a competitive inter-group orientation, which would generate inter-group bias, competition, stereotyping and prejudice (De Wet, 2005; Hogg, 2013).

Broader Environments

The ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1994) puts forward the interrelatedness and circular processes between systems. Accordingly, intergenerational relations are inevitably influenced by the predominant educational, political, economic, physical and social environments (consisting of assumptions, preconceptions, meanings, and prejudices), and vice versa.

Application of SIGT to Two Studies

The following discussion will demonstrate how SIGT can be applied to observations of the relational/interactional nature of intergenerational relations.

Context

The context in which the relational/interactional nature of intergenerational relations between older persons and young adult males was investigated was a research situation in which both the Mmogo-method and the Intergenerational Group Reflecting Technique (IGRT) were applied. In this context the subjective and group experiences of generational members were observed in the Mmogo-method, while data about the communicative interactions between a group of older persons and late adolescents and young adults were obtained when the Mmogo-method was combined with the IGRT.

The context in which the relational interactions between older persons and young adult males were observed was a research setting. This means that, for the purpose of the discussion here, observations were not made of how intergenerational members create the interpersonal context among themselves outside the research setting. Data obtained from Roos, (2016a, 2016b) will be used to describe the intra-individual, inter-individual, intra- and inter-group level of analysis that emerged between two generations in the research setting (see Table 8.1). The discussion will first be punctuated on the perspective of older persons and then on that of the young adults.

Older Persons: Intra-Individual Perspective

Subjective Experiences (Feelings/Emotions) In the research, older persons described mixed emotions towards the young males: on the one hand, older persons expressed emotions of pride, which is illustrated by an older woman who spoke

about her son who had taken the initiative to organize sports teams for other younger people: "Some of the kids were brought together by my son to play soccer" (Roos, 2016a, OP 1). But on the other hand older persons expressed fear: "We are scared" (Roos, 2016a, OP 2) and "afraid" (Roos, 2016a, OP 6). The older persons were afraid to go out because of the unpredictable behaviour of younger people towards them as older persons: "You are afraid to leave your house even to go next door. Because a young child won't meet you in the street and just pass you. They think of money, just taking your money or taking your cell phone, even killing you, raping you" (Roos, 2016a, OP 5).

Problems These subjective experiences of the older persons were associated with the problems they described in relation to the younger generation, namely the disobedience of the youth: "Most of them are not interested in listening. They don't want to take advice from their parents" (Roos, 2016b, OP 3). Younger people disobey older person's teachings because they no longer regard them as relevant for them. An older man expressed this: "That is very same for me. I have nine kids and three or two of them will listen, but the rest won't take it. They are going to tell you that thing is a past thing. That time was your own time, it is not my time" (Roos, 2016b, OP 1). Older persons experience younger people who quote their civic rights as challenging when they disregard the older persons' sharing of knowledge: "Our children, these days, have a lot of rights. They misuse the rights that they have. They are elevating their rights" (Roos, 2016b, OP 3).

Older Persons: Inter-Individual Unit of Analysis

The inter-individual unit of analysis applies to how the generational members define the relationship between them (Vorster et al., 2013); relational qualities (Vorster et al., 2013; Steyn, 2015); motivation for the interaction (needs/social goals) (Steyn, 2015); strategies to pursue their needs satisfaction in the interaction; and the interactional nature of the relationship.

Relational Definition Older persons attempt to define the relationship as complementary with themselves in a controlling position, but this is not accepted by all the younger people. An older male participant suggests that young adults should keep quiet if they disagree with older persons: "If there is some conflict between you and your parent, you are very, very angry, keep quiet and don't say anything" (Roos, 2016b, OP 1). Older persons, irrespective of their relatedness, were regarded as authority figures for the younger people. The relational definition of older persons leading the younger people is also seen in how the latter comment on younger people and give them feedback: "It is telling the young youth that if someone is out of line, to tell them" (Roos, 2016a, OP 2).

However, older persons also describe a symmetrically-defined relationship with the younger people: "Some of our children are trying to correct them [the older

persons] but you are not supposed to speak this way to your mother or grandmother."

Relational Qualities The following relational qualities were observed: perspective-taking; conditional acceptance; incongruence; obscured self-representation; rigidity; and external locus of control.

Perspective-Taking In the research, some older persons were able to assume the perspective of younger people who find themselves in a position of dependency and unemployment: "They are very beaten because of their living conditions. They can't accept their current living situation" (Roos, 2016a, OP 7).

For the most part, older persons confirmed that theirs was the only valid perspective in the relationship with young adults, which is illustrated in the following dialogue:

R: So if the children's way of doing is different from your way of doing, is that right or wrong?
OP 6: It's wrong.
R: It's wrong. There is only one way to do that, and it's your way.
OP1: Yes.

Older persons refused to understand that there were other perspectives apart from their own. For example, even if younger people clearly rejected being taught about agricultural practices, older persons continued to interpret the position of the younger people from their (older persons) own perspective: "The way we understand, it appears that if they are longing for those olden times. As if they want to see the things happening the way they were in the past" (Roos, 2016b, OP 2).

Conditional Acceptance From the data, it emerged that the older persons displayed conditional acceptance because they expected the young adults to behave according to their expectations: the younger people should take part in sport for socialization, and become famous for themselves, their group and the community. In Fig. 8.2, Older Participant 1 had made a visual representation of her son who organized soccer teams. According to her, he should organize the teams, "so that they can do what is right and leave what is not right. They must be successful" (Roos, 2016a, OP 1).

Conditional acceptance was also demonstrated by older persons, who judged the younger people, as illustrated in the following quote. "This is the bad mind that the kids have right now" (Roos, 2016b, OP 4), referring to the 'immorality' of the younger people.

Obscured Presentation of the Self Older persons withhold information about the biological fathers of the young adults and thus present themselves in an obscure manner. In response to the researcher's question: Why are you afraid of them (younger people)? the older participants answered: "We don't tell them who their

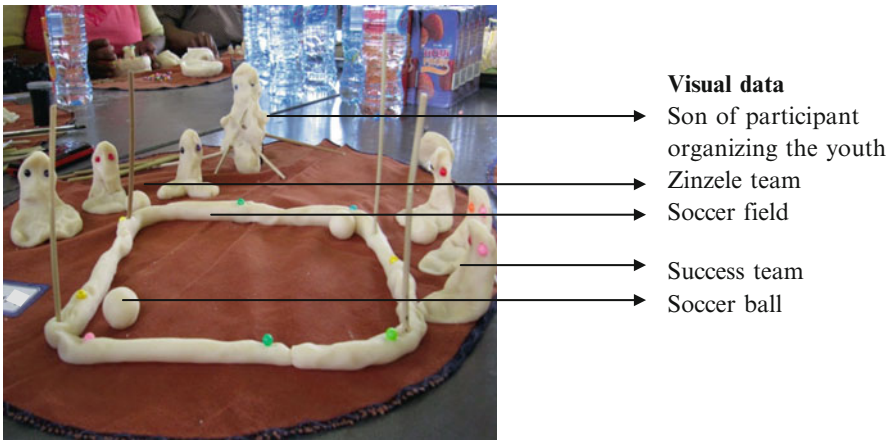

Fig. 8.2 Soccer field with two teams and an organizer

real father is. Like I don't want to tell him his real father, so he hears from the neighbour. They come out very angry from what he hears outside" [when he learns about it from other people] (Roos, 2016b, OP 5). According to the older persons, they do not share the truth of the younger people's biological parents because of cultural taboos: "In our culture we are not allowed. My parents say you must not tell them who are their fathers because they will disrespect you. Immediately they'll say: 'I see what kind of mother are you'" (Roos, 2016a, OP 7).

Incongruence Younger people described older persons as being incongruent in their interactions with them because the older persons behaved in a particular manner that contradicted what they expected the younger people to do. The younger people described this incongruence in the following manner: "We wish we could listen to them, but because they drank with us as their children, you can't respect somebody that is drinking in the tavern doing funny things and who is supposed to correct the child" (Roos, 2016b, YP 9).

Rigidity/Flexibility Intergenerationally, the older persons are always in the controlling position in relation to younger generations, even if the older persons are deceased, and irrespective of the nature of the relatedness between older persons and younger people. "In the olden times every child respected every older person, even when they weren't his parent" (Roos, 2016b, OP 4). This intergenerational relational arrangement is applied rigidly by the older persons: "We grew up and our parents did not say anything of being afraid. We were just being told. I wanted to be a lawyer and I went to school, knowing that I was going to do that. But I was told by the principal that you go for teaching. I couldn't say anything else" (Roos, 2016a, OP 5).

The older persons give instructions and educate members of the younger generation irrespective of the age of the younger people. For example, they treat young

adults in the same manner as children in the middle childhood developmental phase. "You can't even call your own child to order, now these kids are spoiled by democracy because the democracy gives the child rights" (Roos, 2016b, OP 3).

External Locus of Control Older persons display an external locus of control in dealing with their children's disobedience, their immorality and their lack of discipline. The older persons subjectively evaluate the lack of control over the younger generation as overwhelming to deal with and look for assistance from external sources such as the government, the spiritual community, the community and the researchers: "The father is looking at the government. What can the government do to cancel all the taverns and where they buy drugs? Do help us (parents) so that they (the children) can go to church!" (Roos, 2016b, OP 6).

Motivation for Interaction With People (Social Goals/Needs)

Social Goals The older persons want to equip the younger people with correct information: "When they go out, they need to know exactly the truth about what they know. That is what we are trying to do" (Roos, 2016a, OP 1).

Needs Older persons want to get emotionally closer to the young adults: "I want to call my child so that we can sit down" (Roos, 2016b, OP 3). The older persons also express a need for interdependency: "They never have time to sit down, maybe to ask: What are you doing today? Can I help you? Can I peel the potatoes? What are you going to cook today?" (Roos, 2016b, OP 6).

Strategies to Pursue Social Goals/Needs From the data it emerges that older persons applied mainly strategies of blaming and manoeuvring for sympathy to address their needs, as illustrated in the quotation above. However, they also used strategies of validation. For example, an older woman said: "That kid who took those kids out of the street to come and play football, [they] will all benefit because they were taken from the streets. They are going to play overseas he will be a star tomorrow. They uplift the place where they stayed" (Roos, 2016a, OP 4).

Young Adult Males: Intra-Individual Level of Analysis

Subjective Experiences (Feelings/Emotions) From their perspective, the young males expressed mixed feelings in relation to the older persons. On the one hand they mentioned positive feelings associated with older persons who cared for them: "I like them. I love them so much. My granny, this is why I think of them, and this grinding stone" (Roos, 2016a, YP 1). But on the other hand they expressed feeling bad and experiencing emotional pain. A younger participant (YP 6) said: "It is a bad feeling", when the older women called the younger people "drunken men, who rape and steal".

Young adult males also expressed mixed feelings towards older persons by referring to outdated farming practices. Participant 2 said: "I made it (referring to the

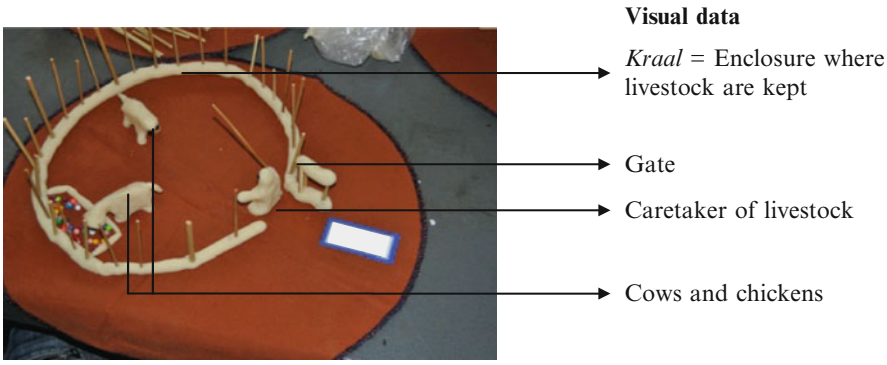

Fig. 8.3 *Kraal* with livestock and herdsman

visual representation in Fig. 8.3) because if you look at our lives, we are no longer focused on the agriculture things" (Roos, 2016b, YP 2).

This perspective was confirmed by other participants: "Most of us focus on things like computers – forgetting about animals – because we are focusing on the technology and things" (Roos, 2016b, YP 3); and "We aren't interested in agriculture, seeing the way they lived. We wouldn't have jobs, like we are having nowadays. If we grew up like them, we wouldn't create jobs for ourselves" (Roos, 2016b, YP 10). Some of the young adults, however, confirm the importance of older equipment for them despite technological advances: "These things (of the past) should go on, because at the end of the day they will help us. Like in olden days, they used to take three-legged pots (to cook), because there was no electricity. Even today we see ourselves using those three-legged pots, and not only baking on electricity" (Roos, 2016b, YP3).

Problems The problems that the younger people expressed were that the older persons were withholding the truth and were always correcting them: "We want our parents to be open to us. They shouldn't keep secrets from us. It is a hurting thing to hear from the next door neighbour that your father is so and so. Why doesn't your parent tell you about your biological father?" (Roos, 2016b, YP 9). Older persons were always correcting them: "The grandparents always correct them [the younger people] where they go wrong" (Roos, 2016b, YP 4).

Young Adult Males: Inter-Individual Unit of Analysis

The inter-individual unit of analysis is described in terms of the definition of the relationship, relational qualities, and needs in the relationship with older persons.

Definition of the Relationship Some of the young adults agreed with the definition of the relationship between themselves and older persons as complementary,

with the older persons in a leading role and the younger people in a submissive position. "Some of us, who stays [sic] with our grannies, at the moment, they listen to them" (Roos, 2016b, YP 4). However, there was a group of young adults who moved to a more parallel-defined relationship with the older persons: "It [should rather be] about two parties who work together and show out the way [find solutions]" (Roos, 2016b, YP 3). The move to a parallel-defined relationship is described as a dialogical relationship. Young people experience older persons' rejection of this relational definition as a symmetrically-defined relationship: "I think it is a point of communication because in whenever I want to express myself towards my parents – whenever I speak my mind they feel I am being disrespectful. So I have to watch how I talk to them. It doesn't matter how I feel as individual. In most cases it is about parents being right and you being wrong" (Roos, 2016b, YP 3).

Young adults cite their rights, disobeying older persons, rejecting their advice, and ignoring them. These strategies appeared to be actions intended to reject the older persons' understanding of the relationship and to gain more control in the relationship. What seemingly occurred was that both the older persons and the young adults struggled for the leadership position, which is typical of a symmetrically-defined relationship

Relational Qualities The relational qualities that were observed in young adults in relation to older persons are cognitive empathy, external locus of control, and distance.

Cognitive Empathy Young adults were able to adopt the perspective of the older persons, although from a cognitive perspective, they did not react appropriately verbally or in their actions. A young adult said: "This is the house, my grandmother and this is her house. She likes to sit next to the house" (Roos, 2016b, YP 7); and "Here I made an elderly person taking a walk, taking his grandchild to church because we know that nowadays children don't want to go to church" (Roos, 2016b, YP 8).

External Locus of Control An external locus of control was also observed when young adults blamed alcohol for their misbehaviour. "When you are hurting, you get stressed and when [you] get stressed you want to release your stress by drinking beer. As you go out to drink beer, something else happen and you end up taking out your anger on somebody else and commit crime" (Roos, 2016b, YP 9). The younger people express that they do not have control over their own lives.

Emotional Closeness/Distance Young adults create emotional distance by being 'noisy' and by withdrawing from the relationship with older persons. "The younger generation (pointing to the younger people in front of her) is very noisy. They don't have time to sit down with us to tell them what's wrong. They are always going out, always running around; never have time to sit down" (Roos, 2016b, OP 6).

Motivation for Interaction with People (Goals/Needs)

Needs Young people's motivation for interacting with older people is a need for a trusting, relationship: "We want our parents to be open to us. They shouldn't keep secrets from us" (Roos, 2016b, YP 9).

Strategies to Pursue Social Goals/Needs Young adults do not express their needs clearly and apply strategies that will not effectively address their needs. This becomes obvious if one considers their subjective experiences and the older people's reactions. Strategies to pursue their needs may be described as demanding and blaming. Older persons described how the younger people always needed money (Roos, 2016b, OP5 and OP6).

Interactional Patterns of Intergenerational Relations

By adopting a meta-reflective position towards the interactional patterns of both generations, the relational dynamics between the members in this particular context can be explained. Here, too, it is difficult to focus on the interaction of both parties at once, and the discussion is punctuated first on the older persons and then the young adults.

The older persons describe the disobedience of the younger people as problematic and they express feelings of frustration in the relationship. They define their relationship with the younger people as complementary, with themselves in the leading position (they want to correct, discipline or instruct the younger people). Some of the younger adults accept the complementary relationship with older people in the leading position, with themselves (as younger people) in the follower positions, but there are other younger people who move to a parallel-defined relationship. In a parallel-defined relationship the younger people and the older persons contribute equally to the relationship. Accordingly, a symmetrical struggle between the members of the two generations emerges. In a symmetrically-defined relationship, the relational definition is always questioned.

The older persons display a cluster of relational qualities (perspective-taking in a linear and judgemental manner; conditional acceptance; incongruence; obscure self-representation; rigidity; and an external locus of control) which are ineffective in pursuing their social goal, namely to transmit information to the younger people. Furthermore, their needs are to move closer to the young adults and to receive confirmation and acquire interdependence, but the strategies they apply to address their needs are ineffective, as is evident from the reaction of the younger people. The younger people move away to create greater distance.

Focusing on the young adults, they express feelings of frustration, anger and hurt and have difficulty with the controlling position of older people which requires them to conform to traditional ways of doing. They also have difficulties with older persons, who present themselves in an obscure manner. The younger people express

the need to have a transparent and trusting relationship with older persons. The relational qualities of the young adults include that they only display a cognitive understanding of older persons' perspectives and no more. They apply strategies to have their financial needs met, which again elicit rejection from the older persons.

The rigid interpersonal style of the older people in relation to younger people, irrespective of their developmental phase and the changing socio-economic environment in which the interactions are taking place, contributes to feelings of frustration and anger in the younger people. Consequently the needs of both participants remain unsatisfied.

From the interactional description above, the following patterns are observed:

Definition of Relationship and Symmetrical Struggle Older persons define the relationship as complementary, with themselves in the leading, and younger people in the submissive, position. This is not accepted by the younger people. They prefer to manoeuvre for a parallel-defined relational definition, which is again rejected by the older persons, i.e. a symmetrical struggle for control.

Ineffective Relational Qualities of Both Generational Members Ineffective relational qualities are observed by the members of both generations. They apply the same strategies to pursue social goals and to satisfy psychological needs.

Escalating Patterns Older persons move for emotional closeness to satisfy their needs for confirmation and interdependence. To this younger people respond by creating a bigger distance between them. As a result, the older persons try with escalating efforts to interact with the younger people, and the younger people react by increasing the gap between them. Manoeuvres for closeness are countered by manoeuvres of distance, eliciting a pattern of 'more of the same' relational interactions and more attempts at closeness followed more attempts at distance, and so on.

Group Unit of Analysis

Different perceptual social group identities may be identified among the older persons and the young adults. From the perspective of older persons, a group among them wants to exert control: "If they accept that from the beginning, it will help them learn a lot of things easily" (Roos, 2016b, OP 1); they also regard themselves as knowledgeable and want to educate the younger generation. But there is also a group of older persons who do not endorse the same values about the past or regard the transmission of knowledge intergenerationally as valid: "I don't think that in these days there are parents who still tell their children what it is that they used to do" (Roos, 2016b, OP 2).

Among the young adults there is a social identity group that is not interested in the agricultural activities and traditions of the past as a means to sustain their livelihood: "We aren't interested in agriculture. Seeing the way they lived" (Roos,

2016b, YP 4), but who would prefer to look to technology/education as a means of caring for themselves: "We are thinking of going to school – forgetting about our roots" (Roos, 2016b, YP 2). Then there are also young people who want to maintain the practices of the past in conjunction with modern technology: "Even today we see ourselves using those three-legged pots, and not only baking on electricity" (Roos, 2016b, YP 3).

Inter-group behaviour is observed in the group of older persons who claimed their group as dominant and superior to the young adults, and reject egalitarian ideologies: "I am refusing to bring the youth culture and the older people culture together. I still stand that we have to teach our children that whether somebody comes whether an older white lady, they have to know that this is my mother. Finish!!!" (Roos, 2016b, OP 1). The older persons introduced the norms for intergenerational interactions. Older persons should be respected by the young adults; and they should behave in a manner that will protect the collective well-being. However, young adults reject the norms introduced by the older persons for collective behaviour, and their moral judgements: "We aren't interested in agriculture – seeing the way they lived. We wouldn't have jobs, like we are having nowadays. If we grew up like them, we wouldn't create jobs for ourselves" (Roos, 2016b, YP 10).

Typical in- and out-group descriptions are observed: older persons describe themselves favourably and regard themselves as the in-group as opposed to the young adults, whom they describe in unfavourable and judgemental terms as outsiders. See for example the response of the older women to younger people: "Drunken men! Pregnant girls at the age of twelve, with her second child! Rape! Lack of respect! Stealing!" (Roos, 2016b, Older women). Older persons behave in a manner that will maintain the advantage for their own group over the young adults.

The group of older persons perceive the younger people's non-compliance with accepted norms and traditions as a symbolic threat. This is based on older people's perceptions of the rules and ideologies that underpin intergenerational relationships and their conviction that the collective group should take precedence over individual interests. In this context, older people, always occupy the leading position (even if they are deceased) and members of the younger generation the follower position. The symbolic threat contributes to inter-group anxiety. The older group is concerned because their authority is being challenged and their needs for confirmation and interdependency may not be met. The older people, in the present examples, deal with their concerns about the potential intergroup conflict by claiming their dominant position and demonstrating a cognitive process of depersonalization (Stets & Burke, 2000). Older people belittle the younger people, whom they regard as the out-group: "They are empty in their heads. They have nothing in their heads" (Roos, 2016a, OP 5) (Fig. 8.4).

The two groups, older persons and young adults, also have mutually exclusive goals.

