CHAPTER 8

DRAWING ON STRENGTHS: IMAGES OF ECOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO MALE STREET YOUTH RESILIENCE

Macalane Malindi and Linda Theron

INTRODUCTION

Multitudes of youth worldwide leave their homes, permanently or temporarily, and take up street life because of harsh personal and contextual factors that are out of their control (Donald, Lazarus, & Lolwana, 2010). Youth who adopt street life lose opportunities to play, to be educated, and to experience the rest needed for their physical and mental development (Bartlett et al., as cited in Ataöv & Haider, 2006). These young people are labelled 'street youth'—an umbrella term that includes youth *of* the street (i.e., young people who have no family ties and whose primary home is the street), youth *on* the street (i.e., young people who spend time on the streets to make a living to supplement family income while maintaining family ties), and former youth of the street who have moved to welfare-run homes for street youth (Panter-Brick, 2002). Blanket use of the term 'street youth' is problematic because it suggests erroneously that these young people are a homogeneous group, it characterises street youth according to the public spaces that they use or occupy, it is riddled with derogation, and it bears negative emotional overtones (Evans, 2002). We use the term to refer to a heterogeneous group of young people who are traditionally classified as 'at-risk' and 'vulnerable' in popular literature.

Street youth are mostly categorised as at-risk and vulnerable since they are affected by manifold risks, including violence, abuse, and/or adverse socio-economic circumstances (Kelly, as cited in Eloff, Ebersöhn, & Viljoen, 2007) and deprivation of family-based upbringing (UNICEF, 2009). However, in spite of the aforementioned risks, some street youth have displayed remarkable resilience, which is frequently ignored by researchers and the larger community.

Their resilience, or ability to cope well with the compound challenges they face (Masten, 2001), often lies in their effective survival and coping strategies, which are habitually underplayed by researchers. Some of these strategies (like begging) are unconventional because young people should ideally receive parental care and support. In the light of this, begging, which could be seen as a sign of helplessness, typically hides resilience if taken at face value (Ungar, 2004). In spite of what begging might appear to suggest, these strategies assist street youth to cope adaptively. In essence, this suggests that street youth present a unique paradox of vulnerability, on the one hand, and resilience, on the other (Donald & Swart-

L. Theron et al. (eds.), Picturing Research: Drawing as Visual Methodology, 105–117.

© 2011 *Sense Publishers. All rights reserved.*

Kruger, 1994; Panter-Brick, 2002). Although most researchers assume that street youth are vulnerable, others like ourselves (see, too, Donald & Swart-Kruger, 1994; Evans, 2002; Kombarakaran, 2004) have become intrigued with what feeds this resilience. Masten (2001) asserted that resilience is not such an uncommon phenomenon among individuals leading difficult lives and that resilience results from the effective functioning of basic human adaptational systems. What is lacking in the studies of street youth resilience to date is rich evidence that access of street youth to ordinary supportive resources encourages their resilience. Furthermore, few studies with street youth engage them as authoritative voices on their lived experiences or heed their interpretations of collected data (Ennew, 2003). Instead, most studies with street youth script the adult researcher as the authority and thus generate 'adultist assumptions' (Ennew, 2003).

In the light of this, then, the purpose of our study was to explore the resilience of street youth in the Eastern Free State in South Africa by means of a phenomenological study using symbolic drawings (see Guillemin, 2004) to generate such rich and youth-centred evidence. We believed that our findings would be significant to teachers, mental health practitioners, and service providers working with street youth, especially if our study afforded these adults opportunities to *see* and better understand that street youth need not be viewed only in terms of negative stereotypes and to *see* exactly what nurtured their resilience. We hoped this would spur adults on to enable street youth towards resilience.

WHY USE DRAWINGS AS METHODOLOGY?

There is renewed interest in the use of drawings in research since traditional methods often fail to elicit the socially silenced voices of vulnerable and marginalised youth (Driessnack, 2005). Because street youth are often illiterate or have low levels of literacy, quantitative pen-and-paper instruments present limited opportunities to generate such evidence. Our personal experience in working with street youth in the Eastern Free State and Gauteng suggested that one-on-one interviews were a limited possibility because the participants were often reluctant to open up and became easily saddened when they were talking about their lives. Furthermore, Ennew (2003) and Aptekar and Heinonen (2003) recommended the generation of projective or concrete data that present street youths' voices in undistorted ways.

