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The School-Based Family: Coaches and Teachers as Parental Figures

for Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Ugandan Schools

Angela Warren

A thesis submitted to the faculty of Brigham Young University in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of

Master of Science

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ABSTRACT

The School-Based Family: Coaches and Teachers as Parental Figures for Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Ugandan Schools

Angela Warren Department of Recreation Management and Youth Leadership, BYU Master of Science

The purpose of this study was to qualitatively examine the possible formation of surrogate families within Ugandan schools to provide a context for positive development experiences, especially for orphans who lack positive development opportunities provided by parents. The sample for this study consisted of 66 Ugandan Secondary School students from eight schools in the Mukono district of Uganda. This study found a potentially widespread family formation pattern between students and their teachers/coaches. More than 75% of students self-identified their teacher and/or coach as family. The results provide insight concerning why orphans and vulnerable children are forming surrogate families with staff members at school. Teachers and coaches were able to offer the students positive developmental assets and were therefore identified as family.

Keywords: Uganda, Mukono, school, family, school-based family, surrogate, positive youth development, teacher, coach, assets, HIV, AIDS

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The School-Based Family:

Coaches and Teachers as Parental Figures

for Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Ugandan Schools

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The School-Based Family: Coaches and Teachers as Parental Figures

for Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Ugandan Schools

Years before Lutalo participated in this research his mother and father passed away. Prior to their passing, Lutalo's parents were the center of his life. They provided physical, social, and emotional resources. Parents bring children into this world and help them find their place. They provide financial resources, advice, love, and they build a home where children feel safe and develop a sense of belonging. As a double orphan, Lutalo, is left without the physical resources, social networking and emotional support families provide. In a sense, he is left alone to survive in difficult and miserable circumstances. Unfortunately, Lutalo is not alone in his plight, he is one of over 2.7 million orphans in Uganda (United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2009).

The family is "the building block of social structures and organizations in every culture" (Agate, Zabriskie, & Eggett, 2007, p. 52). Functionally, families provide the context for almost all foundational experiences leading to positive developmental outcomes (Ward & Zabriskie, 2011). In addition, protective factors associated with parental involvement are one of the strongest predictors for maximizing a child's potential (Caldwell, 2005). In Lutalo's case, however, the psychological benefits and physical resources formerly provided by his biological parents were lost. Since death is an irreversible event, Lutalo, like most orphans, was left to find alternative individuals to fill the devastating void left by the loss of his parents. Meaningful adult relationships can provide the emotional support and developmental resources for optimal development.

Lutalo found a substitute for his deceased parents amongst his school teachers. To describe how the teachers helped him develop his potential, Lulato used terms such as "they can

guide me" and "they give me that piece of advice." Without access to these important role models, Lutalo would lack some key developmental assets needed to thrive. Within the school environment, surrogate relationships form between students and their teachers. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to examine the possible formation of surrogate families within school settings.

Literature Review

The review of literature begins by establishing the foundational importance of families globally. Although globally important, definitions of whom and what constitutes a family vary between cultures. Following this foundation, the researcher contrasts literature on commonly held family definitions in the United States and Uganda. A discussion on the degradation of the traditional family in Uganda in light of the high incidence of HIV/AIDS and orphanhood follows. The review ends with a discussion about the role of the positive youth development literature in the Ugandan family context.

Importance of Families

In 1994 the United Nations (UN) declared families as the basic unit of society and required that special attention be paid to family issues (Bowen & McKechnie, 2001). Family is a universal concept understood in cultures worldwide (DeFrain & Asay, 2007). The universal nature of families is explained by the set of vital benefits families provide for their members. A family is responsible for modeling communication, reinforcing behavior, sharing values, and instilling a confluence of images of what constitutes a family (Baxter & Braithwaite, 2006; Floyd, Mikkelson, & Judd, 2006). Additionally, families play a central role in socialization and identity formation and are among the most important relationships in our lives (Edwards & Graham, 2009). With the central role of families in societies today, it is clear why considerable

research over the last 20 years has focused on family dynamics and strengthening families (Bradley & Weisner, 1997; Doherty, 1997; Freeman & Zabriskie, 2003):

Families are the basic, foundational social units in society. Therefore, healthy individuals within healthy families are at the core of a healthy society. It's in everyone's best interest, then, to help create a positive environment for all families. This can be a labor of love for all of our social institutions: educational institutions, businesses, human and family service agencies, religious institutions, health organizations, literally everyone involved in the daily life of a community. (DeFrain & Asay, 2007, p. 2)

Parents form an important part of the family structure for children. A study by Garmezy (1993) showed how children who lived in nurturing and responsive environments improved in areas such as educational achievement, and social and cognitive growth. The assets of nurturing and involved parenting helped young children function more competently during adolescence, even when dealing with family economic adversity (R. Conger & K. Conger, 2002). A wide range of literature highlights the positive developmental impact of parents on children's development. For example, literature suggests parental influence on children impacts their behavior (Baumrind, 1991), the peers they choose (Brown, Mounts, Lamborn, & Steinberg, 1993; Ladd & Le Sieur, 1995), their leisure time activities (Green & Chalip, 1998; Outley & Floyd, 2002), and their academic performance (Woolley & Grogan-Kaylor, 2006).

Definition of the Family

Historically in the United Sates, the word *family* is most often understood as a group of individuals in which members are linked through "biological or sociolegal legitimacy by virtue of shared genetics, marriage or adoption" (Fitzpatrick & Wamboldt, 1990, p. 425). In Uganda, the scope of who or what constitutes a family requires a more extensive construction.

Too often African family systems are compared to that of Western family systems without taking cognizance of the context of this diverse continent. There is no universal family structure, and issues such as poverty, droughts, violence, and the HIV/AIDS pandemic which are synonymous with Africa have an impact upon the African family. (Nkosi & Daniels, 2007, p. 12)

The average household size in the United States (US) is 2.58 persons (United States Census, 2010) compared to Uganda, at 5.0 persons (Uganda Bureau of Statistics and Macro International Inc. [Uganda Bureau], 2007). In addition, 10% of households in Uganda have nine or more persons living in the home (Uganda Bureau, 2007) compared to only 2% of the US population living in a household with seven or more persons (US Census, 2010). This disparity is "due to the large number of orphans who have overwhelmed the Ugandan extended family system" (Ntozi & Mukiza-Gapere, 1995, p. 248).

Degradation of the Traditional Family in Uganda

Households with orphans constitute one quarter of all households throughout Uganda (Uganda Bureau, 2007). Siqwana-Ndulo (1998) studied the concept of family in Uganda. He noted the African family refers to a "collectivity of people who live together … who considered themselves family" (Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998, p. 415). It is important for readers from Western countries to substitute biological conceptions of the family with the culturally fluid nature of family in Uganda.

One reason behind the recent broader concept of family in Uganda is the influence of HIV/AIDS. According to the United Nations report on the global HIV/AIDS epidemic (United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS [UNAIDS], 2010), there were 33.3 million people living with HIV worldwide at the end of 2009. The report also noted in 2009 there were an estimated 2.6

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million new infections and approximately 1.8 million AIDS-related deaths globally. Sub-Saharan Africa is the region most heavily affected by HIV worldwide and was home to 67% of all people living with HIV and nearly three quarters (72%) of global AIDS-related deaths in 2008 (UNAIDS, 2010). The statistics from the UN report (UNAIDS, 2010) indicate more than 14 million children in Sub-Saharan Africa have lost one or both parents to AIDS.

In Uganda, HIV prevalence has stabilized between 6.5% and 7.0%, although approximately 940,000 people were living with HIV as of December 2007 (UNAIDS, 2010). Over 800,000 (approximately 85%) of these people are between 15 and 49 years of age (UNAIDS, 2008). Currently most parents with adolescent children fall into this age category. The fatal nature of the HIV/AIDS pandemic has created a substantial orphan and vulnerable population in Uganda.

Almost one in seven children under the age of 18 years has lost one or both parents to HIV/AIDS (Uganda Bureau, 2007). UNICEF (2009) reported an estimated 2.7 million Ugandan youth (aged 0–17 years) were orphaned due to AIDS and other causes. This is approximately 14% of the Ugandan population under the age of 18 years (Kalibala & Elson, 2009). As a result, one in four Ugandan families look after an orphaned child, and many care for 10 or more (Okong'o, 2004). Even if new HIV infections ceased today, the population already infected constitutes a massive potential for swelling the number of orphans in the country (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development [Ministry of Gender], 2004). Without their parents, orphans face a high level of risk. Risk factors are defined as individual or environmental markers that increase the probability of a negative outcome (Rutter, 1987).

Ugandan youths are likely to experience a number of negative life events/stressors, such as loss of a parent, and this may increase the likelihood of many other stressors (poverty, lack of food, and limited access to education) by reducing available resources. AIDSrelated bereavement may be especially difficult. (Eggum, Sallquist, & Eisenberg, 2011, p.767)

Loss of a parent may be followed by a change in household structure (Masmas et al., 2004) and separation from siblings (Sengendo & Nambi, 1997). It is likely that HIV/AIDS orphans and vulnerable children experience a decline and possibly a loss of family functioning altogether (Smart, 2003). Nyamukapa et al. (2008) explained the interaction and complexity of these family strains for orphans in Uganda. The authors hypothesized that parental loss resulted in psychological distress through a number of immediate effects including trauma, stigma and discrimination, relocation, loss of a breadwinner, residence in poorer households, living with more distantly related caregivers, and fear of vertical HIV infection. These immediate effects lead to intermediate effects including poorer diet, clothes, shelter, health care, and educational support, all of which influence psychological and physical health. After an orphan loses his or her parents, responsibility for the orphan is most often assumed by the extended family. Anthropologists and sociologists have studied kinship, marriage, and family in Africa, concluding "an institution at the core of African cultural patterns is the extended family, which subsumes the totality of how an African man relates to himself, his immediate family, his relatives, other social beings and things in his environment" (Okediji, 1975, p. 93). "Ugandan communities have traditionally absorbed orphans within the extended family system. However, many of these caregivers are overburdened and often lack the socio-economic capacity to provide adequate care and support for these children" (Ministry of Gender, 2004, p. 3). This traditional extended family support system is failing to provide a fully functional alternative structure for orphans. Blackwell (1994) recommends creating a system of redundancy that is

fail-safe. Such a system will ensure that the community fulfills children's needs if they are not having their needs fulfilled at home.

Positive Youth Development

In order for children to maximize their potential they need access to specific developmental assets. Therefore, this research draws heavily on the positive youth development literature.

The field of positive youth development focuses on each and every child's unique talents, strengths, interests and future potential. It emphasizes the manifest potentialities rather than the supposed incapacities of young people—including young people from the most disadvantageous backgrounds and those with the most troubled histories. (Damon, 2004, p. 17)

In this way, positive youth development is an approach that embodies the familiar sports adage, "the best defense is a good offense" (Lerner & Benson, 2003, p. 49). Hamilton, Hamilton, & Pittman (2004) suggested positive youth development "enables individuals to lead a healthy, satisfying, and productive life as children, and later as adults, because they gain the competence to earn a living, to engage in civic activities, to nurture others, and to participate in social relations and cultural activities" (p. 3).

In the US, researchers at the Search Institute have been working on creating sustainable strategies for unleashing the maximum level of human development capacity within communities. The Search Institute is an independent nonprofit organization committed to helping create healthy communities for every young person. The result is a list of 40 developmental assets to help young people grow up to become healthy, caring, and responsible adults. As such, the assets reflect fundamental developmental processes of connection,

competencies, support, and efficacy (Benson, Scales, & Mannes, 2003; Scales & Leffert, 2004). This list may be the most comprehensive and systematic account of the community influences on the lives of youth available (Damon, 2004). More than 700 urban, suburban, and rural communities in more than 30 states in the US have launched initiatives based on this work. Over time, studies of more than 2.2 million young people have consistently shown that the more assets young people have, the less likely they are to engage in a wide range of high-risk behaviors and the more likely they are to thrive (Search Institute, 2011).

Adolescents from intact and broken families alike must deal with a range of biological, social, emotional, and psychological transitions in order to successfully enter the adult world (Coleman & Roker, 1998). Transitions include hormonal and physical changes associated with puberty (Hogan & Astone, 1986), personality development (Erikson, 1950), completion of school, labor-force entry, marriage, and parenthood (Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee, 1974), as well as many others. Adolescents who have lost their parents may experience more difficulty making these transitions than adolescents who experience the daily influence of both biological parents. However, other non-parental adult relationships that orphans form throughout adolescence may help them successfully negotiate these inevitable transitions.

Supplementary relationships youth form throughout adolescence can play a central role in their positive development. Caldwell and Witt (2011) noted adolescents want to develop their capacities but require opportunities and appropriate adult involvement and guidance to do so. "Changes in socialization forces that have historically nurtured the development of children, especially in the family, necessitate the re-conceptualization of school and community practices to support the family in its mission to increase the success rate of youth" (Weisberg &

Greenberg, 1997, p. 99). Benson, Scales, Hamilton, and Sesma (2007) pose an approach to reconceptualizing current community practices:

Youth, after all, both seek control and are controlled, with many agents in their lives who, by virtue of position and power, can either suppress or encourage exploration, selection, and optimization. Among this army of socialization agents are parents, neighbors, teachers, youth workers, coaches, clergy, employees, and peers. Positive youth development theory posits that adolescents will strive to find and/or create optimizing settings even when their degrees of freedom are limited. (p. 904)

Prominent adult socialization agents have been identified in literature emanating from the US. Both teachers (Hughes, Cavell, & Wilson, 2001; Hughes & Kwok, 2007) and coaches (Pelletier, Fortier, Vallerand, & Brière, 2001; Smoll, Smith, Barnett, & Everett, 1993) have been identified as important socialization agents. This research examined the influence of teachers and coaches, specifically analyzing their influence on Ugandan youth.

Methods

The complex question of family formation within schools is most effectively addressed through qualitative methods, including interview responses and firsthand observations. Qualitative research methods are especially appropriate where the area of interest cannot be adequately understood outside of its natural setting (Blieszner & Shea, 1987). This study examined orphans and non-orphans in Ugandan secondary schools. In addition to the principal investigator, four additional individuals formed the research team. Out of the five team members, four had previously spent time in Uganda and were familiar with research protocols and local customs. Two members had experience in conducting grounded theory research with disadvantaged populations and in using the data analysis software. One research team member was raised in Uganda, spoke the local language fluently, and held important local knowledge.

To ensure confidentiality the names of the schools were coded according to school characteristics (small, large, urban, rural, government, and private). In 2008, 227 secondary schools were geographically located in the Mukono District of Uganda (Hite, Hite, Mugimu, & Nsubuga, 2010). Eight of these schools were selected based on the following combinations of criteria:

Table 1

Sampled Schools by School Type, Size, and Setting.

	Government(G)		Private(P)		
	Urban(U)	Rural(R)	Urban(U)	Rural(R)	
Small(S)	S.U.G.	S.R.G.	S.U.P.	S. R.P.	
Large(L)	L.U.G.	L.R.G.	L.U.P.	L.R.P.	

A total of 66 short dyadic interviews were conducted. Interviewers gathered demographic information from students, including name, age, grade level, country of origin, and sporting activity. Target questions focused on the participant's views on family and relationships within the school. Researchers allowed subjects to define family according to the people they *considered* family and did not limit family boundaries to strictly biological relationships.

Interviews were digitally recorded, and researchers' memos were written following each interview. Research participants were selected from the senior 6 (S6) grade level. S6 level is equivalent to one year post–senior year in the US high school system. Researchers only selected a senior 5 or senior 4 student if there was no S6 student who fit the criteria for selection. Due to students' lack of funds and time away from school in order to work prior to the interview, student participants varied in age from 14 to 25 years.

Eight students from each school were recruited to participate in this study.

Participant selection was based on four conditions: (a) orphan status and vulnerability, (b) nonvulnerability, (c) sports participation, and (d) non-sports participation. The first condition was labeled *orphans and vulnerable children* (OVC). OVC face a high level of deprivation. Based on current literature, a rubric of vulnerability conditions was created. The first individual who reviewed the vulnerability conditions served as the Director of Basic and Secondary Education for the Ugandan Ministry of Education and Sports. The second reviewer was the director of an orphan sponsorship agency and a former school teacher. The third reviewer was the owner of a local secondary school and a university professor of education.