Fig. 8.4 Empthy-headed youth

Broader Environments

The intergenerational relations between the members of different generations are embedded in the broader educational, political, economic and physical environments. The educational environment was described in the study as unstimulating: "There is nothing of importance, no sports grounds there" (Roos, 2016b, OP 5), and the quality of educator-learner-interactions was questioned: "At school it is only education, and it is worse. [The educators] punish the child with a stick" (Roos, 2016a, OP 5).

The political environment in which the intergenerational relations of these particular participants were embedded should be contextualized against conditions in South Africa, before and after 1994, when Apartheid ended and the country became a democracy. For approximately five decades previously, South Africa's policies were informed by the dysfunctional Apartheid ideology which created a society that operated in terms of racial divides. An older person reflected on how the new democracy enabled freedom of speech: "At least with democracy, we are able to say what we think is right and what is wrong, we are able to talk" (Roos, 2016a, OP 5). During Apartheid, some people were forcibly relocated according to race, with severe implications for intergenerational relations (Chigeza, Roos, & Puren, 2013; Roos, Kolobe, & Keating, 2014). The political ideology demanded that non-white people were separated, excluded and discriminated against on personal, interpersonal, political, economic, judicial, educational and social grounds. People who grew old during that period were the most severely affected. Older participants in the research described in Roos, (2016a, 2016b) had also witnessed the altered political dispensation post-1994 which introduced change in every domain. Despite the new democratic society with free association and opportunities for all, older

persons would appear to be experiencing the impact of the accompanying endorsement of children's rights as negative.

The economic environment is characterized by the deprivation of the whole community studied. Many older persons had been excluded from receiving a proper education and they had also experienced the impact of job reservation, which limited their economic opportunities. Consequently, the majority of older persons in that community depend heavily on a social pension. There are high rates of unemployment among the young adults. According to the statistics, more than half of South Africa's young adults are unemployed, and they, too, depend on older persons' pensions (Altman, Mokomane, & Wright, 2014). In deprived communities, people resort to entrepreneurial activities to ensure an income, which includes the illegal selling of alcohol. The physical environment is described as a dangerous place, and people are exposed to illegal practices and a barren environment.

The broader environments inform the social environment in which interactions between members of different generations take place. The poor economic conditions, unemployment, HIV/AIDS and other socio-political dynamics of the participating community impact on the social interactions between generations. In this case study, the fact that the younger male participants are unemployed and still financially dependent on older adults places them in a disadvantaged position, with reduced social bargaining power in terms of their relationship with the older persons. The social exchange theory typically conceptualizes the exchange of power in relationships in terms of (material) resources (Zafirovski, 2005).

Conclusion

The Self-Interactional Group Theory was developed and discussed in this chapter as an example of how to theorize from data obtained from the Mmogo-method. In applying the method, a research context was created: visual representations of generational members served as a visual expression of their subjective experiences and stimulated group discussions about the social reality of intergenerational relations. As a multidimensional data-collection method, the Mmogo-method revealed data on multiple levels. These were used to describe the intra-individual, inter-individual, and group units as a pragmatic analysis of intergenerational relations. When the Mmogo-method was combined with the IGRT, rich data were generated. Apart from generating visual representations that evoked associated subjective experiences and problems of generational members, the method in its application also stimulated discussions within and between generational groups. The patterns that evolved between generational members could also be observed. Rich data enabled the development of SIGT as a theory to explain the relational/interactional nature of intergenerational relations. Theories that illuminate intergenerational relations are important because the extent to which members of different generations steward their relationships effectively is directly related to their survival and well-being.

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Chapter 9
The Development of a Board Game as Intergenerational Intervention: Secondary Analysis of Data from the Mmogo-method

Maryke Hewett, Vera Roos, and Werner de Klerk

Abstract This chapter demonstrates how data obtained from the Mmogo-method were subjected to secondary analysis to develop an intergenerational intervention in the form of a board game. The unstructured nature of the method in combination with the principle of projection produces rich and detailed data that can be subjected to secondary analysis, provided that the research question of the secondary analysis fits the original research question. The original study explored the relational experiences of unrelated older persons (between 63 and 85 years of age) drawn from a service centre and young adult students (21 to 30 years of age). In accordance with the Self-Interactional Group Theory, relational needs that emerged from the data, were identified by means of a secondary data analysis. These relational needs, in combination with elements from intergenerational programmes (in which members of both generations were involved) and intergenerational theories or heuristic constructs, were applied to develop a board game.

Introduction

The Mmogo-method is a visual data-collection method which can be applied to obtain detailed visual and textual data. The broad open-ended prompt, which stimulates participants to construct visual representations of the relational experiences of the generational other, by using unstructured materials, in combination

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with the projective value of the Mmogo-method produced rich and detailed data. This gives researchers opportunities to subject data to a secondary analysis in order to answer further research questions, provided that there is a fit between the primary data set(s) and the secondary research questions (Heaton, 2004). In the original study, data from unrelated older people, drawn from a service centre, and young adult students were gathered on separate occasions in the Mmogo-method. Both groups were provided with the same open-ended request, namely to share their experiences in relation to one another. When people describe their relational experiences, it is assumed (according to Self-Interactional Group Theory, Roos, 2016) that also they express their needs for the intergenerational interaction. Psychosocial needs are regarded as innate psychological necessities (Deci & Ryan, 2000) which motivate people to purposeful, self-directed action in an attempt to satisfy these needs (Maslow, 1943). Needs for relational interactions between members of different generations are therefore seen as forces that impel people to action to pursue social goals and/or to address their needs. Social goals are held to function in the inter-individual domain, while needs are generated in the intra-individual domain but are mostly identified in the inter-individual domain (Roos, 2016). The extent to which people are able to fulfil their needs in interpersonal relationships is associated with their psychological well-being or dysfunction (Roos & Du Toit, 2014; Van den Bergh, 2008; Vorster, Roos, & Beukes, 2013).

The relational interactions between young adults and older people are important because young adults become a key determining factor linking their children and parents, and therefore facilitate relationships between them (Hagestad, 2006). According to the developmental lifespan approach suggested by Erikson (1963), young adults find themselves between two stages. The first stage is marked by identity versus role confusion (ages 18–25), and the second is intimacy versus isolation (ages 18–35: Erikson, 1963). By implication, young adults are searching for identity, life goals and meaning of life, as well as learning how to form intimate relationships (Corey, 2009). Older persons are likely to be experiencing what Erikson (1963) named the life stage of generativity, which means that the time they have left to live could provide an impetus to leave a legacy and to pass on to future generations what they have learned (Taylor, 2006). As older persons are important repositories of society's history and values, their contributions in providing wisdom and advice to younger generations and the society as a whole should be acknowledged.

Secondary Data Analysis

For the present study, the data obtained from the secondary data analysis were used to develop an intergenerational intervention, namely a board game. To augment the findings of the secondary data analysis, a literature review was conducted to sample intergenerational programmes in which both older persons and young adults were

involved simultaneously. Nine programmes were identified and the findings of the effectiveness of the programmes as well as the theories or heuristic constructs informing these programmes were also identified and integrated with the findings of the secondary analysis (Hewett, 2014). The findings of many of the intergenerational programmes do not, however, account for the processes involved in the interaction between the younger and older generations, and hence fail to indicate the reciprocal nature of mutual engagement and do not reflect the paradigm shift from linear to dynamic models (Kuehne, 2005; VanderVen, 2011). Theories and heuristic constructs that were drawn on in this study, included: Theory of Intergenerational Solidarity, General Systems Theory, Self-Interactional Group Theory (SIGT), and the heuristic construct, Generational Intelligence (Antonucci, Jackson, & Biggs, 2007; Bengtston & Roberts, 1991; Biggs, Haapala, & Lowenstein, 2011; Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998; Roos, 2016). In this chapter the findings of the secondary data analysis of the Mmogo-method as well as literature about intergenerational programmes and theories or heuristic constructs supporting the interactional nature of intergenerational relations were integrated and guided the development of the board game.

Permission was obtained to use the data obtained from the principal investigator. Ethical considerations as described in the original study were adhered to, such as protection of the individual's identity, and accordingly the data were anonymized before the analysis was conducted. Ethical approvals were obtained both for the primary study as well as the secondary study. The original open-ended prompt that served as a stimulus for the constructions of visual representations of the younger and older people was: *Please use the material provided to make anything that can tell us more about your relationship with a younger/older person*. The data were analyzed using directed content analysis and visual data analysis. Directed content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) was applied to identify the different generational members' needs in relation to one another in the transcribed textual data. The visual data were analyzed by implementing the steps suggested by Roos (2008, 2012). First, based on the textual descriptions, the literal meanings of the visual representations were obtained; second, the symbolic meanings identified; and third, relational needs were identified.

Findings

The findings highlight the various interactional needs jointly presented in Table 9.1.

A Need to Communicate Members of both generational groups emphasized the need to communicate. Any interaction and communication takes place in a particular interpersonal context (Roos, 2016; Watzlawick, Bavelas, & Jackson, 2011). The creation of the interpersonal context shapes the meaning of the communication or interaction that takes place between members of different generations (Roos & Malan, 2012; Vorster, 2011; Watzlawick et al., 2011. For effective communication

Table 9.1 Relational needs of older persons and young adults

Main theme	Subthemes
A need to communicate	Older persons:
	Remove obstacles to communication
	Younger persons:
	Try to find a middle way
Shared interests	Older persons: shared interests
	Fun, humour and laughter
	Younger persons: shared interests
Need for validation	Older persons:
	Need to feel recognized
	Younger persons:
	Belief in goals and dreams
Specific needs	Older persons:
	Want to contribute:
	Wisdom, values and life experiences
	Mentoring and teaching
	Want to receive knowledge about new technology
	Younger persons:
	Want to contribute physical and emotional support
	Want to receive knowledge, values and a confidant
Need for an equal relationship	Older persons: friendship
	Younger persons: friendship

between members of different generations, a safe interpersonal context should be created in which communication can be fostered and developed (Miczo, 2012; Williams & Nussbaum, 2001). A safe context refers to a supportive and non-threatening context according to Chung (2009), who conducted an intergenerational reminiscence programme in which older people with early dementia shared their past experiences with young adults to construct a personalized life story book. A safe context is also established when there is a clear frame around the interaction, for example by making clear the goals and objectives of the interaction. The implication is that if the context in which the communication or interactions take place is not clear, the outcomes of the interaction are also unclear (Genoe, Crosbie, Johnson, Sutherland, & Goldberg, 2013). Therefore the importance of clarifying goals and objectives of an intergenerational programme before and during development and implementation is highlighted in order to ensure that the needs of all participants are addressed and to assess the impact of such a programme (Kaplan, 2001). A safe context is also created for intergenerational programmes when cues are provided in the course of the interaction, or people's existing skills or knowledge is built on, or clear, specific tasks related to the activity are provided, and when repetition is included (Sterns, Sterns, Sterns, & Lax, 2011), following the findings of the "Memory Magic Program" (Sterns, Sterns, Sterns, & Antonucci, 2005).

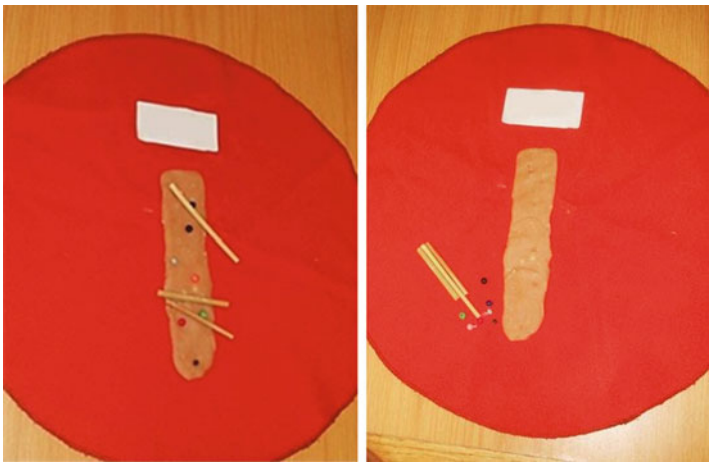

Fig. 9.1 Sticks and stones represent obstacles on a road (*left*) and their removal (*right*)

Findings of the secondary analysis indicated that although older persons acknowledged the value of clear and open communication, they also recognized the presence of communication barriers which could threaten a safe context for effective communication and interaction. In the visual representation in Fig. 9.1, an older woman (P5) constructed a road with obstacles that impede communication with young adults. Explaining her visual representation as "a road, filled with obstacles", indicating communication barriers, she also emphasized the capacity of older people to remove the obstacles by physically removing the sticks (see Fig. 9.1). Obstacles are according to this participant "removable [and] the road can be smooth . . . through communication and prayer".

Another older participant (P7) maintained that a good relationship is built on respect and communication, which he believes is about "sharing the positive, the good things in life and where the younger person can also share his[her] experiences", or in interactional terms communication that takes place in a context which is characterized by empathy, congruence and unconditional acceptance (Roos, 2016).

In the analysis of the secondary data, younger persons did not see potential communication barriers, but identified disagreement as jeopardizing their relationship with older persons. For the younger persons, there seem to be two ways of settling disagreement, either by attempting to find "the middle way; we agree to disagree and then we leave it" (Participant 9), in which both older and younger persons need to compromise, or by avoidance, such as withholding comments when disagreement arises, which is illustrated in the following quote:

> We always have long conversations. I love to talk to older persons. About life and the way they perceive things. It's not that I differ from them, or express if I do. I avoid arguing with them (Participant 5).

A lack of communication seems to be perceived as problematic for intergenerational contact and as a result, younger persons value face-to-face quality-time communication. In the programme "Meaningful Connections", Penick, Fallshore and Spencer (2014) highlighted the importance of small group discussions, which are also aspects that promote communication between members of different generations.

Shared Interests Involving members of two generations in intergenerational programmes could potentially contribute to negative perceptions if the Social Identity Theory (SIT), Social Dominance Theory (SDT), and Intergroup Contact Theory (ICT), are applied (Chua, Jung, Lwin, & Theng, 2013). According to these theories, individuals see themselves and those around them as belonging to different age groups and the groups try to identify a higher status for themselves and their own age group (Yalom & Leszcz, 2005). However, to counteract negative perceptions, Allport (1954) suggests involving people in shared activities that require equal status, and working together towards a common purpose. In their evaluation of an intergenerational education experience between undergraduate students and older adults who attend a university programme, Castro, González, Aguayo and Fernández (2014) draw a distinction between 'intergenerational relationships' and 'intergenerational contact'. Whereas the former characterize the exchange of resources between different generations, the latter involves the sharing of space and time without the process of exchange as a necessary factor (Castro et al., 2014). By following the suggestions of Penick et al. (2014) to mutually engage different generational members, group stereotypes and group dynamics dividing groups according to age could also be limited.

Interestingly, findings of the secondary data for both groups of participants indicated exchange in order to find common ground in terms of shared interests. However, both generational members also identified various challenges that threatened the development of shared interests, such as difficult life circumstances (and world views), age differences and physical distance.

Members of the older generation expressed their awareness of the differences in world views and physical distance challenging to share interests with younger people. A grandmother summed up the sentiments of many older participants: "Their world is very different from mine" (P6). Some older persons emphasized that to address the age gap between them and younger people, there needed to be 'common ground'. However, this participant, like many other older people, found herself unable to help the younger people at times because her life experiences might only be relevant to a small group of them, and "therefore I struggle to reach out to those who feel different than I do about life" (P10, female).

Young people confirmed the importance of shared interests and were more optimistic by stating that even in the face of changes and age differences there remained common ground from generation to generation (P17). Another younger participant (P9) reflected on her relationship with her grandfather with whom she shares many interests, and how she enjoyed their interaction: "The bigger thing we share is ambition. And I enjoy it thoroughly when we have discussions about

religion and his perspective in particular and then also literature. We are both fond of literature and family history."

Drawing on the heuristic construct of Generational Intelligence, Biggs (2007; 2008) observes that generational awareness or the ability to place oneself in the position of the other generation can contribute to find common ground or at least develop a greater understanding of the life world of the generational other. Moreover, by involving members from different generations in shared activities, people become more aware of different qualities than those they use to categorize people in a specific group and to attribute certain stereotypical characteristics to them (Chua et al., 2013).

Need for Validation Members of both generations expressed a need for validation and to be recognized by the other. Validation or affirmation of the other is a basic need which, according to Vorster et al. (2013), contributes to relational well-being. Older participants seem to find much meaning in taking on the role of confidant, and being confirmed as a significant person with whom younger persons share their inner experiences and personal matters. An older participant (P6) described it as follows: "They know they can come to me any time with anything." A number of older participants expressed their willingness and desire to tune into the experiences of the younger generation.

This is in direct synergy with the majority of younger participants' need to have a listener to whom they can disclose personal information in confidence. Younger people described the validation they experience in relation to older persons if the older persons believe in them and share their (younger persons') goals and dreams. They regard this as acknowledging the way they construct their lives and that build their confidence and self-esteem. Younger people described the confirmation that they experienced when older persons showed confidence in them. A younger person (P17) explained that her grandmother had always believed in her (participant's) goals and dreams: "She sort of walks the road with me and therefore we always go on the same journey."

Specific Needs Older and younger persons expressed specific needs in relation to the generational other based on their unique situation. Even though each generation has its unique needs, ideally both generational members should benefit from the intergenerational programme (Chung, 2009). This proposition is in contrast to findings from intergenerational programmes in which either older or younger participants seemingly gained most from the intergenerational programmes, even though the programmes aimed to involve generational members as 'equal' participants (Sánchez, García, Díaz, & Duaigües, 2011; Mason, Mastro, &Wirth, 2013).

In this study, findings of the secondary analysis indicated that the older persons were more interested in giving to the younger people than receiving something from them.

Older Persons Want to Give The majority of older persons expressed the need to mentor, teach or share their wisdom and life experiences with the younger people.

For example, an older man (P6) explained that in the context of an educational setting he took on the role of a mentor: "It still is something wonderful to me, till this day young people will come to me and share their hearts' secrets". The need to guide, teach and equip younger persons with their (older participants') knowledge was also evident (P10, male; P14, female). An older participant (P9, female) explained: "There is a world of knowledge that you as an older person can leave with your children, but you should not do it in a punitive manner."

Older persons wanted to share their wisdom with the younger people: "The things you do with them, and then you can share life's wisdoms with them" (P9). The older persons also wanted to transmit values: "Something I try to explain to them is, even when one makes a mistake, rather admit that it was you and that it was wrong, even when it means being punished for it, just tell the truth and don't try and cover it" (P12, female).

Older persons also expressed the need to share their life experiences with younger people because "it may provide a basis for the younger people to build on" (P15, female). The transmission of life experience was not only related to personal experiences but also to work experiences (Fig. 9.2). One participant reported that to him one of the most beautiful things, when communicating with a younger person, was to share his experiences as a farmer and teacher, because the younger people should see "how wonderful the creation is in which we live" (P10).

These needs of older persons to transfer to the younger generation should be evaluated against Butler's life review reminiscence approach, which maintains that life review is a normative process as older persons come to realize that their life is drawing to an end (Coleman, 1986). However, even though the generative individual is conscious of being a guide to others and feels the need to impart accumulated knowledge and experience (Bolton, 2014; Bradley & Weisner, 1997), when applied to intergenerational programmes, the programme should facilitate mutual interaction between older and younger adults. Literature also confirmed that collective sharing between generational members is a necessary component to give older as well as younger persons the opportunity to gain insight into their own lives and the lives of the other generation.

Older Persons Want to Receive Older persons wanted to learn about new technology from the younger people. Research indicated that the older generation values the input from the younger generation in the form of instruction to enable them to master unfamiliar new technology (Bolton, 2014; Hoffman, Roos, Stols, & Bohman, 2016). Participant (P10) said: "It is my children who taught me everything about computers. I know nothing about it, the internet and things like that."

Considering that older people want to learn about content that has some relevance for them, the effectiveness of a science-based educational programme aimed at communicating science to older persons by younger graduate students to increase awareness of the science behind the medicines older people used, is therefore questioned (Alexander & Abell, 2010). Even though the young adults engaged with older people to exchange stories, perspectives, expectations and knowledge

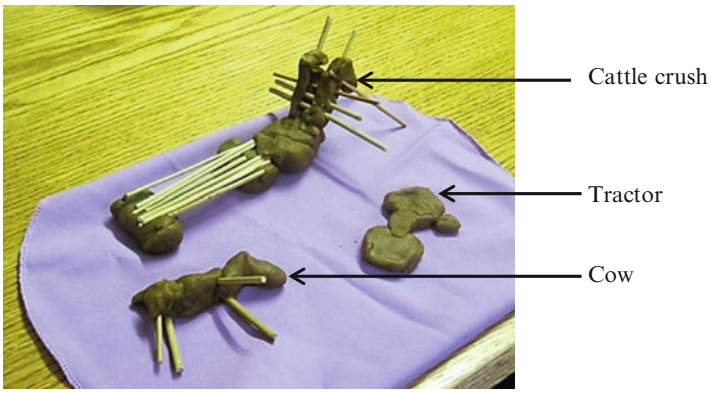

Fig. 9.2 Sharing life experience as a farmer

after sharing the science behind medicine, two questions remains unanswered: First, was the need for knowledge exchange a need expressed by the older people? Second, how was a new context created for effective communication/interaction between generational members?

In the first interpersonal context, the relationship between older people and young adults was defined as a complementary relationship in which the younger people acted as educators and the older people as the recipients of the knowledge. Then a second interpersonal context was defined in which both members of both generations were expected to act as equal partners. How was the different interpersonal context defined to promote effective interpersonal communication between generational members?

Young Adults Want to Give From the young participants' perspective, they want to give older persons physical and emotional support. In terms of physical support, a young participant (P1, female) commented: "We had to do a lot for them." Physical support was always related to the declining physical abilities of older persons, but also included emotional support (Fig. 9.3). One participant (P3, female) stated: "I have given two support structures to my grandfather [in visual illustration] because he can be physically relatively independent but this demonstrates the emotional support I provide."