For these reasons, we chose to use a visual methodology (drawings) to explore the resilience of street youth. Some previous experience of exploring drawings in other studies (Theron, 2008) led us to anticipate that drawings would enable participants to express the roots of their resilience in a non-threatening, creative way. We anticipated that the drawings would 'speak' for the participants and provide a prompt for a brief written explanation of what encouraged their 'doing well' despite the many challenges of street life.

In order for us to appreciate what the participants would reveal via their drawings, we needed to engage them as co-interpreters of their drawings, but we also needed to ground ourselves in what was already known about street youth resilience.

WHAT CONTRIBUTES TO STREET YOUTH RESILIENCE?

Before discussing what encourages resilience among street youth, it is worthwhile to briefly review what is understood by resilience. Although the exact meaning of the concept 'resilience' is much debated (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000), it is generally accepted that resilience connotes both a process and an outcome that is synonymous with a 'doing well' when life circumstances predict the opposite. This 'doing well' is often linked to socially and developmentally appropriate indicators, such as academic progress, peer acceptance, normative mental health, normative behaviour, and participation in age appropriate activities (Masten & Reed, 2005). Such 'doing well' is encouraged by young people navigating towards, and negotiating for, health-affirming resources (like education, material resources, and adult mentorship) in culturally appropriate ways. In addition to these efforts, the ecologies of these young people need to collaboratively reciprocate and make health-affirming resources accessible in culturally appropriate ways (Ungar, 2008). In other words, resilience is a bi-directional, ecosystemically embedded transaction (Lerner, 2006).

As already noted, not much research evidence is available on the process of street youths' navigation towards resilience. The handful of studies on resilient street youth suggest that resilient youth who frequent the streets rely on ordinary human adaptational systems to deal competently with adversity, albeit through precocious means (Ataöv & Haider, 2006). Street youth adapt and survive by stealing, begging, engaging in transactional sex, shining shoes, and selling goods (Beazley, 2002; Kruger & Richter, 2003). As mentioned previously, these behaviours may encapsulate a hidden resilience (Ungar, 2004).

Street youth resilience is also to be found in such commonplace resources as social networks (like group protection, peer support, and peer bonding), access to food and schooling (along with other health-promoting resources), higher levels of intelligence (often manifested as the ability to problem solve), and personal strengths (like agency and self-efficacy) (Donald & Swart-Kruger, 1994; Evans, 2002; Kombarakaran, 2004). Orme and Seipel's (2007) study on resilient street youth in Ghana reported that spirituality and hope also encourage resilience.

Once young people move onto the streets, they lose the much-needed social support that typifies microsystems such as the family and school. Nevertheless, street youths' survival is encouraged by street-based social networks. Some street youth rely on social services (Malindi, 2009), but more often, a young person who joins street life is absorbed into an existing group of street youth led by a streetwise leader. The newcomer is enveloped in street culture and socialised within this group towards survival (Vogel, 2001).

A recent South African study (Malindi, 2009) reinforces the finding that street youth resilience is rooted in intrapersonal and ecological resources. The individual resources include (among others) being able to identify with positive role models, a propensity towards optimism, flexibility, assertiveness, the capacity for self-regulation, and an internal locus of control. The ecological resources include (among others) varying experiences of social support and a sense of belonging; access to education, health care, and police services; cultural groundedness and religious belief.

Central to the studies reported above is a defiance of the traditionally deficit-based conception of street youth. Our present study sought to extend this in a way that would generate artefacts (i.e., drawings) that would shed light on the roots of street youth resilience.

METHOD

Our previous work with street youth enabled us to develop rapport with various non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that work with street youth in the Eastern Free State. Therefore, when we needed to recruit participants for our current study, we identified the shelter that was nearest to us and asked the resident welfare workers to collaborate in the recruitment of resilient street youth. From previous research collaborations with us, these welfare workers were familiar with the concept of resilience and so acted as gatekeepers who sampled purposefully and competently on our behalf (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006). Twenty resilient street youth were identified (see Table 8.1).

Table 8.1. Summary of participant demographics.

Participant	*Age (at time of study)*	*Highest school grade completed*	*Sex*	*Duration on streets*
1	14	4	M	7 months
2	17	5	M	14 months
3	10	4	M	6 months
4	11	4	M	5–8 months
5	18	5	M	19 months
6	13	5	M	13 months
7	16	5	M	7 months
8	14	6	M	9 months
9	13	3	M	8 months
10	16	6	M	17 months
11	10	2	M	4 months

12	16	5	M	10 months
13	16	6	M	14 months
14	15	6	M	11 months
15	18	6	M	18 months
16	12	5	M	15 months
17	16	9	M	3 months
18	15	6	M	13 months
19	16	6	M	13 months
20	9	2	M	3 months

The welfare workers introduced us to these participants, and this helped us to develop rapport with them. We regarded rapport and a trusting relationship as paramount since street youth are wary of adults if they doubt their intentions. All the participants were male, aged 10 to 18 years, and resident at a local shelter at the time of our study. Our sample reflected that in South Africa, as in other countries, the majority of street youth are boys since girls typically tolerate abuse at home longer than boys do, or become part of the sex industry, thereby being less visible on the streets (Kombarakaran, 2004).

All the participants attended school during the day, so we engaged them after school at the shelter. We explained the purpose of our study in careful detail and requested voluntary participation. We explained that there were no potential risks to them—their participation would be anonymous to protect their privacy—and that we were going to share our findings with other interested parties. We expressly requested permission to keep and reproduce their drawings. All the participants were keen to take part and all signed consent forms.

We prepared a drawing brief that we presented to the participants. The verbal and written brief was: "*Think about what helps you to cope well with your life. Draw something in the space below that will show or illustrate what helps you to cope well with your life. Remember, how well you draw is not important.*" According to Ennew (2003), earlier studies that used drawings to access young people's worlds failed to ask those youth to articulate what their artefacts represented, and this led to gross misinterpretations of the drawings. Therefore, we invited participants to do so: "*Explain what your symbol is saying about what helps you to cope well with your life. Write 3–4 sentences, or ask the researcher to write them for you.*" Because the participants spoke Sesotho and isiZulu, we code-switched in order to ensure that they fully understood the written brief. Those who were not proficient in English wrote their explanation in Sesotho. Some of the participants described their drawings verbally, and Macalane Malindi (co-author of this chapter) recorded this verbatim, before translating it.

The participants were excited to participate, and they bragged about how well they were going to draw. They took approximately 35 minutes to finish their drawings and descriptions. As a token of appreciation, we gave the participants a hamburger each when they had completed their drawings.

In order to make further meaning of the contents (drawn symbols and explanations), we engaged in individual inductive analysis and then held a rigorous consensus discussion (Creswell, 2009).

FINDINGS

An inductive analysis of the contents of the drawings and explanations yielded six themes that shed light on what contributed to our participants' resilience. In order of frequency, these themes were self-reliance, reliance on others, respect for school and education, safe spaces, adherence to religion, and recreation. We discuss the themes in this ascending order of frequency.

Self-Reliance

Three drawings depict the participants' reliance on themselves in order to cope with street life. All three drawings are of individuals, two of which show only a head (see Figure 8.1 for an example).

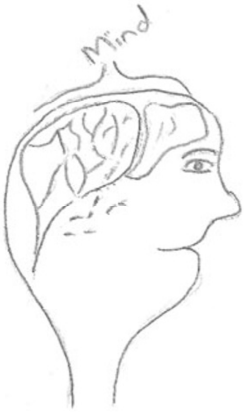

Figure 8.1. Produced by Participant 16.

The explanation for Figure 8.1 is as follows: "If someone beat me or hurt me … I think to beat him, but I use my mind: I didn't beat him …. And my mind help me to ask if I need something, and my mind help me to think good things." This illustrates Participant 16's ability to regulate his thoughts and make pro-social behavioural choices.

Likewise, the explanations of the other two drawings reflect this self-reliance. Participant 18 explained that his drawing related to his capacity to care for himself, and this encouraged him: “I can take care of myself; it makes me happy when I’m upset. It makes me to be proud of who I am; it helps me not to hide how I feel.”

Participant 9 drew himself working on a car, which demonstrated (he said) his ingenuity in taking care of himself. He indicated that if he lacked clothes and food, he could find gainful work. That way, he could meet his needs in a pro-social way.

Reliance on Others

Three drawings depict reliance on others as a resource that encourages resilience. Significantly though, only one of these drawings includes a picture of another person providing support (in this instance, the support is advice from a male peer). The other two pictures depict resources that can be gained from unselfish others (such as transport, food, and clothing) and so imply reliance on others. In both these drawings, the participants emphasise that other people are resilience-promoting resources but suggest that such others could be anyone. For example, Participant 20 explained, “Someone could buy me shoes”, and Participant 4 said, “If I am injured somebody can take me to hospital. Knowing that someone can help me makes me happy!”

