

**ORPHANS IN AN ORPHANAGE AND IN FOSTER CARE
IN THE INANDA INFORMAL SETTLEMENT: A
COMPARATIVE OF THE WAYS ORPHANS COPE WITH
LOSS IN DIFFERENT SETTINGS**

**By
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**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Masters of Education
(Educational Psychology)**

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DECLARATION

I,

NCAMISILE PARSCALINE MTHIYANE

Solemnly declare that this research project is my original work and all the views of the experts in my research have been acknowledged by means of appropriate reference.

This research has not been previously submitted for a degree at another university.

SIGNATURE
N.P. MTHIYANE

DATE

ABSTRACT

The number of orphans in South Africa is reaching crisis levels. This is a cause for concern. Most of the deaths seem to be due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Children left orphaned have to develop coping strategies. The focus of this study is on the perceptions the orphaned children have of their lives, the attributions they make for events, and the ways they cope. Most importantly, the study is interested in how they cope with loss and then recreate meaning and purpose. To assist these children, it is important to understand their feelings and thoughts after loss, and how they manage to adapt to new environments. This is only possible by giving the children voice and to see life through their eyes.

A sample of ten orphans was randomly selected from a list of schools and learners provided by the Department of Education. Adolescents were chosen because they are generally more articulate than younger children, about their emotions and experiences. Five orphans from an informal settlement orphanage in Inanda, and five from a secondary school in the same area were interviewed. A semi-structured interview schedule and diaries were used to collect data from the children. Discourse Analysis was the method used to construct meaning of the material generated. Because the interviews were conducted in the first language of the children, translation into English was necessary. The Appendices provide sample transcripts.

Some of the findings of the study were surprising. For example, it was evident that several of the children preferred living in an orphanage to being with relatives, who had, in some instances, offered to foster them. Abuse, alcohol misuse and marginalisation

were cited as reasons. The assumption of the researcher had been that family would always be the better option. It was also found that the informal fostering of orphaned children from extended families meant that government grants were not forthcoming. Financial stresses and strains frequently resulted in the maltreatment of fostered children. Poverty and crime in the informal settlement studied seem to bring added burden to children already traumatised by death and the forced moving of home. Another feature that was significant, is the number of fathers who were “absent” when fostering became necessary for the children. Either through force of circumstances or choice, fathers who were still living frequently did not play a part in their children’s lives. The recommendations of the study focus on rectifying the anomalies just outlined. Schools, in particular, need to recognise their role in alleviating the daily plight of orphaned children. Academic achievement often redeems a life that is tenuous and painful because it creates the possibility of something better in the future. Through effort the children can take greater charge of their lives.

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CHAPTER 1

1. ORIENTATION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

This study examines the perceptions and experiences of ten adolescent orphans, five of whom live with foster families and five of which live in an orphanage. All reside in and around an informal settlement in Inanda, KwaZulu-Natal. The purpose of the study was to answer the following critical questions:

- How do adolescent orphans deal with death and loss, and how do they recreate a sense of purpose in their lives?
- What are the relative coping strategies of orphans living with foster parents and those living in an orphanage?
- Do children in foster care with relatives cope better than children in an orphanage?

Existing literature about orphans in orphanages and in foster care was limited in the sense that local studies are few in number. This was especially the case where the day-to-day lives of orphans is concerned. Although much research has been conducted around the consequences of HIV/AIDS, relevant in-depth literature dealing with the coping strategies of these children was difficult to find. Moreover no research appears to exist examining the comparative benefits for orphans of orphanage placement or foster care with relatives.

What drew my attention to these issues, and what forms the rationale for the study, was chiefly that caring for orphans has become one of the major challenges facing South Africa. The death of parents leave a child orphaned and in need of a place to call a home,

where he or she feels safe and has a sense of belonging. Orphans need to be assured of a loving family, where they will be cared for by responsible adults. A supportive and stable family, of some description, is a key protective factor in the lives of orphans. Feeling secure and having an identity helps a child to cope effectively and develop self-confidence, which in turn, contributes to his or her positive self-image.

For this reason, then, the usual practice among African families is that many of the orphans are placed with immediate or extended family members, foster parents and adoptive parents. Some children, however, find themselves in child-headed households, places of safety and children's homes, and others are left on the streets. In countries in Africa like Malawi, South Africa (Black Communities), Zimbabwe, Kenya, the approach to orphans has been to make them a family and community responsibility. By "extended family", Knox and Schacht (1999:55) refer to "family structures that extend beyond the nuclear family". There may be a multiple number of family groupings within the extended family. Therefore, traditionally in the past, no orphaned child was left without care, because the community was obliged to make provision for the destitute child. This is why so many orphans amongst the Black South African communities are informally placed with relatives. To traditional Zulu culture, this is not seen as a burden. Like the Zulu proverb says: "Umntu ungumuntu ngabantu" (A person is a person because of other people). People must be responsible for people who are in trouble or need, because in caring for others they also uplift themselves. If the families that take orphaned children, however, are not provided with enough resources to support their own families and the new children, it becomes difficult to handle the stress that arises.

Therefore one of the recommendations of this study is that the state should assess communities, especially impoverished areas like Inanda, where orphaned children are not formally or officially placed. Gullotta, Adams and Montemayor, (1990: 103) maintain that, “Families are one of the most important social environments that either facilitate or hinder the development of social competence in young adults”. Social welfare needs to include helping families that act with compassion towards children of the extended family. The registration of all orphanages should also be part of the intervention. My research suggests there are benevolent elderly people who open their hearts and homes to large numbers of destitute children without recognition and aid. Adult unemployment and poverty also need to be addressed. Where government cannot intervene directly, it is necessary that educational institutions work with communities to encourage self-reliance. This will empower the orphans as well as their adoptive families to cope better with loss and adaptation problems.

When someone close dies, relating to others become difficult, and can result in a change of personality and behaviour. It is therefore important for orphans to gain support from society, because accepting them will help them grow and change. Thus, I found it necessary to compare the ways orphans in foster care with relatives and those living in an orphanage, cope with loss and create meaning in their lives. The assumption, of course, is that in foster care physical closeness and intimacy are more likely to occur, and hence feelings of security, than in the more impersonal setting of an orphanage. The study is also concerned to investigate how adolescents develop coping skills and preserve existing competencies.

South Africa has been, and continues to be, subject to enormous socio-political and economic changes, with several factors leading to many children becoming orphans. These factors include political violence, widespread unemployment, the pandemic of HIV/AIDS, and crime, and, in consequence, the massive geographical and emotional dislocations of people. Various circumstances have forced people to move in numbers from their places of birth, and seek a home elsewhere, often in squatter camps. Some households were left without parents, and the children orphaned. Melan and Duckhood (2000) add that when children are repeatedly exposed to violence and disruption, they experience difficulties and stress that affect among other things their school performance. School is often one arena where children can escape their sorrows and focus on personal achievement. It seems important, therefore, to spare children unnecessary stress, but this does not happen. Environmental conditions in informal settlements are characterized by many negative factors, like poverty, insufficient housing facilities, insufficient water supply and poor sanitation, lack of available electricity, and unemployment, all of which are not conducive to learning. Studies (Love Life, 2000) also point out that less than 60% of the populations live in formal housing and the remainder in the informal dwellings.

Another factor is the effect of HIV/AIDS, which takes the lives of many parents leaving behind many children as orphans. This situation is becoming a social concern because of the number of orphans produced, not in South Africa alone but internationally. Turkington (2002: 113) in a report given by the Medical Research Council, *Orphans of the HIV/AIDS*, said: "Currently there are more people infected with HIV in South Africa than in any other African country – and, ultimately, we are likely to have to look after the highest number of AIDS orphans". Death is a stressful and traumatic event for families,

and has an emotional and social impact on every individual. This study therefore is an attempt at investigating how adolescent orphans cope with loss and create purpose in their lives. The hope is that with this knowledge perhaps the burgeoning population of orphans can be helped more effectively than is managed at present. The choice of adolescent orphans was based not only on availability but also on their capacity better to articulate their feelings and experiences than would younger children.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The impact of violence in the past years in the Inanda informal settlement area exposed children to trauma, and to economic and social disturbances. The impact of HIV/AIDS being a major factor in the deaths of parents and the emergence of an orphan population. Many children of the Inanda informal settlement area, popularly known as Namibia, become orphaned and are deprived of love, care, shelter, food and guidance. Most of the homes are headed by single parents (mothers) and they mostly live at or below the poverty line. According to the 1996 census (Statistics South Africa) out of the population of 214,624 African Blacks in the Inanda area, only 52,762 people had jobs, and 44, 322 were unemployed and looking for jobs.

The traditional extended family system, common in Africa, has met some of the needs of some of the children who are left orphaned. In Inanda, some children are in the custody of their relatives and neighbours, and some are in an orphanage. The concern of this study is the relationship these children have with their foster parents and caregivers in the orphanage. A recent study (Vuchinich, Prat & Kneedler, 2002) indicates that a relationship is the basis of quality care, child psychological development and the

elimination of distrust. “A positive parent-child relationship and communication are essential in the development of attachment, social competence, emotional regulation cognitive ability and morality” (Vuchinich *et al*, 2002: 537). The parent-child relationship also allows children the opportunity to voice their feelings. Loss is a traumatic experience. Coupled with the harsh living conditions in the informal settlements, and the loss can be too much for an orphaned child to handle. Nevertheless, while the situation is enormously difficult, some children have developed coping strategies to make their lives meaningful. It is this type of resilience that the present study wishes to explore and to understand.

1.3. AIMS OF STUDY

The study aims to:

- Examine how adolescent orphans deal with and loss and how they recreate a sense of purpose in their lives.
- Evaluate the coping strategies of orphans living with foster parents and those living in an orphanage
- Examine whether orphans in foster care with relatives cope better than those in an orphanage.

1.4. DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

1.4.1. Orphan

Butler (1991:479) defines an orphan as “A person without a male parent”. He continues saying that “Orphans are often mentioned with widows, as representatives of the most helpless members of the society”. Kalemba (2001) defines an orphan as “a child (any person under the age of 18) who has lost one or both parents through death, regardless of the cause.” When defining an orphan, Nye and Bernardo (1973:615) distinguish between “paternal orphans” that is, “Children who have lost their fathers through death”, and “maternal orphans”, that is, “Children who have lost their mothers through death”. Nye and Bernardo also add “Orphans” are “those children who have experienced the death of both parents”. For the purpose of this study the definition will be utilized such that an “orphan” will be described as any child who has lost one or both of his parents through death and total abandonment by both parents.

1.4.2. Orphanage

In the “Encyclopedia of Family Life” (1999: 1014), Bankston III notes this about orphanages: “Orphanages are the most widely used institutions for the care of children who were unable to live with their parents.” He continues explaining that their mission has been to clothe, house and educate children within a specific moral and religious code. Bankston (1999: 1015) also distinguishes the orphanages from “orphan asylums”. “Orphan asylums cared for children who had lost one parent through death, and children whose parents were unable to care for them because of illness, unemployment, poverty and desertion”. Since an orphanage is described as an institution, Eshleman (2000: 37) further adds this: “Institution refers to the organized means whereby the essential tasks of a society are organized, directed, and carried out. It denotes the system or norms that organize human behaviour into a stable pattern of activity”.

1.4.3. Coping strategies

The Penguin Dictionary of Psychology defines coping strategies as “ Conscious, rational ways of dealing with the anxieties of life” (Reber & Reber, 2001: 157). Reber and Reber (2000: 715) further note that, “A strategy is a plan of conduct or action, a consciously arrived at set of operations for solving some problems or achieving some goals”.

1.4.4. Foster care

Skidmore and Thackeray (1982: 226), define foster care as “A residential arrangement for children outside their own homes”. For this study, in an extended family structure, where a “relative” has assumed the responsibility of becoming a foster parent or caregiver, the term “foster family” will be used. Moreover, according to Eshleman and Ross (2000: 55) an extended family is “ A family structure that extends beyond the nuclear family”. On the other hand, Bankston III (1999: 188) defines “extended families” as: “Those families in which many relatives and several generations live together with or close to children. The children may be cared for by a variety of people in addition to their parents, including grandparents, aunts and uncles, older siblings and even cousins”.

1.5. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR RESEARCH WITH CHILDREN

A number of ethical considerations emerged in the preparation and course of the study. Since the late 1980s, children’s rights have been foregrounded both in the socio-political arena and in educational research. Orphaned children are especially vulnerable and scrupulous attention was paid to obtaining informed consent from guardians (the head of

foster families) and the principal of the orphanage. The children, as adolescents and able to understand the idea of research, were also approached for their consent. Social workers were contacted, and psychologists based at the University of Durban-Westville were asked if they would render help to the children if discussing pain and loss proved overwhelming. It was thought unethical to put young people through arduous interviews, and not make it known to them that professional assistance was available. Opening old wounds about absent parents who are still alive, such as fathers, seemed to necessitate the services of a social worker should the children wish to start the process of finding lost relatives. Assurances of confidentiality, however, were frequently made during contact sessions. Confidentiality has also been maintained by the decision to give each of the children a pseudonym for reference in the study. Instead of referring to individuals as “case one” or “case two”, however, I decided to create names and keep a sense of the living people who graciously offered their stories for my research.

1.6. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

The adoption of a case study approach to the question of orphans and their lives and coping strategies, seemed appropriate in the sense that issues of death and loss are deeply personal in experience. They are about interpersonal relationships and individual responses to having the meaning of one’s life temporarily shaken and changed. In a case study the number of subjects is limited therefore any aspect of the person’s behaviour could easily be focused in (Mwamwenda: 1995). The term “qualitative” for the type of research, that examines human experience in depth, detail and variety, also seems right, for in this study it is about exploring the richness of the human capacity to survive adversity and triumph. Semi-structured interviews and diaries were the means chosen to record the stories of the orphaned children. More will be said about the actual methodology chosen in Chapter Two.

1.7. TRANSLATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

The adolescents interviewed were all first-language isiZulu speakers. I chose, therefore, to allow the children to speak in the language in which they were most comfortable, and in which emotional matters could be effectively expressed. Both the interviews and the diaries required translation. The usual difficulties of translating from one language to another were experienced. Some phrases and metaphors in isiZulu lose their import and subtleties when converted to English equivalents. Nevertheless, as a first language isiZulu speaker, I felt confident that I was capturing the essentials of what had been said. Where I was cautious, was in my own grasp of English, and here I consulted with an academic at the University of Durban -Westville.

1.8. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study is restricted to two institutions and focusing only on orphans in early to late adolescence. The study also excluded the involvement of parents and teachers who could have provided collateral information. The emphasis, however, was on the children's perceptions, and qualitative research with its use of in-depth case studies precludes large numbers of respondents. Future research may want to expand the sample to primary school age children. A further matter not addressed by the present study, is the situation for orphans who are formally placed to families who are not relatives. Overall, then, perhaps the most significant limitation is trying to generalize the findings from data collected from only two institutions, and without considering this last group of children.

The Chapter that follows will examine the literature drawn upon for the study, and the theoretical framework created to guide methodology and constructing meaning for the data.

1.9. THE CHAPTERS

Chapter One provides an overview of the literature drawn upon for the study. Here material dealing with various theories and research around orphans, and a theoretical framework are discussed. I also attempt to explain the theoretical lenses through which I made sense of my research and constructed explanations. Chapter Two is an account of the methodological choices guiding the procedure and methods of the study. With qualitative methodology one is often faced with many pages of transcript and text. Hence Discourse Analysis and Constructivist theory were adopted to enable me to deconstruct the interview material and the orphans' diaries. Chapter Three presents a detailed exposition of the research methodology from the research design, instrumentation, sampling, interviews and interview schedule and the procedure. Chapter Four is the largest of the chapters and presents sometimes lengthy extracts of the children's responses in interviews. In this chapter, themes are identified that provide organisation to the data. The idea in qualitative research is to offer the reader enough textual evidence of the interviewees' own voices. Finally, the study concludes with a number of recommendations about the care and support of orphans in South Africa today.

CHAPTER 2

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2. 1. INTRODUCTION

“Our psychological worlds, including our attitudes, values, beliefs and perceptual styles constitute a large part of what we see as being the human” (Ajani ya Azibo, 1996: 157). Usually when we are asked who we are, we answer in terms of who our parents are, what family we belong to and where we live. Therefore when death comes some of these questions may be difficult for an orphaned child to answer. The contributions we make to our families and to our communities are significant ways of answering, “who we are,” questions. When responding to questions and making explanations we need language for communicating. Berry, *et al* (1992: 308) contend that the “loss of language is the loss of culture”. The constructivists believe that meaning resides within oneself; therefore, in order to be understood, one needs to share experiences through social engagement and language. Through the sharing and interpretation of individual and collective meanings, whether verbal or written, our perceptions are investigated and made sense of. A focus on linguistic performances, such as these sharings and interpretations represent, is central to discourse analysis theory which Potter and Wetherell (1995) describe as:

A theory which is concerned with what people do with their talk and writing and also with all sorts of resources that people draw on in the course of practices; how discourse is constructed to perform social interactions; and the treatment of the content of what people say or write (Potter & Wetherell, 1995: 80 - 81).

The way the orphans of this study draw on various discourses to arrive at attributions for the events that led to their present circumstances will be paramount in the explanations offered in this study. The texts generated by means of interviews and diary entries will be treated as constructions of meaning through the discourses available to the children. These discourses come into individual usage or linguistic performance through the children's interaction with various social environments.

In order to thrive, children need to be given secure home environments and families. They then have the opportunity to develop a sense of belonging and attachment, and to ascribe positive meanings to their experience. Secure attachment to care givers provides a base from which children can develop other relationships, and a satisfying relationship to the world (Louw & Edwards, 1998; Mc Kay & Adlams, 2001; Forster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991). Today with the emphasis on children's rights, we believe that children have a right to have their opinions heard, to refuse a demand, to voice dissatisfaction and, in the case of orphans, to question the reasons for their status. Attribution theory has been used since the 1960s in studies involving behaviour, attitude, communication, perception and the way people make sense of events and experience. This study therefore uses attribution theory to investigate the questions the children ask about their circumstances, and analyses their reasoning in the contexts of their social engagement/relationships, and use of language. It explores the children's attachment or lack of attachment through a similar set of theoretical lenses.

Consequently, the present chapter reviews literature dealing with theories around attribution, perception, attachment, and discourse analysis. It must be emphasized, however, that attribution, perception and attachment theories have been revisited via later deconstructive understandings from discourse and constructivist theory. Furthermore, because the various theories have many common points of departure, explanations will at times run concurrently.

2.2. DEFINITIONS:

2.2.1. Perception: In a book entitled “Introduction to Communication”, Steinberg (1995: 34) defines perception as “a process whereby we acquire information about our environment through our five senses”. Engelbrecht and Lubbe (1982: 13) and Behr *et al*, (1986: 55) add to Steinberg’s definition by suggesting that, “perception is a way of learning in which the individual gets information from his surroundings and fellows through the medium of various senses and applies his [sic] thinking to give meaning to it”. Furthermore, in examining perceptions, interpretation is influenced mainly by past experience and by non-verbal cues and contexts. Non-verbal cues reinforce what we say or what we feel. For example, in “eye behaviour”, tears can indicate different feelings for different people depending on the way the situation is constructed or made sense of. Gorden (1992: 109) notes,

Tears which may be profuse or just moisten the eyes, can indicate a wide range of feelings; fear, pain, grief, sadness self pity, frustration, anger, tenderness or joy. In any case tears indicate the strength of feelings; the quality of the feelings should be gained from the verbal context of the tears.

