

**FAITH AND RESILIENCE  
IN CHILD OR YOUTH-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS  
IN KWAZULU-NATAL, SOUTH AFRICA**

By

**LOIS RUDO MOYO**

Submitted in Fulfilment of the Academic Requirements  
for the Degree of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

Gender and Religion

at the

**University of KwaZulu-Natal**

Supervisors

Prof. Isabel Apawo Phiri

Prof. Philippe Denis

Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

December 2015

# DECLARATION

This study was undertaken at the School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics,  
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg in South Africa.

I hereby declare that this thesis, unless specifically indicated in the text, is my unaided work  
and has not been presented at any other institution of higher learning.

It is hereby submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (Gender and Religion),

in the School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics, University of KwaZulu-Natal,  
Pietermaritzburg Campus, South Africa.

.....  
**Lois R. Moyo**

Pietermaritzburg  
December 2015

As Supervisors, we approved this thesis for submission

*Isabel Phiri*

.....  
**Prof. Isabel Apawo Phiri,**

Pietermaritzburg  
December 2015

*P. Denis*

.....  
**Prof. Philippe Denis**

Pietermaritzburg  
December 2015

# **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this doctoral thesis to my late mother Lois Chikosi, my four children for being the inspiration in my life and all children who are living without the liable attendance of adults.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I acknowledge and am sincerely grateful for the guidance and support that I got from numerous people while working on this Doctoral research. I recognize the vital academic supervision I got from Professor Isabel Apawo Phiri and Professor Philippe Denis the co-supervisor. They provided me with critical scholarly guidance and their encouragement helped me to stay focused. My heartfelt appreciation goes to Professor Isabel Phiri for constant inspiration whenever she rightly sensed some despondency. My sincere gratitude goes to Professor Philippe Denis for granting me study leave and for the sterling work in Sinomlando whose experience I benefitted from.

I also express thanks to the Belgian Technical Corporation in Pretoria. Without their financial support I would not have been able to embark on these studies.

I express gratitude to my research participants for letting me in on aspects of their lives and sharing prized information about their experiences. I acknowledge all other people who helped me to access oral or written information. I am also grateful to those people whose pieces of work I consulted and used directly or indirectly. I am indebted to the other students who commented on and constructively critiqued my work during Phd seminars.

I cherish the reassurance and support from my four children who had to put up with limited communication with me during my years of working towards this degree. They cheered me up especially when the journey became hard and lonesome. I thank my workmates in Sinomlando who became a second family with whom I share the delights and distresses of undertaking this academic enterprise. Many relatives, friends, colleagues, and other acquaintances, who knew of my journey towards this PhD said words of inspiration and comfort and urged me to press on. To these I am greatly appreciative.

## ABSTRACT

This study scrutinizes the correlation between faith and resilience of children and youths living without the continuous presence of adults. The question of the study is: How do faith and resilience link in the experiences of children and youths living and growing in child or youth-headed households (C/YHHs)? Falling at the intersection of studies in psychology and gender and religion, the study is framed by theories from theology and psychology namely faith, resilience, attachment, positive humanistic psychology, feminist spirituality and the feminist ethics of care within African women's theologies. These theories signpost the African feminist theological ethics of care (AFTEC) as a theory emanating from the findings.

The study presumes that much research done on youth-only family units has focused on physical, socio-economic and educational matters. Few have focused on faith, few on resilience but hardly any, on the correlation between the two. Research has given reserved attention to spiritual and cultural dimensions of these essentially religious youths. The current study uses the phenomenological approach. Phenomenology denotes a philosophical movement and a research method of qualitative enquiry which bifurcates into related and parallel descriptive and interpretive 'streams'. The former describes the general characteristics and determines the essence of a phenomenon and the latter aims to interpret participants' experiences, emphasizing care, a concern of this study. Phenomenology's radical, anti-traditional style of philosophizing overcomes the straitjacket of encrusted customs, evades impositions placed on experience in advance from religion or culture and rejects inquiry by authoritative, externally enforced methods. So, it fits this study of a relatively recent and rather unusual socio-cultural construct.

The phenomenological method advocates freedom from prejudice thereby aligning with the feminist ethos of this study which overlooks gender and generation. Furthermore it discards imposed knowledge as authoritative and opens up other avenues of learning, such as intuition and emotion prevalent in qualitative research. Coherent with the objectivity required for phenomenology and due to the potentially sensitive nature of C/YHHs, the mixed-methods approach proved viable. It is a constructivist, post-structuralist process which uses multiple data-collection, analysis and inference techniques and procedures in a single study for breadth and depth of understanding. Compatible with mixed methods, interdisciplinary and methodological triangulation, which means taking into account a particular position in relation to two other points or coordinates, was applied. Triangulation involves considering various

theories, processes, techniques, investigators or observers, sources, data-collecting and analysis tools and procedures was used. Varying techniques enhances understanding of phenomena.

Consistent with mixed methods and triangulation, I used various sampling methods including non-probability, purposive, chain and criterion sampling. Accordingly, various qualitative data-collection methods, namely narrative, interviews, questionnaires, observing participants in ecological research sites and occupational research method were used. Quantitative data was collected using 40 individual and 6 group session questionnaires administered by community care workers. The research participants were not located in the typical research site but were identified and enlisted through occupational research. The data thus collected was incorporated to accomplish principles of triangulation. Additionally theses, journal articles, internet documents and CDs on CHHs, the South African Child Act, and a documentary entitled “A Child is A Child” yielded related data.

The analysis presented diverse ideas which indicated that having lost primary attachment figures, some of the children and youths in C/YHHs continue to exhibit care-seeking behaviours. These include staking faith in God or other religio-cultural or spiritual entities as compensatory attachment figures. Such faith helps them cope with the challenges of growing adulthood homes. The resilience thus experienced builds faith in themselves and in those entities that engendered the buoyancy at first.

A feminist perspective views the youths’ leading in religio-cultural matters, approaching sacrosanct spaces and venerating the divine in the context of gendered and ageist religious practices as signs of faith interacting with their spirituality to instil valour. With *ubuntu* care and guidance such faith can be directed to knowable plausible divinity. The study implements the feminist ethic of care by promoting the African women theologians’ venture to interrogate religio-cultures. The concern is to amplify muted voices and flag the issues concerning the marginalized, in this case C/YHHs.

## Key Themes

*African Feminist Theological Ethics of Care; African Women's Theologies; Attachment behaviour; Attachment Theory; Child-Headed Household; Child or Youth-Headed Household; Christianity; Dialogical-Self Theory; Domestic Violence; Experience; Faith; Feminist Ethics Of Care; Feminist Spirituality; Gender; Gender-Based Violence; Theology; Patriarchy; Priesthood Of All Believers;*

### Glossary

*amanzi amnyama* (Zulu) – literally black water, meaning bad luck.

*bere zvarakatya mapapata aro mangani?* (Shona) – hyena species is so fearful that only few of its bones have been found because it runs away from danger and stays alive.

*Imago Dei* – the image of God

*indoda kayikhali izinyembezi* (Zulu) – a man does not shed tears

*lobola* – bride price

*neumocystis carinii* – a type of pneumonia

*ngozi* – in the Shona cultural beliefs these are vengeful deeds wrought out by the spirit of a murdered person against the murderer or his relatives to execute retribution for taking human life.

*ubuntu* (Zulu) – humaneness, a caring disposition, compassionate character, a humanitarian outlook, benevolence

*zvana zvevana* (Shona) - 'children of children'

## **GLOSSARY of ACRONYMS and ABBREVIATIONS**

ACCESS	Alliance for Children’s Entitlement to Social Security
AFTEC	African Feminist Theological Ethics of Care
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ATRs	African Tradition Religions
C/YHH	Child or youth-headed household
CHH	Child-headed household
CINDI	Children in Distress International
CPE	Clinical Pastoral Education
DOE	Department of Education
DSD	Department of Social Development
FC	Faith Community
FET	Further Education and Training
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSNP	Hunger Safety Net Programme
NP	Non-profit
NPO	Non-profit organisation
OVC	Orphaned and Vulnerable Children
UNICEF	United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund
VMMC	Voluntary Medical Male Circumcision
WHO	World Health Organisation
XDR	Extensively Drug Resistant



# LIST OF TABLES AND DIAGRAMS

Figure 1 Provincial HIV prevalence rates in 2014.....	6
Figure 3 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs.....	79
Figure 4 Schools, streams and strands of phenomenology .....	112
Figure 5 Kelly's and Neuman's lists of triangulation .....	129
Figure 6 The wheel of basic human needs used in the Sinomlando Memory Box Training	132
Figure 7 Profile of participants interviewed from the C/YHHs .....	138
Figure 8 A target diagram demonstrating Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological mode .....	141
Figure 9 The Themes and Subthemes Emerging from the Data .....	142
Figure 10 A visual aid, adapted from Killian's (2004) Indicators of Resilience and developed to show personal resources of resilience.....	149
Figure 11 Cognitive, Psychosocial and Spiritual Aspects .....	169
Figure 12 The Child Status Index (CSI) showing the Domain of Emotional health .....	176
Figure 13 The Child Status Index (CSI) showing the Domain of Social behaviour.....	177

# CONTENTS

DECLARATION .....	i
DEDICATION .....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	iii
ABSTRACT .....	iv
Key Themes .....	vi
GLOSSARY of ACRONYMS and ABBREVIATIONS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES AND DIAGRAMS .....	viii
CONTENTS.....	ix
CHAPTER ONE .....	1
INTRODUCING THE STUDY .....	1
1.1 Introduction .....	1
1.2 The Context of the Study .....	4
1.2.1 A Context of HIV and AIDS.....	4
1.2.1.1 HIV and AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa.....	4
1.2.1.2 HIV and AIDS in South Africa.....	5
1.2.1.3 HIV and AIDS in KwaZulu-Natal .....	6
1.2.2 A Context of Increasing Orphans and Child or Youth-Headed Households .....	7
1.3 Problem statement.....	7
1.4 The research question.....	8
1.5 The Objectives of the Research .....	9
1.6 Rationale and Motivations for Undertaking the Study .....	10
1.6.1 Academic Motivation.....	10
1.6.1.1 Master’s Degree Research .....	10
1.6.1.2 African Women’s Theologies .....	10
1.6.2 Professional Motivation .....	12
1.6.3 Pastoral Motivation .....	13

1.7 Clarification of Key Terms and Concepts.....	15
1.7.1 Child.....	15
1.7.2 Child-Headed Household.....	16
1.7.3 Child or Youth-Headed Household.....	17
1.7.4 Extended Family .....	18
1.8 Structure of the Thesis .....	18
1.9 Conclusion .....	20
CHAPTER TWO .....	22
A CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON CHILD OR YOUTH- HEADED HOUSEHOLDS .....	22
2.1 Introduction.....	22
2.2 The Emergence of the Phenomenon .....	23
2.3 Focusing on the phenomenon .....	24
2.3.1 Literature in the Second Millennium–The First Half of the Noughties.....	24
2.3.2 Literature in the Second Millennium–The Teens .....	32
2.3.3 The Phenomenon in the Second Decade of the Second Millennium .....	44
2.4 Conclusion.....	45
CHAPTER THREE.....	47
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ILLUMINATING THE.....	47
EXPERIENTIAL CORRELATION BETWEEN.....	47
FAITH AND RESILIENCE IN C/YHHS .....	47
3.1 Introduction.....	47
3.2 Faith .....	49
3.2.1 An open-ended understanding of ‘Faith’ .....	49
3.2.2 Origins of Faith .....	49
3.2.3 Trajectories of Faith.....	50
3.2.4 Varieties of Faith.....	51
3.2.5 Faith in the Present Study .....	52

3.2.5.1 Faith as Trust, Intellectual or Cognitive Persuasion in Entities or Systems ...	52
3.2.5.2 Faith as Spiritual or Religious Belief .....	56
3.3 Resilience .....	60
3.3.1 Starting Point.....	60
3.3.2 Moving Forward Vis-A-Vis Bouncing Back .....	61
3.3.3 Coping, Adaptation, Development.....	62
3.3.4 A Developmental Association of Resilience with Education .....	64
3.3.5 Mounting Attention on Individual Resilience.....	65
3.4 The Attachment Theory .....	67
3.4.1 Origins of the Attachment Theory .....	67
3.4.2 Evolution and the Attachment Theory .....	69
3.4.3 Attachment behaviour and the Internal Working Model .....	70
3.4.4 Attachment and Culture .....	73
3.4.5 Attachment Theory and Gender .....	74
3.4.6 God as Attachment Figure .....	75
3.5 Humanistic Psychology.....	76
3.5.1 Origins of the Humanistic Theory .....	78
3.5.2 Characteristics and Principles of Humanistic Psychology.....	80
3.5.3. Positive Psychology .....	81
3.5.4 Cohesion between Attachment Theory and Humanistic Psychology .....	82
3.6 Feminist Spirituality.....	83
3.6.1 Introduction .....	83
3.6.2 The Term ‘Spirituality’ .....	84
3.6.3 Definition and Characteristics of Feminist Spirituality .....	85
3.6.3.1 Experience - The Starting Point in Theologising.....	86
3.6.3.2 Engaging In Practice .....	87
3.6.4 Merits of Feminist Spirituality .....	88

3.7 Feminist Ethics of Care .....	90
3.7.1 Definition and Rationale .....	90
3.7.2 Principles of the Feminist Ethics of Care.....	90
3.7.3 The Feminist Ethics of Care and Gender .....	92
3.7.4 Feminist Ethics of Care and Children’s Rights.....	93
3.8 Conclusion .....	94
CHAPTER FOUR.....	96
FAITH AND RESILIENCE IN BEREAVED CHILDREN IN THE CONTEXT OF ZULU CULTURE AND RELIGION .....	96
4.1 Introduction .....	96
4.2 Oral Tradition, Cultural Rituals and Worship Patterns.....	97
4.3 Birth and the importance of children .....	98
4.4 Death, an important anthropological milestone .....	99
4.4.1. Timely and Untimely Death.....	100
4.5 Zulu Funeral Rituals - A Mixed Bag .....	100
4.5.1 Is Theory Standing Practice On Its Head? .....	101
4.5.2 Cleansing and Separation of the Living from the Dead.....	104
4.5.3 Separation of the Living from the Living .....	105
4.5.4 Identity Inconsistences .....	106
4.6 Children’s Right to Knowledge .....	107
4.7. Death and Funerals - Increasingly Commonplace for Children .....	107
4.8 Conclusion .....	109
CHAPTER FIVE.....	111
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	111
5.1 Introduction .....	111
5.2 Phenomenology.....	112
5.2.1 Origins and evolution of phenomenology.....	112
5.2.2 The Phenomenological Approach.....	113

5.3 Mixed Methods Research.....	114
5.4 Research Location, Gaining Access, and Sampling Method .....	116
5.4.1 Research Location .....	116
5.4.2 Gaining Access .....	117
5.4.3 Sampling Method.....	117
5.4.4 “Freeze outs” .....	119
5.5 Data Collection – Methods, Processes and Tools .....	120
5.5.1 Open-Ended, Unstructured Interview Questions .....	121
5.5.2 Narrative.....	122
5.5.3 Participant Observation.....	123
5.5.4 Occupational Research.....	125
5.5.5 Individual Questionnaires Administered by Community Care Workers .....	127
5.5.6 Group Session Questionnaires .....	128
5.5.7 Other Sources .....	128
5.6 Triangulation – validating mixed methods .....	128
5.6.1 Introduction to Triangulation .....	128
5.6.2 Triangulation of Investigators/Observers.....	129
5.6.3 Triangulation of Method .....	130
5.7 Data Analysis .....	131
5.8 Ethical considerations .....	132
5.9 Conclusion .....	136
CHAPTER SIX .....	137
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS: .....	137
HOUSEHOLD ESTABLISHMENT, DOMESTIC AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENTS .....	137
6.1 Introduction.....	137
6.2 Demographic profile .....	138
6.2.1 The sex .....	139

6.2.2 The Ages .....	139
6.2.3 The Educational Levels.....	140
6.3 The Themes and Subthemes Emerging from the Data .....	142
6.3.1 Theme 1. Antecedents to the Establishment of Child or Youth-Headed Households.....	143
6.3.2 Theme 2. Home Management .....	151
6.3.3 Theme 3. Family and community dynamics .....	161
6.4 Conclusion .....	167
CHAPTER SEVEN.....	169
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS: .....	169
COGNITIVE, PSYCHOSOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL ASPECTS .....	169
7.1 Introduction.....	169
7.2 Theme and Subthemes .....	169
7.2.1 Theme 4. Education and Skills Training.....	170
7.2.2 Theme 5. Psychosocial Well-Being.....	175
7.2.3 Theme 6. Spirituality, Culture and Religion .....	180
7.3 Conclusion .....	191
CHAPTER EIGHT .....	192
TOWARDS AN AFRICAN FEMINIST THEOLOGICAL.....	192
ETHICS OF CARE.....	192
8.1 Introduction.....	192
8.2 Assumptions of the AFTEC.....	193
8.3 Dimensions of the AFTEC.....	193
8.3.1 The African Dimension.....	193
8.3.2 The Feminist Dimension.....	194
8.3.3 The Theological Dimension.....	195
8.4 Features of the AFTEC .....	195
8.4.1 Universal Compassion to Care.....	195

8.4.2 Paradoxical Compassion .....	196
8.4.3 Inclination to share .....	198
8.4.4 Reverence for life .....	198
8.4.5 Deference for Children’s Spirituality .....	199
8.4.6 Emotional Astuteness - Universal Experience for Universal Care .....	202
8.5 A Practical Interfaith Spiritual Worship Model .....	203
8.5.1 The Model .....	204
8.5.2 The Administration and Performance of the Ritual .....	204
8.5.3 Validation .....	205
8.6 Conclusion .....	207
CHAPTER NINE .....	209
CONCLUDING THE STUDY .....	209
9.1 Introduction .....	209
9.2 Chapters overview .....	209
9. 3 Towards Comprehensiveness – Integrating Experiential and Theoretical Outcomes .....	214
9.4 Contributions of the Study to Knowledge and Practice .....	216
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	218
1. Primary Sources .....	218
1.1. Oral Informants .....	218
1.2 Dissertations .....	218
2. Secondary Literature .....	221
2.1. Published Works .....	221
2.2 On-Line (World Wide Web) Sources .....	237
2.3 Other sources .....	240
Appendix 1 Interview Questions - Imibuzo yengxoxisano .....	241
Appendix 2 Questionnaire for Individuals-Imibuzo Yomuntu Ngamunye .....	243
Appendix 3 Questionnaire for Groups - Imibuzo Yeqembu .....	244



# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCING THE STUDY

### 1.1 Introduction

According to the principles of evolution organisms are born with attachment behavioural tendencies which are meant to help them stay close to the parents, be protected and keep alive (Howe 2011:8). This behaviour necessarily requires and cultivates faith as trust in the attachment figure, goes on through life course, but is stronger in children. For that reason the loss of a parent can be traumatizing, stressful and has an immense emotional impact on anyone, more so on children. They need resources and support to rebound in the face of adversity (Kruger and Prinsloo 2008: 241–259), 3 triumphantly negotiate life's adversities and continue along the path of self-actualisation (Theron 2010:4). The resumption to one's normal operational mode of life takes different spans, promptness and potency depending on the impact of the event and various internal and external factors.

To investigate ways in which one such factor, faith, is related to the ability to rebound after adversity, this study set out to explore the correlation between faith and resilience in orphaned children living and growing in C/YHHs<sup>1</sup>. Faith is an important religio-cultural feature influencing all dimensions of life in this 'notoriously religious' (Mbiti 1969:1) society embossed in a primal worldview. For that reason the study scrutinizes the nature of and manner of faith, an intrapersonal ability and its link to the ability to cope with adversity.

The empirical study was conducted in Slangspruit, a high-density suburb in Pietermaritzburg sandwiched between Imbali Township (built on one half of a farm) and a buffer strip. Within the suburb is Slangspruit Public Primary School (SPPS) where 840 vulnerable children from crèche to grade 7 attend.<sup>2</sup> The study focused on children and youths growing in C/YHHs as a

---

<sup>1</sup> While I am aware that the term usually used is child-headed households, I will use child or youth-headed households unless an author specifies that the head was below 18 years. This will avoid the technical hitch of always verifying that the head is below 18. Furthermore, some youths started heading households before 18 years and their circumstances and experiences, though they are now youths, are crucial to a study of the dynamics of such households. The shortened form will be C/YHH.

<sup>2</sup> Information accessed with thanks from the website written by the director.

category of orphans with atypical circumstances. Orphanhood is devastating enough, let alone prematurely assuming adulthood and leadership as required in C/YHHs.

Once a parent dies orphaned children and youths go through a period of grieving, experience the grieving process like adults do and have to deal with the vacuum thus created. Silverman (2000:37) says bereaved children need to feel protected and safe. Children and youth who lose relatives often get comfort from adults whose mere presence may give a sense of security and stability. Questions that arise vis-à-vis C/YHHs comprise the source of that comfort and safety and their spirituality often downplayed in religio-cultural discourses.

Bereaved children present their feelings of grief differently from adults, often turning them inwards on themselves to spare their grieving families any more hurt (Smith 2002:9). This makes it sometimes difficult for adults to imagine that children can experience the range and intensity of emotions that adults feel at the time of loss (Smith 2002:9). Consequently children in many contexts often receive trifling psychosocial support when they lose parents. In C/YHHs, the closest remaining adult grouping, the extended family, have for whatever reason, distanced themselves and failed to take responsibility for the children and youths, let alone provide psychosocial support, leaving the bereaved youngsters to find consolation on their own. Therefore for children or youth who do not have attached adults support it is worth investigating the inner resources and capabilities available to them to cope with the situation.

Besides the general lack of psychosocial support orphans experience, orphans in C/YHHs face extra challenges. Their grief is coupled with anxiety as they suddenly confront the need to assume daunting, age-inappropriate responsibilities of running, co-managing and ensuring the functionality of homes, the need to make decisions and envision the consequences of their choices. The inquiry into the nature of faith and its correlation with resilience in C/YHHs is worthwhile as it focuses on the youngsters as a peculiar group of orphans vis-à-vis orphans under continual adult care, allowing an exploration of their psychosocial well-being.

Generally the findings, which will be presented in chapters, six and seven, revealed that most of the child/youth-headed households have resulted from the death of one or both parents, with Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), still a stigmatised disease in the context, being the leading cause. Other C/YHHs have resulted from abandonment by the surviving parents, shaking the youngsters' faith in the supposedly humane system of being. For that

reason there is interest in exploring faith in relation to their ability to develop positively despite obstacles, disruption and breakdown of their nurturing environment (Awino 2010: 11, 34, 55).

The study also revealed that where disputes have ensued the decease of a parent, children or youths have chosen to live alone, head and manage their own households rather than live in subordination under adults in whom they have lost trust. Such a situation calls for faith, self-confidence and hope as it challenges patriarchy and its suppositions. Patriarchy gives adult males the prerogative to be leaders of families, communities and society as a whole. Yet in C/YHHs it is a whole new ball game and the experiences of these youths pose challenges to adult male hegemony. This concurs with Kanyoro's (2006:1-6.) desired outcome of hermeneutics - that patriarchy so dominant on the continent be challenged as it affects the way people handle situations. The study reveals that the youngsters in C/YHHs are breaking the taboo, challenging sexism and ageism in an adult world professing *ubuntu* - humaneness, a caring disposition, compassion or a humanitarian outlook yet abandoning them.

Due to antecedents to the creation of the adultless households many of the children and youths have lost faith in various entities and their value system has altered. According to Smith (2002:9) losing trust in familiar entities is part of the grief process. For some, such trust may never be regained. Likewise Silverman (2000:37) says even when mourners' faith systems provide understanding of death and the bereaved believe the deceased have gone to a better place, this faith may not suffice for comfort at this time. Though it may help in the end they must continue to live day-to-day lives without the deceased in a way that requires new skills and new ways of organizing life. Similarly, this study showed that some children and youths find formal religion unsupportive, find new objects of faith and identify a resultant centre of meaning thereby challenging rather than wholly concurring with components of their belief system. So, it is vital to establish the object of the youngsters' faith and resilience.

Similarly, Trevino et al. (2007:379–389) say individuals facing difficult experiences use positive religious coping and spiritual struggle to deal with them. Positive religious coping entails reflecting a secure relationship with God, belief in life's larger meaning and spiritual connectedness to others. Strategies used are seeking spiritual support, benevolent religious reappraisals and purification rituals. Spiritual struggle expresses conflict and doubt vis-à-vis God and religious relationships that represents an effort to conserve or transform a threatened spirituality. The study also explores intrapersonal, cost-effective and readily available spiritual resources in a context of death, chiefly from AIDS, discussed in the next section.

## 1.2 The Context of the Study

### 1.2.1 A Context of HIV and AIDS

#### 1.2.1.1 HIV and AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa

The study was conducted in an area located in a region in sub-Saharan Africa. The historical picture shows that Since 5 June 1981 when the Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) discovered *neumocystis carinii* pneumonia (PCP), and the day's edition of the Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report (MMWR) first officially reported what became known as the AIDS epidemic, sub-Saharan Africa turned out to be the most affected region. By the year 2000 when the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were adopted, about 10 000 people in sub-Saharan Africa, the region encompassing the country of the study, were able to access HIV treatment. Two years later in 2002, UNAIDS reported that AIDS had become the leading killer in sub-Saharan Africa, and the fourth biggest global killer. The average life expectancy in sub-Saharan Africa fell from 62 to 47 years as a result of AIDS.<sup>3</sup>

Sub-Saharan Africa has borne an inordinate share of the global HIV burden, with 24–28 million people living with HIV in 2014. The region also accounted for almost 70% of the global total of new HIV infections.<sup>4</sup> More than two-thirds of all people living with HIV, 25.8 million, live in sub-Saharan Africa—including 88% of the world's HIV-positive children. In 2014, an estimated 1.4 million people in the region became newly infected. An estimated 790,000 adults and children died of AIDS, accounting for 66% of the world's AIDS deaths in 2014.<sup>5</sup> This is amidst other ills like poverty, climate change, economic meltdown, inefficient governance, power wrangles, wars and neo-colonialism. Chitando (2007:86) says the epidemic has killed and orphaned millions and left a trail of destruction, yet the African spirit remains unbroken. The interest in this study is what keeps that spirit unbroken, particularly for children who live and grow without liable adults, focusing on South Africa.

---

<sup>3</sup> These initial facts, based on outdated sources, are meant to give the historical background of the pandemic.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs360/en/>

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.amfar.org/worldwide-aids-stats/>

### 1.2.1.2 HIV and AIDS in South Africa

Within sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa has been identified as having the largest HIV epidemic in the world<sup>6</sup>. Before AIDS, about 2 % of all children in countries of southern Africa were orphans. However, by 1997, the fraction of children with one or both parents dead had risen to 7% in many African countries and in some reached a shocking 11%.<sup>7</sup> Yet in South Africa by 1999, 8% of the children were orphans, with AIDS being the main cause of orphanhood. Denis (2008:586) noticed that in South Africa AIDS altered socio-economic and generational dynamics and patterns of communication among children and adults.

Efforts to contain the situation saw the 2010 results of the Centre for the AIDS Programme of Research in South Africa's (CAPRISA) study of antiretroviral-based vaginal microbicides being released. The total number of persons living with HIV in South Africa increased from an estimated 4, 09 million in 2002 to 5, 51 million by 2014. The estimated overall HIV prevalence rate was 10, 2% of the total South African population. An estimated 16, 8% of the population aged 15–49 years was HIV positive. The HI virus targets those who are in their most productive years, the late teens and early twenties with illness and death occurring in their thirties and forties. In South Africa, it is estimated that the average age of those dying as a result of AIDS is 37 years.<sup>8</sup> Probably many of these people have children, who then become orphans.

By 2014 the AIDS pandemic had increased the number of orphans and child-headed households,<sup>9</sup> profoundly impacted social development and reduced the average life expectancy from 66 years to 47.<sup>10</sup> The virus continued to impact negatively on economic growth as poverty proceeded to drive the pandemic in a reciprocal relationship acknowledged by c (Whiteside, 2008).epidemic forms the backdrop of the study which will now spotlight on KwaZulu Natal, the province of the current research.

---

<sup>6</sup> Epidemic Update, 2010 Global Report.

<sup>7</sup> [www.adrian.vanbreda.org](http://www.adrian.vanbreda.org). Accessed on 27 July 2015.

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.iss.co.za:16080/pubs/Monographs/No109/Contents.htm> . Accessed on 27 July 2015.

<sup>9</sup> [www.adrian.vanbreda.org](http://www.adrian.vanbreda.org). Accessed on 27 July 2015.

<sup>10</sup> Statistical release, Mid-year population estimates 2014, accessed 31 July 2014.

### 1.2.1.3 HIV and AIDS in KwaZulu-Natal

The empirical study was conducted in Slangspruit in KwaZulu-Natal, the South African province with the highest HIV prevalence. In March 2014 the Citizen reported that about 25% of the province's adult population was living with the virus, compared to a national average of 17.9%. On 2 April 2014 The Dailynews had a headline *KZN has highest HIV prevalence*, by Barbara Cole stating that the prevalence of HIV in South Africa is highest in KwaZulu-Natal. The article claimed that this was among the findings of a major national HIV study, the results of which were released by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) on Tuesday 31 March 2014. Large studies of male circumcision and HIV have produced evidence that the procedure reduces by 60% the risk of sexual transmission of HIV from women to men.<sup>11</sup> Congruently, Dr Motsoaledi, the Minister of Health, said 2010 KwaZulu-Natal was the first province to offer VMMC services and the province's correctional services stepped up testing for prisoners and service staff.<sup>12</sup>

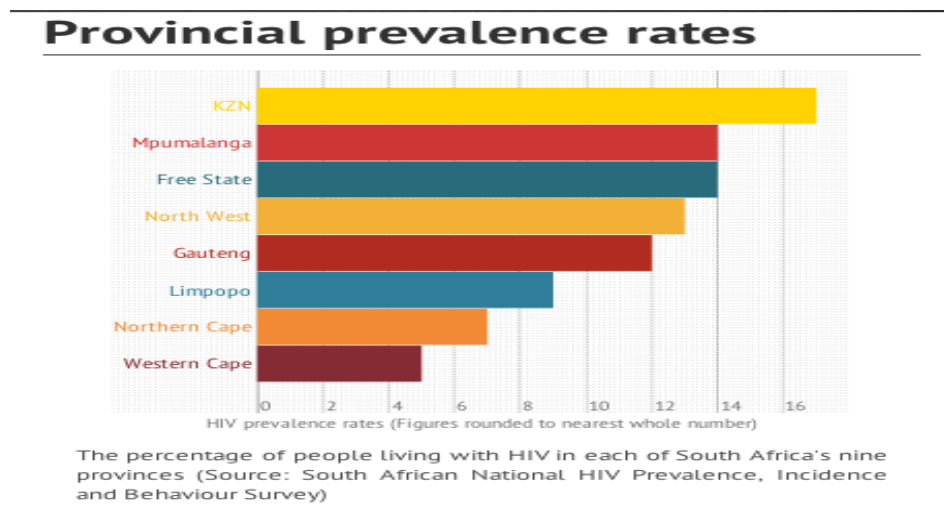


Figure 1 Provincial HIV prevalence rates in 2014<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Avert B. et al. (25 October 2005), "Randomized, Controlled Intervention Trial of Male Circumcision for Reduction of HIV Infection Risk: The ANRS 1265 Trial", PLoS Medicine 2(11) from [www.avert.org](http://www.avert.org) 2011.

<sup>12</sup> The Department of Health/ SANAC (2010, February) 'The South African antiretroviral treatment guidelines'.

<sup>13</sup> Accessed on 30 November 2015 from data: image/jpeg;base64,/9j/4AAQSkZJRgABAQAA

### **1.2.2 A Context of Increasing Orphans and Child or Youth-Headed Households**

The study was conducted in a context where numbers of orphans and C/YHHs are increasing. The Department of Social Development (DSD) in South Africa in 2007 stated that the AIDS pandemic was the chief cause of orphanhood and vulnerability among children. The epidemic was also the cause of the high incidence of child-headed households (CHHs)<sup>14</sup>. In 2008 KwaZulu-Natal accommodated 13% of all children living in child-headed households in South Africa, with most households being an outcome of AIDS as the chief cause of orphanhood . (Nziyane 2010:41-42). A qualitative study exploring the integration of orphaned children into extended families also found that the increased death rate of young parents due to AIDS-related diseases was leading to many children growing in CHHs (Nziyane 2010).

Badenhorst (2010:11) wrote that almost one-quarter of South Africa's under-18s were growing up without one or both parents. He stated that AIDS had contributed much to the high prevalence of child-headed households, explaining these as families where the oldest child is younger than 17 years. Badenhorst (2010) predicted that the numbers were expected to rise in line with adult deaths from AIDS. This was confirmed by an Avert (2011) report stating that South Africa's AIDS epidemic has had a devastating effect on children. Having set the increasing orphans and child or youth-headed households as the background of the study and as the factual problem I will now go on to state the research problem.

### **1.3 Problem statement**

Many societies, ethnicities, cultures, communities or families desire to raise their young ones into a well brought-up, determined, strong and progressive generation. For this reason many cultures initiate, orientate and socialize their young into the norms, values and morals of their society. Accordingly children and youths' wellbeing have always depended on and benefitted from the availability and positive input of responsible, caring and liable parents and adults for socialisation, upbringing and guidance. At present many parents are dying mainly due to AIDS-related diseases. The number of orphans is increasing, creating a parenting and

---

<sup>14</sup> A Situational Analysis of Child-Headed households in South Africa Commissioned by The Department of Social Development and conducted by the University of South Africa 30 April 2008.

guardianship deficit in families as basic social units. Due to the increase in orphans extended families are failing to cope, resulting in the creation of child or youth-headed households.

According to the World Health Organisation (WHO) 1990 report, the phenomenon described as “child- headed” was first noted in the Rakai District of Uganda in the 1980s (Ganga and Chinyoka 2010:187). Since then, adultless households have increased in communities, resulting from various circumstances, taking a variety of forms and posing various challenges to the moral fibre of society (2010:87). Mathews et al. mentioned that the number of children living in child-only households is escalating as the number of orphaned children increases due to AIDS-related deaths of parents. In KwaZulu Natal in South Africa, 0.3% (14,000) of the children were living in child-headed households in 2012. The Social Development Minister Dlamini, launched the country's first Child-headed Household Register at Msinga in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands.<sup>15</sup> This was twelve years after South Africa attested to the existence of child only households. Given the unprecedented level at which the phenomenon is occurring, there is need to address the issue with long-term strategies by first acknowledging that child or youth-headed households add a different category to groups of vulnerable youth apart from orphans in foster homes, in institutional care and in the streets (Boothby et al. 2012). As such there must be a category-specific strategy which considers the distinctive aspects of their vulnerability. Moreover, one is mindful, as Mtata (2011:67) was, that children, mainly pre-adolescents, are unable to do any exploits and are thus not recognised as persons in their own right, more noticeable for children living on their own. So this study explores on-hand resources to bolster resilience and to point out at issues that are specific to C/YHHs.

## **1.4 The research question**

Research on child-headed households has focused on various dimensions of the lives of the children i.e. cultural, religious, physiological, psychological, social and economic aspects. However, modest attention has been paid to the contribution of faith, gender constructions and resilience to the children and youths in such households. Given that the research is being conducted in an African community whose populace are fundamentally religious; and that

---

<sup>15</sup> Child-headed Household Register launched in KZN, Saturday 2 August 2014 08:21, SABC.



children and youths are innately spiritual (Moyo 2011), key questions will be asked inquiring the nature and contribution of faith to the lives of children and youths living on their own without the leadership of adults. The spiritual and religio-cultural dimensions should be taken into account when considering the resilience of the youngsters in C/YHHS, especially in the context of AIDS where the dominant religious response is that it is punishment from God, angels, ancestors or the universe (West 2011:135). Having stated the research problem and posed the research question I envisaged the goal of the study as aiming to establish how faith and resilience correlate in the lives of children and youths living alone without liable adults at hand. To move towards the achievement of the goal I raised the following questions:

1. What are the socio-cultural circumstances of the children and youths growing in C/YHHS in KwaZulu-Natal and what challenges do they face?
2. How do they handle spiritual and religious issues in the absence of adults, given that in traditional society latter generally guide and direct in religious matters?
3. How do faith and resilience correlate in the experiences of children and youths in C/YHHS in the context of death in Zulu culture and religion?

## **1.5 The Objectives of the Research**

The objectives of the study are therefore:

1. to trace the progression of research on C/YHHS by presenting an overview of the literature on the history of the phenomenon in South Africa;
2. to delineate the theoretical framework guiding this study, to explain the data gathered by expounding the tenets of the attachment theory, the positive humanistic theory, feminist spirituality and the feminist ethics of care;
3. to show an understanding of faith in the light of the bereavement care given to children in the context of Zulu culture and religion and its link with resilience;
4. to describe and demonstrate the suitability of a multi-dimensional methodology used in the study with C/YHHS as a socio-cultural phenomenon;

5. to assemble the main subjects of and analyse data collected through interviews, observation and occupational research<sup>16</sup>;
6. to propose a theory, the African Feminist Theological Ethics of Care (AFTEC)<sup>17</sup>, to explain facts stemming from the empirical data and promoting the care of orphans with particular focus on the members of C/YHHs.

## **1.6 Rationale and Motivations for Undertaking the Study**

### **1.6.1 Academic Motivation**

#### **1.6.1.1 Master's Degree Research**

Siwo-Okundi (2008) asserts that in African societies it is nearly impossible to discuss widow status without discussing orphan status; the two are inextricably bound. Siwo-Okundi (2008) uses the story of the widow, her sons and Prophet Elisha in 2 Kings 4:1-7 to illustrate the inseparability of the widow and orphan status. I found confirmation of Siwo-Okundi's assertion during my Master's degree research with widows. An even more pertinent question was how, once the parents were no longer there, the orphans were coping with the problems their widowed mothers had struggled with. The experiences of the widows' orphaned children compelled me to conduct a research with orphans.

#### **1.6.1.2 African Women's Theologies**

The second academic motivating factor for my study relates to African Women's Theologies. Referring to Phiri and Nadar (2005), Longwe (2012:5) states that within formal academia, African women theologians have used academic writing as a means through which they come to grips with the institutionalized marginalization of women's experiences in church and in society. I realised as Longwe (2012:6) did while reading through the literature of the Circle of Concerned African Women Theologians (Circle), that there are other marginalized voices which have not yet been heard, yet they are crucial if the world is to continue. These are the voices of orphaned children, more so those belonging to C/YHHs. As Longwe (2012:6) noticed

---

<sup>16</sup> The term occupational research takes cue from action research. It refers to the process of collecting research related data in daily work activities and instances through observing cues related to the research topic, associating events and information from colleagues with the research title and negotiating with informants.

<sup>17</sup> The AFTEC, a theory that I propose in this study. It is articulated and discussed fully in chapter 8.

the dearth of literature on the experiences of women married to pastors, so did Mtata (2011:50-73) notice that Circle literature has little to say about children.

Mtata (2011:55) mentions that while the African women theological perspective makes sense in a context of women marginalization, its construal of the subject of reflection remained deficient as it does not address the marginalization of children in the same society. He (:50) says the construction of the African remains incomplete as long as children seem not to have a space in it. Mtata (2011:58) suggests that women theologians saw the African communitarian anthropology ideal agreeing with their project and overlooked the marginalization of children in the construction of the African. He suggests enlarging the women theologians' scope of marginalization to include children and give their theological thinking a positive tone it currently misses (2011:55).

Mtata (2011:56) notices that children are not necessarily assumed or subsumed in some African women's theological anthropological writings. So the study sought to incorporate children from child- and youth-headed households, following Jesus' example in the synoptics.<sup>18</sup> Mountain (2014) explains that Jesus brings a child, without family, religious context, gender or special ability into the middle where the child is not overlooked or excluded but is considered, protected and nurtured. Therefore this study sought to dialogue with orphaned children living in C/YHHs, to investigate the nature and the correlation of their faith and the ability to adapt in the face of adversity and sources of stress - such as relationship, health or financial problems (Southwick and Charney 2012:6). Additionally like Longwe (2012:6), the study sought to make a contribution to the depository of knowledge in Circle research. My academic considerations were enhanced in work experiences as evidence C/YHHs and the challenges face showed pervasively in work situations.

---

<sup>18</sup> Matthew 19:14;4 Mark 10:18; Luke 18:15. From the evangelical pastoral perspective I will use the literal interpretation of the Bible acknowledging that some words are used metaphorically, parables do not refer to actual events and narrated events may have typological meanings.

### 1.6.2 Professional Motivation

Work-related motivation came from daily work activities as the phenomenon of child headed households was pervasive in the community work with Sinomlando<sup>19</sup>. For instance a scene I witnessed during a visit to a rural community in Zululand to recruit community care workers for training in the Sinomlando Capacity Building programme caught my attention. I saw some of the children and youths who were coming for lunch at the organization's soup kitchen, feed babies and carry them away. In particular I was captivated by teenage boys feeding little ones and toting them on their backs, which is normally expected to be done by girls. (This is a rural area where one expects gender roles to be entrenched in the community). On inquiry I learnt that these were heads of adultless households who took on parental duties after school.<sup>20</sup> Mathe (2008:45) alluded to a related situation when she stated that the new child-headed family structure means schools have to deal with children who become adults when they are at home.

Work-related incentive also came while interviewing candidates for training in Mpumalanga. During the interview I asked the candidate what motivated her to work with orphaned and vulnerable children (OVC). She paused, breathed heavily and narrated that while passing through a cemetery she saw three children aged about 13, 8 and 5 kneeling at a grave. For some days she was disturbed, but the incident inspired her to join the organization and contribute towards addressing the needs of children in her area. This was a life-changing experience for her. The image of the kneeling children lingered in the same way described by Meintjes, Hall, Marera and Boule (2010:40-49). They said mages of many orphans thrust into premature parenting of siblings and left to fend for themselves are pervasive. Visualising similar images, I began to wonder who takes leadership in adultless households and how they cope. I became particularly curious about the spiritual lives of the children. During the ensuing workshops I noticed that community workers' stories, role plays, examples and scenarios depicted much about the prevalence of CHHs in the communities they came from.

---

<sup>19</sup> The Sinomlando Centre for Oral History and Memory Work in Africa started at the School of Religion and Theology at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 1994 with a mission to add indigenous oral history to the records. Sinomlando tried to recover the silenced memories of communities which suffered under apartheid. In 2000 the Centre set up its Memory Box Programme, inspired by similar projects in Uganda and Tanzania. The aim of the Programme is to offer psychosocial support to families and to orphans affected by HIV and AIDS. The memories of the family are kept in a box which contains the memorabilia. The Centre has since become one of the leading research and training institutions for memory work in South Africa. See <http://www.sinomlando.ukzn.ac.za>.

<sup>20</sup> The incident happened in 2008 in Nkosinathi Community Care Centre in North KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

The church- and work-related instances described above confirm that AIDS has claimed lives of many parents, leaving children single or double-orphaned. This orphaning has culminated in C/YHHs, transforming the traditional family structure in communities. This has also changed the way we do theology as Riddle (2008) explains. She says cultural assumptions and spiritual beliefs, communicated from birth, form a critical portion of our worldview. They go unquestioned until we encounter a person or an experience where the belief system is challenged bringing a different awareness (2008:2). Such a different awareness became, in part, my pastoral motivation for undertaking the study.

### **1.6.3 Pastoral Motivation<sup>21</sup>**

My work exposed me to Sinomlando's network of partners under Children in Distress International (CINDI).<sup>19</sup> This is a network of non-profit organisations (NPO) in Pietermaritzburg who work in communities focussing on and addressing needs like orphanhood, widowhood, poverty and drug abuse. Sinomlando's Memory Box Programme belongs to the Psychosocial Cluster of CINDI. After encounters with organizations in CINDI meetings and with community workers working with CHHs, I began to speculate the religious lives of the children and youths growing in C/YHHs. As one whose religious life was guided by my parents and who also provided such guidance for my children, I began to question what was happening to the religio-spiritual dimensions of the lives of the children and youths growing in C/YHHs in the absence of adults in the home. I questioned what happens without the convincing arms of adults to carry them to the family altars or to shove them through the temple doors, as parents or other reliable adults usually do.

My aspiration to probe this topic was heightened by encounters relating to orphaned children in some churches. Having associated in interdenominational situations I became aware that some denominations require baptism certificates for entry into confirmation class and subsequently to the Eucharist. I noticed that when this requirement was applied indiscriminately, as it often is, it barred some youths from the churches' rites of entry. On inquiry I discovered that some young people coming to church were from child or youth-

---

<sup>21</sup> From the evangelical perspective I use the literal interpretation of the Bible as explained in footnote 21.

<sup>19</sup> CINDI or Children in Distress International is a network of organisations in Pietermaritzburg who work in communities focussing on and addressing different needs like orphanhood, widowhood, poverty, drug abuse etc.

headed households and came to church due to secondary conversion, to maintain family tradition, because they felt ignored in one church or simply joined the church nearest to home. I aspired to discourse with children and youths living alone and to explore non-coercive ways of incorporating them into a caring and non-segregating Christian family.

As Hewitt (2011:79-101) I realized that the traditional approach to work with children in churches may not work for C/YHHs as they are often not part of the church's ministry and mission. Yet because they have spiritual experiences they can benefit from an unconventional but holistic approach to mission where they are taken as active participants rather than passive recipients of evangelisation, where females and males minister, where all ages can commune with the sacred and where their spirituality is validated. I noticed the need for a paradigm shift as far as mission, care, religio-culture and spirituality are concerned.

Through continued experience in and encounters with interfaith and ecumenical situations I began to envision a way to do mission and to market one's faith by starting from and using the other person's faith assets. This would require knowledge about people's understanding of their faith and of what they have faith in. Because of the African context I thought of exploring a category of believers that would be rooted in the indigenous faith system, on a search path and with a predisposition for evolvment. This was heightened by African women theologians' nerve to challenge the tendency for societal systems and sacrosanct ideas to stay and become absolute and their courage to interrogate religio-culture. The idea is similar to Salanjira's (2009:131) objection to the term African Traditional Religions (ATR). He said "traditional" implies a closed, unchanging religion, denying the dynamic nature of African Religion. So I was interested in exploring how children and youths participate in religio-cultural dynamism.

I realized that children and youth growing without adults have spiritual needs and thinking about how these needs were addressed in C/YHHs raised more questions like: What sustains a religio-cultural system? What influences evolvment? How do adherents deal with the change? If, according to the Bible, there is fusion of identity<sup>22</sup> in the afterlife, why would the age or sex of a petitioner matter to a deceased demigod? This interrogates the downgrading of girls' performance of rituals. It also points to the need to rethink religio-cultural assumptions

---

<sup>22</sup> I take the idea from Matthew 22:23- 33. As mentioned in note 21 I use the evangelical biblical interpretation.

and the possibility to interrogate the suppositions of such a system. These queries came with unfamiliar terms and concepts, conveying the need to clarify the terminology.

## **1.7 Clarification of Key Terms and Concepts**

The various motivations and the grappling with questions attested to the need to clarify the special terminologies used in this study. Accordingly this section gives definitions and descriptions of the key terms and concepts in this study. The concepts ‘faith’ and ‘resilience’, central in this thesis, are discussed in Chapter three which delineates the theoretical framework.

### **1.7.1 Child**

Smart’s (2003:41-42) report on policies for orphans and vulnerable children states that the majority of international and national instruments define a child as either a boy or a girl up to the age of 18 years. It also states that the age of 18 years is primarily related to the accepted age of majority, but in all countries there are legal exceptions to the age of majority, particularly those related to the age at which a child may be married, make a will or consent to medical treatment. The report gives an example of the Sri Lankan Kandyan and Muslim laws which allow a girl of 12 years to be married without parental consent. From a South African context Nziyane (2010) mentions that in South Africa, a child is defined by the Children’s Act No 38 of 2005) as “any person who is under the age of 18 years” explaining:

The Policy Framework on Orphans and Other Children made Vulnerable by HIV and AIDS of the HIV and AIDS chief directorate... (2007:10) indicates that in South Africa, the legal exceptions to the age of majority include the age at which a child may be married, make a will, consent to treatment, attain legal capacity to inherit or conduct certain transactions...even if a child may attain the legal exception to the age of majority, the child should not be excluded or constrained regarding the other rights of a child...according to the Children’s Amendment Act No. 41 of 2007, a child heading a household is legally allowed to make day-to-day decisions relating to the household as if the child is an adult caregiver. Such a child is allowed to receive a social grant on behalf of the household if the child is 16 years or older...enjoy the other rights of a child as he or she will need continued support.

In this study, a child is any person under the age of 18 years and a youth is a person past teen age and in the early twenties. However, due to ages of orphaning, considerations of

vulnerability and an indigenous understanding which views a youth who can't fend for her/himself as a child, this term will not apply in the strictly legal sense but will be used liberally.

### **1.7.2 Child-Headed Household**

Writing about the dilemmas of definitions and livelihood rights of child-headed households Marion MacLellan (2005) acknowledges that the definition of a child-headed household differs from country to country. She proceeds to say that some countries define a child-headed household as a household where a child under the age of 18 years has assumed adult responsibilities in relation to all members of the family. This could be mainly due to the death of the parent or incapacity or unwillingness of any available adult in the household to take responsibility for the household.

According to the Department of Social Development (2005:35) Policy Framework for Orphans and other Children made Vulnerable by HIV and AIDS, a child-headed household is a household where a parent or primary caregiver of the household is terminally ill or has died there is no adult family member available to provide care for the children in the household and a child has assumed the role of a primary caregiver in respect of a child or children in the household in terms of providing food, clothing and psychosocial support.

Zamani Maqoko and Yolanda Dreyer (2005) define a child-headed household as a household where everyone who lives there is younger than 18 years, i.e. a child-headed household is a household consisting only of children. To Zethu Maud Mkhize (2006:28) a household is a group of individuals who are sharing a residence and are involved in continuous and intense social interaction, which is based on loyalty and authority.

The Children's Amendment Bill, Article 137 (Republic of South Africa 2006) provides a legal prescriptive description of a child-headed household as: if the parent, guardian or caregiver of a household is terminally ill, has died or has abandoned the children in the household and no adult family member is available to provide care for the children in the household; a child over the age of 16 has assumed the role of a caregiver in respect of children in the household and it is in the best interest of the children in the household

Nziyane (2010) explains that the South African Children's Amendment Act (Act No 41 of 2007) stipulates the same conditions for a child-headed household to be recognized as such.



Both Article 137 and Act No 41 of 2007 brings up the issue of abandonment, a practice that I found common in my research and that is harmful to children and youths.

The 2007 Situational Analysis of Child-Headed Households in South Africa explained that there was no common definition of a CHH. As such, there was a different understanding of the term ‘child-headed household’ by the different national and provincial government departments, NPOs and communities. This was informed by the definition of a ‘child’ in accordance with the Children’s Act (No. 38 of 2005). The same document described the emergence of a new form of a family structure: a household headed by one of the affected children, or simply a child-headed household (CHH). It explained that for the purpose of the study a CHH was recognised as a situation where a child had taken charge of a household in decision-making and responsibility to provide for the physical, social and emotional needs of others living in that household, regardless of relationship.

In the context of the present study, a child-headed household is a household in which a child under the age of 18 years has assumed the role of an adult caregiver to the household members. The child makes day-to-day decisions in respect of the child and the other household members. It is a household which comprises household members, under the age of 18 who have no surviving parent taking care of them. The children are residing alone in the absence of any adult caregiver in the household.

### **1.7.3 Child or Youth-Headed Household**

The child or youth-headed household, abbreviated C/YHHs in this thesis, is an inclusive term meant to cover the child-headed households as described above and households headed by youths who no longer fall in the child category. It has become necessary to use this terminology because firstly the study was not restricted to households headed by persons under eighteen. Secondly, within the years of study the youngsters grew, with some moving from the child to the youth category. For that reason I chose terminology that would ensure that their contributions to the study would not become obsolete at some stage. Thirdly the experiences of young adults who began heading households in their teens added a valuable contribution to this study hence the preference for the comprehensive terminology, C/YHHs.

#### **1.7.4 Extended Family**

Jacobson, Liem and Weiss (in Stone, 2001:230-231) explain that in societies with unilateral descent groups, functions of the nuclear family, in particular parenting, are not solely the responsibility of the biological parents. They are shared across different individuals in the larger kin group, i.e. the extended family. Members of the kinship group often reside together either in multigenerational households or in neighbouring houses. These are regarded as a single social unit although in essence they are physically separate from each other.

Similarly, Soliz et al. in Floyd and Morman, (2006:63) define the extended family in the context of family relationships that are created through the expansion and extension of the traditional nuclear family. This expansion could be either due to genetics or by law through marriage. In their study on extended family relationships Soliz et al. (in Floyd and Morman, 2006:70) found that geographical proximity enhances family relationships as it promotes contacts and interaction among family members. They assert that emotional closeness among family members, rather than distance, is the determining factor in family relationships.

Correspondingly, Makoni (2006:26-27) observes that in Zimbabwe married couples often reside with the paternal extended family who then assist with the upbringing of children. He notes that the extended family comprises of grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins from both one's family of origin as well as in-laws.

In this study, the extended family refers to grandparents, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews and cousins who are related to the children and youths living in C/YHHs through blood ties from either the maternal or paternal family. Nevertheless, they may not be sharing a common household or living together in the same house or yard with the C/YHHs therefore the extended family's geographical proximity is not a feature of the household.

### **1.8 Structure of the Thesis**

#### *Chapter Outline*

In this chapter I have introduced the thesis giving the background and context of the study, the location and the motivation. I have stated the research problem and objectives, and defined the key terms. In chapter two I will show gaps in research with C/YHHs by chronologically presenting an overview of the literature on child or youth-headed households.

Chapter three will delineate the main theories on which the study is based. As mentioned earlier in section 1.7 on Clarification of key terms and concepts, two central concepts in this thesis, 'faith' and 'resilience' will be discussed extensively in this chapter, beginning with an exploration of the historical followed by a clarification of contextual use of the notions. Furthermore this study falls at the intersection of studies psychology and gender and religion within theology. Accordingly, I will limit myself to two theories in psychology- the attachment theory and humanistic psychology; and two in theology namely feminist spirituality and the feminist ethics of care within African women's theologies. In the chapter I will articulate what these theories are and how they help me to analyse the findings from the field research.

In Chapter four I will discuss the place of faith in the psycho - spiritual care given to children in the context of death in Zulu culture and religion. The objective of the chapter is to establish if faith, in all its broadness, encourages resilience in children and youths in C/YHHs in the situation of bereavement in Zulu culture. The question the chapter asks is: How do faith and resilience operate in the lives of children and youths in C/YHHs in the context of death in Zulu culture and religion? A corresponding question is: What psycho-spiritual resources are available to children and youths in the context of death in Zulu culture and religion?

In Chapter five I will describe the research methodology used in this study. I will point out that phenomenology<sup>23</sup>, which can refer to a philosophy or a research method has been used. (Dowling 2007). I will also elaborate on the essentially two schools of phenomenology as a research method - descriptive and interpretive phenomenology (Tuohy et al. 2013:17), state the preferred school for this study and give reasons.

In chapters six and seven I will present, analyse and interpret the research results on the experiences of children and youths living in C/YHHs. According to Greig, Taylor and MacKay (2007:144), this includes information on the historical and cultural contexts and as a method for entering and understanding the lives and work of others.

Chapter eight contains the theory that I propose, the African feminist theological ethics of care (AFTEC) to explain the realities of the experiences of children and youths in child- and

---

<sup>23</sup> Phenomenological and its related aspects are discussed in depth in the methodology chapter 5.

youth-headed households). Elements and extracts which point at the theory will be strewn in relevant sections throughout the thesis. Nevertheless, as the presentation of the theory is one of the objectives of the research, making a full early presentation might appear pre-meditated and pre-empts the innovation and novelty of the research. I will also propose a model for offering psychosocial support to youngsters living in such households. Chapter nine concludes the thesis, highlighting main findings and raising issues for further research.

## **1.9 Conclusion**

In this chapter I introduced the thesis. I began by indicating the varying effects of painful experiences and explained why the inquiry of the correlation between faith and resilience in child or youth-headed households is a worthwhile exercise. To show that the Human Immunodeficiency virus (HIV) forms the backdrop of the study I described the extent of the virus and the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa. I referred to statistics indicating that South Africa, the context of the study, has the highest HIV prevalence with KwaZulu-Natal, the province in which the research was done topping the list. I showed that the epidemic is reflected in the dramatic change in mortality rates with the overall annual deaths almost doubling between 1997 and 2014, a rise that mostly affects young adults, who are shouldering the burden of the increasing mortality rate. I demonstrated that AIDS is the leading cause of orphanhood and vulnerability among children and of the high prevalence of CHHs<sup>24</sup>. I described the context of the study as one with increasing numbers of children orphaned by AIDS and increasing numbers of C/YHHs.

Next I explained my academic professional and pastoral motivations for undertaking the study. I clarified the motivation from my Master's degree studies which revealed the relationship between widows' problems and those of their orphaned children. I explained my professional impetus as having come from an awareness of the increasing magnitude of the phenomenon. I illuminated my pastoral inspiration from observing indiscriminate application of ecclesiastical practices and requirements which tend to marginalize young people coming from C/YHHs.

---

<sup>24</sup> A Situational Analysis of Child-Headed households in South Africa Commissioned by The Department of Social Development and conducted by the University of South Africa 30 April 2008.

I stated the research problem, showing that since much research on adultless households has paid modest attention to the religious and spiritual dimensions of the members' lives it is necessary to do more research focusing on those dimensions. I posed the research question probing the correlation between faith and resilience among youngsters from child or youth-headed households. I outlined the objectives of the research, highlighting the need for an exploration into the faith dimension of the children and youths growing in C/YHHs. I clarified the key terms and concepts and unpacked the phrases child, child-headed household, child or youth-headed household and extended family. I then gave the chapter outline and described the structure of the thesis. The exploration of the correlation between faith and resilience among children or youths in C/YHHs begins with an overview of the consecutive research done and literature written on the households which follows in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER TWO

### A CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON CHILD OR YOUTH-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS

#### 2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed the HIV and AIDS context of the study, elaborating on AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa and in KwaZulu-Natal. I stated the research problem, posed the research questions and spelt out the objectives of the study. I explained the academic, professional and pastoral motivations for undertaking the study. I clarified the key terms, ending with an outline delineating the structure of the study.

This chapter is a chronological overview<sup>25</sup> of the literature on child- or youth-headed households in South Africa. It shows that research has focused on physical, socio-economic and educational matters, but has given reserved attention to faith and resilience among members of such households. The studies that examined faith hardly elaborate the concept while fewer have scrutinized its link with resilience. This signals a gap in research, given that the study community comprises mostly Africans who are ‘notoriously religious’ (Mbiti 1969) and children who are inherently spiritual. Moreover, in view of the attachment theory’s<sup>26</sup> emphasis on the need for devoted carers (Connors 2011:362), it is crucial to explore faith as a coping tool for children who have lost parents as insensitive carers are imperilling.<sup>27</sup>

The overview will focus on research done in South Africa. I will begin the examination with the emergence of the phenomenon in the 1980s through to 1999 when the country attested to the existence of child-headed households. I will state the aim, findings and conclusions of each study. In the process I hope to depict what has been researched, clarify my position in the discussions. The process will also illustrate the gaps as need for further research, as AIDS, a chief initiator of C/YHHs, sends a ripple effect into communities and down generations.

---

<sup>25</sup> This chapter gives a sequential summary of the works written on adulthood households.

<sup>26</sup> This theory will be explained in chapter three section 3.4 - The attachment theory.

<sup>27</sup> A story exemplifying this is in section 7.2.3 Theme 6. Subtheme 4.

## 2.2 The Emergence of the Phenomenon

MacLellan (2005:3) asserts that child-headed households have always existed at some point in most cultures primarily in times of hardship or conflict. However, as cited earlier child-headed households were first noted in the 1980s in Uganda and in Tanzania. Foster et al. (1997:155-168) mentioned that in 1991, such households were observed in Lusaka in Zambia; Manicaland in Zimbabwe and in six villages in Masaka in Uganda, where previously no such households had been noted. In the United States, teenagers caring for younger siblings after the death of parents from AIDS were observed in 1993 or 1994. A UNAIDS report on the consequences of AIDS estimated that by mid-1996 nine million children had lost their mothers to AIDS. It cited that over 90% of the affected children were living in sub-Saharan Africa and that many of these children were living in households headed by children, sometimes as young as 10-12 years old. It described this scenario as one of the most distressing consequences of the epidemic (Foster et al. 2004). In that decade the phenomenon appeared in communities in South Africa.

South Africa had a time lag<sup>28</sup> of about a decade between the diagnosis of first black South African with HIV (1987) and the country's confirmation of the existence of child-headed households in 1999. They could have existed earlier, but because of the initial scepticism about HIV, child-headed households were acknowledged near the end of the century, nearly two decades after the WHO report of the phenomenon. A study conducted in Port Shepstone in KwaZulu-Natal between August and October 1999 found 41 child-headed households. The average age of the oldest child was 11 and the youngest six years (Spencer 2004). Rosa (2003:4-8)<sup>29</sup> mentioned that the 1999 Household Survey (OHS) confirmed an increase in child-headed households to 0.25%. By the end of 1999 South Africa had attested to the existence of adultless households and once confirmed, the phenomenon became the spotlight of research from various perspectives. However focus on the spiritual, religious and gender dimensions was feeble.

---

<sup>28</sup> The Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary, defines a time lag as a period between two related events.

<sup>29</sup> This article is a summary of a paper presented at a workshop hosted by the children's Institute and the Alliance for Children's Entitlement to Social Security (ACCESS) held in Cape Town on 22-21 August 2003.