Younger People Want to Receive The need for trust was accentuated when younger persons reported that they would like to be able to confide in older persons. They also value trust in a relationship with older persons and being educated by them. The need for a trustworthy relationship was accentuated by younger persons who reported a desire to be able to confide in older persons.

Older participants responded to the trust invested in their relationship with the younger people by honouring their secrets. One older participant (P1) reported that her grandson had disclosed private information to her which he would never share with anyone else. She said that she had heard all the secrets of his heart: "And

Fig. 9.3 Younger person supports older people

because he comes with his heart's secrets, and if he feels someone has treated him badly, then he cries on my shoulder". This was also confirmed by a younger participant (P5), who said: "I can go directly to them with all my problems and they will hold and support me because they know when something is confidential and they won't tell my parents. They have already brought up children therefore they know about the naughty things we do. We would rather go to them about the things we did than to our parents."

This need to disclose and create a context for disclosure is explained by the dialectical concept. Dialectical theory holds that self-disclosure is a dialogue that includes being open to another (Greene, Derlega, & Mathews, 2006). This is also indicated by the younger persons' being open with the older persons, therefore sharing self-disclosure. It is reasoned that when older persons are open to younger adults, the older persons reflect their willingness to listen to the younger persons, and subsequently demonstrate responsiveness, understanding and empathy.

Younger people also wanted to be educated by older persons. In the visual representation below (Fig. 9.4), older persons are depicted as educators.

One younger participant (P17) described the interaction between her and a significant older person "...as if I am swimming in a river of information. The information, which can't be compiled in a book, is taught to me by these older persons." Another participant described learning from older persons as valuable, and also highlighted the reciprocity of educators and learners changing roles: "They learn much from me and I learn a lot from them" (P11). The needs of older persons to mentor, teach, share and provide guidance may intersect the needs of the younger adults to be taught, provided that the younger persons are given the space to engage (in face-to-face dialogue) and a central point of agreement can be found, even when their views differ.

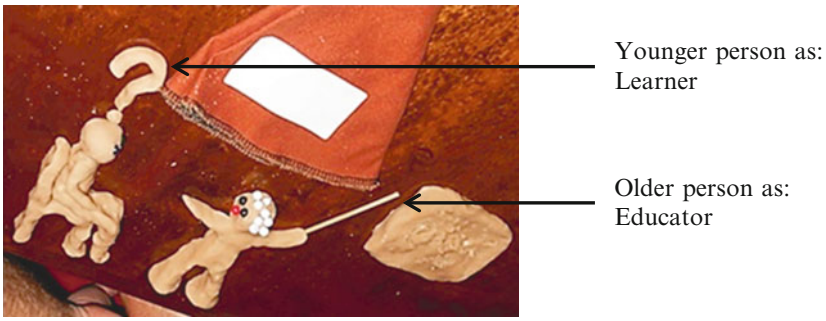

Fig. 9.4 Older persons as educators

Need for an Equal Relationship This type of relationship is described both by older and younger persons as a friendship-type of relationship, although older persons appeared to resort to the role of educator when they felt they have to intervene. This is expressed in a comment by an older participant (P1), who reported that she and her grandson had a very good relationship; he was able to approach her about anything. Although she had this friendship relationship with her grandchildren, she could also be strict: "If they don't show good manners and respect towards their parents or their grandmother" she would scold them. Another participant (P3) agreed and added that she enjoyed reading and loved to share this with younger persons, but that she took on the role of mentor and disciplinarian when her grandchildren misbehaved.

The younger adults also described the need for a friendship relationship. This type of relationship is marked by the pleasant conversations and opinions they exchange, like friends. One participant (P6) reflected on the most memorable times with her grandparents (Fig. 9.5):

I think of the times we will sit and have coffee together and during those times we will talk about two things, how it is going. . . and the words of wisdom they share over a cup of coffee. This is always very nice. . .

In a friendship-type of relationship, a process of mutual discovery and uncovering in the context of the relationship, learning from one another as well as the self takes place. This is also referred to as a 'dialectic of mutual influence' (Ravitch, 1998). When this ongoing reciprocity (the process of discovery and adjustment) leads to mutual change and transformation, a natural process of mutual discovery may follow. When mutual sharing and learning are facilitated in an equal relationship, younger persons may also have the opportunity to feel that they are able to contribute to the knowledge of older persons.

In this friendship-type of relationship, a shared activity which seems to bridge the differences associated with age is humour and laughter, as experienced by both generational members. The findings of a study conducted by Chua et al. (2013) confirmed that enjoyment resulting from pleasant intergenerational interactions, decreased group anxiety and resistance, and improved quality of interaction.

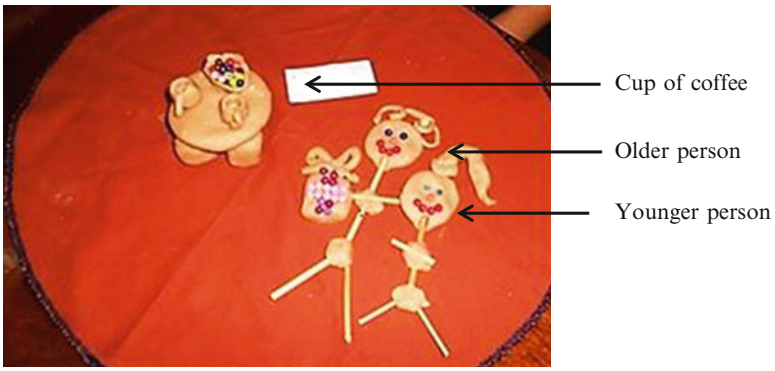

Fig. 9.5 Conversing with grandparents

In Table 9.2 below a summary of key elements obtained from literature, theories and the findings of the secondary analysis are provided which informed the development of the board game.

Developing a Board Game as an Intergenerational Intervention Strategy

Informed by findings of the secondary data analysis, the programme elements and theories, it was decided to develop a board game which could involve both older persons and young adults. Board games are played by members of all generations, and are known to be a source of enjoyment for people of various ages and from various cultures and to provide a common ground for older and younger adults (Bachorowski & Owren, 2003; National Toy Council, n.d.; Provine, 2000; Vaid, 2002; Van Hooff & Preuschoft, 2003; Vetere, Davis, Gibbs, & Howard, 2009; Wild, Rodden, Grodd, & Ruch, 2003).

To ensure that members of both generations enjoy equal status and benefits, a board game was chosen as tool because both cohorts are familiar with this game form. The content and process of this board game are designed to facilitate the interactional processes between members of different generations and the reciprocal sharing of skills and interests.

According to Robertson, David and Rao (2003), the following elements should be considered when planning intergenerational intervention programmes: structure (how each programme is organized and constructed), content (what information, skills, and strategies are presented), and delivery (how the programme is developed and implemented in a specific community).

Table 9.2 Summary of key elements and findings

Elements	Programme elements	Theoretical elements	Older and younger persons' needs
Structure	Identifying goals and objectives to address real needs		
Process	Mutual engagement	Collective sharing	Mutual communication/dialogue
	Equal partners	Equal status	Fun
	Cooperation	Working together	Unconditional acceptance
	Positive contact	Reciprocal support	Empathic understanding
	Absence of competition	Positive interaction	
	Supportive and non-threatening context	Various forms of contact	
		Accounting for subjective experiences	
		Facilitating congruence, unconditional positive regard, empathy	
		Facilitating self- and other-awarenes	
Content	Sharing knowledge, experiences, skills, values, fond memories and universality of life experience	Drawing on existing knowledge, history, and experience	Shared/common interests
			Sharing own views and feelings
	Acknowledging similarities		Sharing wisdom, life experiences, knowledge
	Shared enjoyment		Mutual teaching and learning

Structure

The organization and length of activities need to be considered with the specific goals to be achieved (Sánchez, 2009), as well as the appropriateness of activities to address the needs of the generational members. In order to attain these goals, all participants should have an assigned role, a position and a task they understand and which are meaningful for them (Bressler, Henkin, & Adler, 2005). Vanderven (2004) also highlights the importance of clarifying expectations and roles at the outset. In order to familiarize all players with the game and its different ways of interaction they first need to read the *Instructions and Rules* booklet. The clear goals of the game and roles of the players set out could provide an additional safe space to share and have fun. The board game is based on the assumption that the creation of

a supportive context could enable members of both generations to experience unconditional positive regard and acceptance which may in turn facilitate authenticity and the exchange of life experiences and promote intergenerational interactions.

Process

The board game includes members from both generations and activities ensure equal collaboration (Vanderven, 2004). The context needs to stimulate contact, and facilitate the development of personal relationships and positive feelings (Bressler et al., 2005; Fox & Giles, 1993). Granville (2002) also stresses the importance of a 'partnership', drawing in all participating generational members. Therefore the game tokens include little figures representing two persons, an older and younger in action together, for example holding hands, or riding a bicycle (Fig. 9.6). The tokens have been made specifically to include both the older and the younger generation. The concept of intergenerational pairing thus acknowledges the integration of two dynamic systems.

Choice The board game encourages choice because every player gets various opportunities to choose, for instance when a card instructs the player to choose another participant to follow the instruction as indicated. The player is then able to choose the figure and a team member and decide whether he/she wants to follow an instruction or pick up another card. In addition, by sharing knowledge, skills, wisdom and interests, the older and the younger persons can choose what they would like to incorporate into their own lives.

Content

The intervention needs to make provision for a strategy to encourage relationship-building around an ongoing exchange of resources between older and younger adults, such as the exchange of skills (Sánchez, 2009). The intervention should empower all participants by implementing strategies which facilitate and acknowledge contributions to the relationship and by promoting mutually-attuned communication (Bressler et al., 2005; Fox & Giles, 1993; VanderVen, 2004, 2011).

A Board The board used for the game sets the scene and provides the framework within which it is played. Here it represents a winding pathway in a setting familiar to both older and younger players (a South African university town, with well-known landmarks) (Fig. 9.7).

The Dice The dice are thrown to start the figures moving down the path and allow for picking up cards connected to the place where the figure lands.

Fig. 9.6 The figures represent an older and a younger person in action together

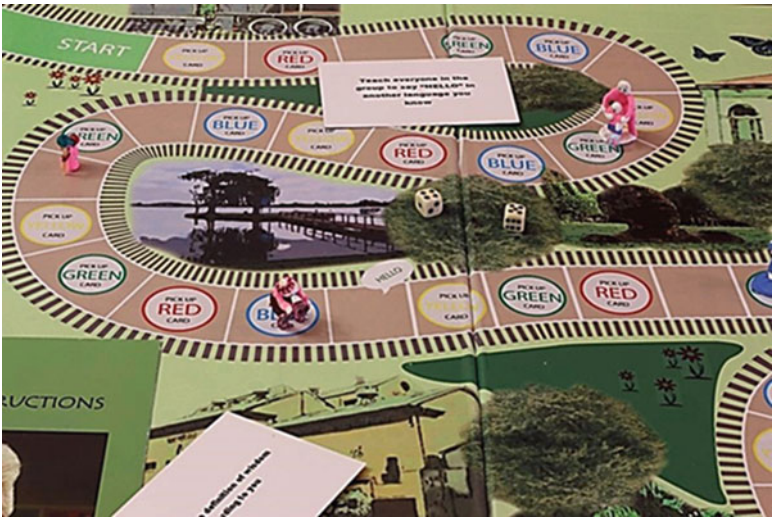

Fig. 9.7 Landmarks familiar to older and younger players

Four Sets of Cards The board game is based on the concept of 'moving' knowledge, wisdom, skills and interests between generations. The board game is consequently named "Play it Forward", thus a 'move forward' from one to another generation. The cards are colour coded with each colour representing a domain: wisdom, knowledge, skills and surprise (Fig. 9.8). Each card displays a particular

Fig. 9.8 Categories of cards: wisdom, knowledge, skills and surprise

instruction (relating to one of the domains) to be followed, thus facilitating communication.

The exchange of wisdom, knowledge, interests and skills between older and younger persons provides a crucial vehicle for the interchange and reciprocity (teaching-learning and giving-taking). Activities which stimulate contact and incorporate the developmental and emotional needs of both generations should be included. Hence the careful selection of cards (and relevant instructions) and the rules, which stipulate that within a team (consisting of an older and younger person) each member gets a turn to pick up a card (Fig. 9.9), is important.

Examples of Questions for Each Category There are four categories: wisdom, knowledge, skills, and surprise. Examples of instructions and questions in each category are:

Wisdom (red): Share a wisdom. What is the origin of your wisdom? What is the definition of wisdom according to you? Ask a player of your choice to share a wisdom.

Knowledge (green): Share a unique custom in your family. What is your hobby? Share any interesting fact. Exchange an interest with the person on your right.

Skills (blue): Teach everyone in the group to say 'hello' in another language you know. Exchange a skill with the player on your left. What is the first skill you acquired? Share a skill with your team mate.

Surprise (yellow): What is your favourite song and why? Tell a joke. What is your most valuable possession? Describe a talent you have.

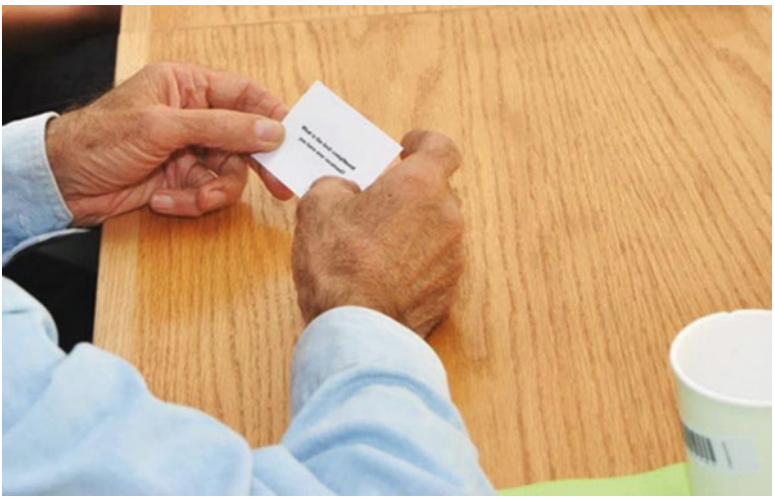

Fig. 9.9 Reading a card and sharing a skill

Instructions and Rules

Instructions

1. Open the box and unpack the content of the board game.
2. Place colour-coded cards on the board where indicated.
3. Choose a team mate – a younger and an older person should represent a team.
4. Place the figures at the station marked 'Start'.
5. Each team throws the dice once, and the team with the highest number begins to play.
6. Each team has a turn to throw the dice and move their pair of figures as indicated by the number on the dice.
7. When the figure arrives at a station (along the path) marked with a coloured circle, which indicates that he/she must pick up a card, the player who threw the dice picks up the top card on the deck.
8. The player reads the instructions on the card aloud, and carries out the specific instruction(s) through action.
9. When the instruction on the card has been followed the player returns the card by placing it at the bottom of the deck of cards.
10. The figures are moved along the path of the game until all the teams make it to the end, the 'Finish' station.

Rules

The rules provide structure and mutual understanding of expectations and roles and stipulate the following:

1. Two persons play as a team, one representing each age group. The minimum number of players is 4, and maximum 8 (two to four teams).
2. Each team (older and younger participant) chooses/agrees on a token to represent them.
3. Each player gets the opportunity to follow the instructions on the cards, which creates a sense of participation and equality. In order to incorporate the concept of reciprocity, the game is designed so that members of both generations will have an opportunity to listen and share. It is postulated that while an older or younger player shares an aspect of his/her life, it could assist the other players to develop a degree of openness, an objective distancing from prior prejudice, and could in so doing reflect empathy.
4. The game is not suitable for a child under 6 years. Since the game depends for the most part on instructions to be read from the cards, it is recommended that all players should have a basic level of reading skills. Although the older team member might be able to assist a younger player, this may compromise the equal stance which this board game attempts to create for all members.
5. If a player throws the dice, the number 6 appears, the player can throw again, and add the 6 to the second throw's number.
6. Team mates must take turns throwing the dice (Fig. 9.10).
7. The person who throws the dice must take part in the action indicated on the board, i.e. pick up the appropriate card and follow the instruction on the card (Fig. 9.11).
8. Responses may not be repeated.
9. If a player does not want to respond to a question indicated on a card, the next card on the pile may be taken, up tp a maximum of three cards.

Fig. 9.10 Younger person moving a figure along the path

Fig. 9.11 Picking up the card as instructed on the board

Fig. 9.12 The path is indicated by the 'Finish' sign

10. The game ends when the last team reaches the 'Finish' station (the end of the path; Fig. 9.12). The goal of the game is not to have one winner, but to promote the relational interactions between the younger and older players.

Fig. 9.13 Older and younger participants playing as a team

This board game as intervention strategy could facilitate interaction between older and younger adults in a variety of settings; or enhance relationships where intergenerational contact has already been established, for instance in nursing homes/facilities (residents and caregivers), community/service/senior centres (older persons and staff/volunteers) and family settings (Fig. 9.13).

Conclusion

The Mmogo-method's usefulness in this chapter was illustrated by the broadly formulated research question about relational interactions from which the needs of generational members could be identified from a secondary analysis obtained from primary data. This is possible because the same questions can be asked of people across different age groups and by using a broad open-ended question and unstructured materials (drawing on the principles of projection). In this instance, the broad open-ended question about relational experiences enabled researchers to present the relational needs of the different generations jointly – highlighting how the needs could be mutually addressed. Moreover, using intergenerational literature and theories supporting the data led to the development of an intergenerational intervention in the form of a board game aimed at promoting relational experiences between unrelated older persons and young adults.

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Chapter 10
Using the Mmogo-method to Explore Important Places and Their Meaning in Two Communities: The Importance of Context

Karen Puren and Vera Roos

Abstract The Mmogo-method is based on the assumption that experiences and meanings develop in relation to the contexts in which people function, informed by broader environments. The aims of this chapter are: first, to demonstrate how the physical context and the broader environments informed individuals' and groups' subjective experiences in relation to places and the symbolic meanings attached to them; second, to demonstrate how the method could be applied to diverse groups of people using the same open-ended prompt; and third, to demonstrate the value of the Mmogo-method for spatial planners. The research was conducted in two heterogeneous South African mining communities, Khuma and Stilfontein, in the North West Province, both dating from the 1950s. Khuma was established as a consequence of natural and forced migration, and Stilfontein developed as an affluent, socially stratified town. Data were collected from the two communities on different days by applying the Mmogo-method. Participants were provided with the same open-ended prompt requesting them to make visual presentations of places of importance in their communities, and to discuss the meanings implicit in these places. The physical context informed participants' identification, and socio-cultural meanings in relation to place were obtained. People in Khuma supported a developmental approach to future spatial planning of the environment, while those in Stilfontein supported a preservation orientation to places of importance. The use of the Mmogo-method enabled diverse groups to participate in the same research method on the same topic, while allowing different meanings to emerge. Planners will be able to make use of the implicit affective dimensions of sense of place (place attachment) and through interactive groups to obtain consensus – functions that are useful for spatial planning purposes.

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Introduction and Orientation

The purpose of the chapter is threefold: to demonstrate, first, how the Mmogo-method revealed the development of subjective experiences in relation to physical places and the socio-cultural meanings which informed these experiences; second, how the method may be applied to obtain data from people from diverse backgrounds, for example, educational, linguistic and socio-cultural, and from different generations using the same research question; and third, how findings obtained may be used by spatial planners to access personal affective experiences of, and symbolic attachment to, places in one's environment.

The meanings people develop in relation to physical places are personal, subjective and symbolic in nature (Kudryavtsev, Stedman, & Krasny, 2011). This affective relationship between people and place refers to people's attachment, which is the relationship or bond felt for something or someone even when the other is not present (Pickard & Nelson–Becker, 2011). Place attachment refers to the sense of rootedness people feel for certain places (Bell, Green, Fisher, & Baum, 1996; Hillier, 2002), whether natural or built environments (Bell et al., 1996). The continuous interactions between people and places tend to intensify over time and may be described as emotional attachment (Von der Lippe & Crittenden, 2003). Emotional attachment to place does not develop in isolation from the physical context. In addition, people-place interactions are embedded in broader social, economic, historical and political environments. Through this complex interplay people develop unique and subjective perspectives in relation to the physical environment.

The relationship with the environment is to a large extent formed by people's expectations of the physical environment to satisfy their needs. They assess the physical environment on a cognitive level to determine if the environment is fit to address their needs for survival (Prilleltensky, 2001). Based on this assessment, they adopt certain behaviours and develop emotional bonds with, and in, that environment (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001; Hillier, 2002). In cases in which emotional attachment to place is fully developed and the environment addresses emotional needs, there is an optimal fit between people and places: people are able to satisfy their basic needs and develop deep-seated connections with their physical environments, while strong place attachment occurs (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Shamsuddin & Ujang, 2008). In the case of a strong emotional attachment, place is viewed as playing an important role in the fulfilment of emotional needs, and feelings of belonging develop. The complex interactions between people and places are informed by the broader environments in which they are embedded (Roos, 2016). It follows then that change in these broader environments will impact on people and people-place interactions. For example, in South Africa under the Apartheid regime many people were forcibly removed from the places where they lived, with inter alia severe consequences for their sense of belonging and place attachment (Chigeza, Roos, & Puren, 2013; Roos, Kolobe, & Keating, 2014).

Attachment to physical spaces is part of a sense of place (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001; Kaltenborn, 1998). Sense of place is a multidimensional phenomenon (consisting both of objectively shared properties and subjectively idiosyncratic experiences of the environment). This sense is something that is uniquely formed and intertwined with the context and with the people who occupy the physical space. This is why sense of place is generally considered in literature an umbrella concept that revolves around the way in which the relationship between people and place is expressed (Kyle & Chick, 2007). Although these culminate in tangible expressions, sense of place is informed by intangible (affective) dimensions of sense of place, such as subjective affective experiences, and symbolic meanings and values (Kyle & Chick, 2007; Malpas, 2008; Tuan, 1977; Wulfhorst, Rimbey, & Darden, 2006). Literature confirms that the more closely people are attached to places physically, the greater their emotional attachment to place (Bell et al., 1996; Von der Lippe & Crittenden, 2003).