I use the example of “tears” because interviewing the ten orphans of this study involved many tears and intensity of feeling. Non-verbal cues can, nevertheless, be confusing and be mistakenly interpreted depending on past experience. In Steinberg’s definition the emphasis is on our frame of reference, that is, our beliefs, ideas, values and attitudes. Since people are unique, the way they react to some stressful events and the way they perceive things and different situations is also personal. In studies about stress, literature reveals that some children cope with stress better than others. Each and every child reacts differently (Wong & Duffy, 2000; Jaffe, 1998), and this is something particularly noticeable in the reactions of the interviewed children. Moreover, the perceptions I offer, as a researcher, are also coloured by my own past experience, values, beliefs and attitudes.

The constructivists add to our understandings of interpretation by arguing that “meanings are socially constructed through ongoing inter-subjective dialogue, and through self-reflection the individual can bring about change in his life and his environment”. Additionally, “Inter-subjectivity refers to the production and maintenance of mutual understanding in dialogue, of mutual intelligibility between participants” (Drew, 1995: 77). For the orphans, being able to construct meaningful reality around the loss of their parents, in the context of others sharing similar realities and the interviews of this study, has meant the opportunity to develop emotionally and behaviorally.

2.2.2. Attribution: Human beings can explain much of the present using past experiences. For each and every event in life, people have different attributions for why things happen and how are they perceived by others. When constructing meaning,

attributions are made. According to Louw-Potgieter and Forster (1991: 207), attributions refer to “causal explanations”. Most people make attributions when they feel the need to explain events. People tend to attribute the cause of action to internal factors or to external factors and this becomes a spontaneous action. The decision whether to attribute an event to external circumstances or to ascribe human agency to what has happened depends on various factors operating within the person making the attribution. Heider (1896), stressed the importance of acknowledging the person’s explanation and understanding of events and behaviour. He strongly believed that people act on the basis of their beliefs (Forster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991). This also emphasises the uniqueness of people and how they perceive and attribute their experiences and feelings differently. The attribution theory allowed me to find out exactly on what did the children attributed their behaviour and events experienced.

2.2.3. Attachment: Santrock and Bartlett (1986: 296) argue that attachment is the first “social bond” that children experience and is critical for future development. Louw and Edwards (1998: 494) describe attachment as “the strong ‘emotional bond’ between two individuals, usually between child and mother or primary caregiver”. By emphasising the “social bond”, it is suggested that the primary nature of attachment is a bonding process to whomever a child experiences feelings of security and safety. It is, therefore, an emotional bond requiring a large degree of trust between a child and a caregiver. In consequence, attachment cannot be experienced in the same way or same degree between all infants and caregivers. Bowlby (1969; 1973), Ainsworth (1969), Louw and Edwards (1998), Santrock and Bartlett (1986), all identify three types of attachment, that is, secure, avoidant and ambivalent attachment, the last two of which are forms of insecure

attachment. The quality of the attachment relationship holds far-reaching effects for the child development. Babies with secure attachment seem to be more obedient and react more favourable to towards unfamiliar situations and peers. Therefore, orphaned children with secured attachment are better in social skills and in making more friends, as these are great concerns for adolescents; to feel accepted by their peers. Providing security to children is important and is not possible to the ambivalent children because they are unable to use their caregivers as secure base to explore the environment. The essential nature of the attribution relationship is concerned with the child's seeking and the attachment figure's provisioning of feelings of security, protection soothing, comfort and help (Pillemer & McCartney, 1991).

2.2.4. Constructivism: According to Bruner's Constructivist Theory (Bruner, 1973; Boutin, 2001), "learning is an active process in which learners construct new ideas or concepts based upon their current or past knowledge". Constructivists believe that people should engage in a dialogue in order to construct knowledge and make meaning to their world. By engaging in dialogue a person interact with the environment and try to understand it and being guided by his or her past experiences and beliefs. For these orphaned children then, considering that they are placed in new environments, to solve their problems and to understand the world in a new perspective, they had to engage in dialogue through interaction. Through the discourse analysis one is able to understand the hidden motivations and meanings behind text or choice of words. The purpose of the discourse analysis is The method of "Deconstructivism" enables one to interpret the text and the dialogue, that is, from is constructed through discourse meaning is viewed in relation to ourselves and enable us to solve concrete problems. By engaging the children

in this type of dialogue, the aim is to understand the conditions behind their specific problems and perceptions they make and to come to relevant resolution.

2.3. THE SUPPORTIVE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT FOR ORPHANS.

The most important factors in the child's environment are at home, the school and the community (Griessel, 1990, Engelbrecht & Lubbe, 1982; Mwamwenda, 1995; Behr *et al*, 1989). The supportive and psychological environment should provide orphans with personal, religious and spiritual values and direction that contribute to their sense of self-worth, education, skills development and stability. When arguing about the importance of the teacher's self-confidence in creating a healthy psychological environment for learning, Tonelson (1993) says:

The psychological environment or atmospheres are not accidental, nor are matters of physical environment alone. The psychological environment is created out of interaction of people with one another (Tonelson, 1993: 147).

People, therefore, have an important place and part in the lives of other people, and particularly in the lives of orphans. Discourse analysis theory focuses on linguistic performances, that is, it enables us to investigate actual linguistic conduct in naturally occurring social intercourse (Drew, 1995: 65). It is through discourse that people come to an understanding of situations, exchange ideas, and bring about change. There are so many things that change in the lives of people who have lost their loved ones. Orphaned children need to know that, despite frightening changes, they still belong to loving families or caring groups. They need to hear that they will still be loved and cared for by adults who in turn will listen to them. In many ways, then, the activity of the research

interviews was a demonstration of this process. Also, while the intercourse between orphans and researcher was not a “naturally occurring social interaction”, and was “engineered”, discourse analysis proved singularly helpful in deconstructing the linguistic material generated between the orphans and myself, as researcher. It proved useful in understanding how the children perceived and made sense of the supportive and psychological environments offered to them.

Cullinan (2001) writes this about orphans in KwaZulu Natal :

Many people just think of putting these children in orphanages. But it is important for them to remain in their communities with relatives and on their land, which is often their only heritage (Cullinan, 2001: 17).

For most orphans this is not the case. If they are not to turn to the streets, they are left with no choice but to be placed either with relatives, foster parents, in orphanages and with adoptive families. The support of caring others is of significance during survivors’ recovery from loss. “Other people could provide a safe, protected environment within which openly to explore the traumatic experience” (Janoff-Bulman, 1992: 173). Various literature supports that even in the past, internationally and in Africa, the raising of orphans has been both a collective family and the community’s responsibility (Love Life Magazine, 2001:11; Kalemba, 2001: 2; Drake, 2001: 1 and 2; Children’s Rights Centre, 2000: 7; Jinhyung Chu, 1996). Refraining from looking after an orphaned child is universally regarded as socially and morally wrong. This was more prominent in African countries, Black communities, in particular. It has been believed that an orphaned child does not undergo much change when in the extended family because there are many aunts, uncles, mothers, fathers and grandparents who can

take care of the child. Love Life Magazine (2001:11), notes that “ in South Africa because of disturbed communal life caused the legacy of apartheid, this tradition of extended family is likely to be weak as compared with other African countries”.

The circumstances are not only related to the country’s former system of governance (i.e. the apartheid regime), but are also socio-economical in nature. There is increased psychological stress and feelings of inadequacy, especially among parents who are poor, unemployed and find themselves parents of children who are not their own. This results, in some cases, in the bereaved children in their care becoming depressed. In the case of informal settlement like Inanda, in this study, the financial constraints in families, and the housing conditions (a lack of space) also force relatives to leave their children in orphanages or to give them up for adoption. For this reason, then, we find most of the children that are separated from their siblings and families, speak of painful experiences, and have particular types of attributions for events and for how they cope with their new “families”. In order to voice their experiences and knowledge, children need a discursive environment that is comfortable and safe. Few of the children interviewed felt that they had this sort of environment in their new homes. The interview arrangements were an attempt to offer opportunities, if brief, for them to speak in safety and with a caring response.

2.3.1. SOCIAL SUPPORT

Social support involves the support the majority of people get from friends, neighbours, clergy or physicians in times of psychological distress. Social support emphasizes the availability and quality of relationships with others who provide resources in times of need (Lindzey, Thompson & Spring, 1988: 571). The essence of social support is that it

gives one the confidence that there are people out there who will respond positively to you and will help. Loss through death does not only affect the individual but also those who are around that individual and in the community. Therefore the quality of the relationship with different structures of the society is very important for a child to develop and become a responsible independent adult. Also, social class helps one to understand the person's personality with reference to the group to which he or she belongs. The patterns of behaviour develop as a result of social class in the sense that children define different situations in ways that are socially inscribed and this determines how they respond to them. The community, school and home or family are the structures that the growing child becomes familiar with, and identifying with, in order to cope with life challenges. Therefore it was important to include these factors, in considerations in the study, and find out how much influence these factors have had in the lives of the children interviewed.

2.3.2. THE COMMUNITY

The bereaved needs the understanding and the support of the community. In the moment of greatest distress, the care, support and sympathy provided by the community comforts the mourner. When explaining the importance of the role that is played by the community in the life of an individual, Engelbrecht and Lubbe say:

The community influences the development of a child. The child accepts the codes of behaviour of community, standards, norms and values. He adjusts to their habits and customs he shares their attitudes and opinions; and, he feels obliged to protect and promote their interests (Engelbrecht & Lubbe, 1981: 7).

Some studies reveal that in most countries, communities act responsibly about taking care of orphans. For example, in Europe taking care of orphans is considered to be the public's duty (McKenna, 2001). Elsewhere, religious groups such as at Buddhist temples and Catholic churches in Korea also raise orphans (Jinhyung Chu, 1996). And in Malaysia, they often prefer to have children cared for by the extended family or a close friend (Cindy & Abdullah, 2001).

In societies where extended families are the norm, there is far more mutual aid and a number of adults on whom children can depend. In most cases, orphans who are left with relatives in the extended family system are not formally placed. This in turn creates financial problems since social welfare refuses to be involved in assistance. Medora, Wilson and Larson (2001) add that, for some parents, parenting becomes so stressful that they abuse their children. In other cases, non-relative foster parents are entitled to more public benefit than are kinship caregivers. Whatever benefits are available depends on whether the child has been formally placed by child welfare or by informal arrangement.

For most children, and certainly for younger ones a nuclear family setting in a private household is thought to be the optimal environment, that is, where children are not with their own family, then foster parents and adoptive families are usually preferred to group setting (Harding, 1996: 169-170).

The ability of an individual to solve ongoing problems can potentially be improved through helpful interactions with other persons. These supportive functions may be provided by close relationships, that is, spouses, family and friends or by professional helpers. "At present, a model of self seeking based on distinctive properties of close relationships and social support functions seem to provide a useful approach to understanding self-seeking as it typically occurs in community settings" (Ford & Snyder,

1987: 43). Informal support can also be of help to children because even a conversation with a helpful person can reduce distress.

2.3.3. THE FAMILY

Families are the most of the important social environment that either facilitate or hinder the development of social competence in young adults (Gullotta, Adams & Monte Mayor, 1990; Booth, 1975; Hemmings, 2001; Griessel, 1990). According to Harding (1996:174) the teaching of children takes place at home. Living with caring parents teaches children how to love and to be loved. Home it is where a child expresses himself or herself, a place of belonging and the embodiment of personal and family history. The absence of an attachment figure is traumatic and is experienced as anxiety provoking especially in a new and strange environment.

Therefore, as is the emphasis in attachment theory, “parents are the most important attachment figures for children therefore any intervention which aims to help children should start within the family” (McKay & Adlam, 2001: 31). Parents and care-giving adults are important to children so that their self-confidence is not harmed. Thus MacKay (2001) argues that, “the primary task of attachment behaviour is to get close to one’s attachment figure in order to experience safety and security. It also depends on how that attachment figure treats the child for attachment to develop because children have different styles of attachment.” Harding (1996) also states that there is an assumption that the family is not just a biological unit but a social or psychological one as well. “The important characteristic of family care can be created between adult and children who are not biologically related”. (Harding, 1996: 170). Children in foster care are faced with

many changes to which they are expected to adapt. For example, there is a new home group, different living conditions, authority figures, rituals, attitudes and behaviors of members of the family.

2.3.4. SCHOOL

Engelbrecht and Lubbe (1982) describe the school as the broader environment that a child enters. He or she experiences many influences and develops socially accepted behaviour. It is at school also where a socially adjusted child learns to form new relationships with new people apart from his or her family. As he or she develops into a complete person, he or she also develops skills through interacting with others. At school there are teachers and heads of the institution that the child encounters, and through communicating with them can form acceptable relationships. The school introduces the child to the wider society where there are new patterns of authority and new possibilities for forming relationships (Booth, 1975; Griessel, 1990). Rogers support this view when he contends that:

A fully functioning student is aware of both his limitations and potentials and does not fear expressing himself either negatively or positively, is constantly learning how to learn, and is capable of adjusting to new situations without merely conforming (Mwamwenda, 1995: 343).

Factors in the school environment can play an important in the orphan's happiness or unhappiness. Some schools are more effective than others in helping pupils to achieve success. It depends on the type of teachers and the learners the school has, and how their working relations influence the children's school performance and prevent psychological problems and facilitate mental health. Orphans are at risk for not gaining affirmation of

their positive qualities and abilities. School is possibly one arena where a child deprived of a sense of belonging and worthiness, can compensate for these wants through personal achievement. Schools should be seen as institutions that allow for the development of a child and that participate in bringing about a just society. “One of the main functions of the school is to transmit important aspects of culture from one generation to another” (Berry *et al*, 1992; 308). The absence of family does not necessarily have to mean that a child also has an absence of a sense of community and culture.

A school cannot succeed unless it is linked with a learner’s family. Behr *et al*, (1986) support this view by explaining the importance of the role of educators in this way:

Teachers play the role of parents while children are in their care. They should note that the ‘whole child’ comes to school. That is, he comes from the family, a community, a society, and a deep understanding of what he is up to that point in time is very important (Behr *et al*, 1986: 28).

The individual teacher’s personality and attitude towards children play a role in motivating them. In studies of personality Mwamwenda (1995: 322) argues that “the home and school and other social forces influence the development of personality either positively or negatively”. It must be remembered that each and every child is unique and that s/he must be treated with respect regardless of who he or she is, and where he or she is from. Orphans have left their home environments and are living with new families and others in orphanages which demand a lot of social and emotional strength to adjust to after loss. Therefore it will be of importance for schools not to discriminate against orphaned children because they are also members of the community and of society. The

attitude towards orphans is important because as Carlson explains: “Most people, when given the right environment, are hard workers talented, creative and productive” (Carlson, 1998:139). Neff, (1993) contends that communication between the school and the family is deteriorating. It is believed that when building links between school and home it is the school that needs to take the initiative by calling to see the parents in the home. It would be interesting to investigate the interaction between schools, orphanages and foster homes. The cultures of school and of the family can easily be transmitted from generation to generation, and a relationship developed through understanding each other when communicating.

Research has demonstrated that failure experiences do not affect subsequent performance if subjects receive either prior or intervening positive feedback (Snyder & Ford 1987). Therefore amongst the many skills required by teachers is to foster in children the quality of perseverance and enterprise, together with abilities to work co-operatively and to accept responsibility. Orphans, in particular, need to acquire these abilities if they are not to succumb to feelings of failure and ultimately not to find a secure place in society.

2.4. BEREAVEMENT AND ADAPTATION

Coming to terms with the death of a loved one is always traumatic and painful, and we have our own ways of dealing with grief. According to Atting (1996), bereavement is described as “the state or condition caused by loss through death”. And, grieving and mourning are: “coping responses to the deprivation and disruption that enter our lives when we are bereaved”. Webb (1993: 8) defines grief as a process rather than a specific emotion, like fear or sadness. The psychoanalytic definition of mourning describes it as:

“the mental work following loss of the love object through death” (Furman, 1974: 34 quoting Freud, 1915/1957). Different people react to bereavement in different ways. In an article, Maoulianiti-McGregor, argues that “the bereaved need and want to talk about loss including the most minute details connected to it and that sharing diminishes it” (Maoulianiti-McGregor, 2001). The most important fact to be considered is that every individual grieves in his or her own way and that alone needs to be respected no matter how much longer grieving takes. Some bereaved people feel hurt if no one wants to acknowledge their loss.

Culture affects and shapes how grief is experienced and expressed. Cultures, in most African societies, promote the idea of not talking about the dead and not to call them by name. Certain words are used in case there is a need to mention the name of the dead using the prefix “umufi” meaning "the dead" and then the name follows. For others it works and for others it does not, especially when there is no one to listen to if one wishes to share his or her experiences.

Even though for others the funeral helps to bring about some acceptance but various factors in our environments can prolong grief and make it more difficult (Maoulianiti-McGregor, 2001: 134).

Callander (2001) when discussing grief, agrees with Maoulianiti-McGregor:

Understanding the pattern of grief can be useful in these situations. The “grief cycle” consists of four stages which may take months, even years, for a bereaved person to work through. The reality of death sometimes sinks slowly (Callander, 2001: 82).

Pincus, (1974: 254) contends that where rituals are being observed during and after the funeral mourners feel less isolated. Berry *et al*, (1992, 303) confirm this view when they remark that an important aspect of belonging to an ethno-cultural group is the sense of attachment to or identification with its members. Therefore the environment that facilitates social interaction to reach meaningful reality needs to be provided where past experiences could be shared, interpreted, negotiated, defined, and redefined as proposed by the constructivists.

Bereavement in childhood could seriously affect children's development. It is important for them to resolve their emotional issues during this period if these are not to intrude in some way in later life. Orphaned children want to be perceived as strong and report that they hide their grief. Most children grieve as adults do. Gillis (1994) states that, children mourn or grieve the same way as the adults; they go through the period of denial, anger, grief and apathy. Adolescents are driven by physical and emotional changes to develop independence and confidence; death temporarily suggests the opposite, that they are weak and helpless (Children's Rights Centre Magazine, 2000: 14). After loss, adolescents tend to show great lack of trust and to feel inferior. Death can be so isolating, therefore sympathetic people from the family and in the community can help adolescents to adapt to the situation. Welcoming a bereaved foster child into a home demands commitment, emotional involvement and work from foster parents in a number of ways. For instance, it is necessary to find effective parenting strategies for the individual child and to work and integrate the child in the family.

Increased psychological stress reduces caregivers' ability to provide the most effective response for dealing with children's behaviour and increases the potential for dysfunctional parenting. African societies are subjected to rapid change through the effects of HIV/AIDS epidemic and there are many children who are left orphaned. Some of the placements of these and other orphans are informal and foster parents or relatives are not known to orphan organizations. The socio-economic status of families creates problems with care of these children because of poverty. Orphans in such circumstances have to adapt no matter how non-optimal the support.

Cleiren (1993:78) argues that "personal control influence adaptations after loss". He further says that "low internal-control individuals react with more depression to loss than those with high control". Children respond in different ways to placements depending on what experiences that child has in life and how socially and emotionally is he or she developed.

Children's responses to their placements, their emotional and educational progress and their ability to cope with new social roles are very much part of the care process and children's careers in care are shaped as much by adaptations as by resources at hand (Thorpe, 1994: 32).

Lindsey, Thompson and Spring (1988:6), support Freud's idea that "behaviour is motivated by thoughts, images, and memories of which we are unaware". It is common that individuals unconsciously use defense mechanisms to protect part of themselves from painful or unacceptable memories and desires. According to the theory of "anxious avoidant" attachment style, in orphans there is a rigid defense against feelings of hurt,

neediness, dependence and vulnerability. This could lead to serious liability in adult life because an adult using these defenses will find it difficult to empathize with others (Mc Kay, 2001).

Some children lack the verbal abilities to explain what troubles them, express their thoughts, feelings and other reactions, or state what their needs or hopes are. This demands the ability for the child to be confident enough to know himself in order to know what are his or her needs and the needs for others. This is a process that Weber explains as self-perception. He defines it as “the process that involves learning about ourselves, and figuring ourselves out; in the same way that we try to understand others” (Weber, 1992: 55). The use of diaries to write about one’s feelings, thoughts and ideas is one of the methods proposed by discourse analysis theorists. Potter and Wetherell describes discourse analysis as:

A theory which is concerned with what people do with their talk and writing and also with all sorts of resources that people draw on in the course of practices; how discourse is constructed to perform social interactions; and the treatment of the content of what people say or write (Potter & Wetherell, 1995: 80 - 81).

2.5. MOTIVATION FOR SUCCESS AND FAILURE

The truth is that life is not going to accommodate any of us by giving us fewer demands, less traffic, people who are easier to get along with, or a smoother path towards success. If we want a different experience in life, a more peaceful outlook we are the ones who must change and change our environments (Carlson, 1998).

Engelbrecht and Lubbe, (1982: 90) define motivation “as that aspect of behaviour that is directed at pursuit and achievement of goals”. According to Mwamwenda (1995) motivation can be viewed as “a situational and temporal state that depends to the nature of the environment for stimulation”. Our needs serve as the source of motivation. For the orphaned children also motivation is directed by what they need in life. Those with a positive attitude, despite the loss of parents will manage to develop useful behaviour through allowing their needs to be made known in the environment. Carlson (1998) suggests that what needs to be done to succeed is to work hard and to persevere. In his view, he notes:

With a plan in mind, the sky is the limit. As long as you can visualize a way to implement your plan, your dreams, however big, can become a reality (Carlson, 1998: 208).

The behaviour of an individual can be either extrinsically or intrinsically motivated. A child with a negative attitude is poorly motivated and his interpretation of his experiences is poor. Environmental conditions also facilitate motivation and perception. Even for a child to do well at school, a motivating factor influencing his behavior is needed. A stimulating environment is very important for the development of acceptable behaviour. The attributions depend on the perceptions of individuals and knowledge of what is perceived. Since perception involves interpretation, if an individual is negatively motivated then he or she will never be able positively to interpret what is perceived, especially using words. The important factor in motivation is for an individual to be responsible for whatever happens in his or her life.

2.5.1. Achievement Motivation

Louw and Edwards (1998: 444) describes achievement as “the stage to accomplish something difficult, to overcome obstacles to obtain the high standard”. There are so many factors that could affect one’s desire to achieve success. These factors could sometimes be intrinsically or extrinsically motivated. For some orphans it could be easy for them to work hard to achieve for the sake of pleasing those who are offering them help but, for others, the need to achieve would be motivated by the satisfaction they would like to achieve. Other factors that could affect achievement motivation could be environmentally based. For example, socio-economic status, unemployment, housing conditions and many other negative factors.

Poverty surely is a factor that results in distress (Wong & Duffy, 2000:98; Love Life Magazine, 2001:8). Further, this condition compromises the well being of all family members. For orphaned children in informal settlement and in the orphanage in the same area, this may disturb the child’s school, work performance and family relationships. The availability of the right environment and the knowledge of past experience interpreted meaningfully through social engagement, cannot inhibit the child’s behavioural development, success in life and academic performance. If the environment were not conducive to development, the child would then lose self-confidence and regard himself or herself as a failure. Neff (1993: 133) argues that “failure is an event not a person”. Henry Ford as quoted by Neff (1993:139) further states that “failure is an opportunity to begin again more intelligently”. The allocation of meaning to reality is a responsibility of the child himself and if it exists leads to self-confidence (Griessel, 1990: 57). What is required, as discourse analysis theory emphasizes, is for knowledge and experiences to be

shared and be socially constructed. By so doing the child can learn to communicate his feelings, thoughts and ideas.

Depressed persons are routinely described as passive and unmotivated. Snyder and Ford (1987: 114) state that “research has shown that depressed persons perform poorly on a wide variety of cognitive tasks and in social interactions”. Orphans’ attributions can be mistakenly interpreted if their perceptions are stereotyped because perception theory states that only what you perceive is what you observe. This fact is also in support of Heider’s views about the “lay person” in attribution theory when he argues that people will attribute the cause of an action to internal factors or external factors (Foster & Potgieter, 1991). It is only through the discursive context that what is observed can be understood and meaningfully analyzed.

2.5.2. Learned Helplessness

According to “learned helplessness” theory, “when an individual is exposed to and perceives a lot of relationship between his or her responses and outcomes, this produces an expectation of future non- contingency” (Snyder & Ford, 1987: 83). This expectation interferes with the ability of an individual’s ability to initiate things for himself or herself and also the ability to perceive response outcomes. Death or loosing a loved one is a traumatic experience and it needs a lot of time and understanding to adjust. This adjustment may even be difficult for foster parents, orphans, and those who take care of orphans in an orphanage.

Some of us may remain in grief for fear that if they stop longing for those they have lost, they will stop loving them. In children, loss often disrupts or undermines the development of self-confidence, self-esteem and identity (Atting, 1996:90). Some feel helpless and need to learn that they have choices in response to choice less events. Most of information about ourselves comes from others, by considering their words and actions towards us. Weber (1992:52) sees this as in accordance with the social comparison theory when he describes it as “a theory about self- concept that focuses on how comparison with others influences our beliefs”.

2.6. LITERATURE FOR METHODOLOGY

The following literature (Harris, 1986; Tavis & Wade, 1995; Bell 1987; Ary, 1996; Lindzey *et al*, 1988; Wiersma, 2000; Burman & Parker, 1993; Smith *et al*, 1995; Kopala & Suzuki, 1999; and Shaughness & Zechmeister, 1994) was found to be helpful in the sense that it allowed the choice of tools that were needed for the results of this study to be reliable and valid. Literature from these sources allowed for informed steps to develop this project. Even though it was hard to get more sources that deal with handling of this type of project where transcriptions, coding and translations needed to be done, only the two sources that were obtainable were of great help.

2.7. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It was incredibly important to use different theories in order to get the sense of what the children had to say and felt about their situation as orphans. The “attachment theory” was considered to be relevant in this study because, in this theory, the early attachment of a child to an adult or caregiver determines the success of the future relationships that a

child could have. Therefore when a child experiences cold and unwelcoming treatment, he or she is likely to develop this type of attachment behaviour and social relations.

Literature on attachment, (Pillemer & McCartney, 1991; McKay & Adlam, 2001; Santrock & Bartlett, 1986 and Louw & Edwards, 1998), proved that secure attachment allow the infant exploration and independence. With the understanding that the absence, unavailability unresponsiveness and hostility in the attachment figure could be experienced as anxiety provoking and traumatic by the child, the attachment theory help as a guide to gather the type of attachments these children had with their parents and how were they coping or going to cope in the new relationship with new caregivers and peers. In Bowlby (1953) as quoted in Louw & Edwards (1996: 494) it was also believed that attachment should be specifically made to a mother before a child could develop attachment to others.

Because dealing with loss and bereavement is a difficult thing to cope with, the “bereavement-theory” was used and it enabled me to understand the stages of grieving that these children were still in. In Kubler-Ross’s theory she tries to make people understand the stages that the dying person undergoes. Through the understanding of these stages she believes that it make it easier to understand the dying person’s feelings and how to react on them. Some of these children were taking care of their terminal ill parents and should they have been aware of the stages of dying their behaviour and feelings about the events would be sometimes different. Also the stages of grieving which were established in some children were obvious through the use of the bereavement theory. Pervin and Oliver (2001: 11) note that,

Each culture has its own institutionalized and sanctioned patterns of learned behaviors, rituals and beliefs. This means that most members of a culture will have certain personality characteristics in common.

In this way bereavement theory shows how different people deal with grief and how to show respect to the dead and the rituals practiced concerning funerals and mourning.

Also because children when explaining about their coping strategies and their feelings through what they experience, they had to use some attributions. Therefore the attribution theory was used since it stipulates that it is a process that explains events and the behavioural and emotional consequences of these explanations. Heider stressed the importance of acknowledging the person's explanation and understanding of events and behaviour. He strongly believed that people act on the basis of their beliefs (Forster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991). This also emphasises the uniqueness of people and how they perceive and attribute their experiences and feelings differently. The attribution theory allowed me to found out exactly on what did the children attribute their behaviour and events that they were experiencing happening to them.

“Discourse analysis theory” was also the most important theory that was considered to be used since it suggests that in order to get meaning of what is spoken or written it is through discourse. Potter and Wetherell (1995:80-81) contend “the discourse analysis is concerned with what people do with their talk and writing and also with the sorts of resources that people draw on in the course of these practices”. In addition to this is how the narratives and texts are interpreted and treated in order to meaningfully construct the knowledge.

It is through the discourse that we construct knowledge. Knowledge is not passively received but it is built up and developed to higher levels by engaging in challenging experiences, activities and discussions. Therefore the “constructivist theory” enabled me to understand that throughout the interaction with orphans, knowledge would be developed and learned through social engagement. Since the constructivism theory suggests that students are active learners and are able to set goals, recognize and solve their problems, this theory was going to help find out the possibilities in these children in doing what it suggests.

“De-constructivism” that is, looking for gaps and silences, was obvious in some of the children’s responses where they were trying by all means to be strong. Some were saying that loss did not affect their studies whereas in normal circumstances a person, who is emotionally and psychologically disturbed, is likely to perform badly academically (Wong & Duffy, 2000; Gaudery & Spielberger, 1971; Milling, 2001). Positive parental involvement or an adult involvement results in positive educational outcomes and therefore parents act as motivational agencies to their children in whichever way they provide that motivation for instance, rewards or praise. De-constructivism helped to find out the real motivational factors in these children. Also through de-constructivism self perception, that is, knowing yourself was attained by some of the children where they tend to fake their emotions. The aim of using all these theories concurrently was to try to be genuine in understanding how the children felt and to be sure that they also genuinely express their emotions. Weber (1992: 55) supports this idea by referring to the self-

perception theory as “the theory that suggests that in making self-attributions we consult our present and remembered actions and try to perceive and explain”.

CHAPTER 3

3. RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the processes in collecting and obtaining data from the sample is presented. The discourse analysis approach, was seen as suitable to support the research design chosen. Discourse analysis methodologies enable us to investigate people's actual (linguistic) conduct in naturally occurring social intercourse (Drew: 1995). Thus, this the discourse analysis theory used together with semi- structured interviews (with few participants) allowed for interviewer and participants to engage in conversation and interpretations using language and experiences thereby learning to understand different meanings and feelings. Potter *et al*, (1995:81) support this view when they argue that discourse analysis is concerned with how discourse is constructed to perform social actions. Therefore the type of study, data collection tools, how sampling was done, textual data collection and analysis and the whole procedure is explained.

3.2. SAMPLE SELECTION

Qualitative studies use only a small number of participants who are especially chosen because of their ability to describe a particular experience clearly and in detail (Louw & Edwards, 1997: 37). Also, knowing that discourse analysis and the process of transcriptions and coding are extremely labour intensive, 10-orphaned children were selected for participation in the study. Qualitative research is concerned with peoples' perspectives of the world; insights sought rather than statistical analysis. The present study is primarily a qualitative study. In a qualitative study individuals or groups are

studied within their own environments in an attempt to experience reality from the participants' frame of reference Kopala & Suzuki, (1999:64). Also, qualitative methods collect information in the form of words, which give us an in-depth understanding of what people experience. The data obtained from qualitative studies is from open-ended questions presented in interviews, questionnaires, and observations. Since this is a qualitative study then, which seeks to obtain data by asking participants to tell us about their perceptions, experiences, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours, interviews were used as the primary source of information. Diaries were also prepared for children to do on their own time.

For these interviews, one school, in the Inanda Central Circuit was randomly selected from the list of 12 schools; and one orphanage, which is in the same vicinity as the school. This was done using a random sampling number table. Five orphans were randomly selected in an orphanage and 5 orphans out of 16 from the school but who are living with foster parents or relatives were also randomly selected. This provided the researcher with 10 orphans, 4 boys and 6 girls. The age differences and grades were considered in both institutions. All these children were in the early adolescent to late adolescent stage.

This sample was considered as adequate for reliable data analysis. Munn and Drever (1990:11-16), indicate that random sampling methods are based on the laws of probability and involve the selection of sample which will allow equal chances for all cases or events in the total population included.

3.3. DATA COLLECTION: RECORDS AND DOCUMENTS

For these interviews, one school, in the Inanda Central Circuit was randomly selected from the list of 12 schools; and one orphanage, which is in the same vicinity as the school. This was done using a random sampling number table. Five orphans were randomly selected in an orphanage and 5 orphans out of 16 from the school but who are living with foster parents or relatives were also randomly selected. This provided the researcher with 10 orphans, 4 boys and 6 girls. The age differences and grades were considered in both institutions. All these children were in the early adolescent to late adolescent stage.

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3.3.1. INTERVIEWS

Although conducting interviews is a procedure that is both demanding and difficult, it was the most appropriate choice of data collection for this study. While loss is very painful and distressing, the motivation of this study was to get rich descriptions of orphans' emotions, thoughts, and coping strategies. During the interviews, data was obtained through questions and answers between the interviewer and the participants. Shaughness and Zechmeister (1994: 302) and Ayr (1990: 418) explain that, in a personal interview, a respondent can obtain clarification of unclear questions and the interviewer can pursue incomplete or ambiguous answers to open-ended questions. Interviews allow

the researcher active intervention and also to communicate with all participants as unique individuals for easier comparability of responses.

3.3.2. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

After contemplating the considerable advantages of semi-structured interviews as compared to structured interviews or any other method of collecting data, the first option seemed better suited for this study. When compared to structured interviews which call for the interviewer to stick closely to interview schedule, semi-structured interviews allow for greater flexibility and produce rich data by allowing the interviewer to pursue areas of interest that arise throughout an interview (Smith, 1995: 9).

The researcher needed much interaction with participants since they had to explain in depth their attributions for various life events or consequences. Also, the participants had to reflect back to their past experiences thus evoking powerful emotions. Current and unresolved traumas, their beliefs, perceptions and attitudes were tapped. This called for the display of warmth, empathy, genuineness, and the development of close relationships and trust between the interviewer and the participants.

Detailed interview schedules with questions to be asked followed by probes and follow-up questions were constructed (see Appendix B). The questions and answers used in the interviews served as a guide, allowing for the easier development of transcriptions and interpretation of data when doing discourse analysis at a later stage. These open-ended questions covered a range of topics that allowed the participants freely to elaborate on

their views about how they are coping as orphans. This freedom helped in the establishing of rapport with the researcher (Smith, Harre & Langenhove, 1995).

According to Smith *et al*, (1995:12), Louw and Edwards (1997: 40-41), Ary (1990:51-54), Richardson (1996:134-135), the advantages of the semi-structured interviews are *inter alia* the following; they are conceptualised as an arena in which one can identify and explore the participants' interpretative practices, and not as instruments for assessing a veridical account of something that happened elsewhere or a set of attitudes and beliefs; They allow participants to provide in-depth information about their lives, which is valuable for qualitative research. Since this is a qualitative study all the above advantages were relevant to the use of interviews especially in this study.

Although there are advantages of semi-structured interviews, the researcher was aware of these important disadvantages. Any other type of interview whether it is structured, semi-structured, informal, retrospective, all have their advantages and disadvantages.

According to Smith *et al*, (1995), Ayr (1990) and Richardson (1996), some the disadvantages of semi-structured interviews are that an interaction may be swamped by the interviewer's own categories and constructions; and, that this form of interview reduces the power the investigator has over the situation. To overcome this problem the researcher made it a point that the participants said as much as possible in their responses. The investigator retained some power because the schedule with the guiding probes always amplified the explorations. In semi-structured interviews open-ended questions are used and are guided by the schedule that specifies themes and topics or sub-themes. These themes and sub-themes were perceived to central the study because when doing

discourse analysis seeks themes or issues almost the same category as a way of constructing coherence or selecting patterns of meaning. In this sense this made the data collected more manageable and helped in producing ideas in a logical and appropriate sequence.

Having an open “plan” is one of the disadvantages of semi- structured interviews in that it is more expensive, time consuming and takes longer to carry out. This study, however, was planned thoroughly beforehand, as the researcher was aware of this disadvantage. Although there are these disadvantages the advantages outweighed them in a sense that this method was the most suitable for this study. This might be harder for discourse analysis but it can be conducted this way when and if time is planned for interviews. This number was seen as adequate for the interviews since in a discourse analysis we want to get participants to generate different conceptual and discourse patterns. A variety of differences and similarities were sought.

3.4. TAPE RECORDER

Because when conducting interviews, an interviewer is faced with multiple situations to pay attention to, a tape recorder was used. Tape recording allows a fuller record than notes taken during the interview (Smith *et al*, 1999: 18). Knowing that recording can be intimidating to participants, and that participants may not feel comfortable, permission was sought before and the importance of recording explained.

Also, because this is a qualitative study, tape recording allowed for the reproduction of data in the form of transcripts. These in turn, facilitated the interpretation of the

perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, feelings and actions of the orphans, with regards to coping strategies.

Using a tape recorder, then, allowed for a complete and accurate recording of the respondents' exact words. Tape recording provided time for important aspects in an interview like the non- verbal behaviours, for example, facial expression and gestures observed to be noted. Ary, Jacobs, and Rasavieh, (1990) summarises the advantages of tape recording by saying that taping has an obvious advantage of recording the subjects' responses verbatim, along with the added advantage of freeing the interviewer to participate in the dialogue rather than having a concentrate on note taking.

3.5. DIARIES

Diaries were prepared for all participants both in an orphanage and at school. The first page contained a very brief demographic sketch of a child that is, name and surname, gender, age, date of birth and grade (see Appendix C). The second page had seven questions that served to guide them in their responses on a daily basis for two weeks. There were also optional questions where they had to draw a picture about the school or a write a short poem about school on a certain day.

The purpose and the value of using the diaries especially in this study was:

1. To give the participants time to express their feelings or emotions (positive or negative) of which some are difficult to explain or describe about day-to-day encounters.

2. To give them the opportunity to reflect back on each day's experiences and to record all that in written form.
3. Responses in a diary are thought out thoroughly and sorted out carefully using the choice of written text or suitable language that is not that spontaneous as it can be in a verbal conversation. This allowed for triangulation, that is, comparison of responses that transpired in verbal responses of the interview.
4. The degree of openness and ease encouraged when writing or the level of creativity using language as well as consistency in managing day-to-day experiences.
5. Lastly to validate what is said with what is written.

In general, diaries helped to deepen the understanding of daily experiences and emotions experienced. These experiences may sometimes be difficult to be understood and explained fully when verbalised in discussions or interviews. Therefore the diaries provided the researcher with different ideas as to how participants organize and construct their versions of language in her absence and influence. Also the researcher needed to find out how responsible these children are to do given task on their own without being followed up.

Louw and Edwards (1997:407 & 413), argue that language production involves generating speech and writing to communicate with others. Further they say that human thinking and language have the power to create and communicate new ways of experiencing. Therefore, since discourse analysis requires careful reading and interpretation of text, diaries allowed for the language production of which is an important aspect of the thinking process. Also, through writing diaries, the skills of writing and new insights can be learned and developed.

3.6. TRANSCRIPTIONS

As indicated in the Introduction, since interviews were used in this study, it was also necessary to make transcriptions from audiotape (see appendix E). The transcriptions are needed for repeated readings in the discourse analysis (Burman & Parker, 1993). Also reading and writing the transcripts is helpful as it familiarise the transcriber with the data as he goes over and over reading and writing it. Having an idea that transcription are extremely time consuming and difficult to do, for this study they were of vital importance and they had to be done. Knowing that transcripts are expensive to develop but a vital commodity, they were written clearly and the sentences were in a double spacing in a page (Burman & Parker, 1993). Questions were printed in bold so that they were easily differentiated from the responses. It is better also to have the interview recorded because when reading the transcript one could be confused by the words and when there is that conflict, one can always go back and listen to what the participant may have meant. This is especially so in the case of this study where transcripts had to be translated from one language to another. What is read sometimes differs from what is said and in other instances these two complements each other.

3.6.1. TRANSLATION

As was briefly mentioned in the Introduction, the interviews were conducted in IsiZulu since the participants were second language speakers and they also preferred to be interviewed in their mother tongue. Thus, for the purpose of this study, the transcriptions were first developed in IsiZulu from the tape recorder and thereafter translated into English (see appendix E). This also created some problems when translating because in

some cases I could not have exact words that were true reflection of what children wanted to say. For instance, to mention a few examples, in English, one could say “I don’t like” meaning “angithandi” in IsiZulu. When one stresses the degree of not wanting a particular thing, there is no word that can express that in English but that can only be understood when a person expresses it and uses the word “angifuni” in IsiZulu. There are some words that were used like the frequent use of “sometimes” or when one begins the sentence with this word it is not a problem in IsiZulu of which might be in English. Also the use of the word “crime” in English does not sound like a very serious and big incident that is for immediate and great concern like it means in IsiZulu.

3.7. CODING

The transcripts were read for emerging themes. Where the children responded in almost the same and different ways for one response. In other words, if the response was identified mentioning the same issue to most children it was made a theme by calculating the number of times the same issue appears on each respondent’s transcript. The themes were coded to make it easier for the researcher to identify (see Appendix D).

There were three main themes with different sub-themes in each. The themes and sub-themes were highlighted and marked in different colours and patterns using codes. These codes made looking at the many pages of transcript easier and manageable. Grouping the participants’ responses was done leaving out that which was not needed or did not apply to the themes or sub-themes. A coded schedule was made with crosses marked against participants’ names where relevant instances were identified in their transcripts (see Appendix G). This takes a lot of time to read through large amounts of text and coding

but it is worth doing it for it paves the way to discourse analysis (Burman & Parker, 1993).

3.8. ETHICAL ISSUES

Firstly, informed consent was sought from participants, their foster parents and the orphanage director. The purpose of the study and how it was going to be conducted were discussed in advance. Permission was sought from participants to use a tape recorder. Confidentiality and privacy was discussed, to assure them that even though the conversation was going to be tape-recorded it was only for the purpose of the study. It was going to help the researcher when doing transcription. Their names were not going to be used in the study, only pseudonyms. Because of the nature of study (which deals with death), some painful experiences would have to be taken to a professional counsellor or social worker, where I did not feel competent to handle them. Permission from the children for this step would be obtained. My academic supervisor, herself a psychologist, would also be consulted. The children's rights were considered in the sense that they were respected and their feelings catered for. This idea is supported by Reynolds (1982:6) when he says, "Perhaps most common rights are the rights accorded not to be deceived, to privacy, and to be treated with dignity and respect; [even though] the potential for permanent physical harm is usually remote". Furthermore, privacy and confidentiality were also maintained by keeping all of the documents, that is, the consent letters, diaries, questions schedules, audiocassettes and transcriptions safely in a cabinet.

The first step was to send letters seeking permission and explaining the study to the Durban North Regional office of the Department of Education, the Inanda district superintendent, the school, and the orphanage in Inanda (see Appendix A). A list of schools from the Inanda Central circuit with a total number of schools was requested. Because this was a comparative study of orphans from the orphanage in the Inanda informal settlement, only the schools which were in this informal settlement and surrounding areas were identified. Random sampling was done resulting in one school being selected as an institution to work with.

The school had a total number of 17 orphans in Grades 9, 10, 11 and 12; that is, 6 boys and 11 girls. In order to be certain that the sample was not biased, the orphans were randomly selected. All the orphans participating in the study were gathered in the school computer laboratory for privacy. An hour was set aside for introductions, to let the participants feel at ease, to explain the need for the study, and to stress the importance of their participation. They were given consent letters, which were clearly explained to them, so that they could help their guardian/parents read the letters, and consent or not consent (see Appendix A). Days and times for individual interviews were arranged. Two weeks were used to conduct the interview, that is, on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursday. These days were chosen because at school they have a supervised hour set used for study and meeting with different educators for academic problems. This was to avoid disturbing lesson time.

The 5 orphans from the orphanage, that is, 2 boys and 3 girls were also randomly selected. Factors such as gender, age and grades were considered so that the orphans living with relatives could be chosen to match along these lines. A letter was given to the

orphanage director to consent to the researcher working with the children. A hall was secured for interviews. The interviews were conducted on Saturdays. The first meeting was with all 5 participants. An hour was set aside for introductions, getting to know each other, to talk about the study, its values and what was expected of them as participants. Four Saturdays mornings were set aside for introductions and interviews. On each Saturday two interviews were conducted according to the children's choice. Each child's interview was recorded using a battery-operated audiotape with ninety-minute cassettes. The institution furniture was used and arranged in a comfortable way suitable for an interview but not intimidating for children.

Within the first sessions, in both the orphanage and at school, all 10 participants were given prepared diaries. The procedure for diaries was explained, and the guiding questions that were to be answered were clearly defined. The children were given two weeks for writing about their perceptions of their day-to-day experiences including their academic performance and their feelings. After two weeks for completion, the diaries were collected. Participants who did not finish were given another week. It was important that they all do their diaries for consistency.

The interviews were planned to last about 45 minutes per participant. An interview schedule was used to ask questions and probe where necessary. Producing the interview schedule in advance helps the interviewer to be familiar with the questions. Also during the interview concentration is more on the participant's responses and non-verbal cues because these are important in communication (Smith *et al*, 1995).

All interviews were tape-recorded and were conducted in IsiZulu. After the interviews were finished transcriptions followed. First, the conversations were transcribed in IsiZulu, and then translated in English. The transcripts were then read over and over to identify themes, and from themes were coded. Three themes were identified, that is, the “loss”, “trust” and “motivation”. Sub-themes emerged relating to the main theme. Analysis and discussion of the data followed.

CHAPTER 4

4.1. THE CHILDREN'S VOICES

4.2. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the children who were interviewed are given a voice by presenting short and sometimes lengthy quotes from them, and by constructing or exploring possible meanings for what they had to say. It is not easy to understand how another person feels when you look at him or her; it is easy to mistake what you have observed. Here we are trying to deconstruct words and phrases to arrive at understandings of what the children had to say about their experiences of loss, and how they cope with their circumstances as orphans. The words in the "texts" provided by the children, together with my notes on their facial expressions and non-verbal "language" are interpreted for themes and sub-themes.

Because the children come from two different environments, namely, an orphanage and family settings, interwoven with comment on the various themes are issues pertaining specifically to these environments. As indicated in the Introduction, the researcher was keen to find out whether orphans benefited more from family intervention than from being placed in an institution. Common wisdom would suggest that family care is inevitably better. As will be shown this was not always the case. In fact of the ten orphans, some children including a child I have called Nonto, mentioned that living with relatives was very difficult and she found an orphanage far better in all respects. She said that she was abused and not loved because she thinks they did not care.

4.3. THE ORPHANS SPEAK OF LOSS, TRUST AND MOTIVATION

From the children's "texts", three major themes emerged around loss, trust and motivation. Under each theme sub-themes that relate to these themes were identified. The discourses mainly give voice to feelings and thoughts about death, survival and hope. When a person loses someone their trust is often shaken, and then there is a need to get motivated again, to pull things together. Loss is something experienced by both adults and children. Children are helped to heal if they have opportunities to share their feelings with other members of the family and friends, and to talk about the deceased. They also need comfort and support as well as encouragement so that the new life can begin. The orphaned children interviewed had not previously been given a chance to speak about their feelings of loss. In many cultures, adults usually hide their grief from children resulting in the children being unable to share their feelings. Adults forget that when a child is born, he or she is born with open possibilities (Griessel, 1990:36). In other words, one can be disappointed by loss but with help can learn to trust again through motivation, towards life and other people. Children model their coping and understandings on adult behaviour. Without positive role models the task towards renewed life after loss is so much harder, if not impossible.

4.3.1. THE THEME OF LOSS:

Under the theme of loss I have incorporated the theme of "moving", "absent father", "death" and "separation from siblings". In this section, then, I shall present a number of extracts from the texts generated in dialogue with the children, which explore what becoming an orphan has meant to them. What is noticeable throughout the texts selected

are a common vocabulary, common preoccupations and common avoidances or silences about experiences too painful to express.

4.3.1. "Moving"

I have included "moving " under the theme of loss because at birth a child is born to parents in a home where he or she feels secure and loved. The parent's responsibilities are to accept their children as they are and to raise them to be responsible adults. When parents die obviously the orphaned child needs to be moved to a place that provides him or her with secured shelter and adults who can be trusted. Every child needs a family with which he or she can identify and be identified. Moving home for these children was not by choice but was decided upon by force of circumstances. Children are the responsibility of adults until they have reached adulthood. It is a difficult thing to leave the environment with which you have become familiar and have grown to love. For children, losing parents brings anxiety about what is going to happen and, in some cases, means that their family is going to break up. Some of these orphaned children are lucky enough to be taken in by orphanages and others by foster parents or relatives. Some are fortunate to move with their brothers and sisters; others are separated from their siblings.

What follows are some of the children's responses to my question: "How did you come here, if you can remember"? Two of the children in an orphanage replied:

THULI: In 1995 my mother lost her job because she was sick with TB, she felt sick... Yes (sighs). And then eh...I was forced to come and live here in this home.

LINDA: My mother did not have enough money to feed us and pay for us at school. Because she wasn't working, she negotiated with granny for us to stay here.

Similar responses emerged from my question, "Will you please tell me about yourself i.e. whom do you live with, when it started, why"?

KHOSI: Before I was living at Inanda Stop 8, and then my mother... my mother passed away and I stayed with my uncle. This year I stay at Kwa-Mashu because they asked me to come and stay there because it's my home, my father's home.

PHUMI: I have recently stayed there, Amatikwe. Before I moved to Amatikwe, most of the time I stayed with my mom and my brother at Stop 8. When my mother felt sick, my mother's sister looked after her. So when my mom died, 'my aunt' took us to her home.

SLIE: We have been staying at granny's place with my mother.

Then when my mother died I went to stay with my aunt (my mom's big sister)... My aunt said I must come and live with her ...she took us to her home.

In the above five selected texts, the analysis suggests that all these children were obliged to move. For them the trouble started when their mothers "felt sick", "lost their jobs" and in the end died. So the death of the parent marked the end of home with their immediate families and having to move. Perhaps what eventually happened to the children in their new homes was signalled at the start. For example, the sort of arrangements made for the children who went to the orphanage are captured in words like "forced" and "negotiated" referring to the dealings with the orphanage mother. Even if adults had "negotiated", the children had no say in the matter. It is clear that it was circumstances that compelled them to live in the orphanage. For instance, Thuli and Nonto said:

THULI: My mother lost her job because she was sick... and then eh... I was forced to come and live here in this home. She was sick in hospital and I was here already, until she passed away.

NONTO: I moved from home to stay with my aunt, who promised to help me in connection with going to school

(education)... I had to move to this orphanage again because I saw that life was going to be better here and it is because I get what I need (but not everything).

Even though Nonto saw that life was going to be better in the orphanage, she was aware that she was not going to get everything that a child may get from his or her parents. It is not easy for children in an institution to get individual attention and love even though it is their home. It is also amazing how Nonto preferred to move from her relatives to an orphanage. Others in the orphanage have relatives but we do not hear very much about what initiatives they took to make sure that these orphaned children were taken care of, after the death of their parents. The children's perception is that relatives did not want them, or that they themselves did not want anything to do with them. Despite not liking the idea, going to an institution (the orphanage) seemed the only suitable option.

THULI: From the relatives I have never bothered to ask for any help. I can't live with a relative.

LINDA: ... because the situation at home was not right at all... my mother used to leave us alone behind to find temporary jobs... my aunts and my uncle only looked after and took care of their own children only.

NONTO: She was not treating me all right, always shout at me and scolding me. She made me do all the housework even in the mornings and I sometimes didn't go to school in some days and I was always late for school.

MANU: I do not know my relatives especially on my father's side.

RICK: I do not have relatives, brothers or sisters. I don't know whether they are there or not or is it me who don't know them?

From these responses it is clear that some of these children have bad experiences in staying with relatives. For example, Nonto experienced abuse and she sees orphanage life as being far better than living with relatives. Also those who are living with foster parents and relatives when responding to the same question of moving home, they used words

like "asked me", "took us", "must come". These phrases suggest that a vulnerable, and desperate child was not left with any choice, but to agree to whatever decision was made for him or her. When you have lost a loved one, you are only concerned with what is going to happen to you. Shelter and survival are the most basic needs of a human being, and so it was with these children. This is supported by Maslow, a psychologist, when he argues that survival needs and safety are the most basic of all the needs and they include needs for food, water, sleep, shelter, a job and feeling protected from anything that might do physical harm (Steinberg, 1994: 28).

There was a complete and sudden change in the family environment and identity for all the children. For those in the orphanage they had to live with the stigma of living in an institution, and be regarded as "orphans" by others. Some of them even mentioned that they do not like being called "orphans". They expressed regret that they have no choice but to live with the label and try to adapt to new situations and environments. For each one of these children being an "orphan" had different meanings, and each had thoughts about how other people perceive them. They chose to describe the situation and meaning around an "orphan" in the way each one wanted or made him or her feel comfortable. Some of them said this about being an orphan:

LINDA: ...The fact that I'm living in an orphanage... they look down upon you and this home, they say we starve here.

MANU: It doesn't make me feel right, because as I'm here I've got people around me like granny who is a parent to me because if not I would be in the streets without a place of which I call home.

THULI: Not really bad. In most cases, one cannot differentiate some children from me ...Yes, there are teachers who know my situation. Most of them know because we are from the orphanage, and we all had not being paying school fees on time, they know us all from this home in that way.

It seemed to be better for those who live with relatives because they assumed that it is not easy for an outsider to identify the child as an orphan, unless that person had been told. The children seemed to feel comfortable having their status not known to other children, especially because they do not know how that status will be perceived. This is why they disclose their situation only to those they trust and who are close to them.

NJABS: There are children whom I'm close to who know that I'm an orphan...(teachers) I do not think they are aware that I'm an orphan.

KHOSI: No, not all the children. Only the ones who sit next to me in class. They knew ... when we chat they talk about their parents and then I will tell them that my aunt is not my biological mother even though I call her mom.

PHILA: I stay here with my cousin brother in my uncle's house.... My friends know that I'm an orphan... they just treat me well and they feel for me.

For some children many problems are attributed to moving even though for some it was for the best. Those that said moving disturbed them explained it in the following ways:

MANU: It disturbed me a lot because I would be in higher classes, as it is now, I would be doing Grade 7 this year.

THULI: I failed Standard 8. I was already here, but my mother was very sick...in hospital.

KHOSI: Yes, it disturbed a little. At home we were many children living together...Now they sometimes leave me alone at home to go and drink alcohol.

It seems that interruption to the children's lives occurred on all levels, including school and getting schoolwork done. Fortunately, there were also some positive effects of "moving" for some of the children. For instance, Phila, Linda and Nonto explained the situation like this:

PHILA: I used to be in one school near home... that school ey... teachers there... ey...didn't care. The love for school there was all gone. I gain a lot now... I think I have a goal in life now than before.

NONTO: I saw that life was going to be better here and it is because I get help that I need (but not everything).

LINDA: ... she made a right decision by bringing us here. I see a difference between staying at home and here at the orphanage... the situation at home ... in some other times it was very bad They used to fight a lot sometimes. Also discrimination.

For these children, and the others who saw "moving" as a positive event, they seemed to think that it made them grow into responsible people. Others, however, became used to conditions of noise and abuse. For example, they cope with alcohol abuse, terrible housing conditions and sometimes verbal and physical abuse in their new families. By being without them, they will get what they need, for instance, "a future", so they stay.

KHOSI:sometimes they leave me alone at home, to and drink alcohol... sometimes I'm disturbed by the noise from the radio when they are drinking. Sometimes I ask them to chat softly or to turn the volume of the radio down...Oh-God, everyday- you know what - EVERYDAY!

PHUMI: She does not talk like a parent to a child. She uses certain words or type of speech/language. She has that in her that I have to see for myself. That doesn't make me feel good... it hurts me a lot. When she talks she says: 'It's because I did not give birth to you. If you were my real children I would be doing this and that ...(cries).

The above explanations suggest that the situation for these children is not psychologically healthy, and would in some way interfere with their intellectual and academic performance thus threatening their future. In the case of Khosi it is obvious that even though she tries very hard to work under noisy condition and live with the situation, the potential was high for negatively affecting her school performance. She has no control over an adult stepmother and her friends whose behaviour disturbed her. The emphasis on the word "EVERYDAY" suggests the frequency of the disturbance with which she is compelled to live. She wishes "to God" that all these things would go away because she cannot change the situation. Also, Phumi becomes very hurt by the way her aunt uses abusive language. To her, her aunt sounds as if she does not sympathise with her although she is grieving the loss of her mother. During an interview, she cried bitterly showing how deeply she was hurt.

One boy, Njabs did not move at all. He was staying with his family at his grandmother's house. So when his mother died, nothing compelled him to move because people there were still willing to support him. For him it is not bad at all. He is in the same environment with the same people. It is his mother who has gone. When describing the condition at home Njabs says: "I grew up there at granny's place. It is a real home. It is as if my mother was still there with us".

Support from family members helps in the acceptance of death. Grandparents, especially grandmothers, are usually caring and helpful to their grandchildren. Their role is closer to the role played by mothers in the lives of their own children. The children at orphanages,

who have so many things to worry about, find it hard to accept that people not their parents or families decide on their well-being.

4.3.2. "Absent father"

On the previous theme of "moving" not a single child in his or her responses mentioned the role played by the father after the death of the mother. Children need a father and a mother to feel safe so that their confidence is strengthened. A father is important in the life of the child. The father's interest and consistent participation seems strongly to contribute to the development of a child's self-confidence and self-esteem (Billar, 1974:54). Children like to admire their parents and to be admired in turn. If there is no closeness created, where the father is not there to support the child, there will be no trust of the world. To most of the orphaned children when asked about the parents they talked about their mothers. It was amazing to see how easily a child becomes orphaned when the mother dies. This is so obvious in their responses to the question about their fathers, and that is the reason why this sub-theme "absent father" is included. From the text gathered what was alarming was that almost all children mentioned how their fathers did not involve themselves in their lives. To get to know about both parents I had to ask about their fathers. For the children parents seemed to mean only their mothers who had been part of their lives in all respects as a responsible parent. Amongst the responses to my question, "What actually happened to your parents (your dad)?" the children said:

THULI: I grew up not knowing my father. I only saw him... a few times...I heard that he was knocked down by the car at Clairwood and he died on the spot.

PHILA: In fact when I grew up my father was not there, so I really don't know whether he died or not.

SLIE: I don't know my father. I have never known him.

LINDA: My father died long ago...

NJABS: They are both dead now...

KHOSI: My mother died first and then my father died only last year...I grew up not knowing him.

RICK: I do not know my father whether he is still alive or not and my mother too.

Parents are important attachment figures for their children and this applies to fathers too, not only mothers. Although the role played by the mother will always be most important, for these children nothing about loss is overtly associated with their fathers. When interviewing the children, it was interesting to note that two children mentioned the death of their fathers with an "I don't care" attitude.

Thuli, as a 17-year-old girl and Khosi the same age, are adolescents. It is understood that adolescents at this stage undergo or experience changes in life that are, physical, social, psychological and emotional. Mwamwenda describes an adolescent as neither a child nor an adult, but on the threshold of adulthood. Another characteristic he adds about adolescents is that they tend to be idealistic and look for perfection in themselves, parents, society and others (Mwamwenda, 1995:63 and 72). Therefore to reason with them sometimes becomes a problem where they see themselves as adults, and yet they are expected by parents or adults to act like children. These two girls perhaps did not show any concern about their fathers because when they look at them they found no signs of being a "perfect", responsible dad of whom they could feel proud. They said this about their father's death:

THULI: I heard that he was knocked down by the car and died on the spot.

KHOSI: He fell sick from headache and then died... when I heard I just said Oh... Because my mother also fell sick...

The supposed absence of feeling was not only the case with these children. Even the others seemed without feeling because their father had never become part of their lives. When one child, Khosi, was asked about the death of her father, she immediately switched to the death of her mother, how it happened and how it affected her. Khosi also mentioned how she managed to be with her father after the death of her mother. She attributed moving to her fathers' home as a force of circumstance because family members were telling her to go so, and that her father would support her. She even mentioned the difficulty she experienced trying to accommodate the stranger (man) in her heart as a father. She said, “ I was calling him 'my dad...' as a means of respecting him as a man, not as in 'my dad'”.

She continued saying that it confused her to know that this was her father. The situation is confusing to children especially when for the child's entire life only the mother had been available. Then suddenly a man comes to tell him or her that he is their father. Even if the relatives know the truth about his existence it does not change the fact that for the child it is confusing and frustrating, especially if he or she does not have a choice of association. The situation was different for Phumi who desperately wanted her father to accept her and her brother too. They have all along been under the step-father's supervision and support. Now that their mother is dead, they are with their aunt whom they do not like. She said this about her biological father:

PHUMI: He is aware - he knows very well that I am his child – but he cannot say or do anything about it, only my aunts and his mom seem to be in charge of this whole story. He does not bother. I belong to my biological father's family.

For Phumi her father is being responsible in making decisions about them, but other members of the family dictate to him. She sees this as not being firm and is concerned for her father. She attributes all the pain and suffering that they are experiencing at her aunt's home, to the lack of her father's care and love for them as his children.

When her mother died, Manu also had a father who was still alive. He was aware of the situation but did not come to the funeral, and did not bother making arrangements about how she and her siblings would be cared and supported. She said: "What I know is that my father is still alive right now, but he lives at Umlazi with my step-mother and 'his children'.... I do not know my relatives especially on my father's side... I'm all right here (orphanage)".

She uses the words "his children" implying that to him they are not his children because he did not bother about them. For those whom he loves and cares for, he is still with them in a home in one of the townships. It is also common to be jealous and protective of what is their own. For children, especially at Manu's age (14 years) lots of stories about parents are told and discussed. She is amongst younger children at a primary school. An orphanage for her is her home and is comfortable away from the relatives whom she said she does not know. Even if she knew them, they are not family to her because her father did not see them as family and as "his children". In a way Manu is furious about what her father did to them and she does not want anything to do with him or his family. Her response shows that she is comforting her pain by focusing on the new home and parents. For all the children it seemed as if they did not depend on their fathers and they have had

to learn to live without their support or presence. Some children, however, appreciated the role played by their step-fathers in their lives:

KHOSI: My step-father did not discriminate me from his children... Nothing made me doubt that he was my real father.

PHILA: Although my mother was living with my step-father, she was helping me a lot".

PHUMI: My step- father believes that I'm his only child. In that home they all know that I'm his only child because even if I go to the farms, my uncle, (ubabomncane) gives me money.

The support and love these step-parents have given to the children was noticeable and important. As care givers they have played a very important role and are loved. This is especially the case with the children where "irresponsible" biological fathers are still alive. It is clear also that if an adult shows love, warmth and support to a child, the child bonds with that adult as if he/she were a real parent to him/her. Grimwood and Popplestone argue that personal power resides within a person. It is the power people have to get on with others, the ability to persuade and to build high quality relationships (Grimwood & Popplestone, 1993:125). The orphans are from a society where the extended family is the norm, and within which there is some kind of mutual aid and adults on whom children can depend.

4.3.3."Loss"

Losing someone you love is a painful and traumatic experience. Children and adults sometimes experience disappointments and failures. These can be beyond their control and cannot always be overcome. Children from the orphanage and those living with foster parents spoke in the interviews of their experiences of loss, how they felt and are

still feeling about the death of their parents. Death is an difficult incident even if a loved one was sick for a long time. When it comes, it is so painful, so final, and very hard to believe. Caring for orphans is one of the greatest challenges in South Africa. By 2005 there are expected to be around 1million orphans under the age of 15, rising to about 2.5 million in 2010 (Henry Kaiser Foundation, 2001:10).

The orphaned children explained the death of their mothers by starting when their mothers felt sick. The emphasis on their mothers being sick suggests that the pain started at that time. The fear grew as they became aware that they would be losing her. This is how some children explained the situation leading to the death of their mothers and how it made them feel:

THULI: I wasn't with her when she was very sick...I felt very bad... my God... Hmmm... I couldn't accept it.

PHUMI: She was sick the whole year...I used to look after her. I felt very bad...(cried).

KHOSI: I last saw her alive and not suffering at all...(looking down and lowered her voice). I did not even got a chance to visit her in hospital...

PHILA: On the day she died, I was the last one to see and talk to her. Hmmm... ey very bad (pause for a moment withholding tears).

NJABS: She was in hospital... I visited her once... and I find that she was very sick on that day. I felt very bad...but... I can say I felt very bad.

MANU: She was shot by criminals to death ...I think these people were sent by those who hated my mother. I felt bad...

When speaking of loss and death, it appeared that for these children it was better to be there when the mother was sick. For Phila, it made him so proud to be the last one to talk to his mother shortly before she died. This is a blessing and is among the best memories he has of her. Manu does not believe that any person can just kill another person if there is no hatred. So that is what she believed her mother was shot and killed for. This was a

very traumatic experience for her, for the mother to go to work and not come back alive. Sudden death is very traumatic, unlike when a person is sick and the family gets prepared when they see that things are getting worse. Manu is full of hatred. She said this about the people who killed her mother and expressed anger towards males: "I wish that they should also die. I did not forgive them. I do not like male people; they like to abuse you sexually".

The people who killed her mother were males, so she has lost trust and love for men. She fears them; to be left alone with them might lead to sexual abuse. They are not to be trusted because even her father left when she was very young. They are not "human" if they could do so terrible a thing as killing her mother. Sigston et al, in their definition of child sexual abuse confirm Manu's interpretation of men and sexual abuse when they describe it as: "An abuse of power, authority and trust, where the child is sexually abused for the adult's sexual gratification (Sigston, 1996).

For the children who had not been part of the last days or moments of their mother's life, they fervently wish that they had been. This wish suggests that they would have accepted the death more or would have seen it coming. The funeral marked the acceptance of death for others. Thuli said that the day of the funeral was when she started trying to accept her mother's death: " I cried...I had to believe she was gone forever". She began to search for good things that will make her mother alive in her thoughts even though she knew very well that she is gone forever. She continued saying: "My mother was a kind person whom I should follow in her steps".

The presence of other people and the speeches at the funeral about her mother comforted her, and helped her believe that not only was her mother dead, but also that she has been a very good mother. She talked about all the advice that her mother had given her, and how she now follows the guidance. This seems to make her feel good knowing that she is doing what her mother wanted. In other words, honouring the advice is making her mother happy. At the same time, she feels love from her mother because she is respecting her even though she is not alive. This suggests the strategy she uses to keep her mother's memory alive and how that makes her feel safe and happy.

On the other hand, Phumi was devastated when her mother died. She was hoping that she would become better. What worried her a great deal was that she had sacrificed a lot taking care of her mother. When her mother was sick in hospital she had to look after her one-year-old baby brother who was also very sick. The baby died first and her mother followed. She was in pain and hurt especially after everything she had done for her mother, and she still died. Sometimes death brings uncertainty about why things happen to some people. This was the situation with Phumi where she cried bitterly about the death and the sickness of her mother

This is why, when asked if there is anything that has changed in her life, since the death of her mother, Phumi answered: "I just foresee that in my life there are so many things that are going to change and that I'm going to suffer a lot".

Her response revealed that she has anxiety about the future and that she has lost hope that anything better would happen. For Phumi, death has taken the best things from her, even though she had tried very hard to save them. She is still in the stage of grieving considering that her mother had died about two months before this interview.

The children who live in the orphanage seemed not to have as much difficulty talking about the death and loss of their parents. There is a support system within the institution, and many of the children have similar experiences of death. It is believed that "grief shared is grief diminished". Children from the orphanage sometimes get visits from NGO's, people from church organisations and social welfare. Thus, they get the opportunity to talk about their past and present experiences.

Sometimes they are provided with workshops on topics that help them talk about some of the things pertaining to their parents' death. The children who live with foster parents do not get the opportunity to talk about their loss, even if they want or wish to. Some children explained that the interviews were the first time they had the opportunity to open up about the death of their parents. Even if I tried to go on with other questions, they would go back to the previously asked question as long as it touched on the topic of their mothers. The way they spoke at length about their mothers showed that they desperately missed them. They wanted to talk about the good and the bad things in their lives with their mothers. Psychologically this helped to relieve the tension and unresolved emotions and grief felt by the children. The responsibility and the closeness they had with their mothers were important and the appreciation expressed was focused on this. When the question arose about what they miss about their mothers, or when they miss her, they answered:

PHUMI: Most of the time I stayed with my mom.... And then she felt sick... we were with her all the time i.e. myself and my brother.
SLIE: ... you see, most of the things that I wanted was easy to get because I was alone, but now where I'm staying we are many and what you need have to wait until it can be given to all of us.

PHILA: Although she was living with my stepfather but she was always trying to help me.

KHOSI: My mother was working and was always with us.

THULI: She used to come home when she was off duty at her work place or during month ends. During the holidays I used to go to her work place and help her...

These responses suggest how reliable and trusted their mothers could be when they were needed. Even when they were happy with new husbands this did not make them forget their responsibilities as parents. They were also available to their children, which provided a good feeling of being loved and accepted.

4.3.4. "Separation from siblings"

Ideally, within a family people become one, and understand one another very well. If the family breaks up, it is a very painful experience to all members of the family. It becomes so severe for children because they lose their attachment figures. When death takes the parents, the younger children depend on the older siblings to look after them. For some children, when they spoke about the question of siblings, they were clear to explain their position of birth, and the age of their siblings. Most of the children emphasized that they are the eldest in the family, and also that they are responsible for their brothers and sisters, now and in the future. They chose to repeat the words "younger" and "eldest" to clarify their position:

LINDA: ... Yes, they are also in this home. They are two boys. I'm the eldest.

MANU: I have got the other brother and one sister. He is in Grade two and she is in Grade four. I am the eldest.

NONTO: They are at the farm with my mother. They are younger than me.

Phila, a boy, who is 19 years of age, has sacrificed staying with other members of the family, so that his younger brothers and sisters could be safe with older relatives, like the grandmother. For him it did not matter how he made ends meet to survive, as long as his younger siblings were safe. To buy food and other provisions for himself, he works at the supermarket in town as a part time worker. To go and ask for things from his relatives is seen as a burden as he can look after himself, unlike his younger siblings who are still dependent on the guardianship of an adult. He said this about his siblings: “The other three live with their father ...the other two with my granny (my mom's mom). I stay with my cousin brother at my uncle's house”.

But it also depends on the situation, whether siblings are going to be together in new homes or not. If children have lost their parents and are separated from their siblings, they need to learn to adapt to new environments on their own, and anxieties accompany this particular experience:

THULI: I was here in this home ... my mother was staying with my sister Lindi only...

KHOSI: We are five and I'm the third ... the eldest died. Only one is still alive and then the other two, who are living at the farm and they are younger than I am. I miss them. It's a long time since I last saw them.

NJABS: We are two. My younger brother stays with my uncle at Kwa-Mashu. I live here at Glebe with my granny and my aunt with her children.

PHUMI: We were with her (mother) all the time, that is myself and my brother the three of us. So when my mother died my aunt took us at her home.

Again, birth order and the number of siblings are emphasized. The children's responses revealed that they miss their siblings and they sometimes worry about them as to how are

they coping wherever they are. Thuli's response shows that she worries about her younger sister because at least for her, when her mother died, she was already in the orphanage. She was used not being with their mother all the time compared to her sister who was living with their mother. This alone suggests that she worries about what is happening to her. Others are on farms where it is not easy because of disapproval by those with whom they are now living.

KHOSI: ... and I'll take my mom's children from the farms and stay with them. They are also my mother's children just like I am.
PHILA: I do not go there always. My grandmother is renting a one- roomed house where she lives there with my sisters. I do not want to be trouble there. And my granny...ey...drinks a lot.

Khosi is wishing for the right time to come when she will be grown up enough to provide for her younger sisters so that they will be together again. Phila does not like the condition of the room where his granny is raising his younger sisters. Because that is the only solution, he just takes it as it is. He hopes that when the time comes he will not have to trouble his grandmother, and will take responsibility for his siblings. At least for now, he knows that they are better with an adult. He mentions that his grandmother drinks alcohol and that worries him.

Two children in the orphanage, Manu and Linda, live together with their younger brothers and sisters. They are always together and, being the eldest, both of them are able to look after their siblings. When bad things happen they are able to defend and comfort them. Although they are together it is unlike at home. Perhaps they can even share the things that were happening at home, cry and laugh together. When children are young

they have a tendency to disrespect each other, and even have sibling fights. That does not mean that they hate each other, it is part of growing up. These petty misunderstandings are evident in Manu's response when talking about her future plans. This is what she said she was planning to do with her younger brothers:

MANU: Perhaps I'll move out and buy myself a house...When I'm gone I'll come and leave money for them with granny...I won't stay with them. You don't know them. Hey, those two, they are so naughty. They always fight amongst themselves.

Considering that she is also a child, her reasoning about her younger brother and sister is to be expected. Children always need an adult, who will listen to these fights and insist that they will be solved in the way that satisfies everybody. This shows that they are all loved and cared for.

4.4. THE THEME OF TRUST

Under the theme of trust I have incorporated the sub themes of "silenced emotions", "safety", "orphanage life" and "family life". In all these themes or topics there is expressed the need for "trust" in order for the children to feel safe and make progress in the environment where they are living. Also if a child feels safe and trusting, it becomes easier for him or her to express feelings or emotions. Griessel (1990:60) argues that trust is the fundamental characteristic of the child's way of being in the world. In other words, the trust and acceptance by parents in the family is the first socializing agency helping a child to develop a sense of responsibility and confidence. When a child trusts someone, he or she feels safe to unlock his or her emotions without having to worry about the safety and confidentiality of the matter at hand.

4.4.1. "Silenced emotions"

I have included "silenced emotions" under the theme of "trust" because every person experiences emotions whether young or adult, and most of us know what it is like to have to be silent, on occasion, about our feelings. Emotions can either be pleasant or unpleasant. Pleasant emotions amongst other things include love, joy, pleasure, trust and enjoyment (Engelbrecht & Lubbe, 1982:12). For some of the children who lost their loved ones, they are unlikely fully to have pleasant emotions. And, where there is no trust in a relationship, emotions will obviously be "locked" away. Children will not entrust themselves to adults if they feel that acceptance is not mutual. If it is, opening up is possible and there is valuable communication. An entrusted adult provides the child with chances to develop self-confidence. Emotions serve as the form of communication because how one feels sometimes can be detected by what is being said or done.

People with "blocked" emotions do not trust anyone or anything. They are afraid that if they do disclose their pain, their feelings will be exposed and used against them. Sometimes feelings are thought to be unacceptable to other people or will embarrass them. People also fear being seen as weak. For other people, emotions are silenced as a form of coping strategy or as a means to escape very painful experiences like death or loss. For instance, in Linda's responses one can see how he deals with his emotions:

LINDA: I don't believe in talking to someone about how I feel. I just keep it unto myself. It helps me. Even if I'm very angry I just keep quite. Most of the times I don't like to ask for help from another r person. People sometimes have a tendency to look down upon you, thinking that you are asking

for help just because you are a stupid, which I don't like...
to look like a stupid.

It is clear that Linda does not place importance on how he feels, and if he feels anything he prefers to suffer alone. He thinks that sharing feelings with people does not help him. That is his coping strategy, and it is for many of the children interviewed. It is not in Linda to expose or to discuss his feelings whether they are pleasant or unpleasant. He continued saying that he does not like to ask help from other people especially other children. He sees this as being a burden to others or as something that will allow others to see him as a stupid. He is very reserved, sensitive to how he is seen, and what is said to him. Nevertheless, given that he is human and needs others, he sees the need to interact with people. He said: "No, I just keep quite, but that doesn't mean that I do not talk or laugh with other people. Mind you, if you are a person you need to communicate with other people, your being quite must not indicate that you are kind of stupid or sick something like that".

Also, past experiences and the nature of our upbringing add to how we socially and emotionally develop. These affect us in the future in the way we behave and in our attitudes. The way in which others treat adolescents at home and outside home, and the way friends or peers behave, contribute negatively or positively to adolescents' self-concept. Mwamwenda supports these views and suggests, "If harsh measures of discipline are used, they pose threat to one's security independence and freedom (Mwamwenda, 1995: 67). He continues by saying that," Adolescents form attitudes towards themselves on the basis of what they are told about themselves (Mwamwenda, 1995:68).

Linda was brought up in an abusive home environment, where their mother left them with relatives who did not care. They had to look after themselves and to defend themselves all the time. He, as the eldest one in the family, had to protect his younger brothers.

Unpleasant emotions include amongst other things, anger, pain, sorrow, hate and fear. For orphaned children and people experiencing loss, these are the feelings that dominate their lives but, this does depend on how emotionally developed they are. For instance, when a person loses someone he or she loves and realises that the person will not come back; pain and anger are inevitably the result. When Khosi and Phila were asked about how often they think about their parents they explained:

KHOSI: It's something that I put aside in my thoughts. I don't want to think about it because I'm not going to change the fact that my parents are dead.

PHILA: When I'm alone I think about it always Even today when I think about it, you see, when you are trying to sleep...it comes back.

These two responses indicate that the children have different ways of coping and reflecting on life. Khosi said that she does not want to think about her parents, but that does not mean that she does not think at all about her parents. When that sort of moment comes, she silences her thoughts and emotions because she is aware that they are not going to change the situation. Compared to Khosi, Phila is preoccupied with thoughts of his mother. This can be interpreted in several ways: Perhaps he misses his mother a lot and likes to keep her alive in his thoughts, or that her death bothers him. It may also mean that her memory serves as a beacon or guide to keep him positively motivated.

When some of the orphaned children in this study were asked if they had anyone in whom they trusted to talk to about their feelings, they said:

THULI: I don't tell anyone. I don't trust anyone, because I'm afraid that she will not keep unto her. Sometimes I write about it in my diary...then I'm relieved.

PHILA: I've never talked about my mother, ... and I've never found someone whom trust to talk to about my feelings.

RICK: I don't tell anyone. People here at this orphanage cannot be trusted. But I think a lot most of the times.

These particular orphaned children have had to adapt to different new situations, and have unpleasant feelings as part of their lives. They, nevertheless, have to try and cope with them. Also, it does not necessarily mean that it is only unpleasant feelings that are not easy to talk about. For some of the children even pleasant feelings are suppressed. In some cases, the children feel actively silenced by their environment. It has been mentioned previously under the sub theme of "loss and death" that grieving and coping styles differ from person to person, and in the time needed to move past grief.

Both in the new families and in the orphanage, the children need to identify with a person whom they trust and can talk to. That person must show the child that he or she can be trusted. It is difficult for most of the orphaned children to trust. They fear that they are not safe and that their feelings are only safe with them. This is especially the case with the children from the orphanage, because there are so many children needing a confidante. The children are there because of similar painful situations. They struggle a great deal to gain the trust and attention of the adult orphanage staff so that they can be

listened to and feel loved, cared for and accepted. The children suggest that if one shows a "weak side", for instance, complain, cry or report how he or she feels all the time, he or she is unlikely to be noticed, or responded to. Therefore, they prefer keeping everything to themselves. For some people it helps to talk about feelings but for others it does not. While most of the orphaned children said that they do not talk about their feelings, these three girls, Slie aged 15, Phumi aged 17, and Manu aged 14 said:

SLIE: It does help me a lot because if I have anything to discuss, I do that with my cousin ... she is the person I talk to about my feelings.

PHUMI: I talk to 'my cousin', she asks me when she sees that I'm not all right and I tell him.

MANU: Yes I share my feelings with someone and it helps me a lot. ... I have 'a close friend' and I talk with her....

It is interesting to notice that the two girls chose to open up to their cousins and a friend. Perhaps when we consider the age of Manu, 14 years of age, it is still easy for her to openly communicate with friends. For those in the late adolescent stage, it is not. Slie and Phumi live with their aunts (mother's sister), and they do not share with them. Instead, they prefer talking to their cousins who are also young. This suggests that for adolescents, it is easier to trust peers than adults. When Thuli, Nonto, Manu and Linda describe themselves, they said:

THULI: I feel for other people. I'm short-tempered. I am emotional... most of the time it is easy for me to cry.

NONTO: I can say that I've got a good heart... I feel for other people who have problems.

LINDA: I'm a kind person who doesn't like to talk a lot. I'm a very quiet person. I really like to be quiet.

NJABS: I don't like to talk all the time. I'm a very quiet person.

These children used words like "feel for others" and "quiet person" which emphasizes that it is good to be quiet because it saves them from trouble. There are so many things that are real challenges ahead for the children. If a person is quiet, people usually feel for him or her and avoid conflict. And, according to the children, if a person is quiet, the chances are that sensible thinking will occur before conclusions are drawn.

4.4.2. "Orphanage life"

An orphanage is described as a residential institution for the care and education of orphans, but for some children it is not merely an institution but a home. Within a home there is a family. As family members, we support one another, give love and warmth, and help one another other feel psychologically, spiritually, morally and socially stable. According to some of the children, the orphanage, as a home, provides some of these characteristics. On the matter of being known as a child from an orphanage, Manu said:

MANU: I do not bother that much and I do not see myself as an orphan because I have got this home and people who look after me.... It does make me feel all right because I am here. I have people around me like granny who is kind of a mother to me, because it was not for this home then I would be in the streets without a place to call a home.

If it were not for the orphanage, Manu would regard herself truly as an orphan. It is interesting to notice how she used her staying at the orphanage to ease her situation. However, she also used phrases like: "I do not bother that much". At first she denied that being in an institution would have a negative effect on how other people see her. She is aware of the perceptions of other people about the institution, and the circumstances leading to children entering an orphanage. She tries not to take negative remarks into her

consciousness nor the stigma associated with orphanage life. Her perception is different because for her it is a home that provides something of value to her. She sees an orphan as a person who has no place to go to and who is wondering on the street not knowing what to do. Linda supports Manu's point of view, he said: "...I will never blame my mother because of the situation. She made a right decision by bringing us here. I see the difference between staying at home and here in this orphanage".

Linda felt more at home in the orphanage than with his relatives. His relatives' home was a source of trouble. There was not any warmth or support. He described the situation at home as very abusive and discriminatory. He and his siblings were not accepted as part of the family and were treated differently. He seemed very confident about life and his future as a result of living in the orphanage. He felt that his mother helped by placing him there. He said the following about his mother, and life in the orphanage with the orphanage staff:

LINDA: Hmm... yes my mother... I wish to thank her too much that she brought me in this home and here I get education and I have learnt so many things here. The relationship with orphanage staff here I can say it is good because we listen to them and they help us with some chores like cleaning and cooking.

Linda is a teenage boy, and like most boys, he does not respond to questions easily, explain in detail. For instance, when he used words like "I have learnt so many things here", he did not say exactly what those things were. And when he talks of the relationship with the orphanage staff members, he uses phrases like "I can say" which one can read more into or deconstruct. He possibly means that it is not what he is actually

thinks but for the sake of being positive, he responds that way. His responses and choice of words were different from the other two teenage girls to the same questions:

THULI: Life here is ... but...Nice...Shame. But, there are situations of which one need to be patient with because ... anyway you cannot live without painful experiences, ey...that is it ...But I can say it's all right to be in this orphanage or home.

NONTO: I saw that life was going to be better he and it is because I get help that I need (but not everything). ...It is because you know, here at the orphanage, there are those who are harsh and very quick to hit you especially if they know that you've no one to tell like your relatives i.e. your brother or sisters.

Nonto, who previously stayed with relatives, indicated that the stay was not exactly welcoming and warm, and found going to stay at the orphanage not easy. Nevertheless, she pointed out that as long a person knows what he or she is there for, and what is wanted in the end, then orphanage life is not so bad. The responses of both Thuli and Nonto reveal that there are things or matters that are not satisfactorily attended to in an orphanage. If they are to be happy and survive, however, certain things have to be overlooked or kept quiet about.

As teenage girls they are closer to the kitchen staff because they help there. The girls also agree in the way they explain how one learns to express oneself or make oneself heard, and how to respect the orphanage staff. For Thuli and Nonto, the person who knows how to defend herself and to express herself is the one who will survive and be listened to and respected. They both responded like this:

NONTO: Here at this home you learn to talk for yourself because if you do not, people will treat you like some kind of a fool ...relationship..its alright although sometimes you can see that sometimes it is not the same. It depends who you are... As for the aunts who help in the kitchen, they do not respect us. They talk to us any how and I don't like that.

THULI: If an adult says or do something to me of which I do not like or I believe is not right, I stand up for myself and tell him/her ... I tell him straight and politely. An adult always tells himself that he is an adult and that always expect that you as a child have to respect him forgetting that even if you are an adult you need to respect children so that they respect you on return.

Thuli and Nonto are adolescents and thus part of a group known for being driven by physical and emotional changes to develop independence and confidence. Adolescents want to feel in control and not helpless, and to have a feeling of belonging and to have values by which to live. For the two girls, the death of their parents denied them these achievements, and forced them to learn to be strong and survive. The situation also poses a challenge to the orphanage staff who need to understand that emotionally and socially adolescents depend less and less on their parents or adults, and that there will be much difference in opinion. So it may be concluded that much of what these girls are undergoing, in terms of control and independence, is not because they are orphans in an orphanage, but because of processes that would have unfolded with parents anyway.

Out of the five interviewed from the orphanage, there is one boy, Rick, who is 20 years old. Rick was abandoned when he was a little baby. His mother left him with the orphanage director (granny), as the children call her. His life has been in this orphanage since then. He does not know any relatives, his brothers or sisters. The only people he has ever known are the other children in the orphanage. Abandonment becomes a major issue during adolescence when the young person has a keen need to know his or her

roots. A lack of information on family members can be a source of pain. When he was asked about the life in the orphanage and his relationship with other staff members and granny he replied:

RICK: Our granny loves us the same way like a parent. She also shows us respect...I do not think there is any special love that I get from her ... although I still believe that I would have been special in this home because it was built or established because of me. I was the first child brought in this home, and I have lived here since I was a baby.

Although he cannot change the way other people feel about him, he has strong feelings that he is more important than the other children in the home. He is unhappy that this is not acknowledged and he is not recognised the way he thought he should have been. He thinks that the way in which his mother left him was bad, but is thankful that out of it something good emerged. The idea here is that perhaps if it was not for him this home would not have existed. So his presence here forms or marks the history of the establishment and that is very important. Nevertheless, he feels left out. He thinks he should be treated differently because for him this is his real home; he has not had any other home apart from this one, unlike other children, who had experienced family life.

The home influences the child's early experiences. Home is where a child is socialised into a culture's norms and expectations. It is meant to be a sheltered environment preparing him or her for the broader environment with its many influences and challenges. Orphanages also have in some way to provide this safe context for the children in their care. Unfortunately that is not always the case. Institutions remain just that, institutions, mostly impersonal places with little one-on-one interaction of staff with

individual children. Life in an institution is significantly different from family life. There are certain rules and practices that prevail in an institution irrespective of the children who live there. Families have rules and norms too but ideally these are modified to suit the needs of individual members. Children who go to an orphanage have to do the modification, or adjustment to life in an institution to make their lives worth living. When some of the children were asked about any good things the orphanage had done for them or taught them, Manu and Nonto replied:

MANU: I have learnt to read a Bible here and understand it, before then I knew very little about God.

NONTO: I used to fail at school and I used to repeat most of the grades. Ever since I came here, I have never repeated any grade.

Attribution theory describes the process whereby people construct explanations for events, and adjust their behaviour as a consequence of their explanations. The two children attribute important changes in their lives to arrival at the orphanage, and have adjusted according to their positive perceptions.

4.4.3."Safety"

Safety is the most important need for every human being. Maslow, a well-known psychologist, contends that safety needs are foundational and that the next level in his hierarchy after physiological needs (Steinberg, 1994: 28). He adds that we need to feel secure and free from danger. Having a secured home can fulfill these needs for the orphaned children. Shelter and feeling protected from bodily harm would serve to take much anxiety out of daily survival. Also a secured home is important for a child because it is the base from where he or she goes out into the world. Moreover, when things are not

going well, he or she will come back home and will find comfort, support and encouragement. Self-esteem stands a better chance of developing in a secure home environment. The capacity to communicate and share thoughts and feelings also emerges in an anxiety-free context.

Ideally, a comfortable home should be in a safe neighbourhood. The orphanage in question is in an informal settlement. According to the children's responses it was clear that life in the informal settlement is harsh and frightening. People feel unsafe on the streets and in their homes. Some of the orphans came from the rural areas. The rural areas are still regarded as better when it comes to safety than the location of the orphanage. Thus it becomes difficult for these children to settle down. Considering what they had gone through prior to arriving (the sick parent, the loss and moving) settling into a place such as the informal settlement was seen as an additional burden. It was a great challenge but it seems to children learnt to adapt.

All the children who were interviewed agreed that it was not safe where the orphanage is located. They wished that it would be moved to a safe area. They mentioned that there is much crime. Typical characteristics of life in the informal settlement are poor sanitation, pollution with waste, a lack of water, a high rate of unemployment leading to alcohol and drug abuse and many other dysfunctional behaviours. The children showed concern for younger children in the home, in that they see things that they should not at their age. Rick said the following about the situation: "It is not safe. Things like girls drink alcohol, little children will grow up and copy bad things..., which are not right. You see people fighting for no apparent reason anytime and anywhere".

An adult female, who is a granny to them, heads the orphanage. The boys make it a point that they take the responsibility of providing safety for younger brothers and sisters at the home. By doing this, it shows that they are responsible and express gratitude for the protection and security offered.

Orphaned children who live with foster parents had their former homes in the areas nearby. Not much in the way of physical dislocation was caused by going to new homes with relatives. The unfortunate reality, however, is that some expressed a lack of feeling safe in these new homes. Khosi said this about being safe in the area where her new home is situated:

KHOSI: ...new environment.... It disturbed me a little. At home we were many children living together. This side, it's me alone and his son ...sometimes they both leave me alone at home ...

It was clear that Khosi felt left out. When one is left alone at night in a house one cannot feel safe. Clearly then feeling safe is not only about having a roof over one's head.

Another child, Manu, came from deep in the rural areas, and by comparison liked the urban place in which she found herself. For her, tarred roads, electricity and water from the taps are so much better than what was available on the farm where she had lived. Nevertheless, considering the degree of crime around her new home, she agreed with the others that it is not safe.

4.4.4"Family life"

A family provides a child with both his physical and psychological needs. It is physical in a sense that, within the family there is life, people whom one lives with, share ideas, laughs and shares sorrows, complains and depends on (Griessel, 1989; Sigston, 1996; Behr et al, 1989; Mwamwenda, 1994). A family is a home with which one is identified. The family socialises the child from very young. The members of the family help the child through interaction and co-operation to explore and become familiar with the world. A child who is emotionally and socially developed, learns to cope with changes in life whether traumatic or not. For orphaned children, who moved to stay or live with new families, a strong emotional and social development is required for them to cope with drastic changes in their lives. When the orphaned children who lived with the relatives were asked about life with the new families, they described the situation like this:

NJABS: At my granny's place, I grew up there. There are no problems there. I'm just fine and ok there... It is a real home. It is as if my mother was still alive there with us.

SLIE: We stay as children alone at home... as children... there is no... my aunt comes back from work after six months. We are three; there are other children, when we come back from school we do some work.

PHILA: I live down the road with my cousin brother... in fact this is my uncle's house but he does use it.

PHUMI: I don't like to stay with my aunt, (angifuni). I really don't like.

Within a family a set of rules, rituals, roles, ways of communication and supporting one another evolve. Family members influence each other in many ways but if there is not much trust and love shown, then that family relationship is not accommodating and warm. This is especially so for an orphaned child who deserves and needs warmth,

support and acceptance. It was thus not surprising to find out that Phumi did not like staying with her aunt because she said this about her:

PHUMI: My aunt's manner, approach and attitude towards us hurts me a lot. When you try to air your views to her, she just asks you that why don't you do as you please or your own way... my aunt is not a kind of a person whom you can discuss things constructively with her...

Living with her aunt does not make Phumi feel the warmth and acceptance that a family is supposed to provide. "Families high in support express unconditional affection for and actively nurture members. On the other hand, unsupportive families do not effectively demonstrate its valuing of its members or sensitivity to their distress" (Medway & Cafferty, 1992: 142). Phumi's experience of her mother's home is totally different from what she is experiencing now since she was very close to her mother. The closeness she mentioned involved common qualities of families, that is, respect and a unique climate of relationship. She said: " We were with her all the time i.e. myself and my brother, the three of us".

Phumi earlier made it clear that she had no hope of her aunt changing her attitude, and therefore she stressed that she really did not like to be a member of that family as she did not feel like accepted. Griessel (1989:29) suggests, " The security of the home is of the utmost importance or significance in the child's life". Phumi is not secure and always wonders what next she is going to be accused of each day. In contrast, Njabs felt like he was in his "real home" and said it felt like his mother was still there amongst them. It is because of the love and support that his family gave to him.

The size of the family matters a great deal where some children used to be part of a small family in their former homes. They have to learn to take turns in their new homes if they are to be provided with anything they want, especially in poor families. Other children from large families had to get used to comparative loneliness when going to their foster families.

SLIE: What I miss about my mother is that you see, most of the things I needed, it was easier for me to get because I was the only child.

KHOSI: At home we were many children living together ... this side It's me alone...

Unlike Slie, Khosi complained that she is all alone in her new family because there are no other children and she feels lonely. Loneliness in adolescence is associated with a variety of unpleasant emotions, including depression, anxiety, and low self esteem and this deficiency is more acutely perceived in adolescence than at any other age (Medway & Cafferty, 1992). Most of these children are adolescents, and changes in family size can make them feel rejected and unacceptable, resulting in lowered self-esteem.

Phila mentioned that the type of the dwelling that he lived in was in a very bad condition. It is a mud house that is falling apart but which he maintains as his only place to live because he has no where else to go. Khosi, on the other hand, described the condition of the new home as the "best", and is well furnished compared to her former home. Both Phila and Slie are living in homes where there are no adults on a daily basis. Therefore, they are often alone, which does not make them feel at home. They have to look after themselves during the absence of adult relatives.

4.5. THE THEME OF MOTIVATION

Engelbrecht and Lubbe (1989) state that motivation leads to satisfaction or the pursuit and achievement of goals. Behr *et al*, (1986) also support this view when they say that, "A pupil who is highly motivated has a high need to achieve". A motivated person has to make decisions and choices that he or she may not regret in future because motivation consist of deciding what to do and working out how to do it. Motivation is very important especially for a child who wants to learn. It goes hand in hand with a sense of responsibility. Children are different in their abilities, some strive to do well, work hard and pursue their studies with enthusiasm. One who is highly motivated has a high need to achieve in life or at school than other learners. If one is motivated he or she is able to direct and carry out the activity or task to satisfy some need. For instance, for the orphans, the goal to finish school motivated them to do well and to work hard. For Thuli, 17 years of age, Phila, 19 years of age, and Rick, who is 20 years old, perhaps their stage of development and maturity, prompted sensible responses when questioned about motivation:

THULI: I would not have come here in this orphanage if I was not serious about school.

PHILA: I try to see things for myself because if I don't do them, nobody is going to get them done for me.

RICK: ...I motivate myself - it comes from me, nobody pushes me to do my work... Years are going by and it is painful to fail and repeat the same Grade...I work hard so that I succeed.

Their responses show how they are motivated to go on and succeed in their lives without having to be pushed by anyone. They are in the late adolescence and early adult stages of development, and they are aware that they are approaching adulthood that demands independence. Thuli's response suggests that under normal circumstances, an orphanage

is not a place one would happily choose to live in. It is only “serious” people who choose to stay there. The alternative, of course, is the street. Therefore, because she has a goal in life, she is motivated to live there. This suggests that for a person to be motivated, he or she must have a goal, and must be interested in what he or she does because interest gives rise to "motivation".

To see if the children were motivated enough to do things for themselves, school work in particular, dairies were given to record their daily feelings and reflections about school and the relationships in their homes. By so doing, it became easy to observe their degree and state of motivation in doing tasks without being supervised or pressured. One who is interested in a certain thing will tend to give more attention to the task or attempt to give his or her best performance.

The children in the orphanage had no one pushing them because they seemed to know for themselves that they should have a goal for the future in order to succeed. It is a great decision to take to live in an institution and make it a point that you will stay there until you finish school. In other words, the children had internalised their mothers' faith in them prior to her death, and were able to be positive about the future.

Since children differ in their motives for learning, some of the orphans did depend on others to help them or served as a source of motivation. Most of the children in the orphanage believed in the support system of others. Perhaps it is because an orphanage is their home, they look upon those who are older as their models. When responding to the question about their support systems, Manu and Nonto said:

NONTO: The boys who are at the college and the other children who are doing Grades 11 and 12 assist us...

MANU: We usually get help from those who are in higher classes and who are at the college or ask from Thuli because she is doing Grade 12.

Thuli and Linda, who are both of the same age, 17 years, continued explaining their concern about the health condition of the orphanage director, and how they wished for her to be alive until they finish school so that they could show gratitude to her for her support. She is like a mother to them, and it would hurt them very much if they lost her, something similar to losing their mothers. Perhaps it is because they had been with her in the orphanage for quite sometime, and had come to know and understand her well. They seemed to have fear of losing her. To them to be sick or ill means that person is going to die. Carlson (1998) argues "worry keeps us from feeling free and joyful". If someone is important in one's life, it is not a desirable feeling to experience him or her suffering. Some of the children's views confirmed Carlson's point, and in saying this about motivation:

THULI: I think about this orphanage and that sometimes our granny is going to die...perhaps this will be the end of this home. That thought also motivates me.

LINDA: ... I don't like that our granny ... granny is very sick now...she is running short of life..., she is really sick....., I want to thank her.

Some things are of greater importance to one person than to others. These children's feelings about their "granny", and the future of the orphanage, encourages them to express gratitude. Carlson (1997:55) states, "as long as our expression of gratitude is genuine, other people love it and remember it. This not only make them feel good, but it also encourages them to help us again and encourages others to do the same".

For Njabs everything seemed to be better. His grandmother, aunts and cousins were very supportive. And, as he had always been living with him, he got the motivation to do things for himself and to love school from them. His cousins are professionals, so all that encourages him. In some of his responses it was evident that part of the motivation to do his schoolwork did not come from within, and that he is extrinsically motivated. He said: "I get much encouragement from my grandmother and from my cousins. I try to work hard so that I succeed and not disappoint them".

He has a motive to succeed and, at the same time, it helps him to work harder so as not to disappoint his supportive relatives. This is not unusual in any family where love and care are available. He has been fortunate to find relatives who provide a vision of what a successful life can be.

4.5.1. "Dreams and wishes"

Most of the children had something to say about their dreams for the future. Some seemed to be realistic in their choices of careers. It is likely for these children to choose careers that they consider touching their hearts most, like being a social worker or a doctor. For instance, Khosi and Thuli said:

KHOSI: I wish to be a social worker actually to just help children in desperate need because I've experienced that in my childhood.

THULI: I wish to be a social worker, and look after children (orphans) especially like here in the orphanage, help them and provide them with a future.

Slie, Linda and Phumi said their dreams were to become a doctor. Because they experienced their mothers as sick and suffering a lot, they wished to help people., including the children in families touched by illness. Even though the main idea of having a career is to find a decent job, and earn a nice salary, for these children the issue of a salary seemed to be a secondary reason for their dreams. Linda was even aware of the fact that to be a doctor takes many years of studying, so he has thought of an alternative so that his dream can come true.

SLIE: I would like to be a doctor... It's something that I've always thought about and loved to become.

RICK: I like to be a doctor ... I also like to be a lawyer.

LINDA: I want to become a doctor. And becoming a doctor takes years. Now I'm thinking of concentrating on soccer.

The situation was a different with Njabs. When he mentioned his dream it did not appear to be informed by his past experience as an orphan. It seemed as if it was a dream he would like to fulfill even if he was not orphaned. He said: “After finishing Matric I would like to be a journalist, that takes photos and pictures”.

Njabs is happy in his grandmother's house and has got nothing to worry about. His choice of career was not informed by his circumstances because he is well cared for and has always been in this home since his childhood. His choice of career is unlike that of other children who had to compromise their actual dream careers and made choices according to an order of preference. Nonto's choice was different in the sense that it looked like it was more informed or influenced by her past experiences. She said: “I wish to be a soldier or a police officer”.

Nonto was much concerned with security and safety. She is from an abusive family of a relative. In the orphanage too she felt that there was no justice, people talked and did as they pleased to those whom they felt they were harmless. Therefore, her choice of being a police officer would help to stop people from abusing others, especially vulnerable children. Rick wanted to be a doctor or a lawyer. He said the reason that made him want to become a lawyer was that he did not like people to suffer for crimes they did not commit. He wanted justice. The way he explained this suggested that he perceived that there was much injustice done in society and to people. People who are guilty go free and sometimes those who are innocent suffer the consequences of the crimes they did not commit. As he was a neglected child perhaps he wonders why he has to suffer. He was born to parents whom he does not know, and does not know whether they are still alive or not.

Since Manu was in primary school, she was not sure of the career that she wanted to choose. Her only wish was to show her “grandmother” (the orphanage director) how thankful she was. She lived here in the orphanage together with her siblings and felt comforted by this. For others, the main concern was to finish school and to build a home for their siblings. Manu put her wish or dream as follows: “I wish to thank our granny with something or money or to buy and bring food for her. I have not thought about it...I will see. ...perhaps I will move out and buy myself a house”. She was still not sure what she wanted to become or what she wanted to do with the rest of her life.

4.5.2."Academic performance"

To achieve academically one needs to be motivated. Sometimes children just become lazy, and they frequently need the support from their parents in what they are supposed to do. For example, doing homework sometimes requires a push from a parent, and school requirements and uniforms are usually attended to by parents. Orphaned children have to be responsible for most of this because circumstances force them to be responsible. Therefore to be successful at school calls for great commitment.

For many of the children, the priority was to finish school first before concentrating on other things in life. Even though Griessel (1990) argues that, "a lack of emotional peace may lead to all kinds of learning disabilities and behavioural idiosyncrasies" some of the children were more positive about school and their achievement than before their parents died. .

PHILA: I think I have a goal in life now than before. Even teachers here motivate you to work hard.

LINDA: I like to do things myself and if there is a problem I ask from the teachers. I come here in this hall to do my school work.

KHOSI: I try by all means to do better...I make use of teachers for explanations and other learners whom I think have got it all right.

THULI: I get help from the teachers. I see it to myself that I need to work hard.....in fact, I always try to do my work thoroughly.

RICK: I try to work hard even in class – so that I succeed, you know...sometimes I become lazy - but I try to motivate myself.

Successful performance motivates a pupil's desire to learn and repeated failure has a detrimental effect on the desire to learn. Teachers must help pupils to set realistic goals for themselves.

A feeling of safety and trust gives a human being the courage and confidence to tackle and conquer the problems of life with dedication, and when he is unsuccessful he accept it and certainly does not fall in the state of self-pity but sees in t he situation possibilities for a renewed breakthrough of his situation (Griessel, 1990: 71).

Rick explained that he used not to like school, and had many different reasons. He did not deny that it was a matter of becoming lazy, and that when one is still a child he or she does not have a goal in life. But now that he has matured and knows what he wants in life he know exactly how to behave and what to do. He had repeated some grades and was aware that he was too old to be doing the grade he was in. He mentioned that he experienced problems at school and in achieving good results. Rick is 20 years and doing Grade 10. He was a neglected baby when he was brought into the orphanage. He had always dreamt that his mother would one day come to claim him. He is always preoccupied with these thoughts or wishes. His case was different from the other children who were certain that they were orphans. Gurman argues "Problems of underachievement are associated with parent-child conflicts, low level of parental availability and guidance and a lack of openness in the parent-child relationship" (Medway & Cafferty, 1998: 13). It might be because of the low level of parental availability that Rick did not achieve well academically.

Khosi, Slie and Phumi were very happy to pass the grades they were in, though they feared they were not going to make it through after being disturbed by their mothers sickness. They said:

PHUMI: ...something that made me happy was when I passed my exams whilst I was not hoping to pass.

SLIE: When I was doing standard six I was disturbed in my schoolwork because my mother was sick, and I was not sure if I was going to pass, but, I managed.

KHOSI: ... I was happy to pass last year after being absent from school for many days taking care of my mother whom have been sick the whole year.

Not unexpectedly, all the children had different subjects that were problematic to them. But even though they had problems with these subjects they were trying very hard to work on the difficult parts. Phila had lost hope. He was convinced he had done everything and that he would not understand no matter what he did.

Linda was the only one who said he did not have any problems with schoolwork and was doing his best in all his subjects. Even though the interviews were conducted in IsiZulu, Linda would express himself in both languages in some of the discussions and one could hear that he was fluent. According to Social Comparison Theory, people constantly compare themselves with others (Louw & Edwards, 1995: 740). For these children it was likely that they would compare themselves with the children who come from homes with parents. Without having to say it directly they compared themselves in terms of fulfilling school requirements and paying school fees. Thuli spoke of a teacher lending her some books because he was of an idea that she could not afford to buy them. Linda, on the other hand, also mentioned how it hurt him to be chased from school because of an incomplete school uniform. Rick suggested that sometimes they wear things that are an embarrassment to other children and some teachers. This sort of humiliation has to affect academic performance. Rick also argued that self-esteem is strongly affected by the status relationships between groups. He said this about his primary school years, "When I

was at Khanyanjalo Primary School I did not have shoes, had torn trousers and the cold I was feeling was terrible...those things made me unhappy at school and I did not like to go to school”.

Poverty can increase the loneliness felt by children, and produce fear about mixing with other children from different socio-economic classes. The children are not confident about their appearance and how other children perceive them. For these children sharing their academic difficulties is also hard and compromises their opportunity to get assistance and achieve better academically. Shyness, embarrassment and loneliness are crippling in all ways. Linda said the following about mixing with other children, “... the school uniform I’m having is not complete and is not in good condition. I don't want anything to do with school children... I don't like to play with them to avoid conflicts”.

Educational disadvantages seem to stem from the combination of home, school and personal factors. Most children preferred asking for help from their teachers rather than their peers. Other children living with parents in their homes have opportunities to visit community libraries to reinforce what they have learnt at school. Although her friends were good to her and supportive, (they would sometimes collect bus fare for her to go with them to the library), Thuli was greatly concerned about the situation. She understood that that collection was for a good cause and that not to accept would mean losing out on studies and discussions. To try and be brave about the matter she said, “... in most cases one cannot differentiate some children from me. Others even say that I don't look like an orphan, it is as if I am from a well established family with both parents and everything and who are also working”.

4.5.3."Anxiety about future"

Griessel (1990: 71) contends that, "If the child suffers from anxiety he feels unsafe". It is a common thing to have fear, especially if one has lost the important person he or she had been dependent upon. There are so many challenges that have to be faced. If one is in a supportive environment it becomes less stressful to venture in new situations. Griessel (1990) says that the courage to dare and conquer the unknown springs from a feeling of trust and safety. Children spoke of different fears or anxieties they had about their future and said:

PHUMI: I just foresee that in my life there are so many things that are going to change and I'm going to suffer a lot (cries).

RICK: I feel emotional sometimes... I miss her a lot. Sometime I even wish that she show herself to me one day.

LINDA: I really do not like to ask help from other people too much...people sometimes look down upon you when you ask for help as if you are a stupid. ... I definitely ask help from my mother because she will understand.

THULI: We are going to school everyday, learning, but at the end of the day you are going to find out that we don't have money to further our studies in Colleges/Technikons... I will look for those who are struggling and who are doing Grade 12.

KHOSI: I am in the middle/centre where I wish by all means to see them (her mothers children) and at the same time I don't want to cause trouble where I am now. ...Perhaps I could build my own house and I'll take my mother's children from the farms and stay with them....

Phumi feared for her life and perceived it as going to be very difficult. She had not regained happiness since her mother's death. Phumi's youngest sister also died, She was the first person to look after her whilst her mother was very sick. Their father deserted them, and did not try to find her even though he is aware that her mother had died. Throughout the conversation with her, she showed signs of great unhappiness. David Jones and Hellen Barret explain the following:

Finding rules difficult to understand, and feeling unfairly treated or that all decisions will be taken arbitrarily by powerful others can make children despair of understanding how to do things and, perhaps more seriously, of trying to change the situation in which they are experiencing discomfort and misery (Verma, 1993: 88).

This is exactly what Phumi felt at her aunt's home, and she feared that it was going to go on. She was there by choice but through force of circumstance. If she had had a say at all, she would have preferred living with another aunt. Her future seemed bleak especially in terms of happiness and getting over mourning her mother's death. Varma (1993) argues, "If one is unhappy then it is not easy to achieve self confidence, feelings of security and freedom from threat".

Some of these children showed signs of sadness. Linda and Rick were both neglected by their mothers. Rick is still unhappy and very sad that her mother left him when he was a baby without coming back to check on him. He also constantly asks whether she is still alive or not, whether his father is known or alive, and whether he has any brothers. He does not know nor has he even heard of any of his relatives. All of this makes him fear for the future. He wonders what he will do when he wants to start a family. Which surname will he use or identify himself with? Will this not cause problems for his children? He cannot work out the answers for these questions, and that is why he so fearful about the future.

Linda, on the other hand, had not seen his mother for many years, even though she made arrangements to leave him in the orphanage. He thought his mother made the right

decision by giving him up. He tried to hide his sadness, especially that his mother does not visit him, and that he does not know whether she is alive or sick. He has no comforting social life, in that he does not like to mix with others. He is not friendly, and does not have friends because he says he does not trust anybody.

Thuli is doing Grade 12. Her worry is that her dream to go to the college or a technikon will not materialise. She is the only one in this orphanage who is doing Grade 12, and thinks that the people who are in power are not doing their duty well enough. She feels that children who are struggling and needy, especially those who are in Matric, should be provided with monies so that they can further their studies and find jobs later. The orphanage is not subsidized by the State, and it survives through charity from churches and NGOs. What they get does not provide for Thuli's tertiary level education. The anxiety she has is that perhaps next year after finishing Matric, she might be doing nothing, and that would hinder her dream to become what she wishes to be. Khosi's fear is having to go and visit her stepfather and stepsisters and brothers. She feared that that might cause conflict between two families. She wishes to share with her siblings the special moments they had with their mother because they grew up together. As the children grow up on the farm they will not know her, and that worries her a lot. She is unhappy because she stresses that they are her mother's children too. So when she is an adult, she hopes her step father will allow her to collect all of her mother's children and live with them.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Discussion of findings

From the findings of this study, it appears that children both in the orphanage and in foster homes with relatives had unique coping strategies after the loss and death. They all desperately wanted a place that would provide them with a sense of safety, stability and permanence. They were conscious, however, that their new homes were far from perfect. In some cases, though, such as Manu the city proved more satisfying than the rural area from which she came. It was more stimulating and seemed to offer more opportunities in the future. Because of visitors, like myself, the children in the orphanage were able to talk about their feelings, and work out what the future possibly held for them. In so doing, they realised that they would not be in the orphanage permanently and would take charge of their own lives, a prospect they looked forward to. Therefore, when examining the comparatively orphans who cope better in the two different setting, orphans in an orphanage proved to cope better. By contrast, the children in foster care with relatives were never sure what would become of them. They also seldom had the opportunity to disclose their fears and feelings; their foster families had their own problems to deal with. The interviews also revealed that the children who were in the orphanage preferred to be there rather than live with relatives, most often because of family abuse, alcohol over use, and feeling marginalised. The companionship of children in similar circumstances seemed to compensate, in some measure, for not having an immediate family who cared about their well-being. Moreover, the principal of the orphanage was seen in a positive light as a loving “grandmother” who should be revered. Thus, contrary to my

expectations, for children from poverty, foster families are not always seen as a welcome option to an orphanage. Even though there were so many factors that changed in the lives of these children which included loss, moving to new environment, separation with ones family, these children's coping strategies were unique to each of them and were much influenced by their past experiences and their level of maturity. The disadvantage of the orphanage, mentioned by all of the children, had to do with the neighbourhood and environment in which the orphanage was located. The poverty and exposure to crime often made them feel threatened and afraid. For the children living with foster families it was also different from family to family. The common disadvantage to most of the children was financial problems in families and harsh treatment for some.

5.2. CONCLUSION

The following conclusions were drawn from the study:

5.2.1. Safety

The findings of this study showed the considerable impact of a lack of safety in the lives of the orphans. Sigston et al (1996) notes that "for uprooted children, strengthening and re-establishing primary relationships with parents, families, communities and, in some cases larger ethnic group ...is a priority". He also argues that a family is a "first ring of security", and that the community acts as the "outer ring of security". Moreover, given what the interviewed children had to say, it seems important for the state and communities, schools and families to be pro-active in ensuring that orphaned children are placed in institutions and homes that are safe and not subjected to outside threat. If they are not assured of safety, feelings of fear and anxiety will continually undermine the

emotional and psychosocial development for the individual children. Considering that death of one's parents is a crisis, the support of family and community are necessary to help children cope with a range of negative fears and concerns about their physical and emotional safety. From a larger perspective, however, what also becomes clear, is that if communities are not assured of the basic rights of security, then they will not be able to grant these to the children in their care. Security, of course, comes from employment and having material, emotional and spiritual resources.

5.2.2. School involvement and identifying orphans

As mentioned in the previous chapters school and home environments are equally important in the lives of orphans. It is, therefore, important for schools to identify orphans and work with them in a respectful and meaningful way in order to enhance whatever abilities and hope the children have managed to maintain. In an interview with Gail Johnson, Turkington (2002) quoted her saying this about the orphans and education:

These children are our future leaders. If we don't educate them properly, we'll be raising empty shells – kids who are psychologically and emotionally dwarfed (Turkington, 2002: 116).

If a child is not happy, or emotionally and psychologically disturbed, eventually his or her intellectual and cognitive capacities have to decline. A teacher who knows and understands his or her children can monitor what is happening and intervene. Teachers need to be aware of which children are orphans; something my research suggested was not always the case. Creative intervention will help improve the children's self esteem and academic achievement, and make adjustment after traumatic loss less painful. Orphaned children, it must be said, however, are not happy to let the teachers know their

status. Perhaps fears that teachers would not treat them well in front of other children produced this reservation. From what the children had to say, it seems teachers lack the skills to handle orphans with respect, and deal with their often turbulent emotions. Some children revealed that they were reluctant to tell their teachers their status and therefore that also disadvantaged them when they were chased away for unpaid school fees. This action for most of the orphans looked harsh, but because the teachers were not aware of their situation they had to apply the rule to everyone. Schools tend to focus on academic matters, obedience to rules, punctuality, success through competition, and extra-curricular activities. On the other hand, Thuli was very impressive about the way her class teacher handled her situation because he was well informed. He showed much concern about Thuli's work and questioned her academic performance when it was not up to standard. In that way, quality relationship between a teacher and a student developed. Schools seem to forget that academic achievement can significantly bolster a child sense of self and hope for the future, as this will increase levels of knowledge, and mental and interpersonal skills.

5.2.3. Socio-economic problems

On basis of responses to questions during interviews, it is evident that little attention has been given to understanding the ways in which economic hardship affects personal well-being, family functioning and developmental outcomes during childhood and early adolescence. Environments should be enriched such that persons become responsive to themselves and to the world. The economic system influences family organization and interaction. Households and families which are poor are likely, if not necessarily, to be unstable and the members not happy. Because of unemployment, insecurities result

among the adults and, in various ways this has to affect the children. Usually when death comes, it results in some people feeling helpless and without hope. In order to cope with the changes in the individual's life, he or she needs someone to call his or her attention to the changes, and to encourage him or her to find solutions to the new challenges. Phila, struggles alone in a house with no adults in order to survive and works on week-ends in order to survive. If he had well built home or relatives who are working and living in decent homes, perhaps his situation would be better and he would be having less stress about the future.

5.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

Considering the findings and the conclusions drawn from this study, the researcher puts forward the following recommendations which may be of interest for the department of education, department of social welfare, schools and foster families with orphans and also orphanages.

5.3.1. CONSIDERING THE IMPORTANCE OF ATTACHMENT

According to attachment theory, as pioneered by Bowlby in the 1960's, it is important that an infant develops a sense of secure attachment and belonging, in his or her interaction with their parents or caregivers. Ann McKay (2000), a clinical psychologist, stresses that children have different styles of attachment for each parent, and suggests that this could be dependent on how the parents treat them. Driven by physical and emotional changes to develop independence and confidence, it is not unusual for adolescents to

become angry and rebellious and show a great lack of trust for adults and the world. Most of the children who were interviewed especially in the orphanage, seemed to have problems communicating effectively with the adult staff members, something brought by the lack of trust after loss. While the children may have been securely attached to their mothers and fathers, after the death of these significant others, disillusionment and fear could undermine what has been achieved. Therefore, effective communication and positive relationship with orphaned adolescents from caregivers is very important. The task of re-attachment must be such that it brings about safety and security to both the caregiver and the child. For example, one girl, Khosi, mentioned that at first she could not call her stepmother “mom”; to her it did not feel right. It felt as if she was betraying her real mother and she felt nothing about her stepmother. But, as time went by, staying together with her stepmother has changed her attitude towards her. She now calls her “mom” and they sometimes discuss certain issues. Unlike Phumi, her aunt is different in the sense that there is no hope of effective communication in that home and there will be no re-attachment if attitudes do not change. That is why Phumi showed unhappiness and fear of living with her aunt. The presence of the attachment figure must bring to the child an ongoing sense of physical and psychological integrity. Caregivers must be encouraged to bond with children by being given practical skills for positive parenting, and by participating in support groups. Dysfunctional attachment behaviours amongst orphans can only be understood by caregivers through training.

5.3.2. “Pre-service” training and support

Because of the extent of poverty in South Africa, some relatives find it very difficult to look after orphans. This calls not only for government departments to stress the

responsibility of communities to care for children but also to offer responsible individuals foster grants. Concrete assistance and services need to be provided because if the children were to be formally placed with relatives and caregivers in the orphanage, caregivers would perform their duties as parents with less stress and fewer economic problems. The “pre-service” training would also empower them to know what is expected of them and how to manage finances so that the children feel security and acceptance. Some caregivers are really not sure of the procedures expected of them even when the children are formally placed. Since formal placement is the best option for children to be well cared for, “pre-service” training and support from social services seems advisable. One child who was placed at one of the orphanages in KwaZulu Natal said: “Here I was treated with such respect, it made me believe love can cure” (Turkington, 2002:114). Children who are orphaned need to be loved and accepted. Pre-training services and support for foster families also can help children to adapt to new families.

5.3.3. Taking into account ethnic and cultural needs in placements.

With the extended family system of placement, it is unlikely for an orphaned child to suffer that much especially with regards to language and cultural differences. Even though it is known that each and every family has its own beliefs, but in a kinship system, a child does not have to encounter many problems of adjustments. One of the advantages of kinship or extended family is that if people are thoroughly work shopped and educated, orphaned children may not lose their siblings, sense of identity, their inheritance, chances of not completing school and also risks of becoming homeless. In orphanages too, they become one family with set of rules applicable to that institution, but also education is needed to help children to adjust well and fight fears of

stigmatization that seemed to be a threat to most children and interfering with their self-esteem. Most children had their belief systems for example Khosi did not put on the cloth they gave to her after the death of his father. She said that at her mothers home they are Christians and were not observing traditional customs and rituals. She also believed that she will have bad luck if they were not going to cleanse her. Coming to this new family called for confusion in her beliefs and she had to make a decision what to do or follow.

5.3.4. The ongoing support- group training

The orphaned child's relatives, adult family friends, and the child's own friends and peers are the best people to comfort and help him or her. But they all need advice and support. In order to address children's emotional and behavioural challenges, regular ongoing support groups for caregivers and children need to be formed. Some adolescents addressed the issue of respect in such a way that it was obvious that adults do not respect them as children in some cases; and, therefore, they are also not expected to respect them. Adolescents like to form relationships with peers of which for some children because of their past experiences like Linda and Rick they prefer not to mix with other children. They feel that sharing with others would in the end create or cause conflicts something that they are not prepared to engage in. In these support groups children must be encouraged to deal with loss and to set new goals for their lives within their new families. These support groups will also facilitate co-operation between caregivers and children, and in their attitudes towards one another. Feelings change all the time, and attitudes are developed changing perceptions of people. Therefore, support must be an ongoing process to meet these changes and to prevent the emergence of difficult behaviours in children. Orphaned children need focus in their lives, and this can be enhanced through

the support systems they have. Workshops to deal with loss must be offered by institutions such as universities and schools so that children can think of their inner strengths that will help them to cope. Also, the children with foster parents seemed to lack opportunities to express their feelings after loss, for example, during the interview, Phila mentioned that it was the first time for him to talk about the death of his mother. For him this brought about mixed emotions, that is, painful and happy emotions. It also reminded him the good memories about her mother. Having someone to share his feelings about his mother brought him was a nice experience and one could see that from his expression. Support groups would allow for this and empower children with the skill of sharing, and offering support and healing to others.

Finally, from what has been observed from the adolescents who were interviewed, little attention has been given to understanding the ways which economic hardship affect personal well-being, family functioning and developmental outcomes during childhood and adolescence. The economic factor is a hindrance to effective family foster care especially to impoverish families like in the Inanda area. Therefore, because there is a growing number of orphans, the state need to look at the needs of the families that look after these children by giving organized monetary help so that it lesson the burden on parents and children. The orphanage in the are is helping most children in the area, and to keep it existing also, it need to be registered so that it performs its duties without much difficulties.

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APPENDIX A

LETTERS REQUESTING PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

University of Durban-Westville
School of Educational Studies
Private Bag X54001
Durban 4000 (South Africa)

18 June 2001

The Regional Co-ordinator: Research
Department of Education and Culture-KZN
Private Bag X54323
Durban
4000

Dear Dr Edley

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

I am studying for a Masters degree in Education with the University of Durban-Westville. The topic of my research project is: **Orphans in an orphanage and in foster care in the Inanda informal settlement: A comparative of the ways orphans cope with loss in different settings.**

The school randomly selected for our purpose is Intshisekelo High School, in the Inanda district. A letter requesting provisional permission has already been sent to the principal, Mr Tigere. Given that my research model requires interviews with only 5 learners, my presence at the school should not be seen as disrupting their programme.

It is hoped that the following benefits will be gained from the study:

- (d) Workshops will be offered to the school staff where the orphans learn and to the orphanage staff;
- (e) through these workshops, the orphanage staff and foster families should be in a better position to understand the reasons orphans give for their perceptions, and their coping strategies after loss thus provide suitable interventions;
- (f) if required, workshops will be arranged for the orphans themselves to discuss the outcome of the study i.e. we will share the insights that have been achieved.

Should you require further clarification, please contact my supervisor, Miss Clark at 031-2044606 or myself at 0825474113.

Yours faithfully
Ncamisile P. Mthiyane (Mrs)

University of Durban-Westville
School of Educational Studies
Private Bag X54001
Durban 4000
South Africa

18 June 2000

Attention: Mrs Cynthia Mngadi
The Director
Inqabayokucasha Place of Safety
Inanda
4310

Dear Mrs Mngadi

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

I am studying for a Masters degree in Education with the University of Durban-Westville. The topic of my study is: **Orphans in an orphanage and in foster care in the Inanda informal settlement: A comparative of the ways orphans cope with loss in different settings.**

It is hoped that the following benefits will be gained from the study:

- (a) workshops will be offered to the school staff where the orphans learn and to the orphanage staff;
- (b) through these workshops, the orphanage staff and foster families should be in a better position to understand the reasons orphans give for their perceptions, and their coping strategies after loss thus provide suitable interventions;
- (c) if required, workshops will be arranged for the orphans themselves to discuss the outcome of the study i.e. we will share the insights that have been achieved; and,
- (d) a copy of my research report will be left with you for future reference. This should be of help to the social workers at your institution.

Your positive response in this regard will be appreciated.

Yours sincerely
Ncamisile P. Mthiyane (Mrs)

Mr. Bheki Mnyandu
Head: Postgraduate Studies

University of Durban-Westville
School of Educational Studies
Private Bag X54001
Durban 4000
South Africa

27 June 2001

The Principal
Inanda Day Primary School
Department of Education and Culture-KZN
P. O Box 43024
Inanda
4310

Dear Mr Tigere

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

I am studying for a Masters degree in Education with the University of Durban-Westville. The topic of my research project is: **Orphans in an orphanage and in foster care in the Inanda informal settlement: A comparative of the ways orphans cope with loss in different settings.**

A letter requesting provisional permission has already been sent to the Regional Education Department Co-ordinator, Dr Edley.

It is hoped that the following benefits will be gained from the study:

- (a) Workshops will be offered to the school staff where the orphans learn and to the orphanage staff;
- (b) through these workshops, the orphanage staff and foster families should be in a better position to understand the reasons orphans give for their perceptions, and their coping strategies after loss thus provide suitable interventions;
- (c) if required, workshops will be arranged for the orphans themselves to discuss the outcome of the study i. e. we will share the insights that have been achieved.

Should you require further clarification, please contact my supervisor, Miss Clark at 031-2044606 or myself at 0825474113.

Yours faithfully
Ncamisile P. Mthiyane (Mrs)

APPENDIX C

SAMPLE OF DIARY:

- **PERSONAL DETAIL**
- **QUESTIONS IN DIARIES**

DAILY MEMO

1. Did you enjoy school today? Tell me why you did.
2. Did you have an unhappy day at school? If so, please explain.
3. Did you have any success in your schoolwork today? If so, tell me what happened.
4. Did you have any difficulties with any of your school subjects today? If you did, tell me what happened.
5. If you had successes at schoolwork today, what helped you to succeed?
6. If you had difficulties in your schoolwork today, what do you think caused you to struggle?
7. IF YOU FEEL LIKE IT, PLEASE DRAW ME A PICTURE ABOUT SCHOOL OR HOME TODAY or WRITE A SHORT POEM.

OPTIONAL

- ❖ Tell me one good thing that happened to you today.
-

1. Ukuthokozelile ukuba sesikoleni namhlanje? Ake ungixoxele ukuthi kungani.
2. Ube nosuku olubi namhlanje esikoleni? Uma kube njalo, ngicela ungichazele.
3. Ube nempumelelo yini ezifundweni zakho namhlanje? Uma kube njalo, ake ungixoxele ukuthi kwenzekeni.
4. Ube nenkinga noma nobunzima kwezinye zezifundo zakho esikoleni namuhla? Uma kube njalo, ake ungixoxele ukuthi kwenzekeni.
5. Uma ube nempumelelo ezifundweni zakho namuhla, usizwe yini ukuthi uphumelele?
6. Uma ube nobunzima nezinkinga ezifundweni zakho namuhla, ucabanga ukuthi yini imbangela yalobubunzima?
7. UMA UTHANDA, NGICELA UNGIDWEBELE ISITHOMBE SESIKOLE NOMA IKHAYA LAKHO NGENDLELA OSIBONA/OLIBONA NGAYO NAMUHLA noma UNGIBHALELE INKONDLO.

OKUNYE ONGAZIKHETHELA UKUKWENZA

- ❖ Ngicela ungixoxele ngento eyodwa nje ekwenzekelile namhlanje.

PERSONAL DETAILS

Names	TK	TL	TNJ	TPH	TS	TP	TT	TR	TNO	TM
D.o.b.	28/4/84	24/9/84		16/4/82	20/5/86	04/6/82	19/10/83	19/3/81	26/11/85	26/11/88
B/G	Girl	Boy	Boy	Boy	Girl	Girl	Girl	Boy	Girl	Girl
Age	17yrs.	16yrs	16yrs	19yrs	15yrs.	19yrs.	17yrs.	19yrs	16yrs.	13yrs.
Grade	10 (B)	10 (C)	10	11 (D)	10 (B)	11 (C)	12	10 (A)	8 (E)	6 (A)
Years Orphan	2yrs.	6yrs.	3yrs	2yrs	3yrs	4mths.	6yrs.	19yrs.	3yrs.	5yrs.
Repeated Gr. Y/N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

APPENDIX D

- **THEMES**
- **SUB-THEMES**
- **CODES**

THEMES AND CODES

Names	m	af	ld	se	t	dw	st	mv	ol	fl	axf	sb
TK	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X
TL	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X
TNJ	X	X	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	X	-	X
TPH	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	-	X	X	X
TS	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	-	X	X	-
TP	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	-
TT	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X
TR	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	-
TNO	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X
TM	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	-

m-----“moving”
 ld-----“loss and death”
 t-----“trust”
 st-----“safety”
 ol-----“orphanage life”
 sb-----“ separation from siblings”

af-----“absent father”
 se-----“silenced emotions”
 dw----“ dreams and wishes”
 mv----“motivation”
 fl-----“family life”
 af-----“ anxiety about future”

APPENDIX E

SAMPLE PAGES OF TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

(Full text available)

TRANSCRIPTION

DATE: 17 JULY 2001
TIME: 10h00
VENUE: ORPHANAGE HALL

Thuli is a vibrant girl. She is very confident and has a sense of responsibility. She is respectful. She looks happy and not shy at all. She is wearing high-heeled sandals, a vest and a skirt with frills(on fashion). Although it is in the morning and school holidays, she has had a bath and combed her afro hair nicely.

KEY: Interviewer: A

Interviewee: B

A: Thank you again Thuli, for giving me this opportunity to talk to you about your life and your perceptions about life in general. Once again as I told you that this conversation will be between you and me and in no way will your name be used in this study , I just need to find out if you are still comfortable with that. Also, I'm asking your permission to record our conversation, and if you feel that you are not comfortable anymore with all these arrangements please tell me.

B: No, I'm fine, you can go on with the recording, there is no problem with that.

A: Remember to stop me if you do not understand whatever I'm saying or asking or if you want me to explain more. If you want to say or tell me anything that concerns you, you are welcome to say it right now.

A: Thuli, you said in which Grade are you?

B: Grade 12.

A: How many are you at home? Please tell me about your family.

B: You mean the home where I was born or here?

A: Yes, your birth home.

B: We are three and we are all girls. Others stay with my relatives. My mother's grandmother is still alive and another relative is my mother's father. The one who comes after me stays with my mother's granny; I stay here in this orphanage and the last-born stays with my mother's father.

A: Can you tell me about your parents, and how did you come here, if you remember?

B: I grew up not knowing my father. I only saw him- a few times,... I heard that he was knocked down by the car at Clairwood and he died on the spot. And then in 1995, my mother lost her job because she was sick with TB, she felt sick..... . Yes, (sighs). And then eh..... I was forced to come and live herein this home.

A: How did you get to know about this home?

B: My mother was informed by some other social workers but I was still very young, I was not that much clear about how were things happening because I was doing eh..... Standard 5. She was sick and was in hospital, and then I came to stay here, until she passed away. She died in 1999..... eeeh..... In May. I was already here. I was doing Standard 8. I repeated Standard 7. I carried on staying in this home even after her death. Oh! Before my mother died, my sisters were staying eh... No... my mother was only staying with my sister Lindi only, the one who comes after me. She is the only one who lived with my mother. Next to my home there is another home (my mother's house) there stays my grandmother. My mother was staying with her. So, because she was old enough , she died i.e. my grandmother. So our home is in my grandmother's yard.

A: Where is your home (town)?

B: At Mzinto – near Portshepstone.

A: Do you visit your relatives at Mzinto?

B: I only went there because of my mother's unveiling function in March this year.

A: So you are always here in this home?

B: Yes, even during the holidays I'm always here.

A: How can you describe life here in this orphanage?

B: Life here is...but... Nice....shame. **BUT**, there are situations of which one need to be patient with because Anyway you can't live without painful experiences, eh..... yes that's it.

A: I'm happy you are aware of that. Life is about challenges all the time. What experiences do you regard as bad ones or one of them if you could recall?

B: Bad time and experiences do come or happen sometimes... our granny (Orphanage director) becomes cheeky sometimes and say things when she is angry and annoyed, but we persevere and life goes on... **BUT**... I can say it's alright to be in orphanage (home).

A: Why didn't you move and live or stay with your relatives?

B: Ai... I cannot. I prefer it very much this orphanage than to live with a relative. I can't stay with a relative.

A: What do you think will be a problem?

B: Most of the time I like to be quiet. I like to be quiet and think. Even here they sometimes ask me, "Why are you so quiet, are you mad at something or someone or is there anything troubling you?" They even report that to granny... because I like to be quiet. So I think that if I were to live with a relative, that will be a problem because he/she might be furious or angry with me thinking that what kind of a child I am. Another thing is that if an adult says or do something to me of which I don't like or I feel is and believe that it is right, I stand up for myself and tell him/her that: "No...you're making a mistake here. I tell him straight and politely. Perhaps it ends at someone even crying or complaining to granny that I'm cheeky. Granny will then say: "No.. .she isn't mistaken, she's telling you the truth (adult). This is because an adult always tells him/herself that he/she is an adult and therefore expects that children need to respect him/her forgetting that even if you are an adult you need to respect children so that they will respect you in return.

A: When we go back to your mom's illness, you said you we already in this orphanage when she seriously felt sick?

B: I wasn't with her when she was very sick. In fact she was working as a maid and she felt sick whilst she was still working there at Montclair. She started by feeling tired... the, she went to the doctor And the doctor said that she was overworking herself. (over 100%. The approximate percentage she used). She than told the people whom she was working for that she is going to resign. They agreed. They were supposed to give her all her monies... but they did not. They were supposed to deposit it in a bank, at Old Mutual, they did not give out her monies, I really don't know what happened or went wrong (confusing the issue of a bank and Old Mutual). In fact when I moved from my home to this

orphanage I realised that my mother was sick... although she was trying very hard to be strong to look healthy physically. She used to be a fat woman, but then she was very thin, and then..... Hmm.... I came to stay here.....

A: I understand this must have been very difficult for you to see your mother falling sick and becoming weak every day. But tell me, how did you feel when she died?

B: Hmm...I felt very bad... my God...hmm..... I did not accept it that soon, I ...eh...you see... I perhaps-I did not believe-it was as if she was going to wake up. But I got through it quickly afterwards. But I don't want to lie to you it was very, very, bad for me.

A: What did you do to avoid the painful experience of loss.

B: I was always trying to avoid thinking about her death- because even if I'm at school- if I'm serious and concentrating a lot for a long time, I also think about the death of my mother.

A: How often do you think about her (this kind of emotion)?

B: Ekhaya kuseMzinto budebuduze nasePortsheptone.

A: Uye uzivakashele nje izihlobo zakho le e-Mzinto?

B: Cha, angiyi le ekhaya. Ngigcine khona nje ngoMarch ngoba kade kunomsebenzi wokubuyisa umama.

A: Ok, okusho ukuthi Isikhathi esiningi uhlala ulapha ekhaya?

B: Yebo, angiyi ndawo nje, ngisho nangamaholide ngihlala ngilapha.

A: Ungayichaza uthini inhlo lapha eNqabeni?

B: inhlalo lapha eh... ngingathi nje...imnandi. Ya... imnandi ...shame, