AN INVESTIGATION OF HOW CHILDREN WITH LEARNING DIFFICULTIES PERCEIVE HAPPINESS IN RELATION TO SCHOOL AND LEARNING

By

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A great teacher is one who gives direction without dictating, who offers support without generating dependence, and who inspires free, creative thinking within a stable framework of accepted norms. I want to thank Prof. Krüger for being a great teacher.

I also want to thank my special family for enduring "Happiness" as their staple diet for the past year.

DECLARATION

I declare that 'AN INVESTIGATION OF HOW CHILDREN WITH LEARNING DIFFICULTIES PERCEIVE HAPPINESS IN RELATION TO SCHOOL AND LEARNING' is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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SIGNATURE   DATE
(Mrs M Naude)

SUMMARY

Purpose - *To develop a greater understanding of the experience of happiness as it is perceived by children with learning difficulties.*

This study focuses on the interpretative aspect of perception, which is seen to consist of; (1) how the experience feels, (2) how the structure of the experience is understood, and (3) what relevance is attributed to the experience.

Methodology and rationale - *The paradigmatic point of departure is Positive Psychology, which forms part of the strength-based perspective. Positive Psychology explores those factors that allow individuals and communities, not just to survive, but to flourish.*

The methodological orientation of this study is phenomenological and qualitative in nature.

Findings - *While the most consistent theme was the relationship between friendship and happiness, this study offers insight into all three aspects of perception as defined above. It also suggests that children with learning difficulties may seek their happiness outside of the context of school and learning.*

Key words – *Happiness, Positive Psychology, Strength-based, School, Education*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTORY ORIENTATION, STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, AIM OF THE STUDY AND CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

> *"The Patronus is a kind of positive force, a projection of the very things that the Dementor feeds upon – hope, happiness, the desire to survive – but it cannot feel despair, as real humans can, so the Dementors can't hurt it …. (You can conjure the Patronus) with an incantation, which will work only if you are concentrating, with all your might, on a single, very happy memory."*

J.K. Rowling

From Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban.

The above quote highlights happiness as a protective force. It also suggests the active role that individuals can take in bringing about their own happiness. Happiness is seen, not merely as the linear result of external circumstances but rather as a bi-directional generative force that results both in and from happiness. Though children's literature abounds in stories of positive emotions functioning as protection against adversity, it is only with the recent interest in positive psychology that the systematic and scientific study of human strengths and virtues has gained prominence within the field of psychology. While much is known about the risks and deficits that contribute to mental illness, less is known about those characteristics and emotions that strengthen individuals. A central premise in strength-based perspectives such as positive psychology is that prevention of psychopathology is more effectively achieved by building and extending strengths in the individual, than by identifying and fixing their deficits (Suldo & Huebner 2004:93).

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

The National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training (NCSNET) together with the National Committee on Education Support Services (NCESS) were commissioned to investigate and make recommendations on all areas of special needs and support services in South Africa. Central to the Report, which was published in 1997, was a shift away from the traditional model of learning difficulties to one of 'barriers' to learning and development (Department of Education 1997:11). The

focus moved from the learner's impairment to the obstacles that restrict the learner's progress. This serves to focus definitions of learning difficulties on ways in which the learners with learning difficulties may be given support to reach their potential (UNISA 2001:70).

Though recent policy changes in South Africa, such as Outcomes Based Education (OBE), the Culture of Learning, Teaching and Service campaign (COLTS), and inclusive education, have shifted the focus from a deficit-based model to a social model, the realization of these policy ideals still has a long way to go and is hampered by a lack of resources and lingering acceptance of the past paradigms (Naicker 2000:4-11). As a result education, learning support, and indeed educational psychology, in South Africa are still largely deficit based, and the focus of learning support remains firmly on identifying, diagnosing, and remedying the underlying deficit. Children with learning difficulties usually undergo psychological assessment because of some deficit in their academic, behavioural and/or emotional performance. Remedial action is then taken to correct identified problems. Therefore, while there has been a conceptual shift in South African educational policy, from the deficit-based model to a more social model, there is still little focus on the promotion of strengths within the practical field of learning difficulties.

Yet strength-based perspectives are useful as frameworks against which to assess and assist children with learning difficulties because they draw on the belief that everyone – even those most at risk – has unique talents, skills and resources that can be harnessed to ensure resilience and growth (Cox 2006:288). In addition, the development of resilience, or the ability to bounce back from adversity, is especially important for children with learning difficulties and research suggests that the identification of strengths plays a vital role in resilience (Morrison, Brown, D'Incau, Farrell, & Furlong 2006:20).

With the growing focus on strength-based perspectives there has been an increasing polarisation of support around the opposing models. I find myself supporting the many theorists who identify the need for balance in this respect, and recognise that the theories are not mutually exclusive but rather complementary (Naidoo 2006:597; Farmer, Clemmer, Leung, Goforth, Thompson, Keagy, & Boucher 2005:58; Clonan, Chafouleas, McDougal, & Riley-Tillman 2004:102; Terjesen, Jacofsky, Froh & DiGiuseppe 2004:163).

1.2.1   AWARENESS OF THE PROBLEM

Last year my youngest daughter was identified as having learning difficulties and she was enrolled in a remedial school. I was struck by the immediate way in which being at the school defined her in terms of her academic deficits. Though the school offers a supportive environment and makes use of positive reinforcement, its *raison d'être* is learning problems and the core around which all else revolves remains the learners' deficits. Most of the children are acutely aware of the areas in which they fall short as the focus of their school, their occupational therapists, their speech therapists, and their parents is on correcting these identified deficits. Much less focus is placed on celebrating, enumerating, or accentuating their strengths.

During my interaction with the learners and parents I was also struck by the range and intensity of negative emotions that seem to accompany the diagnosis and treatment of learning difficulties. Children with learning difficulties, and their families, often grapple with emotions such as shock, shame, anxiety, isolation, rejection, fear, and failure. These negative emotions can have a detrimental and limiting effect on learning. In contrast, positive emotions "broaden the scopes of attention, cognition, and action and … build physical, intellectual, and social resources" (Fredrickson 2001: 220). Encouraging positive emotions is, therefore, important within the educational context – particularly for those children who suffer from learning difficulties and need to build alternative coping mechanisms.

Individuals tend to develop and seek those experiences they perceive as beneficial and valuable. I, therefore, found myself wondering how children with learning difficulties conceptualize and value happiness within the context of schools and learning.

1.2.2   EXPLORATION OF THE PROBLEM

Naidoo (2006:599) makes the point that positive psychology's core contribution to the study of disability and rehabilitation is the focus on building, reinforcing and extending strengths. Yet very little research has been done on the identification of strengths in children with learning difficulties. Identification of strengths is not a simple task. Firstly, most strength-based assessment is informal (Reid, Epstein, Pastor, & Ryser 2000:346) and there are, therefore, very few validated assessment tools available to measure strengths. Secondly, strengths are relative and culturally based. Strengths in one individual and context may be seen as weaknesses in

another. This results in some arbitrariness when selecting outcomes that are considered pertinent to the definition of resilient individuals. In addition strengths need to be conceived in a multidimensional manner (Morrison et al. 2006:21; Naidoo 2006: 600; Sorensen, Forbes, Bernstein, Weiler, Mitchell & Waber 2003:10) including biological, emotional, psychological, cultural, contextual, and environmental factors. This makes assessment very complex. Strengths can be viewed from both a normative and intra-personal perspective. Furthermore strengths can be considered both objectively or subjectively.

There is a strong phenomenological tradition in the 20th century, including the Alderian, existential, person-centered, and post-modern schools. However, in spite of the wealth of research on the importance of the subjective reality of individuals, there seems to be little research, if any, on how children with learning difficulties conceive, value or understand strengths in general and emotional strengths in particular. There is very little research that "has examined the affective states that children ideally want to feel, either within or across cultural contexts" (Tsai, Louie & Chen 2007:18). Moreover there appears to be no research attempting to understand how children think, feel and value these emotions. Understanding this subjective reality would make a valuable contribution to the design of valid instruments for the measurement of protective emotions in children with learning difficulties.

1.2.2.1 **Literature Review**

The review of literature relevant to this study has been structured into 5 sections (See Table 1.1 below):

- the paradigm shift to strength-based perspectives
- human strengths – the three pillars
- identification of strengths in children with learning difficulties
- risk and resilience
- positive emotions in learning

It is important to note that the sources listed below are not exhaustive.

Table 1.1: Literature Review

THE PARADIGM SHIFT TO STRENGTH-BASED PERSPECTIVES	HUMAN STRENGTHS – THE THREE PILLARS
• Capra 1982. • Clonan et al. 2004:101-110. • D'Amato, Crepeau-Hobson, Huang & Geil 2005:97-103. • Department of Education 1997. • Gable & Haidt 2005:103-110. • Huebner & Gilman 2003:99 –102. • Jimerson, Sharkey, Nyborg, & Furlong 2004:9-19. • Morrison et al. 2006:19-31. • Naicker 2000. • Naidoo 2006:595-602. • Reid et al. 2000:346-355. • Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi 2000:5-14. • Smith 2006:13-79. • Snyder, Ritschel, Rand & Berg 2006:33-46. • Terjesen et al. 2004:163-172.	• Baker, Dilly, Aupperlee, & Patil 2003:206-221. • Cheavens, Feldman, Woodward & Snyder 2006:135-145. • Huebner 2004:3-33. • Layard 2006. • Lucas, Diener & Larsen 2003:201-218. • Nickerson, Salamone, Brooks, & Colby 2004:1-18. • Peterson & Seligman 2004. • Seligman, Park, & Peterson 2004:63-78. • Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi 2000:5-14. • Seligman 2006. • Smith 2006:13-76. • Snyder et al. 2006: 33-46. • Suldo & Huebner 2004:93-105. • Theron 2004:317-321. • Tsai et al. 2007:17-30 .
IDENTIFICATION OF STRENGTHS IN CHILDREN WITH LEARNING DIFFICULTIES	RISK & RESILIENCE
• Goldberg, Higgins, Raskind & Herman 2003:222-236. • Hosp, Howell & Hosp 2003:201-208. • Huebner 2004:3-33. • Jimerson et al. 2004:9-19. • MacFarlane 1998. • Martin & Marsh 2006:267-281. • Miller 2002:291-298. • Morrison et al. 2006:19-31. • Rak & Patterson 1996:368-373. • Raskind, Goldberg, Higgins, & Herman 2002:201-208. • Reid et al. 2000:346-355. • Theron 2004:317-321.	• Corcoran & Nichols-Casebolt 2004:211-235. • De Civita 2006:241-244. • Gardynik & McDonald 2005:206-214. • Goodley 2005:333-343. • MacFarlane 1998. • Rak & Patterson 1996:368-373. • Sorensen et al. 2003:10-24. • Theron 2004:317-321. • Wong 2003:68-76.
POSITIVE EMOTIONS IN LEARNING	
• Aspinwall 1998:1-32. • Baker et al. 2003:206-221. • Bagdi & Vacca 2006:145-150. • Bryan 2005:119-121. • Bolte, Goschke, & Kuhl 2003:416-421. • Burton & King 2004:150-163. • Dewhurst & Parry 2000:541-551. • Fredrickson & Branigan 2005:313-332. • Fredrickson 2001:218-226. • Gasper & Clore 2002:34-40. • Hallowell 2005. • Isen 1990:75-96. • Isen, Daubman, & Nowicki 1987:1122-1131. • Kahn & Isen 1993:257-267. • Levine & Bluck 2004:559-574. • Martin & Marsh 2006:267-281. • Noddings 2005. • Pajares 2001:27-35. • Pekrun, Goetz, Titz, & Perry 2002:91-105. • Terjesen et al. 2004:163-172.	

1.3   DELIMINATION OF THE STUDY

The paradigmatic point of departure for this research is positive psychology, which forms part of the strength-based perspective (Smith 2006:17).

Positive psychology focuses on positive emotions, positive personal traits, and positive environments (Clonan et al. 2004:101). Exploration of these three dimensions can take place from either an objective or subjective perspective. Due to the enormity of such an exploration, this study looks only at the qualitative, subjective understanding that children with learning difficulties have of happiness (see Fig 1.1 and Fig 1.2 below).

Fig 1.1: Delimination :
Three Pillars of Positive Psychology
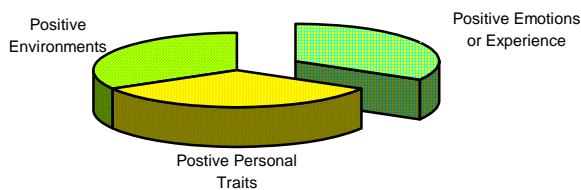
Fig 1.2: Delimination :
Perception of Positive Emotions
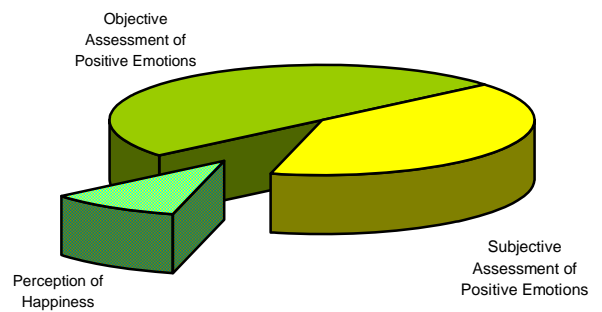
As I will be based at Flamboyant Remedial School in White River for the year of 2007, the population for this research will be limited to learners from this school. The population will be further limited to children between the ages of 10-12 years. Erikson identified that children at this age are striving for industry over inferiority (Corey 2005:63; Louw, Van Ede & Louw 1998:53). In order to avoid lasting feelings of inferiority the main task at this age is the experience of success, mastery and competence. It is often in relation to school accomplishment that these experiences become entrenched.

1.4 <u>STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM</u>

How do children with learning difficulties perceive happiness in relation to school and learning?

1.5 <u>AIMS OF THE STUDY</u>

1.5.1 PRIMARY AIM

The primary aim is to gain a rich understanding of how children with learning difficulties perceive happiness in relation to school and learning.

1.5.2 SPECIFIC AIMS/OBJECTIVES

In order to achieve the primary aim, the research has the following specific aims:

1.5.2.1 to answer the following research questions

- How do children with learning difficulties describe the feeling of happiness within the context of school and learning?
- How do children with learning difficulties understand the structure of happiness within the context of school and learning?
- How do children with learning difficulties attribute relevance to happiness within the context of school and learning?

1.5.2.2 to conduct a literature study

A wide literature study will be conducted to gain background knowledge on strengths and positive emotions in children with learning difficulties. Particular focus will be placed on the role of happiness in the context of school and learning. The literature study will provide insight into the above research questions and place the present study within the framework of positive psychology.

1.5.2.3 to conduct an empirical study

The methodological orientation of this study is phenomenological and therefore qualitative in nature. The focus of qualitative research is to access the subjective experience of the participants. The data will be collected through qualitative interviews during which the participants are asked to think of a metaphor for happiness within the context of school, and tell a happy story about school. The data will then be analysed using qualitative methodology.

1.6 CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

To ensure that misunderstanding does not occur the following relevant concepts have been defined for the purposes of this study.

1.6.1 LEARNING DIFFICULTIES

There is much controversy regarding the definition of learning difficulties (Reiff, Gerber, & Ginsberg 1993:114). In essence the debates revolve around whether the problem lies within the child (deficit-based model), within the environment (social model) or within the particular fit between the child and the environment (D'Amato, Crepeau-Hobson, Huang, & Geil 2005:98; Sorensen et al. 2003:10).

Though the focus in South Africa has shifted away from the traditional, deficit-based view, many institutions are still based on the deficit-based model. In terms of this model learning difficulties have the following elements:

- Children with learning difficulties have average or above average intelligence (Mwamwenda 1996:441; Miller 2002:292; McLoughlin, Clark, Mauck, & Petrosko 1987:357) but discrepancies exist between ability and academic achievement (Gardynik & McDonald 2005:209; UNISA 2001:70; Margalit & Efrati 1996:69).
- Learning disabilities are intrinsic to the child and assumed to result from some dysfunction of the central nervous system (UNISA 2001:66; Berk 1997:617-618; Lategan 1994:4).
- Behavioural, emotional, and socialization problems are often experienced though they are not the direct cause (Gardynik & McDonald 2005:209; Al-Yagon & Mikulincer 2004:12; Margalit & Efrati 1996:69; Lategan 1994:4).

Flamboyant School, where my research will be conducted, incorporates the above criteria. However, they also include some learners where socio-economic deprivation, physical disability, and behavioural or emotional factors are perhaps the main cause of their learning problems. They thus embrace a broader concept of learning difficulties that incorporates a wide range of barriers to learning.

Therefore while the term "learning disability" implies the deficit-based model, the term "barriers to learning" suggests the social model. In this study the term "learning difficulties" is used and incorporates both perspectives.

1.6.2 PERCEPTION

Perception is the process of knowing things from the external world. It may be "regarded as the brain's ability to make contact with the outside world through the medium of the senses" (UNISA 2002:105) and as such involves both the physical transmission of sensory input as well as the subjective translation of that sensory input into experience. Perception, therefore, can be seen as consisting of two aspects: sensory input and sensory interpretation. This study focuses on the interpretative aspect of perception and for the purposes of this study is seen to consist of three aspects; (1) how the experience feels, (2) how the structure of the experience is understood, and (3) what relevance is attributed to the experience.

1.6.3 DEFICIT-BASED MODEL

The deficit-based model, aligned closely with Western medicine and science, focuses on the weaknesses and needs within individuals. It tries to identify and correct these deficits so that the individual may return to a state of wellness. This model has a singular, linear approach to health, which is seen as the absence of problems. Problems or deficits are categorised and listed as, for example, in the DSM-IV.

1.6.4 SOCIAL MODEL

The social model represents a major shift away from the deficit-based model in that it sees the problem as lying, not in the individual, but in the environment or in the manner in which society responds to the individual. Post-apartheid education policy is based on this model.

1.6.5 STRENGTH-BASED MODEL

Like the social model the strength-based model also represents a major shift from the deficit-based model. However, unlike the social model, the strength-based model recognises the deficits within the individual but views a focus on their strengths as the more effective approach to prevention and cure of those deficits. The strength-based model focuses on assets and capabilities within the individuals and their environments without denying the existence of their deficits.

1.6.6   PROTECTIVE STRENGTHS

In this study protective strengths have been conceptualised as those emotions, traits and/or factors within the individual and/or their environment that contribute towards their triumph over adversity and achievement of life success. Happiness itself is viewed as a protective strength.

1.6.7   RISK AND RESILIENCE

In this study resilience refers to the child's ability, either innate or environmental, to regain patterns of adaptation, competence, and fulfilment, in spite of hardship.

1.6.8   FLOW

Flow is a term coined by Csikszentmihalyi to describe the intense involvement in a task. It can be described as "a subjective state that people report when they are completely involved in something to the point of losing track of time and of being unaware of fatigue and of everything else but the activity itself" (Csikszentmihalyi, Rathunde & Whalen 1993:14). This type of involvement is usually of a creative and pleasurable nature. Flow experiences involve intense concentration and a highly developed performance of skills. In addition flow involves a belief in the intrinsic value of the activity.

1.7 <u>RESEARCH DESIGN</u>

The nature of this research is essentially qualitative. Goldberg, Higgins, Raskind and Herman (2003:224) explain qualitative research as seeking to understand interpretations rather than identifying causal relationships; studying dynamic phenomena rather than unchanging facts; and discovering theories rather than trying to prove them. This research is not trying to verify objective facts. It aims to gain insight into the sample's perceptions, understanding and interpretation of positive emotions in relation to learning.

This research will consist of a literature study and an empirical study.

1.7.1   LITERATURE STUDY

To achieve the aims of this study an intensive literature study will be executed (see 1.2.2.1 for greater detail).

1.7.2   EMPIRICAL STUDY

The focus of this research is on rich subjective expression. The empirical research will consist of two stages; a group encounter, and short individual interviews directly after the group encounter. During the interviews the participants will be asked to:

(a)   think of a metaphor for happiness within the context of school
(b)   tell a happy story about school and learning.

The interviews will be recorded on video and transcribed to facilitate qualitative data analysis. Details regarding the qualitative tools to be used for data collection and analysis, as well as consideration of the ethical implications will be discussed in chapter 3.

1.8   <u>PROGRAMME OF THE STUDY</u>

1.8.1   CHAPTER TWO

Chapter Two documents the literature study, which explores the paradigm shift to strength-based perspectives, human strengths, identification of strengths in children with learning difficulties, risk and resilience, and positive emotions in learning.

1.8.2   CHAPTER THREE

Chapter three details the plan for the empirical research to be conducted for this study. The research design, sample selection, data collection and analysis, as well as ethical considerations, are explained in detail.

1.8.3   CHAPTER FOUR

The research process and data are discussed in detail.

1.8.4   CHAPTER FIVE

Chapter five contains findings, conclusions, limitations of study and recommendations for further research resulting from this study.

1.9 <u>CONCLUSION</u>

Mothner (2001:83) points out that we are largely what we value and that by becoming more aware of our values in respect to resilience and resilient attitudes, we will become more effective in establishing and promoting resiliency. It is recognized that individuals can have a high degree of control over their emotions. The kind of values and perceptions children hold towards happiness may influence the manner in which they shape themselves, either accepting and promoting happiness within the context of school or rejecting it in favour of less constructive feelings. It, therefore, behoves us to understand how children with learning difficulties understand happiness so that we may be better positioned to promote this protective strength.

Drawing adapted from Peter Reynolds illustration in McDonald (2006:139).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   INTRODUCTION

"You are beautiful but you are empty," he continued. "One cannot die for you. To be
sure, an ordinary passer-by would believe that my very own rose looked just like you,
but she is far more important than all of you because she is the one I have
watered…. And it is she I have listened to complaining or boasting or sometimes
remaining silent. Because she is my rose."
And he went back to the fox.
"Goodbye," he said.
"Goodbye," said the fox. "Now here is my secret. It is very simple. It is only with
one's heart that one can see clearly. What is essential is invisible to the eye."

Antoine de Saint-Exupéry
From The Little Prince

The above quote highlights how meaning is created through the value we bestow on our experiences and suggests that these meaningful experiences are only created through effortful involvement or engagement. These aspects are shown (in 2.3.1.1) below to be critical elements of happiness. However this quote also emphasises the value of subjectivity and intimates that our emotions, our hearts, are the only route to accessing real value in our lives.

Though this study explores how children with learning difficulties perceive happiness in relation to school and learning, I have started by stepping back to ensure that this subject is adequately contextualised. This literature review places the study of positive emotions and happiness within the new movement towards strength-based perspectives and connects it to positive psychology and resilience theory.

2.2   THE PARADIGM SHIFT TO STRENGTH-BASED PERSPECTIVES

The value system shaping modern Western civilization (including Western education and psychology) arose largely out of the contributions of thinkers such as Bacon, Descartes, Newton and Locke (Capra 1982:37-55). This world-view was characterised by its mechanistic perspective, which emphasised the scientific method. Inherent in the

scientific method are dichotomy and dualism such as subject vs. object, true vs. false, and good vs. bad (Becvar & Becvar 2000:5).

Education and psychology are discussed below in terms of their roots in the mechanistic worldview and in terms of the current paradigm shift (see Fig 2.1).

Fig 2.1: Paradigm Shift
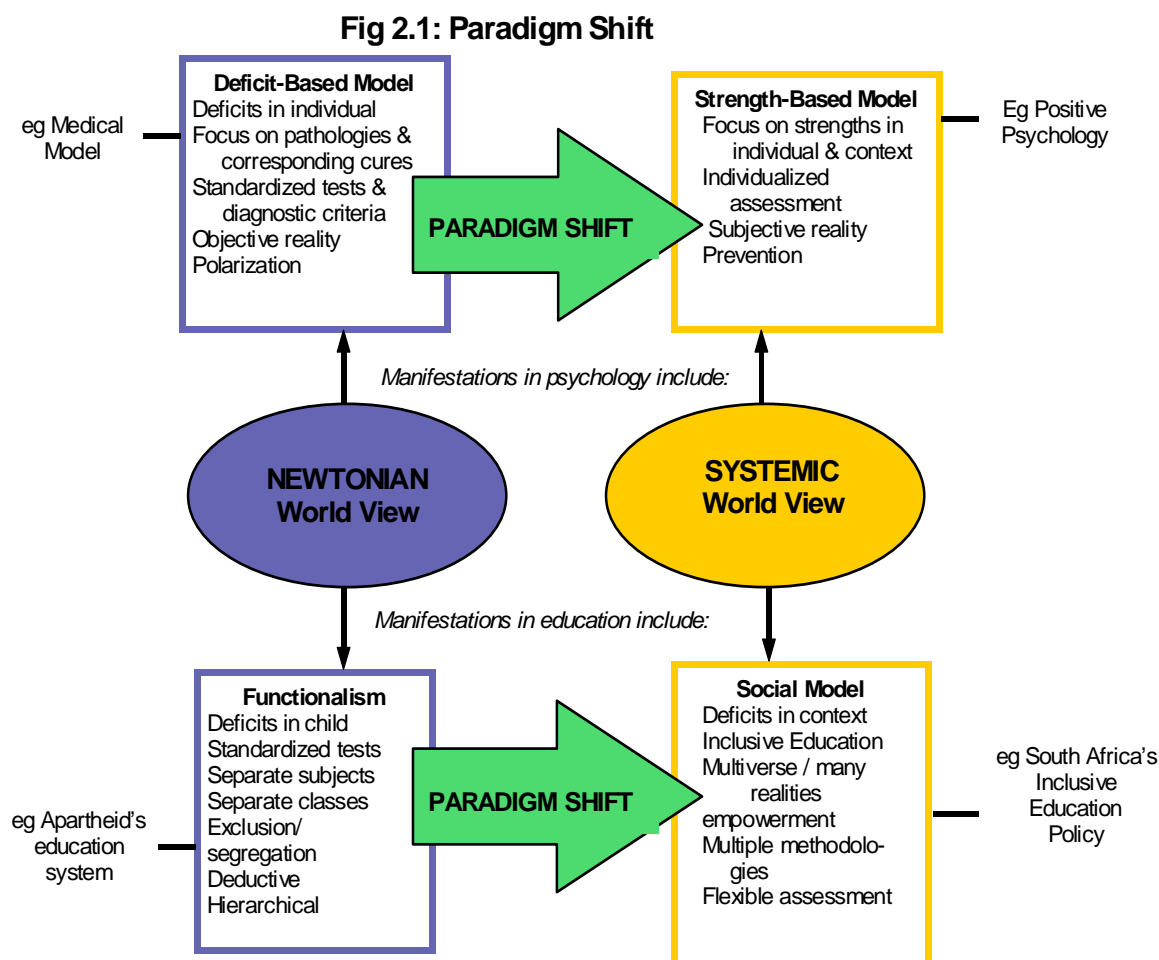
Schools have traditionally been structured along lines similar to a mechanised factory consisting of passive learners and powerful teachers or 'managers'. The curriculum was determined by 'experts' and divided into separate subjects that were taught, essentially, as unrelated entities. Competence or performance was measured very narrowly and deficiencies were perceived as existing within the child. This system's strong analytical basis resulted in a focus on differences and division rather holism and similarities.

In a sense the Apartheid education system, with its emphasis on segregation and separation, can be seen as an extreme manifestation of the values inherent in the Newtonian world-view. "Apartheid education in South Africa promoted race, class, gender and ethnic divisions and has emphasised separateness …[and: MMN] …

produced a dual system of education which included a mainstream and special education component" (Naicker 2000:1).

This model of education did not fulfil the needs of the new democratic South Africa, which sought, as its main educational objective, to provide quality education for all learners. The post-apartheid education system recognized that education is a "fundamental right that extends equally to all learners" (Department of Education 1997:11). The Department of Education recognised that to achieve this, the education system needed to accommodate a wide range of needs resulting from the diversity of its learners. It also recognised the complex relationship between the learner, the learning institution, the learner's environment and the broader social, political and economic contexts and recognised that a break in any point of this complex interaction may impact negatively on the learner. Thus the focus moved from perceived deficits within the individual learner to the concept of "barriers to learning" within the individual or their environment.

Psychology, as a science, grew out of nineteenth-century anatomical and physiological developments, including the work of Wilhelm Wundt (Meyer, Moore, & Viljoen 1997:34) and has a strong analytical and medical foundation. When conceived in medical terms, psychologists operate from the assumption that each pathology has a cause within the individual and a corresponding cure. Many grants were awarded for the study of pathologies and this brought about huge advances in the understanding and therapy of mental illness (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi 2000:6).

However, during the mid 20th century there was an increasing move away from the mechanistic worldview to a more systemic one. This shift included a recognition of the interrelational and contextual nature of all behaviour, as well as the bi-directional nature of influence. It also called into question claims regarding absolute reality. The deficit-based model, so firmly based within the mechanistic worldview, attracted increasing criticism for various reasons including its lack of efficacy in preventing pathology, its pathologising of individual differences, and its inability to contribute to an understanding of optimum health. Psychologists have little understanding of what makes life worth living for normal people (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi 2000:5). High levels of wellness are not necessarily equivalent to the absence of disease. For example, many people continue to experience dissatisfaction with their lives even after their depressive symptoms have passed (Huebner & Gilman 2003:99).