Subjective affective experiences of people's relationship with places are important to acknowledge because they represent a significant component in the development of a sense of place (Carter, Dyer, & Sharma, 2007; De Jong, 2002; Jivén & Larkham, 2003). Every person possesses a sense of place, whether he or she is aware of it or not. By acknowledging those places of importance that have been identified by the members of a particular community we are able to reinforce their experiences of autonomy and sense of belonging, both of which are important elements in the promotion of well-being. People occupy spaces and feel the impact of the physical environment and this in turn provides a space for meaningful people-place interactions and the fulfilment of basic human needs.

The example we draw on to address the aims of the chapter is research conducted to identify places of importance and to explore the emotional significance of these places in order to integrate them to help planners with the spatial development of the two communities.

Two Communities – Khuma and Stilfontein

The research was conducted in Khuma (meaning "Riches") (Raper, 2004) and Stilfontein ("Quiet Spring"), two South African towns that developed as a result of gold mining in the area. The two communities are located in the Matlosana District Municipality in the North West Province of South Africa (Fig. 10.1). While both are traditionally mining communities, they present different profiles. Khuma and Stilfontein are small towns in terms of population statistics: Khuma has a population of 42 964 inhabitants and Stilfontein has a population of 14 709 (Planet GIS, 2013). Almost 84 % of Stilfontein's economically active population are employed, compared with fewer than 50 % in Khuma (Statistics South Africa, 2014). In terms of educational level, more than 50 % of the Stilfontein population have completed their school education by achieving Grade 12 and above, while in

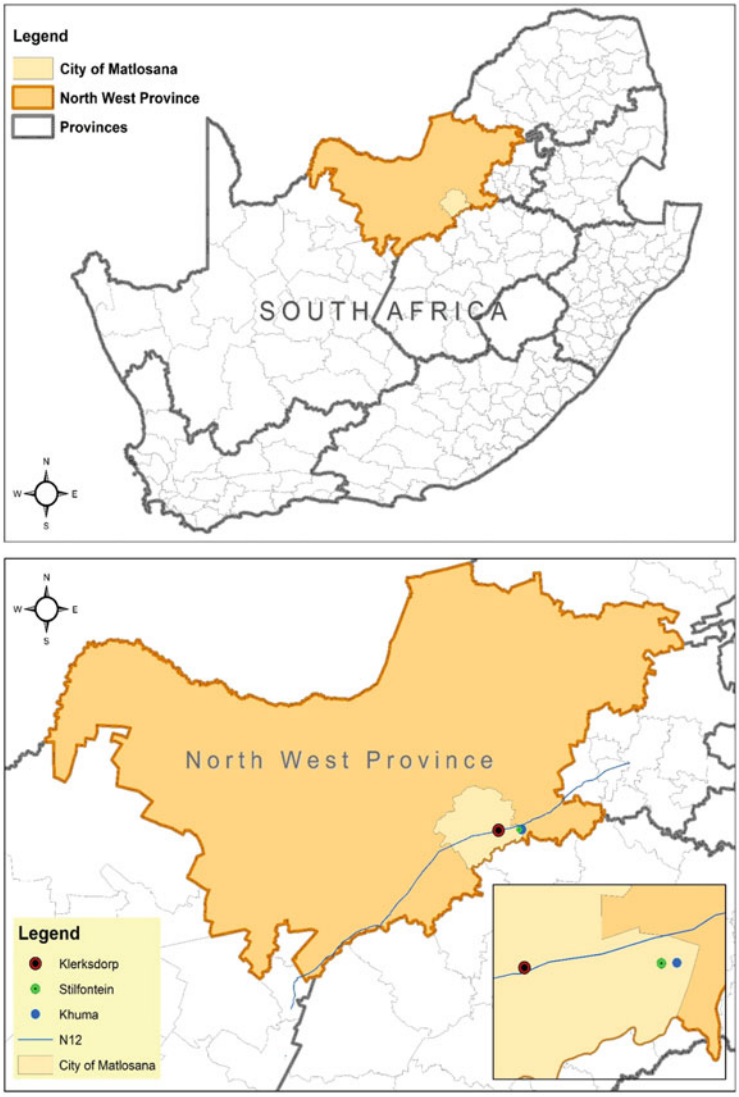

Fig. 10.1 Location of the North West Province in South Africa (*left*) and the Matlosana District that includes the towns Khuma and Stilfontein (*enlarged, right*)

Khuma fewer than 30 % of the population have completed secondary education (Statistics South Africa, 2014).

Moreover, the two communities differ significantly in terms of the LSM (Living Standard Measure). The LSM is a useful tool for defining the socio-economic context of an area ranging from ten (highest) to one (lowest) of the standard of living (Montgomery, Gragnolati, Burke, & Paredes, 2000). In South Africa this tool

(although mainly used for market research) divides the population into living standard segments based on ownership of luxury items and motor vehicles (SAARF, 2012) instead of categorizing them in terms of race and income as was done in pre-Apartheid and Apartheid bureaucratic practices. The LSM of the two communities studied indicates that Khuma, with 13 744 households, has an LSM level that lies for the most part between 1 and 3, while Stilfontein, consisting of 4 997 households, has a LSM level that varies from 4 to 6. A large percentage of Stilfontein's population (47 %) is above LSM level 5, while 46 % of Khuma's population have an LSM level of 3 or lower. This indicates stark differences in the socio-economic realities that prevail in these two mining communities.

Apart from the economic and educational levels, the historical context of the two communities differs significantly. Stilfontein was established by British gold prospectors in 1949 to become a thriving mining town. The strong British influence in terms of social class stratification was noted in the classification mainly of men, who worked in the mines, according to their rank and income. People's lives were also managed by social class stratification. For example, women and children in this mining town had to socialize with others on the same level. Promotion to the next level implied that new social networks had to be forged (Seidman, 1994) and old ones abandoned. While inhabitants of Stilfontein experienced huge disruptions in 2005 due to the largest mining-related earthquake experienced in South Africa, and the subsequent liquidation of the mine that left many inhabitants without employment, disruptions in Khuma were worse. This community experienced relocation trauma for a second time.

Khuma was established in 1950. It appears that there were two streams of migration to Khuma. One group of the present residents had made the decision to move from Makoeteng (approximately 30 km away and today known as the residential areas Neserhof and Ellaton in Klerksdorp) to Khuma during 1956 and 1957 because of its better water resources (Allen, 2006). Makoeteng used to be a traditional Setswana settlement and includes an old cemetery that is still used as a holy place for Setswana people to communicate with their ancestors. Shortly after the first stream of migration, the remainder of the community was forcibly removed to Khuma during 1958 and 1959 (Allen, 2006), in terms of the South African government's applied ideology of Apartheid and separate development at the time. As a consequence of the Group Areas Act of 1950, people were forcibly relocated into racially segregated zones (Bennett, 2005). Research has confirmed that any form of relocation detaches people from places and people (Devine-Wright, 2009; Fried, 2000; Goodings, Locke & Brown, 2007; Nuttman-Shwartz, Dekel, & Tuval-Maschiach, 2011).

For the study presented here, participants were recruited purposively in both Khuma and Stilfontein: they were selected as individuals who would be able to provide an in-depth understanding of important places for the community and of meanings attached to the sites (Holloway & Wheeler, 2010; Patton, 2002). The participants' educational level reflected that of the town from which they were drawn: not all the participants from Khuma had completed secondary education. Ten participants from Khuma, 2 females and 8 males, whose ages ranged from 23 to

83 years, participated in the research. They were Setswana-, Sotho- and Xhosa-speaking and all had been living in Khuma for more than 10 years. Participants from Stilfontein all had at least Grade 12 and were highly skilled. Eight participants, 3 females and 5 males aged from 54 to 80, years took part in the research. They were English- and Afrikaans-speaking and all had been residents of Stilfontein for more than 10 years.

Applying the Mmogo-method

People's experiences of a sense of place are implicit and therefore difficult to elicit by using maps or questionnaires because these methods provide access only to participants' cognitive levels. When prompted to talk about what is important in their lives, people construct visual images in their minds and describe their importance accordingly. It was thus appropriate to access and elicit experiences of the environment through the Mmogo-method, a visual data-collection method. In Khuma participants were informed by a key informant, a leader of a community church, while in Stilfontein, participants were told about the research by a different key informant, a librarian. Data were gathered on different days. Researchers introduced themselves and informed the participants of the purpose of the research in Sotho, Setswana, Xhosa, Afrikaans or English, as appropriate. The participants were given the choice of taking part in the research or withdrawing from participation. Only those who had agreed to be involved in the research signed the informed consent forms, provided biographical information, and took part.

On the days of data gathering in the respective communities, participants were grouped around a table and supplied with Mmogo-method materials, which consisted of malleable clay, dried grass stalks and colourful beads. Following an open-ended prompt the participants started to construct visual representations of important places in their community.

Using the objects in front of you, and please make a visual presentation of anything that comes to mind when you think of the places in your community that you want to see still existing for your children in the future.

The participants were given time to finish their models, which took 45 min. The visual representations were photographed, and participants were asked the following questions to elicit the meanings associated with their visual representations:

- *What did you make?*
- *Why did you make it?*
- *What is the relevance of your presentation for you and others in terms of significant places?*
- *What is the meaning for you and others?*

Findings: Khuma

Places of importance identified by the participants of Khuma were, first, existing places that needed upgrading for communal engagements and/or to practise skills; and second, new structures considered important for developing skills, improving the lives of vulnerable groups, and preserving the town's history. Participants also suggested that unhealthy living conditions should be addressed.

Existing Places of Importance

Existing places of importance mentioned by the participants were those where people could interact as a community, even though some of them were not currently functional. The swimming pool and the football stadium were mentioned as examples where basic facilities still existed but had deteriorated too far to be used. One participant said of the swimming pool (Fig. 10.2): *We used to have it long ago during the past government but now we don't have it. They have destroyed it*.

Meanings Attached to Existing Places of Importance

The meanings the participants attached to existing places of importance focused on upgrading them so that the inhabitants could use them more optimally. The main functions the participants identified for this purpose were to: exercise skills; provide

Fig. 10.2 Visual presentation of a community swimming pool

an alternative location for leisure and constructive activities; provide a space for people to socialize with one another; and provide work opportunities.

Preservation of Makoeteng

The participants also indicated that they had strong emotional bonds with the place from which they had been removed and which is still being used for cultural rituals. *Makoeteng is important. They still go there… bury their dead there, behind the dam.*

Development of New Places

Two trends emerged in the identification of new places that should be developed. In the first instance, participants expressed their feeling that places should be developed to fulfil a specific function such as acquiring skills for work, and to address age-specific needs of older people and children's educational needs. The second trend participants highlighted was that new places should be developed to be preserved as 'new' history for future generations. A place should provide for the needs of its inhabitants, they maintained.

Skills Development The development of skills was mentioned in relation to the development of new places to empower people to find employment and to enable the community to fulfil basic needs such as food by using land for agricultural purposes. One participant suggested setting up a training workshop (see representation in Fig. 10.3) as an alternative to boredom and crime-related activities of the

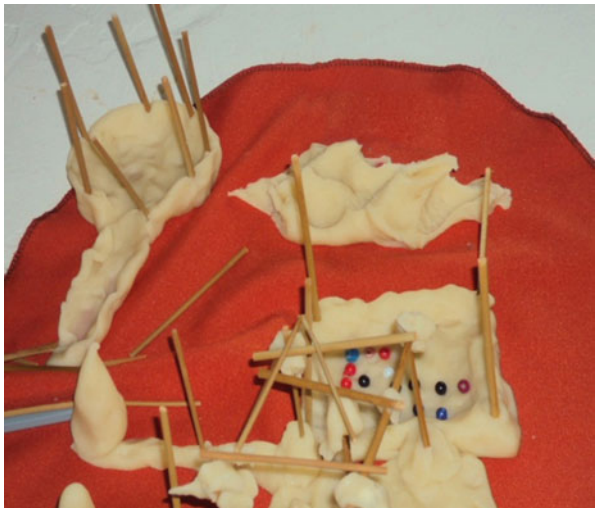

Fig. 10.3 Model of a training workshop to develop skills

youth by referring to: *. . .a workshop where they can learn different types of manual work and skills like in other places*. Another participant emphasized the importance of having land available for agricultural purposes to provide the community with a place where they could keep livestock and plant their own vegetables and fruit: *If we had land that can be availed* [sic] *in our location where there can be people who will be trained for agricultural purposes. . . then I think the issue of unemployment and starvation can be solved, it will solve our problems*.

Unique Needs of Older People The construction of an old-age home for the older people was proposed to address their unique care needs: *Now it's better if they have their own place, it is much better. You find they want to come home and relax and our age group (referring to younger people) is at home playing music so loud to a full blast which is not nice, so I am saying they need to have their own place where they can relax and enjoy*. One older participant explained her need in terms of safety: *Yes, a new one should be built to prevent crooks from coming in. They are thieves, as we have fridge, stove and food*. Another participant added: *So I am just supporting what she says. It must be like something like an old-age home where they can go and relax and do all the things that they want the whole day because at home they find that there is a lot noise, such as kids and they can't relax well*.

A medical facility was proposed to be added to the old-age home to assist the older people and make them comfortable: *So it can be divided into two parts. Old people have high blood pressure and sugar diabetes, they take a long time in queue in the clinic, they end up losing focus and hope and some can die on the queue*.

Educational Needs of Children The importance of children's education was also acknowledged and it was suggested that an additional, more centrally located school should be built to enable all children to receive an education. A participant explained the reason for this as follows: *There should be a primary school built between Extension 8 and 9*. (In South Africa formal extensions to towns or residential areas are known by the number of the extension instead of the name of the area). *Our children are used to travelling a long distance from* [Extension] *9 even if it's raining, or not. Others do not have money for transport fee*.

Preservation of Khuma's History The development of new places should also capture the history of the community for future generations, for example by building a museum: *There must be a museum, so that even the small kids, know [where] they are coming [from]. They must know our forefathers. How we were living*. And: *There must be a museum to teach our kids to have knowledge of what happened to their grandparents. . . how Mandela spent 27 years in prison but became president. About how we dressed and lived, what we ate, how our parents lived*.

Another example of a new development for preserving the cultural history was given by a participant who had created a traditional water well for his visual demonstration. He suggested that a replica of the well should be made so that children might learn from adults how to access water. Figure 10.4 shows a model of a traditional water well.

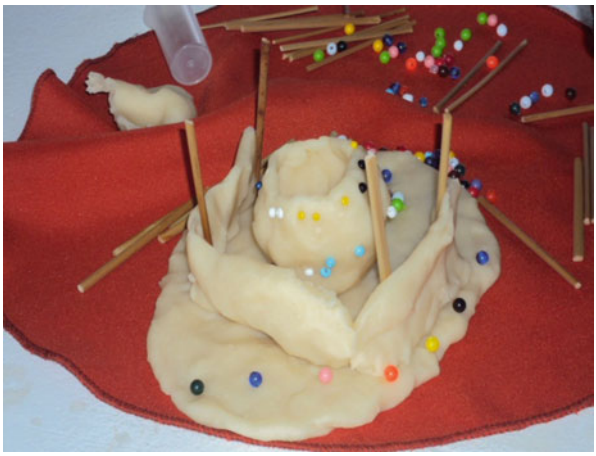

Fig. 10.4 A traditional well enclosed by traditional shields to protect the water

The well is of importance because participants felt that the way they obtained water was unique to their cultural heritage. A participant explained: *It's a very unique thing for our youth to learn how we, we . . .we as parents fetched water and we like them to learn about this.*

Findings: Stilfontein

Places of Importance

The places identified by participants in Stilfontein as being significant for them were related to the town's history. Specific places mentioned included the site of the original fountain for which Stilfontein was named, well-known mine shafts, the civic buildings, post office, library, and the (now demolished) public fountains at the civic centre. In the following visual representation one of the participants created a model of the Margaret mine shaft as an example of an important place to be emphasized in future spatial plans (Fig. 10.5).

Meanings Attached to Important Places

Important places were discussed by participants in terms of the emotional value they had for people as well as their historical significance. For some, the Margaret mine shaft, constructed in 1949, is important because it was the first such structure in Stilfontein and became well known in South Africa because of its unique features, such as its concrete headgear, a first in South Africa. For others it was

Fig. 10.5 The Margaret mine shaft with distinctive headgear and entrance identified as an important structure

Fig. 10.6 Kameeldoring (*left*) and Kurkeik (*centre*) trees, and the Stilfontein rose (*right*)

the fact that the town became nationally recognized because the mine shaft featured on postage stamps: *It was also* [on] *our postal stamps of those years*. Another mentioned that it was valuable because of its unique design and special material: *It was the first shaft in the world that was made of concrete, because it was just after the war and they could not obtain the metal usually used to build the shaft towers*.

Elements in nature were also identified for conservation because they held special meaning for the participants in relation to Stilfontein. Natural elements regarded as important for Stilfontein in terms of their historical significance were the Kameeldoring (Camel Thorn) and Kurkeik (Cork Oak) trees, and the well-known Stilfontein rose (Fig. 10.6). The trees were planted when the town was founded and the rose was singled out as being synonymous with the town and because it had attracted many visitors. One participant said: *Because it was our rose town*.

Some participants wanted certain places to be conserved because of their orientation value: *It is important for the community as it is the central point. If you are looking for an address or a certain place, you always start at the central point to determine which way to go*.

The Stilfontein participants said that specific places should be conserved and preserved for future generations because not much of the town's history was still visible and it could easily be lost for ever: *There was a beautiful mine manager's house. It was in the Old Dutch style and it was beautiful. However, slowly but surely the house deteriorated and today there is nothing left of that house.*

The participants recalled positive memories of their first impressions of the town as a beautiful place to which they felt connected. A male participant described his first impressions: *I remember, when I first arrived here in 1974, the gardens were so beautiful, and the roses. I remember it as something that attracted me and I felt: Yes, I want to come and stay here.*

The participants expressed a deep personal attachment to Stilfontein. They recognized that it was a small town, but for them it was nevertheless important. One of the participants referred to the little fountain after which Stilfontein was named: *Although this fountain consists only of a few rocks, it will really make me very, very sad if it should totally disappear. It is so wonderful to say here is the fountain for which Stilfontein was named.*

Social Structures Associated with Places of Importance

The participants described a hierarchical social structure based on the men's level of employment and income: *In the past it was always the manager's wife who was the chairlady. There was a hierarchy in Stilfontein. It you are a miner, you get a certain type of house and if you are a shift boss then you get another type of house.*

The women organized themselves into social clubs and the friendships they made and the houses they occupied were determined by their husbands' rank and income: *I was a shift boss and then I became a mine captain and the manager's wife held a small party so that my wife could meet the other mine captains' wives. And she said to my wife: Now you have to make new friends. You cannot be friends with the shift bosses anymore.*

The social structure changed when the mines closed down in 2005 as a result of a mining-related earthquake. An influx of people followed, looking for cheaper housing in Stilfontein. The social classification no longer exists.

Discussion

The discussion of findings will focus on how context and socio-cultural meanings related to people-place interactions emerged in the findings; the value of the Mmogo-method to obtain data on the same topic from two diverse groups of people; and the significance of the findings for spatial planners.

Importance of Context

The subjective experiences of people in their physical environments are contextually informed. The two communities which participated in the research identified different places of importance, informed by their unique and idiosyncratic experiences of their relationship with the places. In Khuma, places were experienced as unfit to satisfy current needs, mainly because it did not serve the requirements of the community. The people expressed a developmental approach in relation to places which should have a functional purpose to address their needs. It was proposed that existing facilities should be upgraded to fulfil the functional and basic needs of the community members, and new places developed to serve the needs of the community. In Stilfontein, people's experiences with place were expressed as reminiscing about a past, socially stratified, society, historical landmarks of significance and personal memories of significant natural elements. The value of these historical places is to orientate people and to preserve them for future generations, irrespective of their functional uses.

Experiences and meanings were formed in relation to the socio-economic environment in which the people-place interactions were embedded. The low-resourced Khuma is a place for which people expressed a developmental approach to future spatial planning of the environment. Resources should be developed to increase residents' employment and financial prospects. These findings are also confirmed in literature about people's experiences in low-resourced environments (Hahn, Riederer & Foster, 2009; Lee, 2014). In contrast, places of importance in Stilfontein that emerged from a group of people whose needs for survival have been largely addressed were expressed in terms of reminiscence, and emotions of loss and nostalgia about the past and their lives in the places of significance.

However, the findings also revealed the social-cultural meanings implicit in people-place interactions. In Stilfontein, the socio-cultural meanings were expressed as individualistic memories and nostalgic accounts of a socially stratified past society and the need for the preservation of historically relevant places for future generations. In contrast, the socio-cultural meanings that emerged from people in Khuma could be described as being communally and futuristically orientated. The places the participants living there had identified all had communal value and meaning. They mentioned the site where they practised cultural rituals; and the development of new places for the acquisition of skills and for addressing the needs of vulnerable groups. Places should be upgraded to serve the recreational needs of the community; infrastructure should be developed to develop people's skills to enhance employability, particularly that of the youth; and facilities and schools should be developed to address the needs of older people and children.

All places, either existing or proposed as new developments, were mentioned in relation to people. The social context determined the identification of places as well as their functional usefulness in the current context and for future generations. In terms of future generations, participants expressed the need to concretize their

history by proposing the development of a museum to enable them to transfer knowledge and information to the younger generation. An interesting finding was that people maintained their interactions with significant places, even if they had to travel some distance to get there due to their forced relocation. Makoeteng was and is still used as a place for the practice of cultural rituals, despite relocation of its former inhabitants. This confirmed Mbiti's (1969) view that place is particularly important for people in Africa.