Respect for School and Education

Three drawings fall into this category. Two depict well-dressed young men holding/reading books (see Figure 8.2).

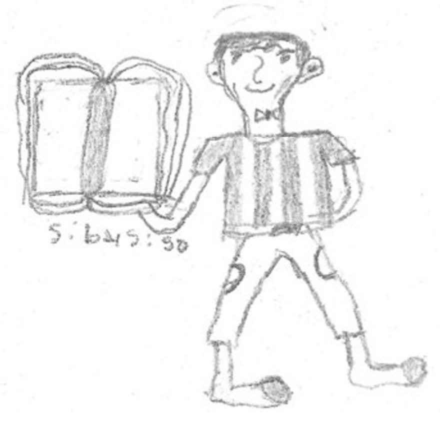

Figure 8.2. Produced by Participant 11.

The participants’ explanations of these drawings indicate an appreciation of access to school since this facilitates education and a future with concomitant social and financial standing. The third drawing shows a well-maintained school building and gardens. The explanation that Participant 12 provided was about how school encourages enabling life skills: “School helps me to gain knowledge. I learn about life. School opens my mind and I avoid crime. School teaches me how to live like other people who support themselves.”

Safe Spaces

Three drawings suggest that resilience is nurtured when youth have access to safe spaces. All the drawings include houses and two also include soccer fields. One (see Figure 8.3) includes resources such as a garden, running water, and a toilet, along with nearby recreation facilities.

In all three explanations, the youth refer to the security of having access to a safe space (like a shelter). One participant (Participant 8) wrote, “I have a place to sleep and I feel safe”, and another (Participant 5) wrote, “Having a place to sleep makes me feel safe. I have food and receive care.” Participant 5 also suggested that attending school was part of this safe space and that caregivers had negotiated this for him.

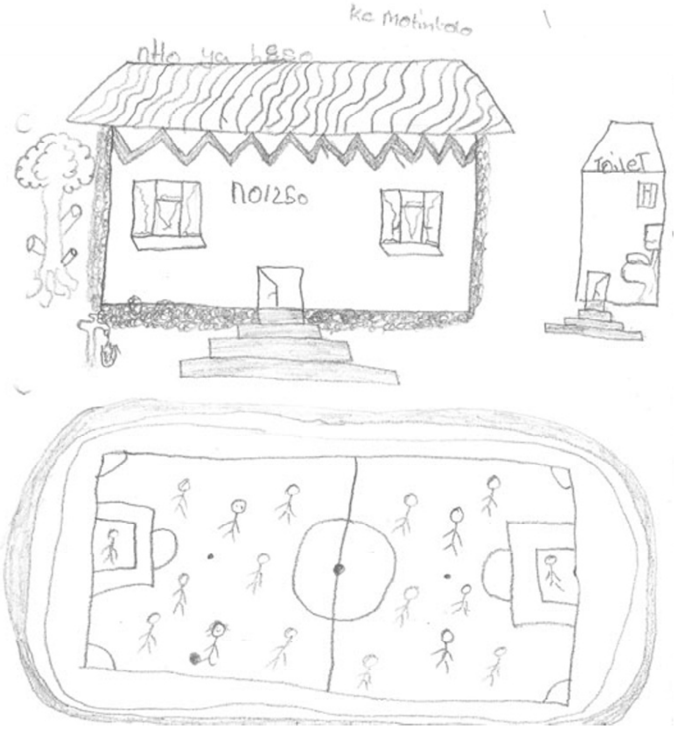

Figure 8.3. Produced by Participant 6.

Adherence to Religion

Four drawings depict religion as a resource that encourages resilience. The contents of the drawings are quite diverse, including a church building, a bible, God, and the hand of God. In their explanations, two participants indicate that when they face hardships they pray. For example, Participant 1 explained that his drawing meant “the hand of God, He blesses me when I am in hardships and I pray”. There was a sense that God was a benevolent father who would provide for their needs.