## 2.3 Focusing on the phenomenon

### 2.3.1 Literature in the Second Millennium–The First Half of the Noughties<sup>30</sup>

At the beginning of the new millennium the phenomenon was increasing but research on child or youth-headed households in South Africa was still providing anecdotal data of their existence. In a press briefing in 2001, the then Minister of Social Development, Dr. Skweyiya, mentioned that 35 % of orphaned children had foster parents; 0,1% were adopted and 0, 25 % were in residential care. This left about 65 % in family or community care or living in so-called ‘child-headed households’. The Nelson Mandela Children’s Fund Report stated that a study in a village in Langelooop of Nkomazi district in Mpumalanga showed that 22 % of the households were headed by children. None of these studies were statistically representative samples; they were cited as evidence of the existence of CHHs in South Africa (Rosa 2003:4-8). The effect of the loss of attachment figures and subsequent search for substitutes was not explored. There was even less focus on the spiritual lives of the children.

In 2002, the Thandanani Children’s Foundation<sup>31</sup> in Pietermaritzburg commissioned research into the conditions of child-headed households, which involved interviews with heads and members of the households. The research surveyed 112 children living in 45 child-headed households. Just over half of the heads identified food security as their most critical problem. Only one household was receiving a child support grant. However, ten of the children were eligible for the grants. Of these, seven were living in a household where the head, who was over 18 was eligible to apply for the child support grant on behalf of the child. One out of five children said they were working to support the household.

Several children were going to school, but almost half of the group was not attending school, were looking after siblings and trying to earn an income. Four of them were under the age of 15. They did many different jobs but gardening, selling, domestic work and hairdressing were

---

<sup>30</sup> According to the Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary, Third Edition, the noughties defines the period of years between 00 and 10 in any century.

<sup>31</sup> This information is available from the study report entitled *Monitoring Child Socio-Economic Rights in South Africa: Achievements and Challenge: child headed households*. (2002)Pages 18-27.



most common. Relatives were an important source of support for more than a third of the households, but most of the children received more support from non-relatives<sup>32</sup>, probably an application of the *ubuntu* propounded in the AFTEC. The study focussed on how the children were addressing physiological needs and that the youths' main concerns were food clothing and shelter. However, it mentioned that the support from relatives provided some security. The religio-cultural dimension of the children's lives, a crucial aspect after the loss of attachment figures, did not feature.

Studies with child or youth-headed households continued as Wilson, Giese, Meintjes, Croke and Chamberlain from the Children's Institute conducted a research in 2002. It aimed to develop a conceptual framework for the identification, support and monitoring of children being orphaned or who were at risk of being orphaned. The framework was intended to generate discussion around the roles and responsibilities of different sectors and stakeholders and to assist with identifying gaps in service response within a given context. It was based on the principles of maximising contact opportunities and integrating activities for vulnerable children. Wilson et al. (2002:25) produced an outline describing the factors that impact on the fulfilment of the developmental needs of orphaned children. As the project was focused on orphans in general and not specifically on child-headed households, the report merely explained that social security was largely inaccessible to children living in child-headed households, who often had no adult supervision. In view of that, this study focuses on the ability of the youths living on their own to cope with the vulnerabilities identified by Wilson et al. (2002), investigating the nature and part played by faith in the endurance.

By 2003 an estimated 780,000 South African children had been orphaned by AIDS, according to UNAIDS. After a national survey on HIV and AIDS in the same year, Desmond, Richter, Makiwane and Amoateng of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) concurred with the UNAIDS statistics. The researchers reported that 3% of households were headed by persons between 12 and 18 years. They added that child-headed households were formed when a parent had left more than one child and the extended family was unable to take on this extra burden

---

<sup>32</sup> 'Child-headed households: Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal' (*Monitoring Child Socio-Economic Rights in South Africa: Achievements and Challenges*). This summary is available from i-Mediate Development Communications, I-Mediate is a South African company providing innovative development communications, mediation, training and facilitation services to civil society, donors, business and government institutions in Africa and beyond. [www.i-mediate.co.za](http://www.i-mediate.co.za)

or when the oldest child was in or late adolescence (Spencer 2004:25). The bigger families escalated the phenomenon because, the bigger the family the less the relatives were willing to assume responsibility. The Research Council took a descriptive phenomenological approach which the current research partly tries to fulfil.

Still in 2003 Rosa confirmed the existence of child-headed households in South Africa. In a journal article, Rosa (2003:4-8) explained that by 2003 there was no comprehensive but only anecdotal national data on the prevalence of child-headed households. Nevertheless, community-based assistance programmes were reporting an increase and Rosa (2003:4-8) warned that lack of statistical evidence and probable low incidence of child-headed households should not detract from the fact that child-headed households did exist.

Focused on compelling the state to provide financial assistance to child-headed households who were then unable to access social grants, Rosa stated that the State had constitutional responsibility to children who were being orphaned and having no parental care. Children in CHHs were vulnerable and required extra support to meet their financial, emotional, psychological, health and education needs. Rosa (2003:4-8) emphasized that finance was the main stressors that make the children's lives vulnerable. Rosa (2003:4-8) considered the strongest biological and physiological needs in Maslow's hierarchy and sought financial assistance to fulfil these. To go further on the hierarchy this research examines spirituality and self-actualization needs in probing the interplay between faith and resilience.

Rosa (2003) alluded to the need for adult care, emotional and psychological support, implying that these had been eroded by the death of the parents and the loss of attachment figures and hinting that there was need for substitutes. Though Rosa (2003:4-8) neither went into detail on the nature of the stress, nor examined how those stressors are handled, her observations and recommendations show awareness of the importance of attachment figures, of staking faith in some entity for emotional and psychological well-being and of the need for resources that enhance resilience.

Related to this exploration on attachment figures, Case and Ardington (2004:401-420) mentioned that the absence of a mother in particular may have greater impact on children than the absence of a father. Similarly Sloth-Nielsen (2004:24) highlighted the importance of the child's attachment to the mother in a concurrent research examining the interplay between faith and buoyancy among children and youths who live on their own. She mentioned that by 2004

nearly 840 000 children in South Africa had lost their mothers, mostly because of AIDS. Sloth-Nielsen (2004:24-25) conjectured that children who were losing mothers were more likely to end up living on their own than those who lost fathers as paternal relatives were less likely to take in orphaned children than maternal relatives. These gender-analytical observations about orphan-care among maternal and paternal relatives are confirmation of the attachment theory. Her article alluded to children's bond to mothers and showed the need for such figures in children's lives. Sloth-Nielsen did not discuss the effects of lost attachment figures or the influence of faith on resilience, ideas explored in this study.

Sloth-Nielsen (2004:24-25) found that orphaned children were finding themselves without families and it was the state's duty to fulfil their socio-economic right to basic nutrition, shelter, health and social services which would otherwise be provided by families. She lamented that the once African kinship-care system that would have absorbed orphans could no longer be relied upon to fulfil that function and may mean loss of faith in that African value. This kinship-care system is an aspect of the *ubuntu* (humaneness) propounded as a feature of the African feminist theological ethics of care (AFTEC)<sup>33</sup> the subject of Chapter 8.

Like Sloth-Nielsen, Spencer (2004) observed that the African kinship-care system that used to absorb orphans could no longer be relied upon to fulfil that function. My position is that that unreliability of the kinship-care system could be an indication of loss of faith in that African value. Spencer's (2004) study aimed at evaluating a group therapy programme developed to address the lack of response to the psychosocial needs of children affected by HIV and AIDS, poverty and violence. She discussed factors influencing the establishment of child-headed households, explaining that when the extended family or community was unable to support orphaned children, they lived in their home heading their own household. Spencer (2004:33) said although many child-headed households maintain links with extended families the emergence of large numbers of child-headed households confirms that the extended family system is under immense stress. Both Sloth-Nielsen (2004) and Spencer (2004) question the *ubuntu* ethos, which is propounded as a feature of the African feminist theological ethics of care (AFTEC)<sup>34</sup> and which can be applied universally to cover the kinship-care deficit.

---

<sup>33</sup> This is articulated in detail in chapter 8.

<sup>34</sup> This is articulated in detail in chapter 8.

Spencer (2004) brought up the concept of 'parentified' children, describing them as children compelled to perform duties and responsibilities of parents at the expense of their own development. They are pushed into parenting roles, often dropping out of school to meet the demands of running households although children under 16 years of age are legally required to attend school. Older siblings become surrogates for younger siblings, providing for them on instrumental and emotional levels while losing out on their own childhood and opportunities. Spencer (2004) observed that parentified children had less motivation, few friends, little time to form autonomy, relationships and career plans, are suspicious, resentful and have low self-esteem. Spencer (2004) lamented that heading households is a task that children are ill-equipped for and parentified children put their needs after the needs of others.

Spencer (2004) discussed the similarities between AIDS and violence. She said both cause children to lose parents and siblings, resulting in an increasing number of orphans, street children and child-headed households. Spencer's (2004) discussion examined three sets of variables considered central in resilience, namely personal characteristics, family characteristics, and the availability of external support systems.

Spencer's (2004) comparison of AIDS and violence is similar to Jairam's (2004) comparison of sexual abuse and bereavement. Jairam's (2004:82) study aimed at identifying the psychosocial aspects associated with child sexual abuse in Durban showed that the apartheid era initiated a systematic disintegration and dislocation of families. Adding to that legacy is the impact of HIV and AIDS on households, precipitating a spiralling moral decay that now threatens the very fibre of society and needing to be redressed. Jairam (2004:24) said the death of breadwinners and the resultant child-headed households were making children poor, without supervision and more vulnerable to exploitation and abuse.

Jairam (2004:33, 45, 54) focused on psychosocial problems caused by sexual abuse rather than by bereavement. While both sexual abuse and bereavement cause distress in children, from a cultural perspective stress caused by death would be easier to handle because of the (mostly) unintentional nature of the occurrence and the belief in afterlife which teach resilience. Jairam (2004) did not delve into the lives of children in child-headed households, let alone into the coping strategies and the role of faith in this, which is what this research intends to explore.

Concurrently Dumezweni (2004) conducted a study aimed at enhancing the agency of families affected by AIDS by proposing strategies for enhancing people's survival and livelihoods to be

employed by a church at Hinge Township outside Queenstown in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. She described the country's HIV statistics as alarming and said the nation was beginning to feel the impact through the loss of economically active people, increasing the demand on health care, the mortality rate and child-headed households. She bemoaned that child-headed households resulting from AIDS deaths and family disputes were becoming a reality in South Africa, bringing panic for their future. She cited child-headed households feebly as her study was about orphans in general.

In her data analysis Dumezweni (2004) said home-based care volunteers were a vital aspect in the community on which families relied. Neighbours continued to be an asset to rely on when life was getting tough. Some respondents expressed hope emanating from their faith in God. Others identified both their Christian faith and faith in ancestors as buffers in tough times. The church was identified as a support structure, visiting and offering prayers for the sick and conducting funerals. The study argued that the church could contribute by (i) addressing the factors that contribute to vulnerability; (ii) building the asset portfolio of households affected by AIDS; (iii) changing the policies and structures which inhibit the livelihood options of such households and (iv) enhancing the existing livelihood strategies. Dumezweni (2004) alluded to faith as a cushion in adversity, which this research takes further by investigating various objects of faith and its connection with resilience in C/YHHs.

By the mid-2000s there was much more and wide-ranging research being done on child or youth-headed households. However, research paid more attention to socio-economic than to spiritual matters. The 2005 General Household Survey (GHS) showed that there were 118,500 children living in a total of 66,556 child-headed households in July 2005.<sup>35</sup> This confirmed an increase in child-headed households in South Africa equalling roughly 0.7% of children and 0.6% of households in the country (Budlender 2005). Three-quarters of all children living in child-headed households were in three provinces at the time of the GHS 2005: Limpopo (39%), the Eastern Cape (23%), and KwaZulu-Natal (13%). A paper from Children Count at the University of Cape Town Children's Institute stated that the 2005 GHS enabled an analysis of child-headed households. However, it warned that the findings must be treated with caution

---

<sup>35</sup> Children living in child headed households: Number and proportion of children living in child headed households (2005). An analysis of the 2005 General Household Survey done by the Children Count Project at the Children's Institute, 2005 accessed on 10 April 2008. <http://www.childrencount.ci.org.za/content.asp?>

due to the small sample size and the absence of confidence intervals. By this time some children who started heading households at the turn of the century were past ‘child’ age hence the insistence, in this study, to widening the terminology to include youths.

Govere’s (2005) thesis appeared, outlining some of the social injustices linked to HIV, observing how they were challenging the Southern African Church. He articulated that a particular effect of parental death was the increase in orphaned children and their relocation to relatives often away from the family homes. Govere (2005) observed that families and communities could barely fend for themselves, let alone care for orphans. Like Sloth-Nielsen (2004) and Spencer (2004), Govere (2005) pointed out that taking in orphaned children was placing a burden on the extended families who often gave aloof support to orphans. The orphans ended up with no one to look after them, resulting in a growing number of child-headed impoverished households.

Highlighting the spiritual dimension and alluding to faith Govere (2005:46) articulated that in the face of HIV and AIDS Afro-centric religion, instruction in the ceremonies and ancestors’ rituals and instruction in the Christian faith must be given a place in the education system. Spiritual and moral elements of education, values, beliefs and norms from both African tradition and Christian religion are important educational tools in the AIDS context. Govere called on the church to care for orphans and widows as basic to living out faith, quoting James 1:27. Africans need to revive, understand and fully embrace their own religio-cultural traditions to fully embrace other religions.

Govere (2005) postulated that educating people about HIV and AIDS without cultural and religious reference was inadequate and would not automatically make people responsible and reduce the spread of HIV. Govere (2005) observed the contributions of indigenous faith to addressing societies’ problems. This concurs with the present research which tries to unearth the objects of faith of children and youths in C/YHHs vis-à-vis the belief system. Govere (2005) proceeded to say caring; looking after the sick and the dying, orphans and other family members was grounded in cultures. He explained that in the *ubuntu-hunhu* way of caring for others should include men and should not be placed only on the shoulders of women, taking a feminist ethic of care stance like the current study does. Govere (2005) pointed out at the need to interrogate values like patriarchy, male dominance and women subordination, as feminist theories in the current thesis do, which may work against HIV prevention messages. These standards should be questioned even more in the context where those who claim an innate

prerogative to lead families and communities are deceased or deserters, leaving children in child or youth-headed household.

A study by David Donald and Glynis Clacherty (2005:21-28) aimed to clarify the developmental vulnerabilities and strengths that characterize children living in child-headed households (CHHs) in comparison to children living in adult-headed households (AHHs) in equivalent impoverished communities. The first purpose was to provide the Thandanani Children's Foundation (which had requested the study) with information on vulnerabilities and strengths of children living in child-headed households in three peri-urban communities in Pietermaritzburg to enable the organization to tailor its responses to address these vulnerabilities. The second purpose was to pilot a child-participatory methodology to develop and test indicative themes and measures of potential value in discriminating between the vulnerabilities and strengths of children living in CHHs vis-à-vis those living in AHHs. Indicative themes were selected as ones basic to resources and survival, as vital components of developmental resilience and that may be applied to a larger, nationally representative sample.

Donald and Clacherty's (2005) qualitative research data was thematically analyzed to reveal the prominent differences between CHHs and AHHs on relevant measures. The results showed six themes namely access to institutional and social services, survival coping, nutritional status, social network, emotional vulnerabilities and strengths and language. In explaining coping resources, seven children from CHHs said they had asked for help from unrelated people like neighbours, while two cited support gained through the church and their own religious beliefs. In the light of the present research, one would see neighbours as entities of faith as trust.

Donald and Clacherty (2005) found out that children in child-headed households developed emotional maturity and strength around meeting emotional needs and dealing with interpersonal conflict in their families. Furthermore the social networking strategies that children in child-headed households demonstrated with both adults and peers constituted important elements of resilience materially, emotionally, and scholastically. In the heads' circumstances empathy, sensitivity to the needs of others, effective conflict resolution and emotional support were critical. Regarding conflict resolution children from child-headed households mentioned a poor sense of self-worth and a poor sense of an internal locus of control. Donald and Clacherty (2005) said this is well accepted in resilience theory. They discerned that vulnerability such as unresolved traumatic emotions, lack of attainable long-term goals; poor self-worth and internal locus of control were strong indicators of

developmental risk. Regarding the resilience theory these had important implications for the development of children in child-headed households and intervention was urgent.

The researchers concluded that because the study was limited to one local population and involved a small sample, the degree to which the results could be generalised was limited. However, they unearthed some indicators of resilience of children living without adults which can be applied in other areas and checked. This is a helpful process as it enables triangulation<sup>36</sup> of data, the confirmation of existing theories or postulation of new theories as this research proposes to do. As much as Donald and Clacherty's research dealt with resilience in child-headed households, it dwelt little on faith and how it correlates with resilience. Furthermore the research was not done from a gendered perspective as this one is. The local population in which the study was done is different from that of the present research, hence the need for continuous research in various contexts and for various purposes. So far there was no consensus on the nature of faith shown by members of the CHHs and little on resilience.

### **2.3.2 Literature in the Second Millennium–The Teens<sup>37</sup>**

Mkhize (2006:94) conducted an in-depth investigation into the social functioning of child-headed households, aimed to better understand issues that surround households headed by children. The study scrutinized the social institutions with which the households coexisted in order to determine the ways in which these institutions impact on the social functioning of the households as in Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory. The research highlighted that child-headed households are a deviation from the norm and that they create a situation where the needs of children are unmet and where their rights are eroded. The study investigated the role of social work in mobilizing resources to meet the unmet needs and champion the rights of the children. Mkhize (2006) like Govere, touched on religion and commented that in the African community the religious sector focuses on the spiritual needs of the people and does not focus on the total well-being. Mkhize (2006:28) concluded that social work can play a role in linking children to the religious system. This is a significant resource though its role in meeting the spiritual needs of the children is limited. The study acknowledged the role of religious

---

<sup>36</sup> The concept and process of triangulation is discussed more in chapter three.

<sup>37</sup> According to the Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary, Third Edition the teens refers to the period of years between 13 and 19 in any century.



institutions in the lives of children and youths living in child or youth-headed households. However it did not discuss the effect of personal faith on the children's ability to cope with adversity or to resume normal life after a traumatic event, or the extent to which resilience is an outcome of faith. The gender dimension which is stressed in the current thesis was missing.

Snider and Dawes's (2006) literature and instrument review was designed to support a process to refine psychosocial measurement through population-based surveys and national-level indicator development. The overall goal was to produce a concise, directed instrument to capture the critical aspects of psychosocial vulnerability and resilience among children in different countries and cultural contexts for monitoring on a national level. The instrument was to draw on existing validated instruments, building on the preliminary review of studies and instruments compiled for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) technical consultation in July 2005. It provided instruments for caregivers and adolescents that tap a set of core domains for assessing personal, household and community measures of youth vulnerability, resilience and psychosocial outcomes. The instrument provided two indicators: an indicator of contextual risk and an indicator of whether there is a resilient or vulnerable outcome.

Snider (2006) found that characteristics of families and aspects of the wider social contexts were important as protective factors which may include opportunities to engage in pro-social organizations and religious faith communities. This concurs with positive psychology, one of the theories framing this study. This study will establish the organizations and communities which assist the youths in this research to be resilient. Snider (2006) also found that males had more faith in general community and were more likely to feel neighbours would help them than females. This fact supports the current thesis' argument that people stake faith in different entities and develop resilience. Moreover, males' faith in the general community could be because the community is patriarchal and endorses male hegemony. Nonetheless, the reasons behind this fact are worth checking in a different context. The personal faith of the children was not discussed, which is part of the task of this study.

Based on the study Snider (2006:4) recommended a set of short measures drawing from many existing surveys used in African settings, to obtain data on child vulnerability and resilience. The key domains of vulnerability and resilience provided intended to encompass the critical areas of psychological well-being, resilience and social inclusion for orphans and other vulnerable children in high risk conditions. Snider (2006:16) mentioned that the continual

interplay between intra-personal and environmental protective factors underlies the dynamic concept of resilience, similar to Mkhize's (2006) findings and as highlighted in chapter three. This is pertinent to my study, can be verified in a context different from Snider's and echoes the notion of the ecological systems theory. This theory concurs much with the primal world view, the predominant perspective of the context of the present study.

Nkomo's (2006: vi) study aimed to explore the challenges, psychological experiences and perceptions of children carrying the responsibilities for child-headed households because of parental death due to AIDS in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. Nkomo (2006:37) interviewed children who were facing challenges at social, economic and emotional levels. He acknowledged that much had been written but little is known about the psychological experiences of children in child or youth-headed households. He found that experiences in the community and personal disposition both mediated and aggravated psychological adjustment.

Nkomo (2006:90) admitted that having to carry the burden of responsibility for a household, as a young person is difficult. He pointed out that social and material assistance can make a difference to psychosocial adjustment and adaptation. This concurs with Maslow's claims that in the levels of the five basic needs (physiological, safety, love/belonging, esteem and self-actualisation), the person does not feel the second (safety) need until the demands of the first (physiological) have been satisfied and only feels the third (love/ belonging) after the second has been satisfied.

Nkomo's (2006:107) research showed the devastating consequences of living and coping with parental illness, bereavement and the responsibilities for households, highlighting the importance of providing care and support before, during and after the death of parents. Themes included reversal of roles, dealing with parental illness, denial and fear of the impending reality, grief, a sense of loss and the apportioning of blame. The findings revealed inherent resilience of the children in the face of seemingly insurmountable challenges.

The study reported on references to faith and religion as coping strategies and for making sense of difficulties. Nkomo (2006: vii) concluded that although the children interviewed faced difficult challenges they appeared quite resilient. As much as the study dealt with the issue of faith and how it influences resilience, it was not a gendered exploration and did not have a feminist intent as the present study does. These angles have proved crucial in examining issues of faith as girls have demonstrated to be more disposed to faith-related coping mechanisms.

This presents a paradox given that this religio-cultural belief system underrates their input and denies them leadership in spiritual and religious matters.

The article by Maqoko and Dreyer (2007) aimed to ascertain how heads of households orphaned by AIDS viewed what had happened to them, what the events around them meant to them and how they adapted. The research also probed why a community in South Africa was unwilling to provide for the orphans who have been affected by HIV and AIDS in the presence of the African philosophy of *ubuntu* (humaneness). The article concluded that religious communities can fill the gap left by the lack of “ubuntu” and can play a major role in nurturing AIDS orphans who function as heads of households. The article puts the onus on churches to build a supportive environment where AIDS orphans and other vulnerable children can feel accepted (2007:717).

While acknowledging the role of a faith ethos in providing care for orphans Maqoko and Dreyer (2007) discussed little about faith as a resource for resilience in orphaned children and youth as this study does. The present study hypothesizes that there is a correlation between faith and resilience. For that reason, it advocates the encouragement of faith in the children and youths. It proposes a non-judgmental attitude to the children’s and youths’ faith in whatever it is they see as their centre of meaning.

Maqoko and Dreyer underlined the importance of *ubuntu* in providing care for orphans. This present study proposes the retrieval, reinstatement and reaffirmation of the concept of *ubuntu* with gender sensitivity. This could be done in support of partnership and in affirmation of the potential in boys and men to care. In so doing women will not feel overloaded by *ubuntu*’s demands. Both males and females could be encouraged to participate in care duties on the understanding that women and men have the inclination and potency to show compassion. The present research propounds a balanced approach in dealing with issues of care, encouraging partnership between women and men, taking cue from Phiri’s (2010) argument that the question of partnership in mission (and I add in caring) is an issue of social justice.

Maqoko and Dreyer (2007) concur with Govere (2005) and Sloth-Nielsen (2004 ) and the current thesis that *ubuntu-hunhu* or African kinship-care system, if revived and practiced could assist in ensuring that members of adult less households are cared for. The present study goes

further by arguing, in the AFTEC<sup>38</sup>, that all people inherently possess, need and benefit from *ubuntu* which correlates with *Imago Dei*, and faith in this ethos can ensure care for children and youth in child and youth-headed households.

Focusing on household structure rather than orphaned children as individuals, Madhavan and Schatz's (2007) article aimed to describe household change over a 10-year period of tremendous social, political, economic and health transformation in South Africa. It examined household structure and composition at three points: 1992, 1997, and 2003. These three years loosely represented conditions immediately before the elections (1992), short term postelections (1997), and longer term (2003), and spanned a period of notable increase in HIV prevalence. It used data from the Agincourt health and demographic surveillance system<sup>39</sup> in the rural northeast of South Africa.

Madhavan and Schatz (2007) said while anecdotal evidence pointed to an increase in child-headed, skipped and multigenerational households, systematic research was lacking. Households with no adults were rare in each of the periods. The overall change from 1992 to 2003 was not significant. Small numbers of child-headed households were an indication that when they emerged, they dissolved fairly quickly and most probably were absorbed into households of other kin. Children from these households moved out of the area, where they could not be tracked. Although there had been increases in fostered and orphaned children living in households in Agincourt, there was no marked increase in child-headed households.

Madhavan and Schatz referred to a latest study of children's mobility in KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa which had shown that 67% and 50% of recent maternal and paternal orphans, respectively, were due to AIDS. The authors found little evidence of child-headed households in Agincourt, but there was a clear link between child migration and both parental, especially maternal migration and mortality. The researchers found that the average household

---

<sup>38</sup> The assumption, dimensions and features of the AFTEC are discussed in detail in chapter 8.

<sup>39</sup> The Agincourt Health and Socio-Demographic Surveillance System (HSDSS) is the research foundation of the MRC/Wits Rural Public Health and Health Transitions Research Unit (Agincourt). Unit serves to strengthen and extend a high-functioning health and socio-demographic surveillance system – including annual census, vital events and socioeconomic updates. This serves as the scientific foundation for a programme of advanced research and intervention studies. <http://healthpop.agincourt.wits.ac.za/> Accessed August 2015.

size decreased and the proportion headed by females increased. The proportion with at least one maternal orphan doubled, but was still relatively small at 5.5%.

The analysis showed both consistency and change in measures of household structure and composition between 1992 and 2003. The changes did not include an increase in various types of “fragile families”, such as child-headed or skipped-generation households that might be expected due to HIV and AIDS. Madhavan and Schatz (2007:85-93) concluded that the analysis was to be a starting point for future investigations aimed at explaining how HIV and AIDS and other sociocultural changes post-apartheid were impacting on household organization. The research focused on the households as entities and not on individual members of the households, a point of fundamental differences from the present one.

In a research aimed at investigating the role of school governing bodies in ensuring disciplined, safety and security, Mathe (2008:7) stated that children heading families form part of the school and education communities. She added that this new family structure places schools in difficult situations where they have to deal with children who become adults when at home (:45). She identified cooperative discipline, behaviour management, developing self-esteem, conflict resolution, cooperative learning, use of physical environment, time management, and learner motivation and developing resilience as strategies for managing discipline, safety and security in schools. Mathe (2008:45) defined resilience as the ability to spring back from and successfully adapt to adversity. She explained that research from psychology, psychiatry and sociology was showing that most people including young people can bounce back from risks, stress, crises and trauma and enjoy successful lives. She (:69) said schools can provide safe and supportive environments in which young people can grow and develop resilience.

Mathe (2008:99) mentioned that communication and life skills, which can be implemented at schools, can build resilience learners from child-headed households. This is suitable as the home may not be able to encourage such skills in a structured assessable way. The present research concurs with Mathe’s (2008) assertions and adds faith as an element that can be a resource or a result of resilience. The care ethic being proposed in this study requires that both boys and girls give and receive care which every person can offer if they commit themselves. Care-giving may impact on the discipline which I can be a setback in C/YHHs.

Another 2008 paper by Richter and Desmond examining the impact of AIDS on the household structure used information from comparable national surveys in South Africa between 1995

and 2005. Their question was whether it is appropriate to target orphans and child-headed households in the context of HIV and AIDS and poverty. The work presupposes that knowing which children are vulnerable, why and how is important as it determines comprehension of the problems children and families experience and points to the solutions to be pursued.

Orphaning, particularly loss of mothers tripled and child-only households also rose markedly during 1995 and 2005. However, difficult as their situation is, neither orphans nor child-only households appeared to be the worst-off, according to reports of financial support and per capita monthly expenditure (2008:1019-1028). The group of young adults has been a concern as it is a prime category who are highly vulnerable to the socio-cultural aspects HIV and AIDS. For similar reasons I have included them rather than limit my research to child-headed households, aware that vulnerability ignores birthdays.

Richter and Desmond (2008:1019-1028) said many organizations providing resources and services to children affected by HIV and AIDS had had little impact because they tended to target specifically orphans and child-headed households in impoverished situations with larger numbers of poor children with few chances to develop their potential. This restricting of research and intrusion was inappropriate because firstly membership of one-dimensional categories does not predict children's developmental course. Second, visible groups of vulnerable children are few of many children whose circumstances were equally precarious.

Their analysis was designed to examine the economic vulnerability of household structures and compare with other household structures, which may be overlooked such as young adult-headed households. Richter and Desmond (2008) documented the rates of orphaning and child-headed households and examined which children were economically vulnerable. They acknowledged that households in South Africa can have a variety of forms, and many reported in surveys to be child-headed actually contained adults.

The paternal orphaning figures were over-estimated as a result of absenteeism, where fathers who were not involved were reported as dead but the implications for children's care remain. The data indicated that from 1995 to 2005, paternal orphaning had remained constant while maternal orphaning had doubled (from 1.49 to 3.01% of children) the percentage of double orphans. Children living in households with young adults also increased as did the children in single adult and skip-generation households. Child-only households increased six-fold during the decade 1995 to 2005, rising from 0.11% to 2%. Only 18% of households were without

adults and some child-only households seemed to be better off, relying on remittances for income and receiving these more often than many households with adults (2008:1019-1028).

The researchers suggested a broader concept of 'social orphans'. According to the data the vast majority of orphaned children were in the care of their mothers if their father was deceased and most lived with extended family if their mother was deceased. Many biologically orphaned children were living in better circumstances than many children with living parents. Orphaning from AIDS needs to be tracked as a measure of the scale of increased risk for children associated with the epidemic but this tracking should not be translated into targeting or criteria for assistance. Targeting orphans or particular household structures is the optimal approach when a few individuals or groups need help - it ensures that vulnerable children in these groups are covered and is necessary to avoid leakage to the not-so-needy (Richter 2008). However, it may mean that non-vulnerable children are included while more vulnerable children are missed. Limiting material support to child-only and skip-generation households is incorrect in contexts where many children with living parents are in such difficult circumstances.

Richter and Desmond (2008) raised crucial points on the criteria for assistance to orphaned children. They concluded by saying the loss of one or both parents was likely to increase the risks faced by children, but it was not the sole determinant of hardship. It is true that some child-only households are better off economically than households with adults. The current research found that a better economic status contributes to resilience and harmony in the household. Nevertheless, financial administration in child-only households can be a source of disgruntlement, cause contention and create tension in the household. Moreover, from a psychosocial perspective the loss of attachment figure implies that some child-only households may be better off financially but need compensatory attachment figures or need to put their faith in a new centre of meaning.

The aim of Vathanayagi Govender's (2009) study was to explore the experiences of social workers in the provision of reconstruction services to HIV infected children. Though she was researching on HIV infected children in general she observed that the phenomenon of child-headed households had attracted a lot of attention. She said the arrangement can provide children with a sense of security and continuity in remaining with their siblings. However if the older children do not receive adequate support, they deprive themselves of their childhood and education, could become exposed to exploitation and discrimination, and were likely to

enter early marriages. She reiterated an AIDS Foundation research which showed that older children had shown resourcefulness and resilience in caring for younger siblings.

Govender's (2009:2) findings showed that high workloads, few resources, high staff turnover and poor salaries hindered the capacity of social workers to deliver optimal reconstruction services to vulnerable children. She asked if in an economic recession the estimated 11 000 social workers would cope with the increasing numbers of orphans and child-headed households. She wondered if with the current realities and barriers, social workers would manage to adapt current practice, approaches and strategies to address the challenge of children infected with HIV and AIDS and those living in child or youth-headed households.

Govender (2009:4) said that in the absence of family support, social workers play key roles providing protection to children and, integrating them in communities that will support them in sustainable development. With this assertion Govender showed the importance of social work in implementing the principles of the attachment theory. This is a hypothesis propounded by Bowlby which postulates a primary, biosocial behavioural system in an infant, designed by evolution to maintain the infant's proximity to its caregiver and provide protection. Bowlby argued that the basic mechanisms of the attachment system are active and influential throughout the lifespan (Lee A. Kirkpatrick and Phillip R. Shaver 1990: 315-334).

Govender (2009) explored the role of social workers and showed their importance in the light of the attachment theory. Similarly, I explored the relationship between faith in some attachment entity and resilience in child or youth-headed households. Govender alluded to the challenge of child-headed households but her study was not focused on this group of OVC. There is a need to explore her assertions within the structures of child or youth-headed households. By highlighting the importance of social workers Govender also showed the application of the ecological systems theory.

Meintjes et al. (2010:40-49) presented a paper examining the extent to which the number of children living in child-headed households as a result of AIDS was increasing in South Africa. The paper was based on analyses of data from several representative national surveys from 2000 to 2007. Their paper explored trends in the number of children living in child-only households and characterized these children relative to children living in households with adults (mixed-generation households). Unlike their survey, this study is not representative but



is a qualitative study based on a small localized sample to explore issues related to the religious, spiritual and faith dimensions of the lives of child or youth-headed households.

Meintjes et al's (2010) findings indicated that the proportion of child-only households was 0.47% in 2006 and did not appear to be increasing. They added that the vast majority (92.1%) of children resident in child-only households had a living parent. The findings raised critical questions about the circumstances leading to the formation of child-only households and highlighted that they cannot be ascribed to AIDS orphaning only. They acknowledged that the circumstances indicate a range of challenges, including greater economic vulnerability and inadequate service access when compared with children in mixed-generation households.

Meintjes et al. (2010:40-49) argued that a solitary focus on the HIV epidemic and its related orphaning as the cause of child-only households masks other issues for consideration in addressing their needs. Such a focus risks the development of inappropriate policies and interventions. I agree with the gist of the paper and add that children who have lost one or both parents or are abandoned by living parents need psychosocial support, an attachment figure and a source of meaning to cope with such circumstances. This research explores the basis of their faith and how that affects their ability to bounce back after adversity.

While Meintjes et al.'s (2010) study examined the extent to which the number of children living in child-headed households as a result of AIDS is increasing Pillay's (2010) study was to determine the predominant household structure and family composition in Chatsworth at the time and its influence on the lives of children in that community. The study showed that 98.5% of the respondents lived with adults and that there were possibly only 5 child-headed households (prevalence of 1.5%). Pillay (2010) commented that South Africa may not yet be experiencing the full impact of HIV and AIDS and there still may be time to prepare for a substantial increase in the number of child-headed households.

Pillay (2010) said the extended family system may be providing adult support and supervision to households affected by the HIV pandemic. Children living without natural parents may consider other adults (relatives, neighbours, grandparents) to be the heads of the households. Grandparents should be provided with the necessary support from the state and the community so that they can cope with the additional responsibility of being care-givers. Pillay (2010:17) suggested that to improve services to vulnerable children there was need for food security, financial support, life skills training; community mentorship, support groups, after-care

services, bereavement counselling; screening and supervision of foster care placements. These suggestions can include a religio-cultural component after having established the nature of the correlation between faith and resilience as the present study proposes to do.

From a legal perspective, Bonthuys' (2010:45-62) article challenged the legal paradigms and concepts in according legal capacity and family status in child-headed households. The article examined the role of the law in alleviating the problems faced by children living in child-headed households. She said while the biological and social consequences of HIV require medical and social solutions, common law concepts and rules were inadequate in the face of this social disaster. The legal rules which currently hamper other forms of assistance to child-headed households should be challenged. Bonthuys (2010:45-62) emphasized that failing to legally recognize child-headed families meant they would continue to exist, but without the social support which could ameliorate their problems. She suggested various forms of community involvement and formal mentorship measures to assist children in CHHs.

Bonthuys (2010:45-62) explained that recognizing CHHs and providing them with legal capacity will firstly destabilize the conceptual link between family status and a sexual relationship between adults, which currently characterizes family law worldwide. Secondly, recognition of financial and other dependencies within child-headed families could enable an acknowledgment of such dependencies in adult-headed families. This could remove insistence on the nuclear family on which current family models are based and acknowledge the mutual obligations of care, support and parenting among extended families and communities. A final benefit is the recognition of the caring done by children in families, moving beyond the unrealistic dichotomy of active, caring adults and passive, cared-for children.

Bonthuys (2010:45-62) spotlighted the legal aspect of child-headed households showing the inadequacies of the current laws and advocating for recognition. As human life comprises various aspects, the present research looks at the spiritual dimension of the lives of members of child or youth-headed households exploring the link between faith and resilience. Bonthuys (2010:45-62) referred to research which indicated that despite facing challenges children in child-headed households are resilient and cope with their circumstances. They develop self-esteem, a sense of purpose, interpersonal skills, emotional maturity, the ability to create and utilise social networks and to meet their needs for advice and for material and educational support. She said that many children draw emotional strength from siblings and from remaining in their physical and social environments. While Bonthuys (2010:45-62) demonstrated this

from researchers, studies in other contexts shows that siblings can cause stress and some social environments erode emotional strength through stigma, discrimination and jealous. She alluded to the resilience of children in child-headed households, but did not explore its connection with faith, which is what this research seeks to do.

From literature, Bonthuys (2010:45-62) learnt that child-headed households may be a temporary solution and adults may live with children frequently, giving them financial and emotional support with some coming from neighbours and community members. This fact is different from empirical research conducted elsewhere in South Africa and from my own research. Therefore this fact is not generalizable (as much qualitative research information) especially in view of the fact that few longitudinal studies have been done with C/YHHs. I have observed that once C/YHHs are established they stay and the older the children get, the more the relatives distance themselves under the pretext that the children are coping. Accordingly, it is appropriate to particularize than generalize findings as, according to Salanjira (2009:131) qualitative data allows for naturalistic, fuzzy or context-bound generalizations and transferability of research findings.

From a social work dimension, Luzile Nziyane's (2010) qualitative study aimed to explore the barriers that hinder the integration of orphaned children into extended families and to obtain suggestions on how to overcome these barriers. The four themes that emerged during the data analysis revealed that a child-headed household is not a good option in caring for orphaned children as it truncates the children's childhood and exposes them to a myriad adversities. The first theme presented the realities of orphaned children living in child-headed households according to subthemes namely: acting as care providers to sick parents; assuming responsibilities as heads of households after the death of parents; orphanhood and growing without adult care, experiencing multiple losses, and resilience and survival strategies to deal with the adversities associated with heading households (2010:215).

In spite of the realities experienced by the children living in child-headed households they displayed resilience and resourcefulness and employed survival strategies to deal with those of adversities (2010:163). Nziyane (2010:353) discovered that the integration of orphans into extended families was embraced as a good option for the care and protection of orphaned children. Barriers that hamper this integration were identified and suggestions on overcoming these barriers given with a view to ensuring that orphaned children would be well cared for in families with adults to protect them. The findings of Nziyane's (2010) study confirmed that

despite the stressful life the children remained positive about life. Some of the children's responses showed that the interplay of different support systems such as children's attitudes, friends, neighbours, church and sports contributed towards the strengthening of their resilience (2010:165). The coping mechanisms were: fatalism, faith and religion, a positive outlook towards life, deriving meaning out of their hardship, restored sense of purpose and meaning through assistance from neighbours, relatives and community-based organizations.

In Nziyane's (2010) study faith and religion were established as coping mechanisms which the present study seeks to verify in a different context. Nziyane (2010) hardly explored the youngsters' views on religio-cultural ideas, their objects of faith and the association between resilience and faith. Towards the close of the decade, a policy article by Badenhorst (2010:11) stated that nearly a quarter of South Africa's under-eighteens were growing without one or both parents. He added that this had contributed to the high prevalence of child-headed households, predicting that they would rise in line with adult deaths from AIDS.

### **2.3.3 The Phenomenon in the Second Decade of the Second Millennium**

By 2011 the phenomenon was entering the second decade and research was increasing. More attention was being paid to the qualitative dimension of life in the households. Pillay's (2011) study aimed to explore the experiences of vulnerable learners from child-headed households through an ecological systems model that included their homes, community and school. He described the living conditions, changing roles, community fears and school experiences which were affecting the psychological well-being of learners from the CHHs in a vulnerable school. Pillay (2011) emphasized the role of psychologists, insisting that for them to be valuable they should be culturally competent and operate from an ecosystemic perspective. This means taking intervention programmes beyond the schools into families and communities to establish and promote safe, secure and healthy environments (Pillay 2011). The ecosystem standpoint is crucial in African contexts where the worldview is predominantly primal and dimensions of life are intertwined, emphasising relatedness.

Pillay (2011) argued that the long term success of interventions could be achieved through a holistic collaborative approach at multiple systems levels. School psychologists have to be teachers, remedial therapists, counsellors, social workers, and even parents to many learners. This could lead to burnout which could be avoided by building strong collaborative partnerships for change in and outside the school. These could improve the situation of child-

headed learners through feeding schemes, improved safety and security and health clinics. Pillay (2011) said including religious bodies in the collaborative partnerships could enhance cultural competence as participants engage in interfaith and ecumenical dialogues, addressing the spiritual and religious needs of the learners. With a similar interest this present research explores the possibilities of such an engagement. He advised school psychologists to consider multicultural contexts, social justice competences and diversity as South Africa has children from diverse races, sexual orientations, religions, (dis)abilities, family compositions and socioeconomic status. He concluded by saying that school psychologists must play multiple roles driven by many social issues like HIV, AIDS, poverty, crime and drug abuse.

In the same year Dinbabo's (2011) research analysed the extent to which social welfare policies impact child poverty in South Africa. This would better inform policy improving child welfare. The study was not about child-headed households but considered them as a group affected by poverty. Dinbabo (2011:102) noted that the child support grant process discriminates against poor children. He cited lack of identity documents, high costs in the application process, absence of caregivers to access the grants for CHHs and street children and the complex eligibility criteria and age limits as hindrances in children accessing grants. Moreover the systems discriminated against children over 15 years. This point shows why the present research had to include youths in the households under consideration.

## **2.4 Conclusion**

In this chapter I have presented an overview of the literature about child or youth-headed households in South Africa. The objective was to demonstrate that research has paid attention to the physical, socio-economic, educational matters but shown reserved attention to the faith and resilience of the children or youths in such households. I started by historically locating the phenomenon with the assertion that child-headed households have always existed in most cultures. I surveyed prior research over approximately a decade. In a chronological order I traced the emergence of the phenomenon in the 1980s in Uganda and Tanzania then in the 1990s in Zambia and Zimbabwe. Literature showed that by the mid-2000s research on C/YHHs was increasing and becoming more wide-ranging. It was focussing on physiological, security, sociocultural needs and risks. I referred to a few publications which attempted to balance negative and positive aspects of the phenomenon. The studies indicated that maturity, sensitivity to the needs of others, empathy, emotional support, effective interpersonal conflict resolution developed in some child-headed households. Social networking strategies

demonstrated with both adults and peers constituted important elements of resilience materially, emotionally and scholastically. Nevertheless research still paid more attention to socio-economic than to spiritual matters. Literature on the role of religious entities in meeting the spiritual needs remained limited.

To focus on the spiritual dimension I quoted a 2005 study articulating that in the face of HIV and AIDS, Afrocentric religion, ceremonies, ancestors' rituals and Christianity must be given a place in the education system. Spiritual and moral elements from African tradition and Christian religion are important educational tools. After the mid-2000s the role of educational systems in instilling resilience was highlighted. School systems were identified as crucial in providing communication and life skills ensuring discipline, safety, security and support for children's growth and development of resilience. Reviews showed that adulthood families engaged in pro-social organizations and religious faith communities as protective factors. Furthermore there were expressions of faith in the community and in neighbours for help. There was more recognition of the religious sector and entities as significant resources.

I referred to contemporary studies exploring the psychological experiences, perceptions and challenges of children in C/HHs. These pointed out that social material assistance can make a difference to psychosocial adjustment and adaptation. Personal dispositional factors and experiences can both mediate and aggravate psychological adjustment, and faith and religion can be coping strategies. The studies revealed that although the children interviewed faced challenges they appeared inherently resilient. I alluded to a concern about the South African community professing the African *ubuntu* yet unwilling to care for orphans affected by HIV. Since the turn of the millennium research on C/YHHs has been increasing as AIDS, a key factor in their creation has been unrelenting. Researchers have focused on many aspects of the phenomenon revealing negative and positive outcomes. A few have alluded to faith, albeit without clarifying its nature or targeted entities and conflating it with religion, an imprecision that will be clarified in section 3.2 discussing Faith. Studies have noted the resilience of the youngsters in the households. While acknowledging faith as a resource for resilience, most mentioned it without illuminating it. This chapter demonstrated that literature was restrained on the correlation between faith and resilience. The two concepts are important, given that the species under consideration, according to evolutionary science, is inherently faith-ful and intrinsically spiritual. For that reason the conceptual and theoretical framework will be delineated in the next chapter.

# **CHAPTER THREE**

## **THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ILLUMINATING THE EXPERIENTIAL CORRELATION BETWEEN FAITH AND RESILIENCE IN C/YHHS**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter presented an overview of the research done and literature produced on CHHs in South Africa. It showed that, although considerable research has been done focusing on the physical, educational and socio-economic dimensions of the orphans' lives, the faith, spiritual and religious aspects have received little attention. Considering the need for attachment figures, the psychosocial challenges encountered by these youngsters and the fact that, like many Africans, they are likely to be religious, it is crucial to give attention to such aspects. The research described is underpinned by theories, required for all research, with the dichotomy between theory and research being artificial (Neuman 2006:76).

For that reason, this chapter outlines the theoretical system, assumptions and social concepts framing this research. As mentioned in section 1.7 on Clarification of Key Terms and Concepts, two concepts that are central to the present thesis, namely 'faith' and 'resilience' will be discussed in this chapter. Other theories considered basic are attachment - which necessarily requires faith and positive humanistic psychology which shows a connection between evolution, instinctive and intellectual development. Because this is a study with the marginalised feminist theories, namely feminist spirituality and the feminist ethics of care have been used due to their emancipatory propensities. Elements of these six theories influenced the development of the African feminist theological ethics of care (AFTEC) as a principle emanating from this predominantly qualitative study.

I will begin by demonstrating the open-ended understanding of 'faith', heeding Gardner's<sup>40</sup> (2011:23) warning that conflating notions of faith and belief with religious faith might limit

---

<sup>40</sup> Joby Gardner is Director of Curriculum Studies and Associate Professor of Education in the Department of Leadership, Language, and Curriculum at DePaul University. Research interests include youth development, institutional experiences of marginalized youth, and the preparation and support of teachers as agents of change. Parents' Association Book Discussion – F. Parker School. <https://www.fwparker.org/ToughBookDiscussion>.

our ability to understand these concepts as both religious and relational phenomena. Next I will discuss the origin of faith in evolutionary attachment behaviour and its eventual bifurcation into major trajectories - faith as trust or cognitive persuasion in entities or systems, and as spiritual or religious belief. Then, I will trace the application of the concept of resilience in physics, in child psychology and in psychiatry. The behaviourist and humanistic theories will be considered, following the recommendation of Greig, Taylor and MacKay (2007:19) that the main theories informing research with children are drawn from psychology. I trace the historical growth and the divergence of psychology into five approaches - behaviourist, humanistic, physiological, psychodynamic and cognitive theories (Greig et al. 2007) - which are not mutually exclusive and are popularly applied to research with children.

Subsequently, I will discuss feminist spirituality and the feminist ethics of care. After clarifying the term 'spirituality' I will describe the characteristics of feminist spirituality, recognizing experience as its starting point. Then the feminist ethics of care is defined and conflated with issues of gender and children's rights. Concurring with Kelly (2006:352) that in qualitative research theories are constructed through a dialogue between questions and data, I constructed the AFTEC, a moral principle proposed as a basis for explaining, analysing and guiding experiences of and responses members of C/YHHs in an indigenous, unprejudiced, spiritually ethical way. The full spectrum of the AFTEC will be discussed in chapter eight, but for now I concentrate on the six theories underpinning the present research.

In the inquiry process, questions that emanated indicate that the current research is not exhaustive and draw attention to facets of the topic that require further exploration areas for extended research. Paul Davies<sup>41</sup> (2007) acknowledges the logicity of questions. He writes that until scientists answer questions about the laws of nature and the laws of physics, all science remains based on faith, a key component in the theoretical framework of this study. As the discussions pivot around faith, a religio-cultural construct which requires little or no evidence, questions and rejoinders will arise as we continue by exploring the open-ended understanding of faith.

---

<sup>41</sup> Davies' article, *Taking Science on Faith* (2007) is quoted by Emerson (2013:16).



## 3.2 Faith

### 3.2.1 An open-ended understanding of 'Faith'

The word 'faith' is used extensively by authors and scholars. A cursory look at thirty scholarly, peer-reviewed journal articles, extracts from books and theses, written from 2010 to 2013, shows that in each of these 'faith' is mentioned at least ten times. However, most of these writings take little trouble to define the word or explain its meaning. Faith is often conflated with religion, a system to which 80% of the adults featuring in this study (a predominantly Zulu community) claim adherence (Posel and Rudwick 2013).<sup>42</sup> The lyrics of a song that is popular at religious, social and political gatherings in KwaZulu-Natal, *Ukholo lwami ngonyuka nalwo ngilubambe ngesandla ngiyongena nalo ekhaya ezulwini*<sup>43</sup> indicates the fluid understanding of faith, held here by hand, literally or figuratively. However the imagery shows that a comprehensive understanding of faith can be an enriching religio-cultural paradigm and for that reason it is necessary to contextualise and clarify the notion. Accordingly, in this section I begin by presenting faith as having originated in the process of evolution and its bifurcation into major trajectories. These will be illuminated by exploring semantic and contextual use by authors to shed light on the various interpretations of faith.

### 3.2.2 Origins of Faith

The previous section demonstrates the prevalence of the word 'faith' in scholarly literature. It shows that the notion is important in relation to C/YHHs, in a study context where 80% of the adults claim adherence to religion (Posel and Rudwick 2013). This emphasizes the need to clarify the notion and to avoid the merging (Gardner 2011:23) of perceived meanings. Faith, I argue, originates from, and is connected with, a principle of evolution, namely the attachment system. The attachment theory asserts that organisms are born with attachment behavioural tendencies meant to compel and help them to maintain or recover proximity to the caregiver where safety and comfort lie (Howe 2011:19). This attachment behaviour is necessarily intuitive and it requires trust and confidence in the attachment figure. Walker (2013:194)

---

<sup>42</sup> Data collected in a nationally representative attitudinal survey of adults in South Africa, the 2005 South African Social Attitudes Survey according to which approximately 80% of Zulu adults classify themselves as belonging to a religion, broken down 20% to the Zionist church, 12% to the Nazareth church, about 56% to other Christian religions, and 12% to Islam. (Posel and Rudwick 2013).

<sup>43</sup> Literally 'I will ascend with my faith, it, hold it in my hand and enter with it into my heavenly home'.

asserts that faith has a naturalistic origin going back further than our hominid/human ancestors. In his words, even evolutionary science accepts that our early ancestors were already ‘faithful’. In the process of creative evolutionary adaptedness, once humans were faithful, the phenomenon bifurcated into major trajectories (2013:194).

### 3.2.3 Trajectories of Faith

The trust in attachment figure, generated as a principle of evolution eventually developed into major routes – faith as trust or cognitive persuasion in entities or systems, and faith as spiritual or religious belief. The first, faith as trust in entities or systems, is connected with attachment behaviour. Faith’s adaptive quality may have helped us to persevere in activities necessary for survival. Perseverance indeed became evolutionary science’s workhorse (Gardner 2011:40). It worked well in combination with optimism, that animal faith which helps us to persist. (Walker 2013). A faith crisis gave our ancestors unprecedented access to creativity, forcing faith to become religious to survive the crisis (Walker 2013:194).

I argue that faith as confidence, intellectual or cognitive persuasion in entities or systems is the first type of faith that develops in a person’s life. This is because it originates from, and is connected with a principle of evolution, namely the attachment system. This notion of faith undergirds this study that examines the experiences of children and youths in C/YHHs who lack spiritual guidance from liable adults. The universal nature of faith concurs with the *ubuntu* inherent in all human beings as I will argue in my theorizing of the AFTEC.<sup>44</sup>

According to Gardner (2011) and Walker (2013) the combination of creativity, perseverance, and optimism gave rise to the second trajectory - faith as spiritual or religious conviction. Religious practice, requiring large investments of time and energy, probably distracted our ancestors from activities necessary for survival, thereby undermining the very faith it sought to restore. Faith thus was the source of religious belief and practice (Walker 2013:201). He proposes that faith expressed as religious belief provided new expressions once animal faith had become inadequate and allows us to do something different, an advantage that offsets loss of perseverance. Walker (2013:194) calls religious beliefs’ acquisition time the ‘Cosmic

---

<sup>44</sup> The AFTEC is discussed in detail in chapter 8.

Instant', labelling it the 'birth of humanity'. Faith refers to both religious faith and to expressions of faith in a fundamental human potential (Gardner 2011:29).

In relation to children and youths in C/YHHs, the evolutionary behavioural faith in the certitude offered by an attachment figure implies that they have the predisposition to believe, to trust, to have confidence, or to place faith in God or another supreme being. With care and guidance this gives them an adaptive advantage and can be harnessed into religious faith. Resilience may emanate from this faith or from other varieties of faith which will be considered in the next section. Apart from the major trajectories, one perceives a mixture of varieties of faith from the myriad scholarly works written on the notion.

### **3.2.4 Varieties of Faith**

Gardner (2011:40) says that it is empirically and epistemologically scrupulous to investigate 'varieties of faith' as social phenomena with distinct social manifestations and consequences (2011:29). In *Faith Integration in the Classroom*, Reeder and Pacino (2013:121) acknowledge that the defining faith is difficult even for Christians. They studied literature in Christian faith integration as a guiding framework for assimilating faith in the teaching and learning curriculum, strategies and resources. Reeder and Pacino (2013: 121) claim that faith integration from a Christian view is becoming a legitimate academic field with theoretical perspectives based on theological conceptualizations and biblical foundations. The academic field has strategies for using faith integration within academic fields of specialization, and ways of assessing faculty in teaching, scholarship, and service, are available.

Similarly Witt (2011:57-80) seeks to clarify the notion in reviewing the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith in the light of traditional criticisms and errors, agreed ecumenical statements and "New Perspectives" on Paul. Witt (2011:65) elaborates that the Greek word *pistis* means "faith" and "belief" in English, differentiating "belief" and "trust," whereby "faith" is the equivalent of genuine "trust" in, say, a deity. "Belief" involves an intellectual assent that something is true without a corresponding decision to act on that belief, making it merely a cognitive conviction. Witt (2011:63) describes faith as the subjective internal cause - corresponding subjective action to the external action of the sacrament. Besides using 'faith' eclectically, many authors use 'faith' contextually in combined forms. One reads works on: faith orientation of a community (Casale et al. 2010); faith in the community (Murtaugh 2010:37); faith-based organisations (Marsden 2012:953–974); faith integration, Christian

faith (Koopman 2012) and faith activities (Barry et al. 2013). Villares et al. (2011:47) writes of faith in students' abilities, Sanusi (2013) discusses faith in Ifa divination oracles and Hutter (2013:337) refers to faith in the virtue of grace.

Faith can mean trusting oneself and implementing that trust through action. This is typified in the experiences of Themba, from a youth-headed household. He and other orphaned children heeded a motivational speaker at an NGO. He challenged orphaned children to disprove the society's perception that orphans are the ones who use drugs, smoke, drink alcohol, engage in sexual activity early or fall pregnant at teenage. The youths set about controverting the flawed views, exhibited resilience according to Bloemhoff (2006:138–151) - the capacity to overcome risk and avoid negative outcomes, by having faith in themselves.

### **3.2.5 Faith in the Present Study**

#### **3.2.5.1 Faith as Trust, Intellectual or Cognitive Persuasion in Entities or Systems**

In the current study faith is understood as trust, intellectual or cognitive persuasion in entities or systems, the certitude that develops from processes related to attachment conduct. Johnson (1945) considers that faith provides basic confidence and security, describing it as the opposite of fear, anxiety and uncertainty. Though Barnes (1983) refers to faith as trust or as religious belief, he constantly alludes to, what he calls, a primal faith. He elaborates that science is, implicitly an exercise of a primal faith in the knowing self and in reality as intelligible. In *Faith and Imagination in Science and Religion*, Barnes (1983:15) states:

Science is rooted implicitly in a fundamental faith, a faith in truth and value. By various steps it moves with a faithful confidence towards ever more understanding... The scientists remain confident in the validity of their search for understanding. That is a sign of the underlying faith, the fundamental trust in the intelligibility of reality and the fundamental commitment to growth in knowledge. With this faith as motivation, science continues creating new images but also acknowledging the limitations of every image... science ascends ceaselessly toward truth.... science is but one form of the overall human ascent toward ultimate truth and value, the mystery symbolized in religious language as "God."

Barnes (1983:18) conjectures that the scientist lives by faith in the finality of truth, value, and person-ness as a matter of logic and as a general image of things. The enthusiastic scientist

appears to have a positive general image of reality, leaps at the world as a continuing source of truth, lives out the life of inquiry with a sustaining confidence that to use one's talents and energy in the quest for understanding is valid and worthwhile. From this faith, this general image of reality, come particular images of reality (1983:22). Barnes concludes that science and religion should be kept close as both are manifestations of a common primal faith.

Faith as trust in entities or systems is also demonstrated by Paulo Freire (1996) who understands it from a development perspective, referring to faith in various entities and to faith in the performance of various actions. He says that an ideal approach to development adopts a bottom-up approach and lets people name their world, an act that requires faith in humankind, in their own power to make and remake, to create and re-create, and faith in their vocation to be more human. Freire's (1996) proposed reading of faith is inclined to trust and confidence.

Likewise, Barrett (2008:153) writes about placing faith in systems rather than in a deity. He gives the example of faith in the legitimacy of a service delivery programme. He recommends that social protection programmes be subjected to public scrutiny and to explain and defend themselves when criticised. The Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP) in Kenya features an integrated management information system (MIS) which allows for the analysis of complaints. He considers public dissemination of data as the key to fostering faith in the legitimacy of the programme. Barrett (2008) says that the lack of faith in government action on poverty contributes to suspicion about connections between politics and poverty.

Similarly in his article *Moral Authority, Modernity and the Politics of the Sacred*, Hopgood (2009:233) argues that the paradox of capitalist modernity is to erode explicitly the social capital on which it relies implicitly to thrive. Hopgood (2009:233) says that authority's call to arms, to be heard and obeyed, must have a certain necessity about it and that it requires a social relationship close to faith. (:233). Even a modern such as Robespierre, who would design the Festival of the Supreme Being to symbolically consolidate the French Revolution, saw the need for faith in an 'incomprehensible power' that reassures the virtuous (:233). Not belonging creates a distinct kind of modern authority and clashes with more particularistic moralities that easily make use of various transcendent sources of authority (:239). Hopgood finds transnational mobilization in an era where faith in authority is at a low ebb difficult enough (2009:247). Here faith denotes confidence, trust or belief in the transcendent.

According to Tilley (2010:152) faith is the relationship between a human being and the irreducible energizing source of meaning and centre of value in her/his life. In Tilley's study faith is belief, trust in and reliance on someone or something for support, knowledge, guidance or any other positive influence that might be reaped from the object of faith. (:152).

In the same way Kalebe-Nyamongo (2010) uses the word faith open-endedly, demonstrating an understanding of faith as confidence, intellectual or cognitive persuasion in a system. Drawing on research into elite views of poverty and the poor in Malawi, she heads section 5.6 *Faith in Government Capability to Steer Pro-Poor Policy*. Kalebe-Nyamongo (2010:18) argues that government, with its coordinated structures, should be responsible for formulating effective, comprehensive strategies for poverty reduction. The idea concurs with what children and youths involved in the present study indicate, namely their faith in the DSD as a governmental arm to cater for their needs.

Referring to faith in the community, Murtaugh (2010:40), considers Madhavan's bilateral model of community-based intervention is an interesting approach but is flawed as it lacks faith in the community. Murtaugh (2010:40) explains that, as the extended family system becomes overwhelmed with orphans due to AIDS mortality, community volunteers can complement and support families. Murtaugh (2010:40) argues that this approach exhibits faith in the community as trust or cognitive persuasion in the entity.

Correspondingly, a professor quoted by Walton and Backhouse (2010:16) refers to faith in education. The professor mentions a community programme and volunteer outreach scheme where, on Saturdays, youngsters from a nearby settlement gather on the university campus for classes in mathematics, science, computing and art, run by up to 700 university student volunteers. The university thus inspires students to go back to their own communities where they help transformation, restoring faith in what education is all about. Faith in this case represents confidence in the education system.

Gardner (2011:24) talks of relational faith, explaining it as persistent, expressed belief - with or without religious roots - in the fundamental human potential to do well and change life. He emphasizes having faith in everyone's fundamental capacities, gifts and goodness, in the life-transforming power of education and in a better future (2011). In the article *Keeping Faith: Faith Talk by and for Incarcerated Youth*, Gardner (2011:40) states that narratives by and for incarcerated youth acknowledge that, without connection and relationships - built on faith in

each other - education of, and working with, youth can be dispiriting for the young people involved as well as for those charged with their care. Faith in education, in potential and in a better future provides the youth with socially redemptive alternatives to life on the street, to gangs and drugs, without making them into a ‘sellout’ (Gardner 2011:35).

According to Villares et al. (2011:47) the term ‘faith’ refers to self-confidence and trust in one’s capabilities. Discussing the strategies used in the evidence-based school-counselling programme grounded in humanistic theory, the authors mention that counsellors encourage students to share strategies that have helped them reach goals (2011:47). This approach to teaching emphasizes the sharing of successful methods, thus expressing faith in the students’ abilities. The notion of faith as confidence applies in the current study with C/YHHs.

Bullard (2013:48) sees faith as trusting God and ‘Its’ will. In *A Bridge over Troubled Waters: Testimonies of Black Women's Experience of Desegregation in the South* Bullard (2013) focuses on three fictional black women in a rural high school in the USA. In Bullard’s (2013:106) words, these girls step out to assist the process of desegregating Queensburg High with unwavering faith in each other, their parents, in their heavenly father, in their community and in the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People). Bullard (2013:44) lauds that their tenacity in the face of racism and sexism was based in faith.