The three reviewers each rated the conditions presented in the rubric. Conditions were rated according to the level of vulnerability perceived to be inherent in each condition. Conditions perceived to pose greater vulnerability received the highest point total (see Table 2). The final rubric was constructed based on a combination of the three individuals' ratings. Researchers sought to identify the most vulnerable children in the school. Therefore, employees were asked to select OVC in their school whose circumstances matched as many of the following criteria as possible:

Table 2

Vulnerability Points Scale

Vulnerability Criteria	Points
Both parents are deceased or missing and the child is the head of household	10
One parent is deceased, and the other is chronically ill	9
Both parents are deceased or missing and the child is <i>not</i> the head of household	8
One parent is deceased and the other is a healthy caregiver	7
Both parents are living, but chronic illness is a constraint to caregiving	6
Parents are able caregivers, but neglectful	5
Parents are willing but unable to provide for the child's basic needs (clothing, food or	
shelter) due to financial constraints	3
Child must work to provide family support	2
Child is a refugee or has been displaced	
Elderly grandparent(s) is/are the primary caregiver(s)	1

The second condition was labeled *non-vulnerable children* (non-VC). Non-VC consisted of children who had a steady source of financial protection and advantage. School employees identified these children as residing in homes with stable caregivers providing emotional and financial support and a relatively risk-free environment. The students (OVC and non-VC) selected to be interviewed were those identified by the majority of employees. In the event of a tie in the OVC category, the student with the highest point total was selected. If two names were mentioned an equal number of times in the non-VC category, the name of the student to be interviewed was selected randomly. Participants were unaware of the reasons behind their selection to participate in the research. *Characteristics of the Sample (n)*

The third condition was *sports participation*. This entails participation as part of a group of students led by either a coach or a student-leader who meet regularly to practice and compete. The fourth condition was *non-sports participation*. This is defined as a student who does not participate in any organized sport. The final sample had the following characteristics:

Table 3

v	1 ()
	Sample Size OVC
	OVC

Sample Size	66
OVC	28
Non-OVC	33
Students from divorced parents	5
Sport	34
Non-Sport	32
Male	32
Female	34
Boarding Students	44
Day students	22
Mean Age	20.35

At each school, four out of the following five school employees were asked to identify students who matched the criteria for selection: head-teacher, director of studies, nurse, school bursar (accountant), and sports teacher. Each school employee was consulted individually to ensure a rigorous and consistent means of participant selection. These school employees hold intimate knowledge about their student's family circumstances due to frequent interaction with parents or guardians. Parents or guardians visit the school multiple times per year for parent-teacher conference and to pay school fees. Every student's parental situation seemed to be common knowledge to the headmaster and teachers at the school. Based on this knowledge, employees selected a group of potential participants for the study. From this group of students, researchers identified the final participants according to the selection criteria.

Data Analysis

During the analysis, students were re-coded as vulnerable or non-vulnerable according to the information provided in the interviews about their biological family. Vulnerable children were those children who had lost one or both parents or whose parent or parents were sick. Orphans were uniformly categorized as vulnerable. This selection criteria also included children whose parents were both still alive but sick in the vulnerable category. Children whose parents are ill for an extended period can experience significant hardships, as serious illness and death may limit the resources available to feed, clothe, and educate a family's youngest members (Uganda Bureau, 2007). Children of parents suffering from HIV/AIDS may experience a host of issues before their parents pass away, including anticipatory loss, low parenting quality, and social stigma (Wood, Chase, & Aggleton, 2006). This is a widespread phenomenon in Uganda. In 2007, national data found 8% of children under the age of 18 live in a household in which at least one adult had been chronically ill or have at least one parent living in the household or elsewhere who suffers from a chronic illness (Uganda Bureau, 2007). Non-vulnerable children were those children who had two healthy parents. Children whose parents were divorced (n = 5)were removed from the analysis.

Data scrubbing and analysis took place each evening after data collection. Once all data had been collected, researchers checked the completeness of the data. Any missing data were clarified on site. This study utilized a qualitative data analysis (QDA) approach as described by Strauss and Corbin (1998). The researchers managed the data by using a software program, NVivo 9. The processes of open, axial, and selective coding were used to analyze the data.

Every word of the 66 interviews was transcribed as accurately as possible from the interviews. After transcription, the researcher organized the interviews into various distinct

categories for comparison. These categories were part of the original criteria for participant and school selection (e.g. orphan status, gender, sport involvement, school size, school type, school location and individual school name). The researcher then used open coding to identify themes in the data. The researcher read through all 66 interviews before completing the process of line-by-line coding for each interview. The researcher created a codebook by coding each interview (1 through 66) in random order.

As the coding process progressed, clear themes emerged from the data. These themes were defined and expanded throughout the process of open coding. Every time a new theme emerged the researcher would return to the previously coded interviews and code for this theme. Through this iterative process the researcher used a constant comparative method. Emergent themes included biological family, school-based family, and school fee challenges. The researcher engaged in this process multiple times until saturation was reached and no new themes emerged. The axial coding process was completed by testing themes against each other in order to identify patterns and relationships offering insights into the research question. Each theme was compared to the others.

Through this process, the core variable of *developmental assets* emerged as accounting for all other themes and patterns. At this point, the researcher entered the selective coding phase by focusing on fully understanding the core variable and developing a theory grounded in the data. In this phase of the analysis, the researcher tested the data in order to establish specific supporting evidence for the identified core variable. Each theme's relationship to the core variable was tested and scrutinized. In addition, models were created and tested to identify negative cases and resolve any contradicting analysis of the focus question.

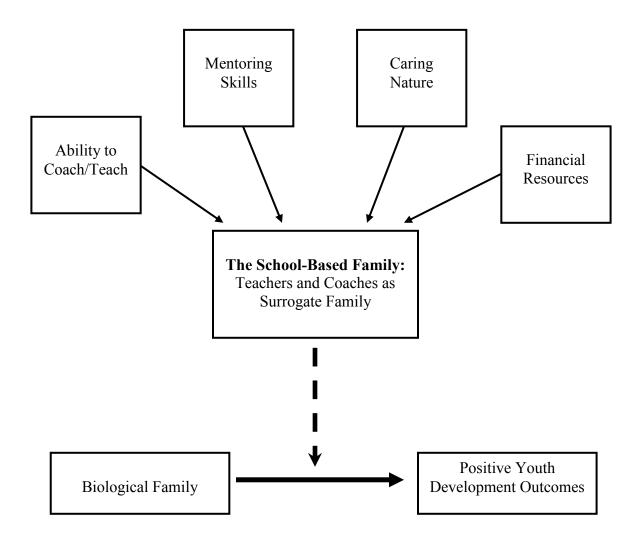


Figure 1. The school-based family as a mediating variable between the biological family and positive youth development outcomes.

The researcher sought to establish trustworthiness through the dimensions of credibility and transferability in this study in multiple ways (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993; Gibbs, 2007; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Miles & Huberman, 1994). In order to establish credibility in the research, interview questions were carefully designed to achieve triangulation based on Flick's (2008) episodic interview criteria for triangulation, and data were collected from multiple sources. In March 2011 the researcher conducted a pilot study to test the validity of the target questions created for the participants in Uganda. In addition, debriefings were used during data collection and analysis in order to refine and clarify themes.

Thick description, through the liberal use of participant's exact quotes, helped to establish transferability of emergent theory. Transferability will allow the study to be replicated and the audience to apply findings to their own context (Erlandson et al., 1993). Additionally, the researcher established an audit trail consisting of all paperwork used during data collection, memos, queries, and a reflexive journal, enabling external auditors to review the analysis process and clearly see how results were achieved. Researchers considered all the micro theories together, thereby attempting to build a macro grounded theory. The completed grounded theory was explored, adjusted, and validated by these various macro-to-micro iterations.

Results

The objectives of this study were to examine the possible formation of surrogate families within Ugandan schools and potentially provide a context for positive development experiences. The results will explain (a) the frequency of coach and teacher identification as family, (b) the role of the biological family, and (c) the three most common developmental assets provided by teachers and coaches.

Coaches and Teachers as Surrogate Family

The data showed two distinct differences in the way family is conceptualized in Uganda in comparison with widely held conceptions of family in the United States. The first disparity is related to the focus of the family. The Western perception of the word *family* often implies equal importance of multiple individuals who make up a family unit. For Ugandan students the word was directly linked with parental or guardian figures. Ugandans perceived parents as the most important and foundational members of the family. Therefore, Ugandans used the word *parent*

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and *family* synonymously. The second disparity is related to the biological ties between family members. In the US, family is traditionally delimited along strictly biological lines. The data showed Ugandan students defined family members based increasingly on their functionality to the student and not strictly on biological relations.

Children were asked, "Is a coach/teacher *like* family to you?" A large majority (76%) of students (both orphans and non-orphans) identified teachers and/or coaches as *like* family.

Among students on sporting teams, 79% identified coaches as *like* family. The majority of students also identified teachers as *like* family (76%). Both teachers and coaches form an important part of the self-identified family for students at the eight Ugandan schools studied. The student's self-defined school-based family will now be referred to as the surrogate family. The data showed surrogate relationships between students and their teachers occur because the nature of the school environment is conducive to the formation of such relationships.

Orphans and vulnerable children in this sample were more likely to identify a coach as family in comparison with non-orphans: 15% more orphans (88%) designated a coach as family when compared to non-orphans (73%). Teachers were identified by 24% more orphans (82%) than non-orphans (58%). Since orphans lacked the positive influence from their parents, they were more likely to identify a coach or teacher as a parental figure than those students who had two healthy, involved parents. However, this research confirmed the school-based family concept is strong for non-orphans and orphans alike. Juliet, a non-orphan, from L.R.G. school explained why she felt as though she had found a family among her teachers at school:

They love us, or they love me as a children, as a student, they advise me in whatever mistake I do, they correct me, they help me and they give me support in my studies. If I

have a problem I can go to a teacher and talk to him or her and he can advise me and give me support. That's why they are like family to me.

In this sample, 70% of students identified friends as family and 81% said teammates were *like* family to them. Teachers and coaches held the most potential for practical applications, and therefore this research focuses on surrogate family formation between the student and his or her teacher and coach.

The Role of the Biological Family

Even though Juliet recognized her teachers as family, she still strongly identified with her biological parents: "I have both my mother and my father, they are still there, and I love them so much." All 66 interviewees mentioned biological (immediate or extended) family in reference to the question, "Can you tell me about the people you think of as your family?" Therefore, it was evident the biological family remained a valuable environment for these children. Youth also identified coaches and teachers as family, yet this finding did not diminish the important role of youth's biological parents.

For non-orphans, the school-based surrogate family concept explored in this research served as an *additional* avenue towards family formation. Although these youth still had their parents, relationships with coaches and teachers could be beneficial. Benson et al. (2007) noted the promotion of positive development is further enabled when youth participate in multiple nutrient-rich relationships, contexts, and ecologies. In other words, "adolescents with more personal and social assets have a greater chance of both current well-being and future success" (National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 2002, p. 42). Personal and social assets are a sub-category included within the list of 40 developmental assets (Benson, 1997).

For orphans who had lost their parent(s) and consequentially their financial and emotional support, the school-based surrogate family served as an essential and viable *alternative* notion of family. Eggum et al. (2011) noted negative life events (e.g., losing or being separated from a family member) decreased the level of social support for orphans. Social support was positively associated with coping strategies, self-worth, and hope. Supportive relationships with both immediate and extended family members have been shown, in multiple studies and demographic settings, to enhance developmental strengths and provide a protective buffer against risk (Rhodes & Roffman, 2003). This study found that although orphans had lost their parents, they still relied strongly on their remaining immediate and extended family. After losing a parent(s), orphans in this study most readily identified grandparents as the people they thought of as family, followed by siblings and aunts and uncles. Years before Lutalo participated in this research, his mother and father passed away. When his parents were still alive he enjoyed the physical and emotional resources provided by his parents. Now that Lutalo is a double orphan, he lacks these vital resources,

I am coming from a very poor family, because now I don't have the mum, I don't have the father. I started my studies from nursery when my parents were still living. I had both the mother and the father but by the time I reached primary two, the dad and the mother had passed away. Sincerely when I talk, I feel like even tears coming out from my eyes cause the situation I am living even when I go back home. The situation I am living is miserable. When I go back home I am staying with my grandmother, she is still alive. I even have brothers, they are there, the uncles who some are not with me, they are at a far distance and that is about all the people I have. It's like time reaches when even the uncle who is paying for me the school fees is not getting money and there, in fact I sat for two terms when I am not studying, which was miserable in fact for me.

Lutalo's extended family system, as well as the extended family system currently supporting many of the approximately 2.7 million orphans in Uganda (UNICEF, 2009) is not a flawless alternative family structure. The National Orphans and other Vulnerable Children's Policy (Ministry of Gender, 2004) asserts the deficiencies of the current extended family system. "Ugandan communities have traditionally absorbed orphans within the extended family system. However, many of these care-givers are overburdened and often lack the socio-economic capacity to provide adequate care and support for these children" (p. 3). Therefore, this research examined educational institutions as alternative surrogate family systems for orphans.

The results showed the existence of an additional source of support for youth. Just over half the students (55%) would prefer to discuss problems arising in their lives with their biological family. However, almost 20% of this sample chose to consult their school-based family and not their home-based biological family to help solve their problems. The remaining 23% of the sample consulted their school-based family when school was in session and their biological families when they were at home. The remaining 23% said the people they would discuss problems with depended on the type of problem or on their location at the time of the problem. The school-based surrogate family played a role in the life of this group, although more infrequently than those who said they *always* consulted their school-based family.

A large percentage (43%) of the students relied on their school-based family either "always" or "sometimes" to solve their problems. The researchers found the student's relationship with his or her coach or teacher had the power to help solve their problems and reduce their vulnerability. Literature suggests a positive development trajectory is enabled when youth are embedded in relationships (Benson et al., 2007). In a poverty stricken country, such as Uganda, students' problems are often severe in nature (e.g., death of a loved one, the inability to afford food, and limited access to fresh water). This school-based family has the potential to ease the burdens on a large segment of the student population. In order to offer this resource to a greater number of students, researchers examined the reasons why students identified a non-biological individual (coach or teacher) as family. In other words, what traits did coaches or teachers possess that rendered them family to their students?

Developmental Assets

Developmental assets clearly emerged as the core variable through extensive data analysis. Ugandan students identified coaches and teachers as part of their families because of the developmental assets they were able to offer students. The reasons students gave for why they define teachers and coaches as family demonstrated a clear overlap with the Search Institute's list of 40 developmental assets (Benson, 1997). Assets normally provided by the family/parents in Benson's list were provided by teachers or coaches. In the data, the researcher identified 12 assets from the comprehensive list of 40 developmental assets. All 12 of the identified assets were external assets and are listed in Table 4 under the headings "support" and "boundaries and expectations." External assets refer to positive developmental experiences that need to be furnished to all youth by the socializing systems of a community (Benson, 1997). Since the school forms an integral part of the community, the prevalence of external assets in this setting is a logical finding.