The remaining two participants emphasised that church provided opportunities to learn pro-social values and behaviours. For example, Participant 7 wrote, “I also learn that I should not hit other youth.” The other (Participant 17) explained:

> The church makes me happy to be a South African, to live in this free country. And this church I love it because it helps me a lot to focus to [on] good life things like school. I cope well after Sundays … proudly to be a Christian of Methodist, proudly to be South African.

Recreation

Six of the drawings focus on soccer or include soccer as part of what helps these youth to ‘do well’ despite the multiple difficulties of their lives. All six drawings include soccer paraphernalia, such as soccer balls or fields, or well-kitted soccer players (see Figure 8.4).

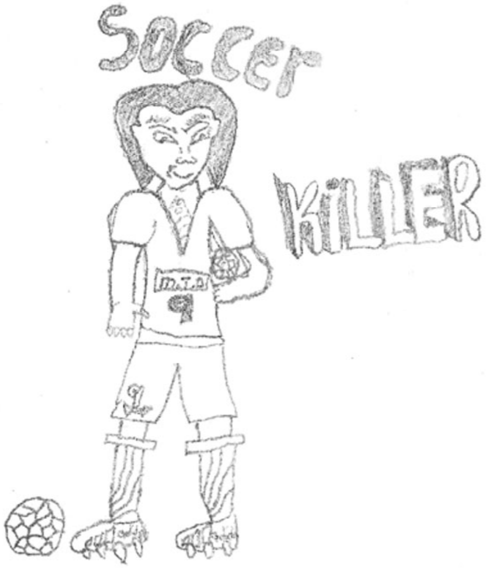

Figure 8.4. Produced by Participant 10.

The explanations are illuminating: “Football brings back my happiness” (Participant 8); “If anyone upsets me I go out to play football, because while I am playing no one can upset me. I can continue being happy.” (Participant 15); and “When I am facing difficult times, I like playing football to make myself forget” (Participant 19). In short, with the exception of two participants who linked soccer to future goals and opportunities to dream (wanting to learn soccer skill or wanting to become a famous player), the participants viewed soccer as an opportunity to do what young people do: play.

DISCUSSION

Our findings provide a rich answer to what enables male street youth to do well despite the many challenges of street life. In summary, the drawings by our participants show that the resilience of these street youth is anchored in the ordinary structures of regular everyday life, as posited by Masten (2001) 10 years ago. On one level, our participants’ ability to bounce back is apparently rooted in self-reliance, other-reliance, access to safe spaces and to schools, religion, and opportunities to play (typically soccer). Implicit in these resources are additional resilience-promoting resources, such as the capacity for hope (“If I am injured somebody can take me to hospital.”), belief in benevolent strangers (“Knowing that someone can help me makes me happy!”), and positive collective identity (“proudly to be South African”) (Malindi, 2009; see also Ungar et al., 2007) All of these are ‘ordinary magic’ (Masten, 2001, p. 227).

Most of these resources have been noted in previous studies with different cohorts of resilient youth. For example, self-reliance and the capacity to demonstrate self-help skills are reported to have promoted resilience in populations of high-risk children from marginalised families (Werner, 1995). Access to education, reliance on others, and adherence to religious beliefs were shown to promote resilience among at-risk children and youth as far back as the early 1990s (Masten, Best, & Garmezy, 1990). Opportunities for recreation have also been associated with resilience (Masten & Powell, 2003). All these, except for opportunities for recreation, have been reported in association with resilient street youth (Donald & Swart-Kruger, 1994; Kombarakaran, 2004; Malindi, 2009; Orme & Seipel, 2007).

A review of our emerging findings in terms of themes that were not touched on by the participants is hugely significant. Resilience literature and studies on resilient youth emphasise the enabling role of peers and supportive adults, such as social workers (Kombarakaran, 2004; Masten, 2001). Many resilience studies suggest that teachers are key players in the process of youth resilience (Dass-Brailsford, 2005). Yet, these themes were not evident in the drawings that our participants generated. It is possible that further studies with larger numbers of resilient street youth might introduce these traditionally reported resources. It is, however, also possible that when youth are engaged directly in reporting the sources of their resilience, they focus on what is most meaningful to them. In the instance of our study, a grouping of the six emergent themes suggests street youths' resilience lies in three key resources: opportunities to play like a young person, and dream; opportunities to learn (be it increased knowledge, spiritual or citizenship values); and opportunities to have basic needs (a safe place to sleep, somebody who cares enough to provide material resources like shoes, access to medical care) met safely.