Emerson (2013) also expresses faith as intellectual or cognitive persuasion in entities or systems. In *Preambles for Faith: Effective Ways to Nurture Belief among Sceptical Students*, Emerson (2013:16) says a successful technique for warming students to the idea of faith is to ask them to verify and prove all that we rely upon to get through life and to make them realize how much faith and belief permeate their existence. He finds it helpful to get students to think of faith in contexts that are not explicitly religious but have religious implications.

Emerson’s (2013:16) other technique is to introduce students to the work of scientists who are like heretics in their field, removing the separation between faith and science. He uses a 2007 article, *Taking Science on Faith*, by Paul Davies who asks why the laws of physics are what they are; how we account for their existence and how we know they will not suddenly change. The article makes students realize that even science requires a willingness to trust something that is unknown, a readiness to enter mystery. Even scientists have a "conviction of things unseen" and even science has to take this leap; therefore religious belief can be seen as just another prong of faith.

### 3.2.5.2 Faith as Spiritual or Religious Belief

The previous section demonstrates that faith emanates from attachment behaviour, is primary, and in that sense can be understood as trust in entities or systems. The present section continues with the discussion that the notion of faith is comprehensive and that in the current study faith is also understood as spiritual or religious belief. Beginning with James Fowler's (1976) faith development theory I continue deliberating on faith as spiritual or religious belief. While I acknowledge the distinctions between spiritual and religious dimensions of human life, I will not delve into these at this point. Suffice it to say that both refer to transcendental experiences.

#### *The faith development theory*

James Fowler's (1976:175-176) faith development theory claims that there are underlying structures determining the way people live in faith. These systems of organization occur in a sequential, invariant, hierarchical and perhaps universal fashion. By defining stages of faith as sequential, Fowler (1976) means that they occur in the same order and never in reverse. 'Invariant' denotes that the sequence is necessary, i.e. stages cannot be skipped. 'Hierarchical' implies that each new stage emerges from the previous one and transforms and integrates the structures of earlier stages while 'universal' means that the stages hold sequence, invariance and hierarchy everywhere. Fowler (1976) believes that the inclusion of cross-cultural data would have a significant impact upon the universality claim and the structural features of his theory. He claims that, in faith, the logic of conviction is more inclusive than the logic of rational certainty and that rational reflection plays a significant role in faith-knowing.

Writing nearly a decade later, Furushima's (1985) *Faith Development in a Cross Cultural Perspective* argues that Fowler's claim of universality for his theory (1976:175-176) can only be partially substantiated. Furushima (1985:416) identifies ten features in Fowler's interviews which disclose other dimensions of faith as presented by Fowler and which give rise to other ideas that refine the faith development theory. Furushima (1985:420) concludes that his own additions to Fowler's faith development theory speak emphatically of the complexity of faith. This complexity is evident in the experiences of members of C/YHHs and has the potential to prompt some to constantly change allegiances and objects of faith. The inclusive logic of conviction and reflection in faith-knowing mean that members of C/YHHs are inclined to faith which, through reflection, enhances resilience. This is like to the Stages of Faith theory about children as described by Pendleton et al. (2002).



### *Spiritual or religious belief*

Gordon Allport (1957) indicates dissatisfaction with studies that view religiousness as a simple unidimensional construct that can be equated to church attendance. Allport sees religiousness as a complex multidimensional construct. He distinguishes between intrinsic and extrinsic religiousness: Extrinsically oriented people hold religious doctrine lightly and follow religion discriminately as a means to their own ends. Religion provides security, solace, sociability, status and self-justification. Conversely, intrinsically oriented people are motivated by their religion, place faith at the centre of their lives and align all other needs with faith. This faith is the guiding force that directs their thoughts, actions, and relationships. Due to the circumstances in their lives most children and youths in C/YHHs would experience extrinsic religiousness, with religion providing safety, comfort, cordiality, eminence and self-justification. These qualities are adept of enhancing resilience.

James Walter's (1982:251) study analyses the various approaches of Christian theologians to linking faith and morality. In *The relation between faith and morality: Sources for Christian Ethics*, Walter (1982:251) sets up a heuristic continuum in order to examine ways of connecting faith with morality. He offers his own constructive proposal, arguing that a critical-dialogical relation of faith and morality offers the best possibilities for preserving the relative autonomy of each and for utilizing the resources of both in Christian ethics.

Correspondingly, Pargament (1988:88) looks at diverse expressions of faith in advising clinicians involved in psychological treatment. He states that religious methods of coping are neither always positive nor always negative. Therefore, when they arise in the course of psychological treatment, it is incumbent upon clinicians to be discriminating and sensitive to potentially helpful and harmful aspects of religion. Presumably Pargament is talking about belief in transcendence but he does not spell it out.

Staying with psychology, in their study *Attachment Theory and Religion: Childhood Attachments, Religious Beliefs, and Conversion*, Kirkpatrick and Shaver (1990:315-334) argue that the attachment theory, developed by Bowlby and refined by other researchers, offers a theoretical framework for the psychology of religion. Many psychologists have noted the degree to which religion provides people with a sense of security and confidence that allows them to function effectively (1990:319). The imagery and language used by Christians to represent their beliefs is reminiscent of attachment phenomena: God or Jesus is "by one's side,"

"holding one's hand," or "holding one in his arms," enabling believers to cope with stress and face the trials and tribulations (Kirkpatrick and Shaver 1990:319). In relation to the present study this imagery can be used to investigate how much religious faith correlates with resilience in the lives of children and youths growing up in C/YHHs.

In *Embracing the Spirit*, Williams (1997:97-121) writes about two types of faith, stating:

An unexamined faith, like an unexamined life, is not worth living... leads a people to be unconscious instruments of their own oppression and the oppression of others... An examined faith is a critical way of seeing that shows those things in a belief system that are life threatening and life-taking. An examined faith inspires people to discard beliefs, images, and symbols that... support scapegoating and destruction.

Positing that here faith means religious belief, William's 'unexamined faith' reminds of Phiri's (2004:429) experience with members of Women of Faith group who mentioned dependence on prayer for protection against HIV. Phiri's (2004:429) reaction was that women have been infected with HIV, not through lack of faith, but by their spouses. Prayer without appropriate knowledge is dangerous and one has to apply the wisdom as given by God. Phiri's sentiment echoes Baker-Fletcher's view (1997:122-123) that faith must spring from something deeper and more ancient than denominations: one must be grounded in the source that churches claim to represent, the divine ground of all creation, of all that is, and all that will be - God self.

In *Enhancing the Agency of Families Affected by AIDS*, Dumezweni (2004) writes that her respondents understood faith as spiritual or religious conviction. The study focuses on how a church at Hinge Township in Queenstown could enhance the agency of families affected by AIDS. Some respondents expressed a strong sense of hope that resulted from their faith in God. Religion, including both their Christian faith and faith in the ancestors was identified as a buffer in difficult times. Some scholars allude to this kind of faith as confidence and trust in different entities. Dumezweni (2004) talks of faith in humankind and in the power to make and remake, to create and recreate, in one's vocation to be more fully human and faith in one's ancestors.

Lynn (2005) also interprets faith as spiritual or religious belief. He conducted a study in which he defined idolatry as a psycho-spiritual construct which involves two components. The first one is that only God occupies the centre of a person's life and deserves ultimate trust, love and faith. The second component leads persons to have faith in belongings to the point of putting them at par with God, replacing as the centre of their lives with a love of, for example, money

or sports, or with ideals and beliefs about politics, science, religion, or by personal relationships with friends, spouses and family members. Lynn remarks that idolatry plays an important role in many religions but still conflates faith as trust, or as intellectual persuasion in entities or systems, with faith as spiritual or religious belief, which Gardner (2011:23) warns against.

Irwin (2009) is of the opinion that Albert Luthuli's faith in God enabled him to challenge apartheid. Irwin examines the biographies and accomplishments of Nobel Peace Prize laureates - Luthuli, Tutu, Mandela and others who stood for justice during the apartheid regime in South Africa. In his Nobel acceptance speech, Luthuli acknowledged that his faith in God came first and influenced his unbridled lifetime mission to confront apartheid. Likewise, Witt (2011:63) defines faith as a condition that looks away from itself - to have faith in someone is precisely not to trust in one's own efforts, a condition of justification. Furthermore, Sanusi (2013:362) quotes James who defines faith as "belief in something concerning which doubt is theoretically possible", the trust or confidence a person has in another, in a thing or a deity.

The two prongs of faith discussed above frame the present study. They indicate that faith must be understood in a broad way and that, in an African context, the Christian faith is not the only type that needs to be considered. From Barnes' (1983), Walker's (2013) and Pargament's (1988) assertions, either prong of faith can provide a coping mechanism. The task of the present study is to investigate the extent to which such faith builds or enhances resilience in C/YHH.

One concept emerging from the above-mentioned studies is that faith originates from, and is connected with a principle of evolution, the attachment system. This compels organisms to stay close or to recover proximity to caregivers where safety and comfort lie (Howe 2011:19). As this behaviour naturally requires trust in the attachment figure, it is the first type. It is necessarily intuitive and is the type of faith found in members of C/YHHs. Having lost attachment figures, the young people go through life putting their faith in other entities, as the findings of the present study will demonstrate. From the faith in attachment figures proceeds primal faith (Barnes 1983:17) which entails faith in the intelligibility of reality, in one's ability to make some sense of reality and faith that getting an insight into the intelligible world is a worthwhile exercise. Primal faith increases the resilience of children and youths in C/YHHs as it implies that they have faith in their ability to make sense of the reality of orphan hood.

Another concept surfacing from scholarly discussions pertinent to the topic of this study is the open-ended understanding of 'faith'. This is demonstrated by the extensive and varied use of

the word by many authors who generally take little trouble to define it or to explain their own interpretation of its meaning. More clarity is obviously needed. Walker's (2013:194) assertion that faith has a natural origin and is older than our hominid ancestors implies that pre-existing faith is the source of religious belief and practice. Therefore such faith can help people, including children and youths in C/YHHS, to positively adapt to adversity. Such ability to adapt and competently adjust to changes in their circumstances is an indication of resilience.

### **3.3 Resilience**

The previous section presented a broad understanding of faith. It discusses the origin of faith in the evolutionary process through attachment behaviour that develops in the face of danger giving rise to an ability to prevail. The present section explores the various understandings of this resilience and how it correlates with faith in C/YHHS.

#### **3.3.1 Starting Point**

Researchers and scholars have defined resilience, and described its workings, in wide-ranging terms, leaving no doubt as to the importance of the phenomenon. According to Denis (2005), the term resilience was first applied by physical scientists to the resistance of material objects. In child psychology the study of resilience - children succeeding in spite of serious challenges to their development - emerged in the 1970s. A group of pioneering researchers encountered examples of at-risk but successfully developing children. The concept emerged as an alternative to a deficit model of child development that views child development as a linear process, deviations from which would have negative consequences. In psychiatric literature the concept of resilience emerged in the 1980's as a result of attempts to understand differences in the responses of individuals to stress and adversity (Snider and Dawes 2006). The authors explain that child development studies at the time used the concept to discover why only some children at risk developed significant psychopathology or other impairments in childhood or in later life. The idea that certain 'salutogenic' (protective) and 'pathogenic' (risk) factors influence such outcomes, led to the introduction of the term resilience.

Martin-Breen and Anderies (2011:23) state that most research has neglected the protective factors that predict resilience in children as they progress through adolescence to adulthood. These scholars point out that most studies in psychology focus on at-risk, impoverished children in developed countries. Yet in some studies psychologists and disaster theorists have

joined to look at the psychological and environmental factors that affect the resilience of children traumatised by war and catastrophes (2011:12).

Fletcher and Sarkar (2013) confirm that research into psychological resilience has gathered momentum over the decades. Researchers and scholars have defined and redefined the concept continuously and in various ways in order to more accurately portray the experiences of those whose lives they investigate. As I will use this concept to interpret the responses to stress and vulnerability observed in members of C/YHHs I will discuss those definitions and descriptions of resilience that relate to studies of child-development.

### **3.3.2 Moving Forward Vis-A-Vis Bouncing Back**

Apfel and Simon (1995) define resilience as the capacity to bounce back from traumatic childhood events, including the exposure to war, and to develop into sane, integrated and socially responsible adults. Ndengu (2009) uses the idea of bouncing back to explain that, according to the resilience theory, against all odds of life individuals can regain their lost social comfort, depending on how they manage stress and on the level of support they receive. Martin-Breen and Anderies (2011:5-6) discuss the idea of bouncing back as it applies to engineering:

...increased resilience implies bouncing back faster after stress, enduring greater stresses, and being disturbed less by a given amount of stress. “Stress” can imply either chronic difficulty or an acute crisis...to be resilient is to withstand a large disturbance without...changing, disintegrating, or becoming permanently damaged; to return to normal quickly; and to distort less in the face of such stresses...If a person is resilient, they can recover from a large shock or strain,...they recover quickly; and such things don’t perturb them as much as someone less resilient.... Holling, an important figure in ecology and ecosystem management, has named this sort of resilience Engineering Resilience...Why? Engineered systems, such as bridges, buildings, and infrastructure, are often designed so as to handle large stresses, return to normal, and return quickly... Although this concept of resilience is colloquial... it can nevertheless give rise to new ways of framing longstanding problems, and to novel findings and new methods to promote sustainability. Crises, disturbances, or stressors are only looked at through the lens of decreasing the risk and severity of disturbances and restoring conditions if there is a disturbance...

Martin-Breen and Anderies (2011:5-6) point out that this approach is significantly limited by the idea of restoring conditions' or 'returning to normal'. Children living in poverty who overcome adversities do not stay the same, but can still be seen as resilient. Crises may indeed generate increased resilience to future adversity, but not necessarily so. The authors cite "Embracing Change" as a slogan of resilience thinking that implies the acceptance of change in response to adversity as normal. Fighting against change can cause a decrease in resilience and trying to keep things the same may increase the chance of future catastrophe (2011:6).

I concur with Martin-Breen and Anderies (2011) that the idea of bouncing back or returning to a previous, original condition, assumes that the earlier position was unflawed, even perfect. This notion raises questions. Let's say, for argument's sake, a child was born with a chronic illness and then loses a parent. In that case, returning to a previous 'good' condition means returning to the stress that comes with the illness. Moreover, to say that resilience involves emerging into sane adults ascribes the same level of sanity to everyone.

Other definitions of resilience highlight negotiation and navigation. Ungar (2008:225) hypothesizes a social ecological interpretation of resilience. He states that in the context of exposure to significant adversity, resilience is the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to the psychological, social, cultural and physical resources that can sustain their well-being. He also posits that resilience is people's capacity to, individually and collectively, negotiate for these psychological, social, cultural and physical resources to be provided and experienced in culturally meaningful ways (Ungar 2008:225).

The idea of negotiation comes out in Linda and Adam Theron's (2010:4) definition that resilience is the ability to triumphantly negotiate life's adversities and continue along the path of self-actualization. As much as it is cited by several authors, 'negotiation' assumes an act of will. In that sense it overlooks resilience in babies. A preferred usage of negotiation is one that implies moving forward, coined in the terminology of coping, adaptation and development.

### **3.3.3 Coping, Adaptation, Development**

Henderson and Milstein (1996) see resilience as the process of coping with life's disruptive, stressful or challenging events in a way that provides one with protective and coping skills, prior to the disruption that results from the event. Smith and Carlson (1997) characterize resilience as the ability to adapt and cope effectively despite facing significant risk or hardship,

concurring with Masten and Coatsworths' (1998) definition of resilience as manifested competence in the context of significant challenges to adaptation or development.

Alluding to an AIDS context, Bishop-Sambrook's (2003) definition depicts resilience as the active responses that enable individuals and households to avoid the worst impact of HIV, AIDS and related death. Although this definition seems to be confined to the pandemic, it is included in this section for the sake of providing a full spectrum of the qualities of resilience. The ideas expressed are similar to Luthar's (2003) definition of resilience as the manifestation of positive adaptation despite significant adversity. Brown (2004) expresses the same idea of coping and adaptation by describing resilience as the ability to survive harsh experiences, surmount life's obstacles and transform them into strengths. Thus, character is built and knowledge that helps to steel people against future hardship is instilled. Bigotry

Transformation is used in the same sense as adaptation by Swartz et al. (2004) who define resilience as successful adaptation to the environment despite exposure to risk. Killian's (2004) study engages in a wide-ranging discussion of resilience describing it as the ability of individuals and systems to overcome adversity and develop to full capability. Due to her broad exploration of the concept of resilience, Killian's ideas were adopted as part of the Memory Box methodology, components of which are used in activities with C/YHHs.<sup>45</sup>

In her 2010 study on everyday experiences of children living in child or adolescent-headed households in Western Kenya, Awino (2010:11, 34, 55) describes resilience as the ability of children to achieve positive development despite the breakdown of their immediate nurturing environment. Religion is part of that nurturing environment as confirmed by Pargament and Cummings (2010) who found that engaging religion positively and proactively in dealing with problems, does promote psychological resilience.

In *Contributions to the Study and Promotion of Resilience in Socially Vulnerable Children*, María Cristina Richaud (2013) states, that resilient children are especially proficient at using positive emotions to resist adversity, accept uncertainty and recover from trauma. In interventions with socially vulnerable children she advises to use strategies that tend to increase

---

<sup>45</sup> The Sinomlando Centre Memory Box Programme offers psychosocial support to families and specifically to orphans affected by HIV and AIDS. See <http://www.sinomlando.ukzn.ac.za>.

positive emotions, such as positive reinforcement, mental and muscular relaxation, cost-benefit analyses, narration, seeking out alternative solutions, auto-referential techniques, music, drawing and planned games.

In the article "*I keep me safe*". *Risk and resilience in children with messy lives*, Wright (2013) defines resilience as an ongoing developmental process of responding to the changing demands of one's environment more than as simply a balance sheet of risks and protective factors. According to Wright, some students feel as if the world is out to get them, making school just one more dangerous place where educators punish them for things they do in order to survive. For that reason, he advises educators to develop conceptions of resilience that are dynamic and that allow many perspectives to emerge. He adds that children who, in the midst of adversity, show resilience, tend to enjoy school, even if their grades don't prove it (2013:42). These development-oriented definitions of resilience can be associated with education.

### **3.3.4 A Developmental Association of Resilience with Education**

Resilience has been associated with education. In giving research and policy recommendations aimed at stopping the intergenerational transmission of poverty, Bird and Higgins (2011) associate education with resilience. Similarly, Ungar and Liebenberg (2011) view education as a resilience factor. They report on an international team of investigators working collaboratively in eleven countries to develop a culturally and contextually relevant measure of youth resilience, the Child and Youth Resilience Measure (CYRM-28).

Ungar and Liebenberg (2011) explain that the team used a mixed-methods design that facilitated the understanding of common and unique aspects of resilience across cultures. During the study, team members began to refer to resilience as 'doing well despite adversity' and to identify unique as well as common ways in which young people 'do well' in their communities (e.g. by maintaining attachment to caregivers, staying in school, avoiding using illegal drugs, avoiding early sexual activity/pregnancy, preparing for adult responsibilities).

The consultative process is helpful as it ensures a more or less common understanding of a concept. However, the examples given under 'doing well' overlook differences in values and norms upheld by different communities, the kind of socialization and the various constraints and pressures faced by young people. For instance, to say that maintaining one's attachment to caregivers is a sign of resilience implies that the caregiver-child relationship depends solely on the child. Furthermore, to cite the avoidance of early sexual activity or pregnancy as a sign of



resilience takes no account of socialization and cultural and gender dynamics that are associated with certain behaviours by young girls. Some girls fall pregnant as a result of rape, cultural practices, or coercion by men offering comfort, protection and promising a good future. Such cases cannot be simply blamed on a lack of resilience.

Another example which Ungar and Liebenberg (2011) give as an indication of resilience is ‘preparing for adult responsibilities’. They appear to consider ‘adult responsibilities’ as a homogeneous category. This depends on what children perceive as ‘adult responsibilities’ and what kind of adults they have experienced. For example, in a study in KwaZulu-Natal Denis and Ntsimane (2005) found that two thirds of the fathers in a group of thirty-one HIV- and AIDS-affected households and 15% of the mothers had deserted children without giving reasons.<sup>46</sup> So, to call ‘preparing for adult responsibilities’ a sign of resilience is a generalization. Nonetheless, participants in Ungar and Liebenberg’s study (2011:14) viewed education as an important resilience factor.

### **3.3.5 Mounting Attention on Individual Resilience**

Increasingly scholarly attention is given to individual resilience which, in terms of the present study, augurs well for trajectories of faith and spirituality. Despite the claim that Africans are community oriented, the focus on individual resilience is consistent with faith and spirituality which operate at an individual level as is highlighted in the present study. In this context opportunities are provided for the exploration of resources that can assist members of C/YHHs to adapt and adjust to the frequent absence of a unifying figure in their family units.

In accord with the exploration of individual resilience resources, Apfel and Simon (1995) describe resilient children according to their resourcefulness, curiosity, intellectual mastery, flexibility in handling emotional experience, access to autobiographical memory (including the ability to remember and invoke images of warm and loving people in their lives), having a goal for which to live, altruism, and a vision of a moral order. The focus on individual resilience also appears in Snider and Dawes’ (2006) article which explains that the concept of resilience

---

<sup>46</sup> Philippe Denis and Radikobo Ntsimane: “The absent fathers: Why do men not feature in stories of families affected by HIV/AIDS” in L. Richter and R. Morrell (eds): *Baba? Men and fatherhood in South Africa* (Pretoria, HSRC Press, 2005).

emerged in psychiatric literature in the 1980's, in an attempt to understand individual differences in people's responses to stress and adversity.

In *Beacons of Hope, HIV Competent Churches, A Framework for Action* Parry (2008) proposes that resilience - the inner strength to deal with crises - can be fostered by spiritual encouragement which can be built on faith, trust, praying and giving hope and which represents a concrete contribution of religion to health and well-being. Inner strength is associated with the individual person. Nasvytienė, Lazdauskas and Leonavičienė (2012:7) have conducted a meta-analysis to investigate the attributes of a child's positive functioning in the face of maltreatment. The findings suggest that a child's individual characteristics (cognitions and temperament/personality traits) are closely related to resilience and more important than interpersonal relationships or the availability of a community network.

The appreciation of individual resilience seems disparate from the association of resilience with amicability as promoted by Womble, Labbé, and Cochran (2013). They have investigated the association between personality, spirituality and health (organismic) resilience within one population during a particular period of time (2013:708). They found a positive relationship between resilience and spirituality, amicability and conscientiousness (2013:713). However, research shows resilience as a more individualistic concept, hence the focus on spirituality vis-a-vis religiosity as resources for individual inner strength.

The growing field of empirical studies on children's resilience encouraged Snider and Dawes (2006), to review relevant literature. Their analysis reveals an interplay between intra-personal and environmental protective factors underlying resilience (:16). Among protective factors, the characteristics of families and aspects of the wider social contexts (including opportunities to engage in pro-social organizations and religious communities) are important. This captures the notions of ecological theory and positive psychology.

Another literature review by Martin-Breen and Anderies (2011) offers a strong foundation for utilizing resilience theory across several disciplines. The review goes back to the 1970s when studies turned their attention to the few children who faced significant adversity and who did not show deficits. Significant relationships were established between, high-risk children who proved resilient, showing few or no deficits as adults, and, on the other hand, family functioning, school environment, and community services. The early studies show that high-

risk individuals who can overcome adversity share many features. The results also make clear that the resilience theory's suppositions are suitable to a study concerning C/YHHs.

Likewise Linda and Adam Theron (2010) reviewed 23 articles that focus on South African youth resilience, published in academic journals between 1990 and 2008. After comparing South African findings to those of international studies, they argue for continued research into the phenomenon of resilience and for a keener focus on the cultural and contextual roots of resilience that are endemic to South Africa.

Besides the concept of resilience other theories have been brought on board in the current study of the correlation of faith and resilience, to interpret the realities and experiences of members of C/YHHs. The AFTEC proposed in this thesis, constructed through a dialogue between questions and data emanating from the research, can explain the association between individual resilience and care. I uphold that individual or self-care is indication that one values oneself, thus more predisposed to cope with adversity, to be resilient. Congruently one who is resilient is likely to care the AFTEC way, that is, open-mindedly, even-handedly and impartially. This care ethics is in accord with the behavioural system designed to maintain an infant's proximity to its caregiver, elucidated in the attachment theory.

### **3.4 The Attachment Theory**

Part of the theoretical framework of the current study consists in the attachment theory, first developed by John Bowlby. Based on evolution and ethology, this theory proposes the presence in infants of a primary, biosocial behavioural system, designed to maintain the infant's proximity to its caregiver providing it with protection. Bowlby argues that the basic mechanisms of the attachment system are active and influential throughout one's lifespan (Lee Kirkpatrick and Phillip Shaver 1990:315-334).

#### **3.4.1 Origins of the Attachment Theory**

According to Bretherton (1992:759), John Bowlby, born in 1907 in England. While volunteering at a school for maladjusted children, he encountered a teenager who had lacked a stable mother figure, been expelled from a previous school for theft and found himself isolated and affectionless. Another boy, 7 or 8 years old, became attached to Bowlby, trailing him around. These experiences inspired Bowlby to train in medicine, psychoanalysis and child psychiatry. Trying to rationalize the behavioural distress, shown by children who are separated

from parents and thrust among strangers in unfamiliar surroundings, Bowlby (1969) became convinced that the earliest bonds formed by children with their caregivers have a great and lasting impact on their lives. What he learnt about children's relationships with caregivers confirmed that the quality of early parent-child relationship is important for the child's development and mental health (Howe 2011:7). On the basis of concepts about evolutionary, ethological and behavioural sciences, developmental psychology, control and systems theory and cognitive sciences, emerging from his clinical work (2011:7), he created the attachment theory (Mikulinger and Shaver 2007:6).

Bowlby worked with Mary Ainsworth (nee Salter). While studying at the University of Toronto just before World War II, Mary was introduced to security theory<sup>47</sup> (Ainsworth 1983). In her dissertation (1940), Salter showed a penchant for narrative data collection on the basis of which she concluded (1940) that familial security in the early stages of a child's life forms a foundation on which the individual gradually builds its independence, obtaining skills and interests in different fields.

Under the direction of Bowlby, she studied the effect of a young child's separation from its mother on personality development. As a developmental psychologist she contributed many astute insights (Mikulinger and Shaver 2007:4) to her academic field, including conceptual wisdom, creative theorising, methodological advances, innovation and rigour (Howe 2011:8). Her studies (1972, 1973) indicate that attachment behaviour is characterized by the need for secure base, the search for proximity to, and the protest against separation from a caregiver. Ainsworth identifies three attachment styles: the secure, developmentally healthy attachment, the insecure, anxious-resistant and the insecure anxious-avoidant styles. She suggests that surrogate parents could compensate for earlier insecure attachments (1989).

Kirkpatrick (1997) furthers Ainsworth's idea with his compensation hypothesis. He postulates that God may serve as an attachment figure in a compensatory manner as a substitute for other less than optimal attachment figures. His theory relates to individuals who lacked or lost secure attachments with their caregivers and consequently seek secure attachments elsewhere. As such the theory may apply to members of C/YHHS. Also related to C/YHHS is the process of

---

<sup>47</sup> A major tenet of the security theory is that infants and young children need to develop a secure dependence on parents before launching into unfamiliar situations.

encountering a phenomenon and associating it with theoretical knowledge as happened in this research. Encounters with children and youths in C/YHHs have culminated in a study utilising and coining theories to interpret their experiences using a phenomenological approach ‘to get to the truth of matters’<sup>48</sup>. The process continues as I step back to the evolution to trace the development of attachment behaviour on which the attachment theory rests.

### **3.4.2 Evolution and the Attachment Theory**

From an ethological<sup>49</sup> perspective, behaviour of any kind, including caregiving and care seeking, cannot be fully understood without knowledge of the environment to which the species concerned has become adapted through evolution (Hinde 2005:1). About 150 000 years ago in North-East Africa a group of Homo sapiens, biologically similar to modern women and men, roamed the savannahs as hunters and gatherers in small cooperative family units (Howe 2011:3). This species possessed a brain too large to pass through the birth canal during labour, so most of the brain’s development was post-natal (Howe 2011). This made the infant highly dependent on the succour and protection of its kin for many years after birth. The fact that this dependency was not gender-specific is pertinent in relation to C/YHHs who, as family units, depend on a non-gendered mode of living and home management as it is often girls who head the households and who become attachment figures for their siblings.

While the young members of the Homo sapiens group were vulnerable and dependent, they displayed care-seeking behaviours and the adults responded by providing that care, thereby enhancing children’s chances of survival (Howe 2011). Infants needed protection, mainly from wild animals, and the social, cooperative model of group-living afforded such protection (Howe 2011:5). These anthropological facts underline the importance of attachment behaviour as well as the effects of the loss of adult protectors as is experienced by children and youths in the C/YHHs that are the subject of this study.

---

<sup>48</sup> Phrase used by D. Moran (2000:4) in Introduction to Phenomenology. The phenomenological approach is discussed further in the methodology chapter.

<sup>49</sup> Ethology is the science of animal behaviour in the wild, its natural habitat (David Howe 2011:3).

### **3.4.3 Attachment behaviour and the Internal Working Model**

Bowlby thought that vulnerable infants are born equipped with a number of in-built behaviours that function to keep them safe (Howe 2011:6). One of these is attachment behaviour whose goal is to recover proximity to the caregiver where safety and comfort lie (2011:19). Whenever an infant feels anxious, in danger or in need, its attachment systems are activated, triggering care- and protection-oriented actions, which Bowlby termed attachment behaviours. These instinctual and programmed behaviours propel young children towards places of safety, close to mothers as primary caregivers but also to fathers and other family members (Howe 2011:8). Attachment behaviours are accompanied by strong feelings (Howe 2011:19). As babies relate to other people, particularly their attachment figures, they learn to recognise other people's feelings, to make sense of themselves; to regulate their own feelings and to relate with sensitivity and skill, which are major protective factors (Howe 2011: 30). Genes and their natural environment interact with the social environment (Howe 2011:212) in two-way interactions which represent the modern version of the interplay of nature and nurture (Howe 2011:201). This process – considered in the context of the present study -instils a faith in nature giving the hope that the hardiness and resilience, shown by children and youth in C/YHHs, might translate into a thriving future generation.

One key proposition of the attachment theory is that, as a result of the construction of mental models of how the world has worked in the past and how it might work in the future, early experiences in relationships may influence behaviour in later relationships (Howe 2011:32). In this respect Bowlby, inspired by studies of Craik (1943) and Young (1964), developed the concept of the internal working model. The model's basic thesis is that brains construct cognitive models of our environment to make sense of the world and to anticipate, negotiate and manage it. Information coming in via our senses helps us to construct such models or internal simulations. New information gets interpreted by existing models and, if sufficiently discordant, leads to modification of the models (Howe 2011:33). In child or youth-headed households the 'new information' of losing parents is discordant enough to modify their existing models of their environment, helping then to adjust, adapt, negotiate and manage their lives without adults. The entire process is driven by resilience (Mampane and Bouwer 2006:443–456, Pillay and Nesengani 2006:131–147, Theron and Theron 2010).

The internal working model gives rise to different patterns of attachment behaviour in relation to caregivers. Each behavioural pattern represents an unconsciously played out strategy for

survival in the environment in which children find themselves (Belsky 2005). Caregiving can range in quality from poor to good, but four basic patterns of attachment have been identified, namely secure, avoidant, ambivalent and disorganised (Howe 2011:40). The development of the internal working model means that the quality of external relationships gradually becomes part of the child's mental being, shaping its psychological self. As attachment relationships become internalized, the quality of a child's social experiences becomes its mental property, influencing its perceptions of itself and others (Howe 2011:41).

Howe (2011:39) says, when environments are harsh and attachment figures unreliable (or, I add, unavailable), other attachment behavioural strategies develop. This possibility gives hope for children and youths in C/YHHs. These other attachment behavioural strategies may include putting faith in God, or in some ultimate transcendent reality, thereby developing resilience needed to successfully negotiate challenges or risks (Howe 2011:72). Alternatively, having to cope with harsh, deficient environments may stimulate faith in the existence of another transcendent reality, in one's own life-seeking inclinations, resources, or in one's self-actualizing potential. In short, resilience experiences may enhance faith.

The tendency of human beings to live in groups, manifesting social and cooperative behaviours, along with their ability to communicate, allows them to take advantage of their environments by being adaptive and flexible while benefiting from the talents of individual members of their group (Howe 2011:4). From this perspective we presume that children and youths in C/YHHs can benefit from the talents of individuals among them. The evolutionary adaptability implies that there is in C/YHHs the potential to use the gifts of individual siblings to their advantage and to learn from adverse situations, as per Germann's (2005) description of resilience. Adaptation means that even children and youths who are, so to speak, not born leaders can learn to cope with heading households.

Bowlby presumes that the biological function of attachment behaviour is to protect a human being, especially in early childhood, from danger (Cassidy 2008:5). This is done by maintaining a close proximity of children to attachment figures (Mikulinger and Shaver 2007:11). In this context the fear system is fundamental. Fear alerts to the possibility of danger and makes us look for safety (Howe 2011:8). Fear activates and works synchronous with the attachment system (Kobak et al. 2005:5). Many primates are seminomadic and travel over such substantial distances that they cannot establish one fixed location where their young can feel safe and protected (Main et al. 2005:253). Consequently the attachment figure becomes 'the

safe single location' that must be sought under alarm or fear, and the exclusive focus of the infant primate when it senses danger (Main et al. 2005:253).

That the infant, being fearful, insists on remaining close to the attachment figure towards whom it has emotional feelings, is nothing to be ashamed of. Yet in some cultures, Zulu for one, boys are taught *indoda kayikhali izinyembezi*, meaning: 'boys don't cry'<sup>50</sup>. Such sayings are intended to instil hardiness in males. According to Johansson and Olsson's (2013) research, boys are expected to refrain from showing weakness, particularly by crying (being a "sissy"). Crying by males in Western society is similarly seen as a lack of masculinity. 'Feeling like crying' has to be controlled, especially in front of one's peers (2013).

However, it has to be acknowledged, that certain emotions form fundamental behavioural systems which work synchronous with the attachment system, that crying is a response to emotions which are part of life and throttling them may negatively affect mental and physical health. The Shona proverb *Bere zvarakatya mapapata aro mangani?*<sup>51</sup>, meaning 'hyenas are so fearful that they run away from danger, and therefore few hyena skeletons can be found', accepts fear as a life-perpetuating emotion. Following this concept, in adult-less households fear prompts safety-seeking behaviour of children and youths, leading them to identify attachment figures. Faith in attachment figures is likely to create resilience.

The idea of the internal working model is profound because it suggests that children approach new situations with certain presumptions, behavioural preferences and interpretive propensities. It engenders different patterns of attachment behaviour with primary caregivers. This supposition can be used to explain some of the behaviours related to relationships and religion among children and youths in C/YHHs. The internal working model also denotes that one can encourage members of C/YHHs to have faith in the existence of some ultimate reality which can in turn enhance resilience. Coping becomes a model on which to base faith. For that reason this thesis propounds the idea of correlation between faith and resilience.

---

<sup>50</sup> This is a statement often repeated by boys during Memory Box camps.

<sup>51</sup> Literally saying: Since a hyena is so scared, how many of its skeletons can be found - meaning the hyena flees danger and stays alive. According to Ezra Chitando and Fainos Mangena the Shona people constitute the largest ethnic group in Zimbabwe. The Shona language has six different dialects, namely Karanga, Korekore, Kalanga, Manyika, Zezuru and Ndau.



Of the four attachment patterns - secure, avoidant, ambivalent and disorganised, the secure pattern is the most positive as it enhances a child's development psychologically, physically and socially. The four patterns will be used to deduce the quality of earlier relationships of care receivers with caregivers. The assumptions undergirding the theory raise hope that, by placing faith in some ultimate reality, children and youths in C/YHHs can acquire aptitudes entailing emotional, social, academic and spiritual buoyancy - Ebberson's (2007) definition of resilience. This process is similar to Ainsworth's (1989) compensation hypothesis<sup>52</sup> which suggests that surrogate parents may compensate for insecure earlier attachments.

The attachment behaviour, I suggest, is an instinctive, self-caring conduct as it enables, from birth, the progressive and mutual accommodation between a growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings and systems (in Bronfenbrenner's ecological model). The behaviour provides the protection and security needed during the exploration of the micro-, meso-, exo- and macrosystems connecting, interconnecting and interacting with the individual as Bronfenbrenner (1979) conceptualises.

#### **3.4.4 Attachment and Culture**

In the past the concept of attachment has been challenged and described as a white Western construct, notwithstanding the fact that Ainsworth's first studies of maternal sensitivity and parent-child interaction were done in Uganda among the Ganda ethnic group (Ainsworth 1967). Since then, many other studies have looked at caregiving and perceptions of attachment in countries and cultures across the world. The resulting literature has been reviewed by Prior and Glaser (2006), Van IJzendoorn and Sagi-Schwartz (2008) and Van IJzendoorn and Bakermans-Kranenburg (2010).

The conclusion of the cross-cultural studies is that, due to its evolutionary character, attachment behaviour is a universal phenomenon. Since the attachment theory is based on an evolutionary principle and on ethology, it is bound to be universally valid. A second conclusion is that in all cultures the secure pattern associated with sensitive parenting predominates (Howe 2011:51).

---

<sup>52</sup> Kirkpatrick (1997) proposes two hypotheses to account for individual differences in attachment to God. He postulated that God may serve as an attachment figure in a compensatory manner, e.g. as a substitute for other, less than optimal, attachment figures (the compensation hypothesis). The hypothesis relates to individuals who did not experience secure attachments with their caregivers and who thus sought secure attachments elsewhere.

Thirdly, three basic attachment patterns - avoidant, secure and ambivalent - occur in every culture where studies have been done. Each attachment organization represents a strategy for, and an adaptation to, the particular relationship context in which the infant finds itself (Howe 2011:51). To maximise their safety, children develop those behavioural strategies that best allow them to maintain proximity to their attachment figure in times of need or danger (:52). Van IJzendoorn and Sagi-Schwartz (2008:901) assert that the theory has high cross-cultural validity. Howe (2011:56) found that, from adolescence through to adulthood, there is a gradual shift in principal attachment figures, away from parents to close friends, lovers and spouses. He adds that attachment hierarchies may be extended to include siblings, teachers, work colleagues and therapists to whom people increasingly turn for comfort, support, recognition and encouragement (2011:56). One could add that in the African indigenous context attachment figures may include grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, half- and step-siblings.

The attachment theory will be used to examine the situation of children and youths in C/YHHs as regards attachment figures, and to assess whether interactions with the head of the family or with other siblings represent attachment behaviour. Using the attachment theory I will probe feelings invoked by the gap left by deceased parents. As the gap is likely to heighten fear, insecurity, suspicion or even paranoia, the need for an attachment figure is often satisfied by endlessly appealing to a supreme being or to the 'living dead'. Faith in an ultimate reality can reduce the stress experienced in C/YHHs (Govender and Kilian 2001).

Some ethnic communities realize that the loss of an attachment figure may have harmful psychosocial effects on children. For instance, among the Zulu, children are expected to bath in a river after the burial of a parent in order to stop the deceased's spirit from hovering over them (Ntsimane 2004). From an attachment theory perspective the bath should effect the separation of the deceased attachment figure from the surviving child/children. From an evolution perspective these acts help the children to adapt to the gap left in their lives.

### **3.4.5 Attachment Theory and Gender**

Attachment behaviour is not gendered because it is present before social constructions occur. Males and females both experience fear and need the security offered by attachment figures. The internal working model construct is not based on sex and care is sought from both male and female attachment figures. Gender roles emerged in a process of evolutionary adaptation to an ecological niche as propounded by Bronfenbrenner's ecological model. The adaptation

should continue as long as cultural dynamism prevails. In an environment of evolutionary adaptedness the creative potential of humankind's social behaviours resulted increasingly in divisions of labour and in individual specialization (Howe 2011:4). Studies by Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) and by Levy et al. (1998) have numbered as many securely attached men as women (Howe 2011:211). However, in the case of insecure attachments gender is thought to play a role. Superficially, it seems that the stereotypical man is emotionally wooden and less relationally competent, suggesting that men are more likely to be 'avoidant'. Women might be emotionally open and relationship-oriented, making them more sensitive to the attachment avoidance of men and to men's relative lack of emotionality (Howe 2011).

Conversely Mikulinger and Shaver (2007:31) argue that there is no consistent gender difference along these lines. Where there is relationship dissatisfaction in men and women, it is attachment insecurity and anxiety in either partner that predicts relationship dissatisfaction and not the sex of a partner. Also Bakermans, Kranenburg and Van IJzendoorn (2009), in an analysis of 10 500 interviews from 200 studies, found no gender differences in the distribution of the major attachment classifications, thereby confirming the gender-neutral picture presented by Howe (2011:211).

These findings imply that gendered role divisions of labour which began as adaptations do wane in the adaptive process. Accordingly, there is no need to emphasize such divisions, especially in C/YHHs where any oldest person takes leadership and has to effect discipline and where rules depend on being reasonable and ethical rather than on traditional restrictions. In C/YHHs caregiving is ideally a shared responsibility, not only to allow every member chance to pursue education and careers but also to enhance family bonding. This gender-neutral modus operandi is positive as the discounting of specific gender roles prepares children and youths to fulfil the various tasks that may come their way. Selective adaptation indicates that the correlation between faith and resilience can potentially lead to a thriving future generation developing from children and youths who grow up in C/YHHs.

#### **3.4.6 God as Attachment Figure**

Since Bowlby's (1969) attachment hypotheses, theorists such as Kaufman and Kirkpatrick have likened God to an attachment figure. They suppose that, as children look to their parents for protection, people may look upon God as a being who offers care and a safe haven in stressful times. Such suppositions are also applicable to children and youths in C/YHHs who

have lost their parents. The perception of God as attachment figure has been taken further by Kenneth Pargament (1997), who has made wide-ranging contributions to the application of the attachment theory to religion. He defines religion as a process, a search for significance in ways related to the sacred. He describes spirituality as the central function of religion and calls it 'the search for the sacred' (Mahoney and Pargament 2004:482).

Mikulinger and Shaver (2007:244) suggest that attachment security may be an indicator of psychological growth and maturity in adulthood by facilitating the development of a religious, spiritual or philosophical approach to life. This often involves the emergence of a faith that one is part of a larger spiritual entity or enterprise, that life goes beyond the biological realm and that 'God' transcends biological limitations, expands the boundaries and capacities of the isolated self and provides meaning to existence (2007:244).

Using the attachment theory in examining the experiences of children and youths in C/YHHs, I have assumed that a mother, or another primary caregiver, is the attachment figure for her children and, once she is gone, insecurity sets in with all its consequences. Some of the young adults heading households, expressed the wish to be still cared for by parents, confirming that the need for attachment continues throughout life.

In my study I also use Pargament's (2008) religious attachment theory to explore coping mechanisms of children and youths living in C/YHHs and to scrutinize the correlation between faith and resilience. The suppositions of this theory formed part of my motivation for studying this particular topic. It provides a basis for the suggestion of an interfaith approach to mission work and a worship model for children and youths living in C/YHHs. The theory was helpful in revealing the religio-cultural resources of resilience of the children and youths. Though the attachment system engenders behavioural patterns, it was in reaction to behaviourism that humanistic psychology developed.

### **3.5 Humanistic Psychology**

The present study is framed by humanistic psychology. Matthew McDonald and Stephen Wearing (2013:39) describe humanistic psychology as a twentieth century movement originating in the U.S. as a reaction to the deterministic and mechanistic philosophies of psychoanalysis and behaviourism with their natural science epistemology. Observing that humanistic psychology offers a broad perspective of divergent theoretical points of view,

Raskin (2011:126) combines constructivist metatheory and selection theory on the basis of which he explores themes that are central to humanistic psychology. His hope is that evolutionary constructivism may generate a new variety of humanism through its emphasis on embodiment and other forms of knowing processes, through its recognition of agency as a naturally evolved property of human beings, and through its insistence on BVSR<sup>53</sup> as a becoming process. Raskin (2011:129) deliberates that psychological humanness in its uniqueness simultaneously emerges from, is constituted by and shapes the process of blind variation and selective retention. Similarly, Williams (2012:224) considers the contributions of humanistic theory to Coaching Psychology which, he claims, has become a recognised career choice and which creates new options for people who struggle with life's transitions, by finding a guideline to assist them in designing their desired future (Williams 2012:224).

Due to its applications in anchoring the Student Success Skills (SSS) program, in evolutionary constructivism and in Coaching Psychology all of which have to do with human progress and flourishing, I have employed the humanistic theory in the present study to investigate the correlation between faith and resilience in members of C/YHHs. Its tenets are compatible with some of the evolutionary biological themes associated with attachment agency. Other tenets emerge from the human capacity for self-awareness; relate to transcendence, and contain a social-interactive component (Raskin 2011). They support the perception that ethics are a priori norms produced by human reason (Racine 2008). The humanistic theory is suitable for analysing the experiences of young people, growing up in a society that is inherently religious, because it shuns the antitheist bias of naturalism (Slife and Reber 2009) while it permits explanations that invoke God and the supernatural. In the next sections I will elaborate on characteristics of the theory, showing why and how it has been used in the present study.

---

<sup>53</sup>Campbell (1974) posits that evolution involves blind variation and selective retention (BVSR). Variation processes occur when biological, psychological, or social features (existing or new) are introduced into a situation. Because it is not possible to know in advance whether a variation will prove adaptive, variations are said to be blind to the extent that the outcomes they yield are unknown in advance. At the biological level, blind is equated with random – variations are produced without knowing whether they will yield anything fruitful. Blind variations are random and unplanned, as in the case of genetic anomalies. Anticipatory variations are predictive and intentional, as in carefully devised scientific hypotheses. AVs are made possible by earlier random and unplanned blind variations but, once emerged, they influence all future variations, blind and anticipatory. Whether random or anticipatory, only variations that prove helpful or enhancing are retained. So, selection entails identifying useful variations and retention involves keeping them.

### 3.5.1 Origins of the Humanistic Theory

Williams (2012:228) cites the historical influence of four major forces in psychological theory since its emergence in 1879 as a social science. These forces are: Freudian, behavioural, humanistic, and transpersonal. Early psychologists studying of consciousness and such mental functions as sensation and perception adopted the practice of introspection that was applied by philosophers (Williams 2012:229). After World War II, European schools of thought, phenomenology and existentialism, began to influence American psychologists. This laid much of the philosophical foundation for what was to become the third force in psychological thought - humanism. This surfaced in the late fifties in reaction to psychoanalysis and behaviourism (Meyer, Moore, Viljoen 1989:321).

Carl Rogers (1951), pioneer of humanistic psychology, found, in his clinical case observations, that clients investing much time and energy wearing various masks - playing out socially prescribed roles in order to gain acceptance, love and respect from those around them. Rogers was concerned more with the 'fully functioning person' than with pathology and believed that people need love and acceptance from others in order to function fully as human beings (Williams 2012:228). On the basis of his observations Rogers (1951) developed a new approach to psychotherapy which he termed client-centred. The aim of this therapy was to get the client to discover concealed elements of his/her self (values, beliefs, attitudes, interests, passions, and talents) and, thus, to enhance self-regard and an open mind in respect of experience and emotions resulting in greater autonomy and mastery of life (McDonald and Wearing 2013:43). Rogers was profoundly influenced by Karen Horney, an early feminist psychiatrist who supported humanistic psychology.

Abraham Maslow is regarded as a co-founder of humanistic psychology. Trained in animal psychology he became, as a laboratory assistant, enamoured of behaviourism. However, he began to doubt behaviourist ideas at the birth of his first child. It looked so mysterious that it gave its father a sense of not being in control and it made behaviourism look foolish in his eyes (Elkins 2012:465). Maslow began to stress the need for a more inclusive psychology allowing researchers to study human phenomena that had thus far been ignored by psychology, dominated as the field was by a narrow epistemology (2012:465).

Maslow's *Toward a Psychology of Being* (1968) injected much credibility and energy into the human potential movement of the 1960s. In this seminal treatise Maslow summarised his

research of 'self-actualizing people'. He coined other terms as 'full-humanness', and wrote about 'being' and 'becoming'. Maslow studied the 'healthy personality' of people who he characterized as self-actualizers. He questioned and observed people who demonstrated vitality and a sense of purpose and who constantly strove to grow psychologically and realize their potential (Williams 2012:226). His interest in how people find meaning in life resulted in his 'hierarchy of needs' model and his use of the term self-actualization (:230).

In the 1960s psychology was a battle field between followers of psychodynamic theory and behaviourists. Maslow and Rogers together initiated the movement that became known as humanistic psychology, the third force in psychology, after Freudian and behavioural psychology and followed by transpersonal psychology (Williams 2012:223; Elkins 2012:465). Humanistic psychology focuses on the personal, ontological and phenomenological aspects of human experience as opposed to the mechanistic and reductionist theories of Freudianism and behaviourism (Williams 2012). The humanistic movement, while somewhat chaotic and experimental, paved the way for the rise of positive psychology, appreciative inquiry and human systems theory (Williams 2012:223). The influence of Maslow's theories and the emergence of Rogers' (1951) client-centred, humanistic psychotherapy implied an appreciation of the client as full of potential and possibilities rather than as a being with neuroses or pathology (:223).

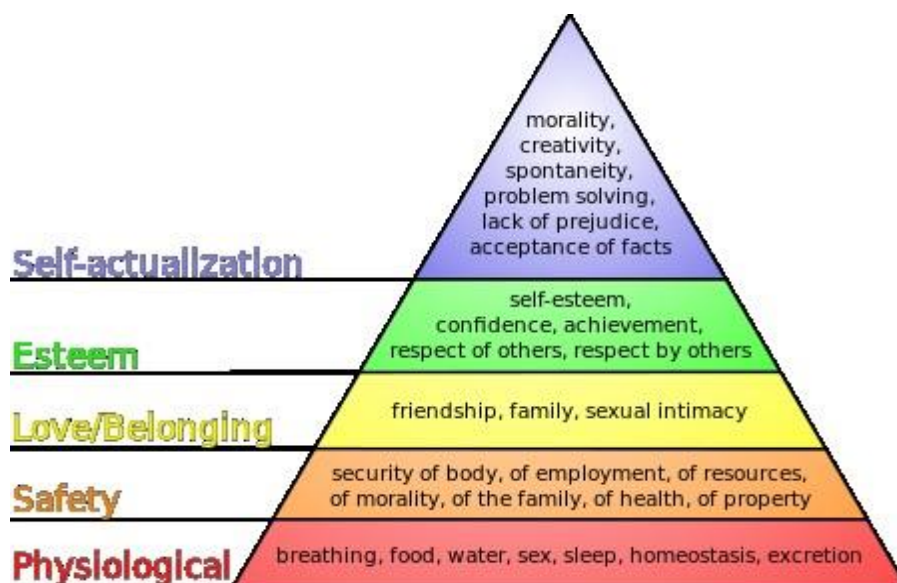


Figure 2 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

### 3.5.2 Characteristics and Principles of Humanistic Psychology

Meyer, Moore, and Viljoen (1989) identify the following distinctive characteristics of humanistic theory.

- The individual should be studied as an integrated, unique, organised whole or Gestalt.
- The psychologically healthy person should be the criterion in examining human functioning.
- The individual is a dignified unique being with qualities which distinguish him/her from stones, trees and primitive animalistic beings. Acknowledgement of a higher spiritual dimension is vital to study qualities such as will, creativity, values, humour, autonomy, growth, actualization and emotions; Human nature is basically good or at least neutral. Evil and destructive behaviour are due to bad environmental influences; Individuals have conscious decision-making processes, actively participate in determining their own behaviour, are inherently inclined towards actualizing their own potential and are creative;

Humanistic psychology is not definitive and professionals have identified or extracted various postulates from it. Villares et al. (2011) identifies a sense of purpose as the primary influence on behaviour, involving a positive view of the individual as self-actualizing or, in other words, capable of changing with a self-regulatory nature and a belief in freedom, the right and the responsibility to choose goals whereby, empathy is important as well as a belief in the dignity of every person. All these features are aspects of humanistic psychology and they point to a holistic view of the human being.

The humanistic theory is useful for looking holistically at the experiences of children and youths in C/YHHs as it tries to avoid presuppositions. This agrees with phenomenology, the methodological design used in the research. Its acknowledgement of spirituality (with an implicit feminist dimension) is important for this study as the youngsters in C/YHHs have inherent spirituality - the human experience in daily life of that which is perceived to have ultimate meaning and value (Holder 2010:1184). The theory's evolutionary, adaptable and positive qualities make it suitable for examining the experiences of members of C/YHHs as it allows for shifting allegiances to a higher being. In the 1990s the humanistic and transpersonal psychology influenced the studying of consciousness, spirituality and positive aspects of human life and intellect (Williams 2012) in the rise of positive psychology.



### 3.5.3. Positive Psychology

Greig, Taylor and MacKay (2007:26-27) discuss positive psychology as a contemporary development of the humanistic theory. Positive psychology emphasizes what is right with people's state of mind, rather than what is wrong. It aims to enable people to live fulfilled lives marked by health, happiness and well-being. Researchers in positive psychology have developed a theoretical model defining three overlapping areas of happiness. People experience the *pleasant life*, or life of enjoyment, when they undergo the positive emotions associated with normal healthy living. People experience the *good life*, or life of engagement, when they feel the beneficial effects of being immersed at optimal level in their primary activities. The *meaningful life*, or life of affiliation, is experienced when people get a sense of meaning and purpose from belonging and contributing to something greater than themselves, for example social groups, organizations or belief systems (Greig, Taylor and MacKay 2007).

Positive psychology is suitable for research with children and youths because it involves a positive approach, applies to the whole person and concentrates on the healthy and fulfilling aspects of everyday life. The theory centers on strengths, skills and potential. It helps in analysing these qualities and in judging what the effects are on the self-image, the self-perceptions and the ability to grow positively amid hardship, of children and youths as they focus on these virtues. The positive psychology model advocates the presence of a higher spiritual dimension in human beings. It enables researchers to consider the effect of trusting in God or in another transcendent reality on children and youths in C/YHHs, helping to assess the correlation between faith and resilience.

During my visits to child or youth-headed households, I observed scenarios that could be associated with tenets of positive psychology, especially in relation to the quest for a meaningful life. In some families youths would attend meetings of burial societies or funerals of community members. They might join sports clubs, or clean the church, or participate in other communal functions, much as they lamented the lack of *ubuntu* in their communities. On the basis of positive psychology I inferred that the children and youths draw inspiration from, and feel fulfilled by, belonging to community social groups, clubs and organizations and by playing a role in community activities. My interpretation from a positive psychology perspective is that this provided them with a sense of meaning and purpose.

However, a rejoinder could argue that their participation in the community is motivated by the expectation of reciprocity, by fear of finding themselves abandoned should disaster strike, to reap the benefits of benevolent associations, or simply for the sake of enjoyment. Be that as it may, it confirms the notion of positive psychology, that in-born and self-actualizing tendencies steer people towards psychological health. In the present study, the positive psychology theory is useful for identifying actions that indicate self-actualization. It thus concurs with the thinking on proximity and protection seeking attachment behaviour discussed earlier in this chapter.

### **3.5.4 Cohesion between Attachment Theory and Humanistic Psychology**

Both humanistic and positive psychology represent attempts to counterbalance the traditional focus of psychology on negative tendencies and on psychopathology. The theories give due consideration to human strengths, developmental potential and social virtues that contribute to, what Maslow (1968) describes as, self-actualization and to the emergence of, what Rogers (1961) calls, a fully-functioning person. In line with the attachment theory, Mikulinger and Shaver (2007:49), define security as a basic human strength that facilitates the acquiring of such positive psychological traits as resilience, optimism, hope, positive affectivity, curiosity, healthy autonomy, a capacity for love and forgiveness, feelings of interconnectedness and belonging, tolerance and kindness.

Mikulinger and Shaver (2007:49) say that the broaden-and-build cycle of attachment security emerges from repeated episodes of attachment figure availability. In this context, humanistic psychologists propose that the parenting style be characterized by an unconditionally positive regard for the child, thus helping its pursuit of self-actualization. Mikulinger and Shaver (2007:49) write that having an available, caring attachment figure who extends kindness also to others, resonates with Rogers' concept of positive regard as the basis of optimal parenting and with Maslow's perception of a loving and non-judgmental acceptance of other human beings. Mikulinger and Shaver (2007:49) note that the common thread running through various positive theoretical frameworks is the perception that being loved, accepted and supported by others, represents the most essential form of personal protection. The resulting self-confidence enables one to confront adversity and to weather stressful times without an interruption of processes of self-actualization. Such self-confidence also fosters tolerance.

The combination of, and the analogies between, several theories as discussed above, raise hope that, as much as children growing up in C/YHHs have experienced orphan hood and a lack of

parenting, experiences of solidarity, love or empathising with each other may provide them with a secure psychological foundation helping them to overcome difficulties. The aforementioned evolutionary themes are compatible with the humanistic theory concerning agency. Self-awareness and death-awareness are products of natural selection and allow for the development of a socially-emergent agency. Thus the humanistic-existential emphases on choice, responsibility and meaning in the face of a person's imminent demise become central aspects of any human psychology and of the evolutionarily induced imperatives of that psychology (Raskin 2011:129).

The attachment theory shows the importance of adaptive behaviour to suit nature and nurture environments. Resilience is about adapting to changes and growing up despite hardship. Faith is needed to trust the non-human dimension of life and to facilitate adaptation to changed circumstances. In the context of this complex interplay it is necessary to consider feminist spirituality as yet another lens through which to focus on the topic of this study.

## **3.6 Feminist Spirituality**

### **3.6.1 Introduction**

The two previous sections tried to link evolution, attachment, psychological development and the spiritual dimension of life. From these, several psycho-spiritual constructs emanate, one being feminist spirituality. The present study is grounded on feminist spirituality, a theory with a feminist dimension, anchored within African women theologies that are not resolutely feminist. Phiri and Nadar (2006:5) signal reluctance among some African women theologians to be referred to as feminists. This reluctance results from the perception that feminism seems to have neglected the notions of race and class. African women theologians did not want to be called womanist either, as the experiences of African-American women are different from those of Africans. Some Circle theologians chose to qualify their work feminist or womanist, albeit pre- or suffixed with the qualification African (Phiri and Nadar 2006:5).

Notwithstanding the reluctance of African women theologians to be called or to name their work feminist, the current study will take feminist spirituality, based in feminism into account. African women theologians do not dispute that their theologies were conceived during the third wave of feminist theology whose major characteristic is its concern for particularities in feminist theology (Phiri and Nadar 2011:83). Accordingly, what they bring to the global feminist discourse are issues unique to the African continent (2011:83). Issues of women's

oppression go together with questions of racism, economic injustice and those religious and cultural practices that can be injurious to African women. Hence, African women theologians concur with the general agreement among feminists that all women are oppressed by patriarchy, even if the way in which this oppression is experienced differs due to differences in race, class and sexual orientation (Phiri and Nadar 2011:83).

An important cause of the reluctance of African women to name their liberation project is the problem of finding a terminology that adequately captures both sides of their activism; namely the radical head-on approach and the subtle treading-softly-but-firmly approach (Phiri and Nadar 2006:7). In basing this study concerning C/YHHs on feminist spirituality, I accept that there may be a need to apply cautious but assertive techniques. This is because African societal systems and communities are founded on traditions that change to slowly and include sacrosanct ideas which tend to persist and become absolute. However, occasionally head-on strategies may prove useful in relation to C/YHHs as a contemporary phenomenon appearing in inevitably dynamic contexts.

### **3.6.2 The Term ‘Spirituality’**

According to King (1989:5) spirituality has to do with the age-old human quest for fulfilment, liberation and for pointers towards transcendence (1989:5). She positions spirituality alongside feminism as a social movement and a category of thought as it dissects all areas of knowledge and culture and shows the separateness, partiality and exclusiveness of women in their search for a new way forward to a more holistic perceptions. In King’s view, her definition highlights the understanding of spirituality as an integral, holistic dynamic force in human existence. Hunt (1991) argues that the term spirituality has come to mean everything, and therefore nothing. Hunt’s own definition is that spirituality involves making choices about the quality of life for oneself and one’s community. Groover (1995) defines spirituality as positive transformative experience. Riddle (2008) means by “spirituality” our personal understanding of us, our relationship with the transcendent, and our purpose as humans. Pargament (2008) sees spirituality as a search for the sacred. He directly links spirituality to religion and suggests that the one cannot do without the other. Gardner (2011:25) defines spirituality as a belief or practice that seeks self-transcendence, but that is not necessarily theistic nor doctrinaire or unified. It can be personal and/or eclectic.

I find these definitions imprecise. King's (1989) 'quest for fulfilment, liberation and for pointers towards transcendence', Hunt's (1991) 'making choices' and Gardner's (2011) 'belief or practice that seeks self-transcendence' – these all imply that spirituality necessarily entails a consciousness, a will, and a deliberate effort to unlock what is going on in the spiritual realm individually and universally. I argue, on the contrary, that spirituality is a force or a potency that exists whether one is cognisant of it or not. Pargament's (2008) 'search for the sacred' is also problematic. His substantiations about children as spiritual beings with capacity to think about God as unique and who have the capacity to conceive of an immaterial spirit and to comprehend an afterlife, are unduly generalised. I uphold that only some children have these capacities which depend on the age, the cognitive level and the intellectual maturity of a child. I base my argument on the Stages of Faith theory. According to Pendleton et al. (2002) this theory asserts that the religious/spiritual development of children follows the patterns of cognitive development, advancing by stages and building on skills mastered in previous stages.