Table 4

40 Developmental Assets for Adolescents (ages 12–18)

П	Support	1.	Family support—Family life provides high levels of love and support.		
		 Positive family communication—Young person and her or his parent(s) communicate positively, and young 			
	person is willing to seek advice and counsel from parents.				
		3.	Other adult relationships—Young person receives support from three or more nonparent adults.		
		4.	Caring neighborhood—Young person experiences caring neighbors.		
	5. Caring school climate—School provides a caring, encouraging environment.				
		6.	Parent involvement in schooling—Parent(s) are actively involved in helping young person succeed in school.		
	Empowerment	7.	. Community values youth—Young person perceives that adults in the community value youth.		
			Youth as resources—Young people are given useful roles in the community.		
External Assets			Service to others—Young person serves in the community one hour or more per week.		
ISS			Safety—Young person feels safe at home, school, and in the neighborhood.		
Ľ		11.	Family boundaries—Family has clear rules and consequences and monitors the young person's whereabouts.		
te	Expectations		School Boundaries—School provides clear rules and consequences.		
E			Neighborhood boundaries—Neighbors take responsibility for monitoring young people's behavior.		
			Adult role models—Parent(s) and other adults model positive, responsible behavior.		
			Positive peer influence—Young person's best friends model responsible behavior.		
		16.	High expectations —Both parent(s) and teachers encourage the young person to do well.		
	Constructive Use of Time	17.	Creative activities —Young person spends three or more hours per week in lessons or practice in music, theater, or other arts.		
		18.	Youth programs —Young person spends three or more hours per week in sports, clubs, or organizations at school and/or in the community.		
		19.	Religious community —Young person spends one or more hours per week in activities in a religious institution.		
			Time at home —Young person is out with friends "with nothing special to do" two or fewer nights per week.		
			61 61 61 61		

Commitment to Learning 21. Achievement Motivation—Young person is motivated to do well in school. 22. School Engagement—Young person is actively engaged in learning. 23. Homework—Young person reports doing at least one hour of homework every school day. 24. Bonding to school—Young person cares about her or his school. 25. Reading for Pleasure—Young person reads for pleasure three or more hours per week.			
Assets	Positive Values	 26. Caring—Young person places high value on helping other people. 27. Equality and social justice—Young person places high value on promoting equality and reducing hunger and poverty. 28. Integrity—Young person acts on convictions and stands up for her or his beliefs. 29. Honesty—Young person "tells the truth even when it is not easy." 30. Responsibility—Young person accepts and takes personal responsibility. 31. Restraint—Young person believes it is important not to be sexually active or to use alcohol or other drugs. 	
Internal Assets	Social Competencies	32. Planning and decision making —Young person knows how to plan ahead and make choices.	
	Positive Identity	 37. Personal power—Young person feels he or she has control over "things that happen to me." 38. Self-esteem—Young person reports having a high self-esteem. 39. Sense of purpose—Young person reports that "my life has a purpose." 40. Positive view of personal future—Young person is optimistic about her or his personal future. 	

Out of the 12 identified developmental assets, three assets were cited most often as the reason why students identified both coaches and teachers as family. Researchers coded the reasons given by Ugandan students as to why they identified coaches or teachers as family, with the three most common reasons being (a) ability to coach/teach, (b) mentoring skills such as ability to advise students to make good decisions, and (c) caring nature. Interestingly, the same three qualities were found to be prominent for both the coach and teacher. These three qualities share significant commonality with three specific external developmental assets from the list of 40 developmental assets (see Table 5).

Table 5

Comparison of the Similarities between Codes and Developmental Assets

Codes from Data	Developmental Assets (Benson, 1997)
1. Ability to Coach/Teach: Coaches' ability to coach the athlete in order to help them reach their full potential/teachers' ability to educate the student in order to help them reach their full potential.	1. Parent Involvement in Schooling: Parent(s) are actively involved in helping young person succeed in school.
2. Mentoring Skills: Coaches/teachers act as mentors. Students receive guidance and advice.	2. Positive Family Communication: Young person and her or his parent(s) communicate positively, and young person is willing to seek advice and counsel from parents.
3. Caring Nature: Coaches/teachers care, encourage, and support students.	3. Family Support: Family life provides high levels of love and support.

The list of 40 developmental assets was produced in the United States (Benson, 1997).

Yet this research found consistent evidence of 12 developmental assets provided by coaches and

teachers to Ugandan youth in the eight schools in the Mukono district of Uganda. Further

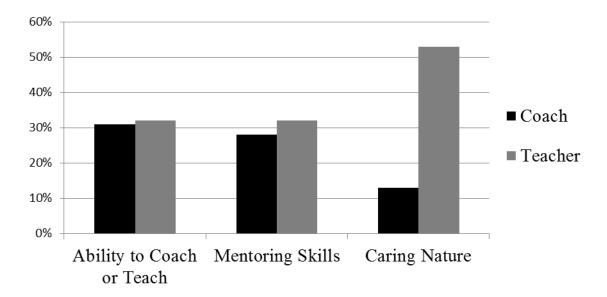
research is needed to establish the existence and operation of the remaining 28 assets in multiple

African countries. A synthesis of reviews (Benson & Pittman, 2001a, 2001b; Catalano,

Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 2002; Hamilton et al., 2004; National Research Council,

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2002) suggests considerable consensus on one core concept of the positive youth development field, which is the benefit of multiple nutrient-rich relationships for all youth. For example, support, empowerment, and engagement are important developmental assets for all youth, generalizing across race, ethnicity, gender, and family income. However, the strategies and tactics for promoting these developmental assets can vary. This research not only gives greater credibility to one of the central concepts in the youth development literature, but also helps identify specific strategies to increase assets within youth from a developing country. Specific strategies to increase assets are identified through a thorough analysis of the qualities endearing a coach or teacher as family (see Figure 2).



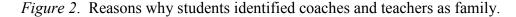


Figure 2 illustrates an important finding related to the reasons why a student would choose a teacher as family versus a coach. A teacher's *caring nature* (53% of responses) played a greater role in the selection of a teacher as family, compared to a coach (13%). A teacher's caring nature was the most important reason for identifying a teacher as family. For coaches, the most important qualities endearing them as family to students were their ability to coach (31%)

and their mentoring skills (28%). Mentoring and teaching abilities were the second and third most common reasons provided by students for the selection of a teacher as family.

By analyzing the reasons students identified a teacher or coach as family, researchers were able to assess the qualities of a teacher or coach leading to enhanced levels of family formation within the school. These qualities are a source of developmental assets for students. Figure 1 shows an overview of the operation of the four developmental assets, including (a) ability to coach/teach, (b) mentoring skills, (c) caring nature, and (d) financial resources in the formation of a surrogate family. The surrogate family serves as a moderating variable on the association between the biological family and positive youth development outcomes. The following section will expand on the findings related to the operation of each of the four developmental assets listed above for the coach and teacher, respectively.

Ability to Coach: Coach as Parent

The role of the coach is to educate an athlete in his or her given sport. Ten of the 34 sporting students identified the coach as family because the coach was able to offer advice to improve the athletes' skills and enjoy success on the field. Ronnie explained,

They are like family to me cause without the coach I would not be a good player cause the coach, their work is to train you and to become a talented player and to train you and make you good at football.

There is a well-established sporting scholarship structure in Ugandan schools. In addition to success on the playing field, coaches can help children succeed in school by developing their sporting talents. Talented sportsmen and women are given part- or full-tuition scholarships in exchange for representing the school well in their sport. This gives talented sporting students an opportunity to finance school. Pauline, from S.U.G. school, explained the netball coach's involvement in her school success:

Madam Cynthia, she has helped me know much about netball, so that I, I have managed

even to have a scholarship at school, so because of her effort, I consider her like a family.

Ability to Teach: Teacher as Parent

The importance placed on education by Ugandan youth is evident in the way students defined family. Seventy percent of students mentioned education in response to the question regarding what the student thought a family should do for a child. Further emphasizing the fundamental value Ugandan students placed on education, just less than half (n = 32) of the sample mentioned education first, before listing other basic responsibilities of a family such as providing necessities (e.g., food, water, shelter, and medical needs). Moses, who attended S.R.P. school, is one of these students.

Ah ... a family should possibly first fulfill the thing of studies because studies are the key for everything next in life. You should fulfill that sector of health to the child, yeah. There is even some small things which a child should have like clothes, shoes, yeah those things.

Students are cognizant of the sacrifices families often had to endure in order to provide a child with an education. Students used words such as "struggle," "try," and "combine themselves" to explain how a family should make every effort to provide educational opportunities for children. For the students, the challenge of providing funding for school in no way diminished the critical responsibility of the family to educate the young members of the family. S.U.G. school student Baluku explained,

I come from a humble family but am proud of it, because my father and my mother have played a great role to see that at least I reach where I am now. She has struggled to get some school fees and there is no problem with it. When you don't educate children they be with that primitive way of being. At least when you are educated it is the greatest future.

Data showed students believed education was the key to a successful life, free from the constraints of poverty. The emphasis placed on education by Ugandan youth is indicative of the high rate of teacher identification as family, since teachers had the unique responsibility to educate students. There is a direct relationship between the teacher's role and a student's view of the teacher as family. The teacher's ability to teach and disseminate knowledge to students was found to be one of the two most common developmental assets teachers provided, with the second being mentoring skills. Thirty-two percent of the participants indicated teachers were *like* family because of their ability to educate. Solomon explained why he distinguished his school teachers as part of his family:

Because teachers, most times we are being with our teachers. For us, when we are at school, we are like at home because the teacher can help you with whatever thing. When you don't have any knowledge, you know a teacher runs and teach you; you must do this. Teachers, they do not just to teach only that knowledge. They can give you the ideas that you must do to be happy, you must be a behaved boy, like that, like give us advice as our moms, our parents.

Mentoring Skills: Coach as Parent

The coaches' ability to act as mentors (28%) was the second most common developmental asset offered by coaches. Mentoring skills were defined as the coaches' aptitude

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for guiding students through difficult decisions by offering sound advice. Counsel from coaches was prevalent on the sports field. In Akello's words, "They give us the criteria in order to win the game." Off the field, coaches who acted as mentors came to be seen by students as family. Douglas, an avid football player, received counsel from his coaches:

Exactly, the coaches, for them they don't mind; once you have talent you come. He takes you as a person because you have the talent. He counsels you after training, don't behave like this, don't go on the street. You don't have your parents, but don't mind because you have the talent. You know all that counseling. You know for me I take it to be a very important thing, because if it had not been for that, I don't know where I could have been.

Douglas, along with many other students, believed he was in a better situation due to his coaches' counsel. The data showed how students benefited developmentally from the mentoring-based relationships shared with their coaches. The literature substantiates this finding. Literature has shown the quality of the relationships established in mentoring interactions (Catalano et al., 2002) is instrumental in fostering positive youth development (Petitpas, Cornelius, Van Raalte, & Jones, 2005).

Mentoring Skills: Teacher as Parent

Teachers mentoring students was one of the three reasons students gave for including a teacher as part of their family. Tumwine never knew her mother and lost her father at age 12; therefore, she turned to the teachers for advice.

They are now the mothers and fathers that I seek advice from today. In the absence of my elders [brothers and sisters] who are already married, I leave the village without any advice. But, when I reach here at school, they are my parents; they are the ones who impart knowledge in me. They contribute much.

Results indicated students were willing to seek advice and counsel from their teachers. This counsel addresses varying issues, such as the dangers of infectious diseases, the encouragement to stay in school, and aspirations for a future career. Kamogo explained,

I consider them to be my family because what I really I need is what they are giving me; because my strategic reason of being here is to become a doctor or a teacher. So, they are the ones that are helping me in order to achieve that goal. I consider them to be really my family.

Caring Nature: Coach as Parent

The third most common developmental asset offered by coaches was the care shown to their players (13%). Kissa felt this sense of care, love, and support from her netball coach at L.R.G. school.

He is also like family cause he loves us, he takes care of us when we get in danger. He advises us. He tells us to be good children, good sportsmen, good sportswomen. So, he is also like family.

Likewise, Mbabazi told a powerful story about how the caring nature of his school football coach made the coach a part of Mbabazi's family.

When I was in senior one, eh, I was about to go for these drugs things. That's when he came to me, says Mbabazi, don't do that. He could encourage me to avoid those things, so he could take me as his son. He say Mbabazi, don't do those things, those things are nasty, so don't do it. So when he took me like that, I understand as a man myself, I can understand like a parent now, a parent who is talking to a young one. I can listen to him give me advice that I should be disciplined ... so I take him like a father. More than a family guy member of mine.

Caring Nature: Teacher as Parent

More than half (53%) of the students interviewed said teachers formed a part of their family because of the care, love, and support they found within these relationships. Douglas from L.U.G. school shared a close relationship with his teachers.

They have really showed me love, even if I don't have money and I come to school they take me as a person, as a student. They don't mind what kind of family you come from. For them when you come in class you are a student, so they don't embarrass you. So I take them to be part of my family because they don't make me to see as if I am not in the home, or not in the family.

Financial Resources

Financially related resources were not listed as one of the 40 developmental assets to help people grow up healthy, caring, and responsible (see Table 4). The list of assets was originally developed in Western, more developed countries with levels of poverty that are vastly lower than this east African nation. Approximately 35% of the Ugandan population lived below the poverty level in 2011 compared to only 15.1 % in the United States in 2010 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012). The difference is even more extreme than implied by these data, as the definition of poverty in the United Stated uses an income level far above that in Uganda.

Poverty prevents the enjoyment of basic human rights, security, and wellbeing. Finances play a central role in the day-to-day life of Ugandan youth. Ugandan students attending secondary school near urban centers (as in this sample) are required to pay school fees in order to graduate with a diploma. The word "fee" or "tuition" was mentioned 205 times by students throughout the interviews, even though there was no direct question about school fees. The data indicated being able to afford school fees was the most pervasive challenge standing in the way

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of gaining an education. Only three students did not spontaneously initiate the topic of school fees. It is important to note nearly half (48%) of the students in this sample secured their school fees and basic needs from a shifting and complex combination of immediate and extended family, school scholarships, and/or student jobs. An approximately equal number of orphans and non-orphans were provided with resources from multiple groups of people, in comparison with receiving all the needed resources from one group (e.g. parents or siblings). The contributions fluctuated and sources contributed differing proportions of the required resources over time. The most common source of school fees for children in this sample was from their fathers (n = 17). The second most common source was from work performed by the students themselves (n = 15). Many orphans in this sample worked to provide part or all of their own school fees. The data showed headmasters were more accommodating about accumulated school-fee debt with these hard-working students. However, work hours are limited for full-time students.

Analysis of the data revealed a common recurring pattern among students. Students were forced by administrators to go home mid-semester and not allowed to return unless they returned with money for school fees. Birungi explained the stress and consequences of this situation.

I was born by my parents, but all of them, they are dead. The day I have started schooling in this school, I have faced many challenges. Cause the time I was here, they are ever increasing school fees and my grandparents are struggling in the market. You know the situations there in the market; there is no money these days and prices are increasing. Now the time come when they send me home cause there are fees. Now the time is coming to do the exams. I am just panicking. That is why sometimes I just fail.

The data showed teachers actually helped lessen Birungi and her fellow students' financial burdens. When students were asked why they thought teachers were family, eleven

students mentioned the teacher helped them financially. This research found evidence showing how the lack of finances created discontinuity of education. Children were more likely to drop out of school and lose the benefits of the school-based surrogate family. Teachers earned a very modest salary, often lived in small basic housing units on the school grounds, and regularly supported their own biological families. Considering these circumstances, the willingness to share financial resources was a testament to the depth of student–teacher relationships in these Ugandan schools.

The following examples demonstrated how teachers helped students financially. L.U.G. school student, Kato, lost his father at age five. Since then, his two older sisters have been forced to drop out of school because their mother could no longer afford school fees. After graduation, Kato dreamed of becoming an electrical engineer and providing an education for his two sisters.

Some time back, my mother fell sick, and I had to take care of her. She has to raise school fees, so as I told you, she is a vendor. She became unable to raise school fees, and I was soon dropping out of school, but there was one teacher who helped me so much. He paid my school fees. Actually he paid for that term and for Senior 4. Actually, I never paid school fees again. He was the headmaster then, but I felt he was like my dad.

Jimiyu from S.R.P. school had a similar experience.

One day, and that day I will never forget it, it was Wednesday last term. We studied up to 9 p.m. Then I went to one teacher and told him that it is late, I don't know how I will reach to my place. Yet the place is far. He gave me money; it was 1000 [schillings]. He told me, go and board a taxi, and that day I was very happy. On that day I saw him like my dad.

Beyond school fees and transportation resources, the data provided evidence of teachers and coaches helping meet financial needs such as food, basic medical requirements, and afterschool seminars.