With its focus on the problems experienced by individuals, the deficit-based model pays little attention to what makes individuals succeed or happy (Clonan et al. 2004:102; Jimerson, Sharkey, Nyborg, & Furlong 2004:9; Huebner & Gilman 2003:99-102; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi 2000:5-14). Cowger (1994:264) points out that when assessment focuses exclusively on deficits, the individual's deficits remain the main focus. In addition it limits the range and types of information collected about the individual and as a result may stress the negative side of their behaviour at the expense of the positive (Reid et al. 2000:346). Children define themselves through their self-knowledge and if all they know about themselves is their weaknesses then poor self-concept and lack of self-efficacy are likely outcomes. This places children with learning difficulties in a high-risk group for later psychological and behavioural problems. In addition, by focusing on weaknesses and defining the individual in terms of weakness the range of solutions is limited (Snyder, Ritschel, Rand, & Berg 2006:35; Reid et al. 2000:346).

Furthermore, the deficit-based model has not contributed much knowledge to prevention of the serious problems it so effectively identifies (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi 2000:7). For example, in spite of great increases of knowledge regarding depression and mood disorders, depressive illnesses continue to increase (Layard 2006:35; Papolos & Papolos 2002:163). The increase in health care workers and psychological knowledge has not resulted in a decrease in mental illness. Perhaps, in line with Postmodernist theory, the increased vocabulary surrounding psychological pathologies has rarefied these conditions thus constructing a more pathologized world. Cowger puts it slightly differently when he states, "concentrating on deficits or strengths can lead to self-fulfilling prophecies" (1994:264). Strength-based approaches can be effective in offering a new language that can be used to construct a new, more positive reality. A new language revolving around strengths may help families and schools seek, find and reframe young people in terms of their assets, resiliency and capacities (Smith 2006:16).

A further problem with the deficit model relates directly to learning difficulties. The deficit model is problematic in terms of diagnosis and treatment of students with learning difficulties specifically because it suggests that learning disability is a disease entity meeting the following criteria: (a) reliable diagnosis, (b) known cause, (c) known course with and without treatment, and (d) known treatment. If this were the case we would be able to identify the learning problems reliably and offer appropriate interventions based

on the data collected. This is unfortunately not the case and diagnosis and treatment remain unreliable (D'Amato et al. 2005:98).

In 2000 Csikszentmihalyi stated, "Treatment is not just fixing what is broken; it is nurturing what is best" (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi 2000:7). Since then a growing number of psychologists and researchers have embraced the strength-based approaches (Gable & Haidt 2005:103).

Strength-based approaches and the social model on which South African educational policy is currently based, incorporate a systemic approach. Systemic thought shifts the focus from individuals to the relationships and patterns of communication between them and their environments. There is a growing recognition that "academic achievement is best fostered in an environment that supports the child across multiple contexts (Morrison et al. 2006:19). Sorensen et al. (2003:22) highlights the complex contextual factors that protect children with learning problems. In addition Naidoo (2006:600) points out that "wellness is not prescriptive, or even measured by some objective standard". These insights reveal the move away from the prescriptive belief in an absolute reality advocated by the mechanistic worldview and points to the need for strengths to be seen as being culturally bound and contextually based (Smith 2006:25).

Central to positive psychology is the notion that a focus on strengths not only prevents pathology but is also an effective route to self-actualisation and health (Cheavens, Feldman, Woodward, & Snyder 2006:136). Terjesen et al. (2004:164) states, "focusing on children's strengths can increase the chances that they will successfully manage difficulties they confront in the present and how they will cope with future battles. … Moreover, amplifying the target individual's strengths rather than focusing on repairing their weaknesses may lead to more effective treatment". Strength-based approaches, however, do not imply that other psychological approaches are negative (Gable & Haidt 2005:104). They draw heavily on the methodology of symptom reduction but to help their clients achieve fulfilment they must focus on "identifying and enhancing strengths" (Cheavens et al. 2006:136).

In terms of education and learning, Goleman (1995:90-95) refers to the importance of Csikszentmihalyi's concept of flow and Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences. Goleman highlights the move towards a more positive, strength-based model of education when he asks "who does not recall school, at least in part, as endless dreary hours of boredom punctuated by moments of high anxiety? Pursuing flow through

learning is a more humane, natural, and very likely more effective way to marshal emotions in the service of education" (1995:95).

2.3 <u>HUMAN STRENGTHS – THE THREE PILLARS</u>

In their introduction to Positive Psychology, Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi refer to Camus who "wrote that the foremost question of philosophy is why one should not commit suicide" (2000:13). They point out that this question cannot be answered by merely curing depression but needs to elevate the positive reasons for being alive. Positive Psychology therefore sets out to explore those factors that allow individuals, communities and societies, not just to survive, but to flourish. One of their central premises is that prevention of psychopathology is best effected through building strengths in individuals (Seligman & Pawelski 2003:162). Human strengths function to "mitigate against the development of psychopathological behavior in the face of adverse life circumstances" (Suldo & Huebner 2004:94). Strength-based perspectives such as Positive Psychology try to "optimise rather than normalize all areas of life" (Naidoo 2006:599).

To achieve this, Positive Psychology studies human strengths based, in essence, on three pillars; positive emotions, positive traits, and positive environments.

2.3.1 POSITIVE EMOTIONS

This pillar of Positive Psychology addresses valued subjective experience, or positive emotions. Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi state that at the subjective level Positive Psychology "is about valued subjective experiences: well-being, contentment, and satisfaction (in the past); hope and optimism (for the future); and flow and happiness (in the present)" (2000:5). Positive emotions serve both as markers of optimal well-being and as a means to achieving psychological growth and improved well-being over time (Fredrickson 2001:218).

Emotions typically relate to some personally meaningful circumstance. However, while emotions are usually brief and trigger responses including subjective experience, facial expression, cognitive processing, and physiological changes, affect is often more long-lasting and may be relevant only at the level of subjective experience. In addition, emotions are conceptualised as fitting into discrete categories such as fear, anger, joy and anxiety while affect is conceived along two dimensions only: positive or negative (ibid). For some theorists emotions are positive "if they lead to approach behaviours" (Lucas, Diener & Larsen 2003:202). It is

therefore perhaps important to distinguish not only between positive and negative dimensions of emotion but also the activating or deactivating dimensions. Examples of positive deactivating emotions are relief, relaxation after success, and contentment (Pekrun, Goetz, Titz, & Perry 2002:97) while positive activating emotions would be excitement, anticipation and exhilaration.

Positive Psychology is frequently criticised for separating the study of positive from negative emotion. Csikszentmihalyi notes that critics of the Positive Psychology movement argue that because positive emotions are the opponent processes of negative emotions they can be understood by studying negative emotions (Csikszentmihalyi 2003:114). However research suggests that positive and negative emotions are largely independent rather than opposite emotional dimensions (Fredrickson & Branigan 2005:314; Carruthers & Hood 2004:231).

Seligman and Pawelski (2003:160) point out that happiness (including pleasure, ecstasy, joy, flow etc) relate only to a small aspect of one of the pillars of Positive Psychology. Though researchers operating within the framework of Positive Psychology do not elevate the importance of one pillar above another, for the purposes of this research the focus is on positive emotions, specifically happiness.

2.3.1.1 Happiness

Subjective well-being is often used as a definition of happiness. Subjective well-being consists of happiness which is based on "positive mood and experiences, lack of negative mood and experiences, cognitive evaluation of the various parts of one's life, and global assessment of the overall "goodness" of life" (Carruthers & Hood 2004:229). Similarly, Gilman (2001:750) notes that happiness or subjective well-being consists essentially of two separate but related components; emotions and cognitions. It is also important to distinguish between life satisfaction and happiness. While happiness is an emotion relating to specific reactions to particular events, life satisfaction refers to more general and longer lasting perceptions of one's overall life (Huebner 2004:5).

For individuals to perceive themselves as having a high level of well-being, basic needs must be met. It is unlikely that children who are hungry, cold and suffering from chronic illness will consider themselves to be happy. However, while increased material well-being and improvement of living conditions may lift individuals out of poverty, relieve pain and decrease unhappiness, it does not necessarily lead to

increased levels of happiness (Layard 2006:38). In our modern, consumerist culture, society, happiness is often equated to financial success and it is often assumed that the primary goal of educators is to "give all children the tools needed to get 'good' jobs" (Noddings 2005:22-23). Obviously we short-change our children of true happiness when we define happiness in limited, materialistic terms and "a large part of our obligation as educators is to help students understand the wonders and complexities of happiness, to raise questions about it, and to explore promising possibilities responsibly" (Noddings 2005:23).

It is important to recognise that there is a normative and objective aspect to well-being. However while modern technological research methodologies, in the form of EEG, MRI and PET scans, have been able to identify the site of positive emotion (Layard 2006:18) the actual subjective experience of happiness still seems to be rather diverse and difficult to define. While most people recognise when they feel good, their definition or description of what constitutes a good feeling, differs. Tsai, et al (2007:17) suggest that the differences in the affective states that people value and ideally want to feel, relate mainly to cultural factors. Our sense of well-being is governed to a large extent by the demands and norms of the society within which we find ourselves (Noddings 2005:21). Culture (e.g. individualistic or collectivist) has an influence in the ratings of subjective well-being (Flores & Obasi 2003:51). Subjective well-being is also influenced by social comparison. In this respect it is perhaps worth noting that while negative affect seems to encourage people to engage in downward social comparison (i.e. to seek information and comparison with people worse off than they are), positive affect encourages a drive for self-improvement through upward social comparison (Aspinwall 1998:23). However it is also important to note that when people change their reference group upwards it is likely to impact negatively on their happiness (Layard 2006:45). Therefore, though happy people are likely to compare themselves to those better off than they are, this comparison is likely to decrease their level of happiness.

Noddings (2005:29) points out that though we all seek happiness and happy childhoods for our children, "we do not want to secure the happiness at the expense of future happiness". This is obviously relevant in terms of what we deem important and worthy of study, in the classroom. Noddings goes on to pose the question, "If the domain of personal life – in particular, home life – is one of the great arenas in which happiness may be found, why do we not give it more attention in schools?" (Noddings 2005:30).

As mentioned earlier, happiness consists of the experience and cognitive awareness of positive moods and pleasures. As with bad feeling, good feelings come in many forms. Happiness is not a unitary, singular experience and may include various emotions and experiences such as tranquillity, achievement, discovery, comfort, joy and being loved (Layard 2006:20). Seligman (2006:233) differentiates between three forms of happiness; the pleasant life, the engaged life, and the meaningful life.

(a) *The Pleasant Life*

Noddings (2005:18) refers to Stuart Mills as saying, "By happiness is intended pleasure, and the absence of pain". This is the standard hedonic view, which Seligman describes as the Hollywood form of happiness consisting of "having as many pleasures as you possibly can" (Seligman 2006:233). The pleasant life is largely characterised by that which is made available by improved standard of living. For children this may consist of enough food, better health, as well as the latest CDs, play-stations, branded clothing, and chocolates. Increased standard of living should directly increase happiness in terms of the pleasant life. However, this is where researchers have uncovered rather surprising findings. Though standard of living has increased dramatically in the Western world over the last 50 years, there has been no increase in happiness (Layard 2006:29).

The question is, why? Researchers have identified that the process of habituation impacts negatively on this form of happiness because we are 'programmed' to respond to novel events. Therefore, repeated pleasurable experiences gradually result in less happiness (Carruthers & Hood 2004:234). This results in what Layard (2006:48) refers to as the Hedonic Treadmill and he points out that the things and experiences that that we habituate to most easily "are our material possession – our car, our house" (Layard 2006:49). The secret to continued experience of pleasure is to avoid habituation. Seligman (2006:233) suggests three techniques for the amplification of pleasure: spread out and vary the pleasures, savour the experience, and be mindful of the experience. Similarly, Carruthers and Hood (2004:235) also offer advice on how to increase happiness and describe four basic strategies: increase daily experiences of happiness through regular activities which include variety, novelty, and challenge; active engagement in experiences; maximize the opportunities to experience pleasure; and finally to focus attention on the pleasurable aspects of those activities by savouring the experience.

Social comparison also has a very negative impact on the experience of the pleasant life. The first child on the block with a pair of roller-blades may experience a burst of happiness. However by the time half the children on the block have roller-blades, the first child will probably need a new toy to increase his happiness again while the child without roller-blades feels a need to acquire them just so that he can maintain his level of happiness. Layard (2006:53) points out that one of the lessons in finding happiness "is to enjoy things as they are, without comparing them with anything better".

Drawing adapted from Peter Reynolds' illustration in McDonald (2006:60)
Concept adapted from Snaller's cartoon in Layard (2006:40)

It is worth noting that we do not habituate to all experiences. Layard (2006:49) identifies that we never fully adapt to things "like sex, friends and even to some extent, marriage". Schnall and Laird (2003:793) found that while facial expressions of happiness increased happy emotions "no habituation to expressive behaviour occurred". This suggests that an effective route to happiness may be simply to increase happy behaviour.

As stated before, happiness is more than the mere absence of unhappiness and the seeking of pleasurable experiences is a valid route to happiness. However there are many pleasure seeking activities that do not lead to increased levels of happiness in the long term. Drugs, gluttony, loveless sex and escapist activities may all stimulate momentary pleasure but do not increase lasting happiness. It is clear from the research identified above that seeking pleasure, as the only form of happiness, is unlikely to lead to lasting happiness.

(b) *The engaged life*

Aristotle's used the term *eudaimonia* to describe his view of happiness which encompasses rationality and recognises that "we are closest to the divine image when we are engaged in contemplative thought" (Noddings 2005:10). In *eudaimonia,* the pleasures of the intellect are elevated above mere sensations and happiness is experienced when we become one with the act we are engaged in, whether it be music, mathematics or gardening.

Noddings (2005:26) points out that peak experiences should play a role in education. Flow, a term coined by Csikszentmihalyi to explain the intense involvement in a task, is a peak experience highly relevant in the context of learning. Flow experiences involve intense concentration and a highly developed performance of skills. In addition, flow involves a belief in the intrinsic value of the activity itself i.e. that it is worth doing for itself, without external reward (Harju & Eppler 1997:149). "Moreover, because the flow state is enjoyable, people strive for the experience" (Konradt & Sulz 2001:71). Therefore flow is an ideal state to maximise and prolong learning experiences. However, to experience the magic of flow one needs to have mastered the skills necessary for the activity. "Flow is thought to be optimal when the level of challenge matches the level of skill development; a lower level of challenge leads to boredom, while an overly high challenge leads to anxiety" (ibid). Under the flow state, people become absorbed in their activities.

Though flow is important for learning, the three elements necessary to achieve flow are unlikely to be experienced at school by children with learning difficulties. The concentration needed to experience flow may be limited by ADHD, while the necessary level of skill may be hampered by a history of failure and lack of mastery. Finally, because of their lack of success children with learning difficulties may not experience intrinsic reward from the act of learning. However flow is not limited to classroom learning. Layard (2006:74) points out that flow is experienced whenever

you become so absorbed in an activity that you lose yourself, irrespective of whether you are "playing tennis, singing in a choir, painting a picture, watching football, writing a book or making love". In this sense, many forms of play can be seen as flow experiences. Hallowell (2005:108) states that the goal of play "is to stretch the mind and expand your repertoire of ways to create joy". Play is a child's work and though it "is enjoyable and reinforcing for its own sake, play has several functions" (Louw et al. 1998:303) including physical, cognitive, personality, emotional, and social development. Hallowell (2005:125) points out that play that is fun tends to be repeated. In other words the activity is practiced and practice builds the bridge between play and mastery. He goes on to say that, "Happiness depends on a lifetime not of achievement but of gradually increasing feelings of mastery" (Hallowell 2005:138).

Because skill and knowledge are necessary to the experience of flow in learning, it seems to develop with age and experience (Harju & Eppler 1997:154). Seligman (2006:234) explains that to live an engaged life one must identify one's signature strengths and then use them in all aspects of life. This increases flow, but not necessarily pleasure, thus distinguishing the different nature of happiness in the engaged life. The engaged life relates more to gratification than to pleasure and during the act of intense engagement, emotions are not necessarily heightened. Happiness is experienced once the engagement comes to an end. The sense of mastery achieved through the engaged life, however, cannot be achieved without involvement. Just as play requires the "active engagement on the part of the player" (Louw et al. 1998:299) so mastery too, requires the involvement of the individual. Involvement means connecting and this leads us on to the next form of happiness.

(c)   *The meaningful life*
To find meaning we attach to something bigger than ourselves and the "larger the thing to which you can credibly attach yourself, the more meaning your life has" (Seligman 2006:235). To live a meaningful life, individuals need to identify their strengths and use them in the service of something they believe is larger than they are. In other words, they need to connect meaningfully with people, concepts and causes outside of themselves.

Hallowell (2005:79) points out that, "More than any single factor that we can control, connectedness in childhood is the key to a happy adulthood (and a happy childhood as well!)". Connectedness in an individual is dependant on the formation of

meaningful relationships with concepts such as religion, other people such as friends and family, and themselves. In terms of Relations Theory, relationship development requires involvement, experience, and allocation of meaning (Roets 2002:41). Positive relationship formation or connectedness requires, firstly that the individual involve themselves, secondly that positive experiences result from the involvement and thirdly that they allocate positive meaning to this experience.

Connection to others is recognised as an essential aspect of well-being. Sharing the experiences of others, including their suffering, contributes to our own fulfilment, not in the sense of "happiness as pleasure but, rather, as a longer-lasting sense that we would not be fully human without the griefs and emotional pains we share" (Noddings 2005:15). Seligman (2006:235) describes teaching the meaningful life to students by allowing them to compare the effect of fun activities (such as relaxing with their friends) to philanthropic activities (such as helping others). Students discover for themselves that the satisfaction they experience is longer lasting and more real when engaged in helping others.

Seligman and Pawelski point out that wealthy cultures invent myriad shortcuts to feeling good. These produce positive emotion in us without our going to the trouble of using our strengths and virtues. "Shopping, drugs, chocolate, loveless sex, and television are all examples … [however: MMN] there is a cost to getting happiness so cheaply. … Positive emotion alienated from positive character leads to emptiness; to a lack of meaning; and as we age, to the gnawing fear that we are fidgeting unto death. It is possible that the spiritual malaise and the epidemic of depression that has swept all the wealthy nations have at their core the use of the shortcuts displacing the use of the strengths to produce positive emotion" (2003:161).

2.3.2 POSITIVE PERSONAL TRAITS

Though this pillar of Positive Psychology is not central to my research it is important to make mention of it. Personal strengths "are what the individual personally introduces to the situation as opposed to that which is integral to the situation" (Theron 2004:317). On the individual level, Positive Psychology explores character strengths in the form of positive personal traits and abilities such as the capacity for love, integrity, courage, interpersonal skill, aesthetic sensibility, perseverance, discipline, forgiveness, originality, future mindedness, spirituality, high talent, and wisdom" (Smith 2006:29; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi 2000:5).

The Values in Action (VIA) project is a classification of strengths focusing "specifically on the strengths of character that make a good life possible" (Seligman, Park, & Peterson 2004:63-78). It identifies six virtues each achieved via several distinctive human strengths resulting in a total of 24 separate traits (see table 2.1 below).

Table 2.1: **Positive Human Traits** (summarised from Peterson & Seligman 2004:29-30, and Seligman et al. 2004:77-78)

Human Virtue	Positive Human Trait
Wisdom & Knowledge Cognitive strengths that entail the acquisition and use of knowledge	Creativity Curiosity Open-mindedness Love of learning Perspective
Courage Emotional strengths that involve the exercise of will to accomplish goals in the face of opposition	Bravery Persistence Authenticity Vitality
Humanity Interpersonal strengths that involve tending and befriending others	Love Kindness Social intelligence
Justice Civic strengths that underlie healthy community life	Citizenship Fairness Leadership
Temperance Strengths that protect against excess	Forgiveness Humility/modesty Prudence Self-regulation
Transcendence Strengths that forge connections to the larger universe and provide meaning	Appreciation of beauty and excellence Gratitude Hope Humour Spirituality

2.3.3 POSITIVE ENVIRONMENTS

Positive environments refer to the group or societal aspects of Positive Psychology. "At the group level, it is about the civic virtues and the institutions that move individuals toward better citizenship: responsibility, nurturance, altruism, civility, moderation, tolerance, and work ethic" (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi 2000:5). Positive Psychology, however, does not limit itself to civic virtues but also explores family structure, positive neighbourhoods, and support networks (Corcoran & Nichols-Casebolt 2004:217; Trivette & Dunst, 1990:3). This view is closely aligned with the core assumptions of the social model of disability, currently adopted by the South African Education Department, which emphasizes viewing the individual's 'problems' or needs in relation to their broader social and political context (Naidoo 2006:600). De Civita supports this social model view and points out that when resilience is perceived as prevention rather than recovery, it "implies transformation in a child's pattern of stress responding as a result of changes in personal resources

and environmental conditions" (2006:241). Because this study explores positive emotions within the context of learning and education, this pillar of Positive Psychology is also relevant.

Positive developmental contexts provide the child with a wide range of opportunities to engage, develop and master their skills. The "most effective programs view the context in a multidimensional manner and target a combination of social settings such as family, school, church, community, and work" (Clonan et al. 2004:105). Discovering those family, organisational, community and institutional strengths that provide resources to the individual is therefore central to assessment (Cowger 1994:266) and by assessing the child's environment, new potential solutions arise (Snyder et al. 2006:35). However, a strength in one context may be a weakness in another (Snyder, Ritschel, Rand, & Berg 2006:37).

An individual's well-being cannot exist in isolation but depends on and interacts with environmental, contextual and cultural factors in a manner particular to them. Successful intervention programs, therefore, need to involve the wider context. For example, Nickerson, Salamone, Brooks, and Colby (2004:12) point out that unless families and their strengths are engaged in residential treatment programs, the results are very disappointing, with children often losing the gains made while in treatment. Yet most research exploring children's positive school adjustment focuses on aspects "of the individual rather than on environments that promote adjustment. School-based practice affords opportunities to alter the settings within which children are developing, thereby creating additional avenues for intervention to promote adjustment" (Baker, Dilly, Aupperlee, & Patil 2003:208). Positive school environments implement a range of strategies aimed at prevention including primary prevention (e.g. skills training aimed at all the children in the school), secondary prevention (e.g. interventions targeting at risk groups), and tertiary prevention (e.g. remediation of individuals with diagnosed disorders) (Clonan et al. 2004:103).

In terms of Positive Psychology, the promotion of adjustment is just as important as the prevention of dysfunction and as such "school psychologists have an important role in reframing educational practice so that schools provide optimum developmental supports for students" (Baker et al. 2003:216).

Though the three pillars of strengths have been presented as separate entities above, it is important to recognise that they function in an integrated manner.

2.4   <u>**IDENTIFICATION OF STRENGTHS IN CHILDREN WITH LEARNING DIFFICULTIES**</u>

The increased interest in strengths highlighted the need for relevant assessment tools (Morrison et al. 2006:20; Huebner 2004:5; Jimerson et al. 2004:10). The need for strength-based assessment is particularly pressing for children with emotional and behavioural disorders and learning difficulties (Reid et al. 2000:347). Goldberg et al. (2003:231) identified that adults who became successful in spite of their learning difficulties (LD) "prevailed not because they had remediated their LD, but because they had capitalized on a special ability or interest to help them achieve self-sufficiency." Positive Psychology is an excellent framework within which to seek these strengths because it "encourages an emphasis on building the qualities that help individuals with disabilities not just to endure and survive, but also to flourish" (Naidoo 2006:598). Naidoo (2006:600) goes on to say that psychological well-being is multidimensional in nature, and therefore any assessment of strength needs to be dynamic and multidimensional.

Most children are essentially resilient and owing to a range of personal and contextual protective factors manage to grow up successfully (Rak & Patterson 1996:372). Though positive assessment does not negate the importance of identifying deficits, it tries to uncover and highlight these protective strengths. To provide a more comprehensive, balanced, and holistic view of a child, both strengths and deficits need to be assessed (Buckley & Epstein 2004:22). Theron (2004:320) points out that resilient adolescents with learning difficulties exhibit the same protective factors as resilient adolescents generally. However, children with learning difficulties do have added risks, for example they have lower life satisfaction than normal children (Huebner 2004:19).

Martin and Marsh identify that though resilience has been studied in a general sense, little attention has been given to academic resilience. They point out that "academic resilience is relevant to all students because at some point all students may experience some level of poor performance, adversity, challenge, or pressure" (2006:267). In addition they found that academic resilience predicts three educational and psychological "outcomes", namely enjoyment of school, class participation, and general self-esteem (Martin & Marsh 2006:277).

A summary of research on protective factors in "at-risk" children is listed below.

Table 2.2 : Summary of research on protective factors in at-risk children

Protective Factors	Researcher/s
• Identifiable success experiences, used to find more success. • Particular areas of strength, which are recognised and seen as outshining their learning difficulties. • Self-determination, self-drive and perseverance • Distinctive turning points, which motivate in times of difficulty. • Special friendships, which offer support in times of need. • Supportive teacher and the ability to elicit positive responses from teachers. • Acknowledgement and direct confrontation of the learning disability	Miller (2002:293)
• Self-awareness - Both groups are aware of their LD but successful candidates do not define themselves by them • Proactivity - Successful individuals with LD are less passive and more engaged in all aspects of the world around them. They also consulted others thus increasing range of options. • Perseverance - Both groups stressed perseverance, but successful candidates revealed the flexibility to change. • Goal setting - Successful candidates' goals were more flexible, realistic, & covered aspects of personal development. • Presence & use of social support systems - Significant others held clear & realistic expectations of successful candidates. • Emotional stability - Successful candidates develop effective strategies to deal with stress and emotional problems.	Goldberg et al. (2003: 226-230) based on research by Raskind, Goldberg, Higgins and Herman on differences between successful and unsuccessful adults with learning difficulties.
Personal Characteristics • An active approach to problem solving & proactivity • Ability to gain positive attention, positive social orientation • Good natured disposition • Optimistic, positive & meaningful view of life's difficulties • Autonomous and independent with self-help skills • Birth order (1st born) • Internal locus of control, impulse control and desire to improve • Special interests or hobbies and sense of curiosity • Intelligence & cognitive skills • Age-appropriate skills *Family Conditions* • Age of opposite sex parent • Four or fewer children in the family, widely spaced • Warm, supportive and structured parent-child relationship • Nurturance during the first year • Existence of a multi-age network and confidants • Good family functioning and socio-economic conditions *Supports in environment* • Supportive teachers, counsellors & mentors • Good neighbours and neighbourhood • Religion & membership to church community *Self-concept factors* • Self-concept and self-understanding • Self-esteem and its ability to enhance adaptive skills • Sense of self-competence	Rak and Patterson (1996:369) and MacFarlane (1998:24-50) refer to studies that identify the protective factors that help to buffer "at-risk" children. These factors are summarised into four categories.
• confidence (self-efficacy) • co-ordination (planning) • control • composure (low anxiety) • commitment (persistence).	Martin & Marsh (2006:277) found that there were five factors which predict academic resilience

Theron (2004:319) identified the following characteristics that distinguish between resilient and vulnerable adolescents with learning difficulties.

Table 2.3 : Characteristics of resilient adolescents with learning difficulties

Resilient Adolescents	Vulnerable Adolescents
Moderately positive self-concept – a good relationship to the self, and positive self-talk	*Negative self-talk* – poor relationship to the self
Positive attitude and the ability to remain cheerful and optimistic	*Negative attitude* – a tendency towards pervasive sadness, insecurity and self-pity
Positive future orientation – tenacity, orientation to achieve, and optimism	*Negative future-orientation* – an inclination to quit, poor orientation to achieve, and pessimism
Assertiveness – autonomous functioning, independence and ability to fight for personal rights in an appropriate manner	*Extreme assertiveness* – low frustration tolerance and hostility
Enthusiasm – a tendency towards excitability and spontaneity	*Extreme enthusiasm* – a tendency towards impulsivity and demanding behaviour
Drive – curiosity about life, tenacity and creative problem-solving ability.	*Evasiveness* – an irresponsible behaviour and avoidance tactics
Good interpersonal relationships – positive social orientation and ability to derive benefit from social interaction. Empathy and love are associated	*Poor interpersonal relationship*s – negative social orientation, a distinct distrust of others and emotional cautiousness
*Internal locus of contro*l – a sense of authorship or choice over one's destiny, even if such choice only pertains to attitude	*External locus of control* – a sense of helplessness, lack of autonomy and a victim mentality
Anxiety – sensitivity and a sense of obligation, which translates into increased drive and a sense of responsibility.	*Sense of inadequacy* – personal dissatisfaction and lack of willingness to try or persevere

As is clear from the above summaries, protective factors exist in a wide range of domains suggesting that resilience can be developed in any of the three pillars of human strengths. Morrison et al. (2006:21) point out the importance of addressing assets and resilience in terms of personal and emotional factors but also stress that protective factors "cannot be fully discussed without recognition of the role that contexts play in the development and enhancement of student assets".