Additionally, the above definitions appear to exclude those persons who cannot make choices regarding the quality of their lives and who are not involved in a quest for fulfilment or for the sacred, for example infants, certain mentally unstable patients, anyone who happens to be asleep, and some members of C/YHHs. My contention is that children have spirituality, consciously or unconsciously, and it is the task of interested parties to journey with them and to ensure that that potential spirituality yields something fruitful for these children. The spirituality, in combination with the faith in their supreme or transcendent attachment figures, can enhance resilience. This understanding of spirituality is important for the present research. The highlighting of spirituality may inspire young people and females to assume leadership in spiritual matters, although in some religio-cultural systems this is taboo. As in C/YHHs there are children and youths who head entire households,, denying their spirituality or their potential leadership in religio-cultural matters by the use of a restrictive terminology would amount to belittling or denying them what providence has given them, including experiences of non-sexist transcendent power or in short feminist spirituality.

### **3.6.3 Definition and Characteristics of Feminist Spirituality**

Though I agree with King's (1989) view that most definitions are too abstract, I will, in order to keep the lines of conversation open (Phiri and Nadar 2006:6), continue to dialogue with theologians on feminist spirituality which forms part of the framework of this study. According to Rakoczy (2011:33) feminist spirituality for the 21st century involves an approach that seeks

and finds God in all the circumstances of life, that affirms life and growth in others, and that works with others to bring a greater fullness of life into every situation and structure of culture and society, including the church.

### **3.6.3.1 Experience - The Starting Point in Theologising**

Phiri (2004:20) asserts that African women's theologies take women's experiences as the starting point of their theologising, including the voices of the majority of African women who engage in oral theology using the storytelling methodology. Similarly, Chittister (1998:50) details the changes that feminist spirituality will bring to relational behaviour. She proposes that the emphasis on reason shifts towards increased support for the importance of feeling because, when poets talk about the human soul, they do not refer to reason but feeling.

Riddle (2008) gives a central role to experience in spirituality. She postulates a reason for the intentional or unconscious blindness which makes people remain apparently unaware of gender inequities, talking about 'post-feminism' as though all gender issues were resolved. She says this has to do with our underlying belief structure regarding the nature of reality, our relationship to a larger cosmos or deity, and our perceived purpose on this planet. Riddle (2008) states that these spiritual beliefs are communicated to us from birth onward, even before we are able to speak and form a critical portion of our worldview. She says these beliefs typically go unquestioned until we experience persons with a completely different perspective or until we go through a personal crisis and our belief system is challenged. Hence, experience can make us doubt our spiritual beliefs. In the present study feminist spirituality which values experience will be used to interpret the experiences of children and youths in C/YHHs.

Riddle (2008) further emphasizes the role of experience in spirituality by pointing out that in patriarchal religions the Transcendent is an omniscient, omnipotent, unchanging and self-sufficient entity, external to ourselves and needing nothing outside itself. To combat such an assumption one has to be open to the possibility that the Transcendent is interested in learning from our experience and that learning and evolving might be the purpose of our existence. Riddle (2008) suggests that our experience may be a book which the Transcendent reads and learns from. She implies that every being can learn from other beings' experience. Accordingly, we can learn from the experiences of children and youths in C/YHHs, consulted in the course of this research. Having said this, I echo Haddad's (2002) resounding 'no' to a scenario of simply recording and recounting the experiences of these young people. I agree

with her contention that stories of faith, survival and resistance must become, as Oduyoye has said, stepping stones if we, African women theologians, are to succeed in theologizing and fulfilling the task of making a difference to the lives of the many, struggling to survive.

Highlighting the importance of experience Rakoczy (2011:33) points out that feminist spirituality is not so much described in articles and books as it is lived by women in the multifaceted dimensions of their lives and relationships. It emerges from the experience of women and from trust in their experience of God and themselves, making the emphasis on experience fundamental to feminist spirituality (Rakoczy 2011:34). Grant (2012:146) mentions that some feminists from monotheistic traditions have escaped from the traditional language of their religions which is male-focused, patriarchal and restrictive, by turning to their own experience for spiritual nurture. One's personal experience thus becomes a source of spiritual nurture and this is the reason why feminist spirituality is used to undergird the present study as it can reveal how in C/YHHs faith (the spiritual dimension of life) collaborates with resilience (the experience dimension).

### **3.6.3.2 Engaging In Practice**

Rakoczy (2004:386) states that feminist contextual spiritualities concretely engage with the surrounding world them and offer an outward looking perspective allowing which women to seek transformation of themselves, their relationships, their cultures and societies. She emphasizes that feminist spirituality is lived by women in their daily lives and relationships, in practice (Rakoczy 2011:32). Grant (2012) alludes to the importance of practice when he states that feminists who find the traditional language of their religions too restrictive have looked for other faith communities that practice feminism more fully (Grant 2012:146).

Apart from engaging in intellectual analysis, feminist spirituality brings about change in core beliefs through practicing alternatives (Riddle 2008:7) and this is integral to feminist theology (Rakoczy 2011:33). This characteristic of feminist spirituality to focus on practice rather than on mere theorizing is attuned to the present study which reveals that actual practice can be more life-enhancing than theorizing. While there is a general notion that caregiving is for women, boys in C/YHHs have demonstrated their readiness to provide care, thus contributing to change in a core belief. Faith in themselves, in humaneness and in *ubuntu*, rather than in gender role specifications, enables these boys to experience resilience as the absence of psychopathology and to manifest adaptive behaviour (Collings 2003:97ff.).

The practicing of alternatives that lead to changes in core beliefs is also apparent in Fiedler and Hofmeyr's (2011:41) stories about Mercy Oduyoye's family life. Mercy Oduyoye's father, husband and uncle have shown how men can promote women's liberation through an enlightened understanding of masculinity. Her father, Rev. Charles Kwa Yamoah, a successful minister and theologian, is an example of how an open-minded position as regards masculinity enables women's unrestrained growth and development. A similar interpretation of masculinity is promoted in the Circle (2011:46).

### **3.6.4 Merits of Feminist Spirituality**

Seeing that it promotes the use of experience and engages in practice, feminist spirituality must be considered on its own merits. Riddle (2008:4) states that feminist spirituality should enable people to find superordinate commonalities between patriarchal and matriarchal theist models. Such findings may result in a rich synthesis that is based on, and that produces, goodwill rather than the neutral zone that presently separates the two extremes (2008:4). It is hoped that, thus, the constructs of sexism and misogyny can be eradicated (Riddle 2008:2).

Rakoczy (2011:53) proposes that feminist spirituality is founded on trusting in one's experience of God, no matter the obstacles. She calls this the core of faithfulness to God. It follows then, that feminist spirituality grounds women in profound ways and leads them to act according to who they are before God. Trusting experience, Rakoczy (2011:53) writes, expands our understanding of feminist spirituality because women's approach to spirituality is holistic and no part of experience is deemed to be exterior to God's. This standpoint is suitable for exploring the correlation between faith and resilience which is the aim of the present study. It upholds faith as foundational and it emphasizes trusting oneself despite obstacles. It represents the essence of resilience which entails, as Dass-Brailsford (2005) puts it, the ability to maintain competence in stressful circumstances.

Another merit of feminist spirituality lies in Harrison's (2004:35) assertion that all human beings are children of God and none can be treated as falling outside the circle of divine blessedness. Similarly, Rakoczy (2011:53) affirms that every aspect of human experience can be graced by God and, at every moment in time, the divine may shine through what appears to be ordinary' or lighten up darkness and suffering (Rakoczy 2011:53). There is a parallel with children and youths in C/YHHs who, in the midst of orphan hood and abandonment show a resilience that is anchored in faith in the divine.



A contextual feminist spirituality rejects imposed knowledge as authoritative and opens up other avenues of arriving at knowledge by allowing intuition, emotion and experience to make their contributions (Paton 2013). The rejection of imposed knowledge concurs with the present research because C/YHHs are a relatively new phenomenon to which older models of operating are not relevant. Van Breda (2010:259) describes the CHH as a new alternative living arrangement; a family constellation with a legitimate place in society.

African women's theologies hold, as Riddle (2008:2) does, that spirituality from birth onward determines the underlying belief structure that shapes a critical portion of our worldview. There are biblical examples of spirituality of the unborn and of infants.<sup>54</sup> For that reason there are rituals believed to talk to the spirit of the unborn and the infant. This means that the biblical world believed in their capacity to experience spirituality. By the same token, the Manyika<sup>55</sup> people believe children are spiritual. A baby who, when meeting visitors, voices a panicky scream signals that she/he is about to fall into the hands of an evil person.<sup>56</sup> A useful contribution of feminist spirituality is asking analytical questions that make the implicit explicit, opening the possibility to address and permanently change the root causes of sexism and misogyny. As a result, young people may mature into unique, effective adults, rather than remaining spiritually stuck as though they were fearful children (Riddle 2008:7).

If the resilience of children and youths in C/YHHs is to be strengthened, they will need liberation from the status quo that Rakoczy (2011) refers to as an 'invitation to death'. Liberation allows one to experience full personhood and permits the creation of new rituals to celebrate God (2004:381). Paton (2013) adds that feminist spirituality seeks to free the whole of society and women in particular. It supports relationships of mutuality which deconstruct the patriarchal biases that are imposed in traditional religious practice (2013:27). It advocates for the liberation of children and youths in C/YHHs from retrograde worldviews and from the static components of belief systems in a process that affirms their spirituality as Jesus' 'cuddle of children'<sup>57</sup> and as they participate in cultural paradigm shifts about care.

---

<sup>54</sup> Twins struggle in Rebecca's womb; Prophet Jeremiah's call before birth; unborn Jesus leaps in Mary's womb.

<sup>55</sup> One of the ethnic groups in Zimbabwe.

<sup>56</sup> Indigenous beliefs among some Shona (e.g. Manyika) ethnic groups in Zimbabwe to which I belong.

<sup>57</sup> Using the literal interpretation of the Bible and intercultural hermeneutics I allude to Matt 19:13-15.

## 3.7 Feminist Ethics of Care

### 3.7.1 Definition and Rationale

The present research is based on, *inter alia*, the feminist ethics of care within African women's theologies. Feminist ethics of care involves a set of moral principles based on the conviction that women and men should enjoy the same rights, power and opportunities. By underpinning this study with the feminist ethics of care within African women's theologies (taking account of the coding problems discussed), I acknowledge the importance of the feminist dimension of care ethics which can be used analytically to expose attitudes, beliefs, and practices that imprison us within gender role stereotypes and that result in sexism and misogyny (Riddle (2008:4). The theory's principles are compatible with a principle of the phenomenological approach used in the current study - casting off old models of operating in order to remove the straitjacket of encrusted traditions (Moran 2000:5). Besides, the ethical dimension of the framework provides important guidelines for the 'platform'<sup>58</sup> of the study - households composed of children and youths. The guidelines highlight that children as carers exercise agency in families, in schools and communities (Cockburn 2005:74). The ethics of care concurs with features of other theories used in this study and forms a base for the comprehensive African feminist theological ethics of care (AFTEC), the subject of Chapter 8.

### 3.7.2 Principles of the Feminist Ethics of Care

Gilligan (1982:16–17) suggests that differences between the sexes and women's subordination are associated with the difference in moral 'strengths' of men and women. On the other hand, in the essay *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition*, Charles Taylor (1992:41) argues for principles of equality around a 'universal human potential, a capacity that all humans share'. Tronto (1993) identifies an ethic of care that differs from Gilligan's 'ethics of rights'. Tronto (1993) asserts that an ethics of care: (1) involves different moral concepts: emphasizing responsibilities and relationships rather than rules and rights; (2) is bound to concrete situations rather than being abstract and informal; As morality is adjoined to social practices and customs, and to people's feelings and opinions, morality makes it possible to realize good judgment; (3)

---

<sup>58</sup> By calling the households 'platforms' of the present study I am using an image from theatre and acknowledging the children and youths as protagonists. This emphasizes their active, proactive and agency roles.

The ethics of care can be termed a moral activity (the ‘activity of caring’), rather than a set of principles which can be followed; Care is not a system of principles, but a mode of responsiveness (Close: 2014).

Nonetheless Silvers (1995) argues that the principle of equality must be retained because removing it will offer few alternative arguments for those receiving care. She notes that help-givers choose how they help yet help-receivers cannot choose how they will be helped. Rejecting proffered help implies withdrawing from being helped and from being in a helping relationship (Silvers, 1995:40–1). Code (1995) identifies two principles of the ethics built on a rejection of adversarial and autonomous starting points. First, the feminist ethics of care assumes people recognise their worldviews as different and take into account other people’s worldviews. Second, it assumes that needs and narratives are located, interpreted and judged in specific contexts (Cockburn 2005:78). Advocating for principles in the feminist ethics of care, Cockburn (:77) argues that moral dilemmas which take the form of conflicts over rights are often solved through the identification of the highest principle. Comparing relationships in order to draw parallels is effective in disputes between carers and care recipients. Highlighting ‘connectedness’ and critiquing the ‘isolated individual’ Gilligan (1998) notes:

A feminist ethic of care begins with connection,...fundamental in human life. People live in connection with one another;...interwoven in a myriad of subtle and not so subtle ways... From this standpoint, the conception of a separate self appears intrinsically problematic, conjuring up the image of rational man, acting out a relationship with the inner and outer world. Such autonomy, rather than being the bedrock for solving psychological and moral problems itself becomes the problem, signifying a disconnection from emotions and a blindness to relationships...the stage for psychological and political trouble (1998:342).

Correspondingly, Cockburn (2005:72) considers this critique of the myth of the ‘isolated individual’ advocated by (male) enlightenment theorists as an important contribution of feminism to ethics. Though he acknowledges that feminist ethics is not a homogeneous set of ideas, Cockburn (:72) suggests that there are common themes and sees feminist ethics as premised on the principle of relationalism. Feminist approaches conceptualize persons as relational rather than autonomous.

The feminist ethics of care upholds the principles of nurturing and trust (Cockburn 2005:77). Trust is crucial if members of C/YHHs are to advance in resilience and the feminist ethics of care can be utilized to demonstrate how resilience correlates with faith in their lives. Feminists emphasize contextuality and experience. Furthermore, the principle of the ‘generalized other’ claims each individual is a moral person endowed with the same moral rights, can reason and act, and has a sense of justice and a vision of the good (Cockburn 2005:76). The moral repertoire should include cooperation, connection, intimacy and compassion as sources of moral reasoning (Cockburn 2005:78).

### 3.7.3 The Feminist Ethics of Care and Gender

While gender does not determine carers (as some men perform caring roles and work), care does involve gendering (Morgan 1996). It is well documented that there are increased levels of sympathy and support for male carers, whereas women carers are seen as doing no more than what is naturally expected from them (Dalley 1988). Phiri (2003:15) confirms this:

Traditionally women are care providers for everyone in the home... Due to lack of knowledge on how to protect themselves from the virus some African women and girls are being infected with HIV through the process of caregiving for AIDS patients... Young girls drop out of school to take care of their sick parents or siblings.

Ironically Kessler (2004:108) sees the ethics of care as the female response to moral problems. Care, love, trust, dealing with persons who have specific needs, compassion, mercy, forgiveness, the importance of not hurting anyone, as well as the authoritative role of feeling in solving problems emerge as central concerns of females when dealing with moral issues (Kessler 2004:108). By persistent reference to females, Kessler seems to base the ethic of care on physiology rather than qualities. This reinforces gender stereotyping in the context of care provision and it goes against the *ubuntu* dimension as understood in the African feminist theological ethics of care (AFTEC)<sup>59</sup>, the theory being proposed in this study.

Cockburn (2005:72) concurs that care involves gendering even if gender does not determine carers. Also Tronto (1993) argues that, while care work is gendered, an ethics of care involves

---

<sup>59</sup> This is articulated in detail in chapter 7.

a more general stance, not limited to the practices of women. Such a stance works well in analysing the experiences of children and youths in C/YHHs. In the final analysis principles are essential, among them the principles of equality, justice and children's rights.

Similarly Close (2014) writes that care involves treating people not only with respect (Kant), but actually attempting to empathize with and help them in any way possible. The distinctive elements of an ethic of care are attention to particular others in their actual contexts, a focus on the needs versus the interests of those others; a commitment to dialogue as the primary means of moral deliberation. Caregiving thus is about responsiveness. These qualities are contrasted with the typical masculine ethic of justice, where the self is separate and uses rights to maintain that separation. Care on the other hand emphasizes relationships and the responsibilities these entail. An appropriate metaphor is the web as opposed to the hierarchy of masculine thinking: Instead of following a rule-based system, solutions are founded on willingness to compromise and accommodate so that everyone's needs are met.

### **3.7.4 Feminist Ethics of Care and Children's Rights**

In the last 30 years there has been a re-evaluation of the 'care' concept by feminists who focused on the fact that women undertook the bulk of caring for others and on the devaluation of care work in both the formal and informal work sectors. The re-evaluation of empirical interpretations ran parallel to the philosophical and theoretical production of a distinctly feminist ethic - the one that is used in this study and that is the subject of the present discussion.

Held (1983:9-20) argues that the mother-child bond throws light on the privacy of personhood, and that ethical reasoning should start from the processes of linking and individuation. Other feminists have cautioned that this principle should not lead to 'moral motherhood' where 'motherhood' provides the chief perspective on ethics (Sevenhuijsen 1998). Such a valorization of the mother-child relationship could risk reintroducing old gender arrangements and norms into contemporary ethical theory (Cockburn 2005:78).

Children's advocates must be able to refer to abstract principles (despite philosophical questions involved) if these can lead to an improvement in children's situations or rebalance relationships with their caregivers. It is in fact appeals to exactly such abstract principles of rules and rights that have been used to further children's interests (e.g. the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, criteria of Non-Accidental Injury, the 1989 Children Act in the UK, etc.). This agrees with results obtained in a plethora of studies associated with the 'new

sociology of childhood' that demonstrate how children are defined using morally essential criteria. The studies show that children's moral worth recognizable in the present (although Mayall (2002) calls such studies devalued). The feminist aims to ensure that children and youths in C/YHHs enjoy their rights to care and to exercise their faith in order to develop or enhance their resilience. Spiritual guidance for these youngsters must be based on spiritual tolerance. A feminist ethic of care that is liberating like the AFTEC should recognise that members of C/YHHs have the right to safety and security. As such the ethic acknowledge their continued search for attachment figures to facilitate the enhancement of resilience.

### **3.8 Conclusion**

Chapter three delineates the theoretical framework underpinning this study. It traces the origin of the notion of faith in evolution and its eventual inadvertent divergence into two trajectories, faith as confidence or trust and as spiritual or religious belief. In relation to the concept of resilience the engineering of resilience and its application in child development studies are discussed. The attachment theory, its origins in evolution and the contributions of Bowlby and Ainsworth in conceptualising the theory are considered. Thereafter the attachment system, behavioural patterns and the internal working model are described and the relationship between the attachment theory, gender and culture is clarified. I discuss how scholars have related the attachment theory to spirituality, showing how God can compensate as an attachment figure. The relevance of the theory to faith, resilience and C/YHHs is suggested.

I discussed the background, features and principles of the humanistic theory, pointing to the pertinence of positive psychology as a contemporary development. Complementary features of the attachment and humanistic theories are pointed out. The discussion on feminist spirituality, located in African women's theologies and in third world feminism, makes clear that, despite problematic coding by African women theologians, the feminist angle works in favour of children and youths in C/YHHs. The term spirituality is unpacked, showing that some inadequate definitions of spirituality do disfavour to children and youths in C/YHHs. The definition, characteristics and merits of feminist spirituality are provided to affirm the spirituality of those denied the chance to dialogue with their spirituality by the straitjackets of sacrosanct religious traditions. Chapter three argues that experience, a starting point in feminist theologizing, challenges belief systems and traditions, more so in C/YHHs. The feminist ethics of care is considered in relation to gender, whereby the relationship between care and justice hints at the need to explore the link between the feminist ethics of care and children's rights.

The theories that frame this study stem from psychology, spirituality and African women's theologies. Theories from psychology are used because they concern human continuity and help in the investigation of experiences of children and youths who need to continue living constructively after having lost their parents. The attachment theory explains behaviour that is rooted in evolution and that hinges on faith as trust in the primary caregiver. In C/YHHs the death of the caregiver means that the faith is shifted to another source of security as Ainsworth (1989) and Kirkpatrick (1997) point out in their compensation hypothesis. Accordingly faith - a key element in attachment behaviour - has been defined in ways more wide-ranging than religious conviction. This is appropriate to the present study of C/YHHs as attachment behaviour and faith are essential aspects of humanity.

The psychosocial wellbeing of the members of C/YHH's has been affected by the loss of attachment figures, a situation compounded by multiple stress factors resulting from the need to adapt to adverse circumstances. Probing their attachment behaviour touches on their levels of spirituality as their faith, trust, confidence, and hope affect, and are in turn affected by, the goings-on in their psychosocial being. The principles of evolution are operational in their experiences of orphanhood and living in adult-less households. Therefore, attachment behaviour continues to operate on their psychological being and faith, as an expression of their spirituality, becomes necessary. The theories, suggested to explain the experiences of C/YHHs, focus on the evolutionary traits that make faith, in any of its varieties, an essential. Dealing with orphaned children and youths facing various adversities necessitates an exploration of the sources and nature of their resilience.

Feminist spirituality and the feminist ethics of care are grounded in on, and advocate for, gender impartiality and the preferment of spirituality to religiousness as it was 'in the beginning'. Children and youths in C/YHHs will continue exploring attachment entities whom they can trust and who will support their striving for resilience. From these theories and the experiences of children and youths in C/YHHs emanates an ethics of care that is indigenous, equitable and transcendent - the AFTEC. The theories discussed in this chapter relate to the geneses of life. For that reason I advance the discussion on the continuum of life with an anthropological exploration of Zulu culture and religion in relation to prescribed funeral rituals, as these operate and are performed by children and youths in C/YHHs.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **FAITH AND RESILIENCE IN BEREAVED CHILDREN IN THE CONTEXT OF ZULU CULTURE AND RELIGION**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter introduced the theories that frame this research, citing faith, resilience, the attachment theory, positive psychology, feminist spirituality and the feminist ethics of care. It stated some principles, outlined some characteristics and pointed out some features of the theories to delineate the theoretical framework of this study. The theories were used to guide in answering the key question: How do faith and resilience correlate in the experiences of children and youths living on their own without continuous adults presence?

To begin focusing on the actual facts, events or the context of the study framed by these theories, this chapter will discuss the Zulu culture and religion focussing on funeral rituals as they operate, are prescribed or performed by children. The question the chapter asks is: How do faith and resilience operate in the lives of children and youths in C/YHHs in the context of death in Zulu culture and religion? The objective of the chapter is to establish the nature and manner of faith in children and youths in C/YHHs in the context of death in Zulu culture and religion and its effect on resilience.

To tackle this question I will begin by showing the place of oral tradition, cultural rituals and worship patterns in Zulu culture and religion. Next will be a discussion on the general position on children in the Zulu society. Then I will discuss some funeral cultural practices related to living children. I will explore these in the light of a four-panelled prism comprising the attachment theory, humanistic psychology, feminist spirituality and the feminist ethics of care. In the process I will reflect on how faith and resilience correlate in the lives of the children in the situation of death and bereavement.

This chapter deals with culture, a dynamic societal construct. Also cultural practices vary in big and even small entities, in whole ethnic groups, in communities and even in families. This means the discussions are not exhaustive. Any rejoinder questions show that the topic is extensive, demonstrate that the present research is delimited and contribute to the African women theologians' venture to interrogate 'sacrosanct' religio-cultures. The unresolved issues also serve as stimulus to rethink cultural beliefs, rituals, practices and worship patterns.



## 4.2 Oral Tradition, Cultural Rituals and Worship Patterns

The African heritage in South Africa is rich but not uniform (Govender, 2007:98). Some of this heritage originated on African soil and is, therefore, genuinely African and indigenous (Mbiti 1975:3). Nevertheless, some developed through contact with peoples of other countries and continents (Mbiti 1975:3). Though there are many similarities in the cultural practices among the different linguistic groups, there are also differences from time to time, from place to place, and from people to people (Govender 2007:99). Cultural practices have been transmitted orally through many ages through the medium of stories, proverbs riddles, myths and legends which are found in large numbers among the African peoples (Mbiti 1975:8). Some of them are a record of actual events, but most are created by people's imaginations (Mbiti 1975:8). Myths, for example are ways of explaining things, like how death came into the world (Mbiti 1975:8), how cosmological phenomenon is the way it is or why certain creatures behave as they do.

Though cultural practices have been transmitted orally Magwaza (1993:4) argues that oral records are neither uniform nor fixed but change with "place, time, age, need, capability and circumstance". Magwaza (1993:3) believes that changes in people's material, political, educational and spiritual life must result in corresponding change in their oral tradition. So every attempt should be made for the survival of cultural practices in spite of language loss.

Despite the inevitable and circumstantial changes that occur due to the fluidity of oral tradition Govender (2007:29) argues that there are often recurrent patterns of cultural practices in different regions and ceremonies. The approaches towards the worship of ancestral spirits in the traditional Zulu society are fairly uniform (Govender 2007:101). There are a few variations in thinking about the veneration of ancestral spirits which can be attributed to the differences in rural and urban settings and the tendency for the urbanized Zulu to be more influenced by western thinking, resulting in the practices being more sophisticated (Govender 2007).

The rituals and worship patterns of the Zulu people have influenced the character and culture of African peoples throughout the centuries (Govender 2007:99). However one is also aware that the Zulu community is a cultural melting pot with many different people and ideas existing together, often mixing and producing something new. So while influencing other African peoples, the Zulu rituals and worship patterns have also been undergoing modification. Although the types of ritual or the method of performance is not found in any sacred books, it is embedded in the memory of the people and is subsequently passed on to posterity (2007:99).

Children and youths in C/YHHs who have been socialised into these cultural systems develop faith as trust that performance of the rituals enables them to deal with bereavement and orphanhood. Some have demonstrated faith as confidence in either the belief system or in those who socialised them into it. The question is whether that kind of faith actually inspires resilience. In some cases the youths' object of faith proved inadequate in terms of encouraging resilience, they got disillusioned resulting in their faith and trust shifting from performance of cultural rituals to religious or even denominational faith. Smith (2002:9) sees loss of confidence in familiar entities as part of the mourning process. This shift, I maintain, is the innate care-seeking behaviour expressed by staking prongs of faith in various entities and systems in search of safety and comfort (Howe 2011:19), and of coping mechanisms.

Within this discussion including cultural rituals and worship patterns, I am aware of the arguments about the word 'ancestral worship', with some saying it is ancestral veneration rather than worship (Govender 2007:5; Geller 2012). For this study I will not delve into that argument because when translated to vernacular either those distinctions blur or the words 'worship' and 'veneration' behave inversely. Furthermore in dictionaries the two words are synonymous. Suffice it to say, where an author used worship or veneration I will follow suit.

### **4.3 Birth and the importance of children**

Govender (2007:41) points at the importance of children by saying:

...the birth of a new child is hugely significant and that the child becomes a person when the child gets a name. And the child moves from one stage of being into another stage of being at the point which they become capable of parenting children. Coming off age ritual, young boys being sent into the mountains to learn how to become adult men happens all over the world... a time where spontaneously there is an urge to find a mate, to nest and to procreate. This is another biological urge which results in marriage.

In the Zulu society childlessness was feared, showing that children are an integral part of the society. In fact there was a time when young people would not attend funerals for fear of inducing bad luck in marriage and childlessness (Cannell 2006:28). Such conceptions about death hint about the position of children in the society. Moreover death is conceived in essentially two ways - a timely death of the elderly and an untimely death which is regarded as

a serious interference in a human life (Berglund 1976:79). If untimely death is seen as interference it means those likely to die prematurely, constitute an important part of the living community. Furthermore Ramji (1998:2) says for the elderly timely death presupposes being survived by a number of children and grandchildren, pointing to the importance of children. Additionally Hammond-Tooke (2008:66) explains that ancestors can be angered by the failure of their descendants to build up the homestead by producing children following a marriage. This raises a question whether children are valued in their own right or for the status of adults. It also questions why, if children are valued, there are so many child-headed households living in such vulnerable circumstances as to pose a threat to the continuity of posterity, even though death is a significant landmark in the journey of life.

#### **4.4 Death, an important anthropological milestone**

J. Moyo (2013) states that death, among Africans, has remained an enigma that burial rituals and rites practiced many years ago have resisted the wear and tear of both time and crosscultural influences. The speech acts and accompanying nonverbal communication antics that characterized traditional African funerals are still persisting to this every day. In the traditional Zulu society great importance is attached to death as an anthropological milestone (Govender 2007:99). Therefore many long and complex rituals and ceremonies are associated with death and ancestor worship (Govender 2007).

In the Zulu society, like in other African societies people are sensitive to what is done when there is a death in the family (2007:99). Death marks a physical separation of the individual from other human beings (2007:99). This is a radical change and the funeral rites and ceremonies, whose nature and extent depends on the age, sex and status of the person in society are intended to draw attention to that permanent separation (2007:99). Govender (2007:99) points out that the nature and extent of funeral rites and ceremonies performed depends on, among other things, the age of the person. This means differently aged people are treated in different ways. To get an indication of the extent to which children are taken as persons in their own right and needs to examine the position ascribed to children in funeral rituals. I will probe this by exploring what happens when a child loses a parent, a caregiver or an attachment figure.

#### **4.4.1. Timely and Untimely Death**

Children and grandchildren are expected to survive the elderly whose timely death ushers them into the next world (Ramji 1998:2). In most cases an African person prefers a slow, lingering and natural prolongation of the dying process in order to make peace, say farewell to friends and relatives and give final instructions to kinsfolks (Govender 2007:104). Among the Zulus death is preferred in one's home with the family comforting the dying person, although it rarely occurs today in the modern cities with sanitized hospitals (2007:104). In traditional cultures, the family of a dying person gathers and children are involved in the conversation. The dying person is encouraged to embrace death with dignity (Govender 2007:104). The dying and surviving persons have faith that the 'timely death' procedures involving making peace, saying farewell and giving last instructions to relatives helps them survive harsh experiences, surmount life's obstacles and transform them into personal strengths (Brown 2004).

When a person dies, family members, specifically women wail and speak out so that *ifu elimnyama* (literally the black cloud), figuratively meaning death, will be terrified and takes time to come back again (Govender 2007:113). Women's screaming also draws the attention of the neighbours who then rapidly rush to the *umuzi* or homestead where someone has died. Immediately on the announcement of the death the neighbours reach the homestead that experiences *ifu elimnyama* (death). On arrival, they take the lamenting family members into the house with the corpse. Death is preceded, accompanied and succeeded by a sequence of rituals. They are designed and done with faith as trust and hope that they can help the dying and the bereaved to be resilient<sup>60</sup>. The question is how far the rituals go in making people resilient and to what extent faith in these customs contributes to such resilience.

### **4.5 Zulu Funeral Rituals - A Mixed Bag**

This section examines the death and funeral rituals performed on, by or for children. It explores how much benefit children derive from the death and funeral rituals. This question takes cognisance of the fact that the Zulu society is communal and any practices or rituals are meant

---

<sup>60</sup> In the Shona cultural beliefs a dying person can exhibit resilience. A person who dies showing turmoil or deceases and rises several times before breathing the last is not resilient; in other words she/he can't cope, adapt to the idea of facing death and move on.

to benefit everyone in the community or, in Haddad's (2009) words, seek to achieve the greatest good for the greatest number of people. Therefore by selecting children as a category within the society this study does not overlook the communitarian ethos of the society. Rather it acknowledges that the society's perpetuation and progress lie in its posterity and that in most communities children are not allowed to ask questions. I will examine the rituals performed when children lose parents, primary caregivers or attachment figures.

#### **4.5.1 Is Theory Standing Practice On Its Head?<sup>61</sup>**

Children are involved in many funeral rituals to enable them to come to terms with the loss and elude the supposedly evil effects of the 'black cloud'. These rituals are practiced in the faith or hope that they instil resilience during the grieving period. In the past when a woman died after delivering an infant, it was given to the grandmother to suckle her/him. If the grandmother was not there the baby was taken and placed in a wood or under a bush and left to perish (Govender 2007:132). Due to reverence for life the infant was left to fate's (or ancestors') devices indicating the application of an ethic of care within the absence of a substitute attachment figure.

Similarly a toddler who loses parents also receives bereavement and psychosocial care. The Zulus have a practice of helping toddlers, up to five years, to come to terms with the loss of a parent by whispering in the ear that the parent is deceased.<sup>62</sup> This is done for several nights while the child is asleep. The expectation is that the whispering talks to the spirit of the child since first, the whispering is done even for toddlers who can't speak yet. Second the whispering is done to a child in her/his sleep with the belief that the child's spirit will understand. The designers of the ritual and those who practise it must be trusting and hopeful that the practice helps the child to deal with the vacuum so created by the passing of the parent and develop the ability to resist the negative impact of trauma (Van Rensburg and Barnard, 2005: 1–12.).

When an elderly person dies the children are taken to other *izindlu* (houses) in the homestead (Govender 2007:113), while the neighbours and some of the family members start to take care

---

<sup>61</sup> If something stands another on its head, the truth of the latter or the belief on which it is based are doubted.

<sup>62</sup> Community care workers refer to this practice a lot during the Sinomlando memory box training in counselling orphaned children. Most claim that a child whispered to does not have panic attacks, nightmares or hallucinations related to the deceased,

of the *isidumbu* (corpse). Removing the children from activities related to the recent demise of a person is meant to protect them from the traumatizing effects of death and funeral-related activities. One expects that they are given bereavement care and support at this time of grief.

Nevertheless in terms of the attachment theory confining children away from funeral activities and failing to address their psychosocial needs may result in them developing avoidant behaviour. This results when overtures of need and attachment behaviour are rebuffed and children develop strategies that are avoidant (Howe 2010:44). The children experience this as rejecting and dismissive. The best defence strategy seems to be to minimise overt shows of the attachment behaviour and displays of negative affect (Howe 2010:44). Infants who adopt avoidant types of response may mislead parent to think they are fine when they are uncomfortable (Crittenden 2008). Avoidant children learn to contain their feelings, either deny or do not communicate their distress; do not indicate vulnerability and their affect is overregulated (Howe 2010:44).

Confining children away from funeral activities and failing to give bereavement care may result in them carrying the grief and expressing it whenever an opportunity arises. This is depicted in the documentary “A Child is A Child” where, during play funeral a child cries and says “...*kodwa kubulungu...*” - it is painful. Nonetheless keeping children away from funeral activities is done in the trust (faith) that it helps them cope with the death atmosphere.

In relation to mourning this concurs with Smith’s (2002:9) assertion that children present their grief feelings differently from adults, often turning them inwards on themselves to spare their grieving families any more hurt. In terms of the correlation between faith and resilience, this is related to the assumptions of the attachment theory in that, as Howe (2011:39) says unreliable attachment figures and harsh environments force the development of other attachment behavioural strategies. For children and youths in C/YHHs other attachment behavioural strategies could include putting faith in God or having confidence in some ultimate transcendent reality. According to Pargament and Cummings (2010) engaging religion positively and proactively in dealing with problems has been found to promote psychological resilience.

Similarly Sullivan and Beard (2014) explain that at least two key factors influence whether someone will engage religion in contending with and making meaning in times of difficulty: the first factor is the degree to which religion is available to a person (i.e. how religious they

are, how much their orientation to the world is shaped by religious faith). The second factor is the degree to which they think religion will help provide a sound solution to the crisis or adversity they face. Since religion becomes a more prominent resource for people with limited access to other types of resources, women, seniors, people with less education and income, and African Americans are more likely to engage religion in coping. Through empowerment and control, religion places power in the hands of otherwise marginalized people, thus “levelling the playing field” (Koenig, King, and Carson 2012).

According to Govender’s (2007:135) informant, people who attend a funeral used to bite the roots of grass called *isiquunga* and spit the mixture on the children's heads to prevent them from being haunted by the spirit of the deceased and to avert misfortune. The idea of death clouding people with misfortune is still present even today as seen in the mourning clothes worn by widows and wrist or arm bands worn by other bereaved family members.

Bryant (1967:706) also states that as a sign of mourning, children are required to wear a single *umuzi* (rush) around their waist as a symbol of mourning. This is removed after the burial and handed to the several mothers who later on hide the rushes in the neighbouring bush (Bryant 1967:706). Though Bryant wrote many years ago this practice is still active among the Zulu people. In some cases, the children’s hair is shaved as a sign of mourning and cleansing (Govender 2007:156) They may wear small pieces of cloth on their arm to identify them as people who have lost a parent (Govender 2007:156). The belief is that this practice helps them to deal with feelings of sadness and helplessness associated with the loss.

Another funeral practice is discussed by Nyawose (2000:11) who says that there is a belief in African society that a dying person taints the house. Therefore traditionally if a person dies in a hut, it must be pulled down after the funeral (Nyawose 2000). However, in modern society municipal laws do not allow for such practices, so to satisfy this need an *inyanga* (herb doctor) is consulted to cleanse the homestead after a person has died at home (Govender 2007:105). This ritual was conceived and is done with the faith and hope that it helps children and other family members to psychologically and spiritually cope with bereavement. This ritual helps children to be resilient what an extent. But in the light of ensuing conflicts leading to their abandonment by living relatives, children and youths from C/YHHs possibly will view this *inyanga*’s protection ritual with uncertainty. Some may be suspicious of a practice that states that they are protected from evil spirits by the ancestors while they are not protected from socio-economic dislocation by living relatives.

One more ritual is that when parents (either mother or father) have died children are expected to mourn at heart, as is expected of a father who has lost a child (Govender 2007:155, 156). It is strange that children are expected to mourn silently like men, yet in the socio-cultural hierarchy they are regarded as lower than men. Sometimes they are even told that weeping too much will block the deceased's journey to the new land.<sup>63</sup> At the same time women expatiate, a form of bereavement catharsis from which they assuredly derive some relief. Expecting children to 'mourn at heart', or to show no overt expressions of mourning, is likely to lead to the development of avoidance behaviour. From an attachment theory perspective children may realise, as Crittenden (2008) and Howe (2011) noted that attachment behaviour like distress, crying, clinging, doesn't increase the caregivers' responsiveness or availability. When such tactics and attachment behaviour are discouraged children develop avoidance stratagems (Howe 2010:44). Their internal working model may adopt or be forced into developing a defence strategy where they seem to contain their feelings. Placing faith in God, in themselves or their own emotional resources, bereaved children may move back and forth on the grief curve (Kubler-Ross 1969) in life-seeking behaviour.

#### **4.5.2 Cleansing and Separation of the Living from the Dead**

After the burial of a deceased parent a bereaved child is expected to bath in the river, supposedly to stop the deceased's spirit hovering over the living. The eldest child should bath in the river for seven consecutive dawns (Govender 2007:156). In the Khoza clan other children may bath for three consecutive dawns but it is not compulsory. However in the Chiliza clan, it is compulsory for all children to bath for three consecutive days (Govender 2007:156). Culturally this bathing is to effect the separation with the deceased. From the evolutionist's standpoint this serves as evolutionary adaptation to the changed circumstances created by the death of the caregiver or attachment figure. Children whose mother dies are cleansed on the same day with their father, after a month (Daber 2003).

---

<sup>63</sup> I have witnessed and heard these words of consolation when attending and conducting funerals as a bereaved person, as a mourner comforting the bereaved and as a pastor ministering to the bereaved, during night vigils.



### 4.5.3 Separation of the Living from the Living

Children whose father has died are not allowed to mix with their mother, the widow for some time (Govender 2007). This sounds logical, bearing in mind that from a socio-cultural perspective the wife-husband and child-father relationships are constructed and construed differently. Nevertheless, distancing grieving children from a grieving mother exacerbates not only her pain but that of the children as well. From an attachment theory standpoint, this distancing upsets their already perturbed attachment system.

This happens because the attachment system is that behavioural system which gets activated whenever the individual feels threatened, alarmed, in danger, in distress or in need (Howe 2011:9). When activated the attachment system sets in motion attachment behaviours whose set goal is to recover physical or psychological proximity to one or other of the caregivers where safety and protection lie. If the father has died children get threatened, alarmed, distressed or experience other feelings associated with loss. This is likely to activate their behavioural system and they try to regain proximity to the mother. The ritual rulings forbid this so their system may get disturbed and in that way the ritual impedes resilience.

Furthermore this practice which forbids a widowed grieving mother from mixing with her children also expects her to avoid mixing with members of the family and to have her own personal utensils including a tea set and dinner set (Govender 2007:146) for the duration of the mourning period as she has *ifu elimyana* or the black cloud engulfing her. This sounds reasonable in that it allows her space and opportunity to be alone for ruminating and soliloquizing if she needs to. Moreover it frees her from pressure to make a public show of her grief or to behave in certain expected ways. The notion of the black cloud is also dealt with when diviners attend funerals. Nene's (2013:101) informant who related '... if I were to go to a funeral I would never enter the home unless I have thoroughly cleansed myself with herbs'. This shows the strong belief that death brings impurity even on custodian of supernatural mysteries which needs to be removed.

On the other hand, from a feminist ethics of care perspective the differentiating is detrimental to the mother and to the children as well. Having lost a husband and a father, this nuclear group of family members needs each other for mutual support. Moreover the isolation mourning period tends to be longer for a woman, a period within which she needs to comfort and be comforted by the children. This also shows the gendered nature of the rituals, customs and

practices which negatively impacts on the children. In this patriarchal society, one would expect the prescribers of the customs, who believe women are 'weaker' to shorten the women's isolation period. Women, like men who marry quickly after being widowed, also need other people to help them through the grief.

Magudu (2004:143) expressed some concerns about various discriminatory practices. Her major concern is that all the men who make decisions during the mourning period do not take responsibility to ensure that the widow's children have food, since their mother cannot continue with her normal activities. Magudu (2004:142) also argues that the multiple cleansing ceremonies are costly and worsen the poverty of the children.

#### **4.5.4 Identity Inconsistences**

Though the Zulu cultural system is meant to offer bereavement care to children, certain widowhood and orphanhood rituals and practices may cause identity inconsistencies and subsequently identity crises in children. According to Khumalo (2007: pc) the Zulu tradition of wife inheritance (*ukungena*) ensures that children left by a deceased brother are taken care of. However, if the widow decides that she does not want to be protected within her late husband's household and courts somebody outside the family circle, she will be allowed to live with the other person. Khumalo (2007: pc) explains that daughters born in that new relationship between a widow and a man who is unrelated to the deceased husband are called by the surname of the deceased's family even if the biological father has another surname.

This is good in the sense of making the children acknowledge the bond between their mother and her deceased husband. However this displacement and replacement of identity is likely to cause an identity inconsistency for the child. The identity issue is so strong that when *lobola*, the bride price, has to be paid for this girl, the new man has to call the family of the deceased to accept the *lobola*, as if this is not his own biological daughter. What does it mean for a child to use the surname of a deceased man when her father is alive and present? Identity is a psychosocial dimension of one's life, it involves one's spirituality. Therefore, from a feminist spirituality standpoint the practice of tying a girl child with a deceased step-father while her biological father is alive is unfavourable to her sense of self. Misplaced identity could arguably be seen as an infringement of the children's rights.

## **4.6 Children's Right to Knowledge**

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that everyone has a right to be informed. Some cultural practices were designed, are believed to and may actually bring resilience, some unfortunately impede resilience. In the first place the adults' desire and efforts to protect children from the effects death and funerals means most rituals are done on or for the children. Due to the hierarchical ordering in the society children are also protected from deliberating and querying death and funerals-related engagements, portraying what Haddad (2002) calls, "an environment of conspiracy" against children's right to knowledge. This means children and youths do these rituals due to faith that the rituals will help them cope with the death. However, this "environment of conspiracy" against children's right to knowledge constitutes children's lack of engaged exposure to death and funerals which may have constituted to modest bereavement care being given to children. For that reason children and youths in C/YHHs need faith in some ultimate reality to deal with the trauma and subsequent disorientation brought by the death of the attachment figures and disturbance in the evolutionary adaptation process.

Additionally the practice of the notion of *ukuhlonipha* or Zulu customary respect is a hindrance to resilience. Discussing *ukuhlonipha*, Denis (2006) says the conventions of this respect become a major hindrance to mourning children. He asks: How can they grieve if they cannot openly display their emotions and ask questions that are important to them? Denying them of the opportunities to ask questions and express emotions leads to loss of faith in the entities and systems of which they are part, which affects their resilience.

## **4.7. Death and Funerals - Increasingly Commonplace for Children**

The practice of withholding knowledge about death and protecting them from the sad news could be becoming obsolete as death and funerals are becoming familiar for children. Cannell (2006:28) says that in his interviews, within the memory span of older members of the community, there was a time when young people would not attend funerals. Cannell's (2006:28) informant, a retired bishop narrated that small children used to fear dead people, but in the mid-1990s' political violence it was so common for a dead body to be lying around that people got used to it. Consequently even small children do not fear the dead anymore.

Correspondingly, due to urbanization, changing contexts, the advent of AIDS, the media and world politics children have become more exposed to death dying and funerals. They often

have to care for sick parents and relatives as Phiri (2003:15) describes, and face the possibility that the cared-for might die. Cannell (2006:28) relates that the presence of young people at funerals has been routine for some time. Moreover the frequency of death in the communities means children cannot avoid attending funerals and there is increasing familiarity of children to death and funerals. Those in C/YHHs, as will be shown in the findings, attend burial society meetings and participate fully in funerals in the community. From a positive psychology perspective they could be deriving meaningful life or life of affiliation by belonging to and contributing to something greater than themselves, such as social groups, organizations or belief systems (Greig, Taylor and MacKay 2007).

Cannell (2006:31) observes a concern among elders in the church and communities that young people are so used to funerals that they dress inappropriately and fail to adhere to standards of sober behaviour at funerals. In fact children have become so familiar with death that in some communities they play funeral instead of playhouse.<sup>64</sup> In the movie the children dramatize a funeral and one child relives the experience of her mother's passing then cries. The others tell her it's not meant to be real, they are only playing. This shows various responses to grief and the various stages which the children are at. The increasing exposure to death means children need to be assisted to tap into their faith, a God-given intrapersonal resource that can help them to be resilient. Additionally, there are external agents to provide psychosocial care.

Denis (2008:586) notices that like other invasive historical processes, AIDS in South Africa has altered socio-economic and generational dynamics and patterns of communication between children and adults, making it more difficult for children and youths in C/YHHs as they have no adults to communicate their grief with. According to an article in Avert (2011) there is increasing awareness, in the socio-cultural and religious circles, human rights and humanitarian sectors that the loss of a parent has an immense emotional impact on children. The bereaved children's faith in their attachment systems and coping mechanisms, notwithstanding the terminology, will enable them to cope with the just-happened loss.

---

<sup>64</sup> A CD created by Peace Corps volunteers at Mpilonhle project. Mpilonhle Project is the community component for the HIV and AIDS anti-retroviral rollout at Ladysmith provincial hospital in partnership with the communicable disease clinic. Mpilonhle works to assist orphans and vulnerable children and people living with HIV and AIDS. [www.hist.org.za/links/mpilonhle-project](http://www.hist.org.za/links/mpilonhle-project). Accessed on 20 February 2014.

Additionally the occurrence of funeral conflicts and property wrangles that have engendered some of the C/YHHs prompt one to think over at the nature and extent of the benefits of the death and funeral rituals done for children. These young people's object of faith in a situation where have lost the attachment figure, had their internal model disrupted, the ground under their feet eroded and are trying to come to terms with to the situation may shift for them to them to cope, adjust, negotiate and navigate a new *modus operandi* and *modus vivendi*.

## **4.8 Conclusion**

This chapter described Zulu culture and religion in relation to children in the context of death. I began with oral traditions, cultural rituals and worship patterns among the Zulu to show the *modus operandi* of the system in a changing society. I discussed the importance of children as demonstrated by birth rituals, practices and beliefs in the society. I demonstrated death as an important anthropological milestone, preceded, accompanied and succeeded by rituals. These are designed and done with faith that they can help the dying and the bereaved to be resilient. I showed that as children are important, efforts are made to care for them in situations of death. I differentiated timely and untimely death, and showed that in either case both the dying and the surviving believe that the rituals will benefit them and help children survive harsh experiences, surmount life's obstacles and transform them into personal strengths.

I established that Zulu funeral rituals have proved to be a mixed bag, encouraging as well as impeding resilience. I exemplified the inconsistency of confining children away from activities related to the recent demise of a person. This is meant to protect from the traumatizing effects of death but may lead to avoidant behaviour if grief care is not provided.

I explained that separating the bereaved living from other living provides helpful psychotherapeutics. Yet, from the attachment theory perspective, such separation is detrimental as grieving bereaved children need each other and need proximity to caregivers and other supportive adults during mourning. Faith in the rituals has made them undergo the rituals, activating the ability to adjust, navigate new circumstances and grow despite all.

The practice of cleansing by separating the living from the dead may assist the bereaved children and youths to adapt and adjust to the new situation of orphanhood. As the attachment theory asserts, children and youths in C/YHHs continue to search other entities in whom to put their trust. The question was whether the faith of those who chose to remain in homesteads

without adults can assuage their own nostalgia and cope with adversity. I pointed out at a practice which may cause an identity crisis and infringes on the children's right to knowledge. I showed that doing these rituals means trusting the oral traditions, rituals, worship patterns and socializing agents of the system which brings resilience.

I pointed out at how the practice of respect concurs with *ubuntu*, maintaining that everyone must respect whoever they have to. Yet, when it bars children from asking questions it hinders resilience and impinges on their right to knowledge. The practice of *ukuhlonipha* disregards the feminist dimension of care ethics when women are expected to respect more than men. Some children and youth in C/YHHs in this study have gone through some of the funeral rituals, as a confirmation of faith in the belief system and of trust that such rituals will help them cope with the adversity brought by losing parents.

These various funeral rituals are meant to offer psychosocial care for the bereaved but may not encourage resilience if certain aspects are overlooked. For instance the differentiation or even hardening of rituals done on women disregards the feminist dimension of care ethics. This is what the AFTEC, a theory proposed in this study seeks to address. This chapter showed that the Zulu culture is a complex phenomenon with some aspects bringing resilience while others impede it. This is evident from the experiences of the children and youth in C/YHHs which were explored using the research methodology discussed in the next chapter.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explored the association between faith and resilience in bereaved children in the context of Zulu culture and religion. It described various funeral cultural rituals and indicated that people, more so members of C/YHHs perform them as a confirmation of faith in the belief system, of confidence in the agents who coined or socialized them into the cultural practices and of trust that such rituals will help them cope with consequences of having lost parents. With their attachment figures gone children and youths in C/YHHs undergo or perform specific rituals with the hope that it is the belief system's way of helping them maintain competence despite stressful and difficult life circumstances (Dass-Brailsford 2005). I established that though funeral rituals performed on or by bereaved children are meant to offer psychosocial care some obstruct resilience. This is because the Zulu culture is a mixed bag with some practices encouraging resilience while others negate the principles of evolution which can promote resilience. In the interest of an indigenous, tolerant, humane ethic upheld by the AFTEC, I set out to probe the object/s of faith that makes the youths in C/YHHs rebound after adversity (Kruger and Prinsloo 2008).

To proceed exploring how the mixed bag operates among the subjects, I embarked on an empirical investigation of the correlation between faith and resilience in the lives of children and youths living in C/YHHs. Accordingly this chapter explains the methodology employed in this exploration. Discussing paradigms in social science research, Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2006:6) say methodology specifies how researchers may go about studying whatever they believe can be known. Deliberating on science and research Neuman (2006:2) explains that methodology is broader than and envelops methods, entailing an understanding of the social organizational context, philosophical assumptions, ethical principles and political issues of the enterprise of social researchers (2006). Because the study is about a phenomenon, I will begin by discussing phenomenology, a philosophy and a research method. Subsequently mixed methods research will be explained and demonstrated. Next, the discussion on triangulation will validate mixed methods, followed by the data analysis and ethical considerations regarding the phenomenon of C/YHHs.

## 5.2 Phenomenology

### 5.2.1 Origins and evolution of phenomenology

The study has used the phenomenological approach in the examination of the human phenomenon of C/YHHs. Phenomenology as an approach to research which aims to understand human experience in context (Terre Blanche et al. 2005:562) was used to explore the experiences of children and youths growing in C/YHHs. Edmund Husserl introduced phenomenology at the beginning of the 20th century as a way of doing philosophy (Moran 2000). In early writings the term appeared as a single model. However, due to the works of Husserl and Heidegger (Dowling 2007) the one term came to denote a philosophy or a research method. Though the two are related, there are different parallel 'streams' of phenomenology. Tuohy, Cooney, Dowling, Murphy and Sixmith (2013:17) distinguished phenomenology as a philosophical movement and as a method of qualitative enquiry. They further identified two strands of the research method - descriptive and interpretive. (Tuohy et al. 2013). To illustrate the bifurcation of phenomenology as in Tuohy et. al's (2013:17) description I have constructed the horizontal relationship diagram below.

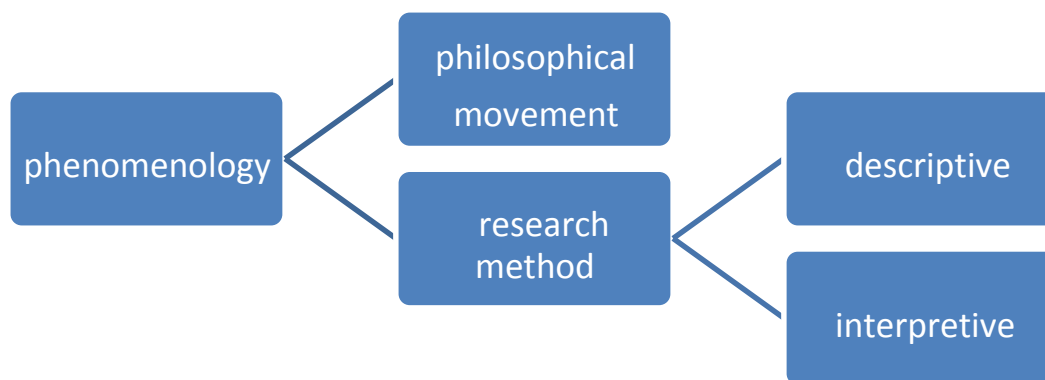


Figure 3 Schools, streams and strands of phenomenology <sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> A diagram constructed from Tuohy, Cooney, Dowling, Murphy and Sixmith's (2013) description of phenomenology.



### 5.2.2 The Phenomenological Approach

Husserl stressed phenomenology's principle of presuppositionlessness, the claim to discard philosophical theorizing in favour of careful description of phenomena, being attentive to intuition (Moran 2000:9). This is achieved through 'bracketing out' or 'epoché' in which objectivity is crucial. Tuohy et al. (2013:18) cite the debates about bracketing as Husserl envisaged it. The principle made phenomenology suitable for this study of a human phenomenon of C/YHHs that emerged in the latter half of the first millennium. Moran (2000:4) writes that phenomenology first seeks to avoid misconstructions and impositions placed on experience in advance, drawn from religions, cultures, common sense or science. The rejection of imposed knowledge as authoritative was inevitable in this research as, according to Van Breda (2010:259), C/YHHs are relatively recent and unusual phenomena, an alternative living arrangement and a family constellation with a legitimate place in society. This concurs with the principles of feminist spirituality, a key concept in this study.

The phenomenological approach was suitable for the current research because it promotes overcoming the straitjacket of encrusted traditions. (Moran 2000:5). Old models of research were cast-off in the data collection process as they could not be wholesomely relevant to the new phenomenon of C/YHHs. For that reason the occupational research<sup>66</sup> methods were used. Furthermore the methodology's radical anti-traditional style of philosophizing suited the current study with C/YHHs as they are an anti-traditional living arrangement experiencing faith in broader dimensions. The phenomenological approach was suitable for the current study as it opens up other ways of arriving at knowledge like intuition and emotion (Paton 2013). These are crucial in an investigation concerning faith and its correlation with resilience.

'Descriptive' or 'eidetic' phenomenology is a strand which aims to describe a phenomenon's general characteristics (Giorgi 2008), to define it in the broadest sense as it manifests itself to the consciousness of the experiencer (Moran 2000:4) and to determine the meaning or essence of the phenomenon (Crotty 1996). Chapter two of the current thesis describes the general

---

<sup>66</sup> This term takes cue from action research. It refers to the process of collecting research related data in daily work activities and instances through observing cues related to the research topic, associating events and information from colleagues with the research title and negotiating with informants.

characteristics of C/YHHs. Similarly the field work followed the descriptive mode as it outlined the general characteristics of the households who participated in the study.

Descriptive phenomenology influenced the development of interpretive phenomenology (Tuohy et al. 2013:17). Also called 'hermeneutics', it aims to describe and interpret individuals' experiences. Concepts in interpretive phenomenology include being-in-the-world (*dasein*), life-world existential themes and the hermeneutic circle. Heidegger (1996) ties the idea of *dasein* or "being there" to care, a chief concern of this study expressed in *ubuntu* and a method of response that hinges on faith and can enhance resilience. Interpretive phenomenology values experience thereby complementing feminist ethics of care, a key theory framing this study and pivoting on experience. Interpretive phenomenology helped to interpret participants' experiences, with care as a founding code and engendering the coining of the AFTEC. As the current study is based in a cultural setting the approach's rejection of the domination of inquiry by externally imposed methods (Moran 2000:5) proved viable hence the use of mixed methods.

### **5.3 Mixed Methods Research**

In this research probing the correlation between faith and resilience in C/YHHs, mixed methods proved viable due to contextual dynamics, ethics and the need to be loyal to the phenomenological approach. Mixed-methods research combines qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data-collection, analysis, and inference techniques to address the research question. In this study I used mixed-methods investigation by conjoining qualitative methods namely interviewing and observation with quantitative methods namely surveying, questionnaires and focus groups. Creswell (2006:5) defines mixed methods research as:

...a research design with philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry. As a methodology, it involves philosophical assumptions that guide the direction of the collection and analysis of data and the mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches in many phases in the research process. As a method, it focuses on collecting, analysing and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or series of studies. Its central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone.

Mixed method is the collection, analysis, and mixing both qualitative and quantitative data in a single study, to provide a better understanding of a research problem. This mixed methods

approach was used in this study due to the nature of the key research participants – orphaned children and youths and the context – C/YHHs created mainly as aftermath of AIDS.

In a journal article examining how the field of mixed methods currently is being defined, Burke R. Johnson, Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie and Lisa A. Turner (2007:112-133) list 19 definitions of mixed methods research and summarize them through content analysis and discussion. They state that mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g. qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration. They argue for a contingency theory of research methodology and offer the following definition of mixed methods research:

Mixed methods research is an intellectual and practical synthesis based on qualitative and quantitative research; it is the third methodological or research paradigm. It recognizes the importance of traditional quantitative and qualitative research but also offers a powerful third paradigm choice that often will provide the most informative, complete, balanced, and useful research results. Mixed methods research is the research paradigm that (a) partners with the philosophy of pragmatism in one of its forms (left, right, middle); (b) follows...the logic of the fundamental principle and any other useful logics imported from qualitative or quantitative research that are helpful for producing defensible and usable research findings; (c) relies on qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, and inference techniques...to address one's research question(s); and (d) is cognizant, appreciative, and inclusive of local and broader socio-political realities, resources, and needs...offers an important approach for generating important research questions and providing warranted answers to those questions... should be used when the nexus of contingencies in a situation suggests that mixed methods research is likely to provide superior research findings and outcomes.

Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner (2007:112-133) explain that mixed methods researchers believe that qualitative and quantitative data and approaches will add insights as one considers the research question. They coin a *qualitative- dominant* mixed methods research. This means including quantitative data and approaches into an otherwise qualitative research project. Qualitative-dominant mixed methods research relies on a qualitative, constructivist

poststructuralist-critical view of the research process, while concurrently recognizing that the addition of quantitative data and approaches are likely to benefit the research project.

I used the qualitative-dominant mixed method. By interviewing children and youths from C/YHHs, talking to community care workers and listening to speech pertaining to child or youth-headed households, observing the members of C/YHHs I engaged the qualitative paradigm. 20 members of child /youth-headed households were purposively sampled. They were selected because they belong to adultless households. They were identified with the help of *The Organization*, informed of the study and were offered the choice to participate or not. 6 backed out and 14 were interviewed using the questions in Appendix 1.

## **5.4 Research Location, Gaining Access, and Sampling Method**

### **5.4.1 Research Location**

The research was conducted in Slangspruit, an urban high-density suburb in Pietermaritzburg. Due to the apartheid's system of segregated development the area remains deprived of modern services and opportunities. Laband and Haswell (1988:33-45) explain that in a reshuffling of the pieces of Pietermaritzburg as an apartheid city, Slangspruit was excised but not formally placed under any other body's jurisdiction. This omission was rectified later, spurred on by the need to upgrade what is one of the poorest areas in the metropolis in physical terms. Laband and Haswell (1988:33-45) describe Slangspruit as a swath of 'no man's land' and a triangle of increasingly tightly-packed wattle and daub houses (many with rows of lodgers' rooms appended) bulging at the seams. Because of its history the area remains deprived of modern services. Within the suburb is Slangspruit Public Primary School (SPPS) where 840 vulnerable children from crèche to grade 7 attend.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Information accessed with thanks from the website written by the director.

### 5.4.2 Gaining Access

Neuman (2006:388) explains that entering and gaining access to a field site depends on common sense, judgment and social skills. He says entry is more analogous to peeling the layers of an onion than to opening a door and cautions that bargains and promises of entry may not remain stable over time (Neuman 2006). With that in mind, to get access to the child and youth-headed households in Slangspruit, I used Sinomlando's network of partners. The organization has a Memory Box Programme which belongs to the Psychosocial Cluster of CINDI<sup>68</sup> (Children in Distress International), a network of NPOs in Pietermaritzburg. Through CINDI I got to know of *The Organization*<sup>65</sup>, a secular and small NPO led by a single person and working with C/YHHs in Slangspruit. *The Organization* relies on volunteers from abroad. It identified 5 families with 28 orphaned and vulnerable youngsters (referred to as core families). Following Neuman's (2006:388) suggestions I began at the bottom rung where access was easy and where I was an outsider looking for public information. Once close onsite observation began I became, as Neuman (2006) asserts, a passive observer, not questioning what the children and youths were saying, but empathetically journeying with them as they retraced the steps of their lives in narrative.