Discussion and Practical Implications

This research found the school environment to be a ripe source of developmental assets for students. Due to the availability of positive adult relationships, schools have been identified in the literature as one context for increasing access to developmental assets (Gambone, Yu, Sipe, & Lacoe, 2004). "Sustained relationships with unrelated adults are at the heart of a healthy community for youth" (Benson, 1997, p. 36). Schools form an integral part of the community. "The community is a viable focus for understanding and promoting dynamics crucial for maximizing context/person relationships" (Benson et al., 2007, p. 926). The school is conducive to youth development as "schools provide children with opportunities for emotional support, interaction with other children and the development of social capital. Education can also reduce vulnerability to poverty, HIV/AIDS and other diseases through increasing knowledge, awareness, skills and opportunities" (Ministry of Gender, 2004, p. 10).

Students self identified these relationships as *like* family. After suffering the loss of one or both parents, orphans expressed feeling hopeless and alone. Teachers and coaches can go beyond their teaching and coaching duties and become like mothers and fathers to these children. This research found evidence of teachers and coaches providing at least 12 vital external assets, identified by the Search Institute, to both orphaned and non-orphaned students. The data provide evidence of orphans and vulnerable children forming family-type bonds with these teachers and coaches because of the developmental assets they are able to offer students. This research has shown surrogate family formation patterns are currently operating within the selected schools.

Coaches and teachers serve as important role models for their students. Positive perceptions of teacher–student relationships are consistently associated with increases in motivation, academic competence and achievement, school engagement, school value, and behavioral adjustment (Goodenow, 1992; Hamre & Pianta, 2001; Midgley, Feldlaufer, & Eccles, 1989; Reddy, Rhodes, & Mulhall, 2003; Roeser & Eccles, 1998; Ryan & Grolnick, 1986). The findings from this study are congruent with the literature on the positive effects of meaningful adult relationships with youth. Considering the enormous personal impact on these children and the potential contribution of schools to the emotional security and development of youth in Uganda, this school-based family concept is of utmost importance because the school system is serving to moderate the destructive effects of abandonment on these students.

Children spend almost 70% of the year enrolled in school in Uganda (Ministry of Education and Sports for the Republic of Uganda, 2012). The secondary school curriculum takes six years for completion and takes place during a time when adolescents are engaged in a critical developmental phase. The intensity and length of time enrolled in school exacerbates the scarcity of interaction with any remaining biological family members at home. These data support the relationship between the amount of time spent at school and an increased incidence of school-based family formation. During this time, students are deriving key developmental assets from their coaches and teachers. "Numerous studies have demonstrated the contribution that developmental assets make to positive youth outcomes not only concurrently but also over time" (Benson et al., 2007, p. 923–924).

An increased awareness of the school-based family concept for staff and students in schools throughout Uganda is one of the major recommendations emanating from this research. The need to create and sustain a "developmentally attentive community" is essential (Benson,

2002, p. 141). Positive youth development has a significant contribution to make in this particular type of application (Benson et al., 2007).

The data demonstrate two distinct yet complimentary recommendations for practice. First is awareness of the role of coaches and teachers in student development. Second is the awareness of the role of the student in the formation of a school-based family. Teachers and coaches need to be fully aware of their potential for positive influence on students, especially orphans. Students also need to know about the developmental assets they can derive from teachers and coaches.

Dealing with the first recommendation, the teachers and coaches need to be aware of the potential developmental assets they are able to offer students. This suggestion is in line with Greenberg et al. (2003), who reviewed a wide range of evidence suggesting that the most effective school-based prevention and youth development data are those that "enhance students' personal and social assets" and improve the school community environment (p. 467).

The second application is to ensure students are aware of the school-based family concept. If orphans and vulnerable children recognize the potential for a loving and supportive family environment at school, this may once again give them hope of a bright future. Youth are major actors in their own development and are significant (and under-utilized) resources for creating the kind of relationships, contexts, ecologies, and communities that enable positive youth development (Benson et al., 2007). Building such a shared vision of developmental assets is one of the central concepts leading to enhanced positive youth development outcomes (Benson et al., 2007). Benson and his colleagues have suggested one important source of collective efficacy is a shared community vocabulary of developmental assets aligned with a publically shared understanding of the capacity of social contexts to effect their acquisition.

"The least developed part of positive youth development theory is that having to do with how intentional change can best be understood [and practiced]" (Benson et al., 2007, p. 933). This research illuminates possible changes necessary to secure a steady source of developmental assets for students. One mechanism to promote these changes could be through the publication of the key findings of this study and supporting material describing key assets associated with positive youth development. This can be achieved through a brief publication of this research for dissemination through the Ugandan Department of Education and Sports.

The Ugandan government dedicates considerable financial resources to implementing policy initiatives to support orphans and vulnerable children annually. The macroeconomic impact of HIV/AIDS and the associated orphan problem is difficult to assess (Bollinger, Stover, & Kibirige, 1999). A new UNAIDS Domestic Investment Priority Index (DIPI) attempts to measure the extent of investment priority given by governments to support their national AIDS response. Uganda's DIPI is 0.72, which is well above the mean and suggests HIV/AIDS funding is a high priority in the annual budget (UNAIDS, 2010). Surrogate families within the school may prevent orphans and vulnerable children from becoming a liability and instead help them become industrious citizens. This research suggests surrogate family support may reduce the vulnerability of orphans and vulnerable children during the crucial adolescent developmental phase by offering orphans important assets.

Coaches were identified as family by 79% (n = 34) of all sporting students. Evidence related to the ability of structured leisure activities to serve as developmental contexts is well documented (Larson, 2000; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000). In accordance with the literature, researchers of this study propose actual participation in sporting activities builds family-type bonds between students and coaches. This research may also serve to inform future changes and developments in the Ugandan education system. Teacher training colleges can use this research to train their future teachers. This training could be structured around the three developmental assets this research identified as most frequently offered by teachers and coaches to students. Any future changes to the Ugandan education system should be reviewed in light of the three coach/teacher qualities leading to enhanced surrogate family formation, including coaching/teaching abilities, mentoring skills, and caring natures.

Recommendations

Recommendations relating to each of the four most common reasons why students identify a coach or teacher as family will be individually addressed.

Ability to Coach or Teach

In this research Ugandan students defined the primary role of family as providing children in the family with an education. Therefore, teachers and coaches need to be made aware of the impact of educating or coaching a child, beyond simply the diffusion of knowledge. In a classic account of how relationships promote development, Vygotsky (1978) showed an increase in competence resulted when someone who was already competent in accomplishing tasks assisted the developing person in a task she or he could do unaided. Developing competence within students or athletes is the nature of teaching or coaching. This research found the ability to teach and impart wisdom played a pivotal role in surrogate family formation.

Data illustrated enhanced surrogate family formation tendencies among orphans and vulnerable students compared to non-orphans. Teachers and coaches need to have knowledge of their students' or players' orphan status. Armed with this confidential information, teachers and coaches can ensure this group of students receives sufficient attention without stigmatizing the

students. Schools need to maintain confidential and accurate records of the children's homebased circumstances for periodic review by new and current teachers and use in pre- and inservice training. During the hiring process for new teachers and administrators, insightful questions need to be asked to determine the subject knowledge and teaching skills of the candidate.

In addition to subject knowledge, sports-coaching knowledge serves as a supplementary skill. Teachers with coaching skills can (and very often do) serve as both teachers and coaches at secondary schools in Uganda. Since this research shows coaches have a higher rate of surrogate family identification, coaching knowledge may enhance school-based family formation. Nationwide sports education for teachers will improve the coaching abilities and therefore provide sporting students with additional positive adult relationships. When children experience benefits from multiple assets, the overall level of evidence for the theoretical connection between assets and greater school success appears to be persuasive and is supported by scores of peerreviewed studies (Benson et al., 2007; Miller & Thoresen, 2003). In other words, "the more assets young people experience, the higher their chances of growing up successfully" (Benson, 1997, p. 79). Teachers will also benefit from gaining coaching skills as they will be better positioned in the marketplace.

This research provides evidence for the positive benefits students will gain from the increased implementation of sports such as soccer, volleyball, netball, and distance running. These sports are viable choices as they are not equipment intensive and can be enjoyed on any reasonably level playing surface. Due to the high incidence of surrogate family relationships between the student and coach, sports programs in schools need to receive the maximum governmental financial support after the academic needs of the student are fulfilled. Successful

sports programs not only promote the school, but also increase the availability of sporting scholarships and relieve the financial burden for select sporting students.

Mentoring Skills

Mentoring skills, consisting of an aptitude for guiding students through difficult decisions by offering sound advice, were found to be an important quality endearing both coaches and teachers as family. Recent research has clearly documented the value of formal mentoring relationships for young people (DuBois, Holloway, Valentine & Cooper, 2002; Rhodes, Grossman, & Resch, 2000). A life skills/counseling class needs to be built into the curriculum so students have the opportunity to ask for guidance and counsel from teachers. Results from this research showed the three most common challenges students faced were the inability to secure a stable source for school fees and other basic necessities, the death of a loved one and resultant loss of resources, and stress over passing exams. A curriculum for this class could be written based on these findings as well as future research about the daily challenges facing secondary school students.

Researchers from this study recommend students be assigned to a specific teachermentor. This could help forge the initial bond between student and teacher. In terms of improving teachers' mentoring skills, it would be beneficial for teachers nationwide to undergo mentorship training. The training could be outsourced to a private company and run during after-school hours on school campuses throughout Uganda. The material covered would help teachers mentor students and offer pertinent advice to address local problems students face. Training would be structured on an outcomes-based approach. Training would equip teachers to offer a wide range of developmental assets to students. This approach focuses the programmer's efforts at producing identified benefits (teachers become better mentors) as a result of their

participation in a specific program (Rossman & Schlatter, 2000). To assess mentoring skills when hiring teachers, the prospective applicant could be asked to complete a mock mentoring session with a student addressing common problems experienced by youth in Uganda.

Caring Nature

According to Bronfenbrenner and Morris (1998), caring relationships, both in the family and in other settings youth occupy, serve as "the primary engines of development" (p. 996). Headmasters need to stress the importance of teachers treating the children with dignity and respect. They need to act as examples to teachers through their interaction with students. Specific questions and letters of recommendation can be assessed to determine the existence of caring personality traits in teachers applying for positions.

Financial Resources

Beyond providing further credibility to the presence of assets across cultures, this research underscores the importance of financial resources sufficient to meet the child's basic needs, as well as a constant source of school fees. Finances to purchase basic needs and pay for school fees are decisive assets pertinent in the lives of youth in Uganda. Ugandan youth face a more severe level of poverty than American youth do. However, economic wellbeing does form a part of the positive youth development literature. "One crucial criterion for monitoring children's health and well-being is family economics. Poverty is the ultimate risk factor" (Benson, 1997, p. 4). This research draws attention to the infiltrating nature of poverty in a third world country. The effects of child poverty in Uganda seem to be more severe than in America. Ugandan youth who cannot afford school fees drop out of school and can therefore no longer draw from the valuable developmental assets of teachers and coaches. These data position

financial resources as the key developmental asset that needs to be in place before students can benefit from other important assets.

Researchers of this study recommend schools organize local entrepreneurship projects during the longest school holiday in December. Basic entrepreneurship opportunities, such as collecting fresh water and selling vegetables or fish, may be one way to finance school for orphans who would otherwise drop out and lose the opportunity of securing a lucrative job. Entrepreneurial endeavors could be arranged to ensure teachers also have the opportunity to benefit financially. Another possible solution for talented secondary school sporting students is to use their sporting knowledge to coach part time at local primary schools.

Based on the data, researchers would recommend the following broad application from Benson et al. (2007): governments need to make a long-term commitment to community mobilization around common norms, values, and goals related to youth development through nesting young people in families and schools within neighborhoods, communities, and wider societies. In summary, this research recommends improving teachers' and coaches' ability to teach/coach, refining their mentoring skills, enhancing the level of care shown to students, and finding creative ways to augment the students' financial support. These guidelines can increase developmental assets for Ugandan students. Since developmental assets have been shown to maximize a child's potential in multiple settings, this research has applications to the entire nation of Uganda.

Limitations and Future Research

Three out of the seven researchers came from the United States and therefore may have a culturally different perception of family compared to the views held by Ugandans. This limitation was partially overcome by selecting researchers who had either lived or been

previously immersed in an African culture. Data based on the long-term process of family formation was collected at one point in time and was, therefore, retrospective.

Further research is needed to examine the specific developmental assets students lack. This will allow researchers to examine viable methods for offering students the assets they need in order to develop optimally. This research identified the school as a source for 12 of the 40 developmental assets previously identified in the literature (Benson, 1997). Further research should aim to uncover if and how students access the remaining 28 assets. Since the most critically vulnerable population of young children is not enrolled in school, a study examining the assets of children attending school and those who have never attended or have dropped out would be instructive.

This study examined the benefits of the student-teacher relationship for the student. The reciprocal relationship effects deserve further study. For a teacher, what benefits or costs does a meaningful relationship with a student hold? In addition, longitudinal research is needed to ascertain whether the surrogate family helps reduce the vulnerability of orphaned students, leading to positive development outcomes as the adolescent enters adulthood. After students graduate and move out of the school environment, research is needed to determine the level of connection students maintain with surrogate families formed within the school. Further research is needed to examine practical ways to provide orphans with stable access to a range of financial resources. Research examining orphans who successfully graduate from high school would provide more detailed solutions.

This data set also contains qualitative information about family-type bonds between friends (classmates) and teammates. The prospect of friends and teammates forming family-type

bonds within schools holds potential for additional positive development assets but needs further research.

Other family-type relationships deserving further explanation exist between the students and prefects (student elected leaders) and headmasters. Religion was mentioned by more than half the students (n = 35), although no interview questions directly addressed the issue. Religious leaders' contribution towards developmental assets for youth deserves further study. Teachers also perform the role of coach, as they teach classes in the mornings and coach their respective teams in the afternoons. It would be informative to ask students to identify teachers who they considered to be part of their family by name. This would allow researchers to examine whether teachers who coach are more or less likely to be seen as family by their students. Ultimately, further research should focus on methods of enhancing the role of schools in supporting vulnerable children in Uganda.

The growth of the school-based family concept can help children maximize their potential, creating productive citizens with benefits for the economy of Uganda. This research explains a practical approach to fulfill the vision statement of the National Orphans and other Vulnerable Children Policy (Ministry of Gender, 2004): "The vision of the policy is a society where all orphans and other vulnerable children live to their full potential and their rights and aspirations are fulfilled" (p. 7). Based on the results of this study, several avenues exist for further research. To the knowledge of the researchers, this is the first work examining the explicit idea of a school-based family. Therefore, future research should attempt to enhance the understanding of the principles and practices leading to an increase in school-based surrogate family formation.

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Appendix A

Prospectus

Introduction

Most of us remember a time when we were dependent on those close to us for our survival and emotional fulfillment. The idea of family constituting a primary "ecological niche," which provides survival for and socialization of the next generation, is very common in everyday life (Kreppner, 2000. p. 11). The family is a universal concept understood in cultures worldwide (DeFrain, & Asay, 2007). The universality of the family has always been accepted as a sound hypothesis in anthropology. Murdock (1949) has been able to confirm this hypothesis on the basis of his important cross-cultural study of kinship. Moreover, Murdock reported the nuclear family is also universal, and, typically, it has four functions: (a) sexual, (b) economic, (c) reproductive, and (d) educational. The functions served by the nuclear family are, of course, universal prerequisites for the survival of any society, and it is on this basis that Murdock accounts for its universality.

Although family is a universal concept, family structure can vary considerably among groups of people worldwide. Every family is made up of a unique composition of related or unrelated individuals. What makes these differing combinations of individuals group together into families?

The revered political and ideological leader of India, Mahatma Gandhi, once said, *"Interdependence* is and ought to be as much the ideal of man as self-sufficiency. Man is a social being" (Gandhi, Gandhi, & Suiabati 1922, p. 93). Families, regardless of who constitutes the family and how individual members are related, seem to have one common underlying principle: interdependence.