The Value of Using the Mmogo-method

In the application of the method, participants are able to take part equally, regardless of age, gender, language, level of education or socio-economic background. The use of everyday materials, such as those sourced from the environment (clay, dried grass stalks and beads), applied in different contexts means that the method does not require technical competency, is readily accessible as a data generation tool, and is comprehensible to people from different backgrounds (e.g. across different age groups and educational levels). In this sense participants involved in a study are on an equal footing. The Mmogo-method creates visual stimuli from individuals' experiences as a point of departure for initiating a group discussion about physical places in the communities. The external visual conceptualizations of individuals' place relationships are used in this way to facilitate a discussion in which collective group input is assured and consensus is built regarding a collective anticipated future spatial environment. The method can thus be viewed as a potential stimulus for building consensus about how to find an appropriate fit between people and their spatial environment. People-place connections are socially constructed, and it is important to use a data-collection method which can obtain information from the individual as well as a group. The method also enables people to express their subjective affective experiences in relation to place in a visual manner, which researchers can exploit to probe for deeper meanings with regard to important places in their communities. People interpret reality differently, and the construction of visual representations makes it possible to obtain data about the intangible properties (affective experiences and symbolic meanings) of people-place relationships as an external visual narrative. The method also involves individual participants in expressing their emotional and subjective attachment to place, and also to the group. The input of the group is particularly useful for spatial planners in obtaining consensus about participants' vision of the future spatial environment. This acknowledgment of people in the planning process is highly valued by spatial planners, who are interested in understanding and responding to the sense of place of natural and built environments by finding an optimal fit between people and their environment. (See Fig. 10.7).

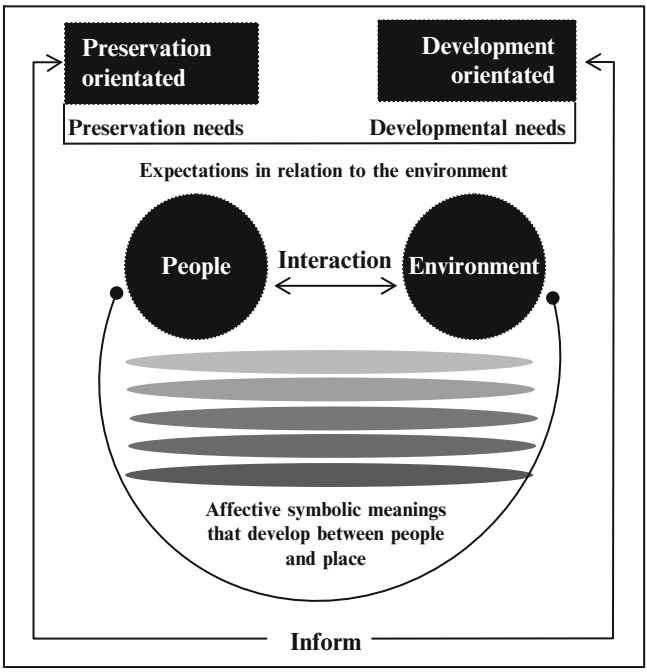

Fig. 10.7 People-place interaction as informative for spatial planning

Value for Spatial Planners

Communities are not homogeneous and spatial planning cannot be applied in a one-size-fits-all approach. Even if people do not have the skills and knowledge to express themselves clearly when discussing the spatial planning of their environment, they all have subjective experiences that could be translated into meanings attached to places, and in this way inform the development strategy that should be followed if the relationship between people and places is to be nurtured. It is vital that the community's contextual experiences are considered in spatial planning, because every member is involved in, and affected by, decisions about change in the spatial environment. Using a visual method, such as the Mmogo-method, equips spatial planners in at least four ways. First, it provides the means to access individual participants' experience of places by eliciting deep-rooted affective meanings and values of physical places. This type of data is implicit in character and requires methods other than those that access cognitive levels (e.g. questionnaires and map-drawing) to be made available. The method appears to have the ability to elicit abstract levels of personal and symbolic meanings and values that people attach to places in their community. Second, the method not only provides a means of accessing these deeper levels of people-place relationships, but also assists in concretizing intangibles that are complex phenomena to

conceptualize in a cross-cultural context. The method is thus flexible enough to be applied to many contexts. Third, it allows for inter-group discussions and the building of consensus – in the example studied, about the future spatial environment. Building consensus is viewed as a future priority in spatial planning (Gallent, Juntti, Kidd, & Shaw, 2008) and much of a planner's skill lies in understanding and negotiating possible conflicts when seeking consensus about the appropriate fit between humans and their environment. In this sense the Mmogo-method may be used proactively to facilitate participation. Lastly, the method offers the possibility of providing a means to access and elicit internal individual, subjective phenomena (such as place attachment) and develops these into an external narrative.

Conclusion

The Mmogo-method is an interactive visual data-collection method that can be used in various cultural contexts to access implicit affective dimensions of sense of place (place attachment) for spatial planning purposes. Applying this method in communities from diverse backgrounds such as Khuma and Stilfontein reveals that unique and important meanings attributed to people's attachment to place, individually and subjectively constructed, could be used in a group setting as a facilitating technique for people to co-construct their spatial environment by posing the same open-ended prompt. The method may be valuable for spatial planners who seek to protect the relational connections between people and the contexts in which they function. When people are provided with opportunities in a research context to express the meanings significant places hold for them, the data obtained could assist planners in developing context-based spatial plans instead of generic plans that fail to reinforce and consequently to enhance a sense of place.

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Part IV
Reflections and Going Forward

Chapter 11
Participants' Reflections on Participating in the Mmogo-method: The Example of Mental Health Workers' Coping Strategies

Vera Roos, Jenni van der Westhuizen, and Anna Keyter

Abstract When using the Mmgo-method, researchers create context for optimal and active participation by introducing group norms. Following an open-ended prompt, participants use unstructured materials to create visual representations, which serve to stimulate individual and group discussions. The unstructured nature of the materials and the non-directive prompt may elicit personal and group experiences of which participants may not be aware. They are therefore invited on completion of data collection to reflect on their participatory experience for debriefing purposes (Phase 4). This chapter describes mental health workers' reflections after taking part in a study using the Mmogo-method to explore coping strategies they applied in their occupation of dealing continuously with children (younger than 18) suffering severe abuse. Mental health workers (MHWs) (9 females and 1 male, aged from 26 to 57 years) were purposively selected. All participants are employed at Childline Gauteng, a non-governmental organization (NGO) which supports traumatized children in South Africa. The participants reflected on the research context, which they experienced as supportive, and on the research process, which they compared to a therapeutic experience. They became aware of their coping strategies, rediscovered previously acquired knowledge and indicated how they would henceforth adapt their behaviour to their social environment, thereby suggesting the potentially transformative value of the Mmogo-method. Participants' reflections referred to the value of the group as a supportive interpersonal environment which contributed to new awareness and broke their isolation. Specific aspects relating to the material were mentioned, particularly how working with clay contributed to relaxation and maintaining the focus on the research topic.

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Introduction

This chapter discusses how mental health workers (MHWs) reflected on their participation in the application of the Mmogo-method (Phase 4) in the course of research exploring their coping strategies. The application of the method consists of four distinct phases (Roos, 2016). In Phase 1, a research space is created which facilitates optimal participation by introducing supportive group norms. Phase 2 consists of the construction of visual representations. Participants use unstructured materials (malleable clay, beads of different colours and dried grass stalks or suitable substitutes) to make these, following an open-ended prompt. In Phase 3, the visual representations are used to elicit personal and group discussions. Phase 4 concludes the application with the debriefing of participants and researchers (Roos, 2016).

The Mmogo-method, like many other visual data-collection methods, serves to investigate topics that are otherwise difficult to access with more conventional methods (De Lange & Geldenhuys, 2012; Roos, 2008). In constructing visual representations, participants produce external expressions of personal experiences unique to their subjective interpretations and to the participating group. These reveal implicit social-cultural meanings – aspects of which people may not necessarily be aware (Lincoln, 2009; Roos, 2012). In the process of inviting participants to construct visual representations, which researchers then probe for deeper meanings and understanding, participants are encouraged to "step back from their lives and reflect on their context and experiences" (Liebenberg, 2009, p. 441). This reflective position may involve a shift in focus from the research context to experiences of which people may not be aware (Freysteinson et al, 2013). Since it is not possible to predict the impact of this process on individual participants, debriefing, in the form of reflecting on the experience of participation, is indicated in the fourth and final phase of the Mmogo-method.

Debriefing in literature is often associated with social psychology or having to address the potentially harmful effects of deceptive research practices (McShane, Davey, Rouse, Usher, & Sullivan, 2014; Sharpe & Faye 2009). Debriefing in the Mmogo-method, however, is based on the assumption proposed by Prilleltensky (2000) that it cannot be assumed that there are no potentially harmful effects as a consequence of research even if participants have the "right developmental, psychological and cognitive capacities . . . to read a situation objectively and neutralize social influences that might interfere with the application of desirable values" (p. 140). Rather, it is expected that all samples studied will include some individuals who may be at risk (Sharpe & Faye, 2009). In any event, involving participants in self-constructed visual research methods by which they share personal experience has the potential to produce discomfort, which naturally draws attention to ethical considerations (Theron, 2012; Rydzik, Pritchard, Morgan, & Sedgley, 2012). Debriefing in Phase 4 thus provides an opportunity for participants and researchers to deal with any lingering negative impact and to ensure that "any distress resulting from the research is identified, addressed and minimized"

(Sharpe & Faye, 2009, p. 436). Even though it is also important to debrief the researchers, as indicated by Theron (2012), the focus here is on the debriefing of participants and their reflections after taking part in a study using the Mmogo-method to explore coping strategies employed by mental health workers.

Mental Health Workers on the Front Line

The mental health workers (MHWs) studied here included telephone counsellors, trauma counsellors, social workers, social auxiliary workers and other professionals who assist clients, in this case children (18 years and younger), by means of psychosocial interventions. MHWs were selected for the research as an example of coping because they have to deal with challenging material every day. This can cause them to develop compassion fatigue, burnout and vicarious traumatization (VT) (Arnold, Calhoun, Tedeschi, & Cann, 2005; Devilly, Wright, & Varker, 2009; Hesse, 2002; Najjar, Davis, Beck-Coon, & Doebbeling, 2009) resulting from secondary traumatic stress (ST). Vicarious traumatization is stress associated with expressing empathy during trauma counselling; it is defined as the traumatic impact of feeling another's traumatic experience (Figley, 2002). In the South African context, specifically, MHWs operate on the front line in their taxing and ongoing task of helping their clients to cope with a variety of incidents and forms of violence and childhood trauma (Hornor, 2005; Robins, Meltzer, & Zelikovsky, 2009; The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2007). Of particular concern are MHWs who assist children and their families in having to deal with the impact of violence. Violence against children and child neglect are prominent manifestations of violence in South Africa (The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2007). Of the reported crimes against children during 2010 and 2011, more than 50 % were sexual offences (South African Police Service, 2011). Of these, 60.5 % were committed against children younger than 15 years, of which 29.4 % were sexual offences involving children younger than 10 years. More than 24 % of the reported crimes against children were common assault and more than 20 % were assault with grievous bodily harm. More than 3 % of the reported crimes against children were murder or attempted murder.

A great deal of research has been undertaken into the symptoms of trauma and stress, and in developing psycho-education programmes to assist MHWs to deal with the impact of trauma (Figley, 2002; Johnson & Hunter, 1997; Mac Ritchie & Leibowitz, 2010; Mikulincer, 1994; Stiles, 2002) or to determine the effectiveness of these interventions (Carson et al., 1999; Morse, Salyers, Rollins, Monroe-De Vita, & Pfahler, 2012; Scarnera, Bosco, Soleti, & Lancioni, 2009). However, there has been rarely investigation involving MHWs in exploring their coping strategies and reflecting on them by using visual data-collection methods. Coping may be described as the cognitive and behavioural processes that take place to lessen, and make it possible to endure, the external demands of a stressful encounter (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). The two types of coping include first, problem-focused coping, whereby the individual deals with the problem that causes distress; and second,

emotion-focused coping, whereby the individual regulates emotions. Effective coping can help individuals to experience situations as challenging rather than threatening.

The example selected for the purpose of this chapter is of MHWs working at Childline, a non-governmental organization (NGO) in South Africa. MHWs provide a 24-hour toll-free helpline and online counselling services to children and their families who approach Childline for assistance.

For the purpose of the study, participants were included on the basis of the following criteria: having at least six months' experience in a non-governmental organization which intervenes in childhood trauma; and having intervened professionally in at least one trauma-related case per week during that period. The participating MHWs were drawn from different training and language backgrounds and included social workers and telephone counsellors. Ten participants (of whom nine were female and one male) between the ages of 26 and 56 years took part in the research. Six spoke English as a first language, while three spoke indigenous languages of South Africa, but could speak English sufficiently well for the purposes of the study. The kinds of problems these MHWs deal with include physical, emotional and sexual abuse that children experience (52 % of the clinical cases), child abduction and kidnapping, school problems and bullying, refugee children and their rights, trafficking and prostitution of young boys and girls, homelessness and neglect, pornography, grief and loss, and other forms of trauma (Childline, 2011).

Application of the Mmogo-method

The Mmogo-method was selected for the study because it uses unstructured materials, and the method of application provides individuals in mental health settings with the freedom of choice in deciding what they would like to represent visually and in how to use the materials – aspects that contribute to experiences of agency (Curl, 2008). It has been found that the experience of trauma may be mitigated if people are involved in creating visual representations using unstructured materials, because the sensory experience of constructing such visual representations, and giving voice to personal expressions can bridge the implicit and explicit memories of stressful events (Malchiodi, 2003a).

The research context was created to promote optimal participation by applying the following guidelines: researchers introduced group norms that facilitate a safe interpersonal space, such as emphathy, trustworthiness and confidentiality, and protecting identities. In the example studied, participants were provided with Mmogo-method materials (clay, beads and dried grass stalks) and asked to create a visual representation of the coping strategies they employed: *Please use the materials and make something visual that will tell us when you coped best while working in an environment with a lot of trauma*. Researchers adopted a non-directive stance and emphasized that participants could construct anything

they liked and reassured them that there was no right or wrong way to use the materials. On completion of the task, researchers assumed an empathic position towards the participants' visual representations (Roos & Redelinghuys, 2016). Visual representations were not interpreted; instead, researchers posed carefully formulated questions to understand what the participant was communicating, such as: *What did you make?*; *Why did you make this in response to the question?*; *Can you explain the specific objects you have made?*; *What is the relationship between the objects?*; and *What is the relevance of the specific symbols you have made in relation to coping?* The group members were given an opportunity to ask questions or to add to what had been discussed.

Following Phases 1, 2 and 3, the fourth phase of the Mmogo-method, debriefing the participants, was introduced. MHWs were asked questions such as: *How did you experience participating in the Mmogo-method?* Follow-up questions also included: *How did you experience engaging in a process such as this?* and *How did you feel about sharing your experiences in this group?* The aim of debriefing was also to provide a space in which researchers could listen attentively and ask follow-up questions to enhance the depth of the findings, such as: *You said you became aware of more coping strategies that you are already using by listening to the other participants' descriptions. Please tell us more about that?*

Participants' Reflections on Participating in the Mmogo-Method

Interpersonal Enabling and Research Context

Participants described the research context as a safe environment. Participant 6 emphasized that it "provided some release [and] enabled me to see things in a different light in a supportive environment". Participants referred to the research process as "another way of dealing with burnout" (P7). Even though the Mmogo-method is not designed to facilitate change or to serve as a therapeutic intervention, the manner in which context is created and the method is applied facilitates processes participants described as 'therapeutic'. Moreover, the introduction of norms that facilitate a supportive research environment contribute to a space which Vinogradov and Yalom (1989) describe as a "therapeutic cafeteria" (p. 28).

New Discoveries

In the course of the research session, some participants came to realize that they had gained insight into available coping strategies they could draw upon but of which they had previously been unaware. Participant 5 described this: "This whole

process just made me aware; sometimes you just do things, not being aware how you cope. So this helped me to be aware, you know . . . this is what I do to cope." Participant 2 had a similar experience: "[I was] able to see some of the things I was not even aware of. And I thought that maybe unconsciously I did it but I'm not aware of [that]." Awareness in this situation is facilitated by providing a safe interpersonal research space and by the non-directive position researchers assume, thus allowing participants to share what they have expressed visually, based on the probing questions asked by the researchers. The manner in which the Mmogo-method is applied stimulates sophisticated cognitive processes, which Vygotsky (Cockroft, 2002) described as focused attention, deliberate memory, and symbolic thought. The construction of visual representations, participants' explanations of these, the researchers' probing questions, and group members' views (stimuli that turn their attention to themselves) all contribute to the possibility of participants' entering into a state of objective self-awareness (Heine, Takemoto, Moskalenko, Lasaleta, & Henrich 2008). In the supportive and semi-person-centred manner in which the interpersonal research context is structured, participants were able to practise self-observation in a non-judgemental way, and this contributed to a new awareness (Joireman, Parrott, & Hammersla, 2002; Solomon & Tatkin, 2011). Their newly created awareness made it possible for them to rediscover previously known enabling experiences. For example, Participant 6 rediscovered her passion for her occupation: "I have been feeling very negative about the work that I have been doing because it is, according to me, not what I really wanted to do. But now I discovered that I do have a passion for that work and I feel that I would like to continue."

Although some participants experienced the emphasis on the self as uncomfortable because they were not used to focusing on themselves, the process contributed to their awareness of their coping strategies. In the words of Participant 3: "[We do not] necessarily spend so much time tapping into ourselves and when we came here today I felt a bit overwhelmed with so much focus on me. . . but just like what Participant 5 said, it just brought a bit of awareness of the work that we do. Because, sometimes you don't step back and really look at. . . how [am I] really. . .coping?" Many MHWs were so attuned to helping people that their own needs and space as a helper became 'invisible'.

However, becoming aware is the first step towards taking "meaningful action" (Lincoln, 2009, p. 154). Literature confirms that MHWs can become overwhelmed by the impact of continuous trauma, but when conscious of their coping strategies they are more capable of regulating themselves and thus more able to protect themselves from the impact of a stressful environment (Botha, 2013). According to Hermans (2002), "creative play is a facilitator of a well-functioning meta-regulatory system" and a "well-developed regulatory system is needed for flexible movement between positions and for innovating the self" (p. 157).

Considering Changes

Different processes implicit in the Mmogo-method have transformative potential which becomes evident when people change their behaviour. First, if people experience an interpersonal context as safe and supportive, they are likely to report that it has broadened their thought-action ranges and strengthened their personal resources (Fredrickson, 2004; Jaroch, 2008). Second, through the visual representations, which constitute preverbal or nonverbal expressions, participants are helped to picture themselves in a concrete, objectified manner, which contributes to a heightened awareness and could prompt them to take action (Gladding & Newsome, 2003; Heine et al., 2008). Third, conscious reflection and reflective knowledge create autonomy and responsibility, which, according to Park (2006), are required for change-producing activity. In this context, Participant 8 realized that she could improve her relationship with her daughter.

> I would like to [be] accepting. . . [towards my] . . . eight year old daughter. When I get back home from work usually we are tired and I'm tired most of the time and she would offer to help: Mama can I wash the dishes for you, can I offer you a massage, and I'm like, no. . . I want to do it quickly; I want to do it my way. I'm beginning to think it's not okay. Maybe I should give her the chance and also relax and accept it.

Importance of the Group

Vinogradov and Yalom (1989) describe the group process as an essential aspect of human developmental experiences because we live in a socially-constructed society. The Mmogo-method, as its name implies, involves participants in a group. Groups are important because the process of gaining self-knowledge and self-awareness takes place through relationships, which are understood as continuously constructed interactions with others (Jaroch, 2008; Waller, 2003). Participant 2 told the group how her children had adopted one of her coping strategies by saying she had "introduced a new term at home – that it's my 'me time'– and now my children have adopted that. Now they also say. it's my me-time'." Some group members reacted to this example of sharing by laughing and others by sharing a joke. The participants appreciated this and responded.

The research space which had been created provided participants with an opportunity to voice their inner stories to others (Literat, 2013). If individuals share and the group responds appropriately, its members feel safe and secure, and this creates a space for further sharing. By expressing his or her views while the group listens, the individual acquires a place in the group. When members feel comfortable enough to risk talking about themselves it enhances the cohesion of the group. Higher levels of cohesion enable participants to present themselves more authentically because they feel safe, which contributes to further cohesion. The group confirms the position of the individual, who is able to become increasingly

engaged without fear for rejection (De Wet, 2005). However, for this to happen, supportive norms that promote high levels of trust within the group should be included (Vinogradov & Yalom, 1989). Again, it is not the aim of the Mmogo-method to develop group cohesion, but if the context is created optimally, it could benefit participants such as MHWs. For example, Participant 10 described her appreciation of shared experience facilitated by the research exercise and confirmed that it had broken her isolation: "Knowing that... as different as we are... we share the same experience... and that is good for us you know so for me it's helpful that you know I am not alone." Participant 7 pointed out that "to share your experience" had made the process "very, very supportive".

An advantage of conducting research in a group is the availability of feedback and support from other group members (Corey & Corey, 2010). Group discussion can facilitate reciprocal learning, and more importantly, make it possible to discover experiences (or coping strategies) of which someone might have had only tacit knowledge previously. On concluding the debriefing session, Participant 1 realized that she had been made aware of new coping strategies she had not previously mentioned, but which she had been using on a subconscious level: "I've actually now remembered ... oh wait ... I have a lot of awesome things I do to support myself. I remember all of them. I didn't even think of including [them]."

In expressing themselves, participants notice what they are saying, how they sound and what nonverbal behaviour they use and they give themselves feedback (Reason, 2003; Wood, 1995). Through these self-monitoring processes and dialogical exchange participants observe other participants, evaluate their own and others' positions, and adapt their behaviour (Hermans 2002; Vorster, 2011; Wood, 1995). The mental health workers were able to incorporate the coping strategies and ideas they regarded as relevant to themselves. Participant 1 mentioned various strategies she had become aware of in the course of the group process. Group discussions allow opportunities for participants to view their personal experience in detail and from different perspectives (Pithouse, 2011).

Research conducted in a group setting with clear norms can also assist researchers to obtain different views because individual participants are not simply talking as individuals about their visual images, but traces "of social identities, processes, practices, experiences, institutions and relationships are made visible" (Rose, 2013, p. 33).

Research Materials

The materials participants used during the constructing process were identified as valuable. In addition, when people are provided with unstructured materials and asked to construct their coping strategies, the physical organization of the materials can contribute to a sense of control. Traumatic content that may be experienced as disorganized or chaotic may be moulded in such a manner that people experience a sense of control (Gil, 2003). For the visual representation in Fig. 11.1 the

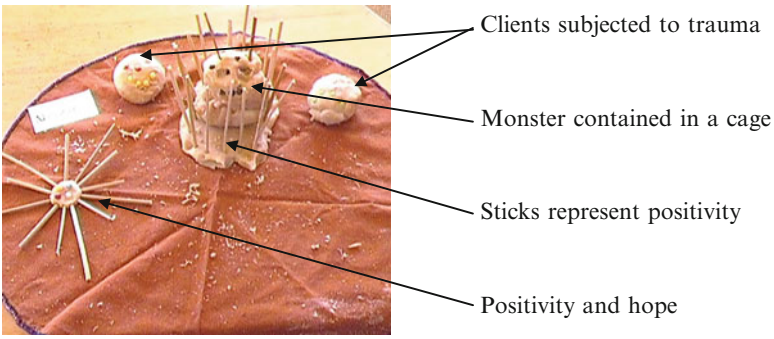

Fig. 11.1 Materials used to contain impact of trauma

participant had made a monster in a cage to represent how she had contained the impact of traumatic material by using the sticks to create a noticible boundary around it. When the MHW was asked: "What do the sticks represent?", she replied: "The sticks represent the positivity that I have. This is life, we do have a monster, [and] positivity grounds [it]. As much as there is this monster, we can psychologically decide to put this monster in a container."

Meaningful disengagement (healthy distance) was also visible in the positioning of the MHW in relation to the client. (The figure that the MHW identified as herself was slightly turned away from the figure that she identified as the client). The participant stressed that she had decided not to become deeply drawn into the client's trauma by "still [remaining] involved but not totally absorbed" (P2). She had literally positioned herself half turned away in relation to her client. Meaningful disengagement may also be established by setting personal and professional boundaries, which were visually emphasized by using dried grass stalks. MHWs felt it was imperative to separate work and home: "It's just like having your home and having your work and trying to have a boundary between those two areas" (P4); and "I try to remove myself from the situation so that I can ... cope and ... help the clients when they come back again" (P2). One participant graphically represented these boundaries as shown in Fig. 11.2.

Participant 1 explained the need for setting clear limits between work and home: "Boundaries help me to go home and not still be a Childline counsellor."

Working with the clay was experienced as particularly satisfying. Participants said it evoked different senses, such as smell, touch and sight, but served mainly to maintain focus on the research process. Participant 5 said:

> The clay sort of helped me to come back here. It was cold, I smelled it so there was a sensory connection I had with it. It just helped me to come back here to this room, and I was feeling it. I was smelling it and I was thinking how it was feeling... I found myself thinking it is just bringing me back to where I am supposed to be today...

Jaroch (2008) describes the tactile contact people experience with clay as "a lot like the non-verbal relationship ... in utero, infancy, childhood, in fact, whenever they touch. The skin remembers and informs and the clay gives symbolic form to memories and experiences" (p. 2). Sholt, Gavron, and Israel (2006) confirm that working with clay is an intense and powerful tactile experience. The clay also had a

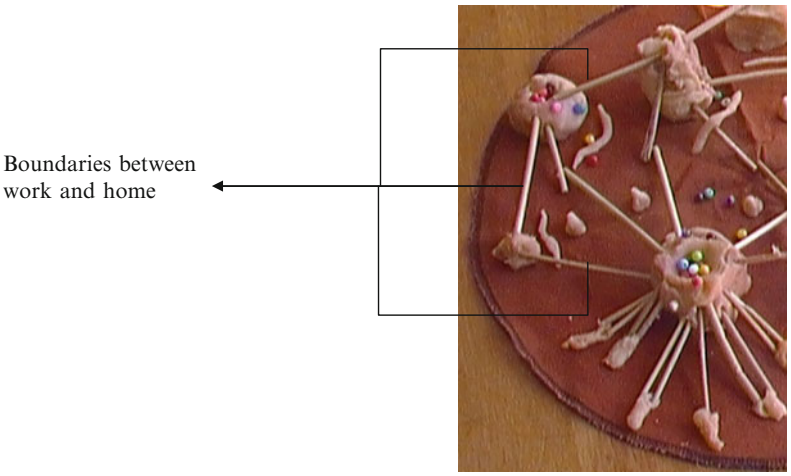

Fig. 11.2 The importance of boundaries

calming effect, which helped participants to focus on themselves and their experiences. Participant 3 explained that "the clay... makes you relaxed. It has an awesome effect, it's so perfect, the touch, the smelling of it, sort of like relaxes you, makes you really tap into yourself." Art work stimulates the body's relaxation response, reduces stress and induces the relaxation response and is naturally self-soothing – elements that contribute to well-being (Malciodi, 2003a, 2003b). Participant 7 confirmed that the process had energized him: "I have literally been playing and I feel refreshed and I [found] the exercise very rewarding."

Conclusion

Although not all participants may want to join in a visual data-collection method, and some experience discomfort when the focus is placed on them in a group, many participants in the study discussed here benefited from their involvement in research using the Mmogo-method. Participants reflected on the transformative potential of the method, provided that a safe context for optimal participation is created. A safe interpersonal context, opportunity for self-expression and confirmative feedback from others contributed to raising participants' awareness and broadened their focus so that they were able to assimilate new information, discover new and creative actions, and access forgotten knowledge. Supportive group processes, which validate participants, also contribute to a research space which enables them to consider different perspectives introduced by the group members. By reflecting on their own positions and observing different options participants are provided with an enlarged repertoire on which they may draw for future action or include in their frame of reference. The phase of debriefing enriches the data-collection process: new data may be introduced which researchers can

probe for deeper understanding. It could also confirm researchers' insights obtained from the data analysis and participants' reflections could provide deeper explanation of some aspect that had been mentioned in the course of the data-collection process.

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Chapter 12
Researcher's Reflections on Using the Mmogo-method and Other Visual Research Methods

Avivit Cherrington

Abstract This chapter describes a researcher's reflections on the use of visual data-collection methods, including the Mmogo-method, in a study aimed at enabling a shared engagement and understanding of children's experiences of hope. The study was framed by two important hope dimensions: it is relational (hope exists through human interaction), and it continually reproduces itself (hope builds hope). Visual participatory methodology encouraged the participants to become directly involved in the data-creation process, providing opportunities for multiple forms of expression, and accommodating the barriers of language and culture. The study consisted of four visual methods: drawing, collage-making, the Mmogo-method and photo-voice. The data source for this chapter is the researcher's journal, which captured in great detail, both visually and textually (through photos, personal reflections and process notes), the participants' engagement with the visual research methods, and the participatory process as a whole. The researcher's reflections indicate that the application of the Mmogo-method enabled the children to construct their own subjective hope experiences, while also facilitating a platform for collaborative and collective meaning-making. This chapter contributes to the field of social research, particularly in rural settings, by demonstrating how observational reflections on process can contribute by adding relevant, contextual insight into the participants' interactions during participatory social research.

In accordance with the ethics of participatory research, the issues of consent and anonymity were discussed with the participants on several occasions. As a condition of participating in the study, the board of St. Kizito Children's Programme requested that the organization be recognized and accredited in all published work. Further, as creators of the research data, the children who participated in the study have requested that they too be identified and acknowledged in all published work showing their contributions, and have signed (with approval from their guardians) visual consent forms providing permission for these images to be published.

'The Mmogo-method®' is a registered South African trademark of the North-West University.

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Introduction

This chapter presents a researcher's reflections on the use of the Mmogo-method in a qualitative research study conducted with South African primary school children to explore their experiences of hope.[1] The study, conducted over a period of a year at a rural after-care centre, comprised four visual participatory methods, namely: drawing, collage-making, the Mmogo-method and photo-voice. The visual and textual data created by the participants were complemented by individual interviews and group discussions, then analyzed thematically with reference to hope theories and constructs. However, the data source most relevant to this chapter is the researcher's journal, which captured in great detail, both visually and textually (through photos, personal reflections and process notes), the participants' engagement with the visual research methods and the participatory process as a whole.

The aim of this chapter is to describe how the Mmogo-method, as a visual-data creation tool, was integrated into a participatory study with rural children, affording both the participants and the researcher an opportunity to engage in a process of shared learning about their hope experiences. It also contributes to the field of social research, particularly in rural settings, by demonstrating the potential of the researcher's reflections of the participants' engagement in the data-creation process to add relevant and contextual insight to a participatory methodology design.

Conducting Research with Children in Rural Communities

An exploration of children's experiences that fails to consider the contextual factors at play risks misrepresenting the diversity and depth of their experiences, as well as how childhood is perceived by the participants themselves and by members of their community (Clacherty & Donald, 2007). Therefore, before moving to a discussion of the study, this chapter begins instead by contextualising the enquiry in terms of the study participants and locating it within the physical, social and economic milieu of the region in which the participants live.

[1] This chapter forms part of the author's doctoral study entitled *Research as hope-intervention: A visual participatory study with rural South African primary school children*, which aimed to explore how using visual participatory methodology to explore hope with children could also strengthen their personal sense of hope (Cherrington, 2015).

Describing the Participants

Twelve primary school children, aged between 9 and 13 years, and living in the rural village of Tsheseng in the QwaQwa region of South Africa took part in the study. They attend St. Kizito Children's Programme,[2] an after-care centre within walking distance of their schools and homes (see Fig. 12.1). They are all Sesotho home-language speakers, born in QwaQwa, and registered as beneficiaries of the children's programme due to various circumstances that deem them vulnerable. Child vulnerability is often vaguely defined in literature because it is influenced and determined by a multitude of factors. A report by the Human Sciences Research Council, in consultation with various South African communities, determined that the vulnerability of a child is defined as "not having certain of their basic rights fulfilled, and the identification of problems in the environment of the child" (Skinner et al., 2004, p. 10). Similarly, these children were deemed vulnerable by the programme's staff because of the level of poverty they were experiencing as a result of living with a primary carer who was unemployed, aged or disabled, or having experienced significant deaths within the family, as well as having poor access to shelter and other basic services.

Contextualizing the Study

Tsheseng is situated on the outskirts of Phuthaditjhaba, the central administrative hub of the Maluti a Phofung (MAP) local municipality, nestled in the mountainous QwaQwa region, a former designated "homeland", in the central eastern part of the Free State Province (see Fig. 12.1). According to Statistics South Africa's (2011) census, although small in size, the local municipality has the third highest population density in the Free State, with 100 228 households registered in that year. The population is predominantly African black (98.2 %), and Sesotho speaking (81.7 %), with children and youth making up the majority: 32.6 % under the age of 14 years, and 39.5 % aged 15–34 years (Statistics SA, 2011). Due to deaths from opportunistic diseases (especially HIV&AIDS), as well as migration in search of job opportunities outside the region, the municipality is currently reporting a negative annual population growth of −0.7 % (Maluti a Phofung Municipality, 2014).

Several environmental and socio-economic factors compound the poverty levels experienced by the study's participants. The rural and mountainous nature of this region – although picturesque – results in limited road infrastructure, homes in remote areas, and residents walking far distances to access schools, clinics and

[2] The Board of St. Kizito Children's Programme has waived anonymity, and requested that the participation and collaboration of its staff members in this study be fully acknowledged in all publications and forms of dissemination.

Fig. 12.1 (*Left*) St. Kizito Children's Programme situated in the rural village of Tsheseng (*right*) in the QwaQwa region, Free State Province, in South Africa

shops (SALGA, 2010). About 68 % of households do not have access to piped water inside the dwelling unit, 70 % are without access to flush toilets, and 11 % are without access to electricity (Statistics SA, 2011). Despite a youth unemployment rate of 53 % for 2011, this municipality has strongly supported education initiatives, with only 9.3 % of residents over the age of 21 years lacking formal education (Statistics SA, 2011). The municipal area accommodates 220 schools, of which 11 offer secondary schooling and only one caters for special needs. There are also 12 tertiary institutions (SALGA, 2010), including one satellite campus of a provincial university and several government and private colleges.

The rural villages in QwaQwa, established on tribal land, are administered by the Department of Land Affairs. More than half the households are registered as traditional/tribal settlements, and "traditional systems of governance are prevalent and consistently applied within the municipal jurisdiction" (Maluti a Phofung, 2014, p. 22).

The Challenges of a Rural Setting

Conducting social research in rural communities is beset with a unique set of challenges and limitations, and this study was not exempt. The inconsistent and unreliable availability of electricity at the after-care centre required careful pre-planning to ensure adequate supplies of extra batteries for cameras, video and audio recorders for the research. However, there were times when even such contingencies failed and meticulous note-taking and low-quality recordings on mobile phones had to suffice. The children's programme, which provides several services to the community, was often very busy with staff and other community members walking in and out of the main room in which the participants were working. Consequently it proved difficult at times to ensure uninterrupted activities, privacy for the participants or clear audio recordings without background noise. But

there was also a benefit in that the familiarity of this busy setting was actually conducive to creating a non-threatening and comfortable environment for the group.

When working with rural or poorly-resourced communities, it is often challenging to locate suitably-trained field researchers or facilitators. When conducting academic research, it is advisable for such individuals to be knowledgeable about the process of participatory methodology and general research ethics (Clacherty & Donald, 2007). It is equally important that facilitators are familiar with the culture, language and social context of the participants so that they can assist the researcher with insight on the community and participants. This study had a community empowerment aspect central to a participatory research methodology so that, instead of selecting skilled research facilitators to accompany the researcher, building capacity and sustainability at the children's programme were prioritized. This meant that at times the staff who assisted as facilitators and translators focused more on the products generated in the study than on the process, and needed prompting, encouragement and coaching to observe and listen during the activity, and not only to be present for the final discussions and presentations. It is important, when working in a participatory manner such as this, to anticipate fuzzy photographs or lengthy video footage focused entirely on close-ups rather than on the engagement in the activity, and accordingly arrangements were made to use multiple tools to sufficiently capture the engagement. Although the co-facilitators' lack of research experience proved to be challenging at times and required flexibility, I do not regard this experience as a limitation of the study. It was in the process of mentoring the staff at the children's programme that they became aware of a different way of being and interacting with the participants, allowing them to experience at first hand the results of hopefulness and agency through participation, which was key to the outcome of the study itself (Cherrington, 2015).

While I have mentioned statistics and descriptors of the challenges to provide a picture of the context in which a study was conducted, I advocate that rural community contexts should not be viewed from the deficit perspective (Moletsane, 2012). Although often characterized as resource-poor settings, such communities are also culturally diverse, following traditional values, which may be witnessed and experienced through respecting the "dynamic interactions of the people who live, learn and work in these communities", as well as their "agency and resilience in shaping their lives in these environments" (Moletsane, 2012, p. 3).

Sensitivity to Culture and Language

Because language and culture in southern Africa can be so diverse and complex, social research has tended to "concentrate child participatory data collection in areas where majority languages are spoken", which unfortunately excludes children in rural or outlying areas from the opportunity to be heard (Clacherty & Donald, 2007, p. 149). Community-based social research which embraces indigenous norms

and local practices, engaging with community members who are familiar with the local language and practices, allows for mutual learning and sharing. As a researcher who is an outsider to this community, I had to be aware of my own cultural beliefs and norms, ensuring I displayed sensitivity and respect for diversity rather than imposing my own values.

A cultural practice which required much consideration and gentle handling in this study involved the community's views on children's agency. Within rural South Africa systems, where patriarchal community systems are still pervasive, children and women are not accorded the status or authority to voice their opinions or influence decision-making. Children's roles and responsibilities are limited, as is their participation in community life, and "obedience to and respect for adults are values that are strongly emphasized so that children seldom speak up or voice their opinions to adults" (Clacherty & Donald, 2007, p. 48). By following a participatory research methodology, which encouraged the children to participate and express themselves authentically and openly, I had also positioned them as experts and producers of important knowledge. I was aware that I would be constantly challenging existing traditional practices. It was therefore crucial to consider a research design that allowed for a lengthy field engagement so that I could build trust and familiarity with the participants and community stakeholders.

A Participatory Research Methodology

To accommodate greater cultural sensitivity when working with rural communities, or marginalized population groups, social researchers have sought research designs that facilitate collaboration and inclusion of indigenous knowledge (Naidu & Sliep, 2011). Participatory research is thus a methodology which encourages participants to become directly involved and engaged with the data-creation and interpretation process, providing opportunities for multiple forms of expression. This can also accommodate possible barriers of language and culture. The study was firmly grounded on the maxim of doing research "with" participants, and not "on" or "for" them (Reason & Bradbury, 2008). By engaging in data creation about hope, the children became directly involved in thinking and constructing knowledge about their own experiences of hope and how it affected, or was affected by, their immediate environment.

Visual Methods: Creating Possibilities for Expression

Visual data-collection methods have a long history of being used effectively to engage with children in social research (Driessnack, 2006; Frith, Riley, Archer, & Gleeson, 2005; Reavey & Johnson, 2012; Theron, Mitchell, Smith, & Stuart, 2011). Originating from the arts-based approach in qualitative research, visual methods

make use of simple prompts to direct the participants in creating visual representations, which demonstrate their experiences or understanding of a particular construct. These tangible creations in turn may be used by the researcher to elicit an in-depth narrative or discussion, thus bolstering understanding through the generation both of textual and visual data. The advantage of visual meaning-making is that it can move the participants beyond relying only on verbal or written descriptions to capture a particular reality or experience which is "mediated by culture, ideology and subjectivity" (Frith et al., 2005, p. 188).

Research as a Process: Creating Agency not Products

Education can lead to human liberation (Freire, 1972), in the sense that creating and then sharing knowledge can open up possibilities for change in thinking and behaviour. Participatory research entails engaging participants in a process of critical thinking and reflection about the knowledge they are creating (Reason & Bradbury, 2008). This in turn fosters a more democratic and inclusive research process (Mitchell, 2008). According to Clacherty and Donald (2007, p. 153), by engaging in the participatory process, children are able to "learn to express their thoughts and opinions, and to listen to and respect the views of others. These are important skills and values in a context where democracy is still a growing, and in many cases unfamiliar, concept." Further, the activities were conducted mostly in groups to increase opportunities for discussion and collective meaning-making. Group work is also ideal for noting the interactions between members of the group (Macphail, 2001).

Exploring Hope: A Stimulus for Agency

Hope has been defined as "a process of anticipation that involves the interaction of thinking, acting, feeling and relating, and is directed toward a future fulfilment that is personally meaningful" (Stephenson, 1991, p. 1459). Scioli's multidimensional model centres hope as a future-directed, emotional network driven by the interrelated systems of attachment, mastery, survival and spirituality (Scioli & Biller, 2010). Hopeful individuals are seen to be active, energetic and able to set goals (Snyder, 2002), thus motivated and engaged in their own life journey. Hope builds a person's sense of self-efficacy and self-esteem (Snyder, 2002); it is about mastery, not submission (Scioli & Biller, 2010), and thus a hopeful individual is often able to endure and even surmount difficult life circumstances (Dufault & Martocchio 1985; Frankl, 1984). Hope is also regarded as an essential ingredient in healing and coping, and has been positioned as a crucial prerequisite for positive behaviour change (Larsen & Stege, 2010; Snyder, 2002; Yohani & Larsen, 2009). Moreover, when hope is explicitly brought into a discussion or interaction, it can significantly

contribute to the individual's realization that the impossible might be possible and within his or her reach and ability (Edey, Larsen, & Lemay, 2005; Larsen & Stege, 2012).

Clearly, whether or not a child has hope depends on a range of factors – economic, cultural, social and psychological. In a South African study of national hope levels, Boyce and Harris (2012) concluded that self-perception of one's position in society and status of marginalization have a noteworthy effect on an individual's hope levels. It is easy to assume that children in rural communities, marginalized by poverty and saddled with low status (Clacherty & Donald, 2007), are less likely to manifest the motivation or agency necessary to pursue their objectives, yet several studies have shown that children are indeed hopeful despite living in adversity (Adamson & Roby, 2011; Guse & Vermaak, 2011; Makome, 2011; Mohangi, Ebersöhn, & Eloff 2011; Yohani & Larsen 2009). According to Scioli and Biller (2010, p. 8), being hopeful is "deeper and more enduring" than simply setting goals or managing life crises. They contend that hopeful individuals "have crafted a different way of being in the world", and are able to "feel empowered, connected, and centred". With that description in mind, hope was chosen as the topic of exploration with the participants for its ability to act as a spark or activator of change on multiple psycho-social levels.

Two important dimensions of hope were considered. First, hope is relational (it exists through human interaction). Children exist in multiple interrelated systems, therefore, their hope can exist and develop within the individual, in the relationship between individuals, and within the ideals and actions of a group or community (Farran, Herth, & Popovich 1995). Hope also hinges on having trusting relationships and a sense of belonging with others, and in turn can be passed on to others through secure attachments and positive interactions (Scioli & Biller, 2010). It is believed then, that hopeful thinking almost inevitably arises in the context of other people who teach and enact hope (Snyder, 2002). Snyder and Lopez (2007) contend that self-efficacy can also operate at the collective level. Therefore, when large numbers of people are pursuing a shared objective, the nature of their collaborations will generate hope for the individuals as well as the group.

Second, the hope process is continually strengthened through its engagement in praxis, thus the more it is enacted the more it is reinforced. This is best demonstrated by considering the biological theory of autopoiesis, which has been adapted to encompass self-maintaining social systems. An autopoietic system is able to process inputs to transform, maintain or construct outputs for itself to ensure the continuation of the system, and is "in a continual dynamic state of self-production" (Mingers, 2004, p. 414). Similarly, hope is constantly recreated and built out of the very process of being hopeful, as through actions that build hope individuals reproduce the very conditions that make the process of hope possible (Mingers 2004). Jevne (2005) also alludes to this dimension of hope, explaining that a hopeful orientation allows for the inclusion of multiple definitions and interpretations of subjective experiences, thus being open to possibilities. Being hopeful is also linked to outcome expectancies (influenced by past and present experiences) and relies on the child's perceived self-capacity to carry out the necessary actions

(Snyder, 2002). This means that when a child perceives his or her actions as successful in achieving goals or solving problems, it can lead to a growing sense of confidence and hope in being able to address future difficulties (Farran et al., 1995). The energy activated by hope initially to affect the desired goal or experience, in turn builds momentum within the individual energizing and stimulating the actual hoping process, thus adding fuel to the fire.

Issues of Trustworthiness, Ownership and Anonymity

Participatory research using visual methods is driven by values of empowerment, ownership, and agency (Mitchell, 2011), and as such commands special consideration of issues of trustworthiness, interpretation and ethics of participation and engagement (Reavey & Johnson, 2012).

Obtaining Entry and Informed Consent In participatory community-based research consent is a long and complex process, which has to start with a thorough consideration of the traditional and cultural requirements for gaining entry and engaging members of that community. This process began when I approached the children's programme to gain permission and support from the staff and board to undertake the research. I had previously worked with the programme and had built up a relationship of trust and familiarity. I also presented the study proposal to the Office of Batlokoa Traditional Council, gaining the endorsement and collaboration of the traditional chief's office. Before working with the research participants, I spent time with the staff of the children's programme to learn about the community's "tacit rules" regarding gatekeepers, relationships and behaviours (Naidu & Sliep, 2011, p. 435). Negotiating consent with the participants was an ongoing process which ensured that as new data were created and our personal sharing increased, the children were able to re-evaluate what they were giving their permission for.

Ensuring Trustworthiness and Authenticity To claim authenticity in child participatory research the study should be able to demonstrate that the process enabled the participants to express their ideas and experiences in their own terms without being influenced or misrepresented by adults' ideas or agendas (Clacherty & Donald, 2007). Any data produced by visual methods cannot be taken as a complete and direct representation of someone's thoughts, feelings or experiences without an accompanying personal interpretation and analysis by its producer (Buckingham, 2012; De Lange, Olivier, Geldenhuys, & Mitchell, 2012). Visual data are certainly subjective and there is always the danger of over-interpretation or reaching conclusions that are culturally neutral or biased. By providing the participants with opportunities to talk or write about what they had created, and why, as well as involving them in constant member-checking and discussions on possible interpretations, it was possible to limit the threat of misconceptions and assumptions on my part.

Anonymity Versus Agency Although participatory research "by its nature is ethical – potentially" (Prosser & Burke, 2008, p. 416), conventional issues of consent and anonymity often collide with aspirations of agency and autonomy. In addition, the exposed nature of visual research foregrounds the need to rethink how we negotiate matters of informed consent and anonymity around the ownership of the visual data (Frith et al., 2005; Prosser & Burke, 2008; Reavey & Johnson, 2012). There is a strong drive in community-based research to offer individuals and organisations the choice of whether or not they want their identities disclosed, especially when participants are "active agents" in the research process (Tilley & Woodthorpe, 2011, p. 200). I also support the idea that anonymity should not always be assumed necessary in research, because there are certainly instances where visibility becomes more crucial (Gibson & Brown, 2009) and contributes to the empowerment process. Ultimately, the issue of anonymity was handled similarly to consent and constantly discussed with the participants and staff in the children's programme. Ultimately, the rights of ownership and democracy prevailed, and it was agreed that the knowledge producers themselves would decide the level of disclosure which best suited them. On the final day of the research engagement, the participants (and co-facilitators) were given time to look through all the visual data produced over the months and select those which could be included for thematic analysis, and ultimately published and disseminated. Items which some of the participants were willing to share with the group but kept private in other ways (such as the family drawings), were not included as data for analysis. Therefore, it is noted that the participants gave written, informed permission for their names and a specific set of images to be used in published work for the purpose of promoting the study. By honouring their choices, I acknowledge their valuable contributions and collaboration in this chapter.

The Research Process: Knowledge Creation and Sharing

The St. Kizito Children's Programme, housed in a community after-care centre, consists of a Board of Trustees, three management staff who oversee the administrative and financial running of the programme, and six community carers who provide the educational, nutritional and psycho-social services to the children and families in the community. These community carers are members of the community themselves, and develop close personal relationships with the children and families in their care by conducting regular home visits, monitoring school progress and assisting with accessing basic services and a support network. As they play such a vital role in the community, they were able to facilitate my access to the child participants, and to support our interactions. In the study I refer to these community carers as my co-facilitators, who were responsible for selecting the participants for the study, obtaining informed consent from the family guardians (using forms that were compiled collaboratively with the researcher according to strict ethical guidelines), organizing the logistics around each workshop or session, and facilitating the

data-creation methods with me. They encouraged the children to participate and translated and interpreted between me and the participants. As young men and women from the community, the co-facilitators, although having completed their secondary education, had no experience in conducting academic research or psycho-social interventions, but they were passionate about working with children.

I conducted four engagement sessions with the children over the course of a year, mostly during school holidays. Each of these engagement sessions consisted of three to four consecutive full days of collaborative workshops in which various activities were conducted. While some of these activities were intended simply for fun or building rapport, others focused on eliciting data to explore the participants' hope experiences and their engagement in the research process. The data were primarily produced through four visual methods, namely: drawing, collage-making, the Mmogo-method and photo-voice, and were supplemented by individual interviews, informal group discussions, and the researcher's journal containing personal reflections (notes and photographs). To allow for the multifaceted and ever-changing nature of knowledge creation, the various data-generating activities were interspersed throughout the overall engagement, and collectively contributed to a crystallization of the data (Clark & Moss, 2011; Mertens, 2009). Figure 12.2 provides a visual timeline of the participatory methods as they were implemented over the entire engagement.

Two large plastic crates filled with a wide variety of stationery, craft materials, and drama props were always made available. Throughout the engagement the participants were aware that these materials were accessible and could be used freely. Offering children choices in the engagement and control over the materials contributed to their sense of power and control, orienting them towards taking ownership of what they were creating (Driessnack, 2006). At the end of the research engagement these crates, with all the craft materials, as well as two cameras, were left with the children's programme to maintain sustainability and reciprocity (Swartz, 2011). Engaging collaboratively in a multimethod approach over an extended period of time allowed the participants to create a collection of extensive, information-rich and colourful data to deepen our collective understanding of their hope experiences (Clark & Moss, 2011).

Collage-Making with Children

Collage-making involves combining existing images or found materials (usually from magazines) and sticking them down on to a flat surface to create a story or portray an idea (Butler-Kisber, 2008). I included this creative visual method for its ability to tap into the participants' unconscious and emotional connections to hope experiences, creating new understandings (Butler-Kisber & Poldma, 2010). It is also a relatively simple and familiar activity for the participants to engage in, requiring minimal and easily obtainable materials. Two separate collage activities, scheduled to take place on different days, were included in the study to provide a

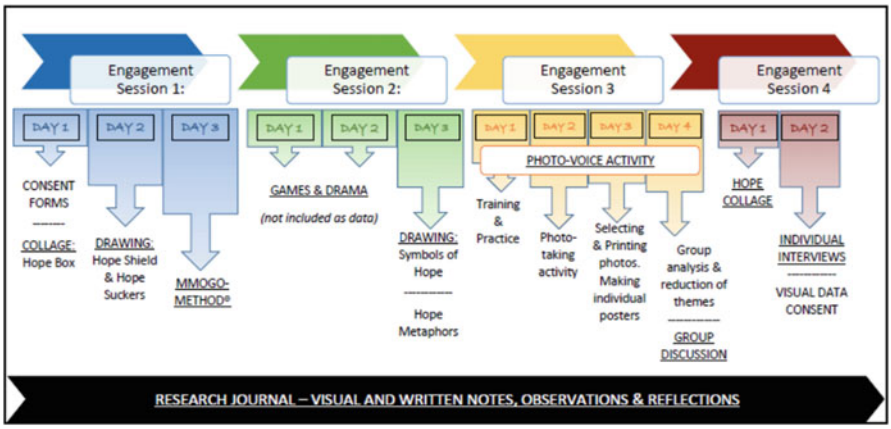

Fig. 12.2 Visual timeline showing the various data-generating activities conducted chronologically throughout the research engagement

visual mapping of the participants' ideas of hope. At the beginning of the engagement the participants were given a cardboard box and instructed to: *"Use these magazines to find pictures and words that will show me what hope means to you, and paste them in any way you want to create your very own Hope Box.*" The method was used early in the research process to explore the participants' initial understanding and conceptualizations of hope, and thus identify the vocabulary they were associating with the construct (so as not to introduce foreign concepts into our engagement). The children's programme had also collected magazines, so that the participants had access both to familiar and unfamiliar magazines for this task. Once the collages were completed, each participant was given an opportunity to present his or her hope box, and explain the reason for some of the choices. A group discussion followed to pick out key words and concepts which had emerged and these were written down on small cards and pasted like a mind-map on the wall.

The second collage, conducted on the last day of the engagement, explored how the participants' conceptualizations of hope might have changed as a result of their participation. The prompt was: "*Think about what you have learned about hope over the past year, and use these magazines to find pictures and words that mean hope to you, and create a hope poster. We can then use these posters to teach other children in the community about hope.*" Again participants were given an opportunity to talk about the collages they had made, and to reflect on their current conceptualization of hope.

The Use of Drawing

Most children, even those living in resource-poor communities, are familiar with making drawings to expressing their ideas and feelings. I included this visual

method in the study for its familiarity and other benefits such as: being fun and able to engage the participants actively in meaning-making; being easy to use and requiring relatively simple materials. Its less intrusive, non-direct and informal nature makes children feel less inhibited or reserved to express themselves (Driessnack, 2006; Theron et al., 2011).

Three draw-and-talk/write activities were included as data. In the first drawing activity – Hope Protectors and Hope Suckers – participants were provided with A4 printed pages displaying a black and white outline of a warrior shield, and small menacing-looking mosquitoes and scorpions. It was explained that the shield represented the things or people that build or protect their hope, while the mosquitoes represented the things or people that sucked out their hopes, and the scorpions were the things or people that hurt their hopes. The children were instructed to cut out the images they needed and to create a poster about their hope experiences. Working individually at first, the participants were later asked to discuss their posters in small groups and create shared meanings. Each group had to choose and present to the larger group the three most important categories or ideas they had determined for each of the main headings: (1) Hope Shield, (2) Hope Mosquitoes, and (3) Hope Scorpions. These words were written in columns on a large flip chart as the groups took turns presenting. To conclude the activity, the participants were guided as a group through a nominal technique to identify and reduce core themes (Macphail, 2001). This was done to allow for collective learning and to facilitate the participants' meaning-making of what had been discussed.

The remaining two drawing activities were conducted later on in the research process. For Hope Symbols participants were asked to draw symbols or logos for hope, which they felt would be recognizable in their community. This was done in small groups and then presented to the larger group. In Hope Metaphors, children were prompted to think about how hope could be like another construct or experience in nature, character or experience, and to draw it. This activity was done individually and participants were given the opportunity to present their hope metaphor to the group and to explain the similarities between the two constructs. This facilitated further group discussion and deeper understanding (Driessnack, 2006; Theron et al., 2011).

The Mmogo-method

As a visual data-collection method developed specifically for its application in rural South African contexts (Roos, 2012), the Mmogo-method was integral to the overall design of the data-creation process, and thus it was used during the first engagement session, with the first collage and a drawing activity. The method was selected to explore the children's hope experiences within the context of their daily lives. As hope is a socially constructed human condition, which is often personally understood but sometimes difficult to verbalize, by using this method I was able to observe contextual mediating factors for hope such as cultural and social beliefs and

attitudes. The visual nature of the method further enables participants to express their subjective experience within existing relational systems of the self in relation with others, as well as the different social and cultural contexts of these interactions (Roos, 2012). This also fitted well with my aims for the first engagement session, which was to start the participants with a blank slate (quite literally) to allow them to think, build and shape what hope meant to them, free of external influences. The emergence of personalized themes, vocabulary and associations could be incorporated into further engagements, rather than introducing existing concepts and ideas from literature. I also knew from my earlier work with the children that I needed to select an activity that would be fun, easy to understand without laborious verbal explanations, and that would not intimidate the participants.

The method was conducted in three phases (Roos, 2016), but due to the study's focus on the collective meaning-making process, more attention was placed on the construction phase than the discussion phase.

Phase 1: Entering the Research Context This phase was relatively short as consent and introductions had already been completed, and the research environment and researcher were already familiar to the participants. Two co-facilitators assisted me with translation, and two cameras were available (used by the researcher, participants and co-facilitators) for capturing images of the construction process and discussion phase. A video camera was also available, but on that particular day there was no power at the centre and there was insufficient battery power to capture the activity.

Phase 2: The Construction Phase Although a large table had been cleared to work on, the co-facilitators and children said they would prefer to work on the floor. Therefore, with everyone sitting in a circle on the floor, the materials were placed in the centre to be shared (see Fig. 12.3). Except for the clay, I adapted some of the items mentioned by Roos (2016) to accommodate the children and the limitations of being mobile. I supplied the participants with foil-covered round cake boards to work on (preferring a hard surface to the recommended circle of cloth), some coloured buttons in different sizes (instead of small beads), small coloured matchsticks and larger coloured ice-cream (lolly) sticks. I had also brought along a packet of plastic googly-eyes, in case the participants needed concrete objects for their human representations, however it was stipulated to the participants that they did not have to use these eyes if they chose not to. I selected these items because I felt that larger, colourful objects would make the activity more fun for the children. A bucket with soapy water and a dry cloth were placed on a chair and were accessible to the participants throughout the process.

The participants were given an open-ended prompt: *"Use the materials in front of you to make anything that could tell us more about your experience of hope*." This was further clarified by the co-facilitators as: *"Make something that makes you think of being hopeful."*

During the construction phase, which lasted just over an hour, the co-facilitators and I sat on chairs outside the circle observing the group and taking photos. There

Fig. 12.3 The participants seated in a circle are shown the materials and given the prompt for the Mmogo-method

were instances when other staff members at the centre also walked into the room to see what the children were doing, and engaged with them by asking questions or picking up some of the items they were constructing. I was amenable to this because it was my intention to encourage a process for collective learning and shared meaning-making.

Phase 3: The Discussion Phase Once everyone had finished, the participants were invited to sit around the table with their representations so that they could easily see one another's work. The co-facilitator asked one child to stand up and prompted: *"Please tell us what you have made"* and from there we went around the table clock-wise taking turns presenting. As each participant presented, both co-facilitators and I engaged with the child to clarify our understanding and ask how the construction related to his/her hope and how the various items on the board were related to one another. No interpretations were offered at this point by the participants, researcher or co-facilitators. One of the co-facilitators took close-up photographs of the clay constructions as well as of the children as they presented. When every member of the group had presented, the participants were invited to ask one another questions or make comments about the activity. A rudimentary group analysis followed whereby the participants were asked to list some of the core ideas and words that had stood out from their own construction of their experience of hope. As each idea was called, the other participants were asked to raise a hand if they too had included it in their creation of hope, or felt it was an important link to

their collective experiences of hope. Repeating these words back to the participants, and then summarizing my understanding of how these concepts had been related to hope, served as a form of member-checking and provided an opportunity to reinforce the meaning-making that had emerged from the activity. The participants' hope experiences presented as seven primary concepts: Family, Shelter/house, Food, Protection, Mobility, Sun/light, and Love (Cherrington, 2015).

The Photo-Voice Method

According to pioneers of the method, Wang and Burris (1997, p. 369), photo-voice is a "process by which people can identify, represent, and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique". When working with participants who are unfamiliar with cameras and photography, the method requires the researcher to spend careful time with the participants acquainting them with the activity and providing sufficient training to use the equipment (Mitchell, 2011). Consequently, this method required four consecutive days to complete. Phase 1 consisted of a training session on how to use the camera, and taking photographs. This was followed by a practice round using a generic prompt to initiate the children's thinking about how photographs can tell a story or carry a message, and becoming familiar with the cameras. In Phase 2, the children were directed to think about hope in their community, and prompted: *"Make a list on this paper. In this column write down the things that make you feel hopeful, and in this column, write down the things that make you feel not-hopeful."* This was done on an individual basis. In groups of three, with each group receiving one camera, the participants were asked to take photographs of the items on their lists. Although the cameras were shared among the group, the members had to take turns to ensure that each participant was able to produce a variety of photographs chosen from his or her list. For safety and ethical reasons, participants were not permitted to take photographs of people other than the staff at the programme or their fellow research participants. They could choose to stage a photograph, directing their group members into a specific pose, or to capture real objects or places in the community. For the latter, a facilitator and I accompanied them to specified places in the community to ensure they were safe and able to access public buildings (such as the police station, clinic etc.). In Phase 3, after all the images had been copied onto my laptop, participants had to select their best four photographs (two for hopeful, and two for not-hopeful) and print them. The instruction was to: *"Create one poster for each photograph. Paste the photo on the large sheet of paper and make sure to give it a title, and a short description – maybe two or three sentences – of why you took it, and what it represents to you."* Once all the posters had been completed, the participants were guided through a process of grouping together "Hopeful" posters which had similar ideas. These clusters were further reduced by the participants into primary themes. The process was repeated with the posters in the "Not-Hopeful" category. This form of group analysis (Macphail, 2001), was applied primarily to enhance the

participatory and empowerment principles of the study, but also served as member-checking.

The Researcher as Instrument

A characteristic of qualitative research is to recognize the subjective role of the researcher in the enquiry process. As my personal field notes, reflections and photographs in the journal also served as data, it is essential to include myself as a knowledge producer, and provide more information about how the journal became integral to the engagement process.

Situating Myself and Acknowledging Multiple Roles

Although we share a common nationality – South African – there was very little the participants and I had in common before starting the investigation. As an English-speaking woman who has lived all her life in a large city, and with a graduate level education, I had to be mindful of how my presence in this rural village would be viewed and how it might influence the participants or the research process. In previous years I had visited the children's programme regularly in my capacity as an educational psychologist working for a large faith-based organization, providing training for the staff and psycho-social care and support to some of the children (but not the ones who participated in the study). This working context developed into a relationship of mutual trust and respect between myself and the staff and members of the board. It also helped me to develop a growing familiarity with the area and community life, as well as motivating me to find a way to share my doctoral study experience with them.

Throughout the enquiry I was donning many hats – social researcher, educational psychologist, community developer – each bringing its own set of skills and assumptions into the process, each looking at the enquiry from a different perspective. I was aware that, having practised as a psychologist for a few years, my observations and thinking regarding the children's behaviour and interactions would be somewhat automatic or "background knowledge" (Wolfinger, 2002), and often difficult to separate from my role as a researcher, and this compelled me towards a greater focus on reflexivity on my part. De Freitas (2008, p. 470) maintains that reflexive researchers "front their signature in the texts they create, evoking a feeling of immediacy and self-presence", which is what I tried to do with the journal. I was also concerned that the challenges of using the audio-visual equipment might result in limited visual data of the children's actual engagement in the process (either due to problems with electricity supply, the inexperience of the staff in using the equipment, or the chaotic and noisy nature of the setting), so I

tended to become more diligent about making detailed and frequent notes in the journal.

Using a Research Journal as Data

The way in which the researcher sees her participants will shape and inform her relationship with the participants, and thus the research that ensues (Akerstrom, & Brunnberg, 2012; Coppock, 2011; Lundy & McEvoy, 2011). I reflected on the research process and the participants' engagement through the eyes of a social researcher exploring the use of participatory methods, as well as an educational psychologist interested in understanding hope and well-being in children. According to Wolfinger (2002), a researcher's tacit or implicit knowledge usually drives her consideration of what to record and describe, explaining that often a researcher notes "whatever observations struck them as the most noteworthy, the most interesting, or the most telling" (p. 89). My annotations were not structured or pre-planned but spontaneous, subjective and highly selective depictions of issues that stood out for me at that time during our research engagement.

As a visual person I have always preferred to think on paper, writing or drawing my ideas and experiences as a tangible prompt for further reflection. Therefore, my journal very quickly filled with visual and written notes, observations, and plans. Impromptu jotted process notes of thoughts or observations which emerged while the participants were busy were supported by lengthier personal narratives compiled at the end of each day. In these I also reflected on challenges and lessons learned, exploring my own feelings, thoughts and assumptions generated from the day's activities and engagement. The multiple cameras made available for the use of participants and co-facilitators provided a wealth of photographs daily. Such images often captured angles or interactions which I was not aware of at the time because I was participating or being engaged and present in the group. Many of these were also pasted into the journal with descriptions or comments, as were the numerous personal letters and cards which the children had given me during my visits. As the engagement progressed, so did my note-taking and reflections. My reflexivity also increasingly pertained to deliberations on the relational processes within the research, leading me to acknowledge that reflexivity is tied to the context of interaction, is dynamic and perpetually iterative (Naidu & Sliep, 2011).

The journal was always with me, and on several occasions was informally examined by the participants, who were eager to see how I was documenting my experience of the research process. This provided some informal conversations with the children on what had been done, and about some of my observations and learning. These occasions also offered me a chance to reflect on my written reflections and on what had stood out for the participants.

Researcher's Reflections on Observing Participants Engaging in the Research Process

As with all the textual data generated in the study, the written content of the journal was thematically analyzed with Braun and Clarke's (2006) guidelines in mind. The first phase of the analysis was data-driven and inductive, using open coding while still remaining close to the data. As the entire journal was re-read for analysis, sections specifically referring to the researcher's observations of the participants – from the first day to the last – were highlighted. During the second reading, of these highlighted sections only, the text was separated according to the activity that was taking place at the time, thus ensuring the data remained contextual. This allowed for an analysis of the children's behaviours and engagement during each of the various visual participatory methods, as well as a comparison of the observational themes across methods to gain a more holistic and dynamic picture of the overall engagement process from start to finish. Open coding was used to encapsulate the core ideas or essence of each sentence or paragraph and noted beside the text.

The second phase of the analysis was theoretically driven (Braun & Clarke, 2006) according to the two dimensions of hope discussed earlier: being relational and continually self-reproducing. Hope as a psychological construct is multidimensional, which means it can manifest in an individual's thinking, feeling and behaviour. These occur on three interactional levels: intrapersonal (the individual), interpersonal (between individuals), and the group or social level (collective meaning-making). The codes in each of the data sections were categorized according to the three levels of interaction, and a short idea or explanation for the choice was noted alongside. Below I provide some vignettes and photos from the journal to describe the participants' engagement with the Mmogo-method compared with their engagement in the other visual methods used in the study.

Observations on the Intrapersonal Level: Meaning-Making in the Individual

On this level the data highlighted manifestations of hope in terms of how the individual begins to think about him- or herself, and shows a sense of perceived control or self-efficacy, motivation, competence and confidence (Scioli & Biller, 2010; Snyder, 2002).

Visual methods were applied in the study to help the participants to create a tangible visual prompt, which offered them an immediate avenue to expand and reflect on their hope experiences (De Lange et al., 2012). The children seemed familiar with the drawing activities, often not requiring more than one prompt or further instruction from the co-facilitators to get started, and showing no inhibitions in making use of the available materials. However, I noticed that this apparent confidence in creating the drawing did not always follow through in the

Fig. 12.4 Thabiso (11) presents his drawing to me

presentations and sharing of what was portrayed in the drawings. During some drawing and collage activities the participants sat with their faces bent close to the items being created, covering their pictures or drawings partially with their hands or arms as they worked. I noted in the journal that I felt "*a sense of privacy regarding these drawings*" (26 Sept 2013, field notes observing the children as they were busy with the family drawing). This was also observed during the presentations of the family drawings (which were not included as data in the final study). The participants – although given the choice of whether they wanted to present their work or not – spoke so softly, looking down at their paper (rather than holding it up for the others to see), and the co-facilitator had to keep encouraging them to speak up. As can be seen in Fig. 12.4, where a participant is sharing a drawing with me, his hand is in front of his mouth and his back is turned to the other group members (who are busy with their own drawings rather than listening).

I also noted during the presentations of the Hope Box collages that the participants chose to share only one or two images from their collages, even though the boxes were covered with images and cuttings. Their explanations remained very concrete, describing only what was in the image rather than why they had chosen it. For example, several participants pointed to people smiling or having fun, explaining that being happy is hopeful. However, when prompted to expand on why happiness made them think of hope, or what might have brought these people such happiness, they remained quiet or just giggled.

In contrast, the process of engaging in the Mmogo-method provided valuable observations of the participants' immersion in thinking about their hope experiences through what was being created. I noted that although the general atmosphere

was informal and noisy, with a lot of movement, the participants were able to shift between interacting and sharing with other group members, and paying great care to their individual creations:

> *But amidst the noise, there were also moments of concentration and thinking. There were times when I looked at a child working quietly, oblivious to the group, almost inwardly focused on a specific creation or item on his or her board* (27 Sept 2013, field notes observing the participants during the construction phase of the Mmogo-method).

This is also demonstrated in Fig. 12.5, showing that while one boy smiles and engages in the conversations around him, the other is able to focus completely on his construction, adding an element of detail and attention to his hope creation. It is also evident in the image that the two boys seem uninhibited; they are not concealing anything, their bodies appear open, at ease, and the floor space is shared with items scattered between them.

I further noted that the presentations in the final phase of the Mmogo-method often became lengthy narratives containing both detail and context. Perhaps having a three-dimensional, dynamic visual self-constructed prompt stimulated their storytelling? The presentations began to move beyond the concrete items to include interactions, relationships, and descriptions of the physical and sometimes even social context of what had been created, and how it linked to their hope experience. Some participants attributed their hopefulness to particular family members, to feeling generally loved and cared for, or even to the love and caring they gave others. Stories became animated: a horse left the confinement of the cake board and rode into town, children played with siblings and dogs barked at items sitting on another child's board. Listening to the participants enact what they had created, watching how they actually moved the pieces on their board and literally played out the story of their hope as it unfolded, pulled me into their hope experiences and provided a wider context for understanding how they were making meaning of the hope experiences they had created. In Fig. 12.6, of a girl presenting to the group – in comparison with the previous figure showing a presentations of the drawing – she is facing the group, looking down at her board as she moves the figures around to complement the story. Her full attention and focus are on the items she has created and the story being enacted.

Observations on the Interpersonal Level: Meaning-Making Through Interactions

Reflections on this level of analysis referred to instances where the interaction between the participants suggested hope moving beyond the individual and emerging as a relational dimension. For some of the participants, reflecting on their hope representations opened up narratives and descriptive examples of incidents or events which were hopeful to them, and provided me with a wealth of insight into their subjective experiences and glimpses into their family dynamics. For

Fig. 12.5 Lebohang (11) and Samuel (12) engaged in the construction phase of the Mmogo-method

Fig. 12.6 Innocentia (9) moves the figures on her board while she narrates her experience of hope

example, one young boy (who is very small for his age) presented in his drawings a large extended family spanning three generations and several siblings, of which he was the youngest. It was difficult to follow what his role or position was in the family, or how connected it was as a family unit, who served as the head, and whom he felt most attached to. He named each member in the drawing but struggled with some of my questions, either not knowing whom to point to or not wanting to reveal more information. While his drawing gave me interesting information about his hope meaning, I noted in the journal that it was actually through the Mmogo-method that I could gain deeper insight into the family's interactions, and how the child functioned within that context. Presenting his hope experience through the Mmogo-method, he spoke about his family building a house together, as that was hopeful for him. He pointed to each member of the family on the board, and explained how each contributed to building the house: his mother made food because she cares for him and his brothers, who were collecting grass for the roof. In the meantime his grandfather (or uncle) had gone to town to negotiate with a man to give them a door for the house. According to the participant, the representation and ensuing story were about his hope experience because it is important for a family to have a home to live in together, and that when he is with his family he feels hopeful. In re-enacting this hope experience, demonstrating (sometimes by moving his pieces off the board, for example the horse riding into town) how each family member had contributed to building the house, the narrative of this family generated knowledge about hopeful interactions within his family context.

It was also observed during the application of the Mmogo-method that the participants were becoming more relational with each other. One such example, captured in the journal, refers to an observation of a young girl in the group, who was also the youngest participant. She had been extremely quiet and shy during the drawing and collage activities, but seemed to suddenly come out of her shell during the Mmogo-method activity. I write with surprise: *"... the quietest little girl in the whole group is now the loudest. She is beaming and smiling"* (27 Sept 2013, field notes taken during the construction phase of the Mmogo-method). Not only did her demeanour seem to change, but I continued to observe how her interactions with the other participants assumed a more dominant role:

> *It took me quite by surprise to see how she interacted with the other children – a confidence and happiness I had not seen before in her. At one point she walked over to one of the older boys and was trying to show him how to make something. His slowness in copying her seemed to garner many giggles from the group and out of frustration she hit him playfully and returned to her work. I had never seen her in such a confident and dominant role...* (5 May 2014, recounting my observations of the children during the Mmogo-method).

This experience helped me to see her in a different light. Observing her in the drawing activity I was concerned that her ideas might be dominated by the others' and that I would need to pay special attention to ensuring she was being included in the group. But watching her interact with the others during this activity dispelled my concerns. Knowing her strengths now, and seeing her confidence, I could

encourage and reinforce these and as such she played more of a leading role in subsequent activities.

Observations on the Group/Social Level: Collective Meaning-Making

Data on this level highlighted observations of the participants' behaviour, possibly indicating instances of group identity formation and collective meaning-making. There was a marked contrast between the atmosphere and connectedness among the participants when they engaged in the drawing and collage-making data creation methods, and when they engaged with the Mmogo-method. This could be seen in how they positioned themselves physically within the rest of the group, and their openness to share and discuss what they had created. During some of the drawing activities I noticed that some of the participants preferred to keep their work covered and to sit on their own, even when the instruction was to work in small groups or to combine the drawings for the presentations. There were instances when I observed a participant sitting at another table, still making contact with the group now and then, but preferring to work on her own and physically separated from the group (as demonstrated in Fig. 12.7).

During the drawing activities participants preferred to work individually and limited sharing was observed, even when instructed to work in groups.

The Mmogo-method was perhaps less structured and more informal, because the participants chose to sit and work on the floor. However, what began as a neat circle took on a life of its own, fluidly shifting into different shapes as the participants moved around and engaged informally with one another (as is demonstrated in Fig. 12.8, which provides three photos of the group work at different times in the course of the activity). The children did not appear to be protective of their constructions; on the contrary, they faced each other openly, on occasion even holding up items or little figures they had made to show someone, or walking over to another member of the group to see what they were doing and to offer their opinions or comments. This movement and interaction provided me with an opportunity to observe how the children grouped naturally, and how they engaged in shared meaning-making – sometimes yelling unwarranted jeers when a group member held up part of his or her work, sometimes looking around at someone else's work and then looking back intently at what was on their own board, perhaps reflectively? I acknowledge that this "looking around" and what I call "group feedback" during the construction phase could very well have influenced the individual representations. This view might attract criticism, but I was more concerned in this study with facilitating shared meaning-making and the reciprocity of hope rather than gaining insight into individual experiences.

Moreover, the difference in the levels and quality of communication and interaction between the participants was often noted in the journal. I was surprised that

Fig. 12.7 Observation of participant behaviour during drawing activities

Fig. 12.8 Images of participants engaging in the Mmogo-method show the fluidity of the group's physical space during the course of the activity

the children could be active and noisy one minute, and yet as soon as they started drawing they worked so quietly that even their whispers were limited to requests for items to be passed. During the collage-making activities conversations were also subdued and limited to the task at hand: "*Interesting that during the drawing activity all the kids are so quiet and whispering. I wonder if that is what they are used to at school*?" (25 Sept 2013, field notes made while the participants were engaged in the family drawing). So, while the drawing activities were valuable in facilitating an individual interaction for me with each of the participants, and provided insight into each child's personal sense of hope and hope conceptualizations, the group interaction and collective meaning-making seemed somewhat stifled. In the group drawing of Hope Protectors and Hope Suckers I noted that even in group work the participants seemed to spend more time making their posters colourful and less time discussing the content of their ideas with the others.

This made me wonder how much shared meaning-making regarding hope was taking place:

> *The participants (especially the girls) put more time and effort into decorating and colouring in a poster or worksheet than actually populating it with information, or engaging in the discussion* (27 Sept 2013, field notes reflecting on the overall process of the first three-day engagement session).

However, shortly into the construction phase of the Mmogo-method, I noted: *"The kids have taken phenomenally to the clay work. I wish I had the camera to capture the mood. Finally. The silence is broken"* (27 Sept 2013, field notes jotted down while the participants were busy in the construction phase of the Mmogo-method). During the construction phase there was a lot of activity and banter, conversations which seemed animated and punctuated with giggles. I noted various interactions which piqued my interest: one girl asked another to help her make the mother, because she liked the human figure on her friend's board. A boy made a horse and the adult carer was so impressed he took the item and showed it around to the other staff members. Soon another participant asked the boy to make a horse for him too. I observed participants working on their own personal hope experiences, yet simultaneously contributing to the co-creation of the group's collective learning. Thus, as the children worked on constructing their own subjective experiences, the method also created a platform for them to collaborate collectively, contributing to shared meaning-making which could potentially lead to "insight that is more than the sum of their individual experiences" (Roos, 2009, p. 19).

Observations Relating to Cultural Context and Norms

The Mmogo-method also contributed significantly to observations and discussion of various cultural beliefs and norms which did not emerge so strongly in the other visual methods. For instance, one girl related her hope experience to being at home and feeling protected. On her board was a round form with many eyes, which could be detached and moved around. She explained it was something that scared people who were walking around her house at night, and so kept her safe. She playfully moved it around on her board and in between giggles admitted that this "strange thing" gave her hope because it frightened the criminals away (see Fig. 12.9). Although the other children and staff giggled at her description, I was informed in the ensuing conversation that it was quite common for a child to have such token "protectors" – sometimes manifested in a cultural artefact or an ancestral spirit. Other children also pointed to such items on their boards explaining that these bring hope to them and their family by watching over them and keeping them safe. In a region with high crime statistics, and a physical context in which the children have to walk some distance, sometimes in the dark, to access the outside toilets, this insight into their sources of hope and coping is extremely relevant. Although spiritual themes of church and praying, as well as some mention of witches,

Fig. 12.9 Pricsilly's (12) "scary thing" that protects her and frightens criminals away

featured in the other visual methods, it was through the Mmogo-method that I was able to observe and explore such implicit cultural norms and behaviours with the participants.

Discussion

The Mmogo-method is founded on the theory that people are relational beings, and that what is constructed visually can be a symbolic representation of how they experience themselves within a particular context (Roos, 2009). The collage and drawing methods provided the benefit of being easy to facilitate. The participants were familiar with them as activities, and through these methods I was able to open conversations with the children about the multifaceted and subjective concept of hope. However, the accompanying narratives of hope tended to be very concrete, sometimes more a collection of separate ideas or words associated with hope, rather than a cohesive, multidimensional hope experience. The photo-voice activity, on the other hand, allowed participants to engage collectively in learning new skills and co-creating knowledge about hopeful and not-hopeful spaces in their community, but required equipment and a considerable amount of time to properly engage with participants on the process and products.

The Mmogo-method seemed to complement these methods, requiring simple materials and a manageable time-frame. It provided the participants with a platform of expression that expanded hope beyond a cognitive, individual construct to a relational, emotional and collective experience, which existed in multiple contexts. The constructed hope experiences were dynamic and fluid, as the stories and concepts seemed to come alive and extend well beyond the tangible product

created. In creating their hope experiences in clay, and sharing it with the group, the participants were able to re-live and re-enact a hopeful memory, or even create a new one. Items could "move around" on the board, and even jump to someone else's board and interact with elements there: horses galloped, houses were being built, and family members were hugging to demonstrate love. The clay pieces represented people or things that existed in the participants' environment, and by physically moving pieces across from one realm of experience to someone else's board, or working together with someone to construct an item, the participants were able to engage in hope narratives that extended beyond their own subjective experience and connected with someone else's. Thus, for me, the Mmogo-method added a critical element to this study that went beyond gaining insight into contextual constructs and definitions or pictures and visuals, but exposed hope as a co-created lived experience and relational state of being with which I could interact and become a part of.

The Mmogo representations are three-dimensional and dynamic, therefore it can be easy to miss important details and elements on the board when looking at it from only one angle. For analysis and dissemination purposes, I would suggest that photographs are taken of the representation from several different angles. As the clay presentations are not static, and small pieces can move around or fall, and even wind up on someone else's board, it is important to take photographs of the clay representations before and after the presentations, noting perhaps if there has been a noticeable change which was not explained in the discussion. This aspect also proved challenging because the children wanted to take their work home, and carrying or travelling with the board and loose pieces proved somewhat challenging and cumbersome.

Conclusion

This chapter reflected on the researcher's experience of conducting the Mmogo-method with children, documented through a research journal filled with personal reflections, process notes and photographs. The thematic analysis of the data referring to observations was framed according to two dimensions of hope: as continually self-reproducing and relational (Scioli & Biller, 2010), manifested on three levels of meaning-making: intrapersonal, interpersonal and group/social. "Children's perspectives of their world are unique" (Joubert, 2012, p. 452) and my aim for choosing a visual participatory methodology was to explore these unique perspectives with South African children living in a rural, traditional setting. Poorly-resourced rural settings are not always easy to access or compatible with the demands of academic research, and as such children's experiences in these settings have been relatively understudied (De Lange et al., 2012). Moreover, in traditional South African communities a further barrier is that adults – especially those in authority – place very little value on listening to children's opinions or voices regarding community issues that affect them. Social researchers wanting to engage

with these children in discussions about sensitive or complex topics are sometimes deterred by the idea and complexity of a lengthy engagement, and unsure of data-generating methods that can engender trust and familiarity, overcome language and cultural barriers and provide an authentic representation of the participants' voices and experiences (Clacherty & Donald, 2007). My personal reflections regarding the children's behaviour throughout the research engagement, as well as the rich data generated by them through the Mmogo-method, which was applied early in the research process, could contribute towards allaying some of these uncertainties and concerns.

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Postscript and Concluding Thoughts

In this book, the Mmogo-method has been presented as a visual data-collection method. The method prides itself on facilitating a research space in which participants, irrespective of their background (socio-economic or educational level, or socio-cultural context), can take part fully (Chilisa, 2012; Liebenberg & Theron, 2015; Theron, 2013), so contributing to distributive justice. It is a data-collection method that involves people as autonomous, self-determined human beings, thereby creating an interpersonal space in which participants can engage as co-researchers.

The Mmogo-method also differs from other visual participatory methods in that the same unstructured materials and open-ended prompt can be used with diverse groups of participants. The use of unstructured materials and an open-ended prompt is intentional; the Mmogo-method's uniqueness derives from the way in which it is applied and how the data are used. The method emphasizes the dynamic nature of the data-collection process. Participants are able to change what they create as they create, so the data (their representations) grow and evolve through the phases. It is not static, unlike other visual participatory methods, for example drawings. The three-dimensional nature of the visual representations created is also unique to the Mmogo-method. This dimensionality enables participants to move items physically to create a collective story, if they want to. This relational interaction and collective meaning-making contributes to the depth and meaningfulness of the data generated, and has not previously been noted in relation to visual participatory methods. Moreover, by requesting individual participants to produce visual representations of their personal experiences and present them to the rest of the group, it is ensured that all participants are involved in data collection.

Although the Mmogo-method has remained consistent in its application since its first introduction (Roos, 2008; 2012), distinct phases of application have been identified in this book, highlighting the combination of social and research elements. In contrast, other visual participatory methods often allow considerable discretion on the part of the researcher regarding construction of a prompt, application of the method, analysis, and so forth. Although this flexible approach allows

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for the creativity and flexibility of the researcher, at the same time it can be to the detriment of the rigour and quality of the method. With the Mmogo-method, a clearly structured approach guides the planning, application and analysis, thus enhancing its rigorousness and accessing transferable knowledge, while still allowing for creative flexibility.

The Mmogo-method is first and foremost a visual data-collection method in which participants use unstructured materials to construct visual representations about their personal experiences or perceptions. In the application of the Mmogo-method the transformational aspect (discussed in Roos, Van der Westhuizen, & Keyter, 2016) relies entirely on the participant's personal engagement and reflection on what he/she has constructed, and does not depend on the researcher's skills and facilitation (for example, therapeutic or counselling skills to probe).

In the early introductory articles (Roos, 2008; 2012) the Mmogo-method was approached from a relativistic ontology. Based on that approach, descriptive research (what is going on) (De Vaus, 2001) was produced from the detailed and 'rich' data sets obtained by means of applying the method.

However, over time, it was observed that while data obtained from the Mmogo-method enabled researchers to weave a tapestry of nuances and detailed descriptions of people's subjective social constructions, an element was missing: it was as if the soundtrack was playing without the vocals. In the data, traces were seen of how social constructions were *formed* by the contexts in which people functioned, but also how they were *informed* by the broader environments' hidden processes, powers and structures (Clark, MacIntyre, & Cruickshank, 2007; Fletcher, 2016). Even though participants did not have direct contact with the broader environments, some of their manifestations were revealed in the individual and group discussions. The question that kept on surfacing was: In relation to what do people develop their social constructions? This question stimulated the suggestion that researchers should adopt a flexible meta-reflective position, adopting an onto-epistemological position in which both a relativist and a realist ontological position are included.

Examples presented throughout this book, as well as in published articles and articles in process, have highlighted the versatility of the method in different contexts and with diverse groups (Roos & Ferreira, 2008; Roos, Maine, & Khumalo, 2008; Roos & Strong, 2010; Shabangu & Roos, 2012). Some application possibilities have been demonstrated (Roos, 2016a; Hewett, Roos, & De Klerk, 2016; Puren & Roos, 2016), but these examples are by no means exhaustive.

Future suggestions for using the Mmogo-method relate to textual and visual data analysis. Much emphasis has been placed on the textual data obtained from individual and group discussions; this means that analytical methods such as narrative analysis or discourse analysis could be usefully explored. Exciting opportunities exist for conducting observational and interactional data analysis from the visual data obtained by applying the Mmogo-method. Finally, although an attempt was made to include the socio-cultural context in the analysis of data (Roos, 2016b; Roos & Redelinghuys, 2016), this proposed method of visual data analysis is open to further refinement.

The method has been critiqued throughout the book. A specific limitation is that the impact of the group on the individual was not always accounted for in the findings. Despite the benefits of participating in a group, it is possible that individuals adjust in response to the normative patterns encountered in new situations and groups (Barnes, 1995), thereby compromising expression of their own views. Even though the visual is included to prevent situational adjustment, it is not possible to account for the influence of the group on individual participants' experiential expressions.

Another aspect which warrants further refinement in future is related to an appropriate research design (blueprint) for the Mmogo-method (Creswell, 2012; Mayan, 2009). Researchers agree that the research question determines the method as well as the research design, and not the other way round (Creswell, 2012; Grbich, 2013). The choice depends on the imperative of achieving methodological coherence, which means achieving congruence between ontology, epistemology, method, research design, research question, research setting and participants, sample size, data-collection methods, data analysis and findings (Mayan, 2009). Previously, in many of the published articles in which the Mmogo-method was applied, phenomenology was used as a research design (not referring to the research paradigm) (Roos, Chigeza, & Van Niekerk, 2010; Chigeza & Roos, 2011; Roos & De Jager, 2010; Roos & Malan, 2012; Grobler & Roos, 2012; Roos, Kolobe, & Keating, 2014; Redelinghuys, Coetzee, & Roos, 2014). This was not appropriate because even though the method is used as a visual data-collection tool to access personal experiences, the nature of the data-collection process is to obtain the subjective perspectives of people's social constructions of a social reality; it is not individually focused to obtain their lived experiences, including dimensions of temporality (time and space) (Grbich, 2013; Van Manen, 2001; Van den Berg, 1972).

A Final Word

The Mmogo-method does not claim to provide a long-awaited solution to qualitative data collection, but my wish is that it should serve participants by providing them with an alternative way of participating in research. I also hope that researchers will continue to push the boundaries of the application potential of the method and to engage in scholarly debate. I often think of the Mmogo-method as a child who has come of age, ready to discover its purpose in life. May you also be surprised by its ability to produce unexpected findings.

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