2.5   **RISK AND RESILIENCE**

"While risk implies the potential for negative outcome, it also suggests that negative outcome may be avoided" (Rak & Patterson 1996:368). A child is resilient in relation to a risk and therefore it is important that risk and resilience (as indeed strength and deficit) are conceptualised together (Gardynik & McDonald 2005:207; Goodley 2005:335). De Civita (2006:241) describes resilience essentially as either maintenance (when it implies prevention) or recovery (when it implies transformation). He goes on to explain that it is this transformative aspect of resilience that "is at the heart of strength-based efforts".

Corcoran and Nichols-Casebolt (2004:224) identify the complex, dynamic and multidimensional nature of the risk and resilience. They also distinguish between two main models – the additive (or compensatory) model and the interactive (or immunity) model. In the additive model, risks and protective factors are weighed against each other in a counterbalancing effect, almost like an algebraic sum. The cumulative "weight" of the risks or protective factors will determine the child's resilience. In an interactive model, protective factors function as a buffer to protect the individual from risk. Therefore intervention from a risk and resilience framework would involve reducing the risk factors that a child encounters and increasing the protective factors that buffer the child from the risks (Wong 2003:74). Whatever model of risk and resilience is adopted, it is important to note that "the academic skill deficits that provide the basis for a diagnosis of LD can be situated in a much broader contextual framework, and the psychosocial issues faced by children with learning problems are not necessarily simple linear correlates of the skill deficit" (Sorensen et al 2003:10).

Theron (2004:317) describes resilience essentially as elasticity or the ability to spring back from adversity. He likens it to "durability" rather than "invincibility" in the sense that resilient individuals are not immune to adversity, but obstacles do not prevent them from continuing on their path towards fulfilment. While resilience is the ability to bounce back from adversity, risks are those factors that cause the vulnerability from which the individual needs to be resilient.

Children with learning difficulties are seen to be "at risk" (MacFarlane 1998:73; Theron 2004:318). Not only is the learning difficulty itself a risk for children with learning difficulties but because of the high level of stress experienced by children with learning difficulties within the school context, one can view school itself as a risk factor for children with learning difficulties (Gardynik & McDonald 2005:210). The manner in which they cope or overcome their particular risks can be seen as their strengths.

However, the following warning from Rak and Patterson reminds those of us who work with at-risk children that "only a minority of such children actually experience unusual difficulty in the process of maturing to coping adults. It is very easy to set a negative, self-fulfilling prophecy of at-risk children, excusing them from behaving as responsible persons and teaching them that they will not succeed" (1996:371).

2.6 POSITIVE EMOTIONS IN LEARNING

Goleman (1995:94) quotes Gardner as saying, "you learn at your best when you have something you care about and you can get pleasure from being engaged in". While this seems to make common sense, schools have not always been successful at creating environments that encourage positive emotions (Martin & Marsh 2006:267; Clonan et al. 2004:101-110; Terjesen et al. 2004:165).

Because of the amount of time children spend in schools they are very important development contexts and have a large influence on children's experiences and self-perceptions (Baker et al. 2003:207). Our school curriculum continues to be influenced by Aristotle's intellectualist view that "held that theoretical or contemplative thought is happiness, and such thought is superior to practical wisdom and activity in the world" (Noddings 2005:10). In spite of Life Orientation being included as a compulsory matric subject, Mathematics and Logic continue to be elevated above other forms of knowledge. Schools are essentially focused on and judged by the academic achievement of their learners, yet the mental and social health of their classrooms and learners affect society as a whole (Bryan 2005:119). In the words of Pajares (2001:34): "The aim of education must transcend the development of academic competence."

Research conducted on the emotions experienced in the school context by Pekrun et al. (2002:94) found that though anxiety was the emotion reported most often (15% to 20% of all emotions - within school, test situations, and home study), positive emotions were reported as often as negative emotions, highlighting the need to investigate positive emotions more thoroughly.

From the research on the function and effects of emotion discussed below it seems apparent that both positive and negative emotion are necessary and important for the effective functioning and survival of the human species. It is also clear however that they function very differently.

2.6.1 POSITIVE EMOTIONS IN THOUGHT-ACTION REPERTOIRES

While discrete negative emotions are often linked to specific action tendencies (e.g. fear linked with the urge to escape), the action tendencies of specific positive emotions are less clear. Fredrickson's *broaden-and-build* theory of positive emotions states "that certain discrete positive emotions – including joy, interest, contentment, pride, and love – although phenomenologically distinct, all share the ability to broaden people's momentary thought-action repertoires and build their enduring

personal resources, ranging from physical and intellectual resources to social and psychological resources" (Fredrickson 2001:219). Negative emotions do the opposite. In a life-threatening situation, a narrowed thought-action repertoire promoting quick and decisive action is of greater value (Fredrickson 2001:220). However, in the 'safety' of our schools we perhaps require or expect a more creative mode of thought.

Fig 2.2: Fredrickson's Broaden & Build Hypothesis

individuals engage in narrow range of thoughts & actions

individuals engage in wider range of thoughts & actions
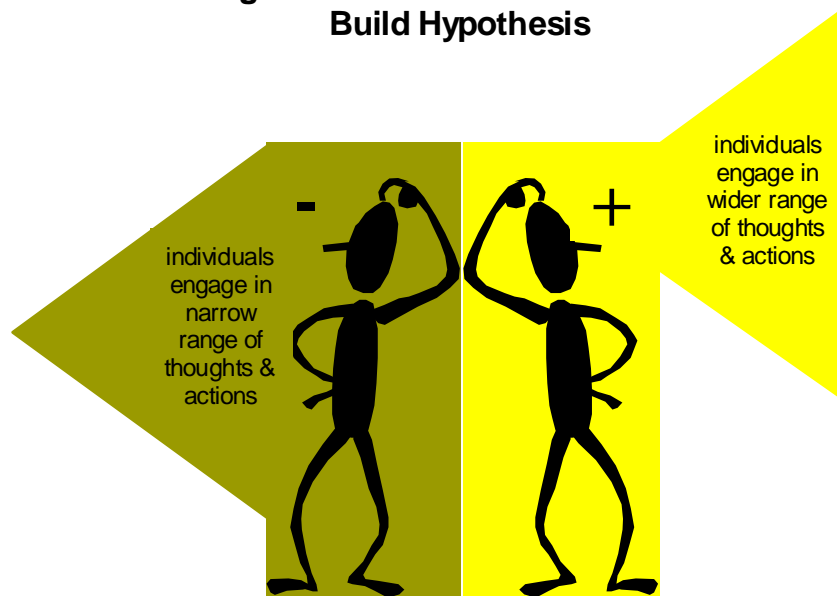
2.6.2   POSITIVE EMOTIONS IN SELF-REGULATION AND EMOTIONAL CONTROL

Goleman (1995:193) suggests that school success has less to do with intellectual ability than with emotional self-control. He suggests that most children who do badly at school lack one or more of the key elements of emotional intelligence (e.g. emotional self-control).

Whether one adopts this viewpoint or not, it is important to recognise that children are not passive in their own development. There are many ways in which they actively construct meaning about themselves as they interact with their environments. Self-perception theorists view us as external observers of ourselves, who infer our internal states from our actions. In other words our feelings are the consequences, not the cause, of our behaviour. Therefore we feel happy because we smile, and can increase our happiness by smiling more. For example, Schnall and Laird (2003:794) found that people who practice behaviour typically associated with happiness, report happier memories.

Pajares (2001:28) refers to the process by which people intentionally send uplifting and empowering messages to themselves and others as *positive invitation*. Carruthers and Hood (2004:230) also maintain that individuals can influence their levels of happiness by training themselves to cultivate, notice and savour the positive experiences in their lives.

The meanings children derive within their school setting, influence their beliefs about themselves which in turn impacts on the nature of their involvement in school (Baker et al. 2003:209). Therefore, positive interpretations may lead to greater involvement while negative interpretations may lead to withdrawal. The important aspect to note is that individuals have the ability to regulate their emotions by choosing how to interpret events.

Some theories adopt an *affect-as-information* approach. Generally, this approach assumes that "feelings guide processing when they are experienced as information relevant to the task at hand" (Gasper & Clore 2002:34). According to this theory, mood may inform individuals about the relative safety of their environment. Negative moods suggest danger and prompt people to engage in systematic information processing to deal with threats, while positive moods encourage the individual to relax and reduce attention to their surroundings thus decreasing careful information processing (Aspinwall 1998:4). In this sense, negative mood is often linked to more careful analytical processing that sends feedback to the individual to remain focused and not to change the process or task (Burton & King 2004:152).

However, Aspinwall (1998:9) also refers to research finding that positive affect increases interest in feedback, even when the feedback is expected to highlight weaknesses rather than strengths. Thus "experiences that bolster positive mood and other resources, such as self-worth, may reduce defensive processing of negative information" (Aspinwall 1998:10) and this is very important within the school context.

2.6.3 POSITIVE EMOTION IN MOOD MAINTENANCE

It has been suggested that happiness has a 'mood-maintenance' effect on subsequent thinking. That is, people who are feeling happy, may try to think about positive things (and avoid negative thoughts) to maintain their positive states (Isen 1990:77; Stein & Levine 1990:59). "Thus, it may be that people who are feeling happy try to think about affect-compatible material, in part because that will allow them to maintain their positive states" (Isen 1990:77).

Aspinwall (1998:6) points out that most mood-congruency, informational, and motivational perspectives predict that self-regulation is influenced by positive mood in three ways: (1) maintaining positive affect is the primary goal of self-regulation among people in a positive mood; (2) positive mood causes difficulties in processing of negative information; and (3) positive mood reduces information processing for all kinds of information in all behavioural settings. Aspinwall disagrees with this and points out that if this were the case, positive mood would seriously compromise self-regulatory processes and the organism's safety (Aspinwall 1998:7).

2.6.4 POSITIVE EMOTION IN INFORMATION PROCESSING

"Emotions influence students' cognitive processes and performance, as well as their psychological and physical health" (Pekrun et al. 2002:92). Bryan (2005:120) conducted affect studies on students (with and without learning difficulties) and found that positive affect improved performance in maths, reading, and social problem-solving tasks. However, the reasons for these results are not clear. Fredrickson's research shows that positive emotions (a) broaden people's thought-action repertoires (b) undo lingering negative emotions (c) fuel psychological resilience (d) build psychological resilience and trigger upward spirals toward enhanced emotional well-being (Fredrickson 2001:225).

Research by Gasper and Clore (2002:39) found that individuals in happy moods used global stereotypes, whereas those in sad moods focused more on specific behaviours. This might lead one to assume that "while negative affect narrow the scope of attention perhaps causing the individual to miss the forest for the trees, positive emotions broaden the scope of attention, perhaps resulting in overinclusive categories" (Fredrickson & Branigan 2005:316). This appears to be in conflict with Johnson and Fredrickson's (2005:880) findings that positive emotion eliminates own-race bias in face recognition i.e. that people in a positive mood are more able rather than less able to recognise differences in the faces of people of different races which suggests a reduction of reliance on stereotypes.

Aspinwall (1998:15) attempts to reconcile much of the conflicting findings through her *moderated hedonic contingency hypothesis,* which predicts that "the behavior of people in a positive mood with respect to negative information may be moderated by the usefulness of the information with respect to their goals." Therefore, when negative information is irrelevant to an individual's goals, they will ignore it. Conversely, if the

negative information is relevant to their goals they will actively process it. This seems to be supported by Stein and Levine (1990:58) who believe that information processing (as well as divergent or analytical modes of thought) is not influenced by positive or negative affect, but rather by the context and decision-making processes associated with the event that caused an emotional response.

Gasper and Clore (2002:39) suggest that while positive and negative affective cues are different, they are both important for information processing. They suggest, for example, that the global processing resulting from positive affect may be more important for grasping the larger meaning of poetry, music and art, while the more analytical processing resulting from negative affect may facilitated understanding of the technique and structure (e.g. rhythm).

Isen (1990:89) extrapolates from findings on the increased flexibility brought about by positive affect and suggests that "experience with positive affect might, through development of cognitive patterns and habits, help to promote the kinds of cognitive structures or patterns of intercommunication of ideas that relatively regularly, then, lead to flexibility and creativity". This notion intimates that everyone can develop creativity or be creative.

2.6.5   POSITIVE EMOTIONS IN CREATIVITY AND CREATIVE PROBLEM SOLVING

"When individuals are being creative, they feel happy" (Price 2000:62). The achievement of this state of creativity is based both on unconscious capacities and benign external conditions. Not only does creativity increase happiness but it appears as if happiness may facilitate creativity. Research exploring the relationship between mood and information processing modes highlights that positive affect produces more unusual associations, improves creative problem solving, and stimulates patterns of thought that are flexible and inclusive, creative, integrative, efficient and open to information (Bolte, Goschke, & Kuhl 2003:416; Isen, Daubman, & Nowicki 1987:1122; Fredrickson & Branigan 2005:315). Negative emotions, on the other hand, seem to facilitate analytical processing in addition to the use of rigid strategies, such as simple rehearsal (Levine & Bluck 2004:560; Pekrun et al. 2002:97).

Isen et al. (1987:1130) hypothesises that feeling happy results in defocused attention, allowing a greater number and range of interpretations. This in turn results in an awareness of more possible combinations of relating, a process often equated

with creativity. They also suggest that because creativity can be facilitated by a positive mood induced by small everyday events, it can be developed in anybody (1987:1129). Isen's findings have relevance for the educational context because everyone can be regarded as potentially creative under the right conditions and one of those conditions is a happy feeling state.

2.6.6 POSITIVE EMOTION IN GOAL ACHIEVEMENT

Pekrun et al. (2002:98) point out that though research suggests that emotions (both positive and negative) produce task-irrelevant thinking and impair academic achievement, it is important to distinguish between emotions intrinsic to the task, such as task-related enjoyment, and those that are extrinsic, such as interest in a friend's joke. While positive extrinsic emotions may impair learning, positive intrinsic emotions promote learning and performance because they direct attention to the task or goal.

Melnick and Nevis view optimism as essentially consisting of two components, hope and courage. While courage is action orientated, hope is seen "primarily as a wish. It is vague and unfocused and does not fuel an interest in doing" (Melnick & Nevis 2005:20). In contrast, Lopez, Snyder, and Teramoto-Pedrotti (2003:92) suggest that hope helps to propel individuals towards their goals. From this perspective, hope is similar to optimism and can be conceived not only in terms of expectancies but also in terms of the motivation and planning that is necessary to reach the expected goals (Cheavens et al. 2006:136).

Generally, optimism is based on expectancy-value theories and relates to an individual's expectations and goals for the future (Carver & Scheier 2003:75). Reivich and Gillman (2003:57) also point out that optimism is also associated with the manner in which individuals attribute causes in their lives. Optimistic individuals view the causes of their problems as being more temporary, specific and external. Pajares (2001:28) states, "researchers have found that possessing an optimistic explanatory style is related to adaptive academic benefits, including academic achievement, positive goal orientation, and use of learning strategies, whereas a pessimistic explanatory style is associated with negative outcomes and with learned helplessness."

Not only is the individual's confidence of achieving the goal important but the nature of the goal itself is important. Pajares (2001:33) found that goals that were task orientated lead to increased optimism and a greater positivity. When students' academic efforts

are founded on learning rather than being validated by others, they are much more tolerant of their own mistakes and shortcomings. This again highlights the cybernetic nature of positive emotions.

2.6.7 POSITIVE EMOTION IN MEMORY

Memory is an extremely important tool within the context of school, as many academic goals remain focused on retention of factual knowledge. Research has found that emotional events are better remembered than neutral events. For example, Dewhurst and Parry's study (2000:548) found that words that evoked both positive and negative emotional responses were better recognised than emotionally neutral words. They also found that the effect was stronger with the negative words.

In addition mood-congruency appears to improve the recall of memories i.e. positive affect seems to promote the recall of positive memories while negative affect enhances recall of negative material (Schnall & Laird 2003:788). Research points towards positive and negative mood functioning as valence categories in memory thus facilitating the encoding and/or access of mood-congruent material (Aspinwall 1998:3).

Research conducted by Levine and Bluck (2004:570) suggests that people recall events that evoke a happy mood more clearly and with more detail than those that trigger a negative mood, irrespective of whether these events actually occurred. They explain that the experience of happiness leads to schema-consistent intrusion errors when remembering narratives. They suggest that people draw freely on general knowledge and schema-consistent information to reconstruct memories of happy events and this is why the memories are experienced as more complete, even when they are not. When remembering negative emotions people engage in critical evaluation in attempts to learn from the past negative outcomes. However, events triggering happiness are consistent with the individual's goals of happiness and the lower perceived threat allows the individual to engage in more flexible thinking. Extrapolating these findings to the school context, one may, perhaps, assume that children who recall events that trigger a negative mood (such as failure) will have more rigid, inflexible responses, thus limiting their range of new solutions.

2.6.8 POSITIVE EMOTION IN MOTIVATION

The proverbial horse to water reminds us that the motivation to learn is central to education. Children can be forced to attend school but they cannot be forced to learn. Mood may affect the individual's motivation to engage in information processing. Some

theorists see positive mood as impacting negatively on cognitive processing because the individual, in a good mood, does not want to change his or her thought patterns. They do not engage in challenging information processing activities because they want to maintain their positive mood and/or improve their negative mood (Aspinwall 1998:5). It is argued that, for the same reason, people in a positive mood avoid taking risks or changing their behaviour. Conversely, people in a negative mood actively look for behaviour opportunities to improve their moods and therefore are motivated to engage more actively in information processing.

However, Isen (in Aspinwall 1998:5,10) found in her research on risk taking and gambolling behaviour, that people in a positive mood thought more, rather than less, about losing i.e. they processed negative emotion more actively. In addition, while they took more risks on tasks that they interpreted as unimportant they took fewer risks when the stakes were high. In addition, Kahn and Isen (1993:268) found that individuals in a positive mood sought greater variety in their choices, while simultaneously maintaining safe choices i.e. their exploration of diversity did not include choices of items known to have negative features. These findings suggest that positive mood leads to avoidance of negative information only when the task is interpreted as having a low valence. People in a positive mood are motivated to exert cognitive effort and process negative information if the information is urgent or the stakes are high.

Therefore it seems that it is not the positive or negative mood that has the effect on cognition and behaviour but rather, how mood is interpreted in the context of the individual's goals. For example, if individuals are undertaking a task for the purposes of self-evaluation, like a test, a positive mood may help to indicate to them that they have the ability and resources to handle whatever information comes out of the evaluation. In other words, instead of maintaining the status quo, as mood maintenance theorists suggest, in the context of goals other than mood enhancement, positive mood may facilitate people's ability to undertake self-improvement tasks (Aspinwall 1998:19).

2.6.9 POSITIVE EMOTION IN RESILIENCE

Happiness or life satisfaction can be considered a strength leading to resilience. Research conducted by Suldo and Huebner (2004:103) found that "in the face of stressful life experiences, positive life satisfaction appears to prevent subsequent delinquent and aggressive behavior".

Educational or academic resilience can be seen as the increased likelihood of success in school and in other aspects of life, despite environmental risks, individual weakness, and adverse experiences (Baker et al. 2003:207). Obviously the building of resilience ideally begins long before the child enters school. Shared positive emotional experiences between parent and infant are the building blocks for social and emotional well-being which in turn leads to the development of resilience, thereby supporting the child's ability to interpret, experience, manage, and cope effectively (Bagdi & Vacca 2006:147).

Adaptable individuals tend to use positive rather than negative emotions when handling adversity and this flexibility promotes resilience (Baruth & Carroll 2002:235).

The following aspects of positive emotions contribute to improving resilience:

2.6.9.1   Broad-minded coping

Positive emotions are linked to a style of broad-minded coping in which the individual is able to examine their problems from multiple angles. The broadened scopes of attention and thinking in broad-minded coping may be linked to positive reappriasal, goal-directed problem-focused coping, and the infusion of ordinary events with positive meaning – coping strategies that are important to resilience (Fredrickson & Branigan 2005:328).

2.6.9.2   Increased resource

Aspinwall (1998:25) suggests that individuals use available resource first to protect their mood but that once the self is 'safe' and their required threshold for required positive feeling has been reached, available resource can be used for alternative goal achievement.

"Positive emotions broaden the scopes of attention, cognition, and action, widening the array of percepts, thoughts, and actions presently in mind" (Fredrickson & Branigan 2005:315). Positive emotions therefore, prompt individuals to engage in a wider than usual range of thoughts and actions (e.g. play, explore, savour, and integrate). Fredrickson goes on to explain that the significance of these broadened thought-action repertoires is that they build a variety of personal resources which include physical resources (e.g. agility), social resources (e.g. friendships), intellectual resources (e.g. executive control) and psycholgical resources (e.g. resilience).

The importance of these resources is that they are durable and function as reserves to improve coping in times of need. For example, joy is associated with the urge to play. Fredrickson (2001:220) refers to research showing that childhood play is important because it builds enduring physical capabilities (e.g. defence strategies relevant for predator avoidance), enduring social resources (e.g. lasting bonds and attachment), and enduring intellectual resources (e.g. increasing levels of creativity, creating theory of mind). Panksepp suggests that playfulness promotes the "development of higher brain systems, such as the executive functions of the frontal lobes" (1998:96). Therefore, to the extent that we reduce joy, playfulness and happiness within our schools (through harsh discipline, boring material or psychostimulants), we may be prejudicing the development of our children.

Perhaps, as Aspinwall suggests, mood can also be interpreted as a form of resource. Because preventative behaviour demands short-term cost to achieve long-term gain, individuals need a surplus of resources (e.g. attention and energy) to engage in it. Positive affect may provide information to the individual that their resources are adequate to withstand careful processing of negative information and sustain the costs of preventative measures (Aspinwall 1998:21). In this way positive emotions and mood can also be seen to aid resilience.

2.6.9.3 *Undoing effect of positive emotions*

Fredrickson's *undoing hypothesis* predicts that "positive emotions correct or undo the after effects of negative emotions" because the "basic components of positive emotions are somehow incompatible with negative emotions" (Fredrickson 2001:221). Thus the "experience of positive emotions may act as a resilience factor against experiences of negative emotions" (Bagot & Gullone 2003:64).

Research conducted by Fredrickson (2001:223) found that though resilient individuals experienced the same levels of anxiety as less resilient individuals, they simultaneously experienced higher levels of positive emotion. This serves to support Fredrickson's undoing hypothesis and suggests that resilient individuals make use of the undoing effect of positive emotions.

2.6.9.4 Upward spiral of positive emotions

Fredrickson maintains that because of the reciprocal relationship between positive emotions, broadened thinking, and positive meaning, "momentary experiences of positive emotion can build enduring psychological resources and trigger upward spirals toward enhanced emotional well-being" (2001:224). Carruthers and Hood (2004:232) also describe the upward spiral brought about through positive emotions and relate it to the experience of successful involvement which increases self-efficacy and in turn encourages the individual to seek out interesting and novel experiences in the future.

Fig 2.3 : Upward Spiral of Positivity
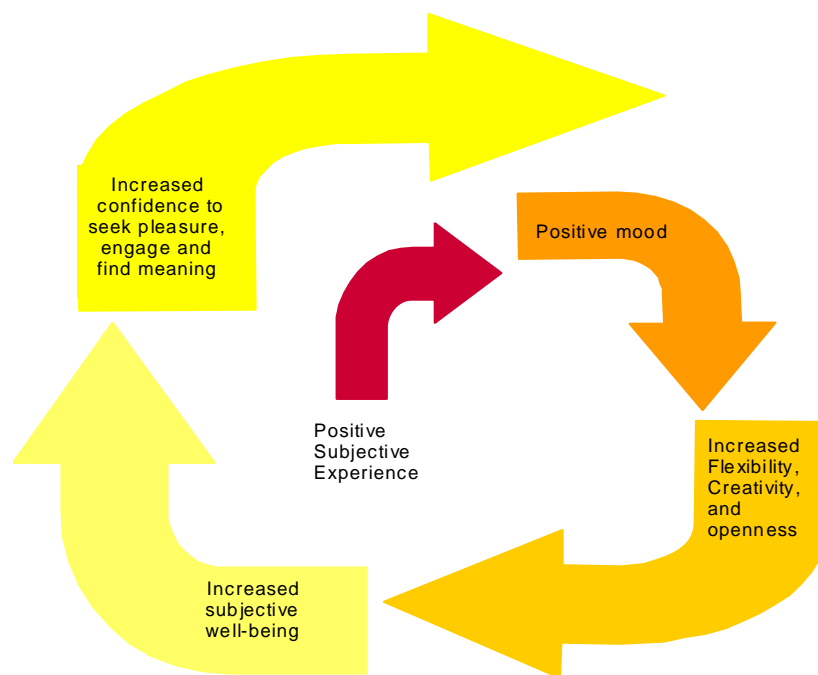
2.7 <u>SUMMARY</u>

The above literature review highlights the many conflicting findings on the role played by emotion in learning. It is clear that further study is needed to clarify causal effects as well as many conceptual issues raised through current research. Though there is some indication that negative affect improves learning, Isen et al. (1987:1130) suggest "that it would be unwise to think of positive affect as reducing cognitive capacity or as, for some other reason, leading to lazy and inefficient problem solving." In addition "happiness is a desired state in its own right" (Carruthers & Hood 2004:233) and a greater understanding of how children with learning difficulties perceive happiness within the context of school and learning will help to facilitate therapeutic interventions.

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 INTRODUCTION

"Some of the pictures of Father Christmas in our world make him look only funny and jolly. But now that the children actually stood looking at him they didn't find it quite like that. He was so big, and so glad, and so real, that they all became quite still. They felt very glad, but also solemn."

C.S. Lewis
From The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe

The above quote reveals that the emotions we experience are not always in line with our expectations. To some extent our emotional expectations are built up through the messages we receive from others, such as parents, media and peers. When our actual experience is different from our expectation we feel surprised, perhaps even cheated. For this reason objective exploration of subjective phenomena can never adequately describe the lived experience. The above quote also explains that happiness is not necessarily a singular experience. Here C.S. Lewis combines happiness with seriousness, an unexpected union, which nevertheless offers greater depth to a basic human experience.

3.2 PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The purpose of this research is to develop a greater understanding of the experience of happiness as it is perceived by children with learning difficulties. A better understanding of happiness as a phenomenon, may contribute to greater validity in instruments, not only for the measurement of happiness but also for therapeutic intervention. In addition, more knowledge of the subtleties and range of happiness, could lead to better recognition of this emotion in everyday life and thus a more fulfilling experience of life.

In chapter 1 (see 1.6.2) it was explained that this study focuses on the interpretative aspect of perception, which for the purposes of this study, is seen to consist of three aspects; (1) how the experience feels, (2) how the structure of the experience is understood, and (3) what relevance is attributed to the experience. The three research questions relate directly to these three aspects of perception and therefore it follows that data answering these questions will throw light on how children with learning difficulties perceive happiness within the context of school and learning.

3.2.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- How do children with learning difficulties describe the feeling of happiness within the context of school and learning?

- How do children with learning difficulties understand the structure of happiness within the context of school and learning?

- How do children with learning difficulties attribute relevance to happiness within the context of school and learning?

3.3 NATURE OF EMPIRICAL STUDY

The methodological orientation of this study is phenomenological and therefore qualitative in nature. "Phenomenology enables researchers to examine everyday human experience in close, detailed ways. This form of inquiry attempts to discover the meaning people place on their lived experiences" (DeMarrais 2004:56). Phenomenology "uses description as a means of trying to *understand* psychological phenomena rather than trying to find causal links between them in order to *explain* them" (Meyer et al. 1997:35).

The research falls within the framework of Positive Psychology, which focuses on what is best and most worthwhile in human experience. However, there are some points at which the current research diverges from the basic percepts of Positive Psychology, namely the context for the research, and the methodologies employed.

In line with positive psychological thinking, Park and Peterson (2007:293) maintain that "If one's interest is in optimal functioning, one must identify people in settings and circumstances that allow them to do their best". In other words, it is recommended that the best subjects for the study of happiness are those who display extreme examples of this quality in contexts that promote it. Children with learning difficulties are not seen as typical examples of happy children. Rather they are seen as a group that suffers from many social and emotional problems (Al-Yagon & Mikulincer 2004:12; Margalit & Efrati 1996:69; Reiff et al. 1993:116). In addition, remedial schools are not usually identified as ideal breeding grounds for happiness. However, as happiness has been shown to function as a protective strength promoting resilience (see 2.6.9), its exploration within the context of remedial schooling is particularly relevant.

Though Positive Psychology generally favours research methodology that contributes to psychology as a "hard science" (Snyder & Lopez 2007:vi), the methodologies used in this study are essentially phenomenological in nature, chosen for their ability to enable the researcher to "view reality through the eyes of the subject" (Meyer et al. 1997:364).