Family interdependence is defined by Fu, Hinkle, and Hanna (1986) as the "reciprocal relationships among kin that enable total satisfaction of the family members" emotional needs" (p. 157). When children are born they are completely dependent on adults. They progress through developmental stages and become independent in late adolescence/early adulthood. Since the nuclear family is the dominant family structure in the United States, and all four functions of the nuclear family, stated by Murdock (1949), require interdependence between family members, we can infer that interdependence in America is satisfied within the bonds of family.

Culturally, an African person's need for interdependence is also satisfied through the bonds of family. Anthropologists and sociologists have studied kinship, marriage, and family in Africa, concluding, "An institution at the core of African cultural patterns is the extended family, which subsumes the totality of how an African man relates to himself, his immediate family, his relatives, other social beings and things in his environment" (Okediji, 1975, p. 93). Tseng (2004) noted how numerous scholars from different regions around the world have studied the cultural emphasis on family interdependence. Some researchers have argued family interdependence is rooted culturally in African values (Tseng, 2004). Strong interdependence orientations were found among various communities in West Africa and Kenya (LeVine, 1974; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Nsamenang & Lamb 1994; Tuakli-Williams, 1997; Wolf, 1997).

Interdependence is present in the American and the African family, but the composition of families differs on a case-by-case basis. In post-industrial revolution America, the dominant family structure traditionally consisted of a biological father, mother, and children. This is referred to as the nuclear family. There has, however, been an addition to the strictly nuclear concept of family. The concept of family has evolved to include varied compositions of members. Families have now grown to include situations where the biological parent may be replaced with a stepparent or two, and children within the family may not be biologically related. The new developments stand in contrast to the original family paradigm where members are often linked through "biological or sociolegal legitimacy by virtue of shared genetics, marriage or adoption" (Fitzpatrick & Wamboldt, 1990, p. 425).

Scholars from the United States have begun to consider a new extended family paradigm, conceptualizing families beyond merely biological and legal relationships. This new extended paradigm notes how families can consist of a shared system of meaning, symbolic activities, and fluidity of *self-definition* (Edwards & Graham, 2009). The original concept of family has evolved from structural characterizations of family in which individuals are connected primarily through legal and biological ties to transaction-based identity definitions in which family is conceived as a group of intimates who create a sense of shared identity (Floyd, Mikkelson, & Judd, 2006; Floyd & Morman, 2006; Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002). In addition, Smith (1997) proposed people who are not related can consider themselves family with the addition of affective feelings that entail care and support for one another.

Both family paradigms are active in the United States of America and in Uganda today. The common element to both the biological and the new extended family paradigm seems to be the interdependence of members on each other. If a family is biologically bound to each other, and if the family is a self-defined group, the core mechanism that keeps the family together appears to be the presence of mutual interdependence among the family's members.

This new extended family paradigm is evident in the varied descriptions of family structures in research conducted in Africa. These structures consist of extended families and unrelated groups. An extension of the nuclear family has been developing in Africa. Those who consider themselves to be family can also be related through extended family ties. The extended family is a dominant family structure in Africa (Okediji, 1975). In Somali families, household

THE SCHOOL-BASED FAMILY

composition (urban and rural) includes a number of extended family members and often exceeds 10 persons. Extended family includes paternal and maternal relatives, aunts, uncles, and cousins, including those several times removed who may belong to other clans or tribes (Koshen, 2007).

Unrelated groups of individuals forming family structures were examined by Siqwana-Ndulo (1998). This research notes how African family systems can consist of groups of people who think of themselves as family. Family refers to a "collectivity of people who live together ... who considered themselves family" (Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998, p. 415).

The traditional nuclear family and the new extended family paradigm differ in composition, but may still provide a valuable structure to its members. Defrain and Asay (2007) noted that although the structure of the family may vary around the world, the value of family endures. The value of family to its members is expressed in the Family Strengths Model, proposed by Stinnett & DeFrain (1985). The authors identified six general qualities of a strong family: (a) commitment, (b) appreciation and affection, (c) positive communication, (d) time together, (e) spiritual wellbeing, and (f) the ability to cope with stress and crisis.

Personally, I have experienced both family paradigms during the past five years. Both my biological family and my newly found self-defined surrogate family have portrayed Stinnett and DeFrain's (1985) qualities of a strong family. I grew up in South Africa with my biological mother, father, brother, and sister. I found a safe support structure within this family. In 2007, I left my home country to accept an athletic scholarship at Brigham Young University (BYU) in the United States of America. My biological family and I experienced separation with them living in South Africa and myself in the United States. I lacked the daily influence of my biological family; however, I believe I found a substitute family within my track and field team.

In both families, I experienced interdependence according to Fu et al.'s (1986) definition. Within my biological family and my team, I experienced "reciprocal relationships that enabled total satisfaction of the family member's emotional needs" (p.157). The relationship between my teammates and me helped both parties feel emotionally fulfilled. Moreover, my experience mirrored the new family paradigm provided by Edwards & Graham (2009). Participation in our sport provided the "symbolic activity," and together we created a "shared system of meaning" of identity within the team (Edwards & Graham, p.193). My teammates and I spent a great deal of time together and shared a strong commitment to a common goal. This brought me to a place where I felt so close to my teammates I would consider them family. My perception of my teammates as family is in line with an idea of Sorenson's (1985), as I experienced all three of the conditions he notes can build interactive relationships. Sorenson concluded interactive relationships are determined by strong emotional ties among the group members, pride in the group's traditions, and high levels of participation as a group in joint activities. I was emotionally invested in the team and its members. I was proud to represent and associate myself with my team, and I dedicated my time to participation in both practice and competition.

This membership, as part of a team-family, gave me a similar structure to the one formerly provided by my biological family. The important relationships I formed, and the benefits they provided me, made me question whether sports teams or recreational opportunities have the capacity to form familial relationships for students, especially for those who lack a solid biological family foundation.

My team-family created a structure in my life that was lacking due to the separation from my biological family. This positive process of feeling part of a team-family piqued my interest into what possibilities a sport-based surrogate family could create for others who experience a

permanent loss of their biological families. Although the family is the oldest and historically the most important of all human institutions (DeFrain, 2001), there are more at risk families today than ever before (Smith, 1997). This is especially true in the location for this research project, the East African country of Uganda. Risks to the Ugandan family include, but are not limited to, HIV/AIDS (Nkosi & Daniels, 2007), poverty (McGrath, Ankrah, Schumann, Nkumbi, & Lubega., 1993) and other diseases (Whalen et al., 2000). Despite these risks, some form of family unity seems to endure. The fundamental mechanism underlying family sustainability seems to transgress any risks posed to the family. The most imminent of the risks faced by Ugandan families is the rampant HIV/AIDS pandemic. As many as 1.2 million (13.1%) of Ugandan young people below 18 years of age are reported to have lost at least one parent (Uganda Bureau of Statistics & Macro International [Uganda Bureau], 2007). As parents die from such pandemics and children are left without biological parents and maybe even without siblings, the biological family unit is becoming obsolete in developing nations such as Uganda. "The global orphans crisis is a profound humanitarian disaster that will be felt for decades to come" (United States House of Representatives Committee on International Relations, 2004, p. 2).

I received many benefits from both family paradigms, but in a country such as Uganda, where the biological family unit is often no longer functional, I propose to analyze whether a paradigm shift to the new extended family paradigm may be a sustainable model in this country. This shift involves moving the focus away from the predominantly non-functional biological connections to the conceptualization of family in terms of self-identification.

Purpose of the Study

Even with such alarming statistics regarding the degradation of the biological family, the majority of literature still focuses on families related through biological ties (Baer, 2002; Lansford, Ceballo, Abbey, & Stewart, 2001). Existing research certainly advances knowledge on improving family functioning. Literature addressing possible avenues for alternative family formation for the millions of orphans who have suffered the irreplaceable loss of a parent, however, is sparse. Teams have been defined as families by coaches and athletes in the past. Researchers propose sports and/or recreation could be the vehicle towards surrogate family formation (Miller, 1992). This proposed study aims to investigate the situational imperatives perceived by selected Ugandan students who, through recreation, may be led to find, develop, and maintain surrogate families within the school.

Research Questions

Many Ugandan children suffer a permanent lack of a strong home-based family structure. The family, however, is an important environment for interdependence and plays a vital role for both the individual and for society. In light of this, do students still seek the conceptual characteristics of a family structure when they lack a home-based family structure? Does the need for interdependence help assemble this family structure? Do the innate benefits a family structure offers spur individuals to find family units within the school? If a student seeks to create relationships that fulfill emotional needs, what patterns lead to the development of a school-based surrogate family?

Definition of Terms

1. Sports team. A group of students led by either a coach or a student-leader who meet regularly to practice and have some form of competition in a specific sport.

2. OVC. Orphans and/or vulnerable children: For the purposes of this study this will be defined as (a) children who lack familial protection or advantage, (b) an orphan, defined as a child who has lost one or both parents (Kaggwa & Hindin, 2010), (c) a child who is permanently separated from their parents, or (d) other criteria listed in detail in the methods section. OVC face collective risk of deprivation at considerably higher levels than their non-VC local peers.

3. Non-VC. Non-vulnerable children: Children who do not lack financial protection or advantage. For the purposes of this study these children reside in homes with stable caregivers providing emotional and financial support and a relatively risk-free environment. The reason for the use of non-VC (vulnerable children) over non-OVC (orphans and/or vulnerable children) is explained in the methods section.

4. S grade. This refers to senior secondary grade levels in the Ugandan school system. Students are labeled by grade level (e.g., S1–S6). The S5 and S6 levels are equivalent to one year post senior year in the United States (US) high school system.

5. A level. This refers to the Advanced level within the Ugandan school system, equivalent to an Associate level of college work in the United States.

6. O level. This refers to the Ordinary level in the Ugandan school system, equivalent to all four years of high school in the US.

7. Headboy/headgirl. This is the name given to the two students (male and female) who are perceived by school administrators to possess the highest level of leadership ability. These two students are often academically gifted students.

Delimitations

The scope of the study will be delimited to the following:

- Ugandan students attending specifically selected secondary schools in the Mukono District of Uganda.
- Senior (S6) students (if there is no S6 student who fits the criteria then a S5 student who fits the predetermined criteria will be selected; failing this a S4 student will be selected).
- 3. 11 days (July 11–23, 2011) for data collection in Uganda.
- 4. A purposive sample will be the source for the data collected.

Limitations

The study will be limited to the following:

- Three out of the seven researchers come from the United States and therefore may have a culturally different perception of family compared with the views held by Ugandans. All members of the team, however, are familiar with African culture and have either lived or been previously immersed in this culture.
- Data based on the long-term process of family formation will be collected at one point in time and, therefore, will be retrospective.

Assumptions

The assumptions of this study include the existence of family structure, sports teams, and some form of recreation in Uganda.

Importance of the Study

This study is written, in part, in response to a request for more research analyzing issues from the child's perspective (Shaw, 1997). In addition, this research may also contribute to the body of cross-cultural knowledge. Hallam, Hite, and Hite (2009) suggested future research continue to uncover and seek to understand vital and contextual factors within and across

national contexts. This study may enhance understanding of alternative family formation processes in a country where the biological family faces many challenges, some of which are insurmountable. By analyzing sports teams and recreational behavior as a vehicle to family formation, this study may give credence to the increased implementation of sports programs or recreation opportunities in schools throughout Uganda.

Literature Review

This literature review will outline (a) the global importance of families, (b) the degradation of the biological family in Uganda, (c) substitute family structures in Uganda, and (d) families within the school.

The Global Importance of Families

In 1994, the United Nations declared that families are the basic unit of society and require special attention (Bowen & McKechnie, 2001). Additionally, the family is described as "the building block of social structures and organizations in every culture" (Agate, Zabriskie, & Eggett, 2007, p. 52). Families are referred to as "society's oldest and most resilient institutions" (DeFrain, 2001, p. 1). In recent years, social commentators have predicted the demise of both marriage and the family; however, both not only survive but continue to change and evolve (Defrain, 2001). The commonality and prolonged existence of family is the anchor uniting all societies from around the world. DeFrain and Asay (2007) state:

As individuals and as families, we are all unique and different. Yet, deep down, as human beings, we are all quite similar. This recognition of human commonalities has been voiced by countless people in countless walks of life – novelists, poets, sociologists, anthropologists, singers and songwriters, economists, psychologists and educators. (p. 12)

The universal existence of families is explained by the set of vital benefits families provide for their members. Family is responsible for modeling communication, reinforcing behavior, sharing values, and instilling a confluence of images of what constitutes a family (Baxter & Braithwaite, 2006; Floyd et al., 2006). Additionally, families play a central role in socialization and identity formation and are among the most important relationships in our lives (Edwards & Graham, 2009). DeFrain (2001) reports, Families are our most intimate social environment. They are the places where we begin the vital processes of socializing our children, teaching them, in partnership with countless others in the community, how to survive and thrive in the world. From the beginning of human life, people have grouped themselves into families to find emotional, physical and communal support. (p. 1)

With the prevalence of families and the important roles they play, the value of understanding families cannot be overstated. With the central role of families in society today, it is clear why considerable research over the last 20 years has focused on family dynamics and strengthening families (Doherty, 1997; Freeman & Zabriskie, 2003; Stinnet & DeFrain, 1985).

Families are the basic, foundational social units in society. Therefore, healthy individuals within healthy families are at the core of a healthy society. It's in everyone's best interest, then, to help create a positive environment for all families. This can be a labor of love for all of our social institutions: educational institutions, businesses, human and family service agencies, religious institutions, health organizations, literally everyone involved in the daily life of a community. (DeFrain, 2001, p. 2)

The Degradation of the Biological Family in Uganda

Although both family paradigms discussed earlier are present in America and in Africa, the environment in which they occur is very different. "Too often African family systems are compared with that of Western family systems without taking cognizance of the context of this diverse continent. There is no universal family structure, and issues such as poverty, droughts, violence, and the HIV/AIDS pandemic are synonymous with Africa which have impacted upon the African family" (Nkosi & Daniels, 2007, p. 12). In their study of four different communities (Busoga, Kigezi, Baganda, and Teso) in Uganda, Jaenson, Harmsworth, Kabwegyere, and Muzaale (1984) noted: "Not only do households vary considerably in size but also in internal organization both between and within areas" (p. 165). The emergence of the new self-defined paradigm was predicted by Locke's (1951) writings:

The central thesis of this volume is that the family in historical times has been, and at present is, in transition from an institution to a companionship. In the past the important factors unifying the family have been external, formal, and authoritarian, as the law, the mores, public opinion, tradition, the authority of the family head, rigid discipline, and elaborate ritual. At present, in the new emerging form of the companionship family, its unity inheres less and less in community pressures and more and more in such interpersonal relationships as the mutual affection, the sympathetic understanding, and the comradeship of its members. (p. vii)

The failure of the biological family and emergence of alternative family structures are seen on a mass scale in Uganda due in large part to the devastating effects of HIV/AIDS. AIDS is now the leading cause of death in sub-Saharan Africa—killing an estimated 1.3 million people in 2009 alone. In the same year another 1.8 million became infected with HIV (UNAIDS, 2010). Uganda is one of the countries most impacted by the pandemic (Kaggwa & Hindin,2010). By 2007, an estimated 15 million children, 0 - 17 years of age worldwide, had lost one or both parents due to AIDS. Nearly 12 million of those were in sub-Saharan Africa (United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS [UNAIDS], 2008). As a result, one in four Ugandan families looks after an orphaned child, and many care for ten or more (Okong'o, 2004).

Another medical crisis negatively affecting the Ugandan families is the rising incidence of tuberculosis and malaria, often identified in conjunction with HIV/AIDS. In 1997, the World Health Organization (WHO) estimated approximately 15.3 million people worldwide were

infected with both HIV and Mycobacterium tuberculosis, most of them in sub-Saharan Africa (Whalen et al., 2000). Another common disease, malaria, quickens the effects of HIV/AIDS. Malaria and HIV are two of the most common infections in sub-Saharan Africa. At the end of 2009 there were an estimated 22.5 million people living with HIV in sub-Saharan Africa, and at least 500 million suffer from malaria each year. As the HIV pandemic progresses, the number of orphans is expected to rise (Kaggwa & Hindin, 2010). Death of family members causes millions of biological family units to disintegrate, and these broken families are then impossible to regain.