The studies detailing what contributes to the resilience of street youth to date have not reported the above resources so unequivocally. We believe this relates to our visual method of data collection: By inviting youth to draw and explain their artefacts (Guillemin, 2004), we engaged them on a level that allowed them to show us unmistakably what nurtures their resilience. Although most of the themes that emerged matched previous findings from earlier street youth resilience studies, the details do not. The evidence relating to opportunities to play soccer, to make up their own minds, or to have a safe place to sleep is unambiguous.

In this regard, the drawings point to the existence of the participants' individual and ecological strengths and ways of coping that are mostly underestimated in the literature on street youth and not as clearly defined in the literature on resilience. The drawings also indicate that the roots of street youth resilience are in the restoration of ordinary developmental processes such as ordinary opportunities to be young people again who can associate with others, play as the young should, dream, recreate, learn spiritual values, gain valuable knowledge through attending school, and meet their basic needs for food, shelter, and health-care. These findings open our eyes to the fact that interventions should attempt to afford street youth opportunities to reclaim their childhoods (Le Roux, 2001).

We acknowledge the main limitation of our study: It involved only boys. This suggests that our emerging findings are gendered and raises questions about what findings would have emerged had girls been represented in the sample. Our study also included boys of various ages: A re-analysis of the data from a developmental perspective might engender further insight into what promotes the resilience of male street youth.

Another limitation related to language. The boys spoke IsiZulu and Sesotho, the major language groups in the Eastern Free State, so it is possible that their responses were nuanced by their Sotho and Zulu cultures (Ungar, 2008). Furthermore, all our participants were residents in a local shelter. Future studies need to include street youth from other ethnic groups who are not accessing social services in order to explore how street youth resilience might be informed by services and culture.

CONCLUSION

Despite the limitations of our cohort as noted above, our study illustrates the value of engaging vulnerable young people (like street youth) in participatory studies that motivate active data generation and reflection on generated artefacts (Guillemin, 2004). In this study, our participatory approach encouraged non-'adultist' (Ennew, 2003) data that provided unequivocal, detailed evidence of what it is that encouraged the resilience of our male street youth participants. Their drawings introduced understandings (albeit gendered) of resilience (like the opportunity to play soccer) that are new to the body of knowledge on street youth resilience. We doubt that traditional quantitative or interview-based qualitative methods would have generated this deep insight.

Perhaps, the greatest value of our study lies in the explicit findings that reinforced the belief that street youth, like other youth living at home with their parents, need opportunities to be young people, to play, to be protected, and to learn. In fact, the resilience of our participants could be aligned with the fundamental rights of young people. This study's methodology gave voice to participants who are typically a marginalised, disenfranchised, and socially silent group of youth (Driessnack, 2005).

That drawings bridged traditional barriers to communication with street youth and offered youth opportunities to project *their* understanding of what contributed to their resilience is patent. These artefacts introduce convincing evidence that street youth resilience is not only possible but probably facilitated by everyday resources or 'ordinary magic' (Masten, 2001, p. 227). These youth-generated messages leave us as adults (teachers, service providers, policy makers, and others) with an irrefutable exhortation to champion street youth resilience by making everyday resources available and accessible.

REFERENCES

Aptekar, L., & Heinonen, P. (2003). Methodological implications of contextual diversity in research on street children. *Children, Youth and Environments, 13*(1). Retrieved from http://www.colorado.edu/journals/cye.

Ataöv, A., & Haider, J. (2006). From participation to empowerment: Critical reflections on a participatory action research project with street children in Turkey. *Children, Youth and Environments*, *16*(2), 127–152. Retrieved from http://www.colorado.edu/journals/cye.

Beazley, H. (2002). 'Vagrants wearing make-up': Negotiating spaces on the streets of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. *Urban Studies*, *39*(9), 1665–1683. doi:10.1080/00420980220151718.

Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Dass-Brailsford, P. (2005). Exploring resiliency: Academic achievement among disadvantaged black youth in South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *35*(3), 574–591.

Donald, D. R., Lazarus, S., & Lolwana, P. (2010). *Educational psychology in social context: Ecosystemic application in Southern Africa* (4th ed.). Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Donald, D., & Swart-Kruger, J. (1994). The South African street child: Developmental implications. *South African Journal of Psychology, 24*(4), 169–174.

Driessnack, M. (2005). Children's drawings as facilitators of communication: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Pediatric Nursing, 20*(6), 415–423. doi:10.1016/j.pedn.2005.03.011.

Eloff, I., Ebersöhn, L., & Viljoen, J. (2007). Reconceptualising vulnerable children by acknowledging their assets. *African Journal of AIDS Research, 6*(1), 79–86. doi:10.2989/16085900709490401.

Ennew, J. (2003). Difficult circumstances: Some reflections on "street children" in Africa. *Children, Youth and Environments*, *13*(1). Retrieved from http://www.colorado.edu/journals/cye.

Evans, R. (2002). Poverty, HIV, and barriers to education: Street children's experiences in Tanzania. *Gender & Development, 10*(3), 51–62. doi:10.1080/13552070215916.

Guillemin, M. (2004). Understanding illness: Using drawings as research method. *Qualitative Health Research, 14*(2), 272–289. doi:10.1177/1049732303260445.

Kombarakaran, F. A. (2004). Street children of Bombay: Their stresses and strategies of coping. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *26*(9), 853–871. doi:10.1016/j.childyouth.2004.02.025.

Kruger, J. M., & Richter, L. M. (2003). South African street children at risk for AIDS? *Children, Youth and Environments, 13*(1). Retrieved from http://www.colorado.edu/journals/cye.

Lerner, R. M. (2006). Resilience as an attribute of the developmental system: Comments on the papers of Professors Masten and Wachs. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 1094*, 40–51. doi:10.1196/annals.1376.005.

Le Roux, C. (2001). A historical-educational perspective of urbanisation and its contribution to the street child phenomenon in South Africa. *Educare*, *30*(1&2), 94–114. Retrieved from http://www.unisa.ac.za/contents/publications/educ3012.pdf.

Luthar, S. S., Cicchetti, D., & Becker, B. (2000). The construct of resilience: A critical evaluation and guidelines for future work. *Child Development, 71*(3), 543–562. doi:10.1111/1467-8624.00164.

Malindi, M. J. (2009). *The antecedents of resilience among street children* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). North-West University, Vaal Triangle Campus, Vanderbijlpark, South Africa.

Masten, A. (2001). Ordinary magic: Resilience processes in development. *American Psychologist, 56*(3), 227–238. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.56.3.227.

Masten, A. S., Best, K. M., & Garmezy, N. (1990). Resilience and development: Contributions from the study of children who overcome adversity. *Development and Psychopathology, 2*(4), 425–444. doi:10.1017/S0954579400005812.

Masten, A. S., & Powell, J. L. (2003). A resilience framework for research, policy, and practice. In S. S. Luthar (Ed.), *Resilience and vulnerability: Adaptation in the context of childhood adversities* (pp. 1–25). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Masten, A. S., & Reed, M. J. (2005). Resilience in development. In C. R. Snyder & S. J. Lopez (Eds.), *Handbook of positive psychology* (pp. 74–88). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Orme, J., & Seipel, M. M. O. (2007). Survival strategies of street children in Ghana: A qualitative study. *International Social Work*, *50*(4), 489–499. doi:10.1177/0020872807077909.

Panter-Brick, C. (2002). Street children, human rights, and public health: A critique and future directions. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *31*, 147–171. doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.31.040402.085359.

Terre Blanche, M., Durrheim, K., & Painter, D. (Eds.). (2006). *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences* (2nd rev. ed.). Cape Town, South Africa: University of Cape Town Press.

Theron, L. C. (2009). “I have undergone some metamorphosis!” The impact of REDs on South African educators affected by HIV/AIDS pandemic. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, *18*(1), 31–42.

Ungar, M. (2004). *Nurturing hidden resilience in troubled youth*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Ungar, M. (2008). Resilience across cultures. *British Journal of Social Work*, *38*(2), 218–235. doi:10.1093/bjsw/bcl343.

Ungar, M., Brown, M., Liebenberg, L., Othman, R., Kwong, W. M., Armstrong, M., & Gilgun, J. (2007). Unique pathways to resilience across cultures. *Adolescence, 42*(166), 287–310.

UNICEF. (2009). *Child poverty and disparities in Ghana*. Retrieved from http://www.unicef.org/socialpolicy/index_43137.html.

Vogel, H. M. (2001). *Coping skills for street children*. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press.

Werner, E. E. (1995). Resilience in development. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 4*(3), 81–84. doi:10.1111/1467-8721.ep10772327.