3.3.1   DATA COLLECTION PLAN

The focus of qualitative research is to access the subjective experience of the participants. To achieve this the researcher needs to make a concerted effort "to eradicate preconceived notions about the informant's motivations, actions, thoughts, and feelings. The researcher must recognize and set aside personal perspectives and bias, while actively listening to, recording, analyzing, and reporting the informant's life story from the 'inside out'" (Goldberg et al. 2003:222-223). Bracketing is used to achieve this. "Bracketing requires a rigorous reflection on one's bias, opinions, and cultural and socio-economic backgrounds" (Holroyd 2001:3) and a suspension of these attitudes.

3.3.1.1 Stages of Data Collection

The empirical research will consist of two stages: a group encounter; and individual interviews directly after the group encounter. However, should questions arise after an initial examination of the data, follow up interviews may be deemed necessary to explore the participants' responses in greater detail.

(a)   Stage 1 – Group Encounter

Present at the group encounter will be the participants, the researcher and a facilitator. Stage 1 will serve the following functions;

(i)   *To introduce the research formally*. The reasons for and process of the research will be explained to the participants. The participants will be informed that their interviews will be recorded on videocassette. Confidentiality will be discussed as well as the right of participants to withdraw from the research at any time. The researcher will answer any questions raised by the participants.

(ii)   *To induce a happy mood*. Playing the game "Funny Ha Ha" (© Upstart 1996), which stimulates laughter, will elevate the participants' mood and stimulate recall of happy memories (see 2.6.7).

(b) **Stage 2 – Interviews**

While the group continues playing "Funny Ha Ha", supervised by the facilitator, participants will be withdrawn individually for a face-to-face interview with the researcher. These interviews will be recorded on videocassette. At this interview the participants will be asked to; (i) think of a metaphor for happiness within the context of school, and (ii) tell a happy story about school. Once the participants have completed this interview they will return to the group.

(i)   The metaphor will have two functions. First it will be used as a pseudonym for the participants so that their identity is protected. In addition the metaphor will be explored with the participant to throw light on their perception of happiness within the context of school.

(ii)   The participants will be asked to tell a story about being happy within the context of school and learning. The story need not be an actual experience. Themes within the story will be explored to shed light on the perception of happiness.

3.3.1.2 Sources of the data

The source of data will be happy stories and metaphors supplied by children with learning difficulties. The data will emerge from the happy stories, and metaphors gained from the participants.

3.3.1.3 Number of data sources to be accessed

Four to six participants will be used. A maximum of six players can participate in a game of "Funny Ha Ha". In qualitative research, depth of data gained from sources is more important than the number of sources used. However, if it is felt that insufficient range and depth of data have been gathered from the initial group of participants, the data collection process will be repeated with a different group of participants.

3.3.1.4 Location of data collection

Encounters with the participants will take place at Flamboyant School, in White River. The group encounter will take place in a classroom big enough to facilitate the group while the individual encounters will take place in the researcher's consulting room.

3.3.1.5 Frequency of data collection

It is anticipated that the data will be collected from participants on one occasion – in an interview after their mood has been elevated. However should questions arise during the data analysis stage, clarification will be sought from the participants in a follow up interview, which will also be videotaped and transcribed.

3.3.2   SELECTION OF SAMPLE

The population for this research will be limited to learners from Flamboyant School. This is a remedial school, in White River, catering for the academic needs of children with learning difficulties. The population will be further limited to children between the ages of 10-12 years (see 1.3). This constitutes a population of 40 children.

As this is a qualitative, phenomenological study, random selection is not relevant. Instead I will make use of purposeful sampling. Purposeful sampling allows the researcher to "search purposefully for research participants who will be likely to yield information regarding the issue being researched" (UNISA 2003:55). Participants will be selected on the basis of their best fulfilling the criteria necessary for this research. These criteria are (1) learning difficulties and (2) the experience of happiness. In addition, from an ethical perspective, the learners must be willing to participate and have the informed consent of their parents.

3.3.2.1 The concept of learning difficulties is clarified in chapter 1 (see 1.6.1). Flamboyant School caters for the needs of children with learning difficulties, and though it was initially founded on the medical model it has begun to embrace a broader concept of learning difficulties. Their current criteria for inclusion incorporate both the deficit-based and the social perspectives. Therefore, all children currently enrolled at Flamboyant School meet the criteria of learning difficulties as conceptualised within this study.

3.3.2.2 Participants will be selected on the basis of their being perceived, by their teachers, as revealing high levels of happiness. To improve validity, the names of all learners in the population will be listed (See Annex A). To protect these learners' identities, their surnames and exact day of birth are excluded from the list. Next to each name will be a rating scale of 1 to 10. Teachers who have regular contact with the listed learners will be asked to rate their perception of each learner's level of happiness. An average level of happiness will be calculated for each learner. The six learners with the highest levels of perceived happiness will be selected.

3.3.2.3 It is important that participants do not feel pressurised into participating and therefore informed consent will be sought from the participants. The research project will be discussed with the six selected learners and issues relating to the purpose of the research, confidentiality, the recording of the interviews and time commitments will be explained. If fewer than four learners agree to participate, further learners will be selected on the basis of their levels of perceived happiness until at least four learners have agreed to participate.

3.3.2.4 A letter explaining the research will invite parents of learners who have agreed to participate, to give permission for their child to take part in the research (See Annex B). Should a parent not give their consent, the steps in 3.3.2.3 and 3.3.2.4 will be repeated until informed consent is obtained for four – six participants.

3.3.3 DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

Data will be collected through metaphors and stories obtained during individual encounters with the participants. The encounters will be conducted in a quiet setting and the participant's response will be recorded on videocassette. Observations, including concentration, eye contact, facial expressions, gestures, tone of voice, body movements and other nonverbal actions will be noted. Any distracters (e.g. interruptions) will be noted.

3.3.3.1 Metaphor

Metaphors are relatively difficult concepts for children to grasp. This is especially true for children with learning difficulties. To communicate the concept of a metaphor, without contaminating the participants' own metaphors, I will make use of the following example, "a cloud is like a ball of cotton wool" and explain that a metaphor for a cloud, therefore, is a ball of cotton wool. After clarifying any issues relating to the concept of metaphors I will ask the participants to complete the sentence, "Happiness at school is like a …." From this their metaphor will be isolated.

3.3.3.2 Happy story

The participants will be asked to tell a happy story about school and learning. The story is not necessarily about themselves and thus moves the focus away from the self, perhaps allowing greater freedom, imagination, and projection.

3.3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Transcriptions of the metaphor, happy story and any follow up interviews will be combined into a single transcription per participant. Non-verbal communications will be noted on these transcripts. The content of these 'full' transcripts will then be analysed and coded.

Bracketing will be employed to suspend the researcher's worldviews in order to access the essence of the respondents' experience (see 3.3.1). Analysing qualitative data is primarily an inductive process of organizing the data into categories and identifying relationships among the categories. Qualitative analysis is a "relatively systematic process of selecting, categorising, comparing, synthesising and interpreting to provide explanations of a single phenomenon" (McMillan & Schumacher 2001:462).

The main method of data analysis will be content analysis. Content analysis is a method of sorting the content of communications. Advantages of content analysis are that (1) it is relatively simple, (2) though time consuming it does not require a large outlay of funding, (3) the researcher can add necessary information if it is missed or incorrectly coded, and (4) it forces careful examination of material thus facilitating qualitative understanding (Rosnow & Rosenthal 1996:82). The emphasis of qualitative content analysis is on finding meaning within the data rather than focusing on theme frequency. "In doing a content analysis, it is important (a) to ensure intercoder reliability; (b) to develop

specific, relevant content categories for the judges to code; and (c) to choose a good sampling procedure" (Rosnow & Rosenthal 1996:92). The latter is already discussed above (see 3.3.2).

3.3.4.1 Intercoder reliability

A second coder will code two 'full' transcripts, randomly selected, to ensure that there is agreement on the allocation of codes and thus intercoder reliability.

3.3.4.2 Content categories and codes

McMillan and Schumacher (2001:467) define coding as a "process of dividing data into parts by a classification system". The process of classification of content categories and codes is organic in nature and continues to develop throughout the process of data gathering and analysis. "Initially the system of classification may be derived from the research question and the topic guide used by the moderator during process facilitation" (Millward 1995:288). The development of content categories and codes will follow these steps:

(a)   Initial categories and codes will be identified based on the research questions and findings from the literature review (see table 3.1 below). However, as there was very little literature focusing on happiness within the specific context of school and learning, many of the findings relate to happiness in a more general sense. It is assumed that these finding may also apply to happiness within the context of school. These categories, arising out of the research questions and literature review, are referred to as "directed".

(b)   The transcripts will be read and reread several times to gain "an holistic and intuitive understanding of the phenomenon" (Holroyd 2001:4). The data will be scanned for possible topics and recurring themes will be sought.

(c)   In contrast to the directed categories which arise from the research questions and literature, central themes emerging from the transcripts will be noted as "emergent categories" (Kelly & Norwich 2004:418).

(d)   Thus, the data will be organized into categories and relevant themes. The main analytical instrument will be comparison. By comparing and contrasting, the data will be divided firstly into topics and then into larger clusters or categories.

(e)   The possible options inherent in these categories will be noted as codes.

(f)   Exemplars of responses illustrating the category and code will be noted.

Table 3.1:
Preliminary Content Analysis Schedule:
(exemplars are not gathered from data, but from my interpretation of the literature)

Research Questions	Directed & Emergent categories	Codes	Exemplars
How do children with learning difficulties describe the feeling of happiness within the context of school and learning?	**Directed Category:** *Experiences associated with happiness.* *(see 2.3.1.1.)*	**Emergent Code:** Excitement (Ex)	It was a thrill and I was even a little scared.
		Emergent Code: Laughing (Laug) consequence of happiness	When I'm happy I just feel like laughing
		Emergent Code: Acceptance - of Self (AS) - by Others (AO)	I just stopped worrying what others thought of me. It makes me happy to be part of a group and have lots of friends.
		Emergent Code: Calm (Cal)	I just feel a warm feeling and know that I can calm down.
		Emergent Code: Release (Rel)	When I'm happy I feel free, like I've been let out of my worries
	Directed Category: Dimensions (see 2.3.1)	**Directed Code:** Active (Ac)	I'm not happy just sitting around – things must happen
		Directed Code: Passive (Pas)	I know I am happy when I feel relaxed and comfortable.
How do children with learning difficulties understand the structure of happiness within the context of school and learning?	**Directed Category:** Forms of happiness [see 2.3.1.1 (a), (b) & (c)]	**Directed Code:** Pleasant (PL)	School is fun that's why I enjoy it.
		Directed Code: Engaged (Eng)	Solving Maths problems make me feel good … especially when it takes me a long time and is difficult.
		Directed Code: Meaningful (Mfl)	I feel happy when I help others … it makes me feel like I have a purpose.
	Directed Category: Contexts (see 2.6.6)	**Directed Code:** Task relevant (TR)	Interesting work makes me happy at school.
		Directed Code: Task irrelevant (TI)	I feel happy when I'm joking with my friends.
	Directed Category: Behaviour resulting from happiness (See 2.6.1 and 2.6.3)	**Directed Code:** Broadened including risk taking (B)	I have the confidence to try new things when I'm happy
		Directed Code: Narrowed including risk aversive behaviour (Nar)	When I'm doing something nice I just seem to get stuck and don't want to do anything different
	Emergent Category: Causes of Happiness	**Emergent Code:** Success vs Failure (SvF)	If you do badly at school it makes you feel sad.
		Emergent Code: Friends vs Loneliness (FvL)	If you don't have friends you will be very lonely and lonely people are unhappy.
		Emergent Code: Humour (H) (cause)	When people make jokes and I laugh then I become happy.
		Emergent Code Empathy (Em)	Some people are really caring and kind and don't think about themselves – that makes me happy.
		Emergent Code Assistance & Support (A)	Good friends help you with what you need to do at school.

How do children with learning difficulties attribute relevance to happiness within the context of school and learning	**Directed Category**: Relevance of happiness to resilience (see 2.4, 2.5, 2.6.9, Table 2.2 & Table 2.3)	**Directed Code**: Increased Resource (IR) Including aspects relating to will, increased play, and ability to cope with negative input	When I'm happy I feel, like, better and then I think I can do it – at least I'll try.
		Emergent Code: Durability (D) Including aspects of protection	When something makes me feel good then I just get back to normal.
		Directed Code: Undoing Effect (UE)	When something makes me happy it makes all the unhappy feelings go away.
		Emergent Code: Transformation (Trans)	Feeling happy has transformed me into a better person.
	Directed Category: Self Regulation. (see 2.6.2 & 2.6.4 & 2.6.8)	**Emergent Code**: Focus on Pos (FoP)	It's better to just think of good things because otherwise you get very sad.
		Directed Code: Emotional Control (EC)	It is not worth getting upset because that will make you feel a lot worse.
		Emergent Code: Mask (M)	Sometimes I just put on a happy face and let everybody think I'm happy.
	Emergent Category: Socialization and friendship	**Emergent Code**: Social Skills (SS)	He becomes much nicer to other people when he is happy.

3.4 EHTICS

Ethics is not a simple matter and depends not only on the code of ethics of controlling bodies such as the HPCSA but also on the researchers own personal perspective (Tisdale 2004:17). Rosnow and Rosenthal (1996:52) sum up the behavioural researchers' moral code into two basic obligations (1) not to do physical or psychological harm and (2) to do research in the most productive, relevant and valid manner. Though the current research represents a minimal risk to its subjects the following ethical dilemmas are addressed:

3.4.1 PARTICIPANT SELECTION

Some groups are vulnerable to exploitation in research by virtue of their accessibility. "To be considered vulnerable, the population must be one that, in addition to being easily available, has been historically viewed as less than 'desirable'" (Tisdale 2004:21). In this sense children with learning difficulties can be seen as a vulnerable group and therefore special care should be taken to ensure that ethical principals and practices are followed.

3.4.2   INFORMED CONSENT

To engage in informed consent, candidates must be autonomous, capable of deliberation about goals and able to act in accordance with those goals.

As the research participants are children, informed consent will be obtained from a parent or legal representative. The consent will be requested in a written form (see Annex B) and will specify (1) the general purpose of the research, (2) the nature of the child's involvement, and (3) the child's freedom to withdraw from the research at any point. In addition mention will be made of the fact the child's identity will be protected when the findings are reported.

Besides written informed consent from the parent or legal guardian, oral consent will be gained from the participants themselves.

3.4.3   CONFIDENTIALITY

Though the participants' disclosures are unlikely to be of an extremely private nature, confidentiality will be ensured through the use of pseudonyms. The researcher will stress the confidential nature of the findings to promote disclosure by participants.

3.4.4   PREVENTION OF ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES

Though the participants' disclosures will be kept confidential, the fact that they are participating in a research programme will become common knowledge. Special attention will be paid to ensure that participating in the study does not render the participants vulnerable to their peers (e.g. through teasing) or teachers (e.g. through missing of work).

3.4.5   OTHER RISKS

Though the direct risks are low in this research, Tisdale (2004:27) refers to the danger of developing a relationship with participants and then leaving them when the research comes to an end. It is important to recognise that I will be available to the participants for debriefing and/or counselling until the end of 2007.

3.5   <u>CONCLUSION</u>

In this chapter I have attempted to give detail regarding the phenomenological methodology that will be used within the positive psychological framework of this research. Data collection, sample selection and ethical considerations of the research project were also addressed. In addition the chapter explains how the data collection instruments and data analysis serve to incorporate findings from the literature review and answer the critical research questions.

CHAPTER 4
EMPIRICAL STUDY

4.1   INTRODUCTION

Michael clutched his teddy bear and John his umbrella, as Peter taught the children how to fly around the nursery. "All you have to do is think a wonderful thought!" he assured them as he soared around the room.

From the Walt Disney Treasure Chest version of
Peter Pan

This chapter provides a discussion on the results of the study. An attempt has been made to tie the empirical findings to the findings from the literature research. Thus interpretation of the data is made in the light of existing literature.

4.2   EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

The empirical research consisted of two stages; a group encounter followed by short individual interviews. The aim of the group encounter was to introduce the research formally and to induce a happy mood while the data collection took place during the individual interviews. During the interviews, participants were asked to (i) think of a metaphor for happiness within the context of school, and (ii) tell a happy story about school. Coded transcripts of the interviews, including recorded non-verbal communications such as concentration, eye contact, facial expressions, gestures, tone of voice, and body movements and can be found in Annexure C.

4.2.1   METAPHORS FOR HAPPINESS AT SCHOOL

Participants were asked to complete the sentence, "Happiness at school is like a …." and the metaphor was isolated from their response. The metaphors had two functions. Firstly they were used as pseudonyms for the participants to protect their identity. Secondly the metaphors were analyzed to reveal information on the participants' perception of happiness within the context of school.

4.2.1.1 Summary of metaphors

- **Chocolate** – in transcripts referred to as Chocolate.
- **Fun** – in transcripts referred to as Fun
- **Laughter** – in transcripts referred to as Laughter
- **Friendship** – in transcripts referred to as Friendship
- **Friendliness and love towards others** – in transcripts referred to as Love
- **Rosy red cheeks** – in transcripts referred to as Cheeks

4.2.2   HAPPY STORIES

The participants were asked to tell a story about being happy within the context of school and learning. Because the story did not need to be true or about themselves, the focus moved away from the self, allowing the participants greater freedom and imagination. The function of the story was to provide a vehicle through which themes and perceptions regarding happiness within the context of school could be explored.

4.2.2.1   Summary of stories

(a)   Chocolate's story was about a cat that lived in a school and entertained the children by popping out of a hat and saying a funny word. However, one little boy, who was bitter and unhappy because he was doing badly at school, was not amused by the cat's entertainment and responded with rudeness. The cat was amazed by the boy's response and got the other children to try to find out what the problem was. One little girl gave the little boy a box of chocolates and this changed him so that the next time the cat popped out of the hat the boy was happy and laughed his head off.

(b)   Fun's story was about a class field trip to the Kruger National Park. The trip was characterised by a series of mishaps, which seemed only to increase Fun's enjoyment of the outing. The children saw lots of animals. A branch hit one of the children and it gave him a scar on his eye. When the children got to their camp they started playing and became very naughty. When the teacher intervened the children all blamed Fun so he was sent outside the sleeping quarters as a punishment. Unbeknown to Fun, a leopard had come into the camp and was digging through the dustbins just behind him. When the teacher came outside to check on Fun she saw the leopard, got a huge fright and sent Fun to safety inside, where they all stayed for the night in a state of adrenaline induced excitement. On their trip back home the next day, they saw fighting elephants. Once out of the Kruger Park they stopped at a shop to get food. However when they wanted to leave they found that they had a flat tyre so they couldn't go. This provided Fun and his friends with an opportunity for games and naughtiness. There was a fruit seller whom they provoked into throwing fruit at them. Some of the fruit was collected and they took it with them in the car but ended up throwing it out of the window because it was rotten. When they got back to school the teacher reported their bad behavior to the headmistress and they got into trouble. But even this was part of the fun.

(c)   Laughter's story was about a little girl who had a big test coming up and she had forgotten to learn. But in spite of her not learning she got 95% for her test. This made her very happy. When she told her parents they were also happy and gave her a horse.

(d)   Friendship's story is about a little boy who does not have any friends because he is naughty. He is very lonely and prays to God for a friend and the next day a new boy arrives at school and befriends him. But the following day the friend is not there. So the little boy prays again for a friend. The friend comes back for one more day. So the little boy realized that he must pray for a best friend who will stay forever. The friend comes back but they are very naughty, they don't do their school work and they do things like shoplifting. So God takes the friend away and tells the little boy that if he is always good then He will let the friend stay forever. The little boy did not want to be lonely so he became good. Now he is friendly and does his school work properly and when he goes home he is happy.

(e)   Love told a story about a little girl called Sophie who was bullied by a bigger and stronger girl called Mag. This made Sophie very unhappy and she cried a lot. A new girl came to school called Promise and she showed concern for Sophie and became her friend. The bully, Mag, continued to be nasty to Sophie and criticized both her looks and her new friendship. Sophie, however, now felt strong and accepted herself as she was and had faith in the authenticity and lasting nature of her friendships and this allowed her to dismiss Mag's bullying.

(f)   Cheeks told a rather incoherent story about children who shout out the answers in class causing everyone to start laughing. He said that this was not a true story and that if this were to happen in class then they would get into trouble. However, he also indicated that getting into trouble did not bother him.

4.3   ANALYSIS

The data was transcribed and read several times to obtain an overall sense of the material. Initial responses and hypotheses were noted and bracketing was employed to ensure that personal bias could be recognized during the analysis process.

Thereafter content analysis was used to identify categories and themes within the data. In addition, to increase intercoder reliability, an additional coder, Prof. D Krüger, examined the coded transcripts.

4.3.1 BRACKETING

Bracketing was employed in an attempt to gain heightened cognisance of my worldviews in order that they be suspended during the analysis phase. Rigorous reflection on my initial reactions to the data was conducted to identify my bias, opinion, and cultural preconceptions.

My initial impression of the data, from both the metaphors and the happy stories, was that the participants saw happiness at school as relating to lighthearted enjoyment and friendship. Neither of these categories is linked intrinsically to schoolwork. I found myself being a little disappointed and realized that I had hoped for stories and metaphors that were associated more closely to the essence of school itself. I started wondering whether this focus resulted from their learning difficulties, their age or some other factor not immediately apparent. Perhaps, due to their learning difficulties, the participants have had few experiences of happiness relating directly to learning and therefore have focused on alternative areas of happiness. Possibly they have learned that in spite of learning difficulties and hardship, happiness can still be found within the school context. Alternatively, their focus on areas of light-hearted enjoyment could simply reflect their age rather than any disillusionment with learning itself.

While considering my initial hypotheses I recognized that several personal biases could be influencing my perceptions. Firstly, I realized that I was viewing these children's perceptions from the mind of an adult. For example the confidence and bias for action that comes with childlike innocence (perhaps evidenced in Fun's story) is very different from the preference for caution and moderation, which has its source in adult experience. Perhaps my adult perspective lacks the spontaneity, simplicity, and naivety of childhood and responds more favourably to mature and adult-like qualities such as delayed gratification, responsibility, control, and complexity of thought. Secondly, my disappointment in the perceived superficiality of the responses may have emerged in response to my cultural background. I grew up within a cultural context that stressed relatively harsh Protestant values including denial of pleasure. Hard work, even when it jeopardised health, was elevated above relaxation and rewarded with praise.

However in contrast and conflict to this Protestant backdrop came a growing commercial media wave. The swift development and spread of television and glossy magazines bombarded the population with images showing happiness as a commodity that could be bought (together with whatever product was being sold – from cigarettes to cars). I feel that our culture therefore sends out the message that happiness can be bought rather than earned.

Because I rebel against both the Protestant self-denial and the consumerist indulgence, I feel a yearning for insight and a meaningful worldview. I believe this may influence my perception of happiness and my analysis of the data.

The importance of friendship and supportive relationships to happiness within the school context was also immediately evident when viewing the data. This touched me personally as I am acutely and vicariously aware of my own children's social ups and downs within the school context. The high level of action evident in some of the stories suggests that ADHD may play a part in the participant's experience. Children suffering from learning difficulties, particularly ADHD, struggle with social interaction. Their peers often reject these children and loneliness can play a defining role in their lives (Berk 1997:270). The high focus on friendship could reflect the participants' reaction to loneliness and/or outgoing, sociable personalities.

Several aspects have been identified above as influencing my perceptions and understanding of happiness within the context of school and I made a deliberate attempt to put these views aside when analysing the data.

4.3.2 CATEGORIES IDENTIFIED THROUGH CONTENT ANALYSIS

Categories were identified through content analysis and codes were applied to specific concepts or themes. Initial categories and codes were identified based on the research questions and findings from the literature review. The categories, arising out of the research questions and literature review, are referred to as "directed" while codes emerging from the transcripts themselves are referred to as "emergent" (see table 4.1 below). Discussion of each category follows the table and the abbreviated codes are given in brackets behind each concept.

Table 4.1:
Content Analysis Schedule:
(exemplars are not gathered from data, but from my interpretation of the literature)

Research Questions	Directed & Emergent categories	Codes	Exemplars
How do children with learning difficulties describe the feeling of happiness within the context of school and learning?	**Directed Category:** *Experiences associated with happiness.* *(see 2.3.1.1.)*	**Emergent Code:** Excitement (Ex)	It was a thrill and I was even a little scared.
		Emergent Code: Laughing (Laug) consequence of happiness	When I'm happy I just feel like laughing
		Emergent Code: Acceptance - of Self (AS) - by Others (AO)	I just stopped worrying what others thought of me. It makes me happy to be part of a group and have lots of friends.
		Emergent Code: Calm (Cal)	I just feel a warm feeling and know that I can calm down.
		Emergent Code: Release (Rel)	When I'm happy I feel free, like I've been let out of my worries
	Directed Category: Dimensions (see 2.3.1)	**Directed Code:** Active (Ac)	I'm not happy just sitting around – things must happen
		Directed Code: Passive (Pas)	I know I am happy when I feel relaxed and comfortable.
How do children with learning difficulties understand the structure of happiness within the context of school and learning?	**Directed Category:** Forms of happiness [see 2.3.1.1 (a), (b) & (c)]	**Directed Code:** Pleasant (PL)	School is fun that's why I enjoy it.
		Directed Code: Engaged (Eng)	Solving Maths problems make me feel good … especially when it takes me a long time and is difficult.
		Directed Code: Meaningful (Mfl)	I feel happy when I help others … it makes me feel like I have a purpose.
	Directed Category: Contexts (see 2.6.6)	**Directed Code:** Task relevant (TR)	Interesting work makes me happy at school.
		Directed Code: Task irrelevant (TI)	I feel happy when I'm joking with my friends.
	Directed Categroy: Behaviour resulting from happiness (See 2.6.1 and 2.6.3)	**Directed Code:** Broadened including risk taking (B)	I have the confidence to try new things when I'm happy.
		Directed Code: Narrowed including risk aversive behaviour (Nar)	When I'm doing something nice I just seem to get stuck and don't want to do anything different.
	Emergent Category: Causes of Happiness	**Emergent Code:** Success vs Failure (SvF)	If you do badly at school it makes you feel sad.
		Emergent Code: Friends vs Loneliness (FvL)	If you don't have friends you will be very lonely and lonely people are unhappy.
		Emergent Code: Humour (H) (cause)	When people make jokes and I laugh then I become happy
		Emergent Code Empathy (Em)	Some people are really caring and kind and don't think about themselves – that makes me happy
		Emergent Code Assistance & Support (A)	Good friends help you with what you need to do at school.

How do children with learning difficulties attribute relevance to happiness within the context of school and learning	**Directed Category**: Relevance of happiness to resilience (see 2.4, 2.5, 2.6.9, Table 2.2 & Table 2.3)	**Directed Code**: Increased Resource (IR) Including aspects relating to will, increased play, and ability to cope with negative input	When I'm happy I feel, like, better and then I think I can do it – at least I'll try.
		Emergent Code: Durability (D) Including aspects of protection	When something makes me feel good then I just get back to normal.
		Directed Code: Undoing Effect (UE)	When something makes me happy it makes all the unhappy feelings go away.
		Emergent Code: Transformation (Trans)	Feeling happy has transformed me into a better person.
	Directed Category: Self Regulation. (see 2.6.2 & 2.6.4 & 2.6.8)	**Emergent Code**: Focus on Pos (FoP)	It's better to just think of good things because otherwise you get very sad.
		Directed Code: Emotional Control (EC)	It is not worth getting upset because that will make you feel a lot worse.
		Emergent Code: Mask (M)	Sometimes I just put on a happy face and let everybody think I'm happy.
	Emergent Category: Socialization and friendship	**Emergent Code**: Social Skills (SS)	He becomes much nicer to other people when he is happy.

4.3.2.1 Experiences associated with happiness

Relatively few distinct emotions were identified. Happiness tended to be perceived as a unitary emotion in its own right. For example, while trying to describe happiness, Fun said, "… it happens every day when you're really happy". Happiness, then, seems to be the best way to describe itself. However the following distinct emotions were identified:

(a) Excitement (Ex)

In Fun's story he presented a litany of events that were filled with high adrenaline, variety, excitement and fear. His happy story includes being in close proximity to a scavenging leopard, remaining locked in a dorm without contact with the outside world, and being pelted with fruit by an angry fruit seller. He grins while talking about his antics, which include being "really naughty …like we were playing … and the boys were having pillow fights and stuff …". These activities suggest a high level of excitement. When asked whether being scared was part of the happiness he responded with a big open smile and said, "Yes … that is part of the happiness because when you get back in … it is all like … "how's it being out there with the cheetah?" and you get all like hyper and that because … you know … it is freaky being outside." It seems evident from this anecdote that Fun links adrenaline, thrill and excitement to his experience of happiness. In addition, this extract highlights the importance of how he is perceived by others. This aspect is covered in more detail under "acceptance by others" below.