In addition to the loss of a parent due to AIDS, there is another barrier to parent-child interaction in Uganda. The data collected by Wawro (2010) showed many, perhaps the majority, of students who attended secondary school in the Mukono District of Uganda traveled remarkably far to attend school. He also concluded time away from the family was one of the sacrifices required of many students who wished to attend school. Interaction with the student's home-based family (biological or non-biological) is limited by the vast geographical distances between the students' schools and their rural homestead locations. In Uganda, more than 80% of the Ugandan population resides in rural areas (Cohen, 2006). With such vast distances and limited finances, time spent with home-based families is severely restricted.

In 2010, Ugandan secondary school students spent 253 out of 365 days of the year attending school. Boarding school students receive minimal vacation time. This exacerbates the scarcity of interaction within biological families. This prolonged separation is not conducive to the abundance of positive influences Doherty (1997) believes can occur when families have the opportunity to spend time together. Doherty asserts the importance and necessity of families intentionally creating opportunities to be together in order to strengthen the family.

Another challenge facing Ugandan families stems from poverty. Unstable economic conditions weaken the social buffer system of families and communities in Uganda. The poverty rate has improved, yet many still live in a state of financial hardship. The percentage of the population living below the poverty line declined from 56% in 1992/93 to 44% in 1997/98, and further to 31% in 2005/06 (International Monetary Fund, 2010). Ugandan boarding school students deal with isolation from home-based families, and a subsequent lack of interaction, economic strain only adds to this unstable family structure. Research by McGrath, Ankrah, Schumann, Nkumbi, & Lubega, (1993) showed how a loss of income due to disease and death presented hardship for all of the 24 families they surveyed in Kampala, Uganda. Data from this study indicated several aspects of family structure and functioning are fundamentally affected by the presence of a person with AIDS within the family. These areas are (a) household composition, (b) economic decisions, (c) social interaction, and (d) access to health care (McGrath et al., 1993). In addition, difficult economic situations challenge family processes and functioning when provisions of basic needs such as food, shelter, education, and health are constrained (Njue, Rombo, & Ngige, 2007).

At the family level, the epidemic causes incomes to dwindle and assets to shrink as breadwinners fall ill and die. This, in turn, results in family structures changing and households fragmenting, becoming poorer and facing destitution, particularly those headed by grandparents or headed by children themselves." (Smart, 2003, p.8)

Another primary determinant of social disruption resulting from epidemic disease is the loss of individuals with prime roles in the social system. AIDS is a particularly devastating disease in this respect because those most likely to become infected and die are also those who are most likely to have pivotal financial role in society (e.g., working-age parents). For families,

the loss of these productive members is particularly serious (McGrath et al., 1993). Parents play an important role in the social system as well as in the family system. Nyamukapa et al. (2008) explained the interaction and complexity of these family strains for orphans in Uganda. In developing a theoretical framework relating HIV-associated orphanhood with children's psychological distress, the authors hypothesized parental loss resulted in psychological distress through a number of immediate effects including trauma, stigma and discrimination, relocation, loss of a breadwinner, residence in poorer households, living with less closely related caregivers, and fear of vertical HIV infection. These immediate effects lead to intermediate effects including poorer diet, clothes, shelter, health care, and educational support, all of which influence psychological health.

Substitute Family Structures in Uganda

Under the severe strain on biological families in Uganda, a widespread alternative pattern has emerged. African family systems are now made up of predominantly extended families (Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998). The term *African household* denotes a common unit of social organization combining those who reside together and who contribute to the income generation, consumption, and domestic activities as well as the extended family, who could live apart due to migration but make contributions to household resources (Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998; Young & Ansell, 2003). During the opening of the 13th International Conference on AIDS held in Nairobi, Kenya, Stephen Lewis (2003) said,

It is now commonplace that grandmothers are the caregivers for orphans. I've certainly seen it in every country without exception, but that is no solution. The grandmothers are impoverished, their days are numbered, and the decimation of families is so complete that there's often no one left in the generation coming up behind. (paragraph 9)

Many African children are now born into a world without hope of a stable family structure over their life course. With parents dying at an alarming rate, grandparents and extended families, with few resources, are called upon to take in additional children to feed, shelter, and clothe (Mudavanhu, Segalo, & Fourie, 2009).

In Africa, many assume the extended family is an adequate family support system. Seeley and Kajura (1993) warn that blanket statements regarding the role of the extended family in Africa as a safety net need to be questioned. Caution should be engaged when assuming the extended family will be ready and able to assist sick members. Many grandparents in Uganda have assumed the roles and responsibilities of providing care to grandchildren because of the death of their own child. This extended family structure of grandparents raising grandchildren has its limitations due to the numbered days of grandparents. In a study conducted among grandparents in Botswana, researchers found elderly caregivers all reported having health problems either from old age or from the stress suffered as a result of a child or children having died from an AIDS-related illness (Mudavanhu et al., 2009). Meursing (1997) reported physical constraints as a major challenge for a grandparent who has assumed the role of a caregiver. This is because grandparents' health decline was drawn out and, as patients often suffered from several illnesses simultaneously, medical and nursing care become complicated, taxing, and costly.

When children have no extended family network, the only other place for them to live may be on the street. Although street children are recognized throughout the developing world, they have become more prevalent in African cities (Young & Barrett, 2001). Approximately 300 full-time street children live and survive daily on the city streets of Kampala. This number has risen sharply in the last 10 years due to the AIDS epidemic (Young & Barrett, 2001) and internal conflicts, which directly impact the micro situation of the home and family (Harper et al., 2000). On a similar note, youth reported leaving home, or being asked to leave home due to issues including family conflict, and/or parental unwillingness or inability to care for them (MacLean, Embry, & Cauce, 1999).

In a study conducted in Eldoret town, Kenya, researchers examined a group of children who fully participated in street life. In some cases, these children had a home and a family available to them, but they did not go home with any degree of regularity or consistency. These children posed the most critical problem because they were completely detached from their families. Street children grow up without any adult guidance and completely depend on their peers for their daily living (Ayuku, 2005). This group of street-peers was described by Ayuku as young, ragged-looking children who spend the day begging, scavenging, and stealing if opportunities arise. If the only influence and structure in a child's daily life comes from such a source, it is evident this alternative family structure is extremely ineffective.

Families within the School

Researchers did not find any studies specifically addressing the proposed topic: schoolbased family formation among Ugandan secondary school students. Therefore, this study seeks to analyze how self-defined families are created and maintained within the school. Researchers will attempt to answer the following question: Could a school-based family structure be a viable alternative to the biological and extended family? The proposed study will gather data from both OVC as well as non-VC students. OVC is a common term in Africa to denote a group of youth who lack protection or advantage. These youths may be orphans who have lost or been permanently separated from one or both their parents or have parents who are not involved in their lives. There is evidence of the high incidence of OVC in Uganda. "Many students in Uganda come from distressed circumstances which include extreme poverty, medical deprivation (including HIV/AIDS) poor housing conditions and single parent homes" (Hallam et al., 2009, p. 1). Not only is the orphan dealing with the loss of a parent, but also with the inevitable degradation of the family unit. Loss of a parent may be followed by a change in household structure (Masmas et al., 2004) and separation from siblings (Sengendo & Nambi, 1997).

It is likely OVC experience a decline and possibly a loss of family functioning altogether (Smart, 2003). By including OVC in this study, researchers hope to target the Ugandan secondary school population most in need of a family structure. The aim of this study is also in line with the Ugandan Ministry of Labour's National Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children's policy launched in June 2005. One of the underlying guidelines of this policy aims at making the family and community the first line of response (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 2004). The school forms an integral part of the community where it is located.

Non-VC reside in stable family structures. They do not face the same hardships OVC face. The study by Garmezy (1993) showed how children who lived in nurturing and responsive environments improved in areas such as educational achievement, social and cognitive growth. In addition to examining OVC and non-VC, researchers will also look at the family formation mechanism differences between sporting and non-sporting students. The boarding school sports structure is well developed in Uganda, and many students spend their free time participating in sports such as netball, volleyball, and soccer. Chappell (2008) explains the general enthusiasm for many sports played in Uganda. The benefits of sporting participation have been well documented in the Western world (still needs to be explored in greater detail. Adams, 2010). Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt (2003) noted that participants in most extracurricular activities

achieved better educational outcomes than non-participants, even after controlling for social class, gender, and intellectual aptitude. Most articles dealing with the topic of sport and family are focused on the biological families' involvement in the child's team. Although the beneficial aspects of sport participation are generally understood, the possibility of family formation still needs to be explored in greater detail.

The benefits of sport can stem directly from the influence of teammates. Harter (1999) stated that peers contribute to the physical activity through recognition of accomplishments, companionship, and esteem support. For instance, approval from peers (i.e., teammates) influences global self-worth, appropriate expression of emotions, and motivation to perform prosocial behaviors. Wiess and Ferrer-Caja (2002) extended these findings by showing peers are important for the acquisition of competence in sports settings, psychological adjustment, and social and moral development. Friendships were found to be particularly strong among athletes, and athletes report sport participation is important to their development and affirmation of friendships (Patrick et al., 1999). These findings were extended in an article written by Ennis et al. (1999) who found high school students from low- and middle-class families developed an affiliation with their team and described it as a family. Similar to the family environment, they felt responsible to their teammates, showed them respect as individuals, and developed a sense of trust. The authors found "when students from different neighborhoods, cultures and genders had the opportunity to work together in a positive environment, the bonds of trust evolved gradually into a strong friendship or family environment" (Ennis, et al. p. 283). Miller (1992) reiterated similar sentiments in his article entitled "Families on the Field": "I have often heard coaches and players describe their teams as families. I can also remember when the Pittsburg Pirates in the mid 1970's adopted the 'We Are Family' phrase" (p.53). Miller explained how the need for

bonding on a team is similar to that needed in a family. The topic of the proposed study concerns sports teams creating a surrogate family for team members. In this study, the delineation of sporting participants versus non-sports participants is used to better understand the possibility of the team viewing their fellow teammates as family.

By analyzing both OVC and non-VC, sports and non-sports participants, researchers will be able to analyze the possible formation of family within the school between friends or teammates in light of the home-based family environment. Do OVC, who lack a home-based family structure, display an increased incidence of family formation within the school when compared with non-VC, who experience strong family structures at home? Therefore, the purpose of this grounded theory study will be to describe and explain familial relationships between students attending secondary schools in the Mukono District of Uganda.

Methods

The purpose of this grounded theory study is to investigate whether Ugandan secondary school students tend to create an alternative family structure when they lack a home-based family structure and to discover the patterns leading toward this family development. This chapter outlines the structure and methods of the study. The following areas are covered: (a) study setting, (b) school selection, (c) participant selection, (d) protection of subjects, (e) researchers, (f) instrumentation, (g) data collection procedure, (h) data analysis, and (i) plan for establishing trustworthiness.

Study Setting

Five BYU researchers will be based in the Mukono District. Mukono District is one of approximately 80 provincial districts in Uganda. It is located 13 miles east of the southern national capital, Kampala (see Figure 1). Mukono District has a population of 800,000 (Uganda Bureau, 2002).

Accessibility to the study area was an important factor for choosing the Mukono District as the study site. It is close to the international airport at Entebbe and the capital city of Kampala and is, therefore, financially and practically more accessible for the study team than the more remote districts. Mukono District represents a balance of urban and rural school environments and maintains extensive numbers of secondary schools (n = 224).

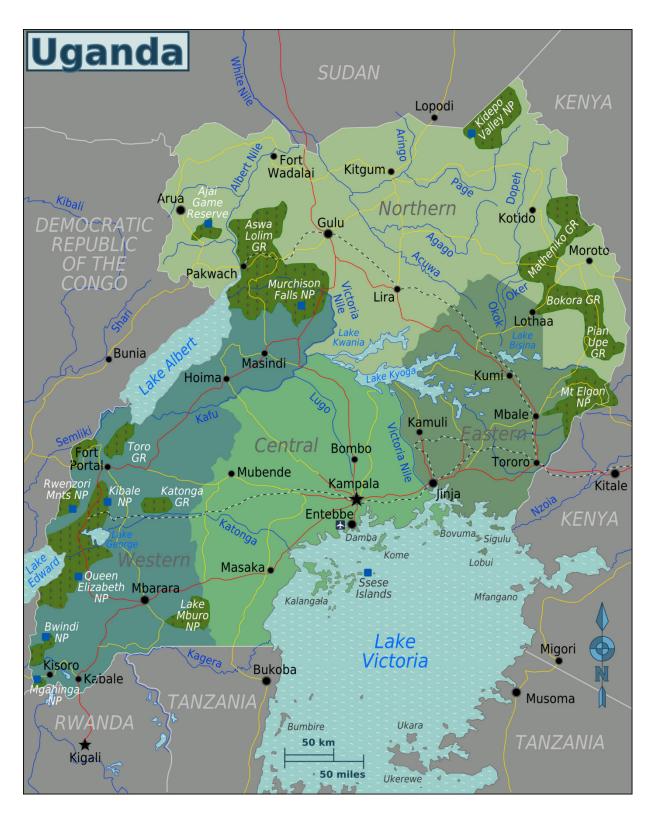


Figure 1A. Uganda map.

School Selection

The researchers from BYU's Department of Recreation Management and Youth Leadership (RMYL) will work in conjunction with Dr. Steven J. Hite from BYU's Educational Leadership and Foundations Department (EdLF). Dr. Hite's 12 years of experience conducting research in Uganda will assist in obtaining permission and letters of support from Dr. Yusuf Nsubuga, Director of Basic and Secondary Education for the Ugandan Ministry of Education and Sports. Using the Mukono District school census, conducted by an EdLF research team in April and May 2008, eight schools will be chosen based on the following criteria: (a) each school must have an active O and A level secondary program that includes students in the S6 grade level, (b) each school must have been among the 225 identified as an active secondary school, (c) each school must have a boarding component currently in operation, and (d) national examination data for the school must have been obtained in April and May 2008 from the Ugandan Ministry of Education and Sports.

For demographic data purposes, the description best characterizing each of the qualifying schools will be applied using the following categories: (a) whether the school is located in an urban or rural environment, (b) whether the school is privately funded or receives government subsidies to sustain itself, and (c) how large the school is. For the purposes of this study, urban schools were determined to be within five kilometers of the Mukono Town Center, which is the largest metropolitan area within the Mukono District (Wawro, 2010). Although smaller than Mukono Town, there were three other regional population centers in Mukono District that this study considered an urban setting: Lugazi, Nakifuma, and Mbiko (see Figure 2A).

Lugazi is the most populous municipality in Mukono District east of Mukono Town and is an important trading center. All schools located within 2.5 kilometers of the Lugazi Town Center were considered urban. Both Nakifuma and Mbiko are smaller than Lugazi, but they are both located on main tarmac roads and represent regional centers of activity in Mukono District. Schools located within two kilometers of their respective town centers were considered urban schools. All schools in Mukono District located outside of these four population centers were considered to be in a rural setting.

For the purposes of this study, government schools are defined as schools the Ugandan government provides partial or full financial support through its Ministry of Education and Sports. Private schools receive no recurrent funds from any government source. Any school with a total enrollment of over 500 students will be considered large (Wawro, 2010).

The following schools will be visited (see Table 1A): Equator

(urban/government/small); Bishop (urban/government/large); Namakwa,

(rural/government/small); Kasawo (rural/government/large); Mukono Town Academy (MTA; urban/private/small); St. Stephens (urban/private/large); Liahona (rural/private/small); and Central (rural/private/large).

Table 1A

	Government(G)		Private(P)		
	Urban(U)	Rural(R)	Urban(U)	Rural(R)	
Small(S)	S.U.G.	S.R.G.	S.U.P.	S. R.P.	
Large(L)	L.U.G.	L.R.G.	L.U.P.	L.R.P.	

Sampled Schools by School Type, Size, and Setting.

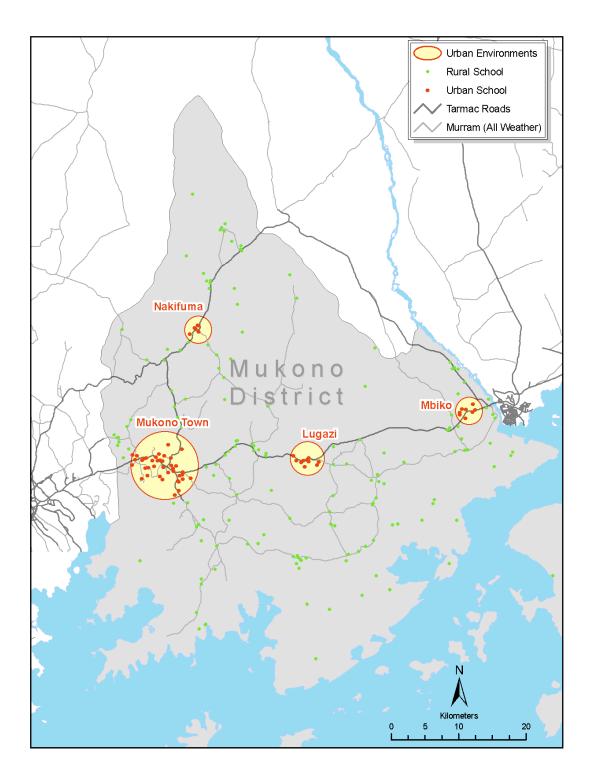


Figure 2A. Mukono District urban environments.

With the assistance of Dr. Yusuf Nsubuga, the Director of Basic and Secondary Education for the Ugandan Ministry of Education and Sports, and Dr. Christopher Mugimu, Makerere University Senior Lecturer in education, researchers will visit eight schools chosen with the categorization for inclusion described above. This maximum-variety purposive sample (Patton, 1990) of schools will give the researchers access to a reasonable level of variety among the contextual factors existing among schools in the Mukono District. Within qualitative research, maximum variety sampling creates a control mechanism for variation analogous to stratification in probability sampling. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), the most useful strategy for the naturalistic approach is maximum variation sampling. This strategy aims at capturing and describing the central themes or principal outcomes that cut across a great deal of participant or program variation. For small samples, a great deal of heterogeneity can be a problem because individual cases are so different from each other. The maximum variation sampling strategy turns apparent weakness into strength by applying the following logic: "Any common patterns that emerge from great variation are of particular interest and value in capturing the core experiences and central, shared aspects or impacts of a program" (Patton, 1990, p. 172).

The researchers will visit the eight schools identified in the categorization for inclusion above (see Table 1A). Each selected school meets a combination of the three conditions of school type (government/private), size (small/large) and setting (rural/urban). If any of the schools listed in Table 1A are not willing to allow access for any reason, the researchers will choose a replacement school from the most comparable school available.

Participant Selection

The research team will use the first week (five days) to travel to each of the schools and set up appointments with the head teachers to conduct the study. During this preparation week, researchers will plan the exact day and time for a trip to the school the following week. Researchers will also use this week to ensure all instrumentation is vetted by selected Ugandan educators to review for appropriateness to context. The research team will also discuss the interview questions with Makerere University professor Christopher Mugimu (Ph.D.) and Steven Ssenyonjo, a former school teacher who works daily with orphans in his Child2Youth foundation. Researchers will explain to these two local individuals the meaning of each interview question. These two individuals will help clarify ways to succinctly word questions in order to maximize the level of understanding for Ugandan secondary school students. Researchers aim to use the local knowledge and academic expertise of these two individuals to ensure each question conveys the same meaning to the participants as the meaning understood by the researchers.

Research participants will be selected from the S6 (Senior 6) grade level. Researchers will only select S5 or S4 students if there is no S6 student who fits the criteria for selection. This choice of S6 as the preferential grade level is based on several criteria. During the S6 year, students prepare for the Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education (UACE) tests; these national exit exams are issued by the Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB). Additionally, S6 is the highest year in the Ugandan secondary school system, and therefore, students are best prepared to communicate their perceptions of family and school-based relationships due to their relatively higher levels of English proficiency. We anticipate that enhanced communication skills will increase the likelihood of broader and deeper responses, providing the research team

with the best possible sources for thick description (Squires, 2008). Due to the S6 student's intense focus in their preparation for their final national exit exams, past researchers have noted an amplification of phenomena, such as those of interest in this study, during this year of school. In addition, S6 students are located at the highest quality school possible based on their prior academic performance and their family's financial ability to keep them enrolled. Therefore, S6 students tend to be more stable at their school than in other grade levels. Many (if not most) Ugandan S1–S3 and S5 students tend to be nomadic in order to avoid payment of school fees and to search for the best academic environment possible for the least cost. The enhanced stability among the S6 group of students will allow researchers to obtain ongoing data throughout the school year, should it prove to be necessary. Age consistency is limited within Ugandan schools. The age range of the students may be relatively vast within just the S6 grade level. Previous research conducted by BYU researchers has shown S6 students may vary in age from approximately 17 years to 30 years old due to lack of funds and time away from school in order to work. Selecting the sample from just one grade level will help to reduce the scope of the subjects' age range.

Experience from previous contact with Ugandan schools has shown the head-teacher, the director of studies, the nurse, and the school bursar to have the most intimate knowledge of their students' home circumstances. The researchers will consult with these four school employees and each will be given a rubric (see Appendix A1) to identify students who best meet the criteria for inclusion in the study. The four school employees will be asked to sign the informed consent form (see Appendix B). There are four conditions of interest in selecting students to participate (see Appendix A1). The first two conditions will be filled by selecting three boys and three girls at each school who are classified as OVC and participate in sport, as well as three boys and three

girls who are OVC and do *not* participate in sport. The other two conditions will be filled by selecting three girls and three boys at each school who are classified as non-VC and participate in sport as well as three girls and three boys who are classified as non-VC and do *not* participate in sport.

The researchers will clearly explain the categories of sports versus non-sport participation, as well as OVC versus non-VC, to each school employee. Sport participation entails participation as part of a group of students in any organized sport who are led by either a coach or a student-leader, who meet regularly to practice, and who have some form of competition. Sports participation is used as a selection criterion to help explore whether a high level of structured participation leads to strong emotional ties between teammates and aids in the possible development of a surrogate family structure compared with students who do not participate in sport. All participants will also be asked questions about recreation patterns with friends and teammates to ascertain how this variable may affect family formation.

The OVC category is more complex to define. In Uganda, orphans are defined as any child under the age of 18 years who has lost one or both of their parents (Smart, 2003). OVC, however, includes both orphans *and* vulnerable children. Smart noted vulnerability is an important but complex concept to define. The inclusion of vulnerability as well as orphans in this study is an attempt to capture the complexity of local circumstances and family variability. Researchers wish to include both orphans and/or vulnerable children in the OVC group. During past experience interacting with school children in Uganda, researchers have found there are children who may be vulnerable but are not necessarily orphans. This broader definition of OVC will acquire participants whose home-based family situations differ widely from their non-VC fellow students. This distinction will become vital in the final analysis of the data. To account

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for this complexity of home circumstances, researchers have identified the following conditions for inclusion into the OVC category. An OVC is a child whose home-based circumstances satisfy more than one of the eight criteria listed below. The criteria are derived from the OVC policies from Uganda, Zambia, Botswana, Rwanda, and South Africa (Smart, 2003). Employees will be asked to check all criteria that apply to the child's home-based circumstances from the following list of vulnerability factors: (a) the child is a double orphan, (b) the child is a single orphan, (c) the child comes from an aged household, (d) the child's parents/caregivers are sick, (e) the family has insufficient food, (f) the housing is below average standard, (g) the child is neglected, and (h) the child is a refugee or has been displaced. Researchers have assigned a point total to each of the above eight circumstances based on the impact the condition has on the vulnerability of the child. The point totals (listed from the highest to the lowest level of vulnerability are as follows:

- Child is neglected (8 points)
- Parents/caregivers are sick (7 points)
- The child is a double orphan (6 points)
- The child is a single orphan (5 points)
- Family has insufficient food (4 points)
- Housing is below average standard (3 points)
- Child is a refugee or has been displaced (2 points)
- Child comes from an aged household (1 point)

The highest allocations of points (factors 1—4) are allotted to family structure variables, with the most points allotted to the factors impacting vulnerability the most. The next two factors (5 and 6) are poverty variables that can add to the vulnerability of a child. The last

two factors (7 and 8) are often apparent in Uganda and can also add to the total vulnerability of a child. The allotted points system will only serve as a temporary method. Researchers will present this list of vulnerability factors to a group of Ugandan locals (both educators and non-educators). These locals will be asked to rank the order from most vulnerable to least vulnerable, and researchers will reconstruct the final points allocations according to an aggregated rank order based on this small survey. This process will ensure the points allocation method is relevant to the context of the study.

Researchers have captured the vulnerability factors with the following definitions:

- *Neglected*: A child's basic needs are not provided for, including, food, clothing, shelter, and love.
- *Parents/caregivers are sick*: The sickness impairs the parents'/caregivers' ability to work and impedes care-giving abilities (HIV is included in this category).
- *Housing is below average standard*: Housing does not provide for the child's warmth, safety, and basic hygiene needs.
- *Child comes from an aged household*: The child lives with caregivers whose age/and or physical or psychological age related health problems impair care giving.

Researchers will select one OVC male and female student in each category (sport and non-sport) who have amassed the highest point total to participate in an interview. Employees will also be asked where every selected student resides during the school holiday periods. In the event of two or more students in the same category amassing the same amount of points, this information will be used to allow researchers to select the student with more temporary non-familial residential arrangements.

A non-VC student's home-based family circumstances do not satisfy criteria 3–8, and may satisfy criterion 1 or 2. During previous projects in Ugandan schools, researchers have noticed children who may be orphans but enjoy a stable family structure. The non-VC category is set up to account for this. The non-VC group will consist of students who have both biological parents still alive or may be single or double orphans, but live in a caring family environment and receive all their daily material needs. Researchers are primarily looking for two distinct groups of participants: (a) students from vulnerable and unhealthy home environments (OVC) and (b) students from healthy, stable home environments (non-VC). Categorization based strictly on orphan status would not grant the researchers accurate information regarding home circumstances. Selecting orphans and non-orphans as well as sporting and non-sporting participants creates a maximum-variety sampling technique. This will give researchers diverse viewpoints to gather high-quality data.

Each school employee will be consulted individually to ensure a rigorous and consistent means of participant selection. This procedure will eliminate the possibility of school officials preparing students to answer questions in a certain manner and, therefore, not necessarily reflecting the participant's perceptions, but perceptions of others. The researchers will explain to school employees the importance of maintaining confidentiality regarding the reasons for selection of research subjects.

After the initial school visit during the preparation week, researchers will use the names provided by school employees in each category and select the student whose name appears the most often. If no single student's name is mentioned more than once in a particular category, or if two or three names are mentioned an equal number of times, all of the names listed in a particular category will be put into a pool, and researchers will randomly select one name. This

selection process will be conducted at the accommodation site after the preparation week and before the actual school visit. By the time researchers go to the school to conduct the interviews, the selected student in each category will be known to the researcher. This protocol is in place to ensure the final student selected is one who has been identified to be a good fit for the specific category for selection by multiple school employees. This method also increases researcher confidence in the purposive sample.

In this study, it is more important to attempt to select a S6 (or nearest grade level) student regardless of whether the student is a boarding or day school student. If there is no boarding school S6 student who fits the criteria (e.g., if a S6 male boarding school student who is classified as an OVC and who plays sport is not available at the specific school), then the school employees will be asked to select a S6 day student. If still there is no student who fits the criteria for selection, school employees will be asked to select a S5 boarding school student. Failing this, a S5 day student will be sampled. If after this procedure there is still no student who satisfies the selection criteria, school employees will be asked to provide the name of a S4 boarding school student and thereafter a S4 day student.

The researchers wish to avoid asking participants questions that are potentially emotional. Therefore, once all eight interviews have been conducted, the school employee who mentioned the selected student will be interviewed privately. This person will be asked whether one, both, or none of the child's biological parents are deceased. It is highly likely the child identified as a vulnerable child will have lost one or both of his or her parents. If a parent or both parents have passed away, the follow-up question will be asked whether the cause of death is known. If the orphan or vulnerable child is identified by the school employee as having both parents still alive, researchers will enquire further about the reason the child was identified as being vulnerable. This information will be valuable in the final analysis.

Protection of Subjects

Data collection activities will only commence following IRB approval and all of the subjects will complete the informed consent form (see Appendix B) prior to being interviewed. Strict adherence to the IRB-approved protocols for protecting the subjects and the confidentiality of the data will be maintained. More specifically, the names and identities of each participant will be kept confidential according to the procedures outlined in the IRB document. These procedures include a provision for the data to be locked in graduate student Angela Warren's room at the accommodation site in Uganda. Angela is the principal investigator (PI) for this study. The data will also be locked in the PI's office once back in the United States of America. Electronic transcriptions will be saved on the PI's password-protected computer. Only the PI and her thesis committee will have access to data, and data will be stored for the duration of the study. During data analysis, subjects' names will be number-coded and their information and responses will only be made available to members of the research team and thesis committee. Upon completion of the study, hard copy data will be stored for up to 7 years in a locked file cabinet accessible only to Dr. Stacy T. Taniguchi. Upon study completion, electronic data will be deleted from the computer and will be stored for up to 7 years on a storage disc that will also be locked in the same file cabinet. After 7 years, all data will then be destroyed.

Researchers

The seven interviewers vary in terms of age (20 years-61 years), gender, and ethnicity,

and come from diverse backgrounds (see Table 2A).

Table 2A

Researcher Characteristics

Researcher	Occupation	Ethnicity	Place of Residence
Dr. Stacy T. Taniguchi	Faculty member: BYU	Japanese American	USA
Dr. Steven J. Hite	Faculty member: BYU	White American	USA
Angela Warren	Graduate Student: BYU	White South African	USA
Caroline Mugimu	Undergraduate Student:	Ugandan	USA
	BYU		
Caleb Baldwin	Undergraduate Student:	White American	USA
	BYU		
University of Makerere	Student: University of	Ugandan	Uganda
Student	Makerere	_	_
University of Makerere	Student: University of	Ugandan	Uganda
Student	Makerere		

Dr. Christopher Mugimu, a professor of education at Makerere University, will be assisting in the selection of the two Ugandan university students. Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda, is an institute of higher learning. The five team members from BYU will be involved in the interviews while the two Ugandan students will help with data clarification and logistics at the research site. The three student interviewers will be mentored in data collection expectations and strategies by Dr. Stacy T. Taniguchi and Dr. Steven J. Hite.

One of the BYU undergraduate researchers (Caroline Mugimu) is a Ugandan native. She attended boarding school at Mukono Town Academy. This is one of the schools where the researchers will be conducting interviews. Caroline Mugimu will be removed from conducting interviews at Mukono Town Academy to avoid potential bias associated with preexisting relationships.

Instrumentation

A pilot study was conducted in March 2011 by one of this study's researchers in order to test the validity of the target questions created for the participants in Uganda. She interviewed five native Ugandans who are currently living in the United States. She asked questions regarding their relationships with family and school friends, asking each participant to answer questions relating to their high school years in Uganda (see Appendix E). Interview questions were carefully designed to achieve triangulation based on Flick's (2008) episodic interview criteria. Triangulation is achieved when questions are designed using at least three of Flick's question types: (a) situation narratives, which are personal descriptions of focused events; (b) repisodes, which are "regularly occurring situations" (p. 62); (c) examples, which are metaphors and actual experiences; (d) subjective definitions, which are personal perceptions and/or explanations of specific terms or constructs; and (e) argumentative-theoretical statements, which are explanations of concepts and their relations. Triangulation, according to Flick, allows researchers to "take different perspectives on an issue under study" and "allows a principle of surplus knowledge" as it produces knowledge at different levels, thus enhancing the quality of the research (p. 41).

During the pilot study, participants were initially asked a few icebreaker questions in order to create a trusting environment, such as: "Tell me a little about yourself," "Tell me something about your family," and "Tell me about something fun you have done at school." The following are a few examples of questions. For the full list of questions, see Appendix E.

- In your own life, when I say the word *family* what does that mean to you? (Subjective definition)
- 2. What do you think a family should do for a child? (Argumentative-theoretical)

3. Who of the following do you think is most like family to you, if any?

(Argumentative-theoretical)

- Teachers/Staff
- Best Friends
- Coaches
- Teammates
- Other
- None

The pilot study helped the researchers clarify wording, question sequencing, and comprehension of the questions. The results of testing these questions for validity were used to modify, add, and delete questions to formulate the final list of interview questions used in the research in Uganda. For the rationale behind the changes, see Appendix E, and for the final questions, see Appendix D.

Data Collection Procedures

The research team will inform the headmaster and teachers of the purpose of this study. When participants are selected, they will be told researchers will be looking to find out more about their relationships within the school environment. This will be the extent of their knowledge about the purpose behind the research. Only the four above-mentioned school employees will know the child was selected based on familial categories, including OVC, non-VC, and sporting involvement.

Data collection will take place over a 12-day period, from July 11th to July 23rd, 2011. The research team will visit two schools per day. All data will be collected on site at the selected schools in the Mukono District of Uganda. Once participants in each category have been identified on the list provided by school employees, researchers will write the name of each selected student on a consent form. Researchers will ask the headmaster if he or she is willing to sign a consent form (see Appendix B) for each selected participant. On-site headmasters are

entitled to sign as a proxy for any student under the age of 18 enrolled in his or her school. The child's parents have placed the child under the school's responsibility. If any student is over the age of 18 years, the informed consent no longer needs to be signed by the headmaster; only the student's signature is required. Eight student participants will be targeted for participation from each school. In total, a minimum of 64 student participants will be interviewed.

Based on extensive field testing previously conducted by EdLF and RMYL researchers, the following procedures will be implemented to collect qualitative data from the selected S6, or if necessary S5 and S4, students included in this study. First, the school's headboy and headgirl will work with Dr. Steven J. Hite to locate the identified students. During past research, the EdLF research team found using these two student leaders provided not only access to the exact location of students, but the teachers were more responsive to letting students out of class to participate in the research. The participants will then be escorted to a designated interviewer. If the selected students are willing to participate, the students will have the informed consent form presented and explained by the researchers. If they agree to participate, they will sign the form (see Appendix B).

The students will be asked to complete a demographic student questionnaire (see Appendix C). This questionnaire will be used to gather important demographic data as well as to ensure the participant fits the criteria for which he or she was selected. At each school, the eight research participants will engage in a dyadic interview for approximately 20 to 30 minutes. Target questions (see Appendix D) will focus on participant's views on family and school-based relationships. During the interviews, the investigators will digitally audio record the interviews, as well as write memos to document observations. If the interviewer notices a participant does not comprehend the questions, the interviewer will appropriately end the interview and another participant who matches the criteria for selection will be selected from the employee created list. During the third week, graduate student Angela Warren will check the completeness of the data. If there is any missing data or data requiring clarification, researchers can return to the school to complete the data collection. This will enhance the clarity and functionality of the data.

Data Analysis

This study will utilize a qualitative data analysis constant comparative method, which falls under the grounded theory methodology as described by Strauss and Corbin (1998). Demographic data from the participant's demographic questionnaires will be analyzed using Excel. Researchers will complete data scrubbing and analysis each evening following data collection. Directly following data collection in the summer, Angela Warren (BYU graduate student) will continue data analysis using NVivo 9, a qualitative software package. The guiding research question will be analyzed through open, axial, and selective coding using this software package. Through open coding, emergent themes and conceptual categories will be identified. Next, axial coding will be used to identify developing patterns and relationships that offer insight into the research questions. Text and matrix queries will be conducted during this stage in order to identify patterns. Text tables and numerical data tables will also be constructed to make further analyses and comparisons. Finally, selective coding will focus more narrowly on the relationships and patterns that emerge during axial coding. During this stage of coding, models will be created and tested in order to find negative cases and resolve any contradicting analysis of the focus question.

The data will also be analyzed using progressive levels of analysis. First individual interviews will be coded. Then the four categories will be coded within each of the eight schools (consisting of sport versus non-sport and OVC versus non-VC). These same categories will then

be coded between schools. During this level of analysis, researchers will take into account the original criteria for school selection, including rural/urban, large/small, and government/private.

Finally, there will be one more level of analysis—extreme case sampling (Miles & Hubeman, 1994). Embedded within the maximum variety sample of eight schools, researchers have identified three schools that serve as extreme case samples. Three schools were identified by the head sports teacher of Mukono Town Academy as schools that uphold a tradition of sporting excellence: Kasawo (football), Mukono Town Academy (netball), and Bishop (athletics). Researchers will be asking multiple knowledgeable Ugandans during the preparation week to vet that these schools truly have premier sporting programs. Sporting excellence can create an environment of team unity. Researchers wish to analyze what effect this may have on relationships that could classify as surrogate family relationships within the team. Researchers did not directly select these three schools as extreme cases, as they were already included by virtue of the maximum variety technique. Using careful analysis, researchers will be able to obtain some of the benefit of both maximum variety and extreme case sampling from the original sample of schools. The analysis of sporting and non-sporting participation of students in the well-known sports at the three extreme case schools will be compared and contrasted with the other five schools. Each level of analysis forms a micro grounded theory. Researchers will consider all the micro theories together, thereby attempting to build a macro grounded theory. The completed grounded theory will be explored, adjusted, and validated by these various macro-to-micro comparisons or iterations. Any cultural data clarification will be accomplished in communication with Dr. Christopher Mugimu, who resides in Mukono Town Council.

Plan for Establishing Trustworthiness

Establishing trustworthiness in qualitative research demonstrates the researcher's ability to persuade the audience "that the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, worth taking account of" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 290). The purpose of this validity plan is to apply appropriate methodological techniques that will satisfy current qualitative standards and to promote trustworthiness in every step of the research process.

The following four research validity constructs are commonly accepted as evaluative criteria for judging qualitative research: (a) credibility, (b) transferability, (c) dependability, and (d) confirmability. These constructs will be discussed in the following sections in order to demonstrate appropriate application of valid methodological techniques and to establish trustworthiness in the study.

Credibility. Lincoln and Guba (1985) define credibility as "the degree of confidence in the 'truth' that the findings of a particular inquiry have for the subjects with which—and the context within which—the inquiry was carried out" (p. 290). In an effort to establish credibility in the research, triangulation of interview questions and interviewees will be used in data collection. According to Flick (2008), this means including different types of questions, such as situation narratives, repisodes, examples, subjective definitions, and argumentative-theoretical statements. Peer debriefing will occur on a daily basis during data collection. Peer debriefing allows the researcher to "step out of the context being studied to review perceptions, insights, and analyses with professionals outside the context" (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993, p. 31). These debriefings will also allow the researchers to refine and clarify themes throughout the data analysis process.

Transferability. For this study to have substantial importance beyond the context of the original data sample, findings need to demonstrate cross-contextual relevance and application. Transferability is defined as "the extent to which [an inquiry's] findings can be applied to other contexts or with other respondents" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 290) and is the ability of the consumer to recognize whether findings are transferable to their context. The most effective way to ensure transferability for this research is to use thick description. The researcher will "collect sufficiently detailed descriptions of data" and then "report them with sufficient detail and precision" (Erlandson et al., 1993, p. 33). Thick description is necessary in explaining the research process and findings, allowing the study to be replicated and the audience to apply findings to their own context. Purposive sampling techniques used for this study seek "to maximize the range of specific information that can be obtained from and about [this] context" (Erlandson et al. 1993, p. 33).

Dependability. Erlandson et al. (1993) explained dependability as evidence that if the study were replicated with the same or similar respondents (subjects) in the same (or a similar) context, its findings would be repeated. Dependability includes consistency, predictability, stability, accuracy, and ability to repeat the findings. According to Erlandson et al., the key to assuring dependability is to provide an audit trail for readers. This allows an external auditor to review and offer critique regarding the study process. Dr. Mark Widmer, a faculty member in the RMYL Department at BYU, will be the external auditor for this study because he will not be a part of the data collection process. Dr. Widmer will meet with the primary researcher every two weeks following the data collection period to review and discuss findings of the qualitative data analysis (QDA). The researcher will keep a running account of the research process through

interview notes, memos, and a daily journal. The formulation of emerging themes and theory will be documented in NVivo9 and a research journal.

Confirmability. Finally, confirmability is "the degree to which [an inquiry's] findings are the product of the focus of its inquiry and not of the biases of the researcher" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 290). A confirmability audit (Erlandson et al., 1993) will allow internal auditors to examine the research methods and evaluate if the researcher's findings accurately represent the initial data. This should also eliminate researcher bias in data analysis. Dr. Stacy T. Taniguchi will collaborate with the primary researcher on a weekly basis immediately following the data collection period. Such an audit will allow a collaborative opportunity to compare and contrast research findings and thus establish validity in the research procedure and discussion.

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Appendix A1: Rubric to Identify Potential Research Subjects

Name: _____

School Position: _____

	SPORT	NON-SPORT
	Please fill in the names of students who are	Please fill in the names of students who are
	OVC and play sport:	OVC and DO <u>NOT</u> play sport:
OVC	BOYS	BOYS 1
(Orphans and	2	2
Vulnerable Children)	3	3
	GIRLS 1 2 3	2
	Please fill in the names of students who are NON-VC and play sport:	Please fill in the names of students who are NON-VC and DO <u>NOT</u> play sport:
NON-VC	BOYS 1 2 3 GIRLS 1 2 3 3	BOYS 1 2 3 GIRLS 1 2 3 GIRLS 1 3

Appendix B: Informed Consent to be a Research Subject

Secondary School Research— Mukono District, Uganda

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY:

The purpose of this grounded theory study is to investigate relationships between Ugandan secondary school students. Angela Warren, of Brigham Young University in Utah, USA, is the Principal Investigator of this study. You were selected for participation because your secondary school is in Mukono District, Uganda.

PROCEDURES:

Your participation in this research will involve a meeting with one or two researchers to participate in one or more of the following data gathering procedures.

1) Students will be asked to participate in a brief demographic survey which will take about 5 minutes.

2) Students will be asked to participate in a brief interview (20-30 minutes) regarding relationships at home and within the boarding school.

3) School employees will be asked to provide information on student family circumstances.

4) Headteachers, the headboy and headgirl will be asked to help facilitate student/employee interaction with the researchers (see #1-3 above)

5) Headteachers, school employees and all students agree to the use of a digital camera and video recorder on school property. This will not be used to identify any participants or individuals in the school

RISKS /DISCOMFORTS:

No known physical risks are associated with participating in this study. Any fears regarding the confidentiality of your information are normal and will be respected. However, you may feel some discomfort when answering questions about personal beliefs or when being audio taped. Given the efforts that will be taken to maintain confidentiality (see below), few organizational or relational risks will be associated with this research. There may be risks in terms of the time you spend participating in this research that you could spend doing other tasks.

BENEFITS:

Upon the completion of your participation, your school will receive a token of our appreciation for your participation.

CONFIDENTIALITY:

Your identity and your responses will remain confidential and will not be revealed in published or unpublished results of this study. Interviews will only be recorded with your permission and will not be transcribed using actual names or places.

WITHDRAWAL:

Participation in this research is voluntary with no penalty for non-participation or withdrawal. You may refuse to answer any survey or interview question, without affecting your employment or standing at the school. The researchers will not influence you to provide more information than that which you feel comfortable sharing. In addition, you may choose to withdraw from this study at any time.

CONCERNS:

If you have any concerns or questions at any time during this study, you may contact: Angela Warren, (Researcher) Brigham Young University Department of Recreation Management and Youth Leadership, Graduate Student, at +1 (385) 208 7573, Email: angelawag@gmail.com or Dr. Stacy T. Taniguchi, Ph.D., Brigham Young University Department of Recreation Management and Youth Leadership, Professor, at +1 (801) 422 3844, stacy_taniguchi@byu.edu

THE SCHOOL-BASED FAMILY

CONTACT PERSON IN UGANDA:

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, you may contact Christopher B. Mugimu, Ph.D., Senior Lecturer, Department of Foundations and Curriculum Studies, College of Education and External Studies, Makerere University. +(256) 7123 43720, byalusagomugimu@gmail.com

I have read, understood and received a copy of the above statement of Informed Consent and desire of my own free will and volition to participate in this study.

Participant's Name (printed)

Participant's School (printed)

Participant's Signature

Parent or Headmaster's Signature

Researcher's Signature

Date

Name:
Birthdate:
Year in School:
\Box S4
□ S5
\Box S6
□ Other
What city are you from?
What country are you from?
Where do you currently attend school (District and School Name)?
How long have you been at this school?
Are you a boarding student?
\Box Yes
□ No
If yes, how long have you been a boarding student in total (at all the schools you have attended)?
Do you play a sport?
\Box Yes

Appendix C: Ugandan Student Demographic Questionnaire

If yes, what sport(s) do you play?

□ No

Appendix D: Target Questions: Final Study

Initially there will be some icebreaker questions in order to create a trusting environment. Preliminary questions will include "Tell me a little about yourself," "Tell me something about your family," "Tell me about a day in your life—let's use yesterday, for example," and "Can you tell me what you did hour-by-hour since you woke up?"

1. Can you tell me about the people you think of as your family?

1a. Is that your "real-real*" (insert subject's answer to the previous question)

family? (Situational Narrative) *See Appendix E Question 1a.

2. What do you think a family should do for a child? (Argumentative-theoretical)

- 3. How often do you see your family at home? (Repisodes)
- 4. Who of the following do you think is most like family to you, if any? (Argumentative-

theoretical) Please mention why or why not as I read the list to you.

- Teachers/Staff
- Best Friends*
- Coaches
- Teammates
- Other
- None

5. Why are your (insert above answer) most like family to you?

5a. *If participant mentions best friends, ask: What do you do for fun with your best

friends?

5b. Can you tell me about something that has happened between you and (insert answer

above) that makes them feel like family? (Example)

6. If you are struggling with something in your life would you talk to your family at home or

your (insert answer from question 4) at school?

Appendix E: Target Questions: Pilot Study

1. In your own life, when I say the word *family* what does that mean to you? (Subjective definition)

During the pilot study it became apparent that some interviewees mentioned individual family members and others just mentioned general feeling toward family. To alleviate this meaning discrepancy, researchers have changed the question to a more individually focused understanding. (see question 1 in Appendix D)

1a. Is that your "real-real*" (insert subjects answer to the previous question) family?

(Situational Narrative)

*Ugandans use the term "real-real" to delineate biological family members from friends or stepfamily members.

2. What do you think a family should do for a child? (Argumentative-theoretical)

3. How often do you see your family at home? (Repisodes)

4. When not with your "real-real" family, do you have close relationships with people here at

your school? Would you consider them family? (Argumentative-theoretical)

Question 4 was removed from the final study because analysis of the data showed question 4 and 4b elicited the same responses. Question 4b remains in the questions used in the final study.

4b. Can you tell us about each one of the following and if they are like family to you?

(Argumentative-theoretical)

- Teachers/Staff
- Best Friends
- Coaches
- Teammates
- Other
- None

5. Why are your (insert above answer) most like family to you?

Respondents often chose "best friends" as most like family. Respondents also mentioned how they participated in leisure activities (such as informal sports) with their friends. The researchers plan to add question 5a (see Appendix D) into the final study questions. This will account for this informal sports participation.

5b. Can you tell me about something that has happened between you and your (insert answer from 4b) that makes you feel like family? (Example)

6. Are your relationships at school or your relationships at home more "emotionally supportive" to you? (Argumentative-theoretical)

The interviewees in the pilot study explained how the phrasing "emotionally supportive" may not be comprehended by Ugandan students due to cultural differences. Interviewees also mentioned the widespread notion within Uganda of the unacceptability of showing emotions, especially among boys. Changes have been made accordingly (see question 6, Appendix D).