### 5.4.3 Sampling Method

In keeping with mixed methods I used various sampling methods, focussing more on how the samples of cases, units or activities could illuminate social life than on the samples' representativeness (Neuman 2006:219). Participants were selected through a non-probability purposive sampling. According to Germann (2005:126) this is a sampling method that is based on unknown probabilities, whereby researchers purposely choose participants who, in their view are thought to be relevant to the topic. The judgement of the researcher is more important than getting a probability sample. This sampling method is effective, appropriate and less costly than others and ensures that each dimension of the relevant study population is represented in the sample. I used purposive sampling to select the leaders of the organizations. Through

---

<sup>68</sup> CINDI or Children in Distress International is a network of organisations in Pietermaritzburg who work in communities focussing on and addressing different needs like orphanhood, widowhood, poverty, drug abuse, etc.

CINDI I became acquainted to *The Organization*, within which I got access to the director<sup>69</sup>, a community care worker and the households. Convenient sampling followed, by enlisting participants who were already known as belonging to C/YHHs under the auspices of NGOs.

Snowball or chain sampling happened when *The Organization* referred me to School Leavers Opportunities and Training (S.L.O.T.) training young people, some of whom are from C/YHHs. Through *The Organization* and School Leavers Opportunities and Training (S.L.O.T) I purposively selected participants who belonged to C/YHHs. I received contacts of 7 households comprising 25 children and youths.

Through Sinomlando's network of partners and through the USAID funded scaling-up programme for memory work and psychosocial support to OVC, I used criterion sampling to identify and select community care-workers concerned and working with child or youth-headed households. I used snowball or chain sampling again when I asked the care workers concerned with child or youth-headed households from other areas to collect information about the children they are working with. Snowball sampling was also done through the accumulation of children and youths from C/YHHs by using contacts and references, in this case the community care-workers. It had a criterion sampling component done by selecting households headed by children and youths.

The study population was orphaned children and youths. The target population was the orphaned children and youths from adultless households in the communities where the Capacity Building project trainees came from. The categories of people interviewed were orphaned children and youths living in adultless households.

By requesting the administration and collecting of questionnaires from children and youths belonging to C/YHHS and conducting focus groups, I engaged the quantitative paradigm whose sample population comprised 40 individual and 6 groups of orphaned children and

---

<sup>69</sup> Similarly, even though the beneficiaries express much gratitude at *The Organization's* role in their lives I will not mention the director's name to protect the identity and anonymity of the beneficiaries in view of the fact that some members of households refused to be interviewed.

youths. The community care-workers identified by and determined the sample sizes and the number of households to be recruited in the communities did not state the sizes of the groups.

Members of child- or youth-headed households and orphaned children were included in the sample because they form a group of orphans that is atypical by virtue of living without liable adults. Orphans in adult-headed or skip-generation households and in foster or institutional care were not included in the sample because their day-to-day life experiences are likely to be influenced and affected by the presence of liable adults. Moreover the relatives, neighbours, school acquaintances, religious communities and other social circles were not included in the sample. This is so because the focus was on the personal experiences of the household members and not their social circles. Also their experiences would remove the focus of the study on religio-spiritual experiences of young people in the absence of accountable adults.

The whole sample included 14 children and youths in the households in Slangspruit, who agreed and were interviewed individually orally. 20 had been sampled and 6 were freeze-outs. The 14 children and youth were interviewed. It also included 40 children and youths who responded to individual written questionnaires and 6 groups who responded to questionnaires with care-workers; one director of the organization interviewed orally in occupational research; one community caregiver who provided information and concerns about the households. She was also observed interacting with members of the C/YHHs. In addition one elderly guardian of a family was observed participating in preparations for the ritual.

#### **5.4.4 “Freeze outs”**

Among the purposively sampled members of C/YHHs were some children and youths who showed unwillingness to be interviewed who Neuman (2006:391) calls “freeze outs”. He explains that these are members who express an uncooperative attitude or an overt unwillingness to participate in research. Neuman (2006) cautions that field researchers may never gain the cooperation of everyone, or a lukewarm relationship may develop after prolonged persistence. This was confirmed in my research. I found out that six members especially boys, were not cooperative, much as they had initially agreed to participate in the research. The reason could be related to Johansson and Olsson’s findings (2013) - that boys learn gender-appropriate behaviour early and therefore avoid visible signs of sadness (e.g., crying), as a part of the masculine ideal, also pointed out by Ogrodniczuk and Oliffe (2011).

In one case a teenage girl who had started delinquent behaviour totally refused to cooperate. In fact *The Organization* had hoped that by interacting with her I may be able to give counsel that might help her to change her behaviour. She might have suspected this and completely refused to talk to me, switching off her phone whenever I called her. Though they did not participate in the interviews these freeze-outs are considered because first they are a constituent of the phenomenon of the C/YHHs; second, they had been sampled; third, their behaviour indicates some issues related to the phenomenon itself and to gender dynamics in the context; fourth their behaviour forms an important part of the data analysis. Having used many sampling processes I used diverse methods, which fit the samples, to collect the data.

## **5.5 Data Collection – Methods, Processes and Tools**

In this research I used the phenomenological approach in which, according to Moran (2000:9) objectivity is crucial. In view of the need to be objective, the counters to complete objectivity and the potentially sensitive nature of the research context<sup>70</sup> of C/YHH, I used a plethora of data-collection methods. I used qualitative methods which, as Durrheim (2006:47) states, allow the researchers to study selected issues in depth and detail as they identify and attempt to understand the types of information that emerge from the data. This design allowed the children to talk and express their feelings. This is important for many South African children who, as Denis (2005:4) found out, do not know how to talk about death of their parents much as they are directly affected. This creates confusion, blocking development to full potential.

The interpretive strand of the phenomenological research design worked well in a qualitative research which can be used to formulate rich descriptions and explanations of human phenomena (Durrheim (2006:45). The data was collected through open-ended and unstructured questions, narrative, and observation of the behaviours and interactions of the youths, occupational research, questionnaires administered by community care-workers, literature and a documentary titled “A Child is A Child” obtained from Mpilonhle.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup> By research context I refer to the situation within which the research happens like their homes, neighbourhoods, the interviewees, and social circles as these influence on my interactions with the interviewees.

<sup>71</sup> The documentary was created by Peace Corps volunteers at Mpilonhle project. Mpilonhle Project is the community component for the HIV and AIDS anti-retroviral rollout at Ladysmith provincial hospital in partnership with the communicable disease clinic. Mpilonhle works to assist orphans and vulnerable children and people living with HIV and AIDS. [www.hist.org.za/links/mpilonhle-project](http://www.hist.org.za/links/mpilonhle-project). Accessed 20 February 2014.



The documentary shows children enacting a reality occurring in their community by playing funeral with one child internalising the activities and crying. The others comfort her saying that it is just play. This shows that death has become commonplace for children, that children usually don't get space to grieve, that children who are denied the space to grieve carry grief and that play can trigger feelings of the realities in children's lives.

### *Quantitative data*

This was a *qualitative-dominant* mixed methods research. It included quantitative approaches and data into an otherwise qualitative research for breadth and depth of understanding. The quantitative paradigm was engaged by requesting the administration of, and collecting 40 individual questionnaires from children and youths belonging to C/YHHs and 6 focus group responses. These were administered by community care workers. The respondents to the questionnaires were not located in the typical research site but were gleaned through occupational research and incorporated to accomplish the principles of triangulation. The quantitative data collected was strewn in the thesis to satisfy the research requirements of validity, transferability and, to an extent, generalizability of the results. Because this was qualitative-dominant, the quantitative data was process-analysed. Examples of the results from the questionnaires are that 95% said NPOs were looking after their school related needs; 100% of the respondents said it is good to worship God, giving such reasons as: *He created us; He gave us parents; You will get good things; He protects us from danger; He will take us to heaven*; 90% said it is good to venerate the ancestors and only 2 said they do not believe in life after death. Regarding cultural practices, one community worker's informant said: *Traditional healers are liars, they cause neighbours to fight because they will tell you that your neighbour bewitched you*, indicating disillusionment in the custodians of the culture.

#### **5.5.1 Open-Ended, Unstructured Interview Questions**

I used open-ended and unstructured questions - inquiries or statements which do not have a planned ending and so may develop in several ways. I asked mainly higher order questions based on how or why. I also probed for more information where it was necessary and used follow up questions to information given. Moreover, I listened for repetitions, going back and forth in time or nonverbal cues which hinted themes or issues that needed further probing. This process agrees with Neuman's (2006:286) explanation that open-ended questions are research questions which permit numerous possible answers, adequate answers to complex issues,

creativity, self-expression and detail. They reveal respondents' logic, thinking and frame of reference. The respondents are free to offer any answer they wish and can qualify and clarify responses; unanticipated findings can be discovered (2006:287). Bless and Smith (1995:120) say open-ended questions give no suggestions, guidelines or restrictions for solutions, leaving the participants free to express their answers as detailed and complex, as long or as short as they feel is appropriate. Such free-response questions lent themselves to narrative.

### **5.5.2 Narrative**

Narrative refers to descriptions of series of events that have happened in people's lives. I used narrative to obtain information and to infer the correlation between faith and resilience in the lives of children and youths in C/YHHs by asking open-ended questions and open statements and capturing the participants' ordinary lived experiences. The aim was to find out their spiritual and socio-cultural coping resources and strategies. I explained the research, obtained consent, and created a safe space by asking whether they wanted to be interviewed in private and where they preferred to be interviewed. I focussed on getting first-hand information and accounts of experiences. I guided the sense of movement and ensured a coherent sequence of events by asking for dates, time lags, time spans and chronicling of events without interrupting the interviewees too much. The participants were also encouraged to express the effects of events on them by non-judgemental responses, empathic listening and validation of feelings. By asking open-ended questions I invoked the narrative mode of describing experiences which took the form of life histories, biographies or detailed descriptions. This method is well-matched to Neuman's (2006:474) description of narrative as a type of qualitative data, a form of inquiry and data gathering and a way to discuss and present data. He goes on to say:

Despite its diversity of its uses, a narrative shares six core elements... (1) telling a story or tale (i.e. presenting a folding of events from a point of view), (2) a sense of movement or process (i.e. a before and after condition), (3) interrelations or connections within a complex detailed context, (4) an involved individual or collectivity that engages in action and makes choices, (5) coherence or the whole holds together and (6) the temporal sequencing of a chain of events.

Neuman (2006:475) explains that narrative inquiry is a data collection method that tries to retain a narrative like quality that exists in social life. It is a tale with a sense of movement and a coherent sequence of events about an engaged social actor in a specific context in which the

researcher tries to capture people's ordinary lived experience without disrupting, destroying or reducing its narrative character. Neuman (2006) goes on to say that a narrative style grows out of the interpretive social science approach and is sometimes called storytelling blending description, empathetic understanding and interpretation. In a book about doing research with children, Greig, Taylor and MacKay (2007:143) state that narrative is the use of stories as data, focussing on first-hand accounts of experiences. The narratives can take such forms as answers to questions in interviews, life history research, biographies and oral history. However, some information was not forthcoming. Therefore, in the interest of methodological triangulation, I included observation as a data collection technique to probe how faith correlates with resilience in the lives of these children and youths growing in C/YHHs.

### **5.5.3 Participant Observation<sup>72</sup>**

In exploring the correlation between faith and resilience in the lives of children and youths in C/YHHs I employed observation as one of the data-collection methods. Simply put, to observe is to watch or notice. The procedure takes cue from a historical situation. Neuman (2006:381) writes that participant observation was developed as a distinctive technique by the Chicago School of Sociology from the 1940s to the 1960s, when Robert Park said researchers should leave the libraries and 'get their hands dirty' by direct observations and conversations on street corners, in bar rooms and hotel lobbies. He said field researchers observe and interact with

---

<sup>72</sup> Observation entailed noting the children and youths' behaviours, interactions, expressions that indicated coping, managing difficulties, surviving hardships or confronting challenges. It also meant noticing indications of belief, trust confidence in entities. Data collected during observation is presented dispersed in various relevant sections of the thesis, illustrating points, confirming theories or acknowledging and validating the participants' experiences. Examples:

Nomthandazo's sister complaint that she had left home without notice yet required siblings to notify P125.

Disagreements about Christmas gifts, younger siblings wanted luxury items, heads wanted stationary P156.

Nomkhosi's defying her brother's barring orders when she wanted to go to away with friends; P157.

Nobuhle's displeasure about a child's father eating in the orphans' house while contributing nothing. P162.

Nonhlanhla's statement and behaviour when asked what she did when she felt sad or when she missed her late mother: *I just sit alone and cry* (and started crying) P. 174. The ritual. P182.

members in natural settings to get their perspective, embracing an activist or social constructionist perspective on social life. Field researchers focus on the daily face-to-face social processes of negotiation, discussion and bargaining to construct social meaning.

Nevertheless, Park's statement that researchers must leave the libraries and 'get their hands dirty' gives the impression that the academia is upright while the life outside the institutions is full of dishonesty of sorts. I would have said 'roll up their sleeves' or 'put on their overalls/gumboots' to indicate more concerted hands-on work as opposed to sitting and waiting for data. Even so, I agree with the idea of interacting with people rather than just reading about them. I implemented Park's idea in my research as I paid regular visits to the C/YHHs rather than just read about them. That way I was able to pick certain information which did not come through in the interviews.

Kelly (2006:307) says while talking to people is a good and direct way of getting to know about their experiences, it usually comes 'after the fact' as it relies on the interviewee's recollection of an experience. Observation on the other hand takes place while things are happening, and thus gets one closer to the action. It often occurs as participant observation where the researcher gets fully involved in the setting being studied. One of the hallmarks of observation is the need for non-intrusiveness. Kelly (:309) points out that systematic observation conducted in the public domain is often conducted from hidden vantage points as the people being observed may behave differently. He points out at the ethical implications of the 'hidden vantage points'.

Because of the ethical reasons related to the traditional method of observing from 'hidden vantage points' as Kelly explains, I observed the children and youths in open spaces in their homes. However, I agree with Kelly (2006:309) that the observed should be unaware that they are being observed.

Observation took place when the researcher got fully involved in the setting being studied. The children and youths were observed in their home environment. They were observed interacting with each other and with their environment. The elderly guardian of the family was observed participating in preparations for the ritual. Observation entailed noting the children and youths' behaviours, interactions, expressions while in familiar surroundings, that indicate coping, managing difficulties, surviving hardships or brave confrontation with challenges. It also meant noticing indications of belief, trust confidence in some entities, including the children and youths themselves. There was no structured guide to the observation as having one would

compromise the ethics. I found observation yielding information which did not come through in the formal interviews. This procedure helped me to hear the voices of reserved children.<sup>73</sup> Informal visits gave insight into children's or youth's lives in their usual environment and enabled the testing of the hypothesis.

Kelly (2006:309) distinguishes between descriptive, focused and selective observations. He explains that descriptive observation is where a researcher only has general questions such as 'What is going on here?' which will usually lead to a descriptive account, where the observer merely describes in detail everything that she or he witnessed, usually in sequence. This is an exploratory or scoping approach usually done as a first step by generating ideas. Focused observation involves asking more particular or well-honed questions about general events and looking out for particular kinds of interaction. Kelly (2006:310) explains that selective observation involves the selection of particular events that we have specific questions about.

During the visits to the households I mostly used descriptive and focused observations. I used selective observation when I attended the cultural ritual in Khulekani's household. Greig, Taylor and MacKay (2007:118) affirm this process by asserting that observation means watching children individually, in relationships, in contexts and asking what they see, feel, think and do. They point out that observation is naturalistic as it is done on children in their natural settings. I was predictably caught up with the ethical issues that Kelly (2006) refers to as some information either contradicted what was said in the interviews or implied some impetus behind participating in the research. This validated using more methods to obtain data hence the use of occupational research discussed in the next section.

#### **5.5.4 Occupational Research**

In the interest of method triangulation and in keeping with mixed methods research I used occupational research. This is a process of collecting research related data in daily work activities and instances through observing hints related to the research topic, associating events and information from colleagues with the research title and negotiating with informants. The

---

<sup>73</sup> E.g. I told Nomthandazo the head of one household that I would visit. She agreed but said she would go to do community work somewhere. During the visit the young sister complained that her sister Nomthandazo had not told her where she was going, yet Nomthandazo always required the younger to tell her whenever she went away. I sensed that the youngster was asserting equality and that the scenario was a looming discipline problem.

idea occurred when, because of Sinomlando's extensive work with community care workers in six provinces in South Africa, I perceived that the phenomenon of child-headed households is prevalent in most of the six provinces. During the Capacity Building programme training workshops for community care workers, I noticed that community care workers' stories; role plays, examples and scenarios depicted much about child-headed households and showed the prevalence of the phenomenon in the communities they came from. I visited some of the provinces and saw that this was becoming a common phenomenon. I began to tap into that opportunity as a resource and decided to term the process occupational research. I understood occupational research as a method of gathering data by listening for facts and hints and observing indications related to one's area of study in daily work circumstances. I listened, observed and asked questions related to any information about child or youth-headed households in the encounters with community care workers.

Occupational research takes cue from action research which, according to Neuman (2006:280), is applied research in which the primary goal is to facilitate social change or bring about a value-oriented political-social goal. The process is similar to what Edwina Ward (2010:120-139) did when she uncovered the reactions of shame among young pastoral ministers working in hospitals during their fieldwork training through the analysis of 139 verbatim reports created in Clinical Pastoral Education (CPE) during the past fifteen years. She may not have termed it occupational research, but in essence it is - using information and findings from daily work experiences to answer specific questions in academic and professional inquiry. In terms of Neuman's two dimensions of research I would group occupational research as a subset of basic research. Neuman (2006:23-24) explains that:

For over a century social research has had two wings. Some researchers adopt a more detached, scientific and academic orientation; others are more activist, pragmatic and reform oriented. This is not a rigid separation. Researchers in the two wings cooperate and maintain friendly relations. Some move from one wing to another at different stages in their careers. The difference in orientation revolves around who consumes the findings and who uses them...to advance general knowledge ...to solve specific problems. Those who seek an understanding of the fundamental nature of social reality are engaged in basic research (also called academic research or pure research). Applied researchers by contrast primarily want to apply and tailor knowledge to address a specific practical issue. They want to answer a policy question or solve a pressing social problem.

Neuman (2006:26) has evaluation, action and social impact assessment as types of applied research. In the similar vein I would categorise occupational research as a type of basic research. Firstly it seeks an understanding of the fundamental nature of social reality and secondly it can be used to advance general knowledge. As Neuman acknowledges, the separation between the two wings is not rigid. Therefore though I would term occupational research a basic study it can, like applied studies, address a specific concern or offer solutions to a problem. From the pastoral motivation described before, this research also seeks to suggest ways to promote and encourage spirituality among the children and youths and to do mission work with non-churchgoing youngsters in a non-traditional way.

Kaniki (2006:22) says the more a method has been tested and adjusted for use in studying a specific problem, the more reliable it will be. He goes on to say that the researcher should also be alert to new and interesting methods that may appear in the literature. In conceptualising occupational research I took cue from action research, participatory action research and observation and decided on a method that comprised activities from all three.

#### **5.5.5 Individual Questionnaires Administered by Community Care Workers**

In order to get a broader perspective on a study concerning faith in a country that is 80% religious, I used methodological triangulation. This is consistent with mixed methods research explained earlier, whose central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone (Creswell 2006:5). I requested and sent out 40 questionnaires to community care workers working in areas where I had learned, through encounters with them, that child or youth-headed households existed.

I explained the purpose of the research and indicated that they could collect data through ways they saw fit, depending on the circumstances in their areas. I explained the ethical guidelines e.g. that participate do it voluntarily. I had faith that they would adhere to the ethical standards as they were already working with these youths, and have guidelines from their organizations on how to handle vulnerable children. The Sinomlando training which they were undergoing also has ethical guidelines on handling distressed children. Neuman (2006:277) acknowledges this approach, saying a researcher organises questions on the questionnaire based on the research question, the respondents and the type of survey.

### **5.5.6 Group Session Questionnaires**

While some community care workers administered individual questionnaires, others preferred to hold group sessions and write the answers from the participants. The questions for the 6 group sessions focussed on the children's faith on an exterior, commonplace level and excluded deeply personal matters as in the individual questionnaires. The care workers were advised to avoid questions that might embarrass or stress the youths as they would have difficulties containing the situation should it get sensitive. The variance in the use of the questionnaire was to suit the different contexts where data was to be gathered from. The difference is also compatible with phenomenology, mixed methods and triangulation.

### **5.5.7 Other Sources**

I studied theses, journal articles, reports and internet documents that have been published on child-headed households. I consulted the South African Child Act, CDs from the Department of Social Development and another from Mphahlele, "A Child is A Child". I read government gazettes by the health minister outlining the national HIV Counselling and Testing (HCT) campaign and the social development minister, launching the country's first Child-headed Household Register. Findings from these sources and facts from occupational research were used to back up the data from the interviewees from *The Organisation*.

## **5.6 Triangulation – validating mixed methods**

### **5.6.1 Introduction to Triangulation**

Due to the fact that the research was being done with children and youths who have the potential of being distressed, triangulation proved to be a viable approach. According to Kelly (2006:380) the term triangulation was originally used by land surveyors to describe a particular position in relation to two other coordinates. He identifies six types namely theory, investigator, method, data, methodological and interdisciplinary triangulation. Neuman (2006:149) agrees, adding the use by sailors and that the term has come to refer to the use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data to check one's position. He mentions four types: of theories, of observers, of method and of measures. He validates triangulation, arguing



that looking at something from multiple points of view improves accuracy (2006:149). Thus I will discuss each type of triangulation under the related section.<sup>74</sup>

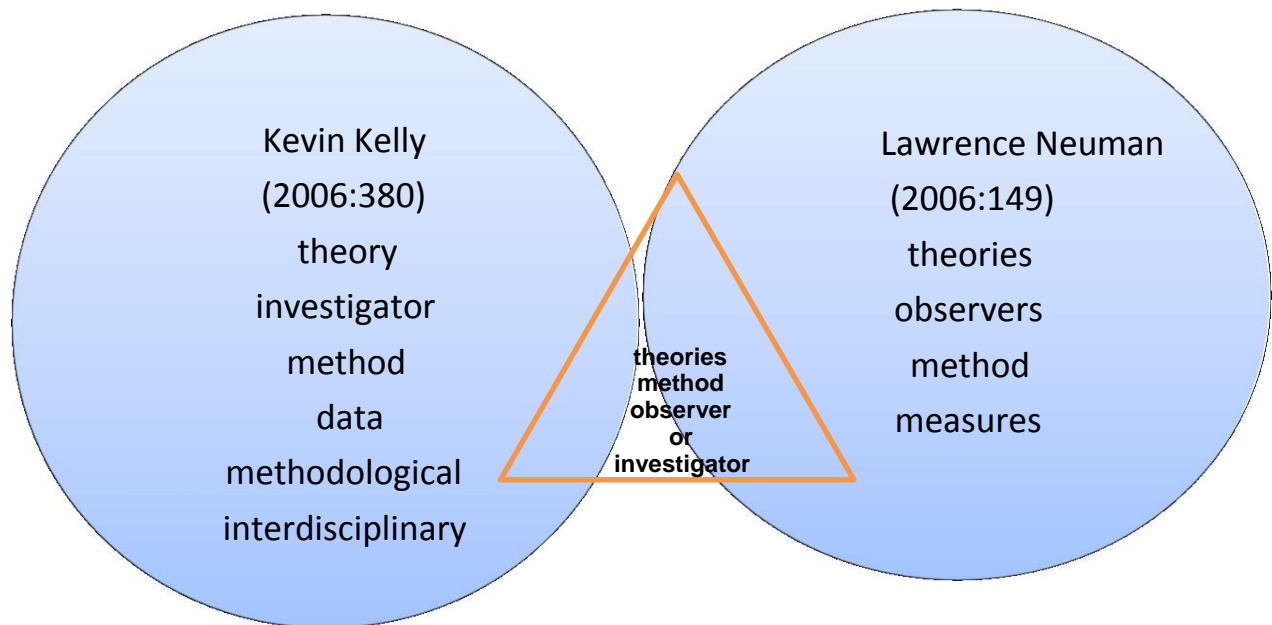


Figure 4 Kelly's and Neuman's lists of triangulation

To augment that discussion I refer to Terre Blanche, Kelly and Durkheim (2006:273) who say methodological triangulation means collecting material in different ways and from diverse sources, which helps to understand a phenomenon better by approaching it from diverse angles.

### 5.6.2 Triangulation of Investigators/Observers

Neuman (2006:150) describes triangulation of observers by saying that in research a single person researching could mean that the limitations of the one observer are the limitations of the study. He adds that multiple observers add alternative perspectives, backgrounds and social characteristics and reduce limitations. Combining data from a variety of observers is more likely to yield a more complete picture of the setting (Neuman 2006). Because of the situation of the children and youths involved in the research and due to ethics I could not enlist other

---

<sup>74</sup> A linear Venn diagram which I constructed to illustrate Kelly's and Neuman's lists of triangulation

researchers to observe the same families I worked with. Nevertheless observer triangulation occurred to some extent when I conversed with a community care worker working with *The Organization*<sup>75</sup>, the society looking after the child and youth-headed households and as she brought some concerns to my attention. Through this I learnt some vital information about some of the households. I also used investigator triangulation as I requested community care workers in other areas to observe aspects of the phenomenon, to respond to questionnaires<sup>76</sup> and to administer questionnaires to similar households in their areas. Kelly (2006:380) explains that investigator triangulation is useful in drawing attention to previously unnoticed researcher effects (i.e. of the researcher on the research context).

### 5.6.3 Triangulation of Method

Both Neuman (2006) and Kelly (2006) agree that methods can be triangulated. Neuman (2006: Triangulation of method occurred in the mixing of multiple, qualitative and quantitative styles of data collection through interviews, participant observation, questionnaires, occupational research, surveying and review of documentary sources. Triangulation of investigators/observers occurred in the combining of data, from a variety of observers collected through conversations, administering and responding to questionnaires. The two forms of triangulation made mixed methods research inevitable as situations related to the topic presented themselves at work, at church and in community engagements. Kelly (2006:380) says triangulation of method means mixing qualitative and quantitative styles of research and data collection and that the styles have complementary strengths with partial overlap. Kelly (2006:380) explains that methodological triangulation is the use of multiple methods to study a single problem, looking for convergent evidence from different sources, such as interviewing, participant observation, surveying and review of documentary sources. Triangulation helped facilitate the process of data analysis.

---

<sup>75</sup> For ethical reasons, I will use the label *The Organization* and not the real name to protect the identity and anonymity of the beneficiaries. It is a small, secular, local NGO, linked to the state in terms of the services it provides to citizens and institutions. It is headed by a director and funded from abroad. Because there are other organisations working in the area, this is a specialised name hence the capitalisation and italicisation.

<sup>76</sup> A questionnaire is a list of questions that several people are asked so that information can be collected.

## 5.7 Data Analysis

This process refers to studying or examining information collected to be examined, considered and used to help decision-making in detail in order to discover more about it. Durrheim (2006:52) sees the aim of data analysis as being to transform information (data) into an answer to the original research question. The original question in this study concerned the correlation between faith and resilience in children and youths belonging to C/YHHs. Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Kelly (2006:321) describe two basic patterns for doing qualitative data analysis – one based on the interpretive assumptions and the other on social constructionism. They add that the key to a good interpretive data analysis is to stay close to the data, to interpret it from a position of empathetic understanding. Hence I read through the data repeatedly to familiarise myself with it and allow themes to surface through plainly.

Terre Blanche et al. (2006:322) say interpretive analytic styles vary along a continuum from quasi-statistical to immersion or crystallisation styles. Immersion or crystallisation styles involve becoming thoroughly familiar with a phenomenon and carefully reflecting on it. It then involves writing an interpretation by relying on one's intuitive grasp of what is going on rather than on any particular analytic techniques. Writing about evaluation Carton and Vis (2008:57) say after processing the testimony the researcher focuses on organizing evidence and delineating thematic content. They add that the transcribed data may be triangulated i.e. compared with relevant archival and scholarly sources listed in the bibliographic survey of existing literature. Durrheim (2006:52) alludes to this when he says it is important to ensure that the analysis which is employed matches the research paradigm and data.

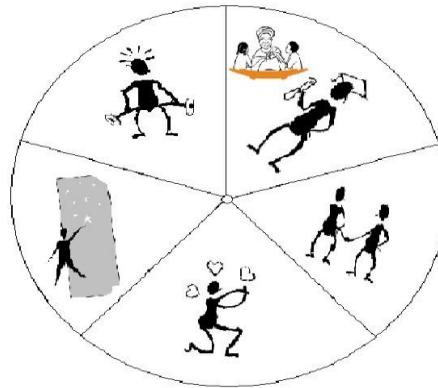
The interview questions with C/YHHs were meant to broadly cover and roughly conform to the wheel of basic human needs as shown in the pie chart below. These are physical, cognitive, social emotional and spiritual needs.<sup>77</sup> Other questions were adopted from the psychosocial well-being domain of the child status index (CSI)<sup>78</sup>so they cover those dimensions.

---

<sup>77</sup> This is a learning aid constructed from a pie chart. The pictures include the Sinomlando emblem and pictures from Rob Smetherham Bereavement services for children. The wheel is and greatly used by Sinomlando in facilitating memory work to highlight the need for and the components of psychosocial support.

<sup>78</sup> The Child Status Index (CSI) is a tool developed by USAID and used in a wide variety of organisations. The CSI distinguishes six domains namely Food and Nutrition, Shelter and Care, Protection, Health, Psychosocial well-being, Education and Skills Training.

### The wheel of basic human needs



*Figure 5 The wheel of basic human needs used in the Sinomlando Memory Box Training*

After the data collection process I assembled the findings and followed, roughly, Terre Blanche et. al's (2006:322-327) steps in interpretive data analysis, namely familiarisation and immersion, inducing themes, coding, elaboration, interpretation and checking. The data analysis involved reading through the data repeatedly, thematising, categorising, elaborating and interpreting. Like the authors admit the analysis could not proceed in the orderly manner they suggested by their step-wise presentation but it was a helpful starting point.

The themes arose more or less naturally from the data but they also had a bearing on the research question. The themes were based predominantly on the interviews. However, because of the nature of the qualitative dominant mixed data collection methods and triangulation, I used various approaches to arrive at the themes. Furthermore, due to the narrative nature of the interviews and the occupational research method, some adjustments inevitably happened to the questions and subsequently in the surfacing themes.

## **5.8 Ethical considerations**

Wassenaar (2006:61) states that the essential purpose of research ethics is to protect the welfare of research participants. Lawrence Neuman (2006:131) says that the law and codes of ethics

recognise some clear prohibitions: secure prior voluntary consent when possible; never cause unnecessary or irreversible harm to subjects; never unnecessarily humiliate, degrade or even release harmful information about specific individuals that was collected for research purposes. Denis (2008:69) adds that any researcher has a moral obligation to consider the possibility of harm as a direct or indirect consequence of his or her research. Due to the ethical requirements in the academia and due to the fact that I was to research with stressed people in difficult circumstances I followed the procedures related to right conduct in the research process.

After networking and discovering *The Organization* I realized the organization is the gatekeeper to the families concerned. Neuman (2006:386) describes gatekeepers as people in official or unofficial roles who control access to a setting. Kelly (2006:312) says gatekeepers are people who have a say on who is let in and who is not. These are parties with vested interests either in the issue at stake or in the wellbeing of the potential respondents. As *The Organization* and School Leavers Opportunities and Training (S.L.O.T) have vested interests in the wellbeing of the then potential respondents I explained the purpose and procedure of the research to the directors. Subsequently I gained access to the families in Slangspruit.

I was aware that in doing research with children there is need to get informed consent. Neuman (2006:135) defines informed consent as a written agreement that explains aspects of a study to participants and asks for their voluntary agreement to participate before the study begins. Where children are involved this consent should be given by adults. Since, in some of the households there are no liable adults living with the youngsters, I sought consent firstly from the children and youths themselves. I explained the process to them in *isiZulu* and stressed that they had the right to refuse to participate, the right to refuse to answer any question, the right to refuse to be recorded on tape and the right to withdraw from the research at any point during the process without fear of victimisation of any sort. Explaining a process and allowing space for children to contemplate about it is a process we get involved in in Sinomlando Centre when children are taken for Memory Box camps.

Though some of the youths sampled for this research were over 18, I decided that there was still need for additional adults to be aware of and agree to this research. Therefore I also sought informed agreement from the community care worker of *The Organization*. In addition I informed and obtained permission the directors of *The Organization* and S.L.O.T. I did not consult any of the children's and youths' relatives at the beginning. However, in the continued

interaction with the households, I encountered some relatives and explained my association with the children and youths.

Due to the sensitive nature of the topic and the fact that telling stories and recalling painful experiences was likely to retraumatise some participants, I put mechanisms in place to deal with such situations should they arise. I had prepared for the possibility that children and youths would get stressed. First, I was ready to tap into my own resources equipped by training in counselling skills in various modules at university. These skills were obtained from a pastoral counselling module at university, the placement component of the Church and AIDS module also at university and the Clinical Pastoral Education (CPE) course. I attended the course at Greys Hospital in Pietermaritzburg under the auspices of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

I had also benefitted from overseeing and sitting in community care workers' lessons during the theory and practical components of the counselling skills module as capacity building manager in Sinomlando. Moreover I had gained experience in counselling as a pastor in the church. With my counselling skills, I counselled the children whenever the need arose, assuring them of safe space to share their stories, providing a non-threatening and non-judgmental atmosphere and validating their feelings when they expressed them.

Second, I had prepared for the possibility that children and youths would get stressed and organised a referral system. I alerted the care worker of *The Organization* of the possibility that I may call on her for help to normalise a sensitive situation should the need arise. I liaised and arranged with the student counselling centre at the university to have a qualified counsellor on standby in case I would need professional help in counselling the participants. I had also agreed with Lifeline to help during 'after-hours' situations should the need arise. I envisaged such sessions because the intention was to visit the families in as natural a setting as possible, probably meeting the children or youths after school or at weekends.

To overcome the foreseeable resistance of children who were not prepared to talk, I applied some counselling models to try to investigate the reasons for their reticence. This involved acknowledging, expressing respect for and validating their silence and showing them that space was still open for when they were ready to talk. I also designed activities around their leisure hobbies and interests. This is done in a therapeutic process of providing psychosocial support to orphaned and vulnerable children in Sinomlando. We use various non-threatening and non-judgmental methods to encourage children to express their emotions. I have much experience

in dealing with children's silences in my job where we use the methods described above to encourage children to talk and express their feelings. This is my vocation, and therefore I was well-placed to do this research, reflecting on the work I am already doing.

The mosaic<sup>79</sup> approach was meant to ensure that no harm would be done to the children as it offered a variety of fun activities. The approach kept children interested and the play skills sessions were therapeutic in nature, offering psychosocial support to distressed children. I use such methods as a Memory Box Methodology trainer. In the Memory Box programme we encounter silences and at times re-experiencing of pain when recounting family histories with children in camps or with adults in workshops. With this experience I was able to deal with the youngsters' silences while initiating or enhancing healing in the process.

Writing about the ethics Denis (2008:69) says it would not be right that only those who conduct projects benefit from the research, be it for intellectual satisfaction or for the advancement of their careers; the interviewees must also benefit. In view of that I created rapport with the children by visiting regularly and taking fun activity sheets like colouring pages, word searches, decoder and crossword puzzles. I gave food parcels, took photographs and gave them albums, assuring them that the photos were not to be used for the research. I avoided lording it over the freeze-outs during visits or with the small gifts by relating warmly to them. I was non-patronizing when I asked them to specify presents they preferred for Christmas.<sup>80</sup> Through the research methodology and ethical code there were attempts to be truthful to the principles of the AFTEC. *Ubuntu* was demonstrated by being sensitive with identities and personal information; the feminist liberative ethos was shown in the emphases in the informed consent forms and in the validation of emotions; the theological principles were observed by acknowledging and respecting the participants objects of faith, and the ethical by being non-intrusive and selective disclosure of personal information. This modus operandi concurs with Close's (2014) view that care is a mode of responsiveness rather than a system of principles.

---

<sup>79</sup> A mosaic is a pattern or picture made using many small pieces of coloured stone or glass. In this case it is figuratively a mixture of different methods and tools.

<sup>80</sup> The Scottsville Presbyterian Church' Women in Christ Group, under the leadership of Isabel Apawo Phiri had offered to buy Christmas presents for the children.

## 5.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I described the methodology used in the research. I mentioned that I used the phenomenological approach, differentiating between the descriptive and interpretive phenomenology, pointing out that in this research I used both types. I described the research location as an underprivileged high-density suburb in Pietermaritzburg. I highlighted the importance of Sinomlando's network of partners in my gaining access into the C/YHHs.

I described mixed methods research, how it applied in this study and its merits. I explained how open-ended questions lend themselves into narrative or storytelling. After differentiating commonplace and research-based observation I showed that it was elevated to free the study from the straitjackets of encrusted traditions and reject the domination of inquiry by externally imposed methods, concurring with feminist spirituality which rejects authoritative knowledge. I clarified what observation entailed and showed its value in yielding concealed information and in hearing the voices of reserved children.

I explained occupational research, a newly-coined data collection method that takes cue from action research and uses daily work contexts. I clarified how I used several data collection methods and sources to achieve the tenets of triangulation. Then I explained the concept of triangulation as the use of multiple angles on a single set of data to check one's position, illustrating Kelly's six and Neuman's four types of triangulation using a linear Venn diagram.

Next I stated the aim of data analysis as being to transform data into an answer to the original research question. I reiterated the key to a good interpretive data analysis - staying close to the data and interpreting with empathetic understanding. I enumerated the steps in interpretive data analysis, namely familiarisation, immersion, inducing themes, coding, checking, thematising, categorising and interpreting. I mentioned tools whose components were used in the analysis - the wheel of basic human needs and the of the child status index domains.

The importance of ethics as a moral obligation to minimise harm was highlighted. I outlined the ethical procedures followed to fulfil Denis' caution on ethics. I explained mechanisms arranged to deal with probable stressful situations, beginning with my resources acquired from training and experience in counselling and contingency arrangements with professional entities. The methodology described in this chapter enabled the gathering of data investigating the correlation of faith and resilience in C/YHHs which is presented in the following chapter.



# CHAPTER SIX

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS: HOUSEHOLD ESTABLISHMENT, DOMESTIC AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENTS

### 6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter described the methodology used in this study. It began by discussing the origins, modes and strands of phenomenology. This was followed by a description of mixed-methods research and how it complements the phenomenological approach. Next were descriptions of the research location, gaining access and sampling, including the sampled 'freeze-outs' and the rationale for their inclusion in the discussions. The data-collection methods, processes and tools were explained. Then triangulation and its validation of mixed methods were explained. The data was analysed followed by a discussion on ethics.

The methodology enabled the attainment of findings suggesting a correlation of faith and resilience in C/YHHs. 3 of the 6 themes identified, namely antecedents to the establishment of C/YHHs, domestic and community dynamics will be presented in the current chapter 6. The other 3 are discussed in chapter 7. I will begin with a demographic table showing sex, age and educational status, explaining each section's relevance to the research. Next I will present the themes and subthemes emerging from the data, substantiating them from the transcripts, notes and scenarios with quotations from the interviews, observation<sup>81</sup> or occupational research and verify with existing literature. Nziyane (2010:102) says such literature control establishes the credibility of the study. Neuman (2006:181) asserts that qualitative data includes excerpts from the findings.

---

<sup>81</sup> As cited earlier observation meant noticing indications of belief, and trust in some entities. Observation yields information which did not come through in the formal interviews and in hearing the voices of reserved children. Data collected during observation is presented sparsely in relevant sections of the thesis, illustrating points, confirming theories or acknowledging and validating the participants' experiences. Examples: Nobuhle's displeasure re 'opportunistic' father of a child, disagreements about Christmas gifts, Nonhlanhla's behaviour re her deceased mother, Sindile's disgruntlement with indigenous religion due to the demise of *sangoma* mother.

## 6.2 Demographic profile

The study included fourteen interview participants of whom 11 were female and 3 were male. They were selected because they belong to adultless households. The table represents those participants from *The Organisation* who agreed to be interviewed. Others in the households initially agreed and were sampled but froze out. In the interest of triangulation of sources and data, other participants, not included in this table, completed 40 individual and 6 group questionnaires with care workers. This has been explained in 5.5.5 and 5.5.6. The information about their experiences was used to back up the data collected from the interviewees from The Organisation.<sup>82</sup> The profile of each of the 14 interviewees under *The Organisation* is given in the table below. It indicates that 5 heads agreed to be interviewed.

Name <sup>83</sup>	Sex	Age	Educational status
1. Akhona	Female	18	Grade 12
2. Joyce (head)	Female	20	F.E.T. <sup>84</sup>
3. Khulekani (head)	Female	22	F.E.T.
4. Luthando	Female	12	Grade 6
5. Mncedisi	Male	21	Tertiary
6. Nomkhosi	Female	15	Grade 10
7. Nompilo	Female	10	Grade 4
8. Nomthandazo (head)	Female	19	F.E.T.
9. Nonhlanhla	Female	17	Grade 11
10. Sindile (head)	Female	22	F.E.T.
11. Sithembile	Female	21	Tertiary
12. Sizwe	Male	18	Grade 11
13. Themba (head)	Male	23	F.E.T.
14. Zodwa	Female	22	F.E.T.

Figure 6 Profile of participants interviewed from the C/YHHs

<sup>82</sup> For example see footnote 73 on page 123

<sup>83</sup> These are pseudonyms.

<sup>84</sup> Further Education and Training.

### 6.2.1 The sex

The table shows the sex of the children and youths who participated in the research. Considering the sex is relevant as it hints on issues of their socialisation and gender dynamics of their society. Most children and youths who agreed to participate are female, much as there are boys in the households. Their nonappearance could be related to perceptions about masculinity, resilience or lack of it, repressed memories or fear of the outcomes of the interview. Conversely the willingness of the girls could be a longing for opportunity to tell their stories. Secondly they probably felt empowered to get a chance to share, confirming Ntsimane's (2008) experience in oral history that telling one's story can be empowering. Thirdly, they could have expected economic benefits, as females take more responsibility for families' sustenance while economically vulnerable. Sithembile hinted at this after I thanked her for agreeing to participate. *I accepted doing this interview because I like helping people... I like people to help me as well.* I was concerned that this may interfere with the reliability of the data. Nevertheless, I realised that this was a common implicit or explicit expectation which was understandable. For that reason mixed methods and triangulation were used - collecting data in different ways and sources and considering standpoints in relation to others for better understanding of phenomena and research problems.

### 6.2.2 The Ages

Though most of the children and youths interviewed are past the "child" age as defined by the South African Children's Act No. 38 of 2005, age is an important aspect to consider in this study. Nziyane (2010:104) asserts that the age provides an analytical framework for understanding the relationship between life experiences of orphaning and the developmental tasks for an age groups. Considering the ages enables a relation of the attachment theory, age of orphaning, the responsibilities and self-perception. It is relevant to this study which considers headship in the homes and leadership prescriptions in the religio-cultural institutions and helps understand their behaviour within those parameters. Talking about headship Sindile remarked...*it's not my job. I also need to be under a parent.* Culturally, the children cannot lead in religion though some head households. If they can head households of the living what bars them from leading in rituals connecting with the dead? This calls on the custodians of the belief system to rethink and interrogate the criteria for religious functions in the light of current trends of anti-ageism, gender equality, cultural dynamism and postmodernism.

### 6.2.3 The Educational Levels

The demographic table above shows the educational level of the children and youths who participated in the research. It is necessary to consider the educational level of the children because their academic and career life and status is likely to influence or be influenced by their ability to cope with adversity and impact the children's and youths' lives. In my study I found that some children and youths from C/YHHs derived the ability to cope from the school and work environments. Nonhlanhla said she feels abandoned by one living parent but she is coping and her source of strength comes from the prayer group which she joined at school. The ecological system (the school) provided a space for the enhancement of faith which subsequently instilled resilience. Nonhlanhla<sup>85</sup> said: *I learnt to cope because I was faced by it I couldn't run away. I coped because I had to face it.... At school I go to prayer every day during break.*

Joyce said she was faced with the age-inappropriate task of heading the household and being a decision maker, but continuous interaction in a training institution was beneficial: *I trained here then when I finished I stayed at home doing nothing for some months. But I used to come here to do voluntary work. Then they needed someone to do the database and they asked if I was interested.*<sup>86</sup>

The interaction with and engagement by the learning institution contributed to her being a trusted decision maker in the home. This interaction between the school and work environments can be explained using Bronfenbrenner's ecological model, a theoretical perspective that focuses on the interface between a person and the environment. The model is two-directional, reciprocal and is termed transactional with transactionality as its key feature.

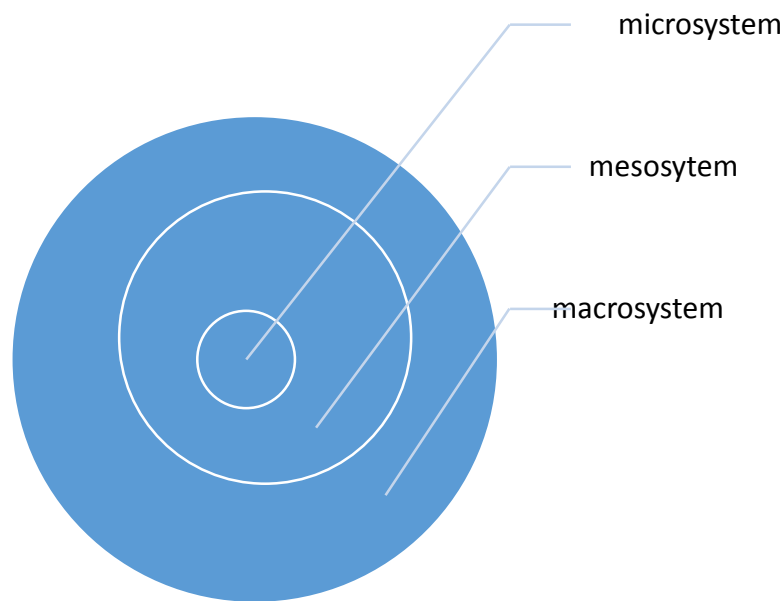
Bronfenbrenner (1979) conceptualises the individual as existing in more than one setting, in an ecological environment made up of structures within themselves, like an onion. The first or innermost level is the immediate environment occupied by the person, like the home or school. The connections between people in these settings and the nature of these links are as important as the environment itself. This interrelated, immediate setting is called the microsystem.

---

<sup>85</sup> Interviewee, 15 years old, August 2011. For ethical reasons I omitted details that may inadvertently divulge the identity of the interviewee.

<sup>86</sup> Interviewee 15 August 2011.

Bronfenbrenner (1979:43) emphasises that the principle of interconnectedness applies within a setting and between settings in which the person exists, naming this interconnectedness the mesosystem. Similarly, the developing person's immediate environment is linked to and affected by settings he or she may never enter, like parents' place of work, the exosystem. Lastly, this complex system is surrounded by overriding ideology and organization of social institutions common to a particular culture, the macrosystem (1979). This is illustrated below.



*Figure 7 A target diagram demonstrating Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model* <sup>87</sup>

The ecology of human development is the study of the progressive, mutual accommodation between a human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the person lives. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory focuses on the environmental influences on behaviour. The ecological model implies that the school and work environments form part of a person's social world and the environment that enables the attainment of one's educational level has a bearing on one's life circumstances.

---

<sup>87</sup> I adopted the target diagram and used it to demonstrate Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model.

Research with C/YHHs has paid attention to the educational and career situations of the children and youths. What's more, the situational analysis of child-headed households commissioned by the Department of Social Development and conducted by the University of South Africa (2008) revealed that 91.1% of the children in C/YHHs were not employed, had premature parental duties, dropped out of school, fell pregnant and were exploited, sexually abused and stigmatised. The report added that some drop out because there are no adults to force them to go to school and others because they have no money.

### 6.3 The Themes and Subthemes Emerging from the Data

The themes and subthemes identified following the processes described above are:

Themes	Subthemes
Theme 1. Antecedents to the establishment of child or youth-headed households	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. AIDS</li> <li>2. Pre- and post-death intra-family conflicts</li> <li>3. Sibling solidarity</li> <li>4. Asset preservation</li> <li>5. Cultural issue - <i>lobola</i></li> </ol>
Theme 2. Home management	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Socio-economic vulnerability</li> <li>2. Gender roles</li> <li>3. Decision-making</li> <li>4. Discipline</li> </ol>
Theme 3. Family and community dynamics	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Living parent-abandonment</li> <li>2. Identity and self-perception</li> <li>3. Children of children</li> <li>4. Extended family</li> <li>5. Challenges to patriarchy</li> <li>6. The household in the community</li> </ol>
Theme 4. Education and Skills Training	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Educational needs</li> <li>2. School attendance</li> <li>3. Career pursuits</li> <li>4. Dropping out</li> </ol>
Theme 5. Psychosocial well-being	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Emotional health</li> <li>2. Social behaviour</li> </ol>
Theme 6. Spirituality, culture and religion	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Religious affiliation and disillusionment</li> <li>2. God, ancestors, rituals and inculturation</li> <li>3. Angels and dreams</li> <li>4. Uncaring conduct – engendering a changed perception of culture</li> <li>5. Gendered in life and death</li> </ol>

Figure 8 The Themes and Subthemes Emerging from the Data

### 6.3.1 Theme 1. Antecedents to the Establishment of Child or Youth-Headed Households

The children and youths interviewed in the research mentioned various factors, which influenced the establishment of the households. The key ones are death of parents or guardians, sibling solidarity, the youths' desire to preserve family property, conflict, financial constraints and unassuming relatives, which will be discussed below as sub themes. In some cases a single happening resulted in children or youths living on their own but in others a series of factors combined resulting in the creation of a household without adults. Examining the reasons leading to the formation of child or youth-headed households will enable one to deduce the effect of the phenomenon on the faith and resilience of the children and youths.

#### *Sub theme 1. AIDS*

In five households the chief contributory factor to the creation of the child or youth-headed households was the death of the parents or guardians due to AIDS. At times youths within the same household gave different reasons as causes of death of the parents. One child would say the parent died of AIDS-related diseases while the other said it was bewitchment or TB.<sup>88</sup> It is possible that because of stigma some youths were ashamed to mention AIDS as the cause of death. Others did not actually know the cause as is often the case in this community where, according to Ntsimane (2005:35) children are told not to ask questions of their parents. Moreover, he adds, addressing adults without being prompted is seen as a lack of respect. This amounts to what Silverman (2000:3) refers to as the conspiracy of silence or the inability to talk about death, as happens in many cases in this society.

Confirming the contribution of AIDS to the creation of child or youth-headed households, Joyce said,

*I believe my father died of AIDS because he went away...We don't know what he was doing...When he came back sick I think my mother did not use protection. I assume there was no talk of protection for the wife. Two years down the line she died.*

---

<sup>88</sup> Differences in the responses make it ethically necessary to avoid giving away the identity inadvertently of the interviewees.

Nomthandazo, who acknowledged that her mother died of AIDS said: *If only mum had been more careful and protected herself... I often sit and think that my life has stopped now because of these children...*

The words quoted from Joyce and Nomthandazo above echo what researchers have said. Strode and Grant in Kelly et al. (2002:59) named AIDS as a factor in the formation of C/YHHs. McLellan (2005:3) asserted that phenomenon became common and obvious with the prevalence of AIDS. Bonthuys (2010) wrote that the 2005 Household Survey, Statistics South Africa counted 143,167 children living in CHHs created mainly due to the death of parents from AIDS. Meintjes et al. (2010:3) analysed data from several representative national surveys 2000 to 2007. They said the large number of orphans is due to AIDS.

The identification of AIDS as a leading factor in the creation of C/YHHs is also depicted in the documentary “A Child is A Child” where the central character’s mother dies of AIDS-related illnesses. In a society where AIDS is associated with sin and sex and where parents are dying of AIDS leaving children with minimal spiritual guidance, the faith of the children is likely to be shaken or transferred to other entities.

#### *Sub-theme 2. Pre and post-death intra-family conflicts*

Sometimes orphaned children desired to live alone without adults because of conflicts among relatives either before or after the death of the parent. In some cases the relatives had quarrelled with the children’s parent before she or he died. Four youths indicated that before the passing of the parent or parents there were uneasy relations with some maternal or paternal relatives. In two families the youths said their mothers were not in good books with the uncles so the orphaned children could not stay with them. Some said their uncles and aunts did not attend the funeral of the orphans’ parents. Others appeared at the funerals suggesting guardianship of the orphans and making the latter sceptical of the motives.

Themba whose two parents are deceased explained:

*Truly speaking when I was growing my parents were emphasising that don’t trust relatives, they will laugh when they see you but when you return home they will gossip about you. So I was taking decisions on my own.*



Akhona said:

*She (My mother) had a good relationship with some of them (her siblings) except with my uncle who lives with my grandmother. They quarrelled about the house...The house we live in was built by my grandmother when she was living there before she moved. Then she got a better job in... and moved. My uncle wanted the house but could not maintain it since he is not working...It's a family house, but I can say it's my grandmother's... it's our house because my mother had been paying for it all these years before she died. So really it's our house.*

In other families economic constraints prompted relatives to quarrel over, distribute or even abuse the orphans resulting in children and youths living on their own as in Akhona's story:

*At first it was decided that we must relocate to my grandmother in... But they changed that decision because my grandmother is already looking after my uncle and aunt... Her house is small, it cannot accommodate us all. And then there was the argument with people from my father's side. I think it had to do with the birth certificates and grants. My grandmother did not want to be accused of holding us against their will. So it was finally decided that we remain here on our own.<sup>89</sup>*

The quoted words above concur with the research findings of Rantla et al. (2002) who learnt from some of the children that the extended families had not played a vital role in their lives while the parents were still alive hence the children's suspicions about the sudden interest of the extended families were associated with the grants. These sentiments echo what Germann (2005:4) found in his study - that a key determining factor contributing towards the creation of child-headed households was 'pre-parental illness' family conflict.

The Save the Children UK (2006:16) study found that following the *tsunami* occasional disputes motivated by the perceived material benefits that could be obtained when absorbing the displaced child occurred within the extended family. In her study on the social functioning of a child-headed household, in Mkhize (2006) mentioned that strained relationships between

---

<sup>89</sup> Interview on 25 August 2011. Due to ethics I avoided details that may divulge the identity of the interviewee.

the children and the extended families were a causal factor for the children to remain in CHHs. Awino's (2010:20) study also showed that the families that participated were living on their own at their parents' house with no live-in adult or relative. In some cases relatives provided little moral and sometimes financial support, but in other cases the children received no support from relatives because of poor relations resulting from disagreements on property ownership.

On the other hand, within the decade, the study on intended consequences of the social grants system by Department of Social Development (2006) found no conclusive evidence regarding the possibility of perverse incentive in foster care by the extended families. Questions emanating from the theme concern the effect the turbulent circumstances have on the orphaned children's and youths' faith in the cultural systems, in their relatives and in the deities whom the relatives worship. The unasked and unanswered questions compel some children and youths to opt to live alone in order to provide support to each other in sibling solidarity.

### *Sub-theme 3. Sibling solidarity*

Four household heads whom I interviewed expressed that they ended up living in youth-headed households because it was the siblings' desire to remain together after the death of their parents. For example, Joyce said:

*When my mother was still sick she shared out the children. Two were to stay with an aunt and two older ones were to remain at home. When she died we children decided to get back together and stick together... they (the extended relatives) wanted my sister to go ...and my brothers to go. They wanted to cut up the family but we resisted and decided to stay together...<sup>90</sup>*

*Likewise Sithembile said... we decided to remain on our own, suffer on our own and tell each other don't do this or that will happen. It's nice to feel bad in your own home, it's better to be discriminated by your own siblings than going outside; it's bad because you end up thinking a lot of things and not doing well in school.*

This reverberated the research findings of Foster and Williamson (2000), who said sometimes the formation of a child-headed household is influenced by the desire of siblings to remain

---

<sup>90</sup> Interview on 23 June 2011.

together in their own home. Germann (2005:4) agreed adding that separation of siblings contributes to psychological distress and children coped better where siblings lived together in CHHs. Correspondingly Nampanya-Serpell's (2006) study found that orphans who were separated and placed in different extended families experienced emotional disturbances as they were unable to secure a meaningful attachment relationship with each other. These findings were consistent with those of the South African Department of Social Development (2008) situational analysis on CHHs. It revealed that children preferred to stay in their homes as they did not want to be separated from each other through placement in extended families, with foster parents or in institutions. Furthermore, Nziyane's (2010:196) study noted that the splitting of orphaned children was a barrier to family integration as children preferred to remain in the CHHs than being dispersed among relatives.

From an attachment theory perspective there are psychological benefits in siblings staying together so in a way it was good for the orphans to remain on their own. However, as will be shown later, discipline problems arise when they live without an adult. Moreover sibling solidarity is an indication of faith, confidence and trust in each other inspired and enhanced by the situation of losing parents. If, as I deduce, sibling solidarity is a sign of confidence in each other what does it say about confidence in the adult world and in their systems especially in view of claims to being guided by *ubuntu*? Coupled with the desire to remain together among the children and youths was the wish to preserve the family assets.

#### *Sub-theme 4. Asset preservation*

Some orphaned children and youths thought that if they went to live with the relatives they would lose some assets. Therefore they decided to remain together without adults in order to preserve the family assets. Joyce, a leader of a child and youth only household, said:

*.. we children decided to get back together and stick together because we saw that they were interested in the land and in our property. The family was angry at our decision...we resisted and decided to stay together on the land.<sup>91</sup>*

---

<sup>91</sup> Interview on 15 August 2011. The interviewee's personal details preserved for care ethics reasons.

In the same way Sithembile proudly expressed that: *It was our decision... (to remain in the home alone with no adult)... because we had our own home. She bought the house, it's our house. It's nice to feel bad in your own home...*

The desire to remain together without adults in order to preserve the family assets was common especially in households where the heads were girls whose adult female relatives were married. These girls knew that in a patriarchal culture they risked losing not only their authority but also asset power in adult male-headed households.<sup>92</sup>

Foster et al.'s (1997) study on CHH in Zimbabwe found that orphaned children chose to remain in adultless households for fear of losing their rights to property and land. Rantla et al.'s (2002) research on orphans and extended families in Bushbuckridge found that fifty CHHs had extended families. Nevertheless some of the children chose to remain in the CHHs to protect the property left by the deceased parents. Others said that the extended families had not played a role in their lives while the parents were still alive, suspicious that the sudden interest after the parents' demise was associated with child grants. Though Nziyane (2010) says literature from South Africa on children's preferences to remain in child- and adolescent-headed households is inadequate, her study shows that some of the orphaned children preferred to continue living in the family houses after the death of the parents to care for the property. Her participants mentioned the need to clean the yard, prevent bush from growing in, protect the houses from dilapidation and furniture from being stolen, citing crime in some of the villages.

This valuing of the family assets is a positive quality as it shows faith as confidence in their own sense of responsibility, in their abilities to look after the inheritance left by their deceased parents, and in their decision making capabilities. Having lost attachment figures they resolve to cling to remaining valuables, siblings and assets. To Killian (2004), these interpersonal and intrapersonal skills and external resources are indicators of resilience. More than being indicators, I argue, these properties are resources for resilience, as shown in Figure 8 below.<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> Using mixed-method research and triangulation I made notes of this in informal discussions during regular visits to the households. This also came up during the gender component of the Memory Box workshops.

<sup>93</sup> The diagram is a visual aid, developed and adapted from Killian's (2004) Indicators of Resilience. It is used in Memory Box sessions for psychosocial support to vulnerable children and adults, to help them recognise available resources for coping with adversity.

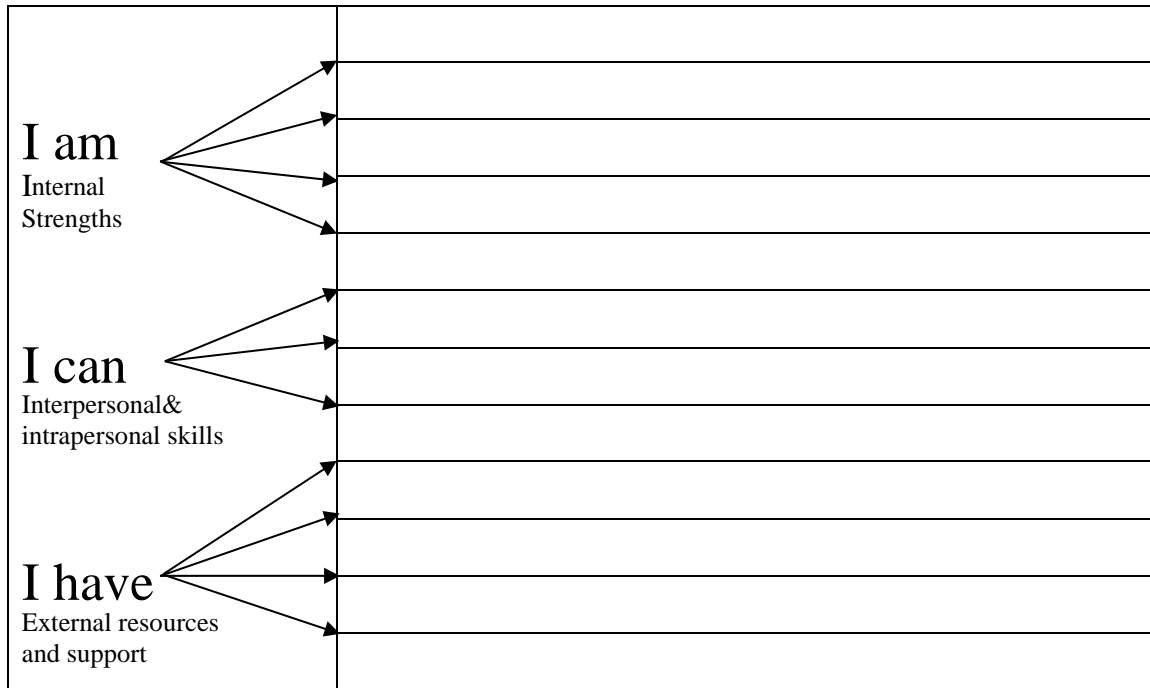


Figure 9 A visual aid, adapted from Killian's (2004) *Indicators of Resilience* and developed to show personal resources of resilience.

*Subtheme 5. Cultural issue- lobola*

Unresolved matters relating to *lobola* sometimes made kinsfolk unaccommodating, thereby leading to the creation of child or youth-headed households. In three families the paternal relatives were not allowed to assume responsibility for the orphaned children because of unpaid *lobola*. The maternal relatives, most of whom had financial constraints, failed to take responsibility and left the children on their own. When asked for his opinion about the communication between the dead and the living, Sizwe alluded to a *lobola* debt, saying:

*The deceased communicate with us but I have not experienced it. I met a traditional healer who told me that there are two deceased people who go with me everywhere and they are fighting over me. I think it is my mother and father. Maybe one wants to be closer to me, or they have different agendas about my life, I don't know, I don't*

*know. There is also an issue that my father did not finish paying the lobola so maybe they are each laying claim on me.*<sup>94</sup>

Asked whether her household communicates with their paternal relatives, Akhona replied:

*We do not have a relationship with them. There seemed to be some arguments when my mother fell sick. It seems it was over the issue of lobola and they wanted us to go and live with our aunts from my father's side. My grandmother refused because of the lobola thing.*<sup>95</sup>

Foster et al's (1997:163) study attested that relatives may consider themselves free of responsibilities towards orphaned children if the children were not legitimised by marriage or payment of the bride price. In such instances, relatives may not recognise the orphaned children and this may justify their actions of withholding support from the children and youths after the death of the parents. Foster's (2000) study delved further into the *lobola* issue, stating that in most traditional African cultures, marriage is decided upon a bride price. This, in the past, was paid in the form of cattle to the bride's family by the husband's family. The payment of this bride price led to the recognition and legitimisation of future children which also ensured that they became the responsibility of not only the father but of his family as well. Foster (2000:56) noted that the payment of a bride price is made in the form of a cash payment earned by the husband-to-be, often imposed with such a high monetary value that it makes it almost impossible for most husbands-to-be to afford it. This leads to unions frequently being established without the payment of such bride price, resulting in non-recognition of such unions including the children born from such unions.

Discussing the conflict between maternal and paternal families as a barrier to integrating CHHs into the extended family, Nziyane (2010:211) found that maternal against paternal family clashes were a result of diversion from cultural practices related to the recognition of traditional marriages. Some of the social workers who participated in her study mentioned that the extended families' non-recognition of unions established without the payment of bride price

---

<sup>94</sup> 25 August 2011.

<sup>95</sup> 25 August 2011.

hinders the integration of orphaned children into their extended families. Thus non-payment of *lobola* may lead to the creation of child or youth-headed households.

The situation raises a question: What is the effect of such non-recognition of the union and offspring on the self-perception and identity of the children or youths in the adultless households? Another question is: In the patriarchal society that this is, what effect does this non-recognition of the *lobola* indebted family have on self-perception, sense of identity and masculinity of the boys and young men in the households? These antecedents show a disregard for children's rights to care and guidance. In fact this was highlighted in the children's and youths own action in sub-theme 4 where they decided to forgo adult attendance and supervision to preserve their own assets. This also substantiates the ambiguous position of children in the society as discussed in chapter five. While having to grapple with issues of self-perception, identity and patriarchy, some children and youths from C/YHHs have shown signs of resilience even in face the daunting and often age-inappropriate task of managing homes.

### **6.3.2 Theme 2. Home Management<sup>96</sup>**

A theme emanating from the research was about home management. In most cases the head of the household had taken on an age-inappropriate responsibility of managing the home amidst the trauma of losing a parent or parents and all related issues. Even where the heads were over 18 and no longer children legally, they complained that home management was a challenge.

This can be expected, given the challenges which even adults face in running homes. Nomthandazo remarked: *It's hard to manage a home; I am still young also and need to be under a parent. Even if by years I am older I still need to be under a parent's hand.*<sup>97</sup>

---

<sup>96</sup> Because of care ethics I give limited details about the families as other members were not interviewed and such details may inadvertently divulge the identities of the families. Though it would be useful to have a table indicating how many children were in each household, such details jeopardize the anonymity of the participants.

<sup>97</sup> Interview 25 August 2011.

Still on home management another household head showed that there are emotional and behavioural challenges which result from the responsibility, albeit one is an adult by age.

*I don't want to lie, [managing this home] it's hard. I am also a child and sometimes I think it's not my job. Sometimes I don't cope; sometimes I lose control and become aggressive.*<sup>98</sup>

The remarks show that a legal age of majority does not necessarily translate into parenting or household administration skills. Home management entails a host of responsibilities and tasks which orphaned children and youths are often psychosocially unprepared. Paradoxically, even if the heads recognized the challenges in heading and managing homes, they showed that they were on the horns of a dilemma as they were not willing to relinquish headship and submit to adult male control as the standard in the Zulu patriarchal culture.

Continuing to function in such a quandary shows faith in themselves and in their ability to balance the dialectical situation, select viable options and, using Mampane and Bouwer's understanding of resilience, identify and utilise personal capacities, competencies and assets in specific contexts (Theron and Theron 2010:5).

The ability to choose the less unpleasant of two hostile options and still work with a dicey situation is an indication of faith in oneself and a demonstration of resilience, which is what this research set out to explore. The findings on home management in this study confirmed the issues about surrogate parenting and parentified children and youths that research on child-headed households in other contexts have demonstrated (e.g. studies by Rotheram-Borus et al. 1997; Chase, 1999; Foster and Williamson, 2000; Strode and Barret Grant, 2001 referred to earlier in 2.3.1 Literature in the second millennium).

#### *Subtheme 1. Socio-economic vulnerability*

A key problem in managing homes for child or youth heads of households is the shortage of finances. In most homes there is the shortage of money because the death of the parent or parents, mostly due to AIDS eroded a lot of the family income. Most households in this study were headed by mothers who had meagre income or in the minimum income bracket. In two families the mothers, themselves being of modest income, had adopted orphans from relatives.

---

<sup>98</sup> Interview 16 August 2011.



At their death they left no financial security as money had been depleted due to AIDS care. Once the foster parent died it was a problem for the adopted children to access grants. Therefore, the poverty was inherited and perpetuated, making home management even more difficult for the youthful heads.

Most of the heads complained that the grants they were receiving were not enough to cater for the families' needs. They depend on food parcels from *The Organization*. Another problem is that once they reach the age of 18 years they stop receiving the child support grant but remain in the household without jobs. Furthermore if a head manages to find a job the grant for the minors is stopped and needs to be reapplied for through a court. The foster care grant, which gives more money, is difficult to access. Due to backlog the process is long, so in many households they prefer to remain with the child support grant. Khulekani narrated:

*We remained alone, no one was working, for some time we still had food from the funeral and we wondered what would happen the day it got finished. Years went by, the children were still at school and I had stopped school... I searched and searched for work until I got work in ... I was earning R250 a month. I persevered because the children needed food. I stayed in...in my employer's home. The children came to report that they were hungry; no-one was cooking at home.*

In the same way, Sithembile complained:

*I remember there is this one time last year, I wanted to kill myself. I used to think what am I living for? My friends were always saying ... my mum bought me that'. They would bring expensive things like phones; I used to ask why myself why is it not happening to me, why me. Why do they have everything and I have nothing?*

Sithembile's contemplation of suicide is one way teenagers often deal with the socio-economic vulnerability they find themselves in. Other ways have been used, often with disastrous consequences. During occupational research I learnt of girls from youth-headed households who deliberately infected themselves with the HI virus in the hope of getting health benefits

after testing positive.<sup>99</sup> Socio-economic vulnerability has appeared in many research projects on child or youth-headed households in different contexts.

Anticipating what an informant by the name of Sithembile would say to the researcher, Foster's (2004) study found that children living in child-headed households often live in perilous conditions and often experience difficult challenges. This was reiterated by Germann (2005) and Barnett and Whiteside (2006:229) who said the lives of children living in child-headed households are increasingly circumscribed by, among others, economic problems. Mkhize (2006:74) said children in child-headed households sometimes have to make crucial decisions with serious consequences such as dropping out of school in order to provide economically for the household. Tlou (2009:36) confirmed that child-headed households face a wide range of issues, the most pressing being related to their survival needs and poverty.

Nziyane's (2010:126) study contains an excerpt from an extended family member which encapsulates how economic adversities experienced by children in CHH<sup>100</sup> may lead especially girls in charge of households to engage in exploitative sexual relationships. During the August 2014 launch of the Register in KZN, Social Development Minister, indicated that in general the predicament of children of C/YHH is numerous and disturbing. All their dreams and aspirations for a better life and future are being crushed under the heavy burden of psychological and economic challenges.<sup>101</sup>

A further example of socio-economic vulnerability became evident in a household headed by a young woman of 17 years. Through occupational research, I learnt that during times of financial hardships a 13-year old boy who told his sister saying they should not starve while she has a resource. The boy's suggestion may have come from some occurrences in his community, as the practice of sugar daddies providing for teenagers has become common. Billboards and newspapers carry adverts and stories referring to such happenings.

---

<sup>99</sup> A community care worker told the story and added that she was actually in charge of those two households. She was suspecting that the girls were even selling the ART to illegal drug makers and abusers to get money for the families. Story told in class discussion in July 2008 in Pietermaritzburg.

<sup>100</sup> Nziyane's (2010:126) study was specifically with child-headed households (CHH), meaning her interviewees were below eighteen.

<sup>101</sup> <http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/dfb4080044f359e8884099a5ad025b24/Child-headed-Household-Register-launched-in-KZN-20140802> accessed 27 July 2015

While the ethics of the boy's suggestion is debatable, the proposition illustrates the socio-economic vulnerability experienced in some C/YHHs, and the lengths to which members of such households can go to deal with the situation. The boy depended on sister for survival and protection, even though the society upholds that men should provide and protect. The teenager came up with this distasteful plan to deal with poverty and did not consider he could use his own body to do menial jobs to help obtain sustenance for the two of them. This might have been a case of an irresponsible boy. However, the socialisation in the community observes gender roles, and care giving and the provision of food are women's duties.

### *Subtheme 2. Gender roles*

The results in this study show a slight drift from what has been the custom in terms of domestic duties. In many homes boys are expected to perform domestic tasks just like the girls. In the interviews three families with boys said they share household the duties, although in two there are specific tasks allocated to boys, like fetching water and cleaning their own rooms. Two household heads said they can't let the boys cook or do the laundry Mncedisi, a young man in a skip-generation household<sup>95</sup> said he does all the work at home, but the younger siblings are not receiving the same upbringing in terms of domestic roles.

*My mother expected us to do everything so I grew up doing it. At home I cook, wash and clean the house. When mother was coming she would get cooked food and tea. I plant cabbage and spinach in the garden and sell vegetables. In my life I believe in work. If I get seeds I plant and we have enough even to sell. We eat our own vegetables which I grow. But the young ones have a problem - they dodge work sometimes.*

Joyce showed that age is affecting the possibility of continuing the non-gendered duty sharing started by the mother. *We try to share equally like our mother used to teach us. But the boys are still a bit small so we girls do most of the work. The elder brother of 28 lives on his own in a separate building on the property.*

On the contrary, Akhona showed that the socialization had been gender role specific: *I do most of the work because my sister is employed. Our brother, oh you can't get him to do anything, he just runs away to play like he used to do when my mother was alive. It's more difficult to control him.*

Through occupational research I learnt of a community care worker<sup>102</sup> whose mother had died two months after childbirth. She and the baby were adopted by an alcoholic aunt who would always leave her to care for the baby. She mentioned that that age-inappropriate responsibility has had two effects on her. Firstly she became hesitant to have a child of her own; secondly the sister she brought up sticks to her like her own mother and will not accept being in the care of anyone else. When she encountered difficulties, she needed faith as confidence in herself, in the adolescent knowledge she had about baby-care and in self-care skills which she applied to the baby. She showed resilience as she was able to cope and rebound in the face of adversity, as Kruger and Prinsloo (2008:241–259) define resilience.

In many child and youth-headed households the roles depend on the composition of the household. Where the head is a female or where girls are more they are likely to do more of the domestic duties, more so if the boys had not been taught to share equally. This can affect issues of discipline described earlier. Confirming this Germann's (2005:50) study highlighted that in most African countries before the onset of HIV, most girl children provided care to their younger siblings whereas boys were less likely to provide such care. He said this was attributed to the gender stereotypes that women were perceived as the caretakers of the family occupied with cleaning, cooking, and taking care of the sick, whereas men were seen as breadwinners.

Contrary to gender stereotyping, Nziyane (2010) interpreted the equal distribution between the genders in respect of heading the households in her study to indicate a shift in the patterns of gender and family care. Five of the children who participated in her study and acted as heads in their child-headed households were male, and five were female. Both girls and boys were responsible for all household chores including taking care of the younger siblings.

Similarly, the documentary, mentioned in 5.5 under Data Collection – Methods, Processes and Tools, titled “A Child is A Child” shows a scene where two young boys orphaned by the death of their mother are doing household chores and commenting that their mother taught them well by exposing them to domestic tasks in preparation for her departure. Be that as it may, there

---

<sup>102</sup> The experience was narrated in a Memory Box training workshop for social workers at the 4-day workshop at Granny Mouse in Howick in November 2011.

are mitigating factors to gender-neutral task sharing in C/YHHs such as age and patriarchy. These factors also affect process of making decisions in C/YHHs.

### *Sub-theme 3. Decision-making*

Children and youths from C/YHHs mentioned that sometimes it is difficult to make decisions as there are no liable adults in the homes. One issue relates to decisions that have to do with money. Often the head is not on a grant while the under 17s are, and this causes arguments when a decision has to be made. Nomthandazo said:

*I find it difficult that we live alone without parents due to AIDS. Sometimes when we make decisions we don't agree; even when I try to guide them they don't agree with me. At times they see themselves as grownups yet they are not.*

In another family the older youths have relinquished some home management duties to a younger one, Joyce, who remarked:

*It is I who makes most decisions in the home, and my sisters look to me whenever there is an important matter ...I am the youngest of my siblings...Even though I am not the oldest in the family my older sisters have come to trust me. They have come to rely on me to make all the resolutions and solve all the problems at home... It's a great challenge. It's good that they trust me, but I am always afraid that if things go wrong I will be blamed. So, most of the time I prepare myself for possible finger-pointing.*

Joyce's accepting to be a key decision maker in a family with older siblings is a daring move which indicates faith as self-confidence. Moreover she is an ardent Christian with overt faith in God. Her Christian faith, together with her self-confidence instil resilience which helps her to cope with the challenges related to decision-making in the home. Apparently the older sisters are afraid of taking responsibility for decisions made in case some decisions lead to disaster. So they trust and allowed her to be the sanctioning decision-maker in the home.

Relating to the same subject, I witnessed disagreements related to decision-making in homes where I went to ask them about the type of Christmas presents they would like to receive. Two heads, Khulekhani and Sindile thought the younger siblings must request school-related items yet the teenagers wanted luxury items like play stations and cell phones. A problem is that if

boys have been socialised in a patriarchal system while the head is a female they will want to be the decision-makers. The boys believe the buck stops with them as far as decisions are concerned. One contributing factor is that even in female-headed households boys hear remarks like ‘...yimi ubaba lapha ekhaya... (which means I am the father in this home) or ‘... loku kufuna indoda...’ (Meaning this task requires a man). Such situations raise questions in view of the patriarchal system of family management in operation in the community. How much leeway do boys socialised in patriarchy give to an elder female sibling to make decisions? How does she feel as a female, operating within patriarchy, about imposing decisions on males?

The experiences of the children and youths similar to those cited above led to the UNICEF (2004) suggestion that due to the adversities which children in CHH<sup>103</sup> face on a day-to-day basis as they take on parental roles, CHHs should not be considered as a “care option”. Nevertheless, it said CHH which were spontaneously established need to be supported and protected. German (2005:261-364) attributes children’s difficulties in making decisions to poor access to appropriate information will help them make informed decisions about issues like household management and care of younger siblings. Thus the children experience difficulties in performing adult roles due to the nature of the roles versus their tender age.

On the same note Mkhize (2006) study found that children in CHHs view decision-making as an enormous task which they face on a daily basis. Decisions which the children make range from trivial such as decisions on doing household chores, to crucial decisions with serious consequences such as dropping out of school in order to provide economically for the household. Other decisions include decisions on how to spend the money as well as household management (Mkhize 2006). The decision-making task is provided for in the Children’s Amendment Act No. 41 of 2007 which allows a child heading a household legally to make day-to-day decisions relating to the household the way an adult caregiver would do.

Nevertheless, decision-making in the home is rarely referred to or affected by government acts. This is because, as Nziyane (2010) puts it, a family is seen as a unit that plays a primary role in socializing children, transmitting societal values and norms, exercising controls and instilling a sense of what is right or wrong to children. Nziyane (2010) adds that although later experiences outside the home also have an important influence on the child’s development, the

---

<sup>103</sup> UNICEF used this acronym, CHH in the discussion.

way in which the child will react to situations is strongly affected by what the child has learnt in the home. A question related to this significance of the home situation is: Who makes the final decision in a C/YHH? A more pertinent question is: to what extent are the head's decisions followed? Considering the answers to these questions is crucial because such decisions are likely to touch on discipline matters discussed in the next section.

#### *Sub-theme 4. Discipline*

Within the challenge of home management and coupled with the task of decision-making in child and youth-headed households is the issue of discipline. Many adults heading households complain of indiscipline among children and youths, and one can only imagine the difficulties in following a discipline code if young people are on their own.

I observed this difficulty in one of my visits to a youth-headed household; I encountered Nomkhosi, a teenage girl who wanted to go away with friends. The brother, a teenage boy who is not the head of the family, told her not to, threatening the sister that if she disobeyed she would suffer some consequences. The sister argued and bluntly told him she would not obey him, she had her own money and she was free to go wherever with whomever she liked.<sup>104</sup> My observation and analysis was that the boy, socialised in a patriarchal system, understood himself, being the male, as the one who should impose discipline in the family even though he was not the head. The girl thought she was under no obligation to obey him and took advantage of the situation that there was no biological parent, the male was not the head and the 22-year old female head did not intervene. A question that occurred to me was what compelled the teenage boy to try to enforce discipline on his teenage sister. Another question was: How much of the disciplinary code, enforced by a female head, is the boy prepared to follow given his patriarchal outlook on the management of the home?

Later, Nomthandazo, the female head showed the discipline dilemma in the family when she said: *Discipline is becoming a problem; they don't listen anymore. They take themselves as*

---

<sup>104</sup> Incident witnessed during a visit to a family headed by a 23 year old woman in November 2010.

*grownups, and they even come home at midnight. I have to wake up from sleep to open the door for them... Uh, not having a parent is hard.*

Another head, Sindile said: *It's difficult because, as they are growing they get troublesome; they don't listen anymore. Sometimes I think of leaving them, it's better because it's stressful to say the same thing.*<sup>105</sup>

The issue of discipline in some child or youth-headed households also takes a gendered dimension. Lack of discipline proved to be a challenge where young women were heading households with teenage or older boys. Without guidance in establishing a discipline code, child or youth-headed households would rely on the school or church. The question is: How much of those entities' discipline codes apply in such private spheres as the home? How does a religious institution's discipline apply in multi-faith families where members attend different religious bodies and subscribe to different disciplinary codes? Furthermore, one thinks of the family where young adults have relinquished leadership to a younger one. The question is whether she can control the older ones and if they are willing to submit to her discipline code.

Nevertheless, all is not lost. I encountered a young woman, Sithembile, who said since they began living alone she had learnt self-discipline. She said: *You know I used to be naughty while she was around...because she cared for me more. I was very naughty. But after her death I changed to a better person. ...but now I have changed, I know I live with people...I have to wait, I learnt to be patient; yes, I learnt a lot of things...*

Likewise, Mncedisi, a young man, said he has assumed a headship role and disciplines paternal cousins even if there are cultural issues which would bar him from doing that. He also added that he resolved a dispute between a female cousin and her mother.

*In the two families I am now seen as the head. When there are funerals I represent both families. If they are confused, I help, I am an important person in the two families. I am an important figure; I can't desert my God who put me in a position which I was not expecting.*

---

<sup>105</sup> Interview 23 June 2011.



Mncedisi has faith in God and in the potential given to him makes him cope with the loss of his mother and abandonment by the father. The same faith makes him resilient enough to head paternal and maternal families amidst cultural prohibitions and a youthful age.

Correspondingly, in a research on discipline, safety and security in schools Mathe (2008:45) bemoaned that children from child or youth-headed families lacked not only the basics like food, clothing and shelter but also the guidance, support and love generally offered by parents. She said in this new family structure children become adults when they are at home. The huge responsibility and emotional stress facing these children lead to problems of discipline, safety and security. In view of these circumstances Mathe (2008:56) posed a question, ‘What can the educators with limited resources do to teach such learners respect and discipline?’ She concluded by saying discipline should be learned at home and be developed at school.

Similarly Nziyane’s (2010:324) study alluded to discipline challenges. Some of the participants in her study mentioned that living in CHHs exposed the children to living without proper guidance, discipline and control from adults. A social worker and an extended family member mentioned that lack of respect among the siblings made it difficult for the child heading the household to mete out discipline to the younger siblings. Mathe’s (2008) and Nziyane’s (2010) findings regarding discipline raise further questions on how much of patriarchy the C/YHH uphold given that many heads of households are girls and that the patriarchal system is being disdained by some of the living parents who have abandoned orphans in these households .

### **6.3.3 Theme 3. Family and community dynamics**

#### *Sub-theme 1. Living parent-abandonment*

Children and youths who lost a parent but are unable to live with the surviving parent expressed sentiments of abandonment. Most do not understand why the living parent cannot assume responsibility. After our conversation with one interviewee, Nonhlanhla, I invited her to ask me questions if she had any. She wanted to know if I had lived with my father. When I indicated that I had she expressed sentiments of being unloved, remarking

*You are better off you lived with him. I never lived with him, I don’t know his love. He came only once, I don’t know anything of his love, and I never experienced it... adding I once decided to look for him. I went searching the whole of ...looking for him but I didn’t find him.*

Nonhlanhla's experience may be elucidated by Posel and Rudwick's (2013) finding that the common absence of fathers in many Zulu households is not always because men are denying paternity or behaving irresponsibly, but their absence may have financial reasons. The researchers point out that with low marriage and cohabitation rates among mothers, and rising rates of non-marital childbirth, the phenomenon of the absent father has become a concern among South African researchers (Denis and Ntsimane, 2006; Hunter, 2006; Morrell, Posel and Devey, 2003 and 2006). From an attachment theory perspective Nonhlanhla's sentiments indicate avoidant behaviour. Her actions and mistrust show what Howe (2011:44) describes as avoidance patterns of attachment, when he explains that children classified as avoidant have an internal working model in which the self is represented as unloved and unlovable, although it is seen as self-reliant. Other people are cognitively represented as rejecting, unloving, intrusive and predictably unavailable at times of need. Working towards bonding with an evasive living parent, Mncedisi said:

*At first we did not communicate. Now there is some communication (with my paternal relatives). The problem is that when I go home in December I often find my father not home, and I sit with the family.*

*They are not a problem; they accepted us even though there were issues between my parents. The problem is with my father who was never home when I visited. So the family can't call us as he is not there; they love to see us there but it's not easy because he is not at home... I try to phone once in a while but I never get him. I just say ah let me leave him.*

Because of the increasing impact that the HIV epidemic has been having on women more of the households have lost mothers, so the finger pointing is mostly directed at fathers. Having lost an attachment figure the children and youths feel angry to be deprived of the opportunity to get a replacement when the potential exists.

#### *Sub-theme 2. Identity and self-perception*

The failure by some paternal relatives to assume responsibility of orphans whether because of *lobola* debts, conflicts or the orphans' refusal had impact on the orphans' identity and self-perception. Several interviews revealed issues related to identity. Mncedisi's said his community believes the paternal ancestors offer stronger protection from evil so if one is not connected to paternal relatives one is immersed in black waters (*amanzi amnyama*). He claims

he has assumed leadership among his paternal relatives even though he was raised in the maternal family. My sense is that he wishes to retrieve his patrilineal identity.

Sizwe described the two spirits fighting over him, revealing a positive self-perception and a concern over his patrilineal identity, saying ... *there are two deceased people... fighting over me... one wants to be closer to me, or they have different agendas about my life... my father did not finish paying the lobola so maybe they are each laying claim on me.*<sup>106</sup>

Joyce's maternal relatives wanted to distribute the children amongst themselves. They also wanted Joyce's brother to go to the father's country of origin,<sup>107</sup> probably to dispel possible contention for the family property. The siblings refused, preferring to cleave to their only brother. The brother refused to leave but has decided to live apart from the rest of the family with little contact with Joyce and her siblings. The siblings refused to be parted due to a desire, related to the attachment theory, to remain in the company of attachment figures. The brother also refused to emigrate to remain in the safe environment he is used to, basing on the suppositions of the attachment theory. I conjecture that his self-identity played a role in creating the adversarial situation with the siblings as he was alienated from the paternal roots. Children raised by maternal families often face identity crises in this patriarchal and patrilineal society. The dialogical self-theory presupposes that the self is polyphony of voices echoing the collective voices of society. Assumedly the voices of others penetrate the self and form positions which agree, disagree or oppose each other (Hermans 2001:243-281). These identity crises might be perpetuated by the increase in single parents as children are bearing children.

### *Sub-theme 3. Children of children*

In three of the households five young women bore children, complicating the economic, home management and career pursuing situation. Though these children receive grants there is a consistent complaint that it is insufficient and overstretching the budget of the family. Nomthandazo had to stop school to look after her baby. In another family Sithembile said:

---

<sup>106</sup> 25 August 2011.

<sup>107</sup> For ethical reasons the name of the country is not given to protect the interviewee as this detail may lead to identification by those family members who did not consent to the interview.

*I love my baby; I want the best for her. I disappointed my mum in many ways...at the end of the day I got a baby that I was not expecting. I am not saying it's bad to have a kid, I enjoy her, and she is adorable...I am not regretting her. But I am telling you it was the wrong time to have her. I am not regretting her ...We youngsters don't wanna believe what adults tell us, we always say I wanna see for myself, experience, but when we get there it is hard and there is no turning back... I tell you we teenagers don't wanna believe when adults tell us we wanna see, know the challenges and experience but when you get there and see the challenges it's too much for you.*

Because of the relationship that had developed between us, Nomthandazo phoned me lamenting that there was no milk formula for the baby. She said she could not give the baby black tea which was all that the family could get, and asked me to get milk. On my way I passed through the home of the community worker, Nobuhle, who is in charge of the households. Nobuhle expressed disappointment that the child's father sometimes went to eat in the youth-headed household. Nobuhle said the child's father was taking advantage of the orphaned family while contributing nothing to their grocery supplies. Nevertheless, it is great to see the father eating in his child's house as that shows attachment and gives opportunity for bonding which needs to be complemented with providing for physical needs.

The difficult situation of children and youths living in C/YHHs bearing children was mentioned in earlier research. Ganga and Chinyoka's (2010:192) article referred to what they called an interesting but disturbing finding. There an older OVC, aged 16, expressed dismay over unmarried younger female OVC who are beginning to bear their own children, what they called 'zvana zvevana' or 'children of children'. He said this practice seemed to be bringing in over-population into the CHH that is relying on a very strict and limited budget.

#### *Sub-theme 4. Extended family*

Most children and youths I interviewed either don't know or have cold relationship with their fathers or paternal relatives making it difficult to relate to them.

In some of the C/YHHs in my study, the issue of *lobola* had meant the children grew up on the maternal side. In other families the sickness and subsequent death of the mother severed the relationship between the children and their paternal relatives. Some relatives get closer as the children and youths grow up, maybe because there is now less responsibility and better

economic circumstances. Other relatives may even expect benefits as some youths are now working. Nevertheless the children and youths are distrustful of motives if there were conflicts or a cold relationship before.

In their paper, Posel and Rudwick (2013) demonstrate that a man is socio-culturally not permitted to cohabit and co-parent with the mother of his child unless he has initiated the *ilobolo* (bridewealth) negotiations and concrete marriage plans are in place. They add that a Zulu man is able to claim rights to his children through the *inhlawulo* ('damages') payment, and this practice may have helped to accommodate high rates of non-marital childbirth within Zulu culture, the payment of *inhlawulo* does not grant the father the right to cohabit with the mother of the child.

#### *Sub-theme 5. Challenges to patriarchy*

The society in which the research was conducted has given elderly males the prerogative to lead and control the family or society. In the Zulu patriarchal system paternal relatives are expected to assume responsibility for the children, more so once a parent dies. Most C/YHHs in this research had been female-headed, already challenging patriarchy even before the youth-led household is created.

Patriarchy is being challenged by the circumstances surrounding most of the parental deaths which are engendering C/YHHs. In four of the households the mothers died due to AIDS. Due to stigma, cultural beliefs or strained relations the paternal relatives were unwilling to accept responsibility for the children. How then do such family circles continue to uphold patriarchy in a patrilineal society where the men are relinquishing responsibility to those of 'inappropriate' sex and age?

Patriarchy is also being challenged from a care ethics perspective. In many C/YHHs parental deaths are due to AIDS. In families that are under the headship of the father, when the debilitating illness sets in many women go or are sent back to their families and children and youths end up in the care of maternal relatives. This means the patriarch had neglected assuming his duties to the wife and children. Ideally the male head should care for the sick, demonstrating *ubuntu* as a component of authentic culture that patriarchy claims to be.

Patriarchy is also being challenged by the fathers' failure to take responsibility for the children. For example Nonhlanhla's<sup>108</sup> living father abandoned her to a maternal family headed by a female youth. The question that comes to mind is: How does the daughter, heading a household or the abandoning father continue to uphold patriarchy in a situation where the man is relinquishing responsibility to a female whose sex and age prohibit headship? How does a system maintain credibility if the key role players are, for various and maybe genuine reasons, unable to assume their positions?

Patriarchy is being tested as far as nuptial customs are concerned. In three households paternal families were refused custody of the children as lobola was owing. So to those children and youths the patriarchal system is not operable as the father cannot exercise leadership over them.

Patriarchy is being tested from a religio-cultural perspective. For instance Sizwe believes there are two deceased people, probably his mother and father fighting over him with each laying a claim on him<sup>109</sup>. That competing of different sexes within the same worldview or its perception shows that patriarchy is not a sealed package but remains a closed book. Also, Mncedisi says paternal ancestors are more important than maternal ones. How do deceased patriarchs wield more power of over a family whose living patriarchs abandon their headship?

Patriarchy is being confronted from a socio-economic perspective. For example the argument between Nomkhosi and her brother showed that having her own money gave her the audacity to disobey. When she wanted to go away with friends she told her brother bluntly that she had her own money and was free to go wherever with whomever she liked. The youth only households created are headed by the oldest and in a number of families it is a female.

#### *Sub-theme 6. The household in the community*

The child and youth-headed families form part of their community and as such are involved and influenced by what happens in the community. On a number of occasions I visited and found some family members attending funerals or traditional ceremonies at neighbours or functions in the community hall. This confirms the assumptions of the positive humanistic theory which presupposes that people obtain a sense of meaning and purpose from belonging

---

<sup>108</sup> Nonhlanhla. Her interview is discussed under the *Sub-theme 1. Living parent-abandonment*.

<sup>109</sup> Sizwe, interviewed on 25 August 2011.

to and contributing to something greater than themselves, such as social groups or organizations (Greig, Taylor and MacKay 2007).

Some families joined the community burial societies, as admitted by Nomthandazo who said: *..another brother lives nearby, he helps us with funeral contributions at month end..., we pay...as a family... (she) goes to submit the contributions...(she)goes when there is a party...only the one who usually appears making payments.*

This resonates with the suppositions of the social ecology model or contextual theory. Proposed by Bronfenbrenner, it upholds the progressive mutual accommodation throughout the life span between a growing human organism or the unique individual and the changing immediate environment. Furthermore, asked what she would do in the case of someone treating her badly and whether she was free to confront them, Nomkhosi replied: *Some I confront, others I beat.* The implication is that she will act differently if faced with different challenges, depending on the nature and magnitude of the challenge. This concurs with the socio-cultural theory which states that knowledge, thinking and social practices are anchored by collective practices, traditions and belief systems within institutions, cultural contexts and within particular historical timeframes. Practices are specific to context, and affected by the everyday practices and resources for thinking, behaving and solving problems in that context.

## **6.4 Conclusion**

In this chapter I presented and discussed the findings the research based on the interviews, occupational research, observation and questionnaires. I started by presenting the demographic profiles of the children and youths in a table with columns indicating their sex, ages and educational levels. I explained the rationale for considering each of these aspects. From the data collected I detected and collated six themes namely: antecedents to the establishment of child or youth-headed households; home management; family and community dynamics, education and skills training; psychosocial well-being and spirituality, culture and religion. I further divided each theme into subthemes that emanated from the collected data.

Under antecedents to the establishment of child or youth-headed households, I discussed AIDS, pre and post-death conflicts, sibling solidarity, asset preservation and the cultural practice of *lobola*. Under the home management theme I discussed socio-economic vulnerability, gender roles, decision-making and discipline. A gender thread ran through these

subthemes with an indication of a challenge to patriarchy. The third theme, family and community dynamics comprised subthemes about abandonment, identity and self-perception, extended family and community engagement. Issues of identity and self-perception vis-à-vis the societal outlook permeated this section. Here Bronfenbrenner's theory, the ecological model was used to explain the facts and events in the households. In the interest of data triangulation the findings were followed by story lines, excerpts and extracts from the interviews. I cited the literature on each subtheme to substantiate the empirical findings which continue to surface in the next chapter.



# CHAPTER SEVEN

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS: COGNITIVE, PSYCHOSOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL ASPECTS

### 7.1 Introduction

In chapter 6 I discussed the findings by focusing on 3 of the 6 themes namely the antecedents to the establishment of C/YHHs; home management, and family and community dynamics and their related subthemes. In this chapter I will continue discussing the field research findings, focusing on themes four to six namely education and skills training; psychosocial well-being and spirituality, culture and religion and their related subthemes. For that reason the title cognitive and psychosocial detections and deliberations captures the experiential findings as far as the intellectual, emotional, spiritual and social dimensions of their lives are concerned. I will present the findings according to the themes and subthemes emerging from the data collected. I will substantiate themes and subthemes identified from the transcripts, notes and scenarios with quotations or storylines from the transcribed interviews, participant observation notes or occupational research. These will be verified using existing theories and literature.

### 7.2 Theme and Subthemes

Theme	Subthemes
Theme 4. Education and Skills Training	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Educational needs</li> <li>2. School attendance</li> <li>3. Career pursuits</li> <li>4. Dropping out</li> </ol>
Theme 5. Psychosocial well-being	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Emotional health</li> <li>2. Social behaviour</li> <li>3. The need for attachment figure</li> </ol>
Theme 6. Spirituality, culture and religion	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Faith, religious affiliation and disillusionment</li> <li>2. God, ancestors, rituals and inculturation</li> <li>3. Angels and dreams</li> <li>4. Uncaring conduct—engendering a changed perception of culture</li> <li>5. Gendered in life and death</li> </ol>

*Figure 10 Cognitive, Psychosocial and Spiritual Aspects*

### 7.2.1 Theme 4. Education and Skills Training

This study revealed that some children and youths in child or youth-headed households have come to view education and skills training as a foundation for improved socio-economic circumstances. They have developed faith in the education system as a resource for economic prosperity. This is despite the fact that previous research has indicated that the lives of children in child-headed households are increasingly circumscribed by economic problems, limited or lost educational opportunities and psychosocial distress among other challenges. (Levine, Foster and Williamson 2005:6-7; Germann, 2005; Barnett and Whiteside 2006:229).

#### *Subtheme 1. Educational needs*

The children and youths depend on *The Organization* for educational needs. In most of the families most children and youths expressed gratitude about *The Organization's* ability to take responsibility for their educational needs as expressed by Khulekani when she said:

*Stationery is provided by school, uniforms are from Director<sup>110</sup>.*

Later Khulekani alluded to her faith in God when talking about *The Organization's* ability to provide for the household, affirming: *God is there, I have seen many times when I think too much that I should have died, when I see what happened when Director came I think no one could shoulder this burden, it was God's way.*

For Khulekani God is that invisible power which works in favour of people in need availing help through benefactors. This enabled her to cope with heading the household amidst hardships. Nomthandazo also said that *The Organization* helps them with school-related items. *For school expenses Director sponsors everything, uniforms, books and even lunch.*

Sithembile alluded to her faith in and gratitude to God for *Director's* provision of educational needs. In this sense faith is correlating with resilience in the life and experiences of the children and youths growing in C/YHHs. Similarly, Sithembile mentioned her sister's ability to bounce back and return to school. This indicates resilience as a result of the availability of a benefactor, *The Organization*. This resilience has in turn instilled or enhanced their faith in God as the

---

<sup>110</sup> As much as the beneficiaries express gratitude at *The Organisation's* role in their lives I will not mention the director's name to protect the identity and anonymity of the beneficiaries, especially in view of the fact that some youths refused to be interviewed.

provider of the benefactor. The sister's resilience has instilled faith in Sithembile herself, a more complex form of correlation between faith and resilience. It confirms the assertion by Rutter (1985); Carver (1998); Luthar et al. (2000); Bonanno (2004, 2005) and Layne et al. (2007) that resilience is complex, multidimensional and dynamic in nature.

*Sithembile: When we found Director I prayed to God to say thank you for everything, because of her I will study and get what I want. Right now I am in an expensive college because of him; I am doing what I am doing because of him...When mum was alive she [her sister] dropped out of school. When Director came I was happy to know that she wants to go back to school. I know she is very bright and I can tell by her marks. She is hard-working and you can see from her marks that she is intelligent.*

Sindile also mentioned *The Organisation's* benevolence when asked how the family gets money for food and clothes, explaining... *For school Director gives us all everything: transport, stationery, uniforms, lunch money and so on. For food we get grant; clothes, we don't buy we buy only in December.*

Out of the 40 individual questionnaires administered by the community care workers, 95% said a NPO was looking after their school related needs. The Therons (2010:4) found that in 18 of 23 articles on resilience mentioned in Chapter three section 3.4.5, individual and collective resilience protective resources were anchored within schools where teachers were singled out as being supportive, fair, non-discriminatory, motivating, inspiring role models, encouraging, helpful and caring. This concurs with Nziyane's (2010:77) findings where all her potential participants, except one, were still attending school. This was the case because BHSSC<sup>111</sup> had existing networks and good working relationships with the schools in the study area and had liaised with school principals to request exemption from paying school fees for orphans and vulnerable children. This points out at the need for various stakeholders within the micro and mesosystems to liaise and collaborate for the benefit of the children and youths living in C/YHHs.

---

<sup>111</sup> In Nziyane's (2010:83 – 90) study BHSSC stands for Bushbuckridge Health and Social Services Consortium. This is a non-profit organisation rendering care and support services to orphans and vulnerable children in Bushbuckridge. It was the organisation that assisted in gaining access to the extended families and CHHs, because it was funded by the sub-district to provide care and support services to OVC.

An instance of such liaison and collaboration was demonstrated by the Scottsville Presbyterian Church Women in Christ organization, which I mentioned in a footnote in the research methodology chapter five, section 5.4 on Ethics. During the 2011 Christmas season when the women offered to buy Christmas presents for the children and youths the argument about requesting luxury items instead of school related items shows the younger teenage members had faith that the organisation would cater for the school needs. It also shows they were resilient according to Mampane and Bouwer (2006:443–456) who say resilience is the disposition to identify and utilise personal capacities, competencies (strengths) and assets in a specific context, fuelled by interaction between the individual and the context. This is also in accord with Ebersöhn and Maree's (2006:14–30) view of resilience as a combination of specific intrapersonal capacities and environmental support systems (protective factors). It concurs with Johnson and Lazarus' (2008:19–30) understanding that resilience is a dynamic developmental process that examines the interplay between risk and protective factors and the role of the family, school, community and peers. Similarly Theron and Theron (2010) view resilience as the dynamic interaction between an individual, a given milieu and accessible opportunities, which is what the children in these households exhibit.

Where children and youths are not fortunate enough to get education-related support from organizations, the inability to afford school expenses may mean in some instances orphaned children have to seek employment in order to generate income for the family. This in turn is likely to affect their school attendance as will be shown in the next sub section.

### *Sub-theme 2. School attendance*

Children and youths from the child and youth-headed households expressed faith in the education system as an entity to assist in shaping one's future. In most families they appreciate the value of education and attend school regularly. Only one teenager who refused to be interviewed was truant<sup>112</sup>. On the same note, during a period of much suffering in Khulekani's household the siblings continued schooling. Teenagers from one household praised the discipline at the school they attended. They said it contributed to their good behaviour unlike

---

<sup>112</sup> A child who is regularly absent from school without permission.

that of students from a neighbouring school. A similar sentiment came from Nonhlanhla who expressed that she was benefiting from prayer meetings organised by students at school.

*...I used to be free at primary because in primary I could talk to the teacher who was my aunt. But not in high school... [when I feel lonely or sad or when I think about my mother] I just sit alone and cry. At school I go to prayer every day during break. There is no leader; it's us students who did it for ourselves. We scholars started our own prayer meeting...*

*Anyone interested can join.*

In the same way, Joyce said she got training at the organization then ended up being employed there. Asked about her family's source of income Joyce said:

*I work here ...and get a stipend... I trained here then when I finished I stayed at home doing nothing for some months. But I used to come here to do voluntary work. Then they needed someone ...and they asked if I was interested.*

Expressing similar faith in the education system, Themba, who had been a client of an organization, explained his post matric plans, narrating:

*I was very hungry for education but I didn't get people to take responsibility to pay for my registration at tertiary level. So I decided to go back to the organization where I had been an OVC. I was impressed, I had the feeling that I wanted to change the lives of the OVC, and so I joined the group after matric.*

Asked how she could achieve the enthusiastic goals she had set for herself, Sithembile zealously remarked that education is the way to go to a better career. Since Sithembile and the other children and youths are exposed to a life of suffering, pain, bewilderment, confusion and anxiety, schooling can help them develop a renewed sense of efficacy in relation to life and its circumstances and restore some lost confidence. Faith as confidence in themselves while immersed in the primary activities, in their internal locus of meaning, in the external support systems plausibly builds or enhances resilience in adversity. This is in line with Nziyane (2010:127) who asserts that schooling is important to children affected by HIV and AIDS. The children and youths are probably experiencing the *good life* or life of engagement which, according to the positive humanistic theory, is experienced when people feel the beneficial effects of being immersed at optimal level in their primary activities (Greig, Taylor and MacKay 2007).

### *Sub-theme 3. Career pursuits*

Most youths realise the importance of education and career development as a gateway to a better socio-economic life. With the *Organization's* help a number who had stopped school have gone back and are pursuing studies towards career and skills development. Even those who are struggling and making inopportune choices are aware that without education they won't achieve the better life they so desire. For example, expressing regrets about falling pregnant at teenage Sithembile said:

*...it was the wrong time to have [the baby]. ...We youngsters don't wanna believe what adults tell us, we always say I wanna see for myself, experience, but when we get there it is hard and there is no turning back.*

Later she was emphatic about the importance of education and mentioned that career development is only possible with good education, as she explained:

*I am aiming big, big time. I look at these young women driving their nice cars. But first when I work I want to make a difference in my home. Then afterwards I buy my own house before a car because accidents happen. I want my own house where I can leave my child and say 'my mum left this for me'. Afterwards then I can look for a car...Going to school is the better answer, if you have qualifications for what you want you will be there.*

Themba also expressed similar sentiments in another excerpt. Asked what plans he had after matric he indicated that he was keen to continue with education. He showed that his resilience stemmed from trusting that if he acquired the necessary educational qualifications he would be able to help himself and other orphaned children. Nevertheless, although education appears as a factor in building or enhancing resilience in the children and youths belonging to C/YHHs, gender-related dynamics seems to hamper efforts made towards educational attainment and career development. From Sithembile's excerpts above it appears that due to poverty and general powerlessness girl children in C/YHHs find themselves making choices that obstruct their long term goals. There is an extent to which gender dynamics affect the educational and career pursuit of these young women. Nomthandazo at college desired to start her own crèche after training. Nomthandazo and Sithembile's situations indicate a level of vulnerability to sexual exploitation.

Quoting Higson-Smith and Richter, Nziyane (2010:155) states that the underlying causes of sexual exploitation include gender discrimination, social inequalities, corruption, cheap labour practices and poor educational opportunities. She proceeds to say that poverty and the increasing adult mortality due to AIDS-related illnesses are creating a dangerous situation for children to be sexually exploited, as children from poor communities and dislocated parental care (e.g. CHH and street children) are generally targeted (Nziyane 2010).

Bird and Higgins (2011:5) mention similar facts when they say gender emerges frequently as an important factor influencing nutrition; the balance of time allocated to schooling labour or leisure; access to and control over assets; and investments in health and education. They point out that these gendered differences are important to women and girls themselves and influence outcomes for their children in the future. So, pursuing careers is one way for children and youths in C/YHHs to minimise intergenerational poverty. Their confidence in the education and training systems has instilled resilience which Wright (2013:41) describes as the ongoing developmental process of responding to the changing demands of one's environment. Yet, sometimes they drop out of school and training programmes due to inevitable circumstances.

#### *Subtheme 4. Dropping out of school/training*

Khulekani said she had to drop out of school and look for a job as she was the oldest, the extended family had abandoned them and they were not getting subsistence aid from anyone. Similarly, Nomthandazo stopped a tertiary training course at the F.E.T. College because she had a baby and could not afford a baby sitter to look after the child. Crèches are expensive as they are usually privately run. Relatedly, Mkhize's (2006) and Kelly and Smart's (2003:22) studies show that dropping out of school has serious impact on the children's future as schools offer environments in which children can develop socially and emotionally and gain knowledge and skills to enable them to progress through adolescence to adult life.

### **7.2.2 Theme 5. Psychosocial Well-Being**

#### *Subtheme 1. Emotional health*

The extract table below is a part of the Child Status Index (CSI) used to assess the psychosocial well-being of orphaned and vulnerable children. It has categories describing children's emotional health as good, fair, bad and very bad. I prefer to say sad and very bad. Bad is judgemental whereas sad is descriptive. Also if a child cries a lot it is not necessarily bad as it

is a way to vent out. I adopted and adapted this tool to describe the emotional health of the children and youths in the child and youth-headed households basing on the interviews and on my observations. Their emotional health ranged from fair to very bad with many expressing anxiety, withdrawal, hopelessness, desire to be alone and death wishes.

Child Status Index (CSI) * Psychosocial Well-Being * Baseline Status Assessment			
Good	Fair	Bad	Very Bad
<i>Emotional health</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Child seems happy, hopeful and content	<i>Emotional health</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Child mostly happy but occasionally anxious / withdrawn. Infant may be crying, irritable, or not sleeping	<i>Emotional health</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Child is often withdrawn, irritable, anxious, unhappy or sad. Infant may cry frequently or often inactive	<i>Emotional health</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Child seems sad, hopeless, withdrawn, wishes to die, wants to be left alone. Infant may refuse to eat, sleep poorly or cries a lot

Figure 11 The Child Status Index (CSI) showing the Domain of Emotional health <sup>113</sup>

As an example, Sindile showed that her emotional status was not good due to taking on the responsibility of managing the home. *I don't want to lie, it's hard ...Sometimes I don't cope; sometimes I lose control and become aggressive.* Likewise, when Nonhlanhla was asked what she would do when she felt lonely, sad or when she thought about her mother she said: *I just sit alone and cry (she starts crying again)...I used to be free at primary because in primary I could talk to the teacher...*

According to the attachment theory Nonhlanhla is likely to develop avoidant behaviour. This results when overtures of need and attachment behaviour are rebuffed and caregiving feels rejecting and dismissive (Howe 2010:44). The best defence strategy seems to be to minimise overt shows of attachment behaviour and displays of negative affect, learning to contain feelings, avoiding communicating distress and never indicating vulnerability (Howe 2010:44). Nonhlanhla sits alone and cries when she feels lonely. She has joined the school prayer group,

---

<sup>113</sup> The Child Status Index (CSI) is a tool developed by USAID and now used in many organisations Sinomlando being one. The CSI distinguishes six domains: Food and Nutrition; Shelter and Care; Protection; Health; Psychosocial Education and Skills Training. The 5<sup>th</sup> domain is subdivided into: Emotional Health and Social behaviour. For each of these categories the CSI defines four levels. Good, Fair, Bad and Very bad. Accessed from [www.cpc.unc.edu/measure/tools/child-health/child-status-index](http://www.cpc.unc.edu/measure/tools/child-health/child-status-index) on 15 September 2013.



confirming Ainsworth’s (1989) compensation hypothesis<sup>114</sup> which implies that as surrogate parents could compensate for earlier insecure attachments, faith in a supreme being or some ultimate reality can be a resource for resilience for members of C/YHHs.

Nonhanhla’s actions when she feels lonely are signs of deferred grief similar to that shown by the child who cried at the funeral play in the documentary “A Child is A Child”. This documentary depicts real life. Correspondingly, through Sinomlando’s memory work with orphaned and vulnerable children, I have come across children with deferred grief who get emotional when there is reference to death and funerals. In an activity called ‘Unfinished Business’ the children are helped to move towards closure over their personal loss.

*Subtheme 2. Social behaviour*

Psychology has shown that emotional health influences social behaviour and stress can lead youngsters into antisocial behaviour. The extract table below is a part of the child status index (CSI) used to assess the psychosocial well-being of orphaned and vulnerable children. Similar to the one before describing emotional health, this one has categories describing children’s social behaviour as good, fair, bad and very bad (I prefer to say ‘sad’). ‘Bad’ is judgemental whereas sad is descriptive.

Child Status Index (CSI) * Psychosocial Well-Being * Baseline Status Assessment			
<i>Good</i>	<i>Fair</i>	<i>Bad</i>	<i>Very Bad</i>
<i>Social behaviour</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Child likes to play with friends and participates in a group or family activities,	<i>Social behaviour</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Child has minor problems getting along with others and argues or gets into fights sometimes	<i>Social behaviour</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Child disobedient to adults, frequently does not interact well with friends, guardian, or others at home or school	<i>Social behaviour</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Child has behavioural problem including stealing, early sexual activity and or other risky or disruptive behaviour

Figure 12 The Child Status Index (CSI) showing the Domain of Social behaviour

As with the table before, I adopted and adapted this tool to describe the social behaviour of the children and youths in the child and youth-headed households basing on the interviews and on

<sup>114</sup> Kirkpatrick (1997) proposed two hypotheses to account for individual differences in attachment to God. He postulated that God may serve as an attachment figure in a compensatory manner such as a substitute for other less than optimal attachment figures (the compensation hypothesis). The hypothesis relates to individuals who did not experience secure attachments with their caregivers and thus sought secure attachments elsewhere.

my observations. Their social behaviour ranged from fair to very bad with many showing minor problems getting along with others, arguing, getting into fights sometimes, disobedience, lacking good interaction with others at home or school, stealing, early sexual activity and other risky or disruptive behaviour.

Correspondingly, in my research, I found that stress led to delinquent behaviour. One girl, a freeze-out<sup>115</sup> had been terrorised by a relative, lived a life of upheavals and ended up being a delinquent. In occupational research, I encountered many community care workers who needed help in dealing with delinquent children and youths. Zodwa who has uneasy interaction with her siblings said she does not converse with her younger siblings. She said:

*I only talk to my elder sister not these young ones... I discuss only with my elder sister not with these young ones...we don't get along, they don't listen and I am not good at too much talk.*

Also Nomthandazo complained of disobedience among the siblings whose insubordination is probably a sign of stress. This complicates the discipline problem in the home as stressed siblings behaviour is stressing the head to a point of relinquishing disciplinary duties and contemplating absconding. She said: *It's difficult because as they are growing they get troublesome, they don't listen anymore. Sometimes I think of leaving them, it's better because it's stressful to say the same thing.*

Asked whether she saw the idea of leaving her siblings on their own as a good decision, Nomthandazo said: *Yes it's better to get away from this situation of always saying the same thing over and over again...it's (discipline) becoming a problem, they don't listen, and they come at night. I have to wake up from sleep to open door for them. It's not nice when they knock when I am long asleep...*

From a feminist ethics of care perspective, Nomthandazo, who is caring for the siblings, is also thinking of self-care by contemplating departure. Her faith as trust in her own decision making had made her resilient according to Southwick and Charney's (2012:6) definition - an ability

---

<sup>115</sup> Neuman (2006:391) explains that "freeze outs" are members who express an uncooperative attitude or an overt unwillingness to participate in research.

to adapt well in the face of adversity, tragedy, threats and significant sources of stress such as family and relationship problems, serious health problems or financial stresses.

In the same way Joyce and her siblings chose to remain together, refusing to be subjected to what they saw as ulterior motives and greed by the relatives. Though there are management and discipline-related challenges engendered, from a psychosocial perspective, it was beneficial for the siblings to remain attached especially during a period of bereavement.

Tracing the patterns of family structure, Barnett and Blaik (1992) explained that the practice of exchanging children between households has tribal roots and families saw children as belonging to and the responsibility of the extended family. Many of these children moved several times depending on the availability of caretakers or because of the children's changing educational needs. Little regard was given to the attachment process and children often lost their attachment figure numerous times. Spencer (2004:25) confirms, explaining that disruption of attachment has been commonplace in South Africa before the HIV and AIDS pandemic (Spencer 2004). The loss of attachment resulting from the HIV pandemic is not altogether a new pattern. In the past, many mothers sent their young children to live with family members such as maternal grandmothers or maternal aunts in a different town or province. This was usually due to a lack of available caretakers in the towns or cities where parents were forced to seek work. As a result of this social phenomenon, many black South African children present as unattached. So, although the problem is commonplace, it is dire and needs to be addressed.

### *Subtheme 3: The need for an attachment figure*

The children and youths have indicated the need for attachment figures. Nomthandazo who heads a household, admitted that she was still young and needed to be under a parent. This indicates she was unprepared and disoriented by losing the attachment figure. The question one asks is: How much of an attachment figure can she be to her younger siblings, having untimely lost one herself?

Similarly Khulekani's siblings went through much suffering at the hands of a relative, soldiered on and persistently sought refuge in Khulekani, indicating attachment behaviour. The question that remains is how ready Khulekani was to be that attachment figure and provide the appropriate attachment response, much as the siblings had faith in her support. Likewise Themba expressed his cultural understanding of the concept of attachment and need for an attachment figure when he said:

*When people are deceased, according to my understanding they are not here in flesh but in soul they are around protecting us everywhere we go. When I visit at the grave, it is to make sure they won't think I forgot them. I go to clean the place, to talk to them and to invite them to say 'Remember I stay alone, don't forget to come home'.*

Themba went through a successful grieving process, has faith that his deceased parents will look after him. That faith is making him resilient. Analogous to that, the three children aged about 13, 8 and 5, described in section 1.6.2 under 'Professional Motivation', observed by the community care worker kneeling at a grave also showed the need for an attachment figure. Faith in the attachment figure, whether dead or alive makes the youngsters resilient in the midst of adversity. Inversely their resilience engendered faith in the attachment figure to a point of braving the eeriness associated with cemeteries. They bore the weird ideas that form aspects of the primal worldview and dominate some traditional societies to go and kneel at a grave, not on a lone spot but in a cemetery. Connecting this with occupational research experiences, many children say they are afraid of cemeteries<sup>116</sup>. The three children miss an attachment figure and take the feminist spirituality approach of unconstrained veneration.

### **7.2.3 Theme 6. Spirituality, Culture and Religion**

#### *Sub-theme 1. Religious affiliation and disillusionment*

Some children and especially youths from C/YHHs have shown disillusionment with religious systems or aspects of them, with which they were involved. Most children and youths said they do not go to church anymore. In Khulekani's family, the pastor of an indigenous church told the head of the household that they would not succeed in life if they did not attend the church of their late grandmother. In Joyce's household the events prior and post the death of their parents discouraged them from going to the same church. Joyce and her siblings left the church and chose to go to a different church one. Sithembile, a resilient youth, said she has not found the right church of her taste. She said: *I love God but I haven't found the right church.*

On one of my visits Nomkhosi a teenage girl said she had changed from a mainline church her mother used to attend to join the church her friends went to because the friends' church was

---

<sup>116</sup> This fear of cemeteries and ideas about spooks are revealed in a session where children discuss about expressing and dealing with various emotions in Sinomlando memory work and psychosocial support Manual, 2013 version.

more exciting. Her brother, who is not a churchgoer challenged the idea of seeking excitement, to which she retorted that she was better off than him who never went to church. An argument erupted over the church issue and the situation demanded that I take more of a mediatory role than a researcher does. The situation made me wonder how many similarly fierce arguments erupt in the adultless homes and how they get resolved. I also wondered at the rate of such differences and their effect on the relations and discipline in the homes.

Likewise Sindile said she did not observe indigenous religion anymore because their mother was a *sangoma* (traditional healer), helping other people to fix their lives and relationships with the ancestors but still she died. My analysis is that Sindile thinks her mother could have used her mystical power to protect herself and prevent death before a ripe old age. Sindile's perception of her situation is in line with a feminist spirituality perspective even though she did not articulate the assumptions of the concept. Feminist spirituality brings about change in core beliefs through practicing alternatives (Riddle 2008:7), change as Sindile has experienced. Furthermore, an orphaned child had been asked, through the questionnaire<sup>117</sup> administered by a community care worker, to explain views about religio-cultural concepts like God, Jesus, angels, ancestors, rituals etc. The child wrote:

*'...ancestors are causes of poor...They will say we want a cow even though they know you don't have money to buy it... they are full of lies. They will say we did not sleep well even though it is about 60 years ago they have been buried.*

The answer was part of the quantitative data which was collected in this *qualitative-dominant* mixed methods research through structured and open-ended questions. The data was collected using 40 individual and 6 group session questionnaires administered by community care workers. The research participants were not located in the typical research site but their input was gleaned through occupational research and incorporated to accomplish principles of triangulation. Most young people have links, though casual, with religious groups.

The answer given by the child quoted above indicates a level of disillusionment with the religio-cultural system as it shows how some of the children and youths question ancestors who allow relatives to abandon them while insisting on family unity in revering them. In another instance,

---

<sup>117</sup> Questionnaires in the Appendix 3.

during a visit to a rural community Sinomlando trainers learnt of children who were being raised by a granny. She died and no one told them. On the burial day they were shocked to see granny in the coffin. The narrator, a Sinomlando trainer, said there was heartrending wailing on beholding the deceased grandmother. One could only imagine the children's anger at the silence about their grandmother. Furthermore this could lead to disillusionment and distrust in the family, the community and the adult world at large.<sup>118</sup>

To the question: 'Do you think it's good to worship God. Why?' in the individual questionnaires, 100% said it is good, giving such reasons as: *You will get good things; He created us; He protects us from danger; He gave us parents; He will take us to heaven; He protects us.*<sup>119</sup>

The experiences of the children and youths in child and youth-headed households described above and the wealth gleaned from them confirm Haddad's (2002) contention regarding the importance of telling the stories. She wrote:

But I contend that telling their stories of faith, survival and resistance is crucial to the African women's theology project, for it is the millions of women like them who have struggled to survive, literally, through decades of patriarchal, colonial, apartheid, cultural and ecclesiastical oppression. We need to seek out the stories of these women whose voices are seldom heard and ensure that their contribution to the life of the church and community is not forgotten. But is it simply recording and recounting these stories all that is required of us? The answer must be a resounding No? The stories of faith, survival and resistance of poor and marginalised women must not be an end in themselves. Their stories and their theological agendas must become the stepping stones to a collaborative partnership between the church, community and academy. We African women theologians have failed in our task unless our theologising makes a difference to the lives of the majority of women struggling each day to survive.

---

<sup>118</sup> Story heard on Tuesday 6 June 2012 at Bhekabantu School, Zululand.

<sup>119</sup> Questions in Appendix 2.

In a similar vein I assert that the stories of faith, survival and resilience of children and youths in child of youth-headed households can become rich resources for theological agendas in the community and the academy. Their experiences can become stepping stones to fruitful theologising and theorising, providing new bases for principle and practice as demonstrated in the African feminist theological ethics of care.

*Sub-theme 2. God, ancestors, rituals and inculturation*

Most children and youths expressed that they believe in God. They articulated that they have faith in a higher being who cares for them even though they have lost parents. Some expressed absolute faith in God and showed resilience, like Joyce who said:

*Oh I love God, very much, and Jesus too. I wouldn't be what I am without God. When I am lonely he makes me feel complete and happy. I can't picture a life without faith without God. The journey with Jesus makes my family rely on God more. When mum died I was broken, I addressed Jesus and he filled the gap.*

Likewise Sindile said: *...we don't do cultural practices that much anymore. We don't believe much in that. It's not that we are throwing away our traditional culture, but we now believe more in God, after mum's passing.*

Joyce and Sindile's sentiments could be explained using Kirkpatrick's (1997) compensation hypothesis introduced in chapter three section 3.4.1 entitled Origins of the Attachment Theory. He postulates that God may serve as an attachment figure in a compensatory manner as a substitute for other less than optimal attachment figures. Pargament and Cummings (2010) also confirm these sentiments when they say, as quoted earlier, engaging religion positively and proactively in dealing with problems has been found to help promote psychological resilience.

Some interviewed youths expressed faith in God and in the ancestors, like Akhona who said: *I don't believe in ancestors in the cultural way. But as Catholics we have the holy mass where we ask God to forgive them. They should not be forgotten but we should pray for them as they are waiting to meet God on judgment day.*

Similarly, Sizwe said: *The ancestors are there, they are part of our lives. We experience them in our lives, in dreams, in mysterious events and in bad omens. The traditional healers take part and help us to communicate with the ancestors.*

Asked to share what he thought about the ancestors Themba said: *They relate to God because when they were alive they were attending church and when they died we said 'Rest in peace'; Where? In God as he said I go to prepare a place so that where I am you will be. They are there with God so when I ask them some things, though I ask God directly I also ask God via the ancestors.*

Likewise 38 out of 40 respondents to the individual questionnaire answered affirmatively when asked: 'Do you think it's good to worship ancestors? Why? They gave such reasons as: *The ancestors are our relatives; They protect us from evil powers and from danger; They help us. They lived on earth and we know them.*

One community care-worker who conducted a focus group reported that: *They do believe in ancestors since their parents died so where they are they still watch them and their parents protect them from evil spirits.*

Another community care-worker who facilitated a focus group asking for opinions about religio-spiritual beings reported that some children said:

*I believe in my ancestor as I have seen them before they died; I never saw Jesus. Ancestors can protect me from danger and give me fortune; Our ancestors help us a lot as every Good Friday we are forced to go and clean their graves in order to get blessings.*

Nevertheless some interviewed youths were out rightly dismissive about ancestors like Joyce when she said: *The dead are dead. I do not think they speak to us. I miss my mum and I think she is somewhere with God, but I wouldn't have respect for her in the way of worshipping her. I wouldn't want to speak to her.*

Likewise two of the 40 in the individual questionnaire groups answered adversely saying: *No, they (ancestors) are humans like us; No, I worship only God who created me.*

A community care-worker who conducted a focus group reported that: *They don't believe in ancestors. They say that people died a long time ago, their flesh and bones are eaten by earthworms long ago and their spirit is taken by God; They don't believe in ancestors they said the people hear nothing, when you tell them your problem nothing change.*

Some in the community care-worker's groups expressed some uncertainty, stating: *Ancestors and Jesus they share the same thing they are worshipped by prayer, perform rituals, kneeling to them. Ancestors and Jesus are on the same level because all are deceased.*



Some youths in C/YHHs think any relative who died is an ancestor. Others think ancestors are their parents who died, including mothers, much as the religio-cultural system does not acknowledge mothers in the religious hierarchies. Equally, Sindile mentioned that they invoke ancestors on their own as youngsters. She believes that the ancestors understand the age and gender dynamics. Her faith in mystic powers and in the future helps her to continue life while coping with adversity, she explained:

*When my baby was born we got impepo and burnt it to tell the ancestors there is a new person, a member of the family, please look after her...We did it ourselves. Though we can't count all the ancestors we tell them please if we didn't tell the other one pass the message on to others... we do it at home...we just buy the grass in town. But the people who sell are traditional healers.*

Most youths believe it is important to perform cultural rituals, which have the potential to bring the family together. On one of my visits to a youth-headed household I encountered an elderly woman whom I had never met before, who insisted that I stay to attend and participate in a ceremony to revere the ancestors. After inquiring about my participation as a non-relative I was assured that I was welcome. I agreed as I thought this was an opportunity to see how the inculturation process and practice would unfold.

The ritual saw the once estranged extended relatives reappear to fulfil duties to deities and to take responsibility for the children and youths. An altar for the ancestors was prepared, strewn with confectionery, fruit and bottles of drink for the ancestors' festivity (*iladi labadala*). At about midnight a group of members of an African Indigenous church came and led in the ceremony meant to offer thanks and present petitions to the ancestors. Each family member was to present a white hen, slaughter it before the altar and make requests to the ancestors. The question I kept asking was the children's and youths' perceptions when adults who had abandoned them now joined them to the altar.

The ceremony would fit Peter Phan's (2010:593) explanation of inculturation which, according to him, is a coinage introduced in the 1960s referring to the process whereby the gospel and the culture of a particular people are integrated and are thereby mutually enriched. Similarly Phiri (2010:595) explains that while the inculturation of music and liturgy has been relatively easy rites of passage were the battleground where mission churches and indigenous churches confronted each other most strongly. She adds that in South Africa most mission churches have

Christianised the traditional unveiling of tombstones because of its value in local traditions (2010:595). The coming together of a previously estranged family, neighbours and the church group demonstrates the ecological systems theory and the ethics of care.

Describing her parents' funerals, Joyce said: *The...<sup>120</sup> church do culture things and the church was involved. They slaughtered a sheep to brighten his way and they collected his spirit...we were involved in addressing the ancestors. They burnt incense.*

In addition about the mother's funeral Joyce said: *...because she was a woman there was no white sheep slaughtered.* At the insistence of church members, Joyce's mother took back her husband who had abandoned her, came back to be cared for and infected her with HIV. Later she also died of AIDS. At her funeral no white sheep, which symbolises purity, was slaughtered because the deceased was a woman. A question arising from this and in relation to the abandonment of children is: What are the views of the ancestors regarding children's rights, justice and responsibilities? What purity surpasses forgiving a heart-breaking and jilting husband, taking him back in and sacrificing one's sexual health for his image?

Regarding cultural practices, one community worker's informant said: *Traditional healers are liars, they cause neighbours to fight because they will tell you that your neighbour bewitched you.* This also indicated disillusionment even with stakeholders and custodians of the culture.

### *Subtheme 3. Angels and dreams*

#### *Angels*

Most children and youths interviewed said they have heard about angels but do not know or are not sure what their role is or how they relate to ancestors. Many believe angels exist, that they are spiritual beings with some more or less defined roles to play in the lives of living people and that they have an elusive relationship with the departed. Some said angels are spiritual guardians while others said they are the ancestors they venerate. Joyce said she had had an encounter with an angel:

---

<sup>120</sup> The name of the church is withheld due to ethics of care - protecting the interviewee and her family.

*'I believe angels exist. In fact I believe last month I had an encounter with an angel. I was murmuring at God, questioning about issues and complaining... A white lady came...spoke about my journal, hugged me then disappeared. So I believe angels are there.'*

Sithembile said she believes she has an angel who holds her tears, and takes them to God whenever she cries. Themba referred to the Bible saying he knows of angel Gabriel who was sent to Maria and angel Michael who protects children, and so he thinks they exist;

*...they are messengers sent by God to do different things in our lives. Sometimes you can hear someone testify that they saw an unusual or holy being or had an unusual holy experience. Another youth said 'Angels are like my ancestors but my angels are sent by God to protect me during the day and even during the evening.'*

Many of the children and youths said angels and saints are both important; we pray to them and they help in daily life; we should pray and thank them and ask for guidance. Others said angels are sent by God with special messages to people; they help us in difficulties; everyone has an angel that follows them everywhere; angels are envoys of God to look after people.

Using theory triangulation I infer that this belief in angels is connected to a yearning for an attachment figure. Because of this yearning, the children and youths have come to believe in the existence of a benevolent personality concerned about and guarding their lives. They also believe their departed parents guard and protect them. The faith in the ancestor is more or less influenced by the departed's life on earth and what is believed about ancestors. A feminist spirituality standpoint would see girls deriving as much help from their belief in angels as the boys. This in turn enhances their faith and boosts their resilience.

### *Dreams*

A few youths in the current study with C/YHHs believe dreams can foretell or forewarn about a future happening. Nomthandazo mentioned that a relative dreamt of a coffin in the house and a few days later another relative was murdered. A community care worker heard from a participant and wrote: *The traditional healer helps to interpret the ancestors' dreams.*

A community care worker I encountered through occupational research explained that she and her sister got doubly orphaned and the two remained looking after each other. Then her sister passed on, leaving her distraught. For weeks she experienced anguish and insomnia. Then one

night she dreamt her sister saying the living sister must forget about her and move on with life because they were in different worlds.

The community care worker I encountered through occupational research who dreamt a deceased sister urging her to forget about the deceased confirms Nell's (2012) assertion that dreams sometimes constitute an important natural resource in coming to terms with bereavement. I sensed that she had probably not been given an opportunity to work through the experience and deal with the grief. Her experience and behaviour with regard to the trauma confirmed what Spencer (2004) says in a clinical psychology study evaluating a group therapy programme for vulnerable children. She indicated that had been affected by the death of the parent and the sibling through violence, confirming Spencer's (2004:33) assertion that children affected by violence show signs of posttraumatic stress, with symptoms such as flashbacks, insomnia, concentration problems, hypervigilance and avoidance of reminders of the violence. They are also likely to suffer from many emotional problems including low self-esteem, helplessness, anger, aggression and problems relating to peers and family members.

Dreaming is a normal human function. Writing about dreaming among the Zulu-speaking people in South Africa as people living in a space of intercultural engagements shaped by unequal power relations in the nineteenth-century South Africa, Chidester (2008) explains that dreams were multi-sensory texts to be interpreted, evoking a synesthetic engagement and self-involving interpolation. Furthermore dreams were texts to be told with the pragmatics of dreams, which turns private dreams into shared stories, being integral to Zulu religious practices and performances. Moreover dreams were texts that demanded response. The energetics of Zulu dreaming called for responses of ancestral exchange and orientation, integral to Zulu religious strategies for sustaining relations between the living and the dead Chidester (2008:44).

#### *Subtheme 4 Uncaring conduct– engendering a changed perception of culture*

Some youths from the households described the conflicts at the death of their parents and their resultant abandonment as 'culture'. They kept describing their culture as uncaring. This was prompted by the situations they witnessed and experienced, giving rise to the creation of the households with no adults. They have seen it happen in other families, experienced it in their own lives and concluded that quarrelling, grabbing property and abandoning bereaved children and youths is the cultural norm. Responding to a question relating to their communication with maternal relatives Sithembile said:

*We have relatives but in our culture if parents die they don't care. They come one day after many years to ask 'how are you'. You ask where they were all these years, so at home we don't believe in relatives anymore. When mum was alive I used to see it from far but now it's in me.*

Khulekani also sees abandonment and the uncaring behaviour as a common occurrence in families. She explained how they remained alone when their grandmother died and kept wondering what would happen the day the funeral food got finished. Khulekani's relatives asked an uncle to marry so that the wife could look after the orphans. It's a cultural expectation that a woman is married not only for the benefit of her husband but also for his family. She became very abusive to the children. One can deduce that she was angry that the marriage was not about her but about getting a nanny and housekeeper, hence the abuse.

Culture, in this study, is the way of life including the general customs and beliefs, of a group of people at a particular time. The children and youths expressed general dissatisfaction with the treatment from families. They also expressed mistrust for families who take in orphaned children as the 'culture' seems to recommend the maltreatment they have been witnessing. The children and youths are witnessing such maltreatment in their community and lives so often that they see it as the normal way of life. One supposes that by the time their parents died they were almost equipped for this 'culture' and prepared to assert a decision to live without adults. The recurring statement '*You know what happens in our culture when parents die, they come for the funeral to bury...*' was usually followed by descriptions of property grabbing, quarrels over grants, confiscation of birth certificates, wrangles over *lobola*, or the spurning of children's custody of the due to disagreements. They may have developed an inaccurate definition of 'culture', but their experiences, observations and the frequency of these occurrences mean that this uncaring behaviour is their perception of culture.

#### *Subtheme 5. Gendered in life and death*

A gendered outlook permeates the worldview within which the children and youths I researched with are growing. In certain issues they are compelled to cross gender boundaries. For instance due to living on their own as children and youths, girls are performing rituals against the traditional religio-cultural norms. Nevertheless, gender is still a dominating outlook in their lives and operations. First, the agreement or refusal to participate in the interviews had gendered underpinnings – girls' economic vulnerability and boys' notions of masculinity. Second, the discipline issues discussed in home management in chapter six section 6.3.2

themes 2 are gendered. Nomkhosi's brother and Mncedisi, non-heading boys tried to enforce discipline on female family members.

Third, Joyce's mother referred to in *Sub-theme 2 on God, ancestors, rituals and inculturation* took back the husband who had abandoned her for some years, at the urging of the church. She failed to insist on protective sex and got infected with HIV. Joyce explained that at her funeral, *because she was a woman there was no white sheep<sup>121</sup> slaughtered.*

A fourth example of a gendered modus operandi concerns the afterlife. Mncedisi, a youth growing in a household once headed by the maternal grandmother mentioned that there is a prevailing belief that paternal ancestors are more powerful in guarding the descendants than maternal ones. He said *...ancestors differ; some are more important than others. Paternal ancestors are more important because he married and paid lobola at home. Maternal ancestors are not as important.*

This is paradoxical given that the speaker has little communication with paternal relatives and claims he has assumed headship in his paternal extended family when his own father is still alive. Mncedisi is well knowledgeable about Zulu culture as was revealed in his interview responses. There is a mirroring of societal construction of identities of male and female.

The gendered notion of relating in life and in death creates identity crises on two levels. Where a relationship was not sealed by *lobola* paternal relatives are not recognised yet paternal ancestors are believed to wield more power over the children. The question that arises concerns the children's understanding of their position within the descent, and of the level of protection they are able to access from the ancestral world. The situation is baffling resulting in a potential to be fatalistic. Another question in relation to the gendered deceased concerns the abandonment of the children and youths is: What is the position of the ancestors on the subjects of justice, rights and responsibilities?

The experiences of children and youth from child or youth-headed households show vulnerability in different dimensions of their lives – psychological, economic, cultural and social. They are faced with stigma if parents perceivably died of AIDS-related illnesses.

---

<sup>121</sup> In religio-cultural rituals, white animals and birds usually symbolise purity and sanctity.

Bereavement, parentification, age inappropriate responsibilities, loss of identity, conflicts and abandonment are adversities that can stifle development, cause malfunction or create social misfits. Yet there are internal and external resources to help them manoeuvre or navigate through adverse life circumstances. This study seeks to uncover those resources.

### **7.3 Conclusion**

This chapter continued from chapter six, presenting the findings of the empirical research. In the chapter I discussed three themes namely education and skills training, psychosocial wellbeing and lastly faith, spirituality, culture and religion. Each theme was further divided into subthemes resulting in a total of thirteen subthemes covering the pedagogic, psychosocial, physical, and spiritual dimensions of their lives. I showed that the children and youths growing in the C/YHH have come to view education and skills training as a gateway to socio-economic empowerment. However there are restraining beliefs, gender being one of them at play in the youngsters' lives. I pointed out at the social behaviour of some of the children, explaining that it is likely to emanate from their emotional state of being. Using triangulation of theory I explained their circumstances referring to the attachment theory, the ecological systems theory and the ethics of care.

From the circumstances, happenings, revealed and observed experiences of the children and youths in C/YHHs I came up with ideas to explain the facts or events in the lives of the children and youths in C/YHH. The theory which I coined from the research findings plus components of other theories is the African feminist theological ethics of care (AFTEC) which is the subject of the following chapter.

# CHAPTER EIGHT

## TOWARDS AN AFRICAN FEMINIST THEOLOGICAL ETHICS OF CARE

### 8.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters, namely six and seven, presented the research findings in six themes, expounding themes 1 to 3 and 4 to 6 respectively. The chapters further expounded the themes into subthemes, backing the empirical information with written works and philosophy. Against the background of these empirical research outcomes, abundant literature on CHHs, the theories used in this study and the cultural context of the study, I propose a theory, the African feminist theological ethics of care (AFTEC). This is a moral principle formulated from elements of various related theories, to explain certain facts, occurrences and dynamics in the lives of children and youth belonging to C/YHHs. The full spectrum of this theory is introduced at this point into the thesis because it collates aspects from the other theories and human experiences; it elucidates facts stemming from the empirical data and promoting the care of orphans with particular focus on the C/YHHs; it was mentioned as one of the objectives of the dissertation making a full early presentation of the theory appear pre-meditated. This would also pre-empt the novelty of the research.

I will begin by making assumptions about the AFTEC. Then I will unpack the African the feminist and the theological dimensions of the AFTEC. Next I will characterise the features of the AFTEC, expounding on the universal and paradoxical compassion to care; the inclination to share; the reverence for life; deference for children's spirituality and emotional astuteness as justification and impetus to universal caregiving.

Subsequently I will propose and describe a practical interfaith spiritual worship model. I will clarify the administration and performance of the ritual. Lastly I will validate the model in support of the AFTEC and as a model that is rooted in religious practice; draws on theological concepts; taps into the *Imago Dei*; is suitable for a multi-faith social unit like a C/YHH; offers cost effective and sustainable psychosocial self-care. It is envisaged that this will enhance the correlation between faith, with all its varieties, and resilience in C/YHHs.



## 8.2 Assumptions of the AFTEC

The AFTEC assumes that the asexual *Imago Dei* that was used in crafting all females and males alike, correlates with *ubuntu* or humanness, and produces not only the propensity but also the potency to care for the other. Furthermore the AFTEC posits that if the *Imago Dei*, correlating with *ubuntu* is present in every human being it follows that every person is equally predisposed and obliged to give and to receive compassionate care to and from another thereby fulfilling the *Missio Dei*.

This theory is a combination of various theories and picks usable elements from African ethics in the form of *ubuntu*, feminist theological ethics, and the ethics of care. This process resonates with what feminist ethicists do as cited by Haney (1994) when she says a feminist community is and must be a norm-creating community. Its virtues and principles do not come as legacies of the past, but are created and discovered by those engaging and dialoguing with the issues (1994:8). Kelly (2006:352) adds that in qualitative research theories are constructed through a dialogue between questions and data with a view to achieving certain ends, hence the characterisation of aspects of AFTEC beginning with its dimensions.

## 8.3 Dimensions of the AFTEC

### 8.3.1 The African Dimension

The theory takes an African essence in acknowledging the importance of *ubuntu*, the quality of humaneness in all human beings. I argue that all people inherently possess, need and benefit from *ubuntu*, albeit in varying degrees. This quality translated into a socio-cultural praxis and a way of life in many communities on the African continent. It found fertile ground in the primordial communal lifestyles of the early communities and became a deep-seated value in the indigenous societies. The AFTEC also has an African tint in asserting the combination of the *Imago Dei* and *ubuntu* which created the reverence for life.<sup>122</sup> This reverence is partly the

---

<sup>122</sup> The reverence for life is a strong value in some African ethnic groups. For instance the occurrence of *ngozi* or the avenging spirit in the Shona cultural belief system indicates reverence which was given to human life.

cause of the hot debate on abortion.<sup>123</sup> The AFTEC sees a correlation between *ubuntu* and the *Imago Dei*, regardless of the fact that the *ubuntu* quality gets influenced by socio-cultural dynamics. It is also theological because it dialogues/engages faith in the God of creation who created humanity in his *Imago Dei*.

### 8.3.2 The Feminist Dimension

The AFTEC adopts a feminist agenda in that it advocates recognition of equality among females and males. This notion stems from the (I daresay) sexless *Imago Dei* and the correlated *ubuntu* which are both psycho-spiritual and present in every human being. Phiri (1995) interprets feminism as a bid to extend membership in universal human nature, and hence eligibility for human rights, to that category of beings named women.<sup>124</sup> What is referred to here as universal human nature is what I see as the *ubuntu*, present universally. Oduyoye (1986:21) captures the essence of feminism when she writes:

Feminism has become shorthand bear for the proclamation that women's experiences should become an integral part of what goes into the definition of being a human. It highlights the woman's world and her worldview as she struggles side by side with the man to realize full potential as a human being... emphasizes the wholeness of the community as made up of male and female beings. It seeks to express what is not so obvious...male-humanity is a partner with female-

---

<sup>123</sup> The debate, in traditional contexts, refuses to consider any reasons for abortion, be they rape, dire economic circumstances, unplanned pregnancy, mental instability etc. Furthermore, rituals connected with stillbirths show that a foetus is viewed as a bona fide human whose life must be revered. For example, in Manyika culture a woman who has a stillbirth must not look at the corpse as she may never bear children. The stillborn is believed to have 'jealous' powers to prevent the conception of other children in future. Also, a woman may not attend the burial of her deceased infant. If she does she must walk backwards to the grave and avoid facing it to prevent the 'jealous' infant from closing her womb. The dead infant supposedly has powers over the living mother, so its life and any human life must be revered.

<sup>124</sup> Originally published in *The Emperor ReDressed: Critiquing Critical Theory*, ed Dwight Eddins. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995, pp. 101-117.

humanity...both expressions of humanity are needed to shape a balanced community within which each will experience a fullness of being.<sup>125</sup>

The AFTEC resonates well with Oduyoye's description of feminism through its emphasis of the notions of side by side, whole community and partnership. The theory promotes equality of girls and boys in C/YHH as they handle social, cultural, economic, educational and spiritual issues of life. It propounds that each person acknowledges their own vulnerability and need for others. It encourages self-care as well as mutual care.

### **8.3.3 The Theological Dimension**

The theological dimension of the AFTEC lies in its hinging on the theological theme of creation from both a Biblical and a religio-cultural perspective.<sup>126</sup> The AFTEC acknowledges the themes of perfection and relationship in the biblical creation narrative and in traditional folktales. This approach to theology from an African base concurs with Phiri's (1995:101-117) assertion that when the notion of African Women's Theologies is approached through the theoretical framework of African theology it shares the same sources for doing theology. She explains that these sources include African primal culture and religion (including proverbs, metaphors, riddles, myths, songs and folktales).

## **8.4 Features of the AFTEC**

### **8.4.1 Universal Compassion to Care**

The AFTEC presupposes that both women and men have the compassion to care. It is a feminist ethic which rejects biological essentialism as a base for the aloofness and insensitivity usually associated with and assumed by males. The correlation between the *Imago Dei* and *ubuntu* generates that compassion to care. Youngsters in C/YHH have demonstrated this as some have cared for sick parents and continue to care for one another even after the creation of the child or youth-only household.

---

<sup>125</sup> Mercy Amba Oduyoye, *Hearing and Knowing: Theological Reflections on Christianity in Africa*. Maryknoll NY, Orbis, 1986, p.21.

<sup>126</sup> There are stories related to creation in traditional folklore.

As described in the professional motivation, I perceived compassion to care in the captivating scene involving teenage boys, heads of child-headed households who took on parental responsibilities after school. They were coming to eat at the organization's soup kitchen, feed their baby siblings and carry them away on their backs. Furthermore, in a number of the interviews I collected that whole families showed concern and were involved in caring for a young family member on ART. In one family they all took turns to monitor the HIV+ child's adherence to ART.<sup>127</sup> AFTEC says the ability to care is evident in girls and boys, and both can be soft-hearted. This means churches and organizations can have programmes to equip and enhance the ability to care to both boys and girls in C/YHH. Still from occupational research, in a project of children on ART I have encountered men caring for households of children and teenagers. In some cases they monitor the adherence of one or more youngsters taking ARVs.

#### **8.4.2 Paradoxical Compassion**

AFTEC attests that both women and men have the propensity to care due to the *Imago Dei* and *ubuntu*. Nevertheless sometimes circumstances are constraining and some behaviours of parents or adults towards children, though negative, could be an indication of the presence of compassionate care. A cultural example of paradoxical compassion is a practice in one of the ethnic groups in Zimbabwe where it was believed that giving birth to twins was a bad omen. So one of the twins was put in a calabash and sent flowing down the river, possibly in hesitation to commit murder and in the hope that someone might find the calabash and save the baby. Moreover placing the infant in the river indicated hope in the presence of a basic physiological need and an element that religio-culturally symbolizes life and salvation.<sup>128</sup> A religio-cultural belief was upheld amidst compassionate care and reverence for life.

By the same token the Zulu cultural practice described in section 4.4.3 entitled *Averting misfortune and silent mourners*, concerning an infant who lost a mother at childbirth was an illustration of paradoxical compassion. The infant was to be suckled by the grandmother and

---

<sup>127</sup> This is a departure from the practice found in many contexts, described by Phiri who wrote that while wives take care of their sick husbands till they die, they are most unlikely to get quality care themselves when they get sick. Sometimes a sick wife she is sent back to her own relatives to be cared by her sister, mother or grandmother because patient care is believed to be a woman's task. In occupation research I encountered adults who relinquish the adherence monitoring of HIV+ children to the patients themselves and even deride them for having the virus.

<sup>128</sup> Some cultural groups believe if one dreams of the appearance of water in the midst of danger it is taken to foretell that one will be rescued from a forthcoming hazardous situation.

if she was not available the infant was taken and placed in a wood or under a bush and left to perish (Govender 2007:132). Due to reverence for life the infant was left to fate's (or ancestors') devices indicating the application of an ethic of care within the absence of a substitute attachment figure.

This paradoxical compassion is subject to economic constraints. In a number of C/YHHs, the children and youths whom I encountered have living fathers who have relinquished responsibility to children to head the families after the mothers died. Nonhlanhla said that her mother died and that she was adopted by an aunt who also died. Her father came once after her mother's death and saw the daughter living in a child-headed household. He promised to come back to fetch her but never came again. At one point she went door to door in one of the high-density locations which he had mentioned, looking for him but did not find him. One of the possible explanations for his behaviour could be that he felt so overwhelmed by his daughter's situation that he thought it better to distance himself from the situation. This assumed sympathetic nature, I contend, is the deep-rooted but suppressed *ubuntu* correlating with the *Imago Dei*. This correlation arouses the desire to care amidst an awareness of socio-cultural expectations and economic constraints, and could be retrieved and affirmed for the benefit of C/YHHs<sup>129</sup> as is propounded by the AFTEC.

A biblical<sup>130</sup> example of such paradoxical sensation is in the story of Hagar, in Genesis 16. At Sarah's instigation Abraham regretfully sends Hagar and Ishmael away. Water runs out in the desert. Unable to watch Ishmael die, Hagar leaves him under a bush and waits for his death at a distance. God tells her to reclaim him and go back to Sarah.

Correspondingly, writing about child abandonment in Europe from Hellenistic antiquity to the Middle Ages, Boswell (1988:428) alludes to situations when parents abandoned their offspring. They did this in desperation, due to poverty or disaster or in hope that someone of greater means or higher standing might find them and bring them up in better circumstances or in callousness. Furthermore, Boswell (1988) says in the 15<sup>th</sup> century parents were still leaving salt or tokens with their abandoned children to indicate ancestry and baptismal status so that whoever found them would ensure they get baptized. Though abandoning the child, the parent

---

<sup>129</sup> Appeals can be made through the TV programme *Khumbul'ekhaya* and assistance offered.

<sup>130</sup> I use an evangelical approach which takes a literal interpretation of the Bible as explained in footnote 21.

was concerned that the infant be baptized, showing paradoxical care. Though paradoxical, this compassion also shows in people's predisposition to share whenever situations to do so arise.

### **8.4.3 Inclination to share**

The AFTEC maintains that because of the shared *Imago Dei*, human beings have an inclination to share even in scarcity because they care. However because *ubuntu* is susceptible to contextual modifications and psychological tendencies this does not always happen and self-serving inclinations become more prominent. In African cultural settings the inclination to share is evident in hospitality. Correspondingly children and youths in C/YHHs have shown a willingness share even in scarcity. In one family the head said when there is insufficient food he forgoes his share so that the child on ART gets enough.<sup>131</sup> Khulekani<sup>126</sup> talked of a very elderly neighbour whose grandchildren were neglecting her and only came to take the old lady's money every pension day. Khulekani ended up sharing all her family's food with the old woman. This indicates *ubuntu*, reverence for life and a practical demonstration of care.

Likewise, Hammond-Tooke (2008:66) explains that (Zulu) ancestors can be galled if their descendants allow the homestead's reputation to be diminished by denying generous hospitality to the wider community through beer and meat feasts. Similarly, Siwila (2011) alludes to African women's hospitality, albeit that it has been abused in the HIV and AIDS context. In her study, hospitality meant the works and services rendered by women to others in families, communities, or in the church in the name of offering service to God (Siwila 2011). The biblical story of the widow who agreed to share the last meal she had with Prophet Elijah demonstrates the willingness to share in the midst of scarcity. Surprisingly in a patriarchal society a man was the breadwinner. Elijah asked to be fed by one who was to be his dependent.

### **8.4.4 Reverence for life**

The AFTEC assumes that because of the association between the *Imago Dei* and *ubuntu* people revere life. Complementing the theological dimension of the AFTEC this reverence for life is an African virtue. It shows in the Shona concept of *ngozi* which deterred people from human

---

<sup>131</sup> I find this impressive because in some traditional settings the head, especially the father must be the first to get the most and best food, even when there is a shortage. This is taken as a gesture of respect for the head.

<sup>126</sup> Due to ethics I use a pseudonym.

slaughter. Furthermore reverence for life was demonstrated in some African ethnicities where ill-omened twins were not murdered but sent floating down a river. Due to overwhelming challenges several children in C/YHHs have at one point or another contemplated suicide. Sithembile had an unplanned baby at teenage, thought of killing herself and the baby, feared to destroy life and kept it. In a South African context it can be argued, as has been done concerning teenage pregnancies, that she kept the baby to get the childcare grant. However she knew about the grant even before contemplating suicide but still went on to make a resolve to terminate her life. Subsequently she ended up convincing herself that suicide was not worth the pain. A counter-argument may question how murderers kill other people if they possess an ethic of care. I argue that they have the *Imago Dei* and *ubuntu*, but the human quality gets suppressed by psychosocial and economic constructions and circumstances, resulting in the resolve to murder.

In the Bible when Cain felt dejected that God had rejected his gift, God warned that sin would overpower him. I see that as the *Imago Dei* contending to uphold the reverence for life while Cain's human nature is being besieged by jealous. The same reverence for life assuredly convinced the Egyptian midwives Shiprah and Puah to defy Pharaoh's orders and spare Hebrew male babies.<sup>132</sup> Moses' parents agreed to hide the baby in the bulrushes rather than give him up to Pharaoh's butchery and exonerate themselves from the homicide.<sup>133</sup> I will argue that the same correlation between the *Imago Dei* and humanness is evident in the actions of Judas Iscariot. Influenced by jealous and avarice he betrayed Jesus. Later the reverence for (Jesus') life created so much remorse that he ceased to value his own life and committed suicide. Pontius Pilate was under turmoil when he acquitted Jesus to try to prevent the crucifixion.<sup>134</sup>

#### **8.4.5 Deference for Children's Spirituality**

AFTEC reconceptualises the spiritual dimension of human life. It upholds that from the womb to the tomb and beyond, people are spiritual. This spirituality results from and in a complex interplay between the *Imago Dei* and humanness. Accordingly, the AFTEC values children's

---

<sup>132</sup> Exodus 1:15-21.

<sup>133</sup> Exodus 2:1- 10.

<sup>134</sup> Matthew 27:3-5 ; Luke 23:4; 13-22

spirituality, asserting that because they were created in the *Imago Dei* who correlates with *ubuntu* they are spiritual. The spiritual dimension of their lives needs connection with the sacred. This spirituality was real in the lives of the participants of my research. Children and youths in C/YHHs have demonstrated that need to relate to the divine. 6 out of the 11 interviewed were members of religious institutions at the time of the interviews, although they indicated they have causal links with the entities. During my visits I observed that five young people who did not participate in the interviews were also members of religious societies.

However other children and youth have stopped participating or changed the institutions, not necessarily because they don't need the connection with the sacred. It could be that they were disappointed with the drought they felt in their spiritual existence, more so after the death of the parents. Their spiritual needs may not have been acknowledged or catered for. One changed from the traditional cultural way of worship to a church because of disgruntlement at the lack of restitutions for her mother's role in religio-culture; another said she was still looking for the right religious institution; yet another left the deceased parents' church because of the little bereavement care she and her siblings received.

The movement from one religious institution to another may well be a search for material benefits. Nevertheless it could also be a search for the *meaningful life* or life of affiliation which is experienced when people obtain a sense of meaning and purpose from belonging to and contributing to something greater than themselves (Greig, Taylor and MacKay 2007). More so, I postulate, it is a spiritual quest especially as they are moving among systems and institutions dealing with transcendence. The religious life of the church is lively but the spirituality of the children not ministered to (Moyo 2011:22). Others are demonstrating that need to relate to the divine by doing rituals and invoking ancestors on their own. The story of the three children kneeling at a grave could be an indication that the children derived support, comfort, relief from the practice. These movement and action in C/YHHs can be explicable using Pargament's (1997) religious attachment theory.



Culturally it is believed children are spiritual. A child who sweeps the yard at an unusual hour<sup>135</sup> foretells the coming of visitors or death. In psychology this may be seen as telepathy but in cultural theology it indicates spirituality. A baby who makes a panicky scream on contact shows that she/he is about to fall into the hands of an evil person. A child who persistently cries at night is alerting of the presence of evil people visiting the home nocturnally for evildoing.<sup>136</sup>

One biblical example of a child's spiritual experience is of the young boy Samuel being called to God's service.<sup>137</sup> Another example is shown by Jeremiah who asserts that his call to be a prophet was a prenatal spiritual experience as it came before he was born.<sup>138</sup> The unborn baby John, capable of spiritual experience, leapt in Elizabeth's womb and she was filled with the Holy Spirit.<sup>139</sup> Mothers bring children to Jesus, aware that his blessing will take effect in the young lives. Jesus reprimands the disciples for sending the children away, acknowledging that the children are capable of spiritual experiences.<sup>140</sup>

Boswell's (1988:430) description of the practice of rubbing salt on the child's neck to show the need for baptism, (quoted in paragraph 8.4.2) which was instilled by developments in scholastic theology shows an acknowledgment of children's spirituality in antiquity, as being propounded by the AFTEC. This is in agreement with the spiritual attachment theory which Kaufman and Kirkpatrick developed from psychologist Bowlby's attachment theory. The central theme of the theory is that attachment is a lasting psychological connectedness between human beings and that mothers who are available and responsive to infants' needs establish a sense of security. The infant knows that the caregiver is dependable, which creates a secure base for the child to explore the world (Pargament 1997).

As one whose religious life was guided by my parents and who also provided such guidance for my children I ask: Do the deities accept everyone's worship? Does the age, sex or

---

<sup>135</sup> Women usually sweep the yard at dawn.

<sup>136</sup> These are beliefs among some Shona ethnic groups in Zimbabwe.

<sup>137</sup> Samuel 3:1-21.

<sup>138</sup> Jeremiah 1:2-9.

<sup>139</sup> Luke 1:40-42.

<sup>140</sup> Mark 10:13-16

physiological constitution of the leader affect the outcome of an intercession? Does God, who created the female reproductive system and process, accept if a menstruating and child-bearing woman prays?<sup>141</sup> Does God accept if she intercedes on behalf of others? What happens to the *Imago Dei* during a woman's menstruation or bearing children? If the sacred powers acknowledge and accept petitions from a girl praying for herself while menstruating, does her status before the deity change when she leads in worship? If, according to some rituals, it is acceptable for a young man to perform priestly duties what happens when he starts experiencing nocturnal emission or wet dreams? These questions relate to people's spirituality but also allude to the corporeal dimension of their lives which experience emotions universally.

#### **8.4.6 Emotional Astuteness - Universal Experience for Universal Care**

The AFTEC advances the notion that men experience emotions the same way as women do because of the *Imago Dei* and *humanness*. This is also true from an evolution psychology perspective as emotions are closely related to the attachment system. Elaborating on the system Bowlby referred to protection from predators and from danger as the biological function of attachment behaviour (Cassidy 2008:5). This biological function makes the fear system important and fundamental. Fear alerts to the presence of danger or possible danger, helps to keep us alive (Howe 2011:8), activates and works in synchrony with the attachment system (Kobak et al. 2005:5), the attachment figure must be sought under alarm or fear, making offspring's focus on the attachment figure emotional and insistent due to its inevitable connection with fear (Main et al. 2005:253).

If the attachment connection is universal and necessarily emotional then it follows that being emotional is universal. For that reason, I will argue, both women and men are capable of compassionate care for others and for themselves. In research with C/YHH I realised that generally boys avoided being interviewed. Among other reasons could be the fact that they are afraid to open painful memories and since gendered socialization has told them to be tough

---

<sup>141</sup> As in the story of the woman whose new born baby did not open eyes for three days after birth. She besought God and prayed fervently even though she was still bleeding from childbearing. Finally the baby opened her eyes. The mother believes God answered her prayer regardless of the belief that a bleeding woman is impure.

they dare not cry before a woman researcher. The few who agreed to be interviewed confirmed that they do cry, some quite a lot. That potential to feel emotions means they are capable of empathising and caring for others and for themselves.

A biblical example is that of Abraham who gets so afraid of being killed that he lies to Abimelech that Sarah is his sister.<sup>142</sup> The gender-constructed masculinity goes so yielding as to surrender a wife into another man's hands. Though it is for security it is interesting that Abraham would rather humiliate his masculinity in a society that puts so much importance on manliness. Fear has taken over the socio-cultural construction. Furthermore, Abraham is upset when Sarah asks him to send Ishmael away.<sup>143</sup> When Sarah dies in Hebron Abraham mourns and weeps for her.<sup>144</sup> Emotions are part of human life and Jesus demonstrates this when he weeps at Lazarus' death.<sup>145</sup>

## **8.5 A Practical Interfaith Spiritual Worship Model**

### *Addressing psychosocial needs in C/YHHs*

This section will propose a model to offer psychosocial support to OVC, particularly those in C/YHHs. This will assist them to develop or enhance resilience through continued and recognised attachment to a higher power. The model can be used in any religious context. It is an endeavour to cater for the spiritual needs of children and youths belonging to C/YHH who may not be affiliated to a religious institution. From an ecumenical perspective it is a non-coercive method of assisting individuals who may not be ready to commit to a religious body but having spiritual needs. In that sense it is the untraditional missionary enterprise which is in concurrence with Hewitt's (2011) idea of a postcolonial venture in mission engagement. His church, the Hope United Church, a congregation of the United Church in Jamaica acknowledged that developing countries have children in vulnerable circumstances outside the churches who were neither welcoming, celebratory nor friendly. Hewitt (2011) found that a

---

<sup>142</sup> Genesis 20:-18.

<sup>143</sup> Genesis 21:8-11

<sup>144</sup> Genesis 23:1-2

<sup>145</sup> John 11:35

paradigm shift in mission through a holistic approach to children's work within the community constitutes a viable way to engage children who have not been part of the ministry and mission.

In the same way, the traditional approach to work with children in churches may not work for children in C/YHHs as they are often not part of the church's ministry and mission. However because they are capable of spiritual experiences they could benefit from an unconventional but holistic approach to mission. This is mission where they are taken as subjects rather than objects, they are key participants rather than targets; where, as Phiri (2011) desires, females and males minister, where young and old can commune with the sacred and where their spirituality is validated. So the proposed model represents a paradigm shift in mission. The psychosocial support model attempts to address the emotional, social, and spiritual needs of the children in a sustainable way. Because the model is not religion- or denomination-specific it can be used by children and youths from various faiths. In that way it enables the church to contribute to ecumenism and interfaith dialogues on a practical basis and on grassroots level.

### **8.5.1 The Model**

The model is a method of availing oneself time and space to address and connect with a divine being or the highest power that one upholds in one's life. It works on the premise of the need for private and safe space to ponder and verbalize one's life issues. It recognises the need for a listener, trusting that when one talks the power being implored hears. It is based on idea that verbalising thoughts and emotions releases tension and can start a healing process. It works on the assumption that a non-judgemental environment to verbalise one's feeling is conducive for thinking through issues, pouring out pain and making decisions, especially if it is done with the awareness of the sacred. It can be performed independently so it is a form of psychosocial self-care. It can be done in a group where anyone can lead.

### **8.5.2 The Administration and Performance of the Ritual**

#### *The administration of the ritual*

- a facilitator can take them through one or two sessions;
- the facilitator applies counselling skills if they are distressed;
- the two parties agree on session times and on record keeping for consistency.

### *The performance of the ritual*

- Choose a position (a place and a posture)
- Close eyes for concentration
- Call the name of a divine or human figure you feel attached to
- Praise and express gratitude
- Plead for pardon
- Petition and request your desires
- Promise and pledge your allegiance

### **8.5.3 Validation**

In support of AFTEC I propose this model of supplication. I advocate that the model is rooted in religious practice, draws on theological concepts as it provides opportunity for the *Imago Dei* to connect with the sacred while the humanness acknowledges vulnerability before the divine. According to AFTEC every human being has a duty to care for oneself and for another regardless of sex or gender. Care includes looking after one's and others' physical, emotional, social and spiritual life, whether related genetically, socially, spiritually, or professionally. The *Imago Dei* and *ubuntu* give not only the propensity but the potency to care. This model contains a feminist liberative fibre as it can be practiced indiscriminately by females and males, hinging on the belief that divine powers accept anybody's worship. It is made up of a simple mnemonic, three Cs and four Ps, which is easy to follow.

Given the various needs of human life, the scarcity of resources to provide spiritual care in areas of need, and the need for a sustainable way to manage the psychosocial dimension of life, this model recognizes and uses more readily available resources and support systems. It utilizes the deity, the petitioner, the space and time; and offers space for youngsters to think up creative ways to utilize these resources. The model, framed by the AFTEC advocates for children in C/YHHs can take responsibility for their own psychosocial growth, addressing their own emotional, social and spiritual needs. It is supported by the attachment theory, acknowledges the need for an attachment figure and that children may still have attachment feelings towards the deceased. It acknowledges the existence of a higher being and that everyone needs to communicate with her or him despite their social and biological condition; whether one is a bride (*makhoti*), menstruating girl or childbearing woman who is usually passive in worship.

It encourages everyone to participate actively while engaging in an activity which addresses their psychosocial needs.

The ritual gives the courage to lead in spiritual activity; anyone who has been taken through the process and has performed it alone can lead others, so the model demonstrates how to put into practice the equality that AFTEC upholds. It empowers them over their own psychosocial and spiritual life. The model is semi-structured, promoting spirituality more than religion and acknowledging that anyone can implore the sacred and receive attention.

The model allows one to get in touch with the divine through various words and actions thereby bringing out one's thoughts and feelings. It acknowledges people's inner beings as capable of connecting with the sacred. It acknowledges that girls and boys, young or old can lead in religious endeavours of women and men before God, justifying the conviction with the notion of one *Imago Dei* in which women and men were created.

The worship model eschews imposing one's beliefs, as in Sinomlando caregivers' workshops, under the pretext that human needs and suffering cross boundaries. As a Christian theologian I understand *Imago Dei* is in Muslims and Buddhist. As a Lutheran I believe in grace for all, even non-believers. The gracious God gives chance to atone as God is immortal and intransitory. God does not want anyone to be destroyed, but everyone to repent.

The ritual is a way of self-care to which AFTEC attaches much importance bearing in mind that females in African contexts give much of themselves and forget self-care. The model assists participants to remember to care for themselves, tending their spiritual life. This is okay in that there is no judgmental response that often barges in during counselling sessions. With this model it is hoped as Phiri and Nadar (2010) do, that this process of research can be a space for transformation to occur in the lives of the participants and the researchers. The worship model is an example of what Peter Phan (2010) calls mission as dialogue. He writes:

While not denying the necessity of witness, proclamation, baptism, church planting and serving, this model of mission focuses on finding the most effective way to carry out God's mission amid cultural diversity, religious pluralism, and massive poverty. The modality is dialogue... dialogue of life, which entails living with people of non-Christian faiths; of action which entails collaborating with them in projects of peace and justice; of theological exchange which entails learning from their different beliefs and practices...entails praying with them.

Phiri's (2011) article grounded in African women's theologies addresses one of the items of the agenda for post-colonial mission – gender justice and the empowerment of women. This article said new relationships based on post-colonial, just relationships have been promoted cross culturally and between genders. By assisting children and youths in C/YHHs worship using the interfaith non-coercive model this paper seeks to further this cause of seeking gender justice and the empowerment of women. With the model any woman of any age can worship at any place. The model presents as an affirmation; if women can commune with the sacred for themselves, they can lead in such commune with equally inspiring results.

Taking cue from an 'unfinished business' activity done in Sinomlando workshops offering psychosocial support, the model helps bereaved people to reach closure about deceased loved ones. The model is good for boys as they can cry alone, then experience the benefits of the cathartic occurrence, accept their vulnerability as humans and think of helpful ways to deal with negative emotions. It espouses cultural practices, for instance one can chant like an *imbongi* saying praise poems and narratives. This means implementing Phiri and Nadar's (2010) suggestion that research on religion in Africa requires consideration of indigenous beliefs and practices which inform expression of Christianity and other African religions.

The model can be likened to the Old Testament incident in the life of the prophet Jonah<sup>146</sup> when the desperate sailors besought their gods for help and ordered Jonah to do the same. So the model allows multi-faith worship by a mixed group. It allows connection, communication and homage to different divine figures in a family where members have different faiths and single faith is not possible. It caters for religious orders which discourage communicating with the deceased, any other deity or entity can become the attachment figure.

## 8.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I presented a theory, the African feminist theological ethics of care (AFTEC) as a formal statement of the ideas which are suggested to explain, facts and happenings in the lives of children and youths living in C/YHHs. I spelt out the assumptions of the theory and explained its dimensions showing the different ways the theory talks to different aspects of human life. I explained that the African dimension is recognizable in the theory's upholding of

---

<sup>146</sup> Jonah chapter 1:1- 6 given a literal interpretation of the Bible as explained in footnote 21.

the *ubuntu*, an ethics which attaches much importance to care, respect and hospitality. I elaborated that the feminist dimension is identifiable in the theory's recognition of equality among females and males and in the validation of women's experiences. I expounded that the theological dimension of the AFTEC lies in its hinging on the theological theme of creation from both a biblical and a religio-cultural perspective. The AFTEC acknowledges the themes of perfection and relationship in the biblical creation narrative and in traditional folktales.

I illuminated the features of the AFTEC, citing the universal compassion to care, paradoxical compassion, inclination to share, reverence for life, deference for children's spirituality and the universal impulse to care as characteristics of the philosophy. I ended by proposing a practical interfaith spiritual worship model for use in a multi-faith situation, particularly in a C/YHHs. This, it is hoped, will assist them clarify their locus of meaning, mature in faith and acquire or advance in resilience.



# CHAPTER NINE

## CONCLUDING THE STUDY

### 9.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented a suggested theory, the African feminist theological ethics of care (AFTEC) to explain the facts and happenings in the lives of children and youths living in C/YHHs. In that chapter I spelt out the assumptions of the theory, explained its dimensions and highlighted the features while showing the Africanness yet universality of *ubuntu* within the theory. In the interest of an ethic of care I also proposed a practical interfaith spiritual worship model for use in a multi-faith situation, particularly in a C/YHH.

### 9.2 Chapters overview

This chapter concludes the study by collating the key issues that surfaced in the study. The first chapter introduced the thesis giving the background and context of the study. It indicated that in sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa's epidemic remains prime in the world.<sup>147</sup> It also showed that in South Africa, KwaZulu-Natal, the province in which the research was conducted has the highest HIV prevalence. It is young adults, the age group most affected by AIDS, who are particularly shouldering the burden of the increasing mortality rate. The epidemic was identified as the chief cause of orphan-hood and subsequently C/YHHs. This means these households, having had to face the trauma of losing attachment figures, confront the daunting situation of estrangement from extended relatives in a society professing traditional ideals like *ubuntu*. Furthermore, apart from having to cope with bereavement - and that from a stigmatised disease, the children and youths from C/YHHs face socio-economic challenges from the loss of breadwinners and a reorientation of beliefs necessitated by an enigmatic belief system that claims to be guided by humaneness while demonstrating egocentricity. For that reason examining the association of faith and the ability to bend without breaking is crucial in this mainly religious context pervaded with adversity.

---

<sup>147</sup> Epidemic Update, 2010 Global Report.

The second chapter presented a chronological overview of the research on C/YHHs in South Africa as it is presented in literature to explore the areas of focus of prior research and identify the fissures that still exist. The overview demonstrated that much research has paid attention to the physical, socio-economic and educational matters of these households. These are important and the meeting of such needs is imperative for growth and development as demonstrated in the Maslow's hierarchy of needs in the diagram. However, as Maslow's (1943) theory suggests the five sets of goals or basic needs must be met, making humans perpetually wanting animals.

The chapter revealed that research has given reserved attention to faith and its association with resilience. A small number of studies have focused on faith and a few more have looked at resilience but hardly any have examined the correlation between the two among the children and youths in C/YHHs. The chapter justified this study by showing the need to highlight the importance of other dimensions of human life. By this conclusion the chapter pointed to a gap in research, a gap for studies related to human spirituality and religiosity. The gap was made more obvious by the fact that the category under consideration is composed of Africans who are assumedly fundamentally religious; the fact that this category comprises children and youth who still need adults' guidance in religious matters; and that their place in culture and religion is equivocal. So the chapter achieved its goal of exposing the gap in research.

In the third chapter I presented the conceptual and theoretical framework underpinning this study. I showed the occurrence of the study at the intersection of studies in psychology and gender and religion within theology from which the main principles of this study were based. These theories, which more or less complement each other, were: faith, resilience, the attachment theory which showed the value of the genderless evolutionary beginnings of attachment behaviour in children; humanistic psychology; feminist spirituality and feminist ethics of care within African women's theologies.

The chapter unpacked the notion of faith, demonstrating its origins in evolution as a survival strategy and connecting it with the attachment theory's assumptions vis-à-vis socio-cultural constructions of personhood. The chapter illustrated faith's eventual bifurcation into two major varieties - faith as trust, intellectual or cognitive persuasion in entities or systems and faith as spiritual or religious belief. Apart from the two major prongs of faith, the study indicated that the word is often used in context-specific ways in a combined form. As a result one reads works on the faith orientation of a community or a programme (Casale et al. 2010); faith integration

which is becoming a recognized, legitimate academic field with theoretical perspectives based on theological conceptualizations and biblical foundations (Reeder and Pacino 2013:121) and faith-based organizations (Marsden 2012:953–974).

The eclectic and contextual usages of the notion of faith show that the notion should be understood in a comprehensive way, an understanding can provide a powerful tool for analyzing the nature of its interface with resilience. This broad understanding is relevant to my fieldwork because it acknowledges that the faith in the children and youths in C/YHHs stems from attachment behaviour and as such it is necessarily intuitive. The comprehensive understanding of faith also facilitates an appreciative inquiry into the experiences of children and youth in C/YHHs. It facilitates an affirmation of the nature of faith in the youths growing in C/YHHs thereby asserting it as a resource for resilience.

In the context of absent adults who can carry the children and youths in C/YHHs to the family altars or to jostle them through the temple doors, the primal faith keeps them alive and makes them seek safety and comfort, keep alive and cope with adversity. The comprehensive understanding of faith reveals that for some religious belief has been disenchanted, yet other entities and systems have proved to be pillars they can trust. This broad understanding of faith is relevant to my fieldwork because it helps to identify other objects of faith in the children's lives. The children and youths in C/YHHs have put trust and confidence in themselves, cultural rituals, the government, the *Organization*, the school system, some relatives and close friends to enable them to cope with various hardships.

In the same chapter I illuminated the key concept of resilience: overcoming the effects of adversity and trauma, a certain way of responding to traumatic situations which in the end brings good result. Beginning with its use in physical science in engineered systems like bridges, buildings, and infrastructure, I cited the growing focus on the application of the concept of resilience in the human sciences, in psychiatry and as a competitor to a deficit model of child development. I demonstrated that resilience literature has gathered momentum, highlighting Snider and Dawes's (2006) literature and instrument review; Linda and Adam Theron's (2010) critical review of 23 journals articles that focus on South African youth resilience and Martin-Breen and Andries'(2011), literature review offering a strong basis through which to apply the resilience theory across a number of disciplines.

The mounting attention, not only on individual but more so on child resilience corresponds with the conceptualising of resilience as coping, moving forward, adapting or adjusting. These notions are more development-oriented than the ‘bouncing back’ or ‘rebounding’ notions. Though many studies portrayed orphaned children as lacking resilience, a few showed certain dimensions of the orphans’ lives as indicative of resilience. These reviews demonstrated that a wide-ranging understanding of resilience is appropriate for analyzing the experiences of children in C/YHHs despite the trauma of losing parents and the stresses associated with living without liable adults. The chapter highlighted the developmental association of resilience with education with a view to showing how faith in such a system enhances resilience. The chapter showed that the theory’s suppositions are suitable to a study with C/YHHs.

In this chapter I proceeded to elaborate four other theories that frame this study elucidating their tenets wherever necessary. The attachment theory was discussed next, first developed and propounded by John Bowlby, a psychoanalyst. I explained that based on evolution and ethology, this theory proposes that an infant has a primary, biosocial behavioural system designed to maintain proximity to the caregiver and provide protection. The connection between evolution and attachment theories yielded an interesting connection to the situation of C/YHHs, who, having lost attachment figures, exhibit care-seeking behaviours by staking different prongs of faith in other entities and systems including God as an attachment figure. (Kaufman and Kirkpatrick). I explained the operations of the internal working model, attachment patterns and the attachment behaviour whose goal is to recover proximity to the caregiver for safety and comfort (Howe 2011:19). I demonstrated the connection between the attachment system and culture and between the system and gender, showing the importance of evolutionary adaptedness, more so for children and youths living in C/YHHs. I alluded to studies by Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) and Levy et al. (1998) which have shown that attachment behaviour is the same in men and women (Howe 2011:211).

I referred to William’s (2012:228) discussion of the origins of the humanistic theory as a process from four major forces in psychological theory namely Freudian, behavioural, humanistic, and transpersonal psychologies. The characteristics and principles of humanistic psychology were cited, together with positive psychology’s *pleasant life*, *good life* and *meaningful life* as three overlapping areas of happiness people’s experiences. The common features between the attachment theory and humanistic psychology were explored as both applied to the facts or events in the lives of children and youths in C/YHHs.

In this chapter I also discussed feminist spirituality, starting with problematizing the term 'spirituality', the concept being a key component of the whole study. I defined and characterised feminist spirituality giving experience as the starting point. I highlighted the theory's engaging in practice as per Rakoczy's (2004:386) assertion that feminist contextual spiritualities are concretely engaged with the world around them in pursuit of transformation of themselves, their relationships, their cultures and societies. I ended by portraying the merits of feminist spirituality, ushering in the feminist ethics of care as a set of moral principles which explains facts or controls behaviour, influenced by the belief that women and men should be allowed the same rights, power and opportunities. Due to the pursuit of equity the relationship between the feminist ethics of care and gender was explored.

Having illuminated the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study, I delved into the context of the study by exploring the correlation of faith and resilience in bereaved children in the context of Zulu culture and religion. The objective of the fourth chapter was to determine how faith and resilience play out in funeral rituals and practices done for and with children in Zulu culture. In the deliberation and in the interest of the feminist ethics of care, the chapter examined the nature of socio-cultural and psychosocial support received by children and youths when they are bereaved analysing practice by practice comprehensively, thereby using theory triangulation. The chapter discussed children as participants in funeral rituals and as objects of the rituals. The study revealed that the coining of the rituals was a demonstration of faith that such rituals and customs will assist the bereaved to cope with their loss. More so, performance of the rituals shows faith not only in the rituals per se but in the entities and systems that set up the practice.

Subsequently in chapter five I elaborated the research methodology used in this study, pointing out at the two representations of the phenomenological research design, namely phenomenology as a philosophy or as a research method (Dowling 2007). Representing this diagrammatically, the study mentioned essentially two schools of phenomenology as a research method - descriptive and interpretive phenomenology (Tuohy et al. 2013:17). Using interpretive phenomenology the study demonstrated the value and need for mixed methods and triangulation as ways of gleaning information from vulnerable population sectors with the potential to be distressed as C/YHHs. The use of mixed methods and triangulation pointed to a tendency in this study to be comprehensive; including a large proportion or all-encompassing the notion of comprehensiveness, as the youngsters experiences, and faith proved to be.

In chapters six and seven I depicted, analysed and interpreted the research results on the experiences of children and youths living in C/YHHs. As Greig, Taylor and MacKay (2007:144) suggest, this included information on the historical and cultural contexts of the households. From the antecedents to the creation of the households to issues related to spirituality, culture and religion the study revealed that due to the ground having been swept from under their feet, the worldview, experiences and reality of children and youths in C/YHH is not one-dimensional. There is no single way to look at their experiences – they have various ultimate realities in whom they put their trust. The study also showed that in cases their faith system departs from the belief patterns of their worldview.

### **9.3 Towards Comprehensiveness – Integrating Experiential and Theoretical Outcomes**

The term ‘comprehensiveness’ has been imperceptibly permeating in this study. From the five faced prism of motivations for undertaking this study, range had been the order of the practice. Beginning with the title, the catchword faith is multipronged. This fact has been demonstrated not only in the literature and theoretical framework but is also a lived experience in the C/YHHs. Firstly, authors and theorists have shown various understandings of the notion of faith as was shown in chapter three. Various meanings of faith also mean one can focus on and use other resources within their make up to explore forms of coping with adversity. For instance moving towards comprehensiveness means children and youth in C/YHHs can identify objects of faith, trust, hope or confidence in the physical, cognitive, spiritual, emotional and social dimensions of their lives. One could place their faith as trust in other people or in the worship model for emotional equilibrium.

Secondly the children and youths in the C/YHHs have acknowledged putting their faith in a host of entities and systems as the primary security system, according to the attachment theory had become unstable. This modus vivendi is consistent with attachment behaviour where an organism persistently exhibits care-seeking manners in order to recover proximity to the source of safety and comfort (Howe 2011:19). In view of that and basing on Ainsworth’s (1985) compensation hypothesis, the substitute attachment figures could compensate for the youngsters insecurity. This gives hope that C/YHHs is a family establishment that will, influenced by multiple factors, resist the negative impact of trauma as Van Rensburg and Barnard (2005:1–12.) define resilience.

An additional example of comprehensiveness has been evident in the methodology. The data collection methods were wide-ranging, ranging from individual interviews, participant observation, surveying occupation research, questionnaires and a review of documentary sources. These were validated by triangulation. This means research with vulnerable sectors of society, as C/YHHs are, can minimise harm through retraumatisation and creating unrealistic expectations. So the experiences of the vulnerable are integrated with knowledge of the methodological theory to work in the favour of the vulnerable. By so doing an ethic of care was observed in keeping with Denis' (2008:69) counsel that a researcher has a moral obligation to consider the possibility of harm as a direct or indirect consequence of research. This observance of the ethics, applied by reliance on a comprehensive methodology, concurs well with the interests of the AFTEC, the new theory propounded as a result of this study.

One more move towards comprehensiveness has been achieved by the proposal to allow the children and youths to act out their faith in the religio-cultural system while augmenting the faith in action with knowledge of theories in psychology. The worship model integrates a religio-cultural need to commune with one's centre of meaning with theoretical knowledge of psychosocial functioning (through the use of soliloquies, ruminations and activities to move towards closure over a loss). Faith understood as trust and confidence and hope put in these activities and customs can enhance resilience in the broad sense of the word. By suggesting and promoting this model, it is hoped that the spiritual need will be addressed with no pressure to join a specific religious community.

An additional example of comprehensiveness happened in the use of phenomenology as a research method. The study tried to achieve phenomenology's principle of presuppositionlessness through 'bracketing out', 'epoché' or 'reduction', in which objectivity is crucial. In this the study made effort to discard philosophical theorizing in favour of vigilant description of phenomena themselves, attending, as Moran (2000:9) says, only to what is given in intuition. In agreement with Tuohy et al's (2013:18) arguments about bracketing and with queries regarding putting aside all that has influenced and fashioned one's beliefs and understandings, the study opted for the interpretive approach to phenomenology which considered the context of children and youths in C/YHHs. Instead of disregarding the context and in the spirit of empathetic care the study considered that the children and youths from C/YHHs are essentially religious, have spiritual needs, have an equivocal place in their society and have encountered adversity hence the focus on their faith and resilience.

In any case, consciously or unconsciously the rejection of imposed knowledge was inevitable and is evident in the research because C/YHHs are according to Van Breda (2010:259) a relatively new phenomenon, a new alternative living arrangement and family constellation assuming a legitimate place within society. Therefore in the data collection methods and process old models of operating which could not be wholly relevant had to be cast off, thereby overcoming the straitjacket of encrusted traditions and disallowing the domination of inquiry by externally imposed methods (Moran 2000:5). Accordingly the study elevated storytelling, observation and occupational research<sup>148</sup> methods. This way the study highlighted the accords of the presuppositionlessness of phenomenology with the contextual feminist spirituality principle of rejecting imposed knowledge as authoritative and opening other ways of arriving at knowledge, like intuition and emotion (Rakoczy 2011; Paton 2013).

In this study I demonstrated comprehensiveness in the broad understanding of faith as per the literature overview; validated the all-inclusiveness of theories namely the attachment theory and positive psychology. I acknowledged the feminism aims of inclusiveness in feminist spirituality and feminist ethics of care to blur gender distinctions. I showed inclusiveness of methodology by endorsing triangulation and using wide-ranging data-collection methods. The demonstration of the value of comprehensiveness in various components of research became one of the various contributions of the study to knowledge and practice, other contributions being detailed in the following section.

## **9.4 Contributions of the Study to Knowledge and Practice**

The study contributes to knowledge, the idea that faith, be it trust, confidence and hope in entities and systems; religious belief or denominational faith that makes one feel anchored in life or that one regards as ultimate correlates with resilience. This faith also entails upholding beliefs that may contradict the tenets of one's founding system, placing one's experience on a primacy status. The study contributes the understanding that for children and youths in C/YHHs resilience is a persistence of evolutionary adaptation to losing attachment figure.

---

<sup>148</sup> This term takes cue from action research. It refers to the process of collecting research related data in daily work activities and instances through observing cues related to the research topic, associating events and information from colleagues with the research title and negotiating with informants.



Furthermore, the study contributes to knowledge through the proposal of a theory, the African feminist theological ethics of care (AFTEC) which I proposed in chapter eight. It is suggested to explain the realities of the experiences of children and youths in child and youth-headed households. It is also proposed for use as a lens to analyse human experience and behaviour in varying socio-cultural, spiritual and religious contexts. It is comprehensive in considering various dimensions of life experienced.

The study contributes the revelation of dialectics in the children and youths experiences where lived reality is in conflict with declarations of a worldview. For example the fact of boys relying on girls for livelihood in a patriarchal society is tension that needs further exploration and possibly deconstruction and reconstruction of the notion of patriarchy. Another dialectic is that of the limitations for females in religio-cultural priestly duties, while lived experience shows no such barriers between the human and the divine.

On phenomenological and empirical levels the study explored the congruence between norm and practice concerning orphan-care to show the correlation between faith and resilience in children and youths living without adults. Having realised that they put their faith in a variety of entities in search for spiritual nourishment, I proposed a model for offering psychosocial support to youngsters living in such households. That way the study shows that leadership and care are evident in youths, so it is functional to allow them leadership in religio-spiritual rituals. Furthermore, in a multi-faith environment there is need for a worship model that tolerates various beliefs and objects, despite the risk of providing space for harmful religious practices. In a stigmatising society in an environment of deficient grief care and in circumstances of having to assume the age-inappropriate tasks of managing and operating in adultless households, many members of C/YHHs have demonstrated that faith, in its comprehensiveness, activates resilience and that resilience inspires faith.

# SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

## 1. Primary Sources

### 1.1. Oral Informants

14 Children and youths from child or youth- headed households.

1 The director of *The Organisation*.

1 Community caregiver.

10 Community care workers

1 Elderly guardian of the family.

### 1.2 Dissertations

Awino, Dorcus. 2010. Child/Adolescent-Headed Households: A Qualitative Study on

Everyday Life Experience of Children Living in Child/Adolescent-Headed Households in Western Kenya Region. Unpublished Master of Sociology Dissertation in the Sociology Department, Faculty of Social Science, UMEÅ University.

Dagona Zubairu Kwambo. 2013. An Analysis of Trauma Resilience among Hausa Young People Affected by Ethno-Religious Violence in Jos. Unpublished PhD Dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. University Of Bradford.

Dinbabo Mulugeta F. 2011. Social Welfare Policies and Child Poverty in South Africa: A Microsimulation Model on the Child Support Grant. Unpublished PhD Dissertation University of the Western Cape.

Dumezweni, B. M. 2004. Enhancing The Agency Of Families Affected By Aids: Strategies for the Church at Ilinge Township, Queenstown. Unpublished Master of Theology Dissertation. University of KwaZulu - Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

Germann, S. E. 2005. An exploratory study of quality of life and coping strategies of orphans living in child-headed households in the high HIV/AIDS prevalent city of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation. University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Govender, V. 2009. The Experiences of Social Workers in the Provision of Reconstruction Services to HIV Infected Children. Unpublished Masters in Social Work (Family Therapy) in the School Of Social Work and Community Development (Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences). University of Kwa-Zulu Natal.

Govere, F.M. 2005. A Contextual Asset-Based Community Development Approach: Mitigation by the Southern African Church. Unpublished Master of Theology Dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

- Gwezera, B. 2009. An exploration of the experience of the Memory Box Programme by Children Affected by HIV and AIDS. Unpublished Master of Theology Dissertation. University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Haddad, Beverley G. 2000. African Women's Theologies of Survival: Intersecting Faith, Feminisms, and Development. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation. University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Jairam, V. 2004. Child Sexual Abuse: Psychosocial Aspects of Cases Seen In the Greater Durban Metropolitan Region. Unpublished Masters in Educational Psychology Dissertation. University of Durban-Westville.
- Longwe M. 2012. A Paradox in a Theology of Freedom and Equality: The Experiences of Pastors Wives (Amayi Busa) in the Baptist Convention of Malawi (BACOMA). Unpublished PhD dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Lynn, Quinten K. 2005. Thou Shalt Have No Other Gods: A Psycho-Spiritual Examination of Idolatry. Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis. Graduate College of Bowling Green State University.
- Magwaza 1993 Orality and its cultural expression in some Zulu traditional ceremonies. Unpublished Master Dissertation. Orality-Literacy Studies, University of Natal.
- Makoni, P. 2006. Factors that impact on learning in orphanhood in Zimbabwe. Unpublished DLitt et Phil Dissertation. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Materu, R. H. 2011. Towards gender-sensitive theological responses to HIV and AIDS: A critical study of the HIV and AIDS policy and programmes of the Northern Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Mathe. K. J. 2008. Discipline safety and security in schools: a challenge for school management. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation. University of Johannesburg.
- Mkhize, M. 2006. Social Functioning of a Child-headed Household and the Role of Social Work. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Moyo, L. 2007. Widowhood Rituals, African Lutherans and HIV Prevention: A gendered study of the experiences of widows in the Kamwala Evangelical Lutheran Church in Zambia. Unpublished Master of Theology Dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Ndengu, D. M. 2009 .Speaking their minds: Adolescents understanding of their vulnerability to HIV&AIDS in the context of existing intervention programmes in Malawi. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.
- Nene Jabulani Owen. 2013. IsiZulu traditional healers' perspective of *ukuhlonipha* in context. Unpublished Masters of Arts in African Languages Department of African Languages, University of South Africa.

- Nkomo, N. 2006. The experiences of children carrying responsibility for child-headed households as a result of parental death due to HIV/AIDS. Unpublished MA Dissertation, University of Pretoria, Pretoria.
- Nyawose, T. 2000. "Living in Two Worlds" Codes and Modes of Expression at Zulu Funerals in Kwa-Zulu Natal at the turn of the millennium. Unpublished Masters Dissertation, University of Natal, Durban.
- Nziyane, L. F. 2010. Practice Guidelines for the Integration of Child-Headed Households into Extended Families. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation in Social Work. University of South Africa. Pretoria.
- Paton, Susan A. 2013. Transforming Tapestries: How can the Keiskamma Art Project, its processes and art, be understood in relation to a contextual ecofeminist spirituality. Unpublished Master in Theology Dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Pillay Anitha. 2010. The Influence of Household and Family Structure on Children in the Chatsworth Area with Special Reference to Primary School Learners. Unpublished Master of Social Science dissertation in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, School of Social Work and Community Development, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.
- Siwila Lilian Cheelo.2011. Culture, Gender, and HIV and AIDS: United Church of Zambia's Response to Traditional Marriage Practices. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, in the School of Religion and Theology, University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- Spencer, Donna N. 2004. An Evaluation of a Group Therapy Programme for Vulnerable Children. Unpublished Master of Arts (Clinical Psychology) Dissertation School of Psychology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Tshaanika Titus-Heikki-Panduleni N. 2005. The Challenge of Pastoral Care and Counselling of HIV&AIDS Affected Families In Ten Evangelical Lutheran Church Parishes In The Oshana Region, Namibia. Unpublished Master of Theology Dissertation. University Of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

## 2. Secondary Literature

### 2.1. Published Works

- Allport, Gordon. 1957. *Becoming: basic considerations for a psychology of personality*. New Haven, CT, Yale University Press.
- Ainsworth, M. D. 1967. *Infancy in Uganda: Infant care and the growth of love*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Ainsworth, M. D. 1989. Attachments beyond infancy. *American Psychologist*, 44, 709-716.
- Akoto, Dorothy. 2006. Women and Health in Ghana and the *Trokosi* Practice: An Issue of Women's and Children's rights in 2 Kings 4:1-7. Page 103 in *African Women, Religion and Health: Essays in Honour of Mercy Amba Ewudziwa Oduyoye*. Edited by Isabel Phiri and Sarojini Nadar. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.
- Anderson, C.B. 2003. Lessons on healing from Naaman (2 Kings 5:1-27): An African American Perspective. In *African Women, HIV and AIDs and Faith Communities*. Edited by Isabel Apawo Phiri, Beverly Haddad and Madipoane Masenya: Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.
- Apfel, R. and Simon, B. 1995. On psychosocial interventions for children: Some minders and reminders. UNICEF Review Paper for the *Conference on Psychosocial Interventions*, Cambridge.
- Assohoto, B. and Ngewa, S. 2006. Genesis. Page 14 in *Africa Bible Commentary*. Edited by Tokunboh Adeyemo. Nairobi: World Alive Publishers,
- Ayieko, M.A. 1997. From Single Parents to Child-Headed Households: The Case of Children Orphaned by AIDS in Kisumu and Siaya Districts. *Study Paper No. 7*. A research project report.
- Badenhorst, Marthinus S. 2010. South Africa 2009 - Salient Contemporary Features in Facts and Figures. *European Spatial Research and Policy*, Volume 17 No. 2, pp. 10-21.
- Baker-Fletcher, K. 1997. The strength of my life. Pages 122-139 in *Embracing the spirit*. Edited by E. Townes. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.
- Bakke, O. M. 2005. *When Children Became People: The Birth of Childhood in Early Christianity*. Minneapolis Fortress Press.
- Barnes, Michael. 1983. Faith and imagination in science and religion. *Theology Today*. ATLA Serials, 16-24.
- Barrett, S. 2008. Achieving Accountability in Cash Transfer Programmes: The Case of the Social Protection Rights Component of the Kenya Hunger Safety Net Programme. Papers Presented in The International Conference on Social Protection.

- Berglund, A.T. 1976. *Zulu Thought-Patterns and Symbolism*. C Hurst and Co. Ltd. London.
- Berquist, J. L. 2010. Book of Ezekiel. Page 404 in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*. Edited by Daniel Patte. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
- Bird, K. 2010. Asset inheritance and the intergenerational transmission of poverty. Paper presented at the CRPC/ ODI Roundtable '*Inheritance and the Intergenerational Transmission of Poverty*', London.
- Bless, C. and Smith C. H. 1995. *Fundamentals of Social Research Methods: An African Perspective*, 2nd edition, Kenwyn: Juta and Co. Ltd.
- Bloemhoff, H. J. 2006. Impact of facilitation on the effectiveness of an adventure-based recreation programme for the development of resiliency in at-risk adolescent boys confined to a rehabilitation centre. *African Journal of Physical Health Education Recreation and Dance*, 12 (2), 138–151.
- Boniface-Malle, A. 2006. Numbers. Page 208 in *Africa Bible Commentary*. Edited by Tokunboh Adeyemo. Nairobi: World Alive Publishers.
- Bonthuys, E. 2010. Legal capacity and family status in child-headed households: Challenges to legal paradigms and concepts. *International Journal of Law in Context*, 6:1, 45–62.
- Boothbya Neil, Wessellsa Mike, Williamson John, Huebner Gillian, Canter Kelly, Rolland Eduardo Garcia, Kutlesic Vesna, Bader Farah, Diaw Lena, Levinee Maya, Malley Anita, Michels Kathleen Patel Sonali, Rasa Tanya, Ssewamala Fred and Vicki Walker. 2012. What are the most effective early response strategies interventions to assess and address the immediate needs of children outside of family care? *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 1-11.
- Boswell, J. 1988. *The Kindness of Strangers*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bowlby, J. 1969. Attachment. *Attachment and loss*, Vol. 1, xvii. New York: Basic Books.
- Bowlby, J. 1973 Separation: Anxiety and anger. *Attachment and loss*, Vol. 2. New York: Basic Books.
- Bretherton, I. 1992. The Origins of Attachment Theory. *Developmental Psychology* 28,759-775.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. 1979. *The ecology of human development*. Cambridge, M A: Harvard University Press.
- Brown Waln K. 2004. Resiliency and the Mentoring Factor. *Reclaiming children and youth* 13:2, 75–79.
- Brueggemann, W. 2010. Book of Psalms. Page 1031 in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*. Edited by Daniel Patte. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
- Budlender, D. and Proudlock P. 2005. Children living in child-headed households. Indicator:

- Number and proportion of children living in child-headed households. *Statistics South Africa (2005) General Household Survey 2004*. Pretoria, Cape Town.
- Bullard, Marketa. 2013. A Bridge over Troubled Waters: Testimonies of Black Women's Experience of desegregation in the South. *Electronic Theses & Dissertations* Paper 52.
- Cannell, T. 2006. Funerals and AIDS, Resilience and Decline in KwaZulu-Natal. *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 125, 21-37.
- Carlson, B. & Smith, C. 1997. Stress, coping and resilience in children and youth. *Social Science Review* 71, 231-256.
- Carton, B. and Vis, L. 2008. Doing oral history. Pages 43-62 in *Oral History in a wounded country*. Edited by Philippe Denis and Radikobo Ntsimane. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Case, A and Ardington, C. 2006. The impact of parental death on school enrolment and achievement: longitudinal evidence from South Africa. *Demography*, Volume 43-Number 3, August 2006: 401-420. Centre for Social Science, Univer. of Cape Town,
- Cassidy Jude and Berlin Lisa J. 2008. The Insecure /Ambivalent Pattern of Attachment: Theory and Research. *Child Development* Volume 65, Issue 4, 971-991.
- Chase, S. E. and Bell, C.S. 1994. Interpreting the complexity of women's subjectivity. Pages 63-81 in *Interactive oral history interviewing*. Edited by E. McMahan and K. L. Rogers. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Chitando Ezra and Mangena Fainos. 2013. Euthanasia and the experiences of the Shona People of Zimbabwe. *Thought and Practice: A Journal of the Philosophical Association of Kenya (PAK) New Series*, Vol.5 No.2, 123-136.
- Chitando, Ezra. 2007. Living with hope: African Churches and HIV and AIDS 1. Geneva: World Council of Churches,.
- Clifford, Anne M. 2001. *Introducing Feminist Theology*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.
- Cluver, L. 2011. Children of the AIDS Pandemic. *Nature* Volume 474. Macmillan Publishers Limited.
- Cluver, L. Orkin, D. Mark, Gardner F. and Boyes M. E. 2012. Persisting mental health problems among AIDS-orphaned children in South Africa. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 53:4, 363-370.
- Code Lorraine, 1995. *Rhetorical Spaces: Essays on Gendered Locations*. Routledge, NY.
- Connors, Mary E. 2011. Attachment theory: A "secure base" for psychotherapy integration. *Journal of Psychotherapy Integration*, Vol 21(3), Sep 2011, 348-362.
- Conradie, E. M. 2010. Creation at the heart of mission? *Missionalia* 38 No.3, 380-396.

- Creswell, J. W. 2003. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dalley G. 1988. *Ideologies of caring: rethinking community and collectivism*. London: McMillan.
- Daniel, J. 2009. From phenomenology to ontology in the gender debate: “Feminine” without “femininity” beyond “feminism”?’ Pages 95-111 in *Ragbag theologies: Essays in honour of Denise Ackerman*. Edited by M. Pillay, S. Nadar & C. LeBruyns. Sun Press.
- Dass-Brailsford P. 2005. Exploring resiliency: Academic achievement among disadvantaged Black youth in South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology* 35 (3), 574–591.
- Denis, P. 2005. Memory Work and Resilience. Pages 1-18 in *Never too small to Remember: Memory Work and Resilience in Times of AIDS*. Edited by P. Denis. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.
- Donald, David and Clacherty, Glynnis. 2005. Developmental vulnerabilities and strengths of children living in child-headed households: a comparison with children in adult headed households in equivalent impoverished communities. *African Journal of AIDS Research*.
- Douglas J. D. *The New Bible Dictionary*. Leicester, England, Inter-Varsity Press.
- Dowling Maura, 2004. Hermeneutics; an exploration. *Nurse Researcher*. 11, 4, 30-39.
- Durrheim, Kevin. 2006. Research design. Pages 33-59 in *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences*. Edited by Martin Terre Blanche, Kevin Durrheim and Desmond Painter. Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Eagle Gill, Hayes, Graham and Sibanda, Thulani. 2006. Standpoint methodologies: Marxist, feminist, and black scholarship perspectives. Pages 499-522 in *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences*. Edited by Martin Terre Blanche, Kevin Durrheim and Desmond Painter. Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Ebersöhn L, Eloff I, Finestone M and Dullemen I van. 2012. Drawing on resilience: piloting the utility of the Kinetic Family Drawing to measure resilience in children of HIV-positive mothers. *South African Journal of Education*. EASA Department of Educational Psychology, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa, 331-351.
- Ebersöhn L, Maree J. G. 2006. Demonstrating resilience in an HIV&AIDS context: An emotional intelligence perspective. *Gifted Education International*. 22(1):14–30.
- Emerson M. 2013. Preambles for faith: Effective ways to nurture belief among sceptical students. *America*, 15-18.
- Evans, Ruth. 2005. Social networks, migration and care in Tanzania: Caregivers’ and children’s resilience to coping with HIV/AIDS. *Journal of Children and Poverty*. Volume 9 (1), 111-129.



- Finnegan, R. 2006. Using documents. Pages 138-151 in *Data collection and analysis*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Edited by R. Sapsford and V. Jupp. London: SAGE Publications.
- Floyd, K. and Morman, M. T. (Eds.). 2006. *Widening the Family Circle, New Research on Family Communication* (1 Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Fontaine, Carole. 2010. Bible interpretation Worldwide: Feminist. Pages 124-125 in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*. Edited by Daniel Patte. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foster Geoff, Makufa Choice, Drew Roger and Kralovec Etta. 1997. Factors leading to the establishment of child-headed households: the case of Zimbabwe. *Health Transition Review, Supplement 2 to Volume 7, 155-168*.
- Foster, G. 2000. The Capacity of the Extended Family Safety Net for Orphans in Africa. *Psychology, Health and Medicine*, Vol.5 Issue 1, 55-62.
- Fourie, D. J. and Schoeman, R.E. 2010. The Effects of HIV and AIDS on the Achievement of the Millennium Development Goals in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Public Administration*. Volume 45 No. 1, 236-260. School of Public Management and Administration, University Of Pretoria.
- Francis-Chizororo Monica. 2010. Growing up without parents: socialization and gender relations in orphaned-child-headed households in rural Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 36(3), 711-727. London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.
- Freire, P. 1996. *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. London: Penguin Books.
- Furushima, Randall, Y. 1985. Faith Development in A Cross Cultural Perspective. *Religious Education Volume 80 No 3*, 414-420.
- Ganga, Emily and Chinyoka, Kudzai. 2010. Exploring Psychological Disorders Caused By Poverty amongst Orphans and Vulnerable Children Living Within Child – Headed Households. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa, Volume 12, No.4*, 186-197. Clarion University, Pennsylvania.
- Gardner, Joby. 2011. Keeping Faith: Faith Talk by and for Incarcerated Youth. *The Urban Review* 43, 22-42.
- Ghebremariam, K. B. 2004. An Assessment of the Orphan Reunification and Rehabilitation Program in Zoba Ma'akel, Eritrea.
- Gilligan, C. 1982. *In a Different Voice*. Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Glazier-Macdonald, B. 2010. Book of Zechariah. Page 1341 in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*. Edited by Daniel Patte. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Gotom, M. 2006. 1 and 2 Kings. Page 409 in *Africa Bible Commentary*. Edited by Tokunboh Adeyemo. Nairobi: World Alive Publishers.
- Grant, Rhiannon. 2012. Feminists Borrowing Language and Practice from Other Religious Traditions: Some Ethical Implications. 20, 2, 146–159.
- Greig, A. Taylor, J. and MacKay, T. 2007. *Doing Research with Children*. London: Sage Publications.
- Habtu Tewoldemedhin, 2006. Job. In *Africa Bible Commentary*. Edited by Tokunboh Adeyemo. Nairobi: World Alive Publishers,
- Haney, E.H. 1994. What is Feminist Ethics? A Proposal for Continuing Discussion. Page 8 in *Feminist Theological Ethic*. Edited by Lois K. Daly. Kentucky: Westminster, John Knox Press.
- Harrison, David. 2009. An Overview of Health and Health care in South Africa 1994-2010: Priorities, progress and prospects for New Gains. Commissioned by the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation.
- Held, V. 1983. “The obligations of mothers and fathers” in J. Trebilcot (ed.) *Mothering: Essays in Feminist Theory*, Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Allanheld, 9-20.
- Henderson, N. & Milstein, M. M. 1996. Resiliency in schools: Making it happen for students and educators. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, Inc.
- Hermans, Hubert J. M. 2001. The Dialogical Self: Toward a Theory of Personal and Cultural Positioning. *Culture and Psychology* 7/3, 243-281.
- Hewitt, Roderick. 2011. Building Communities of Hope: A case study in Postcolonial Mission. Pages 79-101 in *Postcolonial Mission: Power and Partnership in World Christianity*. Edited by Desmond van der Water, Isabel Apawo Phiri, Namsoon Kang, Roderick Hewitt and Sarojini Nadar. Upland, California: Sopher Press.
- Hinde, R. A. and Stevenson-Hinde, J. 2005. Attachment: Biological, cultural and individual desiderata. *Human Development*, 33:62-72.
- Holder Eric, H. 2010. Memo to all Federal Prosecutors. Washington D. C.
- Horney, K. 1950. *The collected works of Karen Horney* (2 vols.). New York: Norton Books
- Horney, K. 1980. *The adolescent diaries of Karen Horney*. New York: Basic.
- Howe, D. 2011. *The nature of early memory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hunt, James G. 1991. Leadership: a new synthesis. Sage publications,
- Johansson Annchristin & Olsson Mariann. 2013. Boys Don't Cry: Therapeutic Encounters with Depressed Boys and Factors Contributing to Success. *Social Work in Mental Health*, 11, 6, 530-541.

- Kanyoro, Musimbi. 2006 "Challenges to Women's Leadership." *Speech in Honour of YWCA of Salt Lake 100 Years Celebration*: 1-6.
- Kanyoro Musimbi and Oduyoye Mercy. 1992. Introduction. Pages 1-6 in *The Will to Arise: Women tradition and the church in Africa*. Edited by Musimbi Kanyoro and Mercy Oduyoye. Pietermaritzburg, Cluster Publication.
- Kanyoro, Musimbi. *Introducing Feminist Cultural Hermeneutics: An African Perspective*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
- Kelly, Kevin. 2006. Calling it a day: Reaching conclusions in qualitative research. Pages 370-387 in *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences*. Edited by Martin Terre Blanche, Kevin Durrheim and Desmond Painter, Cape Town: UCT.
- Kessler, G. (2004). Care versus rights. In G. Kessler, *Voices of wisdom* (pp. 108-109). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Killian, B. 2004. Psychosocial Vulnerability and Resilience Measures for National-Level Monitoring of Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children.
- Killian, B. 2003. *A Sensitisation Programme for Volunteers Offering Psychosocial Support to Vulnerable Children Affected by HIV/AIDS, Violence and Poverty*. Participant's Manual. 2nd edition, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.
- Killian, B. 1994. *The disintegration of family life in black people of South Africa. Children for Africa: Second African Conference on Child Abuse and Neglect*. Cape Town: The Printing Press.
- King, U. 1989. Women and Spirituality. *Voices of Protest and Promise*, London: Macmillan and New York: New Amsterdam Books.
- Kirkpatrick, Lee A. and Shaver P. 1990. Attachment Theory and Religion: Childhood Attachments, Religious Beliefs, and Conversion. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 29 (30), 315-334.
- Kitzinger, J. 1999. The methodology of focus groups: The importance of interaction between research participants in *Qualitative research*. Edited by A. Bryman and R. G. Burgess Vol. II London: SAGE Publications.
- Kobak, R., Cassidy, J., Lyons-Ruth, K. & Ziv, Y. 2006. Attachment and developmental psychopathology. Pages 333–369 in *Developmental psychopathology* (2nd ed). Edited by D. Cicchetti. New York: Wiley.
- Koenig, H., George, L., & Siegler, I. (1988). The use of religion and other emotion-regulating coping strategies among older adults. *The Gerontologist*, 28, 303–310.
- Koenig, H. G., King, D. E., & Carson, V. B. (2012). *Handbook of religion and health* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

- Koenig, H. G., & Larson, D. B. 2001. Religion and mental health: Evidence for an association. *International Review of Psychiatry*, 13(2), 67–78.
- Kritzas, N. and Grobler A. 2005. The relationship between perceived parenting styles and resilience during adolescence. *Child Adolescent Health in A critical review of studies of South African youth resilience, 1990–2008*. Edited by Linda C. Theron.
- Kruger L. and Prinsloo H. 2008. The appraisal and enhancement of resilience modalities in middle adolescents within the school context. *South African Journal of Education* 28(2), 241–259.
- Kubler-Ross E. 1983. *On Children and Death*. New York, NY: MacMillan;
- Lacocque A. 2010. The Book of Esther. Page 378 in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*. Edited by Daniel Patte. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Landman, C. 2008. Hi/Stories of gender injustice. *Studia historiae ecclesiasticae xiv* (April), Supplement, 161-180.
- Larbi Kingsley, 2006. Healing. In *Africa Bible Commentary*. Edited by Tokunboh Adeyemo. Nairobi, World Alive Publishers.
- Layden, D. 1993. *New strategies in social research: An introduction and guide*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Lazareth William, H. 2001. *Christians in Society: Luther, the Bible and Social Ethics*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Lomax, H. 2012. Contested voices? Methodological tensions in creative visual research with children. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 15:2, 105-117.
- Louw, D. J., 2011. Philosophical counselling: Towards a “new approach” in pastoral care and counselling. *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 67(2), Art. No. 900, 1-7.
- Macdonald Nathan. 2008. The *Imago Dei* and Election: Reading Genesis 1:26–28 and Old Testament Scholarship with Karl Barth. *International Journal of Systematic Theology* Vol 10 No 3, 303-330.
- MacLellan M. 2005. *Child-headed households: Dilemmas of definition and livelihood rights*. Paper presented at the 4<sup>th</sup> World Congress on Family Law and Children’s Rights, Cape Town.
- Magudu, Bulelwa. 2004. AmaHlubi women's experience and perceptions of "ukuzila". *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equality*. No. 6, 140-147.
- Mahoney A. and Pargament, K. 2004. Sacred Changes: Spiritual Conversion and Transformation. *JCLP/In Session*, Vol. 60 (5), 481–492 Wiley Periodicals, Inc. Bowling Green State University.

- Main Mary, Hesse Erik, and Hesse Siegfried. 2011. Attachment theory and research: Overview with suggested applications to child custody. *Family Court Review* 49:3, 426–463.
- Mampane R, Bouwer C. 2006. Identifying resilient and none resilient middle-adolescents in a formerly Black-only urban school. *South African Journal of Education* 26:3,443–456.
- Manning, R. 1992. *Speaking from the Heart*, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. (June).
- Manus U. 2010. A Sampling of Contextual Views and Practices: Bible Interpretation in Africa. Page 116 in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*. Edited by Daniel Patte. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maqoko Z. and Dreyer Y. 2005. *Child-headed households because of the trauma surrounding HIV and AIDS*. Department of Practical Theology, University of Pretoria. African Studies Centre: Coventry University.
- María C. R. 2013. *Contributions to the Study and Promotion of Resilience in Socially Vulnerable Children*.
- Marito, G. 2008. *Childhood Care and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington DC.
- Marketa, B. 2013. *A Bridge over Troubled Waters: Testimonies of Black Women's Experience of desegregation in the South*.
- Marriages Act 1998 in South Africa.
- Marsden Lee Bush. 2012. Obama and a faith-based US foreign policy. *International Affairs* (88:5) 953–974.
- Marthinus B. 2010. Salient Contemporary Features In Facts and Figures. *European Spatial Research and Policy* Volume 17, Number 2.
- Martin Luther's message for us today: A perspective from the South.
- Martin-Breen Patrick and Anderies Marty J. 2011. *Resilience: A Literature Review*. The Rockefeller Foundation. Department of Philosophy, CUNY Graduate Centre.
- Masten, Ann and Coatsworth, J. Douglas. 1998. The development of competence in favourable and unfavourable environments: Lessons from research on successful children. *American Psychologist*, Volume 53(2), 205-220.
- Mbiti, John S. 1999. African Theology. Pages 141-157 in *Initiation into Theology: The Rich Variety of Theology and Hermeneutics*. Edited by Simon Maimela and Adrio König J.L.Van Schaik, Pretoria.
- McDonald Matthew and Wearing Stephen, 2013. A Reconceptualization of the Self in Humanistic Psychology: Heidegger, Foucault and the Sociocultural Turn. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology* 44, 37-59.
- Meyer W, Moore C, Viljoen H. 1989. Personal theories- from Freud to Frank. Johannesburg: Lexicon publishers.

- Michalos, Alex C. (Ed.). 2014. Encyclopaedia of Quality of Life and Well-Being Research. MMLXIV, 7347 Page 661.
- Miindzie, M. Affa'a, 2010. Comment and analysis: Regional protection of child rights in Africa. *Southern African Journal of Missiology* Volume 38, Number 3, 454-467.
- Mikulinger, M. and Shaver, P. 2012. An attachment perspective on psychopathology. *World Psychiatry* Volume 11, 11-15.
- Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M. 1994. *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*, 2nd ed. Sage Publications: London, Oaks.
- Minnaar A. 2005. HIV/AIDS issues in the workplace of nurses. Article Aug: 28 (3):31-38. Department of Nursing Education, School of Therapeutic Science, Faculty of Medical Science, University of the Witwatersrand, Parkton.
- Mogotlane S.M. Chauke, M.E. van Rensburg, G.H. Human, S.P. Kganakga, C.M. 2011. A situational analysis of child-headed households in South Africa. *Curationis*, 24-32.
- Motsoaledi, P.A. 2010. Republic Of South Africa Country Progress Report on the Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS. Report. Period: Jan. 2008 - Dec. 2009.
- Moran, Dermot. 2000. *Introduction to Phenomenology*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, New York.
- Morgan, D. L. and Spanish, M. T. Focus groups: A new tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative sociology*, Volume 7, No. 3, 253-270.
- Mountain, Vivienne. 2014. Children and the Church: Children and the Church: Jesus brings the child to a place in the middle. Christian Research Association.
- Moyo, L. 2011. Child or Youth-Headed Households: A Gendered Perspective. *Journal of Gender and Religion in Africa*. Volume 17 No.1 (July).
- Mtata, Kenneth. 2011. African Theological Anthropology: The Place of Children. *Journal of Gender and Religion in Africa* 17/1, (July), 50-73.
- Mukoyogo M. C. and Williams, G. 1991. AIDS Orphans: A Community Perspective from Tanzania. *Strategies for Hope*, No. 5.
- Murtaugh, Molly E. 2010. Children in Jeopardy: An Evaluation of Interventions for Orphans of HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa. CMC.
- Nadar, S. 2004. Barak God and Die! Women, HIV and a Theology of Suffering. Pages 60-79 in *Grant Me Justice! HIV/AIDS Readings of the Bible*. Edited by Musa Dube and Musimbi Kanyoro. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.
- Nadar, S. 2006. Texts of Terror. Pages 77-89 in *African Women, Religion and Health: Essays in Honour of Mercy Amba Ewudziwa Oduyoye*. Edited by Isabel Phiri and Sarojini Nadar. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.

- Naidoo, M. 2007. *Orphaned and Vulnerable Children: A Development Challenge to the Christian Community of Pietermaritzburg*. Pietermaritzburg: UKZN.
- Nasvytienė, Dalia, Lazdauskas Tomas and Leonavičienė Teresė. 2012. Child's Resilience in Face of Maltreatment: A Meta-Analysis of Empirical Studies. *Psichologija* 46, 7-19.
- Neuman, W. L. 2006. *Social research methods: qualitative and quantitative approaches*, 6th edition. Boston: Pearson Education Inc.
- Newsom Carol. 2010. Job, Book of. Page 649 in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*. Edited by Daniel Patte. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Noddings, Nel, 1984. *Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ntakirutimana N. 2009. *The Role of Faith Based Organizations in Empowering Vulnerable Children: Case Study of Lerato House and the Haven Shelters*. Pietermaritzburg.
- Ntsimane Radikobo. 2005. Memory boxes and Zulu culture. Pages 35-40 in *Never Too Small to Remember: Memory Work and Resilience in Times of AIDS*. Edited by Philippe Denis. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.
- Nurnberger K. 2005. *Martin Luther's Message for us Today: A perspective from the South*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.
- Nurnburger. K. 1999. *Prosperity, Poverty and Pollution: Managing the Approaching Crisis*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.
- Oduyoye, Mercy Amba, 1986. *Hearing and Knowing: Theological Reflections on Christianity in Africa*. Mary Knoll NY: Orbis.
- Okundi, C. 2008. Listening to the Small Voice. *Harvard Divinity Bulletin* Vol.37, No.2.
- Oleke Christopher, Blystad Astrid, Rekdal Ole Bjørn. 2005. "When the obvious brother is not there" "Political and cultural contexts of the orphan challenge in northern Uganda". *Social Science and Medicine* 61, 2628–2638.
- Pargament, K. 1997. The Psychology of Religion and Coping. *The Psychology of Religion and Coping: Theory, Research, Practice*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Pargament, K. I. 2008. *Religious Struggles: A Fork in the Road to Health-Related Declines or Growth*. Department of Psychology: Bowling Green State University.
- Parry Sue, 2008. *Beacons of Hope, HIV Competent Churches: A Framework for Action*. World Council of Churches Ecumenical HIV and AIDS Initiative in Africa (EHAIA).
- Patte D. and Teselle E. 2010. Fall. Pages 407-408 in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*. Edited by Daniel Patte. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Silvers, 1995:40–1.

- Pendleton et al. (2002) Paediatrics Journal to understand the role of religiousness/spirituality in coping in children with cystic fibrosis (CF).
- Phan Peter C. 2010. *Christianities in Asia*. Wiley-Blackwell Peter Phan's (2010:593)
- Phiri, Isabel A. 1995. Women, Church and Theological Education. *Ministerial Formation*, No. 17, (Oct.):39-43.
- Phiri, Isabel A. 2002. Caring During Burial and Bereavement in Traditional Society and the Church. In *Crises of Life in African Religion and Christianity*. Edited by Hance O. Mwakabana. The Lutheran World Federation.
- Phiri, Isabel A. 2004. HIV/AIDS: An African theological response in mission. *The Ecumenical Review*. Vol. 56 No. 4, 422-431.
- Phiri, Isabel A. 2005. The circle of concerned African women theologians: its contribution to ecumenical formation. *The Ecumenical Review*. Vol. 57 No. 1, 34-41.
- Phiri, Isabel A. 2007. Theology in the HIV and AIDS Era series. Module 1 Gender, Religion and HIV and AIDS prevention. World Council of Churches.
- Phiri, Isabel A. 2008/2009. African theological pedagogy in the light of a case study on gendered violence. *Journal of Constructive Theology: Gender, Religion and Theology in Africa* Vol. 14:2 and 15:1,109-123.
- Phiri, Isabel. 2010. Partnership in mission: An appraisal of the partnership of women and men. *Missionalia: Southern African Journal of Missiology*. Vol. 38, No. 3, 454– 467.
- Phiri I. and Nadar, S. 2006. Introduction: Treading Softly but Firmly. Pages 1-13 in *African Women, Religion and Health: Essays in Honour of Mercy Amba Ewudziwa Oduyoye*. Edited by Isabel A. Phiri and Sarojini Nadar. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.
- Pillay J and Nesengani R I. 2006. The educational challenges facing early adolescents who head families in rural Limpopo Province. *Educational Change*; 10 (2), 131–147.
- Posel, D. and Rudwick, S. 2013. Ukukupita (Cohabiting): Socio-cultural constraints in urban Zulu society. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. [Published online 9 June 2013].
- Rakoczy, S.2011. Trusting Experience: The Foundation of Feminist Spirituality. *Religion & Theology* 18. School of Religion and Theology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 32–55.
- Raskin J. D. 2011. Evolutionary Constructivism and Humanistic Psychology. Pages 119–133. *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology*. American Psychological Association 2012, Vol. 32, No. 2. State University of New York at New Paltz.
- Reeder Gail & Pacino, Maria A. 2013, Faith Integration in the Classroom. The *International Journal of Religion and Spirituality in Society* Volume 2, Issue 2.
- Reinharz, S. 1992. *Feminist methods in social research*. New York: Oxford University Press.



- Richter, Linda, Sherr Lorraine, Adato Michele, Belsey Mark, Chandan Upjeet, Desmond Chris, Drimie Scott, Haour-Knipe Mar, Hosegood Victoria, Kimou Jose, Madhavan Sangeetha, Mathambo Vuyiswa and Wakhweya Angela. 2009. Strengthening families to support children affected by HIV and AIDS. *AIDS Care: Psychological and Socio-medical Aspects of AIDS/HIV*. Vol. 21, No. S1, 3-12.
- Riddle Dorothy I. 2008. What Is Feminist Spirituality, and Why Should We Care?
- Robson, S. and Kanyanta, B. S. 2007. Orphaned and vulnerable children in Zambia: The impact of the HIV and AIDS epidemic on basic education for children at risk. *Educational Research*, 49(3), 259-272.
- Rosa S. 2003. State duty to children without parents. *Children First, Issue 50 (August/September 2003)*.
- Rudwick, Stephanie and Dorrit Posel. 2014. Contemporary functions of ilobolo (bridewealth) in urban South African Zulu society. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Volume 32, Issue 1, 118-136.
- Sakenfeld, K. 1988. Feminist Biblical Interpretation. *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin*, 9. Pages 154-168.
- Salter, M. D. (1940). *An evaluation of adjustment based upon the concept of security*. Child Development Series. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Sanusi (2013) Sarantakos, S, *Social research* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed (New York: Palgrave Macmillan,
- Saur, M. and Semu, L. and Ndau, S, *Nkhanza* 2005. *Listening to people's voices* (Zomba: Kachere Series,).
- Schofield, W. Survey sampling. In *Data collection and analysis* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed edited by Sapsford and V Jupp. London: SAGE Publications, 2006), pp. 26-55.
- Scholtz, C P, 'Researching that what goes without saying' in H G Heimbrock and C P
- Scholtz (ed), *Religion: Immediate experience and the mediacy of research*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007, 243-257.
- Semenye L. 2006. Esther. Page 559 in *Africa Bible Commentary*. Edited by Tokunboh Adeyemo. Nairobi: World Alive Publishers.
- Sharp C. J. 2010. Book of Jeremiah. Page 638 in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity* Edited by Daniel Patte. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shuchter, Stephen R.; Zisook, Sidney Stroebe, Margaret S. (Ed); Stroebe, Wolfgang (Ed); Hansson, Robert O. (Ed), 1993. Handbook of bereavement: Theory, research, and intervention. 23-43. Cambridge University Press.

- Silverman, D. 2000. *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Silverman, P. 2000. *Never too young to know: Death in children's Lives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Siwo-Okundi E J. A. 2008. Listening to the Small Voice: Toward an Orphan Theology. *Harvard Divinity Bulletin* Vol. 37, No. 2 & 3 (Spring/Summer).
- Skingsley Andrew, Takuva Simbarashe, Brown Alison, Delpech Valerie, Puren Adrian. 2014. Monitoring HIV-related mortality in South Africa: the challenges and urgency. *Communicable Diseases Surveillance Bulletin* Volume 12, No.4, 108-112.
- Skweyiya, T. Wilson, S. Giese, H. Meintjes, R. Croke and R. Chamberlain from the Children's Institute conducted a research in 2002.
- Sloth-Nielsen, J. 2004. *Realising the rights of children growing up in child-headed households: A guide to laws, policies and social advocacy*. Cape Town: Creda Communications.
- Smart, R. 2003. Policies for orphans and vulnerable children: a framework for moving ahead. Washington, DC: USAID.
- Smith S. 1999. *The Forgotten Mourners: Guidelines for working with bereaved children*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Smith, H S, Handy, R T, Loetscher, L A, 1960. *American Christianity: An historical interpretation with representative documents, 1820-1960*. Vol. 2 NY: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Snider, L. and Dawes A. 2006. Psychosocial Vulnerability and Resilience Measures for National-Level Monitoring of Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children: Recommendations for Revision of the UNICEF Psychological Indicator. Report prepared for UNICEF, August p13.
- Snider L. and Dawes, A. 2006. Psychosocial Vulnerability and Resilience Measures
- Sprague, J. and Zimmerman, M. 1993. Overcoming dualisms: A feminist agenda for sociological methodology. Pages 257-260 in *Theory on gender, feminist on theory*. Edited by P. England, New York: Aldine DeGruter.
- Sroufe Alan L. Waters Everett, 1977. Attachment as an Organizational Construct. *Child Development*, 48, 1184-1199]. University of Minnesota, University of British Columbia
- Sroufe, Alan L. Carlson Elizabeth A., Levy Alissa K. and Egeland Byron, 1999. Implications of attachment theory for developmental psychopathology. *Development and Psychopathology*, Volume 11 Issue 01 (March), pp 1-13.

- Stone, L. ed. 2001. *New Directions in Anthropological Kinship*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield. Extended Families - Study of the Extended Family.
- Sullivan, C. M. 1988. The community advocacy project: A model for effectively advocating for women with abusive partners. Pages 126-143 in *Domestic violence: Guidelines for research – Informed practice*. Edited by J P Vincent and E N Jouviles. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Susan Crawford Sullivan and Renée L. Beard 2014. *Faith and Forgetfulness: The Role of Spiritual Identity in Preservation of Self with Alzheimer's*.
- Terre Blanche, M. Kelly, K and Durrheim, K. 2006. Why qualitative research. Pages 271-284 in *Research in Practice: Applied methods for the Social Sciences*. Edited by Martin Terre Blanche, Kevin Durrheim and D, Plainter. Cape Town: UCT Press.
- TeSelle, E. 2010. Natural Law. Page 857 in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*. Edited by Daniel Patte. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- The Small Catechism by Martin Luther in Contemporary English with Lutheran Book of Worship Texts, 1979 Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis p.5.
- Theron LC, Theron AMC. A critical review of studies of South African youth resilience, 1990–2008. *South African Journal of Science* 2010; 106 (7/8), Article 252, 1-12.
- Thurman Tonya R. Snider Leslie, Boris Neil, Kalisa Edward, Mugarira Eleazer Nkunda, Ntaganira Joseph and Brown Lisanne. 2006. Psychosocial support and marginalization of youth-headed households in Rwanda. *AIDS Care*, 18, 3, 220-229.
- Tilley Terrence, 2010, *Faith: What it is and What it isn't*. Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 152.
- Trevino Kelly M. Pargament, Kenneth I. Cotton, Sian, Leonard Anthony C. Hahn June, Caprini-Faigin Carol Ann and Tsevat Joel. 2007. Religious Coping and Physiological, Psychological, Social, and Spiritual Outcomes in Patients with HIV/AIDS: Cross-sectional and Longitudinal Findings. *AIDS and behaviour* (2010) 14, 379–389.
- Tronto, J. 1993. *Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care*. London: Routledge.
- Tuohy D, Cooney A, Dovling M, Murphy K, Sixmith J (2013) An overview of interpretive phenomenology as a research methodology. *Nurse Researcher*. 20, 6, 17-20. Date of submission: February 17 2012. Date of acceptance: October 8 2012.
- Ungar, Michael and Liebenberg, Linda. 2011. Assessing Resilience across Cultures Using Mixed Methods: Construction of the Child and Youth Resilience Measure. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*. XX(X) [Accessed on 16 March, 2011]. Pages 1-24.
- Van der Riet, M. and Durrheim, K. Putting design into practice: Writing and evaluating research proposals. Pages 80-111 in *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences*. Edited by M T Blanche, K Durrheim and D Painter.

- Van IJzendoorn, M.H. Sagi-Schwartz, A. & Bakermans-Kranenburg, M.J. (2008). Does intergenerational transmission of trauma skip a generation? No meta-analytic evidence for tertiary traumatization with third generation of Holocaust survivors. *Attachment & Human Development*, 10, 105-121.
- Van Rensburg E, Barnard C. 2005. Psychological resilience among sexually-molested girls in the late middle-childhood: A case study approach. *CARSA*. 6 (1):1–12.
- Villares Elizabeth, Lemberger Matthew, Brigman Greg and Webb Linda. 2011. Student Success Skills: An Evidence-Based School Counseling Program Grounded in Humanistic Theory. *Journal of Humanistic Counseling*. Volume 50, 42-55.
- Wakefield Jerome C. Michael B. First. Validity of the bereavement exclusion to major depression: does the empirical evidence support the proposal to eliminate the exclusion in DSM-5? *World Psychiatry* 2012; 11:3-10.
- Walker, Coyd. 2013. Faith Becomes Religious Adaptive Value. Pages 194-201. *Journal of Spirituality and Paranormal Studies, Inc.*
- Walker, M. McLean, M. Dison A. and Vaughan R. 2010. *Higher Education and Poverty Reduction: the formation of public good professionals in universities*. School of Education: University of Nottingham.
- Waller A. A. 2005. *Feminist Research Methodologies: Why, What, and How*. Indianapolis: University of Georgia.
- Walter, James, 1982. *The Relation between Faith and Morality: Sources for Christian Ethics*.
- Walton, S. and Backhouse, J. 2010. *Not the path we planned: Data Collection Detours in a South African Community Informatics Study*. School of IT, Monash South Africa; Council on Higher Education, Pretoria Prato CIRN-DIAC Community Informatics Conference: Refereed Stream.
- Ward, Edwina. 2010. Experiencing Shame in Ministry: A Struggle for Pastoral Caregivers. *Journal of Constructive Theology: Gender, Religion and Theology in Africa*. Volume 16 No.1 (July) 120-139.
- Wassenaar Douglas R. 2006. *Bucharest Early Intervention Project: Ethical Issues*.
- Werner, E. 2000. Protective factors and individual resilience. Pages 115-132 in *Handbook of Early Childhood Intervention 2 Edition*. Edited by J. P. Shonkoff and S. J. Meisels. Cambridge University Press. .
- West, G. 2010. Sacred texts, particularly the Bible and the Qur'an, and HIV and AIDS: Charting the textual territory. Pages 135-136 in *Religion and HIV and AIDS: Charting the Terrain*. Edited by B. Haddad. Pietermaritzburg: UKZN Press.
- Williams, P. 1997. Embracing the spirit. Pages 122-139 in *Embracing the spirit*. Edited by E. Townes. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

- Williams, Patrick. 2012. Looking back to see the future: The influence of humanistic and transpersonal psychology on coaching psychology today. *International Coaching Psychology Review*, Vol. 7 No. 2, 22237-235.
- Samantha E. 2010. Exploring the Viability of School-Based Support for Vulnerable Children: A Case Study of Two Township Schools in Johannesburg. *Pathways to Access Research Monograph No. 46*, 1-46.
- Wilson Tanya, Giese Sonja, Meintjes Helen, Croke Rhian and Chamberlain Ross. 2002. *A conceptual framework for the identification, support and monitoring of children experiencing orphanhood*. Children's Institute, UCT.
- Witt, William. 2011. Anglican reflections on justification by faith. *Anglican Theological Review*, 95:1, 57-80
- Womble, Melissa. Labbé N. Elise E. and Cochran Ryan C. 2013. Spirituality and Personality: Understanding Their Relationship to Health Resilience, *Psychological Reports: Mental & Physical Health*. 112, 3, 706-715.
- Wright T. 2013. "I keep me safe." *Risk and resilience in children with messy lives*. *Phi Delta Kappan*, Volume 95 N 2. [kappanmagazine.org](http://kappanmagazine.org), 39-43.
- Yilpert, Y. 2006. Introduction to the prophets. In *Africa Bible Commentary*. Edited by Tokunboh Adeyemo. Nairobi: World Alive Publishers.

## 2.2 On-Line (World Wide Web) Sources

- Andrews G and Pillay Y. 2007. *Health Review, 2005*. Durban: Health Systems Trust. <http://www.hst.org.za/uploads/files/sahr2005.pdf> [Accessed November 2009].
- Budlender, D. 2006. Children living in child-headed households. Indicator: Number and proportion of children living in child-headed households (2005) Statistics South Africa (2005) *General Household Survey 2004*. Pretoria, Cape Town: Statistics South Africa; Statistics South Africa (2006) *General Household Survey 2005*. Statistics South Africa. View at: <http://www.statssa.gov.za>. Analysis by Centre for Actuarial Research, University of Cape Town. 29 November 2014]
- Chidester, David. 2008. Dreaming in the Contact Zone: Zulu Dreams, Visions, and Religion in Nineteenth-Century South Africa. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*. Vol. 76, No. 1. <http://jaar.oxfordjournals.org> [Accessed 29 July 2013]. Pages 27–53.
- Children living in child headed households: Number and proportion of children living in child headed households. 2005. An analysis of the 2005 General Household Survey by The Children's Institute, Accessed 10 April 2008 <http://www.childrencount.ci.org.za/content.asp?ToplinkID=6&PageID=19>.

- Cockburn, Tom. 2005. Children and the Feminist Ethic of Care. University of Bradford. <<http://chd.sagepub.com/content/12/1/71.refs.html> [Accessed 7 May, 2013].
- Hopgood, Stephen. 2009. Moral Authority, Modernity and the Politics of the Sacred. *European Journal of International Relations* Volume 15(2), 229–255. <http://ejt.sagepub.com/content/15/2/229>. [Accessed 7 April 2011].
- Howe, David. 2010. Attachment Theory and Research in Clinical Work with Adults. *Journal of Social Work* 10,124. <http://jsw.sagepub.com/content/10/1/124>.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/h0054346>  
<http://mmr.sagepub.com/content/early/2011/03/07/1558689811400607>  
<http://psychology.about.com/od/loveandattraction/a/attachment01.htm>  
<http://www.avert.org> 2011.  
<http://www.saintmonicas.com/Parish%20Info/Monicabio.htm>  
<http://www.springerlink.com/content/qt1565u0p3518gp/>  
<http://www.tandfonline.com/page/termsand-conditions> [Accessed 1 December 2014]
- Irwin, Darrell D. 2009. Awards for suffering: the Nobel Peace Prize recipients of South Africa. *Contemporary Justice Review*. Volume 12, No. 2, 157–170. <http://www.informaworld.com>.
- Johnson Burke, R., Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie and Lisa Turner A. 2007. Towards a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of mixed methods research*. [Accessed on 14 September 2011]. Pages 112-133. <http://www.mmr.sagepub.com/content/1/2/112>.
- Landman, M. Getting quality in qualitative research: A short introduction to feminist methodology and methods. At <http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?fil...> [Accessed 30/10/2009].
- Landry Tamara, Luginaah Isaac, Maticka Tyndale Eleanor and Elkins David. 2007. Orphans in Nyanza, Kenya. Pages 75-98, *Journal of HIV/AIDS Prevention in Children & Youth*, 8:1. <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/termsand-conditions>. [Acc.01/12/14].
- Madhavan S. and Schatz E. J. 2007. Coping with change: Household structure and composition in rural South Africa, 1992 – 2003. Pages 85–93. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, 2007. [http://sjp.sagepub.com/content/35/69\\_suppl/85.refs.html](http://sjp.sagepub.com/content/35/69_suppl/85.refs.html) [Accessed 14 August 2011].
- Maslow A.H. (PsycINFO Database Record (c) 2012 APA, A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review*, Volume 50(4), Jul 1943, 370-396.
- Mathews S, Jamieson L, Lake L & Smith C (eds) (2014) *South African Child Gauge 2014*.

Cape Town: Children's Institute, University of Cape Town. ISBN: 2014 Children's Institute, University of Cape Town.

Meintjes, Helen, Hall Katharine, Marera Double-Hugh and Boule Andrew. 2010. Orphans of the AIDS epidemic? The extent, nature and circumstances of child-headed households in South Africa, *AIDS Care*, 22:1, Publisher: Routledge. Pages 40-49. <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/caic20> [Accessed 2 November 2011].

Pargament, K. I. Kennell, J. Hathaway, W. Grevengoed, N. Newman, J. Jones, W. 1988. Religion and the Problem-Solving Process: Three Styles of Coping. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 27, No. 1. Pages 90-104. Blackwell Publishing on behalf of Society for the Scientific Study of Religion. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1387404> .[ Accessed: 26/02/2011]

Pargament, Kenneth I. 1997. *The Psychology of Religion and Coping: Theory, Research, Practice*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Pillay Jace. 2011. Experiences of learners from child-headed households in a vulnerable school that makes a difference: Lessons for school psychologists. *School Psychology International*. Pages 1-19. [Accessed October 12, 2011]. <http://spi.sagepub.com/content/early/2011/07/05/0143034311409994>

Pogue Thomas and Abrahams Lucienne, 2010 'Innovation system and inequality: The experience of South Africa', Strategic Management of Innovation Research Group Series Working Paper No.3, Wits Business School, Parktown, Johannesburg, November, p.11. Downloadable at SMI portal [www.wits.ac.za/managinginnovation](http://www.wits.ac.za/managinginnovation).

Richaud M. Cristina. 2013. Contributions to the Study and Promotion of Resilience in Socially Vulnerable Children: Interdisciplinary Centre of Mathematical and Experimental Psychology Research (CIIPME), National Council of Scientific and Technological Research. *Theses*. [http://scholarship.claremont.edu/cmcs\\_theses/55](http://scholarship.claremont.edu/cmcs_theses/55)

Richter, L.M. 2008. Targeting AIDS orphans and child-headed households? A perspective from national surveys in South Africa, 1995-2005. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09540120701842738> [Accessed 8 April 2011].

Rose, Amanda L. Bringing Fresh Solutions to the Challenge of Global Food Security. <http://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/blog/bringing-fresh-solutions-challenge> .

SANAC <http://www.sanac.org.za/resources/art-guidelines>

Sinomlando Centre. <http://www.sinomlando.ukzn.ac.za>

Statistics South Africa. View at: <http://www.statssa.gov.za>. Analysis by Centre for Actuarial Research, University of Cape Town. Page last updated: 29 November 2006.

The Department of Health / SANAC (2010, February) 'The South African antiretroviral treatment guidelines'.

Ungar M. and Liebenberg L. Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA).  
<http://www.onlineqda.hud.ac.uk>. [Accessed on 12/10/2009].

### **2.3 Other sources**

A documentary on a CD “A Child is A Child” created by Peace Corps volunteers at Mpilonhle project.

Department of Social Development CD entitled Child-Headed Households.

Motsoaledi, Aaron. Minister of Health (2010, March 25th) 'Outline of the national HIV Counselling and Testing (HCT) campaign'.

The South African Child Act.



# Appendix 1 Interview Questions - Imibuzo yengxoxisano

**Topic:** Faith and Resilience in Child or Youth-Headed Households in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

**Introduction:** Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview.  
I appreciate that you are willing to spare some time to answer my questions.  
You are free to give or hold back your name.  
You are free to give or withhold permission to being recorded on tape.  
You are free to deny answering any questions that make you feel uncomfortable.  
You can quit the interview at any point if you feel you are unable to continue.

**Isingeniso** Ngiyabonga ngokuvuma kwakho ukuba ingxenye yalolu cwaningo.  
Ngiyabonga ngesikhathi sakho onginike sona ukuphendula lemibuzo.  
Uvumelekile ukuveza noma ukungavezi igama lakho.  
Uvumelekile ukuqoshwa noma ukungaqoshwa ngesiqophamazwi.  
Uvumelekile ungayiphenduli imibuzo ozizwa ungakhululekile ngayo.  
Ungayeka noma ingasiphi isikhathi uma ungasakwazi ukuqhubeka nocwaningo.

1. What memories do you have about your late parents (Mother/Father)?  
Iziphi izinkumbulo onazo ngabazali bakho?
2. What was her/his/their source of income?  
Iyiphi indlela ababeziphilisa ngayo?
3. How did your mother/father treat sons and daughters?  
Ngabe umama noma ubaba wakho babewaphatha kanajni amadodana noma amadodakazi?
4. How did she /he/they relate to their brothers, sister, uncles, or aunts?  
Ngabe babexumana kanjani nobulthi nosisi omalume kanye noanti ababo?
5. How did she /he/they associate with neighbors?  
Ngaabe babezinhlanganisa kanjani nomakhelwane kanye nabangani?
6. Which religion were she/he/were they attached to?  
Iyiphi inkolo ababekhohlelwa kuyo?
7. How did she /he/they deal with religious matters?  
Babemelana kanjani nezindaba zezenkolo?
8. What cultural rituals did she/he/they perform or participate in?  
Imaphi amasiko ababewenza noma bezibandakanya ngawo?
9. What was her /his/their teaching on sexual matters?  
Banifundiseni mayelana nendaba zocansi?
10. What brought about her/his/their passing?  
Kwaba yini imbangela yokushona kwabo?
11. What religious or cultural rituals were performed at their passing?  
Iziphi izinkolo noma amasiko enziwa ekushoneni kwabo?
12. Describe how you felt at her/his/their passing?  
Awuchaze ukuthi waphatheka kanjani ngokushona kwabo?
13. What form of emotional support or counseling did you and your siblings get?  
Iwuphi unakekelo lwasemoyeni wena nabantwana bakini enalutola na?
14. Who provided that support?  
Ngabe ubani owayenza lolonakekelo?
15. What was decided about your family when your parents passed away?  
Isiphi isinqumo esathathwa umndeni wakho ngesikhathi kushone abazali bakho

16. Who made those decisions?  
Ngabe ubani owenza lezozinqumo?
17. How did you feel about those decisions?  
Ngabe zakuphatha kanjani lezozinqumo?
18. How many are you in this household?  
Nibangaki ekhaya lapha?
19. Who makes most decisions in the home?  
Ngabe ubani owenza izinqumo eziningi?
20. What is your source of income?  
Iyiphi indlela eniziphilisa ngayo?
21. Explain how you share household duties.  
Chaza ukuthi niwuhlukanisa kanjani umsebenzi ekhaya?
22. How do you relate to your siblings?  
Chaza ubudlelwano lwako nabantwana bakini.
23. Describe your relationship with your maternal relatives.  
Chaza ukuthi bunjani ubudlelwano nomdeni wabokamama wako.
24. Describe your relationship with your paternal relatives.  
Chaza ukuthi bunjani ubudlelwano nomdeni wabokababa wako.
25. Describe any religious activity you are involved in.  
Chaza noma umuphi umthapho wenkolo yakho
26. Describe the cultural activity you are involved in.  
Chaza umdlalo wamasiko okuwona.
27. How do you relate with your neighbors?  
Uxhumana kanjani nomakhelwane?
28. What do you do when you feel depressed?  
Wenza njani uma uzizwa une ngcindezi?
29. What are your views regarding HIV and AIDS?  
Ucabangani mayelana ne HIV ne AIDS?
30. What religious or cultural activities do you participate in?  
Yimiphi imicimbi yezenkolo noma yamasiko onizibandakanya kuyo?
31. Share your views about God? Jesus? Angels? Holy Spirit?  
Ngicela ungixoxele imicabango yakho ngoNkukunkulu? UJesu? Izingelosi?  
Umoya Ongcwele?
32. Share your views about the ancestors.  
Ngicela ungixoxele ngamadlozi ngokwako.
33. How are you going to continue to sustain the family?  
Uzukuphila kanjani ukuqhubeka ukumisa umndeni?
34. What do you yourself hope to do in future?  
Ngabe uthembe ukwenzani ngakusasa yakho?
35. How do you hope to achieve that goal?  
Ngabe uthembe ukulifeza kanjani iphupho lakho?
36. Who do you think can help you achieve your goals?  
Ngabe ubani ocabanga ukuthi engakusiza ukufeza iphupho lakho?

## Appendix 2 Questionnaire for Individuals-Imibuzo Yomuntu Ngamunye

**Topic:** Faith and Resilience in Child or Youth-Headed Households in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

**Introduction:** Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. I appreciate that you are willing to spare some time to answer my questions. You are free to write or hold back your name. You are free to deny answering any questions that make you feel uncomfortable. You can quit the interview at any point if you feel you are unable to continue.

**Isingeniso** Ngiyabonga ngokuvuma kwakho ukuba ingxenye yalolu cwaningo. Ngiyabonga ngesikhathi sakho ongcinike sona ukuphendula lemibuzo. Uvumelekile ukuveza noma ukungavezi igama lakho. Uvumelekile ungayiphenduli imibuzo ozizwa ungakhululekile ngayo. Ungayeka noma ingasiphi isikhathi uma ungasakwazi ukuqhubeka nocwaningo.

### Izinkolo namasiko - religio-cultural beliefs and practices

1. What do you do to earn a living, where do you get food, clothes and school related needs?  
Ikuphi enikwenzayo emakhaya ukuze niphile, nikutholaphi ukudla, okokugqoka nezidingo zesikole?
2. What challenges do you face in your lives?  
Iziphi izinkinga enihlangabezana nazo ezimpilweni zenu?
3. Do you think it's good to worship God? Why?  
Ucabanga ukuthi kuhle yini ukukhonza uNkulunkulu?
4. Do you think it is good to revere the ancestors? If so why? If not why?  
Ucabanga ukuthi kulungile yini ukukhonza amadlozi noma abangaseko? kungani ucabanga kanjalo?
5. Do you think angels exist? If so what is their role?  
Ucabanga ukuthi zikhona yini izingelosi? Uma zikhona zisisiza ngani noma yini umsebenzi wazo?
6. Do you think there is life after death?  
Ucabanga ukuthi impilo ikhona yini emva kokufa?
7. Do you believe going to a place of worship is a good practice?  
Uyakholelwa yini ekuyeni enkonzweni?
8. Is reading the Bible helpful? If so how?  
Kuyasiza yini ukufunda iBhayibheli? Uma kunjalo kanjani?
9. Do you believe Jesus died and rose from the dead?  
Uyakholelwa yini ekutheni uJesu wafa wabuye wavuka?
10. Why is prayer important?  
Ubaluleke ngani umthandazo?

## Appendix 3 Questionnaire for Groups - Imibuzo Yeqembu

**Topic:** Faith and Resilience in Child or Youth-Headed Households in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

Notes for the community care worker

- The community care worker is requested to observe and collect information from members of child or youth headed households.
- You may collect the information through ways you see fit, depending on the circumstances of the households in your area.
- Guiding questions are provided. You may follow-up some questions if there is need.
- If you prefer group session you may write the answers from the participants.
- You are advised to avoid questions that might embarrass or stress the youths as there may be difficulties containing the situation should it get sensitive e.g. Explain what happened the day your parent/s died.

**Introduction:** Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview.

I appreciate that you are willing to spare some time to answer my questions.

You are free to give or hold back your name.

You are free to deny answering any questions that make you feel uncomfortable.

You can quit the interview at any point if you feel you are unable to continue.

**Isingeniso:** Ngiyabonga ngokuvuma kwakho ukuba ingxenye yalolu cwaningo.

Ngiyabonga ngesikhathi sakho ongcinike sona ukuphendula lemibuzo.

Uvumelekile ukuveza noma ukungavezi igama lakho.

Uvumelekile ungayiphenduli imibuzo ozizwa ungakhululekile ngayo.

Ungayeka noma ingasiphi isikhathi uma ungasakwazi ukuqhubeka nocwaningo.

Explain how you are meeting the different needs in your life:

1. Physically
2. Socially
3. Emotionally
4. Spiritually

Explain more on the spiritual needs by sharing your thoughts and views about:

- God
- Angels
- Ancestors
- Traditional healers
- Rituals
- Dreams