Though he seemed to struggle with verbal expression, Cheeks communicated his experience of excitement through his actions when describing how his friends make him happy:

Mae: How do they make you happy?
Cheeks: *(He suddenly starts smiling broadly again and leans back)*
            Lionel goes like this … he plays … he says, … "I'm going to make funny things".
                            (He sits forward)
            He goes like this … he slips … he goes like this … Yaaaaaa! …. He goes like this … he slips, Miss.
            (His legs move wildly to illustrate the point but his hands are held in his lap).
            At the hostel he slips…

Though he struggled to identify the feelings associated with his definition of happiness, when asked directly Cheeks answered without hesitation:

Mae: Does it feel warm and comfortable or does it feel exciting?
Cheeks: Exciting!

(b) *Calmness (Cal)*
In contrast to the excitement associated with happiness felt by Cheeks and Fun, Laughter describes happiness as "More of a relaxed feeling," suggesting calmness. Similarly, Chocolate seemed to perceive happiness as having a calming, cooling or relaxing effect:

Chocolate: … say now my sister has made a very hard …
             (She hesitates and her hand moves in a tight circular motion at heart level as if she is churning something up)
             … time with me at my house … and then if I have a little chocolate it makes me cool down … "

Though her verbal communications did not specifically identify calmness, Love's demeanor communicates serenity and peacefulness. While telling her happy story she remained very composed and adult-like. She changed her voice for the

various characters as if she was telling a story to a child but her expression and bearing were almost angelic. Her non-verbal communication, therefore, implies that happiness is associated with serenity and calmness.

(c)   Release (Rel)

Laughter described her feeling of happiness in terms of release. Her non-verbal communication suggests that she is gripped by tension. Happiness seems to be experienced as release from this tension – release or freedom facilitated by laughter:

Laughter: It's good. You get everything out!
             (She raises her hands in open gesture palms up but as she drops them she grabs hold of the chair seat – as if for support. She looks up to the right as she thinks)
             Umm…

Later, while explaining how laughing makes her feel, she confirms this perception with the words, "Happy … I'm just free … I'm just free."

(d)   Laughing (Laug)

Laughing is seen here as a consequence of feeling happy rather than as a cause of happiness (which has been termed humour and is discussed in 4.3.2.6 below). Several of the participants identify that when they are feeling happy they laugh or smile. For example when describing what happiness feels like Fun says, "And you feel like … you feel happy … you get a smile …". In a similar vein Cheeks associates smiling with the feeling of happiness. He describes the feeling he gets looking at his friend's rosy, red cheeks (his metaphor for happiness) in the following words:

Mae: And when you look at him, what do you feel?
Cheeks: Sometimes I … sometimes I …
          (He leans back in the chair)
          … I smile …Sometimes I smile, Miss.

Chocolate puts it a little more eloquently when she says, "Happiness is like chocolate! It is sweet and it makes people laugh and makes people happy…" Clearly she sees laughter as a natural consequence of being happy.

When asked to tell a happy story Chocolate asks, "Can it be, like, a funny story?" It is unclear from this question whether she sees the funny aspect of the story as the cause or the consequence of the happiness. In fact her story seems to incorporate both aspects and the resolution of the story sees the changed and, now, happy little boy laughing in response to a funny stimulus, "And when the cat popped up he laughed his head off … when he said those words …".

In spite of Laughter's metaphor for happiness, there is nothing in her description of her metaphor or in her happy story that identifies laughter as a consequence of happiness. For her it appears to be more of a cause.

(e) *Acceptance ("of self" and "by others")(AS) (AO)*
Though literature repeatedly identifies self-acceptance and a realistic positive self-concept as being central to happiness (Layard 2005:235; Roets 2002:20), Love was the only participant who identified self-acceptance as an important feeling in happiness. In her happy story, the character who had found happiness was able to say to the girl who had been bullying her, "You know what … I don't really care. Because I'm the way I am …".

In contrast being accepted by others seemed to play a role in the feeling of happiness as portrayed by all the participants except Cheeks.

Friendship is essentially about accepting and being accepted by others and, therefore, it comes as no surprise that Friendship's happy story and discussion abounds in examples of acceptance by others as being central to a feeling of happiness. For example, Friendship describes the negative social behaviour of unhappy people and how this kind of behaviour could result in being rejected by others:

Friendship: "but luckily he was not at home so I did not really shout at him because if I had shouted at him …
(He crosses his arms tightly over his stomach but smiles broadly)
… that would have been big trouble in my life …"

Mae: Why would it have been big trouble in your life?
Friendship: Because he would … he would not like me so much anymore."

In a similar manner Chocolate links happiness and being liked (or being accepted) by explaining that if you don't take jokes in the right light "you will never be happy at this school and no one will actually like you."

Friendship also describes the importance of being accepted by others when arriving at a new school:

Friendship: … and when I arrived at the school, I thought it was going to be the worst day of my life …
(His voice slows down and he looks directly at me)
… but when I just arrived there, my friend Jason, Siabonga, and Dylan
(He counts them off on his fingers)
… and everyone in the class was my friend …

Chocolate appears to be very sensitive to issues of group dynamics and the importance of inclusiveness. While talking about how friends make her happy she says, "…I don't believe in best friends because if I say that one person is my best friend then everybody … my other friends are not happy with me because they are not my best friend …"

Acceptance by others is perceived as having an element of conforming to group expectations. For example, Friendship told of a story he had seen on TV about a boy who had no friends at school "and the suitcase that he was bringing to school was like what you bring on trips and stuff … and he brings that to school…". There is a sense that the boy is rejected because of the unacceptable appearance of his suitcase. Friendship goes on to say that he is taken "to a hair stylist and cut his hair." Appearances such as hairstyles, clothes and suitcases typically identify individuals as belonging to particular groups or cliques. Non-conformity to these appearance standards can result in rejection. In Love's happy story the central character is teased because of her looks and this makes her sad. However, she becomes happy when she finds a friend who accepts her:

Love: Then Sophie said back, "You know what … I don't really care. Because I'm the way I am and I've got friends and my friends are real friends and they will be with me forever."

Love identifies that acceptance by others was important to her when she first came to South Africa. She found the change and adaptation difficult and she "needed to swap from American English into South African English and … that … there were people that would understand why I said the wrong words and stuff like that …"

It is worth noting that like Friendship, acceptance by others is central to Love's metaphor of 'friendliness and love towards others'. Therefore it is not surprising that Love describes her previous school as happier, because "at breaks everybody in the whole school would play together".

Laughter makes an oblique reference to the importance of feeling accepted by others in her happy story when she implies that the little girl gains acceptance from her parents because she got 95% for her test. Laughter goes on to say, "And then … her parents were so happy for her … and she got a new horse …".

Chocolate also refers to the importance of parental approval and acceptance when she talks about the child who was naughty, "And that was his ticket to a detention and he was not happy because he knew that if his father found out there would be big trouble."

Fun communicates the sense of acceptance by group in a slightly different manner. In contrast to the other stories, which feature a few protagonists, Fun's happy story focuses on the group experience. His use of the word "we" far outweighs his use of other pronouns such as "she", "he" or "I". Consider the following extracts as a typical examples of the manner in which he communicates :

Fun: "… We were like … happy and when we got to the Kruger we saw lion, leopard, two elephants, buffalo, cheetah …we saw a snake. One of us got hit by a branch while we were driving and got a really bad scar on his eye …"

Or

Fun: … and we stopped there and got something to eat. And just as we left there we got a flat tyre … and then we couldn't do anything about it so we went there and we had finished all our chips and there was a lady that was selling oranges and we asked her, "how much are the fruit?"

This is not to say that Fun did not simultaneously have a clear sense of the self. His role and personal experience of happiness within the group comes across strongly. For example, he describes the experience of fear as being "part of the happiness because when you get back in … it is all like … "how's it being out there with the cheetah?"" In other words, as an individual, he clearly enjoys the attention and admiration he gets from the group. The admiration and acceptance by others is important to his happiness.

4.3.2.2 Dimensions of happiness

Affect is not only distinguished in terms of positive and negative emotions but also along the active and passive dimensions (see 2.3.1). Layard (2006:21) describes this alternative dimension in terms of different levels of arousal. Therefore, feelings such as joy, excitement, anticipation, and thrill may fall into the happy, active dimension reflecting high arousal while relaxation, contentment and calmness may fall into the happy but more passive, under-aroused dimension.

(a) *Active (Ac)*

As identified above, Fun's happy story encapsulates a strong feeling of excitement. This excitement is inextricably linked to high arousal and activity. In a summary of his happy story he explains what made it happy. This description is worth noting for the high incidence of active verbs and activities crammed into the short paragraph:

Fun: I was having fun … umm … the teacher came in the door and when we were playing with the pillow fights and when we were driving back and saw the two elephants fighting and all the animals and when we got there and were like all running around in Pick n Pay and looking for stuff and when we got a flat tyre and had to wait a long time and the lady was … threw the fruit at us …

Similarly, Cheeks reveals a bias for action in his descriptions of feeling happy. In his happy story his classmates "shout … they shout out the answer … then we start laughing … when we shout out the answer." Though lacking structure, this short story does communicate his enjoyment of a class situation characterized by high arousal. This is confirmed when he explains how his friends make him happy:

Cheeks: He goes like this … he slips … he goes like this … Yaaaaa! … He goes like this … he slips, Miss.
(His legs move wildly to illustrate the point but his hands are held in his lap)

Though Friendship does not describe happiness in active terms, he portrays unhappiness in very passive terms perhaps suggesting that the feeling associated with happiness is more active. The passivity is evident in this description of being unhappy:

Friendship: … you don't do anything. You just sit down and watch TV and … just drink water and just sit down, and sit down for a long time.

(b) Passive (Pas)
The more passive dimensions of happiness are highlighted when happiness was perceived as relaxed and as a release, for example by Laughter, and as calm, for example by Chocolate.

4.3.2.3 Forms of happiness
The literature identifies three distinct forms of happiness (see 2.3.1.1).

(a) The pleasant life (PL)
This is essentially the hedonic view of happiness, where happiness is perceived largely in terms of perceptual pleasure and the absence of pain or unpleasantness.

While deeper analysis of her interview suggests that Chocolate sees happiness on many levels, her metaphor calls sweetness, instant gratification and sensual delight to mind. This suggests the pleasant life. She, however, also seems to intuitively understand one of the secrets to getting the most out of the pleasant life, that is to focus on the pleasurable aspect of happy activities by savouring the experience:

Chocolate: Some children … they take a long time to eat … to eat the chocolate …
(Her hand movements are very expressive and delicate. She closes her thumb to forefinger forming two circles as if in a "perfect" gesture and her body language opens up again.)

In contrast to Chocolate, Cheeks appears to understand happiness only at the level of the pleasant life. His metaphor is very concrete i.e. he sees happiness in terms of the physical manifestation of the feeling of happiness. In addition, his explanations lack any insight into motivations other than those that are on the surface and sensually apparent:

Mae: Do you laugh a lot at school?
Cheeks: No … Alecia laughs the most. It's only sometimes, Miss.
Mae: Do you think Alecia is happy?
Cheeks: Yes, Miss, she always laughs … "Ha, Ha, Ha, Ha!" When everything is not even funny, Miss.

The notion of instant gratification is relevant to the pleasant life. Fun illustrates this concept in the following description of happiness:

Fun: It's like when you get a new toy … and you're small. Say, like when I was small I got an action toy. And you feel like … you feel happy …".

The above description also touches on materialism. Perhaps surprisingly, only Fun and Laughter make reference to the materialistic route to happiness. In Laughter's case it comes up in her happy story when the girl receives a horse as a reward for doing well.

The participants' preference for fun and games over work also suggests that they see happiness in terms of the pleasant life. For example, Friendship illustrates the importance of friends in respect of schoolwork by saying that they help to get the work finished quickly "and so next week we don't need to do anything … we can just sit down and do games and stuff …"

In many ways the metaphor of fun epitomizes the pleasant life – it is light, enjoyable, and immediate. Fun used the word "fun" as a description for happy experiences several times before actually identifying it as his metaphor for happiness. He also explains that getting into trouble doesn't make him unhappy because, "At least at the end of the day you did have fun". This elevation of fun, almost to the level of an important daily goal, seems to place Fun's perception of happiness firmly into the realm of the pleasant life.

In a way Laughter also seems to perceive happiness primarily in terms of the pleasant life. She seems to perceive happiness as a release from pain or unpleasant experiences. This is illustrated by this description of happiness, "It's good. You get everything out!"

(b) The engaged life (Eng)

The engaged life is typified by Csikszentmihalyi's concept of flow. Flow is a peak experience involving intense concentration and involvement in the task at hand. When individuals are engaged in this manner their satisfaction comes from the task itself and thus they are motivated to continue with the task without external reward. Ideally, flow should play a central role in learning. None of the participants identified aspects of flow or the engaged life, suggesting that learning is not central to their happiness at school. This points to these children being able to find their happiness in activities that are unrelated to schoolwork or formal learning.

(c) *The meaningful life (Mfl)*

When happiness is perceived in terms of the meaningful life one sees evidence of the individual understanding himself or herself as being part of something larger than themselves. This can take the form of connection to anything outside of themselves; from family, organizations, and community to concepts, causes, and activities.

Of all the participants, Love is the one who most clearly communicates this concept of the meaningful life. Not only does her metaphor, friendliness and love towards others, exemplify the shift from the self to the other in the meaningful life but she communicates her desire to engage with others in a helpful and meaningful manner:

Mae: Do you know people like Promise?
Love: Yah there …. Well … I try to be like that myself and I try to go round and see if there are people who are hurt…

But Love also identifies another important aspect of the meaningful life i.e. the satisfaction that an individual achieves through helping others:

Love: Well, I feel happy when there are other people around me that are happy. It helps me be happy.

And later again she reiterates this concept:

Love: It makes me feel happy that I can do something that makes a difference.

This reciprocal nature of happiness is also expressed by Chocolate, though from a slightly more self centered angle:

Chocolate: The reason I like being happy is because when I'm happy I make other people happy.

She goes on to explain how she tries to impact positively on others:

Chocolate: … and I try with people … not to make them any more unhappier … just to brighten them up a little bit.
             (she covers her heart with her right hand and churns left hand in tight circles)
Mae: It sounds like you feel that you can make other people happy?
Chocolate: *(She nods in agreement)*
             I make a lot of people happy in this school …

Connection to family can be seen as an aspect of the meaningful life. Both Laughter and Fun identify the relevance of family to happiness. For example, Fun says that happiness "… happens when you are having fun and even when you are happy to see your friends or your family". The implication is that though fun is the central ingredient to happiness, the connection to something bigger, such as family and friends, is also important. Though family is not directly related to happiness at school it can be seen as the necessary background to creating a context of happiness for the child at school. For example Laughter says, "When I first came to this school … my brother was helping me … and we were still a family … and … we were happy." It is implied that the loss of family (through the suicide of her father) and the dissolution of the family has generated a less happy school context for her.

The protagonist in Friendship's happy story repeatedly prays to God that he may have a friend. This suggests that Friendship may experience a connection to religion, which affords him meaning and resilience. Connection to religion or spirituality is a commonly pursued route to the meaningful life.

4.3.2.4 Contexts

(a) *Task relevant (TR)*

None of the participants related happiness to school tasks or work. This concept links very closely to that of the engaged life and, therefore, its absence in both categories shows consistency.

(b) *Task Irrelevant (TI)*

While task relevance relates to the experience of positive emotions that are intrinsic to the task, such as enjoyment of the particular activity, task irrelevance refers to emotions that are extrinsic to the school task. Most of the participants appeared to perceive happiness as being unrelated to school tasks. Fun puts this concisely when he describes happiness at school as, "… everything that you practically need besides … work and stuff." Love seems to share this perspective when she states that "Fun work is when we do projects and experiments and you don't have to write a lot … you don't have to think … and you are allowed to talk as much as you like and stuff like that". Though she refers to "fun work", it soon becomes clear that the only enjoyable aspects of the task are those unrelated to the work itself. In fact, enjoyment of school tasks seems to be related more to external interference than to the work itself:

Mae: And tell me about schoolwork

Fun: Schoolwork is fun …
            (He says this in a tone implying that it is not fun at all)
            … yah it can be fun … but it can be boring … but the part I like most about it is if you are doing your work and then one of your friends, like whispers to you, then he shares something funny then …
            (He gives a big smile)
            Yah, then your work becomes more fun.

Cheeks communicates a similar enjoyment of the disruption to class work in his happy story:

Cheeks: Like something funny miss … like check at this … when you working … its not true … then they say … they shout … they shout out the answer … then we start laughing …"

When asked what kind of things made her laugh, Laughter said, "Oh, just silly things", and asked when it was nicest to laugh, she said, "During break". This implies that her metaphor of laughter does not relate happiness to schoolwork. This was confirmed in other communications:

Laughter:	Lindiwe and I just like … we make jokes and Miss CD … we always have fun in Miss CD and Miss Felicia's class.
Mae:	What do they do that makes you laugh?
Laughter:	I don't know … they just tell jokes … and they let us have fun not always just work, work, work, work …. And we are allowed to talk but in other classes we are not allowed to talk.

As the above examples indicate none of the participants seem to find their source of happiness within the tasks they do at school. In fact, Love goes so far as to say that, "… sometimes I think of things that are not at school and that makes me happy…"

4.3.2.5 Behaviour resulting from happiness

According to Fredrickson's broaden-and-build theory (see 2.6.1) positive emotions have the ability to broaden an individual's thought-action repertoires while negative emotions do the opposite. The implication is that individuals experiencing positive affect will engage in a wider range of activities, perhaps including risk taking activities. Other theorists argue (see 2.6.3) that while experiencing positive emotions individuals are driven to maintain their positive mood and, therefore, engage in less risky, more predictable, and a narrower ranges of behaviour.

(a) Broadened - including risk taking (B)

Cheeks' happy story (disrupting the class by shouting out answers) and Fun's happy story (a litany of naughty and dangerous activities on a field trip) both seem to suggest that their experience of happy emotions is expansive and broadening. To Fun, the experience of happiness so broadens his repertoire of behaviours that it includes activities for which he is punished:

Fun:	… that night we were really naughty …
	(He smiles more and more widely until he has a big grin as he goes on to explain their naughty behaviour)

    …and Ms RM came and said, "who was it?" and they all blamed it on me.

    (He does not stop smiling).

Fun's experience of happiness broadens his behaviour to include new, and perhaps rather unusual ones, such as provoking the fruit seller into pelting them with fruit and then picking "up all the pieces that she hit us with and we took them in the car and started eating them …".

Friendship communicates the narrowing effect of lack of happiness, which perhaps implies that happiness allows for a broader range of behaviours:

Mae: Do you think you would be happy anywhere in the world as long as you have got friends?

Friendship: Oh yes, yes. Because if I have no friends … I just walk …

(b)   *Narrowed - including risk aversive behaviour (Nar)*

In contrast to the broadening effect experienced by some of the participants, Laughter seems to have a preference for maintaining equilibrium. For her laughter and happiness are best kept out of class and she protects her happy feelings by not stepping out of line.

Mae: When is the nicest time to laugh at school?

Laughter: During break.

Mae: Not during class?

Laughter: No … you get into trouble.

                (She laughs nervously)

4.3.2.6 Causes of happiness

(a) Success vs Failure (SvF)

Both the positive impact of success and the negative impact of failure were evident in the participants' communications. In her happy story Chocolate relates the lack of success to unhappiness:

Chocolate: Then there was a little boy … his name was John. He was a very bitter …

            (She emphasizes bitter)

            … unhappy child and that day he didn't do his maths homework and he was screamed at and he got a demerit. And that was his

>ticket to a detention and he was not happy because he knew that if his father found out there would be trouble…

Chocolate confirms that doing badly is not pleasant:

>Chocolate: Yah! Getting demerits and detention is not … not nice but it is for your own good.

It is interesting that while Laughter relates school success to happiness, she initially views success from an external locus of control and separates hard work from the achievement of success:

>Laughter: OK … there's this little girl and she had a big test coming up and she forgot to learn. And she got … 95% for the test. She was so happy and she went home and she was boasting …. And then … her parents were so happy for her … and she got a new horse ….

The little girl is happy for her success. However, it is worth noting that she is rewarded for her success rather than for her effort. When questioned, Laughter does recognize the link between effort and success and says, "If you learn then you know you are going to get … like full marks otherwise if you don't learn you get bad…". However, she seems to fantasize about an effort free success and when questioned on why she enjoys some subjects more that others she says, "I don't know … I'm just better at them than at the other subjects."

Unlike Laughter, Friendship links the happiness to the work that has been done "properly". In Friendship's example the success is implied and the happiness, or reward, is linked to the effort rather than to the outcome.

>Friendship: "… and now he does his school work properly and when he goes home he is happy …"

(b) *Friends vs Loneliness (FvL)*
The importance of friends in the pursuit of happiness was frequently highlighted and attention was drawn to the negative impact of loneliness. Friends can be referred to as social capital and have a dramatic impact on ones ability to live a happy, healthy and successful life (Hallowell 2005:177).

It is not surprising that Friendship had a lot to say about the relationship between happiness and friends. In his happy story the lonely protagonist repeatedly prayed that he may have friends:

Friendship: … and he has no friends. Every day he is just lonely. And he prayed to God that, "may I please have friends".

The serious implications of loneliness are not lost on Friendship and he ends his story with the following insight:

Friendship: … if he goes bad then everything in his life will just change … and he will be lonely for the rest of his life … Some people try to kill themselves because they are not happy and stuff.

Fun communicates the importance of friendship very succinctly when he says, "… if you didn't have friends and happiness then you would be all sad and stuff … so I think that happiness is something that you really need at school".

Fun introduces his happy story by checking his list of friends off his fingers. This action seems to emphasize the importance of each friend in the group. And though his metaphor is fun, and his story is about having lots of fun, the importance of friends is highlighted repeatedly. When asked what made his story happy, his immediate response was, "It was happy because I was with my friends". He then goes on to list the fun activities that took place but concludes his summary with the words, "… but the most part … the part I liked most was being with my friends".

In a similar vein, Chocolate confirms the importance of friends to happiness:

Mae: What it sounded like from your story is that friends can make people happy.
Chocolate: That's what makes me happy.

Because of the concentration of children at school it is a context that naturally presents the potential for development of friendships. Fun implies that he is lonely at home and this results in his feeling more happiness at school where he has friends.

Fun: "I feel like … I am more happy at both places … but actually I am more happy at school.

Mae: Because? … Of the fun?

Fun: Um… Because at home … I'm usually … my brother has just left for university … and we used to play. And my sister … she is boring! She just sits in her room and talks on her phone … and my parents only get home round about nine …

Love hints at a bi-directional relationship between loneliness and unhappiness. Not only does loneliness cause unhappiness but unhappiness also causes loneliness. She seems to see unhappy people as choosing to be by themselves which in turn prevents them from regaining a happy state.

Love: I … met a girl who didn't have any friends and was, like, bossed around and I decided that this girl needs help …
(She shakes her head)
And if she doesn't get help she's going to live a life where she doesn't feel happy and she doesn't want to be anywhere … she just wants to be by herself.

The unhappy girl above seems to lack will. This sense of passivity, resulting from loneliness, is seen also in Friendship's transcript.

Friendship: But the thing is, if you have a friend, it makes you more happier and that … because … if you are lonely … you know if you are lonely …
(His voice slows, his tone becomes sober, he shakes his head and opens his palm in a "give up" position)
… you don't do anything.

(c)   Humour (H)
Several participants also identified humour, as a cause for happiness, as opposed to laughter as a feeling or consequence of happiness. The entertainment value of friends as a source of happiness comes across strongly in the data.

In some ways fun is synonymous with entertainment, therefore it comes as no surprise that the entertainment value of socialisation is evident in Fun's transcript. In his happy story he lists a range of activities undertaken by himself and his group of friends and though he does not explicitly state the entertainment value of these interactions, it is clearly implied through his metaphor and his non-verbal cues.

Laughter recognizes that jokes result in laughter and happiness and communicates this when she says, "… I don't know … they just tell jokes …".

When asked what makes him happy at school Cheeks indicated that it was friends. Though it is unclear from his discussion exactly what aspect of friendship he finds most important it appears, from this extract, that the entertainment value of his friends contributes greatly to his happiness.

Mae: … something that made you happy at school?
Cheeks: All my friends, Miss.
Mae: Do your friends make you happy?
Cheeks: Yes
Mae: How do they make you happy?
Cheeks: *(He suddenly starts smiling broadly again and leans back)*
             Lionel goes like this … he plays … he says, … "I'm going to make funny things"

Similarly, Chocolate sees her happy story as synonymous with a funny story. It focuses on a cat that creates happiness in children by saying a funny word and making them laugh:

Chocolate: … when the children came around it popped up … and said a very funny word – "hey-dee-dilly-dee-diddlee-dee-day" and the children loved it. It was a ticket for them to be happy that day.

Chocolate, however, also identifies that unhappy people cannot appreciate humour. In her story it is a box of chocolates that shifts the sad little boy's mood, enabling him to appreciate humour:

Chocolate: … he was not very happy and then a little girl came and gave him a box of chocolates. And when the cat popped up he laughed his head off … when he said those words …

Chocolate seems to be particularly able to see the humour in situations, perhaps where others can't, and this allows her to experience happiness. For example, she describes giving her mother Turkish Delight for Mothers' Day and then eating it all herself. Her mother's response could be seen as ambiguous but Chocolate chose to see it in a humourous light and this increased her experience of happiness:

Chocolate: Oooh … I love Turkish Delight! Ummm … once for Mother's Day I gave my mother Turkish delight and we ate it up … nearly all of it and my mother didn't get to eat any of it.
(She covers her hands with her jersey and smiles)
And she was like … "Be my guest. Go ahead … eat it"
(Chocolate smiles broadly and gestures in an open expansive movement to show direction. She then sits up straight and laughs).
It was so funny!

Though Friendship focuses on friends and relationships as the key to happiness in school he also identifies the role of humour as a contributing factor. Interestingly, he describes the humourous encounters as involving teachers and therapists rather than friends:

Mae: What else makes you happy at school?

Friendship: The teachers … and the therapists …. The therapists make me laugh too much …

Chocolate refers to her friend Eric who is able to lift her out of a bad mood when she feels "down" and "sad". The following extract highlights the role that entertainment, as an aspect of socialization has on happiness.

Chocolate: … he comes along and says "I'm sorry" and he … like his lip hangs and I say, "Eric be careful because when you walk out of the door you will trip over your bottom lip". He's so funny … yeh.

(d) Empathy (Em)

Several of the participants identified empathy as a cause of happiness. Empathy involves the projection of one's consciousness into the feelings of others. In everyday situations empathy is recognized in acts of kindness, generosity, caring or understanding stimulated by the plight of others.

Empathy was identified as coming both from teachers and from friends.

Friendship describes the experience of coming to the new school and how the friendly, supportive input from the new people in his class (teachers and children) changed the experience into a positive one:

Friendship: … and so it changed my life, because if you arrive …. Like when I was new in Grade 2 here … and they just came and said "Hello" and stuff and the teacher was so friendly with me …

And he goes on to say:

Friendship: … and everyone in the class was my friend because they wouldn't be greedy with everything … they were always happy because the teacher would be nice with them …

The importance of empathy at school, in the generation of happiness, is repeated by Love. When asked what would make her happier at school she replied, "… I think if there wasn't so much fighting and things … and if there were more people who cared about other people … then I think I would be happier here.

The mutuality of empathy was perceived. For example, it is clear that Friendship not only experiences empathy from others but is also empathetic to his friends. From his words below it appears that his friend's success and happiness leads to an increase in his own happiness.

Friendship: … we phone each other like almost every day and we talk and we talk and even if we are sad or something. I phone him and I say, "What's wrong?" and then he tells me and then I say, "Don't worry," and then the next day he's fine and then I'm also happy with him because he's done something right what he had to do.

In contrast to the above quote, the apparent lack of empathy in Cheeks' description of how funny it is when his friend slips and falls is perhaps worth noting. Though, rationally, Cheeks recognizes that it is not funny if his friend hurts himself, he still finds it funny:

Mae: Does he hurt himself?
Cheeks: Sometimes, Miss
(He is still smiling broadly)
Mae: Is it funny when he hurts himself?
Cheeks: No, Miss.
Mae: No?

Cheeks: But sometimes he makes me laugh … and then I can't stop, Miss …. He goes, like, "aaaaah!" He lays down on the floor ….

In addition, Chocolate and Love both highlight the mutuality of empathy. Though this was covered quite extensively under the subject of the meaningful life, it is perhaps relevant to include a few examples here.

Both Chocolate and Love identify how they get enjoyment from making others happy:

Chocolate: I love making … chocolate makes people happy and I love making people happy …

and

Chocolate: The reason I like being happy is because when I'm happy I make other people happy.

Love, in a similar vein, says:

Love: It makes me feel happy that I can do something that makes a difference

and

Love: … I try to go round and see if there are people who are hurt.

Similarly Chocolate seems to recognize that the reward for empathy is intrinsic. In her happy story a little girl gives a sad boy a box of chocolates to make him feel happy. There is no suggestion of any extrinsic reward for the girl thus suggesting empathy.

Love's metaphor is in essence about the power of empathy to generate happiness in others. She identifies the importance of sharing when she says, "… love towards others is that if they don't have a snack then you share your snack with them …". She consistently shifts her focus from the self to others in an extremely empathetic manner. For example, when asked about the role that school work plays in her happiness she identified that its relevance was in its ability to empower her to help others:

Love: … it doesn't play a big role but it does help me learn more … so that I can have a better education so that I can help more and then … then it will help me in the future so that I can have

money, so that I will have time to spare on others. And … it also helps me get new words and their meanings so that I can help other people … and I can help other people with their homework if they find it difficult … if I have done mine.

(e)   Assistance and support (A)

Though this aspect is very closely linked to empathy, I feel it is worthy of distinction. Empathy has been used to indicate a general shift from the self to others in a caring way. Empathy is not limited to support given within close friendships. I have chosen to distinguish empathy from assistance and support in this manner. For the purposes of this analysis assistance and support relates more specifically to assistance and support given to friends.

Love sees her role as supporting her friend in times of trouble as being important to her happiness:

Love: I can be her friend and try to help her get happy after she gets into trouble and everything like that.

Friendship also talks about the supportive role that friends play in the context of school:

Friendship: And then I ask him, "What do we have to do?" and then sometimes he tells me …. And then he tells me … he doesn't tell me the answers … he explains to me until I get it right, you see, and then … if I get the answer wrong then he just tells me the answer.

And Friendship adds later:

Friendship: … he always helps me when my school work is not good … even in Miss CD's class today he helped me because he finished and I was stuck on something and he helped me.

Chocolate recognises the role that support plays in lifting her mood:

Chocolate: … when I feel down and feel sad, then she comes along and says, "Hey what's the matter" and cheers me up … and sticks with me.

4.3.2.7 Relevance of happiness to resilience

Much focus was placed on the concept of resilience in the literature study (see 2.5 & 2.6.9). As highlighted in the literature review, children with learning difficulties are seen to be "at risk" and as such all factors that contribute to their resilience are important.

(a)   Increased Resource (IR)

The concept of positive emotions increasing an individual's available resources in the pursuit of goals, overlaps to some extent with the Fredrickson's *broaden-and-build* hypothesis (see 4.3.2.5 above). Some of the participants seem to perceive happiness as generating extra resource, which can be used to facilitate coping. These positive emotions can be seen as leading to discovery and mastery in an ever increasing cycle of growth (Charfouleas & Bray 2004:1).

Chocolate seems to recognize the extra resource that happiness brings into her coping mechanism. She likens being happy and making other people happy to a "ticket". In other words she seems to see it as a tool that can be used in pursuit of her goals:

Chocolate: Like with me … it's a ticket – if you make other people happy, they make you happy …

Both Love and Friendship appear to recognise that happiness increases an individual's will, an important resource, enabling them to continue with life or venture out into new activities:

Love: And if she doesn't get help she's going to live a life where she doesn't feel happy and she doesn't want to be anywhere … she just wants to be by herself.

A very similar sentiment is expressed by Friendship in his explanation of friendship as a metaphor for happiness:

Friendship: But the thing is, if you have a friend, it makes you more happier and that … because … if you are lonely … you know if you are lonely …
(His voice slows, his tone becomes sober, he shakes his head and opens his palm in a giving up position)
… you don't do anything. You just sit down and watch TV and just drink water and just sit down, and sit down for a long time.

Love highlights the resource inherent in happiness by pointing out that if someone is not happy "… she won't be strong and she won't have self confidence". Her use of the word "strong" implies increased resource.

(b)   *Durability (D)*

Resilience is often described in terms of the individual's ability to bounce back from adversity (see 2.4). From the transcripts it appears that some of the participants perceive happiness as increasing this kind of durability.

When in a happy mood, both Cheeks and Fun, seem to bounce right back after being punished. In fact both appear to put the importance of their happy mood above the consequences of bad behaviour. For example in his happy story, Cheeks describes how the class shouts out the answers causing laughter. He maintains it is not a true story because if it were to happen the teacher would shout at the children. I explored a little further:

Mae: Does it bother you if the teacher shouts?

Cheeks: *(He thinks for some time and looks to his right. Then shakes his head).*
            No, Miss!

Similarly Fun's happy story sees him getting into trouble on a couple of occasions but these ramifications just serve to elicit an even greater smile from him.

Fun: … and Ms RM came and said, "who was it?" and they all blamed it on me …
            (He does not stop smiling)

or

Fun: … So when we got back here Ms RM went to tell Miss Gail that we hadn't been good and we all got into trouble.
            (He beams a big open smile)

Mae: She told Miss Gail that you hadn't been good?

Fun: Yah, … at the camp. So then we all got into trouble.

Fun makes it very clear that the enjoyment far outweighs the trouble.

Mae: And if you get into trouble, is that that something that makes you unhappy?

Fun: No … it's just something that happens. You can't do anything about it …

   (He shrugs his shoulders as if dismissing any negative consequences of trouble)

Unlike Cheeks and Fun, Love recognizes the adverse impact that getting into trouble can have on an individual's equilibrium and happiness. She also recognizes the importance of bouncing back to happiness after such adversities:

Love: I can be her friend and try to help her get happy after she gets into trouble and everything like that.

Friendship also recognizes the resilience that happiness can afford people when he says, "Some people try to kill themselves because they are not happy and stuff …" Friendship recognizes that happiness gives people the strength to bounce back and carry on.

(c) *Undoing Effect (UE)*

Fredrickson hypothesized that positive emotions can undo the effects of negative emotions, thereby acting as a resilience factor (see 2.6.9).

Only Laughter appeared to perceive the "undoing effect" of happiness. Both her body's closed posture and her verbal reticence communicated extreme tension. It is therefore interesting that she conceptualizes happiness as a release, describing the feeling as, "you get everything out" and "I'm just free". This seems to suggest that though she experiences negative emotions such as anxiety and tension, she uses the undoing effect of happiness (in her case laughter) to increase her resilience and well-being.

(d) *Transformation (Trans)*

Resilience can be conceptualized as recovery and in this form it implies transformation. As such it is very closely linked to the strength-based perspective (see 2.4). Friendship puts it very succinctly when he says, "well if you are happy … well … it does something good in your life if you are happy."

Love, Friendship and Chocolate all told happy stories which had the underlying theme of transformation. In all three stories the protagonists moved from a state of unhappiness to one of happiness. In Friendship's words their stories, "sound off like someone is sad and then … and then …". Then the transformation takes place and the individual grows towards a state of happiness. All three recognize that the transformation took place through others. In Friendship's case the transformation required an inner lesson of self-improvement. His protagonist needed to learn to be good, "… and now he does his school work properly and when he goes home he is happy…." However, like Chocolate and Love, he later admits that, "It was friendship that changed his life …".

Friendship seems to experience some confusion as to whether the happiness is a consequence of the goodness or whether the goodness results from being happy:

Friendship: And then God took away his friend and said that if he never … "if you always good then he would always stay with you"… and then that boy became happy and he does everything good.

In Love's story it is the existence of a good friend, Promise, that helps Sophie grow and gain the self-confidence to stand up to her bullies. Similarly Chocolate's story also includes another as the catalyst for the protagonist's transformation. In her story it is only after a little girl gives the sad boy a box of chocolates that his mood is transformed.

Perhaps the perceived necessity of others in the transformation process suggests an external locus of control and a lack of self-regulation. This takes us on to the next section.

4.3.2.8 Self-Regulation

Children actively construct meaning about themselves and their environments. Though this can be an automatic process that occurs without much conscious thought, those individuals who show evidence of higher emotional intelligence, generally seem to have learned more active techniques of self-regulation (see 2.6.2). A few of the participants recognized strategies for increasing self-regulation and emotional control. These techniques were not overtly stated but implied through illustration of other concepts.

(a) Focus on the positive (FoP)

The ability to focus on the positive and/or send uplifting messages to the self has been identified as playing an important role in the maintenance of happiness (see 2.6.2). Chocolate identifies an effective strategy she uses when her sister gives her a "hard time". It is to "… think about the happy times that we have had … the happy positive times."

Love also points out that, to increase happiness in both yourself and those around you, it is important not to focus on the negative:

Love: … and even if you dislike the person and you thought that they were ugly and felt like teasing them … then you would just keep quiet and be their friend.

Chocolate also displays her ability to focus on the positive when she describes how she chooses to interpret the jokes people make about her:

Chocolate: … But I think … about this school … that makes people like me happy is … while the teachers make funny jokes about you. And since I have been at the school … since Grade 2 … I have learned to take it in a lot.
(Her posture is much more open now and she moves her arms in larger, more expansive movements. She then leans forward).
I've learned that you can't think of something as a bad joke but as a good joke. If you take it in the way they see it you will never be happy at this school.

(b) Emotional Control (EC)

Friendship recognizes the importance of being able to regulate his emotions and how emotional control impacts on maintaining positive relationships and happiness:

Friendship: - but luckily he was not at home so I did not really shout at him because if I had shouted at him
(He crosses his arms tightly over his stomach but smiles broadly)
… that would have been big trouble in my life …

In Friendship's happy story his protagonist chose to change his life. This suggests that Friendship recognises that one has the ability to choose one's responses and behaviours. In this sense emotional control is an aspect of self-regulation that impacts on goal setting and attainment:

Friendship: … and then that boy became happy and he does everything good.

Chocolate also recognizes the importance of controlling one's emotions and she appears to use happiness (or chocolate) as a means of emotional control:

Chocolate: …say now my sister has made a very hard …
                (She hesitates and her hand moves in a tight circular motion at heart level as if she is churning something up)
                … time me at my house … and then if I have a little chocolate if makes me cool down …"

When describing how she responds to jokes about her, she explains that she actively chooses not to get upset. This is evidence of emotional control:

Chocolate: So my thing is to be happy and think of it as … laugh with them or just …
                (Her hands go up in dramatic back-off position and then became a little more gentle)
                 … back off slowly.

(c)   Mask (M)
This concept has relevance in terms of the self-perception theorists who maintain that we feel happy because we behave in a happy manner thus sending positive messages to ourselves about our state of well-being.

Chocolate's choice to put on a happy face and laugh with those who tease her suggests that she uses a mask from time to time as a means of self-regulation.

Love describes the use of masks a lot more blatantly:

Love:	Well friendliness is that even though you would … you dislike the person you will be kind to them and pretend that you are friends … even though you don't think they are the best of friends.

It is however Laughter that most clearly displays the use of masks as a means of self-regulation:

Laughter:	Yah … well sometimes. You feel bad inside but outside you are like fine and everything …
	(She puts her right hand over her heart and then drops her hands and grips the chair seat again and puts her right hand under her left leg in a very closed posture).

4.3.2.9   Socialization and friendship

Friendship is probably the most consistent theme in the data, emerging both as a cause of happiness (4.3.2.6) and as a happy feeling of acceptance (4.3.2.1). Here, perceptions of the relevance of happiness to socialization and friendship are explored.

*(a)	Social skills (SS)*

Both Friendship and Chocolate highlight the negative impact of unhappiness on social skills. Chocolate explains this concept in the following manner:

Chocolate:	… and if the person goes around and they are not very happy chappies then they say "she's bitter"…
	(She points with her right hand in a hard judgmental gesture)
	Because they are bitter inside they are in a grumpy mood and they are not happy to talk to anyone and …

In her happy story she describes the negative manner in which the unhappy protagonist responds to a joke:

Chocolate:	And the cat popped up and said "hey-dee-dily-dee-dily-dee-day". And John said, "oh, shut up!"
	(She covers her heart with her hand)

Similarly Friendship recognises how unhappiness may result in socially unacceptable behaviours such as rudeness, "shouting" and "grumpy" behaviour. He describes the responses of an unhappy person :

Friendship: … if someone makes a joke you say, "huh … get out of my face!"
                … and you are always mean every day … if you are not happy.

By contrast he describes the behaviours of a happy person in pro-social terms. Once the protagonist in his story becomes happy he "… does friendly things with everyone".

4.3.3 INTERCODER RELIABILITY

Intercoder reliability was established through a second coder.

4.4 <u>CONCLUSION</u>

In this chapter the empirical data has been analysed using content analysis. Except for Laughter, there was consistency between the themes emerging from the metaphors and those from the happy stories thus increasing the validity of the data. Several strong themes surfaced and the extent to which they are able to answer the research questions will be discussed in Chapter 5.

At this only the most apparent themes, underscored by the analysis, have been noted. Though all participants have attained high levels of happiness at school (as this was a criteria for their selection), it appears, from the data, that this happiness is essentially unrelated to the intrinsic nature of school. Concepts such as flow, task relevant enjoyment and the engaged life, all closely related to successful and fulfilling learning experiences, are markedly absent from the data.

Except to the extent that peers and friends are a major component of schooling, none of the participants seem to find their source of happiness within school or learning itself. The participants all seem to share Love's approach and " … think of things that are not at school and that makes me happy…"

Possibly they recognize that in spite of learning difficulties and hardship, by focusing elsewhere, happiness can still be experienced within the school context. Perhaps by sidestepping the real issues, ignoring punishments and focusing on other aspects they are better able to deflect attention from their lack of school achievement and defend their egos, thus increasing their resilience. From this perspective it could be that the ability not to focus on failure, as evidenced in the data gathered from the participants, is one of their greatest assets.

CHAPTER 5
FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

His unkindness wounded poor Gerda deeply. She shed hot, bitter tears; they fell on his breast, they reached his heart, they thawed the ice and dissolved the tiny fragment of glass within it…. Then Kay burst into tears. He wept till the glass splinter floated in his eye and fell with his tears. He knew his old companion immediately, and exclaimed with joy, "Gerda, may dear little Gerda, where have you been all this time? – and where have I been?"

From Hans Christian Andersen's The Snow Queen
Retold by Jean Roberton

The above extract highlights the importance of friendship, which is one of several dominant themes arising from the analysis of the data. The extent to which the data are able to answer the research questions is discussed in this chapter. Recommendations for further research are presented and the shortcomings of this particular study are discussed.

5.2 PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of this research was to develop a greater understanding of the experience of happiness as it is perceived by children with learning difficulties. A better understanding of happiness as a phenomenon was seen as having the potential to contribute to assessment and therapeutic techniques.

The specific purpose of the research was to find possible answers to the following research questions:

- How do children with learning difficulties describe the feeling of happiness within the context of school and learning?
- How do children with learning difficulties understand the structure of happiness within the context of school and learning?
- How do children with learning difficulties attribute relevance to happiness within the context of school and learning?

5.3 DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH RESULTS IN RESPECT OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Here follows a discussion of the research results in respect of the research questions

5.3.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

5.3.1.1 Question 1: How do children with learning difficulties describe the feeling of happiness within the context of school and learning?

Literature suggests that though the precise site of happiness has been located in the brain, the actual experience of positive mood remains very individual and diverse (see 2.3.1.1).

(a) *Experiences associated with happiness*

Though there is a normative aspect to well-being there is also a strong subjective aspect resulting in individual experiences. This diversity was demonstrated in the research. Several different experiences were associated with the feeling of happiness. As discussed below these included release, calmness, laughter, excitement, and acceptance (both of the self and by others).

(i) Excitement was incorporated into several of the stories, which seemed to link adrenaline, thrill, excitement and fear to the experience of happiness.

(ii) In contrast some participants experienced happiness as a more relaxed or serene feeling, suggesting calmness. Here happiness was perceived as a calm feeling or as having a calming effect on the individual.

(iii) One participant described happiness in terms of release from tension.

(iv) A number of participants identified laughing and smiling as a consequence of feeling happy.

(v) The majority of participants recognized the importance of being accepted by others. They included both friends and the normative group into their concept of "others" and this was the most consistent theme illustrating the experience of happiness. By contrast only one participant identified the importance of accepting oneself.

(b) Dimensions of happiness

The participants identified both the active dimension, including feelings of arousal such as excitement and thrill, as well as the passive dimensions of happiness, demonstrated by feelings such as relaxation. However it appears that the individual participants exhibit a bias either for the active or the passive dimension.

5.3.1.2 Question 2: How do children with learning difficulties understand the structure of happiness within the context of school and learning?

(a) Forms of happiness

Seligman differentiates between three forms of happiness; the pleasant life, the engaged life, and the meaningful life (see 2.3.1.1). The engaged life, which incorporates Csikszentmihalyi's concept of flow, is central to the concept of learning. In addition research suggests that some forms of play result in flow and that this kind of play leads to total involvement in and mastery of activities (see 2.3.1.1 (ii)). In this sense playing soccer, designing a fantasy space ship, or painting in the art room could be seen as forms of engaged play leading to learning and mastery. It is therefore important to note that none of the participants recognized this form of happiness within the context of school.

In this study the participants' understanding of the structure of happiness seemed to be limited to the pleasant and the meaningful life. This lack of understanding regarding the role of engagement in happiness is significant, suggesting that learning is not central to their happiness at school. This points to these children being able to find their happiness in activities that are unrelated to schoolwork, formal learning or even engaged play. Perhaps children with learning difficulties are less likely to experience engagement and flow in school because the three elements necessary to achieve it, concentration, skill, and recognition of the intrinsic reward in the activity, are particularly illusive for them.

(i) The pleasant life

Several of the participants appeared to understand happiness predominantly within the context of the pleasant life. Instant gratification, sensual delight, lighthearted fun, and materialism were themes that demonstrated the pleasant life. Though materialism is associated with the pleasant life, it does not feature very strongly amongst the responses. This is relevant because research indicates that we habituate most easily to materialistic experiences

(Layard 2006:49). Thus happiness that is based on the pleasure of materialistic gains does not lead to lasting happiness. It appears that happy children may be instinctively aware of this.

Most of participants seemed to perceive happiness as being structured along more than one level (i.e. both the pleasant life and the meaningful life).

(ii) The meaningful life

When happiness is perceived in terms of the meaningful life individuals recognise that they find fulfilment and meaning by being connected to or part of something larger than themselves. Hallowell (2005:172-221) suggests that there are many points of potential connection for children including family, friends, community, culture, nature, information, organizations, and religion and that more connection leads to greater happiness.

The data suggest that participants recognized the necessity of connection to friends, family and God in finding happiness. Of these three, the connection to friends was the most consistent and there was some evidence suggesting that certain participants were able to make the shift from the self to the other in a meaningful way. Participants were able to understand the value of altruistic actions and the satisfaction that can be experienced through helping others. The reciprocal nature of happiness, experienced when connecting with others, was also expressed.

It is worth noting that connection to school, as an institution, was not identified as a theme.

(a) Contexts

(i) Task relevant

None of the participants linked happiness to task related activities of school. This suggests that they understand happiness at school to be independent of school related activities such as learning. A belief in the intrinsic value of the task itself is an inextricable element of the engaged life and therefore the absence of task relevance as a theme is consistent with the findings discussed in 5.3.1.2 (i).

(ii) Task irrelevant

Most of the participants appeared to perceive happiness as existing in spite of school tasks. Enjoyment of school seemed to be related more to external interference than to the work itself and there was a sense that the source of school happiness is sought outside of the school context and tasks. In the words of Love, "… sometimes I think of things that are not at school and that makes me happy…"

(c) *Behaviour resulting from happiness*

(i) Broadened - including risk taking

There is evidence for Fredrickson's broaden-and-build theory, which maintains that positive emotions broaden an individual's thought-action repertoires. Some of the participants' stories suggest that when they are happy they are willing to engage in a wider range of activities. These activities included disrupting the class, running around wildly, facing danger, and being pelted with fruit. The experience of happiness so broadened the range of the behaviours that it even included activities for which the participants were punished.

It is important to note that several of the participants suffer from ADHD and the above behaviour could be interpreted as arising out of this condition rather than from their experience of happiness. Perhaps they have learned to incorporate their ADHD into their expression of happiness. The important distinction, however, is that the children, themselves, seem to perceive these expansive behaviours as relating to happiness rather than to a diagnosed pathology.

(ii) Narrowed - including risk aversive behaviour

For some of the participants happiness seemed to facilitate equilibrium. This was particularly true of Laughter who seemed to protect her happy feelings by not stepping out of line.

(d) *Causes of happiness*

(i) Success vs failure

Both the positive impact of success and the negative impact of failure within the context of school were evident in the data. This was not, however, a very strong theme. Perhaps, as school success has not been a part of their formative experiences, these children have learned to look elsewhere for their happiness.

(ii) Friends vs loneliness

A central theme in the data was the importance of friends as a cause of happiness. Attention was also drawn to the negative and serious impact of loneliness. The participants seemed to appreciate Hallowell's concept of "social capital" (2005:177) and the ability of friends to contribute to a happy, healthy and successful life.

It was recognized that school presents an ideal context for making friends because of the concentration of children and for this reason school was seen as a happy context.

The bi-directional relationship between loneliness and unhappiness was also identified i.e. that unhappy people choose not to have friends which in turn makes them more unhappy and less able to make friends.

(iii) Humour

Humour and particularly the entertainment value of friends, as a cause for happiness, came across strongly in the data. The entertainment value of socialisation, jokes, laughter, and humour were all seen as resulting in happiness. Humour was not limited to situations that involved friends but extended to family, teachers and therapists.

The inability of unhappy people to appreciate humour was also identified.

The ability to see the humour in situations, perhaps where others can't, may afford these children more regular experience of happiness and laughter thus raising their overall sense of well-being.

(iv) Empathy

Empathy involves the projection of one's consciousness into the feelings of others and can be recognized in altruistic acts of kindness, generosity, support, sharing, caring and understanding.

Participants identified that when they had experienced empathetic responses from others, e.g. teachers and friends, their happiness was increased.

The mutuality of empathy was perceived and, for several of the participants, there was a sense that being empathetic was as important as receiving

empathy. These participants were able to shift the focus from the self to the other and identified the satisfaction of generating happiness in others. In this sense they recognized that the reward for empathy is intrinsic.

(v)   Assistance and support

In this study assistance and support is distinguished from empathy. While empathy is not limited to support given within close friendships, assistance and support relate more specifically to help given to friends.

Participants were able to recognize the importance of their support to their friends' happiness. Several linked this support specifically to the school context e.g. assistance with schoolwork or dealing with bullies. The support of friends, therefore, seemed to fulfil a protective role within the context of school, thus increasing the possibility of happiness.

5.3.1.3   Question 3: How do children with learning difficulties attribute relevance to happiness within the context of school and learning?

(a)   Relevance of happiness to resilience

As noted in the literature study, Baruth and Carroll (2002:235) found that adaptable individuals tend to use positive rather than negative emotions when handling adversity and this flexibility promotes resilience. Positive emotions such as happiness or life satisfaction can therefore be seen to increase resilience. Children with learning difficulties are seen to be "at risk" and Gardynik and McDonald (1005:210) point out that the extra challenges in learning, as well as the stress levels experienced at school, serve to render school itself as a risk factor for children with learning difficulties. The manner in which the participants attribute resilience to happiness is therefore significant.

(i)   Increased resource

Some of the participants seem to perceive happiness as a tool or as a form of extra resource that could be used in the pursuit of goals. Happiness was also seen as offering strength and self-confidence to individuals and in this way increasing the resource available to facilitate coping.

For some this extra resource took the form of a strengthening of will - a will to go on, venture out, or tackle the obstacles facing them. Because of the ongoing challenges experienced by children with learning difficulties, this form of resilience is very important for them.

(ii) Durability

Theron (2004:317) describes resilience as the ability to spring back from adversity and in this sense likens it to "durability". In other words resilient individuals are not immune to adversity, but they are able to bounce back relatively unscathed from setbacks. The data suggest that the participants recognize that happiness affords them this form of resilience. For some, happiness appears to form a durable barrier or buffer protecting them from the negative consequences of their own actions. For these, the importance of their happy mood far outweighs the possible negative consequences of their behaviour thus allowing them to roll with the punches. For others, happiness is seen as having the power to lift individuals out of painful situations and return them to a state of equilibrium. Here happiness comes after the setback, sometimes from a source outside of the individual, and functions almost as a comfort blanket.

The lack of durability experienced by those that do not have happiness was seen to have potentially devastating effects on an individual's life.

(iii) *Undoing Effect*

Evidence of the "undoing effect" of happiness, as hypothesized by Fredrickson (see 2.6.9), was only seen in one participant. Her metaphor and explanations seemed to suggest that though she experienced negative emotions such as anxiety and tension she used the undoing effect of happiness, in her case laughter, to increase her resilience and well-being.

(iv) Transformation

De Civita (2006:241) maintains that the transformative aspect of resilience "is at the heart of strength-based efforts". It is therefore interesting to note that the transformative power of happiness was an underlying theme in several of the happy stories. In these stories the protagonists moved from a state of unhappiness to one of happiness and this transformation, even when it entailed personal growth, took place through others, specifically friendships.

Perhaps the perceived necessity of others in the transformation process points to an external locus of control and a lack of self-regulation. On the

other hand it could merely indicate the extent to which these children recognize the importance of being connected to others.

(b) Self-regulation

Children are not passive in their experience of their world. They actively construct meaning about themselves as they interact with people and things in the world around them. Self-perception theorists suggest that we understand our internal states or emotions from our externalised actions. Our feelings are the consequences, not the cause, of our behaviour (see 2.6.2). There was evidence in the data that the participants recognised their active role in their emotional responses to the world around them.

(i) Focus on positive

The ability of individuals to cultivate, notice and focus on the positive experiences in their lives plays an important role in their attainment of happiness (Carruthers & Hood 2004:230; Pajares 2001:28).

The participants identify that focusing on the negative aspects of their lives decreases happiness while focusing on the positive increases it. A few strategies to focus on the positive were identified. These included thinking "about the happy times" and choosing to interpret jokes about themselves in a positive manner.

(ii) Emotional control

Some of the participants recognized the importance of emotional control in the maintenance of good relationships. As the link between positive relationships and happiness was also made, it suggests that participants recognize the relevance of emotional control in maintaining happiness.

Participants also identified that individuals have a choice regarding their responses to events in their life. In addition, emotional control seemed to be seen as playing a role in goal setting and attainment.

(iii) Mask

Theories that hold that we understand our emotions from our actions (see 2.6.2) recognise that an effective route to the experience of happiness is the modelling of happiness. In other words we can experience more happiness by smiling more. The ability to regulate one's emotions through

the outward appearance of happiness was recognised by some of the participants who admitted that they put on a happy face and laugh even when they are not feeling so happy inside.

(c)   Socialization and friendship

Friendship and relationships with others was the most consistent and pervasive theme in the data. Aspects of friendship arise in answer to each of the research questions. Here the focus is on how children with learning difficulties attribute the relevance of happiness to friendship.

(i) Social skills

The participants recognized that happy people behave in a more pro-social manner and manifest better social skills. A few participants identified that unhappiness can cause socially unacceptable behaviour such as rudeness, shouting and grumpiness.

5.4 <u>SHORTCOMINGS OF THIS STUDY</u>

5.4.1   Due to the qualitative nature of the study the findings from this research are specific to the group that was studied and therefore cannot be generalized.

5.4.2   The method of selection of happy children may have been a little flawed. Some of the parcipants may have given the appearance of happiness while masking inner pain. Perhaps a self assessment of subjective happiness, in addition to the measure used, would have been a more valid method of selection for happy participants.

5.4.3   Though it was not my intention to generalize the findings to all learners with learning difficulties, the research does not throw light on whether the findings are peculiar to children with learning difficulties or whether children without learning difficulties would have similar perceptions about happiness within the context of school and learning. Similarly the findings do not reveal whether happy children differ in their perceptions of school to unhappy children. The study may have been improved, even on the limited scale that applied to this research, if the perceptions of these different groups were compared.

5.4.4   Though the themes arising from the data are adequately varied it is assumed that a larger sample could have offered more diversity.

5.5   RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

5.5.1   This study did not explore causal relationships but rather the phenomenon of happiness amongst children with learning difficulties. One of the observations was the surprising lack of engagement, including engaged play, within the data. Several questions arise from this observation and could be pursued through further study. Is this lack of engagement more prevalent in children with learning difficulties? What is the relationship between play, engagement and mastery in the school context? How can engagement be encouraged amongst children with learning difficulties?

5.5.2   Several of the participants from this study suffer from ADHD. Their expansive and "broadened" repertoire of behaviour could be interpreted as arising out of this condition rather than from their experience of happiness. From the data, it appears, however, that the children, themselves, seem to perceive these expansive behaviours as relating to happiness. The relationship between hyperactivity, happiness and broadened behaviour deserves further investigation.

5.5.3   As noted in 5.4 above, studies which compare the perception of happiness between both happy and unhappy children as well as children with and without learning difficulties could throw valuable light on the topic.

5.6   CONCLUSION

While the most consistent theme in the data was the relationship between friendship and happiness, this study offers insight into all three research questions.

- Children with learning difficulties, as represented in this sample, described happiness in the context of school as many different experiences, along both active and passive dimensions thus supporting the notion of subjective diversity in the experience of happiness.

- Children with learning difficulties, as represented in this sample, perceived the structure of happiness within the context of school and learning in terms of various forms, contexts, resultant behaviours, and causes of happiness. Happiness appeared to be understood as taking the form of the pleasant and meaningful life and there was a conspicuous absence of the engaged life. Similarly the participants saw happiness as being structured around task irrelevant activities. There seemed to be evidence of both broadening and narrowing of the behaviours resulting from happiness. Finally, several causes were identified of which the most dominant was friendship.

- Children with learning difficulties, as represented in this sample in this study, attribute the relevance of happiness within the context of school and learning in several ways. They saw happiness as increasing resilience, self-regulation, and friendships. Happiness was seen to boost resilience by increasing available resource, improving durability, undoing the effect of negative experience, and functioning as a vehicle for transformation. It was recognised that through self-regulation, happiness is partly within the control of the individual. Self-regulation strategies such as focusing on the positive, emotional control, and masking negative feelings were revealed. Finally, happiness was seen to be relevant to the extent that it was able to improve socialisation and friendship through better social skills.
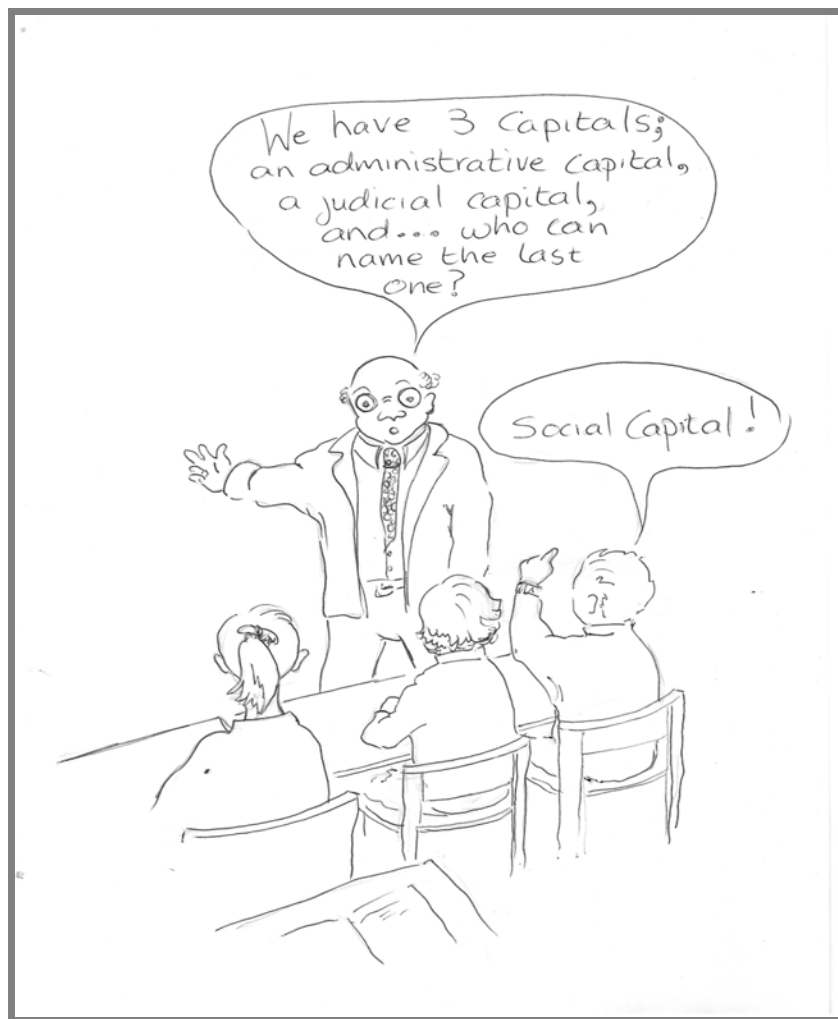
Drawing adapted from Frank Rodgers' illustration in Carpenter (1986:17)

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Annexure A:

List of learners' names
Perceived Level of Happiness

Please circle the level of happiness you perceive each learner to have from 1 (not happy at all) to 10 (high levels of happiness most of the time).

Teacher's Name: _____

Date: _____

Name	Date of Birth	Age at 1 May 07	Level of Happiness
Donovan …	1997-01-…	10	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Bruce …	1997-04-…	10	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Rocco …	1997-03-…	10	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Stefan …	1997-02-…	10	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Klaas …	1996-04-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Dylan …	1996-01-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Jason	1996-07-…	10	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Nkateko …	1996-06-..	10	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Keigton …	1996-11-..	10	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Mischa …	1996-03-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Le Charl …	1996-07-…	10	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Saul …	1996-03-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Tevin …	1996-05-…	10	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Siyabonga …	1996-01-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Clarika …	1996-02-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Iuan …	1995-02-…	12	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Tiago …	1995-01-…	12	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Matthew …	1995-03-…	12	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Stuart …	1995-06-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
David …	1995-03-…	12	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Willem …	1995-10-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Lionel …	1995-11-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Senna …	1995-08-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Marc …	1995-06-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Jason …	1995-10-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Pierre …	1995-08-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Bradley …	1995-10-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Hannah …	1995-09-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Mariska …	1995-03-…	12	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Natasha …	1995-05-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Lara …	1995-12-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Lee-Ann …	1995-05-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Lindiwe …	1995-11-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Megan …	1995-02-…	12	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Melissa …	1995-10-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Alecia …	1995-11-…	11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Ester …	1994-11-…	12	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Mishka Bal	1994-09-…	12	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Eric …	1994-12-…	12	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Meghan …	1994-10-…	12	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

ANNEXURE B: Letter for parental consent

Educational Psychology (Intern)

Mae Naude

BA Hons (Psyche), BEd Hons (Guidance & Counseling)
(PSIN 0101907)

7 May 2007

Dear Mr and Mrs O**…**

I am currently undertaking research on children's experience of happiness within the context of school and learning. B**…** has been identified as a child displaying high levels of happiness and as such I would much appreciate his participating in my research programme.

Participation will involve two hours on the afternoon of Tuesday 22 May 2007 (14h00-16h00). During this time the participants will be engaged in activities designed for the purpose of the research. The research will be conducted on the school premises and the participants will be supervised at all times. Should further clarity be required during the data analysis stage, B… may be contacted for a follow up interview.

B… identity will be protected by the use of a pseudonym and, therefore, all information disclosed by him will remain confidential. It is important to note that B… may withdraw from the research at any point should he choose to.

Should you have any questions regarding the research please feel free to contact me on 082 468 2221. If you feel comfortable that B… participates please complete the consent form on the attached copy and return it to school.

Yours sincerely

Mae Naude   Gail van der Riet
Educational Psychology Intern   Principal

I/we, ………………………………………………….., parent/s and/or legal guardian/s of

……………………………….…………………………, consent for him/her to participate in the research programme as outlined above.

Parent 1 Signature: ……………………………… Parent 2 Signature:……………………………

Date: …………………………….. Date: ……………………………..

ANNEXURE C
'FULL' TRANSCRIPTS

CHOCOLATE TRANSCRIPT
Tuesday 22 May 2007
(Chocolate's face is very expressive. Her movements generally are rather dramatic and extravagant. She is forthcoming and makes good eye contact most of the time)

Name	Communication (verbal / *non-verbal*)	Code and Comment
Mae	The first thing I want you to do is to think of a metaphor. Has anyone ever told you what a metaphor is?	
Chocolate	*She shakes her head*	
Mae	A metaphor is a comparison … when we compare two things. Like … "a cloud is like cotton wool …"	
Chocolate	*(Chocolate's shoulders are tight and a little tense. She sits with arms crossed and covers her hands with the bottom edge of her jersey. She fiddles constantly with her jersey).*	
Chocolate	And the moon is like cheese…	
Mae	Exactly! And clouds are like cotton wool because they are white and fluffy …. Now I want you to think … Happiness at school is like what?	
Chocolate	*She fiddles with hands in lap and covers her hands with her jersey sleeve. Then crosses arms and looks up to her right.*	
Chocolate	Um, well … *(She thinks for some time and lifts her right hand to her mouth as she looks up)* I know… *(She drops her hand as she points and looks directly at me.)* Happiness is like chocolate! *(She folds her arms and lifts her shoulders in a defensive or apologetic manner).* <u>It is sweet and it makes people laugh and makes people happy</u>…. Happiness is the way that you express yourself … *(She pulls her jersey sleeve over right hand then lets go as she begins to use her hands more expressively and openly)* … like chocolate. *(She continues to use her hands to explain while looking directly at me. She opens her posture and relaxes her shoulders. Her hands remain very expressive)* Like chocolate … I express myself with … either I like…. I don't like dark chocolate, I like milk chocolate … that is the way I express myself. <u>The reason I like being happy is because when I'm happy I make other people happy.</u> *(She raises her hands and covers her heart with her hands as she says this).* <u>That's my ticket …</u> <u>*(She screws up her face a little and flicks her hands in an extravagant manner to emphasise this point).*</u>	(Laug) (PL) happiness is sweet and nice and enjoyable

(Em) enjoys happiness in others & (Mfl) she seems to gain meaning and reason by making others happy.

(IR) happiness is perceived as a tool |

Mae	So tell me about chocolate. Have you always like chocolate?	
Chocolate	Ooooh … I oooh … *(She pulls her jersey down over her thighs as if trying to cover them)* I don't know a child that doesn't like chocolate unless they are diabetic. *(She laughs and shrugs her shoulders as if distancing herself from this concept).* But otherwise I know children that love chocolate. <u>Some children … they take a long time to eat … to eat chocolate …</u> *(Her hand movements are very expressive and delicate. She closes her thumb to forefinger forming two circles as if in a "perfect" gesture and her body language opens up again. Her voice softens and her face is very expressive. She then drops her hands and rubs thighs)* … but they eat it in the end. And like me … I love chocolate. I love making … <u>chocolate makes people happy and I love making people happy …</u> *(Her hand moves from left to right in a flowing circular, almost dance-like gesture which seems to suggest openness and positivity)*	Perhaps she perceives unhappiness as an illness – ie something she wants to distance herself from. (PL) Happiness is something to be loved and savoured (Em)
Mae	Does chocolate make you happy?	
Chocolate	Ummm…. It like … *(She raises her left hand as if in a stop gesture, then both hands drop to her lap but still retain their stand off position)* … <u>say now my sister has made a very hard …</u> *(She hesitates and her hand moves in a tight circular motion at heart level as if she is churning something up)* <u>… time with me at my house …</u> … and then if I have a little chocolate it <u>makes me cool down … and then I think about the happy times that we have had …</u> *(Her hands are very expressive and appear to be open but she crosses her feet under the chair)* <u>… the happy positive times</u> *(She covers her hands with her jersey again and fiddles with them as they remain in a closed position resting on her stomach).*	(EC) she seems to use chocolate or happiness as a means of controlling her emotions (Cal) (Pas) happiness here is seen in calm, passive terms (FoP) focusing on positive helps her to maintain equilibrium and happiness
Mae	Now … at this school you are not allowed to have chocolate at school. How does that make you feel?	
Chocolate	But you are allowed *kit-kats* and *Bar-Ones* …. But I think … about this school … that makes people like me happy is … <u>while the teachers make funny jokes about you. And since I have been at the school … since grade 2 … I have learned to take it in a lot</u> *(Her posture is much more open now and she moves her arms in larger, more expansive movements. She then leans forward).* <u>I've learned that you can't think of something as a bad joke but as a good joke.</u> If you don't take it in the way they see it <u>you will never be happy at this school and no one will actually like you.</u> *(She gestures to indicate inverted commas. Then closes her arms and fiddles with hands before opening again and letting hands come to rest in lap).* So <u>my thing is to be happy and think of it as … laugh with them or just …</u>	(FoP) – She sees that it is her choice to interpret events in positive light (AO) acceptance by others is clearly NB & (EC) she can control her happiness

	(Her hands go up in dramatic back-off position and then become a little more gentle) … back off slowly.	
Mae	It sounds like a box of chocolates.	
Chocolate	Yah. *(She covers her hands again)*	
Mae	And your favourite chocolate?	
Chocolate	Well I don't really have a favourite of chocolate… My most favourite of chocolate ummm … *(She covers her heart with hand)* … has like a jelly inside it, yah, and it tickles your tongue *(She lifts her shoulders and her hands go up to below her ears)*	Perhaps something about a soft gooey centre here? Is happiness soft and sticky??
Mae	It sounds like a Turkish Delight.	
Chocolate	Yah! *(She points)* Oooh … I love Turkish Delight! Ummm … once for mother's day I gave my mother Turkish delight and we ate it up … nearly all of it and my mother didn't get to eat any of it. *(She covers her hands with her jersey and smiles)* And she was like … "Be my guest. Go ahead … eat it" *(Chocolate smiles broadly and gestures in an open expansive movement to show direction. She then sits up straight and laughs).* It was <u>so funny</u>!	(H) the humour in the situation seemed to result in a feeling of happiness
Mae	Have you ever tasted bitter chocolate?	
Chocolate	Yah. Dark Chocolate and unsweetened chocolate. *(She screws face up in expression of disgust)*	
Mae	And it's not so nice?	
Chocolate	Yah	
Mae	And is happiness like that?	
Chocolate	No. Because it is bitter and bitter in food and that … and if the person goes around and they are not very happy chappies then they say "she's bitter"… *(She points with right hand in hard judgmental gesture)* <u>Because they are bitter inside they are in a grumpy mood and they are not happy to talk to anyone and …. I think that if a person is unhappy then just leave them alone</u> … *(Her hands go up in defensive, stay away, gesture and hold that position for some time).* Don't try to make a joke of it because they don't feel like it. I've learnt that … just stay away from them. *(She lifts her hands up as a protection)* They don't have a good "temper" … *(She uses her hands to indicate inverted commas)* … maybe they had a bad night or didn't sleep well. Then I just say OK … *(She lifts her hands defensively again)* … and I try with people … not to make them any more unhappier, *(She covers her heart with her right hand and churns left hand*	Happy = sweet Unhappy = bitter (SS) unhappiness seems to be associated with poor social skills

	in tight circles) … just to brighten them up a little bit.	
Mae	It sounds like you feel that you can make other people happy?	
Chocolate	*She nods in agreement* <u>I make a lot of people happy in this school</u> …. You can ask Eric and everybody. I make a lot of people happy *(She folds her arms tightly and then opens them and covers her heart with her right hand).*	(Mfl) – has a role to play. Connected to others
Mae	Is that nice?	
Chocolate	*(She nods in agreement)* <u>Like with me … it's a ticket - if you make other people happy, they make you happy.</u> *(She points with her finger as if she is teaching)* <u>So what goes around comes around. So what comes from you will come back …</u>	(IR) happiness is like an extra resource (SS) good social skill have benefit for individual
Mae	Now I want you tell me a happy story about school …. *(Folds arms to hide hands)*	
Chocolate	Can it be like <u>a funny story</u>? *(She opens her hands expressively)*	(Laug) (H) not sure whether the funny story is the cause or the result of happiness
Mae	Yes	
Chocolate	OK. There once was a cat that lived in a hat … in a school … when the children came around it popped up *(She speaks in a sing song manner and opens her hands)* … <u>and said a very funny word - "hey-dee-dilly-dee-diddlee-dee-day" and the children loved it. It was a ticket for them to be happy that day</u>. Then there was a little boy … his name was John. He was a very bitter … *(She emphasises bitter)* … <u>unhappy child and that day he didn't do his maths homework and he was screamed at and he got a demerit</u>. And that was his ticket to a <u>detention and he was not happy because he knew that if his father found out there would be big trouble</u>. And the cat popped up and said "hey-dee-didly-dee-dilly-dee-day" *(Her shoulders move around expressively).* <u>And John said, "oh, shut up!"</u> *(She covers her heart with her hand)* And the cat felt amazed at what this boy had said. So then he asked one of the children to go and talk to him and ask him what was the matter and as they went over and talked to him and he was not very happy and then <u>a little girl came and gave him a box of chocolates.</u> *(Her hands gesture in a movement suggesting that she is handing something over and she smiles)* <u>And when the cat popped up he laughed his head off … when he said those words. …</u> Ta da! *(She indicates with her hands that that is the end of the story)*	}A central theme of }transformation in the } story (Trans) (H) the funny word resulted in happiness (SvF) unhappy because of lack of success (AO) unhappy because of disapproval of others (SS) unhappiness leads to poor social skills Rendering help – being nice (Em) (Laug) & (H) the chocolate caused the happiness which resulted in him laughing and appreciating the humour
Mae	That was wonderful…. Tell me a little about the cat.	
Chocolate:	*(She uncrosses her legs and opens her body a bit)* It was like a ginger cat. Like in … Alice in wonderland. That	

	little … like ginger cat.	
Mae:	What it sounded like from your story is that friends can make people happy.	
Chocolate:	<u>That's what makes me happy</u>. Like one of my very close friends, <u>I don't believe in best friends because if I say that one person is my best friend then everybody … my other friends are not happy with me because they are not my best friend …</u> (Chocolate lifts her hands and gesticulates in a didactic manner. She then crosses her legs and sits very up right) … but Lee-Anne … she is one of my very best friends and when I feel down and feel sad, then she comes along and says, "hey what's the matter" and cheers me up … and <u>sticks with me</u>. And like me again … and Eric... <u>Eric is so funny</u>, *(Chocolate's voice is filled with laughter)* ... he comes along and says "I'm sorry" and he … like his lip hangs and I say, "<u>Eric be careful because when you walk out of the door you will trip over your bottom lip</u>". He's so funny … <u>yeh</u>.	(FvL) (SS) (AO) (A) (H)
Mae	Now in your story the little boy got very upset because of the demerits and …	
Chocolate	Yah! <u>Getting demerits and detention is not … not nice but it is for your own good</u>. Just to show that you were wrong. And especially at this school … the teachers don't like giving it and I know … because I know the teachers. Like Ms LC … people might think that she likes giving a demerit but she does it because she is just doing her job you know she is just doing what she is supposed to – helping you. *(She crosses her arms with finality and smiles)*	(SvF) Success feels better than failure
Mae	Well thank you.	

FUN TRANSCRIPT
Tuesday 22 May 2007
(The most remarkable aspect of his body language is that he maintained an open posture, with a slight smile throughout. He displayed few changes in gestures or expression during the interview – nothing besides slight hand movements while talking. In spite of this he spoke very easily and fluidly, at times hardly pausing to take a breath.)

Name	Communication (verbal / *non-verbal*)	Code and Comment
Mae	Do you know what a metaphor is?	
Fun	No … but I know what a metaphorat… metaforation is … I think … *(He sits in an open position with legs comfortably apart and hands relaxed in lap. He concentrates intently on what I say with a slight smile on his face)*	
Mae	Basically a metaphor is when you compare two things that aren't the same. For example you can say that clouds are like cotton wool because they are white and fluffy … and they look soft … so cotton wool is a metaphor for clouds. I would like you to think of a metaphor for happiness at school. At school happiness is like a … what?	
Fun	*(Looks up to the right and answers without hesitation)* It's like <u>everything that you practically need besides … work and stuff….</u> Because at break <u>if you didn't have friends and happiness then you would be all sad and stuff</u> … so I think that happiness is something that you really need at school.	(TI) (FvL)
Mae	Good. But think of a thing for me. What kind of thing is happiness like?	
Fun	*(He begins to ring his hands a little during this explanation).* <u>It's like when you get a new toy … and you're small. Say, like when I was small I got an action toy. And you feel like … you feel happy … you get a smile</u> … and it's fun to play with and it happens…. Ok … it happens every day when you're really happy and … <u>it happens when you are having fun</u> <u>and even when you are happy to see your friends or your family</u>. *(He gives a little shrug).*	(PL) happiness linked to instant gratification. (Laug) (PL) (Mfl) being part of something bigger
Mae	OK. Good. I'm going to come back to a metaphor but first I'm going to ask you to think a little bit and tell me a story – it doesn't have to be true – but tell me a story about something happy that happened at school.	
Fun	*(Thinks for a few moments).* OK. Um, OK… so it doesn't have to be true?	
Mae	*(Nods in affirmation)*	
Fun	OK, … one day there was a class of 9 … let's say 6E2 and there was a boy named <u>Alex, Eron, Matt, Mark, Garren …</u> *(He counts them off on his fingers)* <u>Hanna, Leanne and … have I said Melissa?</u>	(FvL) emphasis on each name suggests that each member of the group is NB
Mae	No	

Fun	OK, Melissa…. And let's say they hadn't been on a field trip this year because no-one wanted to take them. And say Ms RM, our registered teacher wants to take us on a field trip to say … the Kruger. *(He shrugs)* We were like … happy and when we got to the Kruger we saw lion, leopard, two elephants, buffalo, cheetah … *(He checks them off on his fingers)* ... we saw a snake …. One of us got hit by a branch while we were driving and got a really bad scar on his eye, *(He begins to smile a little more)* that was Matthew, and when we got to the camp where we were sleeping that night we were really naughty … *(He smiles more and more widely until he has a big grin)* … like we were playing … because there were two different camps. There were the girls that side and the boys this side and the boys were having pillow fights and stuff … …and Ms RM came and said, "who was it?" and they all blamed it on me … *(He does not stop smiling)*	(AO) acceptance by group seems to be important (B) broadening of range of behaviour to include risky behaviour (Ac) & (Ex) high energy activity (D) – the fun makes him immune to the blame
Mae	On you?	
Fun	Yah … and then Ms RM sent me outside and then after about half an hour of outside sleeping a leopard came in and was digging through the dustbin …	
Mae	Into the camp?	
Fun	Yeh! And then Ms RM came out and saw the leopard and me and said that I mustn't move and I didn't look around but said, "why mustn't I move" and then I looked around and saw the leopard and then I ran. And I ran into the dorm … we were right outside the dorm … and we locked the door and Ms RM had to stay in our dorm that night. None of us had our phones … so we could not call for someone and we had to sleep there and we were shouting for the leopard to go away and we were also shouting for the girls to say, "lock the doors and close the windows" …. And then after that … the next morning we were driving back in the combi and then we came past an elephant, … two elephants fighting and yah, … and one of them got hurt and then we got out of the gate and drove past Hazyview and we drove past the Kruger … the Kruger … not at the Kruger … it is like a Pick n Pay called the Kruger … Kruger Centre… *(He gestures with hands to show a building)* … and we stopped there and got something to eat. And just as we left there we got a flat tyre … and then we couldn't do anything about it so we went there and we had finished all our chips and there was a lady that was selling oranges and fruit and we asked her "how much are the fruit?". But she didn't want to sell it to us and so she started chasing us and hitting us with fruit. So we picked up all the pieces that she hit us with and we took them in the car and started eating them but one of them wasn't right it was rotten and had landed in bird poo … so we threw it out the window. …So when we got back here Ms RM went to tell Miss Gail that we hadn't been good and we all got into trouble *(He beams a big open smile).*	} } }All indicative of }(Ex) (Ac) - shows }interest in variety, }excitement, fear, }unexpected } } } } } } } }(AO) }High use of "we" }suggests connection }to friends . }Nature of activities with friends suggests (H) (B) new behaviours become possible because of happy frame of mind (D) – Durability & Protection from negative effects
Mae	She told Miss Gail that you hadn't been good?	
Fun	Yah, … at the camp. So then we all got into trouble	
Mae	It sounds like an amazing trip but tell me what made it so	

	happy?	
Fun	That wasn't the real one … it is just like a … *(He shakes his head – the only time there is some slight concern in his voice. This was interesting because out of the interview when he told me the true version of the trip it was almost the same eg one of the few differences was that it was a hyena and not a leopard that came into the camp)*	
Mae	OK … but tell me what was happy about that story.	
Fun	<u>It was happy because I was with my friends,</u> <u>I was having fun</u> … umm … the teacher came in the door and when we were <u>playing with the pillow fights</u> and when we were driving back and saw the two elephants fighting and all the animals and when we got there and were like all running around in Pick n Pay and looking for stuff and when we got a flat tyre and had to wait a long time and the lady was … threw the fruit at us … <u>but the most part … the part I liked most was being with my friends …</u> *(As he talks he counts the elements off his fingers).*	(FvL) (PL) (Ac) (FvL)
Mae	So it sounds like being with your friends is really important … but it also sounds like excitement and fun, even if it means being a bit naughty, it doesn't bother you.	
Fun	Yes	
Mae	And if you get into <u>trouble</u> is that something that makes you unhappy?	
Fun	<u>No … it's just something that happens. You can't do anything about it…</u> *(He shrugs his shoulders as if dismissing the negative consequences of trouble).*	(D)
Mae	So the fun is more important than the trouble.	
Fun	<u>At least at the end of the day you did have fun</u>. *(He shrugs)*	(PL)
Mae	And being scared … like you were with the leopard … is that part of the happiness?	
Fun	Yes … *(He gives a big, open smile)* … <u>that is part of the happiness because when you get back in … it is all like … "how's it being out there with the cheetah?" and you get all like hyper and that because … you know … it is freaky being outside.</u>	(Ex) excitement associated with adrenaline but there is also an element of (AO) being admired by others.
Mae	Excellent. That was a wonderful story. Now I want you to think again about that metaphor. Tell me one word that describes happiness. Happiness is like … and use one word to finish the sentence.	
Fun	… Happiness is like … *(Thinks for some time and eyes rise to his right)* … <u>it's fun</u> (He says this with a tone of surprise and gestures with his hand	(PL) His metaphor is essentially based in "pleasant" form of happiness

	in a slightly dismissive way - almost as if he is surprised by his own sudden recognition of this aspect.)	
Mae	That's excellent. And the story that you told me is all about fun.	
Fun	*He nods*	
Mae	So do you think you can be as happy at school as you can be out of school?	
Fun	Uhummm	
Mae	Do you feel more happy at school or at home?	
Fun	I feel like … I am more happy at both places … but actually I am <u>more happy at school</u>.	
Mae	Because? ... Of the fun?	
Fun	Uhumm. <u>Because at home … I'm usually … my brother has just left for university … and we used to play. And my sister … she is boring! She just sits in her room and talks on her phone …</u> *(He shakes his head as if this is a mad concept)* <u>… and my parents only get home round about nine</u> … so there is nothing to do except ride my quad and play soccer.	(FvL) prefers school because home is lonely
Mae	And tell me about school work	
Fun	School work is fun … *(He says this in a tone implying that it is not fun at all)* … yah it can be fun … but it can be boring … but the part I <u>like most about it is if you are doing your work and then one of your friends, like whispers to you, then he shares something funny then …</u> *(He gives a big smile)* Yah, then your work becomes more fun.	(TI)
Mae	So if you had to do home-schooling … do you think you would enjoy it?	
Fun	Yah … it is would be very not nice … but then the nice part about it would be waking up late.	
Mae	Excellent. Thank you very much.	

LAUGHTER TRANSCIPT
Tuesday 22 May 2007

(Laughter sits opposite me with her knees aimed at me but her body turned away from me. She crosses her legs at her ankles and though her knees and arms are open through most of the interview her posture is twisted, tense and awkward. Generally her eye contact was indirect ie she looked at me from tilted head. She was very reticent and guarded in her verbal communications, preferring not to volunteer any information)

Name	Communication (verbal / *non-verbal*)	Code and Comment
Mae	(Explanation of a metaphor) … If I was describing a cloud I might say it is like cotton wool because it is white and fluffy and looks soft and it floats up there… Now I want you to think and tell me… happiness at school is like … what? I want one word to describe it.	
Laughter	*(Posture is tense yet tilted to the camera – her hands at rest palm down on her thighs)* *(She looks up to left and thinks for long time then screws up her face).* Happiness at school?	
Mae	Happiness at school.	
Laughter	(Laughs and looks at camera and brings up her hands in an open gesture) Umm…. Laughing.	
Mae	Laughter? Wonderful.	
Laughter	Yah.	
Mae	Now talk to me a little about laughter…. Is it good?	
Laughter	It's good. You get everything out! *(She raises her hands in open gesture palms up but as she drops them she grabs hold of the chair seat – as if for support. She looks up to the rights as she thinks)* Umm …. *(Silence)*	(PL) (UE) seems to counteract her feelings of tension (Rel)
Mae	So it is like a release?	
Laughter	Yah….	
Mae	When is the nicest time to laugh at school?	
Laughter	During break.	(TI) her metaphor for happiness does not relate to school work
Mae	Not during class?	
Laughter	No … you get into trouble. *(She laughs nervously)*	(Nar) – does not want negative consequences therefore range of behaviour limited
Mae	And that's not so nice?	

Laughter	No! *(She again laughs nervously and grabs the chair seat with both hands).*	
Mae	Do you laugh a lot at school?	
Laughter	Yes, <u>especially with Lindiwe</u>.	(H) – laughter takes place in context of friends
Mae	What sort of things makes you laugh?	
Laughter	<u>Oh, just silly things</u> … *(Facial expression very tense and tongue explores the inside of her cheeks).*	(TI)
Mae	Is happiness at home also like laughter?	
Laughter	It is also at home.	Not specific to school
Mae	Now I want you to think of a happy story that takes place at school or is about learning. It does not have to be true.	
Laughter	Do I need to tell it?	
Mae	Yes	
Laughter	OK … there's this little girl and she had a big test coming up and she forgot to learn. <u>And she got …</u> <u>(She thinks for a while and eyes move from top right to top left while her fingers emphasise the 95%)</u> <u>… 95% for the test. She was so happy and she went home and she was boasting …</u> *(She is quite as she thinks for a while).* And then … <u>her parents were so happy for her … and she got a new horse …</u> *(She laughs and her hands go up in an expansive move).*	(SvF) success at school is NB. (SvF) reward from parents seems to be partly dependent on her success (PL) (AO) Creation of an ideal world away from real demands of school
Mae	Because she got 95% for her test?	
Laughter	*(She looks a bit shocked and seems to see the inappropriateness of this gift)* Or … And because she had a big birthday coming up. *(Her hands move in an expansive manner).*	
Mae	So … from that story it sounds like doing well at school is also very important for happiness?	
Laughter	Yes.	
Mae	What happens when you don't do well at school?	
Laughter	You feel bad …	
Mae	Even if you laugh a lot?	
Laughter	<u>Yah … well sometimes. You feel bad inside but outside you are like fine and everything …</u> *(She puts her right hand over her heart and then drops her*	(M) – a sense of happiness hiding her true feelings

	hands and grips the chair seat again and puts her right hand under her left leg in a very closed posture).	
Mae	Tell me a little bit more about what it means to do well. How do you know you have done well?	
Laughter	If you learn then you know. If you learn then you know you are going to get … like full marks otherwise if you don't learn you get bad … *(Her tongue explores her mouth).*	
Mae	Are there some subjects that are just more enjoyable than others?	
Laughter	Yes	
Mae	Like?	
Laughter	Maths … and geography and Afrikaans.	
Mae	What makes it more enjoyable	
Laughter	I don't know … <u>I'm just better at them than at the other subjects.</u>	(SvF) but does not suggest engagement
Mae	So you find those easier?	
Laughter	Yah …	
Mae	Tell me another happy story about school.	
Laughter	<u>When I first came to this school … my brother was helping me … and we were still a family … and … we were happy …</u> *(A very sad expression on her face).*	(Mfl) when she was connected to others and part of something bigger
Mae	So it was nice having someone here? *(She appeared very unhappy at this point did not want to pursue what life was like when here father was still alive).* Do you laugh a lot at school?	
Laughter	Especially with Lindiwe, yes.	
Mae	How long has Lindiwe been a friend of yours?	
Laughter	Just from the beginning of this year, when she arrived.	
Mae	So is this a particularly happy year for you?	
Laughter	Yes *(She laughs)*	
Mae	Do you think you have control over your happiness? Do you think you can make yourself happy or are you just happy?	
Laughter	*(She frowns and explores inside of mouth with tongue)* It just comes…	
Mae	If someone had to ask you for advice about happiness what would you say?	

Laughter	I don't know really ….	
FOLLOW UP QUESTIONS REGARDING LAUGHING		
Mae	I just want to ask again what it feels like when you laugh.	
Laughter	*(She sits back in the chair with arms hanging at sides – looking relaxed and open)* Happy … I'm just free … I'm just free.	(Rel) happiness = release from negative emotions
Mae	Is it more of an exciting feeling or is it more of a relaxed feeling?	
Laughter	More of a relaxed feeling.	(Cal) & (Pas)
Mae	More of a relaxed feeling and it feels free. Tell me what the opposite feeling of laughing?	
Laughter	*(She screws up face)* Shouting and screaming	
Mae	And laughing is like … it is like a release	
Laughter	Yes	
Mae	… and it feels relaxed more than exciting	
Laughter	Yes	
Mae	OK, and give me a couple of things at school that make you laugh	
Laughter	Lindiwe and I just like … we make jokes and Miss CD … we always have fun in Miss CD and Miss Felicia's class.	(H) (TI)
Mae	What do they do that makes you laugh?	
Laughter	I don't know … they just tell jokes … and they let us have fun not always just work, work, work, work … And we are allowed to talk but like in other classes we are not allowed to talk.	(H) (TI)
Mae	So it sounds like it is about being relaxed … and not to strict	
Laughter	Yes *(She nods)*	
Mae	And being loose and fun …	
Laughter	Yes	
Mae	Thanks. That all I wanted to clear up.	

FRIENDSHIP TRANSCRIPT
Tuesday 22 May 2007
(Though he generally appears to concentrate well he moved constantly, throughout the interview and his stories lacked coherence. This constant movement seemed to suggest a kinaesthetic orientation rather than nervousness as his eye contact, posture and facial expression was generally open, confident and direct.)

Name	Communication (verbal / *non-verbal*)	Code and Comment
Mae	What are they all laughing about next door?	
Friendship	They're laughing about jokes. And we have to make someone laugh and there is this like … record machine and every time you press play it starts laughing and it has funny laughs and everything…. *(He rocks backwards and forwards on the chair continuously but his posture is quite open and relaxed. He has a big smile while he talks).*	
Mae	And when you hear the other people laughing you just want to laugh?	
Friendship	Yah.	
Mae	OK…. First I want you to think about what it means to be happy at school. I want you to think of one word that describes that happiness. For example, if I think about a cloud and want to describe it … I might say it is like cotton wool because it is fluffy and white…	
Friendship	Yah, yah! *(Still rocking and smiling)*	
Mae	Now I want you to think want it is like to be happy at school. So happiness at school is like … what?	
Friendship	Happiness at school is a good thing … because if you go in class your teacher will worry about you … *(He crosses his arms tightly over his stomach, turns away and begins to rock again).* … every day … <u>it's because you will be grumpy the whole day and when you get home you will shout at everyone and</u> … *(He opens up again and hold palms together in front of himself)* <u>… if someone makes a joke you say, "huh … get out of my face!" … and you are always mean every day … if you are not happy.</u> <u>Well, if you are happy … well … it does something good in your life if you are happy.</u> You can't always be angry at everyone and blame … if you leave something at school … which I done … *(Though his posture opens up completely he is still very kinetic – from his fingers to his legs)* … it was on Friday and we came back at home and then on Monday morning I was like … I was asking everyone "who took my clothes?" … it was actually my shoes … and I was asking my housekeeper to look for them and I was blaming my	(G) (SS) – unhappiness results in poor social skills (Trans) Recognition that happiness plays role in

	cousin - <u>but luckily he was not at home so I did not really shout at him because if I had shouted at him …</u> *(He crosses his arms tightly over stomach but smiles broadly)* <u>… that would have been big trouble in my life…</u>	self regulation which impacts on Acceptance (EC) (SS)
Mae	Why would it have been big trouble in your life?	
Friendship	<u>Because he would … he would not like me so much anymore.</u> But some people do make mistakes. *(He says this in a more serious, contemplative tone)*	(AO)
Mae	Some people do make mistakes … Most people do make mistakes…. I'm going to come back to the question of one word that describes happiness at school but before that I want you think about school and to tell me a happy story about school. It does not have to be true but it does need a beginning, a middle and an end	
Friendship	*(While listening he makes good eye contact and remains very still. He appears to be concentrating intently. His arms were crossed but his facial expression was open, attentive and engaging).* A story?	
Mae	Yes…	
Friendship	OK … I need time.	
Mae	That's fine you have as much time as you need …	
Friendship	You can talk … talk about different stuff … *(He has a serious expression on face as he engages me directly. He is assertive and his posture is open. He makes direct eye contact)*	
Mae	(I talk for a while about irrelevant things) … OK … now tell me about your story	
Friendship	Any story for school?	
Mae	It has to be happy … but it does not need to be true.	
Friendship	OK …. Can it sound off like someone is sad and then … and then …	(Trans)
Mae	Yes.	
Friendship	OK. *(He leans forward and clasps his hands on his knees)* There is this boy who always believes in heaven. He's like … every day he prays … he does not forget … he's a good boy … they say he is so perfect and he prays to God everyday but no-one at school likes him … *(He rubs his knees. He thinks for a moment)* … he's like this naughty boy and <u>he has no friends. Everyday he is just lonely. And he prayed to God that, "may I please have friends" …</u> and the next day this new kid comes to school and he says, "Hey what's your name?" and they start playing and playing … and the next day that boy is no more there…	Initially some confusion as to whether being good or being naughty results in a lack of friends – chooses naughty. (FvL) (Mfl) } }

	(He pauses for emphasis). But it was God who put that boy there and … then he asked God again, "may I please have a friend to play … with" … and then that same boy arrived but he changed … that boy didn't remember who that other boy was. *(He closes his arms tightly over his stomach)* His name was Calvin. And he didn't know what that other boy's name was. And then the next day that other boy wasn't there again. And he said, "I think I'm finding out something here …" and so he said, "God I wish I had … he would be my best friend and stay for ever!" … and then the next day he is there and they go off and be naughty and naughty and … like you go into a shop and take something. And then God took away his friend … *(He unlocks his folded arms and reaches down to clasp the chair seat)* … and said that if he never … "if you always good then he would always stay with you" … and then that boy became happy and he does everything good. He didn't … he like wasn't doing schoolwork … *(He sits on his hands)* … and now he does his school work properly and when he goes home he is happy … (He gives a big smile and fiddles with hands behind his back) … and he does friendly things with everyone. He doesn't want … because he knows that if he is bad … if he goes bad then everything in his life will just change … and he will be lonely for the rest of his life …. Some people try to kill themselves because they are not happy and stuff … (His tone becomes slower and sadder) … and that's all.	} } (Trans) }Story essentially } about }transformation (EC) Happiness seems to be a consequence of goodness not vice versa (Trans) (SvF) (SS) (FvL) (D) an awareness of the protective nature of happiness
Mae	It is a very good story … It sounds like, from the story, that it is the friendship that makes him happy … is that right?	
Friendship	Yah (He rests his chin on his hand)	
Mae	Tell me more about that …	
Friendship	It was the friendship that changed his life … *(He puts his hand on his heart)* ... because you can't like … you can't just live with your mom and your dad and have no brothers and no sisters and … because when you have a friend… like I have so many friends … so many friends in Uplands, Penryn and here, *(He folds arms tightly over his stomach and bends forward)* … and so it changed my life, because if you arrive … like when I was new in grade 2 here … and they just came and said "hello" and stuff and the teacher was so friendly with me, *(He sits on his hands and then removes them and fiddles with them behind his back)* … her name was teacher Anne, I saw her by the … umm … show there and she's been my friend for a long time and when I arrived at school I thought it was going to be the worst day of my life … *(His voice slows down and he looks directly at me)* … but when I just arrived there my friend Jason, Siabonga, and Dylan	(Trans) (Em) (AO) (Trans)

	(He counts them off on his fingers) … and everyone in the class was my friend because they wouldn't be greedy with everything … they were always happy because the teacher would be nice with them and we'd go on trips and stuff. But the thing is, if you have a friend, it makes you more happier and that … because … if you are lonely … you know if you are lonely … (His voice slows, his tone becomes sober, he shakes head and opens his palm in a give up position) … you don't do anything. You just sit down and watch TV and just drink water and just sit down, and sit down for a long time. But my friend … my friend Jason, he's my best friend, and Thogo, we phone each other like almost every day and we talk and we talk and even if we are sad or something. (He livens up as he scratches his back) I phone him and I say, "what's wrong?" and then he tells me and then I say, "don't worry" and then the next day he's fine and then I'm also happy with him because he's done something right what he had to do. (He leans far forward and rocks)	(Em) (FvL) (Ac) (IR) happiness increases resource – without it no will (Em)
Mae	So do you think it helps you with your schoolwork to have good friends.	
Friendship	Yah it does, it does … (Said while his tone implies that it doesn't)	
Mae	Tell me how?	
Friendship	Because if I forget something … like if I'm in therapy in the last period, then I can phone him and ask him what to do. And then I ask him "what do we have to do?" and then sometimes he tells me…. And then he tells me … he doesn't tell me the answers … he explains to me until I get it right, you see, and then … if I get the answer wrong then he just tells me the answer. But we don't stay on the phone long because, you see, it is my mother's phone and so … (He clasps his hands across stomach and leans forward – keeps arms closed until end of paragraph) … he always helps me when my school work is not good … even in Miss CD's class today he helped me because he finished and I was stuck on something and he helped me and now I'm finished all my work and so next week we don't need to do anything … we can just sit down and do games and stuff…	(A) (PL)
Mae	That's wonderful it sounds like friends are a support and that helps to make you happy.	
Friendship	Yes	
Mae	What else makes you happy at school?	
Friendship	The teachers … and the therapists…. The therapists make me laugh too much…	(H)
Mae	So laughing is also important.	
Friendship	*Yes.* *(He smiles broadly but his arms are still crossed over his stomach)*	

Mae	Good. Now I want to go back and you must try to think of one word that describes happiness at school. Happiness at school is like a …. And give me one word.	
Friendship	*(He thinks for a long time)* Happiness is a good thing … or … do you have to make a word that sounds like happiness?	
Mae	Try to think of a thing that is like happiness … like when I said that a cloud is like cotton wool … it is not really like cotton wool but there are some things that are the same.	
Friendship	Happiness is like … *(He turns his head away from me)* … but this is a word so … I can't picture it as …	
Mae	Tell me what you are thinking.	
Friendship	<u>Happiness is like … it is like friendship.</u>	(AO) (FvL) & all aspects of friendship he has specified
Mae	That is perfect.	
Friendship	Is that OK? (He opens hands and looks relieved)	
Mae	That's perfect. Happiness is like friendship because friends are important to you.	
Friendship	Yes.	
Mae	Tell me a little more about friendship.	
Friendship	I've told you … *(His shoulders rise up and down in an exasperated expression)*	
Mae	Do you think you could be happy without friends?	
Friendship	No!	
Mae	Do you think you would be happy anywhere in the world as long as you have got friends?	
Friendship	<u>Oh yes, yes. Because if I have no friends … I just walk … and if I go to school</u> …. And I watched this programme called "made" and someone wants to be something and there was this boy that wants to be the prom king guy and he had to get a date … in like three days and this guy had to help him … <u>and he had no friends at school, only like three friends and those three friends didn't really trust him. And the suitcase that he was bringing to school was like what you bring on trips and stuff … and he brings that to school …</u> *(He rubs his knees)* … <u>and the other guy said that if you want to win you have to change your life …</u> (He rocks in an exaggerated manner and continues to rub his knees. He begins to talk in a fast rambling fashion) … and he had DVD's … so many DVD's … horror, comedy	(B) by implication } }again a story about }transformation }and (AO) }but also (A) because assistance of friend helps him to change (Trans)

	and he had to take plastics and throw all of those DVD's and <u>that guy took him to New York and took him to a hair stylist and cut his hair.</u> And then … like … when he arrived at school … my brother … then he had to ask them to go on a date. And he had to choose one … and there was this girl that he liked but at the end of the day he knew that she wasn't very nice for him and so then …… my brother changed the channel! *(He ends the story abruptly and smiles)*	(AO)
Mae	(Laughing) … were you cross with him?	
Friendship	Yes!	
Mae	I can imagine. Thank you very much.	

FRIENDLINESS AND LOVE TOWARDS OTHERS – TRANSCRIPT
Tuesday 22 May 2007

(Friendliness starts off a bit tense – though she sits far back in her chair she clasps the seat of the chair with her hands. She seems to relax a little towards the end though she maintains an aloofness and distance throughout the interview. She keeps her head tilted a little to the left most of the time but maintains good eye contact and very direct engagement. She displays very bodily little movement and limited changes in facial expression. She is very composed and "adult-Like" throughout the interview.)

Name	Communication (verbal / *non-verbal*)	Code and Comment
Mae	I want you to give me one word to describe happiness in school. For example, I could describe a cloud by comparing it to cotton wool because it is white and soft and fluffy. I want you to think of one thing that you can compare happiness at school to. Happiness at school is like …?	
Love	*(She listens very intensely hands tense but does not think too long before answering)* I would say that it probably has to do with friendliness and love towards other people.	
Mae	Tell me a little more about that…	
Love	Well friendliness is that even though you would … *(She lifts her hands and clasps them above her stomach)* … <u>you dislike the person you will be kind to them and pretend that you are friends … even though you don't think they are the best of friends.</u> And love towards other people is that if they don't have a snack then you <u>share your snack with them</u>… *(She has a direct, serious gaze. She continues to fiddle with her fingers as she clasps them in front of her).*	(M) (Em)
Mae	Is that what makes you happy or is that what makes other people happy around you?	
Love	<u>Well, I feel happy when there are other people around me that are happy. It helps me be happy</u>. *(She speaks in a very mild, slow, considered tone).*	(Mfl)
Mae	It helps you be happy. Do you feel that you are happy? Are there lots of happy people around you?	
Love	Sometimes … <u>when we do fun work in class …</u> (She breaks her gaze and looks down). <u>And sometimes I think of things that are not at school and that make me happy …</u> (She looks up to the right and crosses her hands in her lap).	Though this appears like (TR) initially it is not – see her description of fun work (TI)
Mae	Tell me about the fun work at school.	
Love	<u>Fun work is when we do projects and experiments and you don't have to write a lot … you don't have to think … and you are allowed to talk as much as you like and stuff like that.</u> (Her hands loosen up and become a little more expressive but she continues to fiddle with her fingers. She smiles a little).	(TI)

Mae	I want to come back to friendliness and love towards other people but before we do I want you to tell me a happy story about school or learning. It doesn't have to be a true story but it must have a beginning, a middle and an end.	
Love	*(She concentrates intensely during the explanation, remaining completely still. Once the explanation is complete, she does not think long before crossing legs and launching directly into story.)* OK, there was a little girl called Sophie and there was another little girl … that was much bigger and stronger called … Mag. *(She tilts head to left).* <u>Now, Mag used to tease Sophie about her looks and her …</u> <u>about how little she was and she used to always cry when she</u> <u>went home.</u> Then there came another girl to school called … let's see … called … um … Promise. *(She crosses arms and tilts heads onto the right shoulder).* And Promise always helped … went over to Sophie when she was sad and asked, "why are you so sad?" and Sophie would says, "it's just that Maggie girl… it's nothing…. I'll get over it when I get home." *(She displays a dismissive little hand gesture)* And … what's her name … so … Promise said, "Oh I'll be your friend … whatever she said … it doesn't matter. You know for yourself that it is not true," and … so … Maggie came to Sophie one day and said, "Look, you've got a new friend … I'm sure she won't be your friend forever… you know your nose is very big to your other proportions it looks a little odd." *(<u>Love remains very composed and adult-like. She changes her voices for the various characters as if she is telling a story to a child. Her arms remain crossed while her fingers fiddle slightly.</u>)* <u>Then Sophie said back, "You know what … I don't really care.</u> <u>Because I'm the way I am and I've got friends and my friends</u> <u>are real friends and they will be with me forever."</u> *(Love smiles a little smile and starts fiddling a little more actively with tracksuit top. Though her arms are still crossed her posture is more relaxed than previously)*	}Essentially a story }about transformation }and growth } } (AO) The lack of acceptance causes sadness (Cal) Her demeanor is almost angelic – exaggerated serenity (AS) (AO) (Trans)
Mae	Wonderful. So her friendship with Promise gave her the strength to …	
Love	Yes.	
Mae	Have you ever seen that happening in class or at school?	
Love	I have seen often … that other kids get bossed around and … that some other kids are … like bullies and then when a teacher comes in they are like angels... and they … and if they have been swearing at each other, because they are so agitated with each other …, then the one that is bigger … *(While her arms remain crossed her fingers spread out in expressive gesture. She maintains a direct glance with good eye contact)* … and the bully … will tell the teacher that the other one was swearing and then the other one will say, "but she also sweared", and then the teacher will not believe the one that is small because she has been told about more often. Stuff like that…	

Mae	I'm sure that happens…. Do you know people like Promise?	
Love	Yah there…. Well … *(She looks down in humble gesture, then gives a little smile and looks up to the right before answering)* … <u>I try to be like that myself and I try to go round and see if there are people who are hurt</u>. But I have seen other people … and I'm sure that there need to be more.	(Em) (Mfl)
Mae	So when did you decide to be someone like Promise?	
Love	I … met a girl who didn't have any friends and was, like, bossed around and I decided that this girl needs help … *(She shakes her head).* <u>And if she doesn't get help she's going to live a life where she doesn't feel happy and she doesn't want to be anywhere … she just wants to be by herself</u> and she won't be strong and she wont have self confidence. And that is how I decided. I wanted to be her friend and help her.	(IR) (FvL) (IR) Happiness offers resource – strength and confidence
Mae	And how did it make you feel … to help her?	
Love	Well … at first she still got bossed around and … I think she still does … but at least she doesn't need to sit by herself at break and … <u>I can be her friend and try to help her get happy after she gets into trouble and everything like that.</u>	(D) (A)
Mae	And when you help her, how does it make you feel?	
Love	<u>It makes me feel happy that I can do something that makes a difference.</u> *(She gives a little smile).*	(Em) (Mfl)
Mae	So for you it really is that … happiness is helping others.	
Love	Yes.	
Mae	Have you had people that have helped you in that way?	
Love	Well I think that … when I came to South Africa and it was … everything new … I think that people helped me get into the new school …new school life and how real school is. Because I had never been in real school … except in grade 1 … and I had never been around children … like there are here … and I'd never been around places like they are here … and I needed to swop from American English into South African English and … that … <u>there were people that would understand why I said the wrong word and stuff like that</u> … *(Her arms remained crossed while fingers became quite expressive – opening and closing for emphasis)*	(AO)
Mae	What school were you in before?	
Love	Well I was … my mom taught me at home and we had one teacher who would come round and help my mom…. And I went to a little mission school, where the teacher was most of the time. And then when I was in grade 1, I was in a Swedish school.	

Mae	So which is the happier kind of schooling?	
Love	<u>Well, I think that home schooling is happier because</u> there isn't so many children around you that … like swear and … and then at the missionary school where I was, <u>everybody was friends with everybody … and even if you dislike the person and you thought that they were ugly and felt like teasing them … then you would just keep quiet and be their friend … and that's why I thought it is happier….</u> <u>And at breaks everybody in the whole school would play together</u>.	(FoP) (AO)
Mae	Is that because of what they believe or because the school was smaller?	
Love	*(She looks up to right)* I think it was because it was smaller … and because of what they believed … and it was just the way that they were brought up. *(Her mouth tightens up in a rather disapproving expression).*	
Mae	Would you say you are happy at school at the moment?	
Love	I'm ... that I'm quite happy. *(She looks down and appears a little evasive)*	
Mae	What would make you happier?	
Love	Well … I think if there wasn't so much fighting and things … and <u>if there were more people who cared about other people … then I think I would be happier here</u>.	(Em)
Mae	What role does school work play in your happiness?	
Love	Well … *(She crosses her arms more tightly across her stomach again)* … <u>it doesn't play a big role</u> but it does help me learn more … so that I can have a better education … so that I can help more and then … then it will help me in the future so that I can have money, so that I will have time to spare on others. And … it also helps me get new words and their meanings so that I can help other people … <u>and I can help other people with their homework if they find it difficult … if I have done mine.</u>	} } }(EM) }
Mae	That is wonderful. Thank you very, very much. That is all I wanted to ask you.	

ROSY RED CHEEKS – TRANSCRIPT
Tuesday 22 May 2007

(He looks directly into the camera then leans back in a very relaxed, "laid-back" manner with his head resting on back of chair and his hands clasped on lap. He displayed a rather limited range of facial expression; alternating between an impassive, mask-like face and a broad smile. His verbal responses were at times a little inappropriate.)

Name	Communication (verbal */ non-verbal*)	Code and Comment
Mae	I want you to think of one word that describes happiness at school for example if I wanted to describe a cloud I might say that it is like a ball of cotton wool … like fluffy bits of cotton wool floating in the sky. Now, what about happiness … Happiness at school is like ….?	
Cheeks	*(He leans back in his chair with his head resting on the back in a relaxed manner. His feet are too short to touch the ground in this position so the dangle loosely. He listens to my explanation with very little expression and then doesn't stop to think before answering. Then he sits up and suddenly smiles very broadly. He still holds his hands in his lap).* Rosy cheeks are red … they red … cheeks are red.	This is a very concrete metaphor ie he sees happiness in the physical manifestation of the feeling. His explanations are very superficial and lack insight into reasons
Mae	Are they?	
Cheeks	You laugh sometimes you get red cheeks	
Mae	So is happiness like red cheeks.	
Cheeks	*(His legs don't quite touch the floor and he kicks them backwards and forwards – perhaps playfully)* Yes.	
Mae	That's wonderful. Because when you laugh your cheeks go red?	
Cheeks	Uhummm.	
Mae	Do your cheeks go red?	
Cheeks	Yes.	
Mae	Do you laugh a lot at school?	
Cheeks	No…. Alecia laughs the most. It's only sometimes, Miss.	
Mae	Do you think Alecia is happy?	
Cheeks	<u>Yes Miss, she always laughs … "Ha, Ha, Ha, Ha!" When everything is not even funny, Miss.</u>	(PL) Happiness seen purely in responses – no underlying motivation
Mae	OK. And you?	
Cheeks	Miss, sometimes I laugh. Even if it is not funny … I still laugh. *(While his hands remain clasped in front of him, he lifts his*	

	elbows outward and raises his hands to his mouth in a rather defensive position. Then he drops hands into his lap again)	
Mae	Are you laughing because you are happy?	
Cheeks	Yes, miss.	
Mae	OK…. I want you to think about a story with a beginning, a middle and an end … about being happy at school. It does not have to be a true story – so you can make it up. Think about something to do with school or learning that shows happiness.	
Cheeks	*(He nods and puts his hands under chin and nods again).* Like something funny miss … like check at this … when you working … its not true … then they say … they shout … they shout out the answer … then we start laughing … when we shout out the answer. * *(He kicks his heels against chair and pulls up his socks)*	(B) expansive (TI) (Ac) (H)
Mae	Does that happen in class?	
Cheeks	No miss!! *(He vehemently shakes head and starts hitting his fist into his open palm - but he maintains a big grin on his face)*	
Mae	Would you like it to happen in class?	
Cheeks	No miss! *(He continues to punch his fist into hand as he smiles and shakes his head)*	
Mae	Not?	
Cheeks	I'll get into trouble … the teacher will shout.	
Mae	Does it bother you if the teacher shouts?	
Cheeks	(He thinks for some time and looks to his right. Then shakes his head). No, Miss! (Then he looks down and starts fiddling with hands).	(D)
Mae	Not really.	
Cheeks	*(He looks down as if a little guilty)*	
Mae	OK … try to tell me a story about something happy that did happen at school.	
Cheeks	*(He sits forward again)* I can't still remember the thing. *(He continues to sit forward with a serious expression on his face)*	
Mae	… something that made you happy at school?	
Cheeks	All my friends, Miss.	(H) unclear what aspect of friendship is NB to him. Entertainment value becomes evident later

Mae	Do your friends make you happy?	
Cheeks	Yes.	
Mae	How do they make you happy?	
Cheeks	*(He suddenly starts smiling broadly again and leans back)* Lionel goes like this … he plays … he says, … "I'm going to make funny things". *(He sits forward)* He goes like this … he slips … he goes like this … Yaaaaaa! …. He goes like this … he slips, Miss. *(His legs move wildly to illustrate the point but his hands are held in his lap).* At the hostel he slips…	Entertainment value of friends seems most NB (H) (Ac) (Ex) (H)
Mae	Does he hurt himself?	
Cheeks	Sometimes, Miss. *(He is still smiling broadly)*	
Mae	Is it funny when he hurts himself?	
Cheeks	No, Miss.	
Mae	*No?*	
Cheeks	But sometimes he makes me laugh … and then I can't stop, Miss.… He goes, like, "aaaaah!" He lays down on the floor …	(Em) above sequence reveals very little empathy
Mae	What does it feel like when you are laugh like that?	
Cheeks	*(He looks confused)*	
Mae	Does it feel warm and comfortable or does it feel exciting?	
Cheeks	Exciting! *(He leans back and smiles)*	(Ex)
Mae	Tell me another story about being happy at school	
Cheeks	*(He puts his head down and leans his forehead on his clasped hands)* I can't still remember now. Let's think. *(He remains silent for a while and seems to be withdrawing)*	
Mae	You said that happiness is like red cheeks…	
Cheeks	Uhummm	
Mae	Tell me about some people who have red cheeks like that.	
Cheeks	*(He smiles broadly)* Donovan!	
Mae	Is he one of your friends?	

Cheeks	Yes. He has red cheeks every time…. Sometimes he doesn't. He goes like this … *(He demonstrates a funny little smiles as he looks directly into the camera)*	
Mae	And then his cheeks go red?	
Cheeks	Yes Miss.	
Mae	*And when you look at him, what do you feel?*	
Cheeks	<u>Sometimes I … sometimes I ….</u> *(He leans back in the chair)* <u>…. I smile….</u> <u>Sometimes I smile, Miss.</u> *(He leans right forward and tips the chair so that his body rests on the desk)*	(Laug) smiling is associated with the feeling of happiness ie a consequence
Mae	Do you smile just looking at him?	
Cheeks	No, miss. *(He leans back and drops his head).*	
Mae	Who else has got red cheeks like that?	
Cheeks	I don't know the others, Miss. *(He shakes his head)*	
Mae	Only, Donovan?	
Cheeks	I don't know the others' names, Miss.	
Mae	Is Donovan one of your good friends?	
Cheeks	Not my best….	
Mae	OK…. Thank you…	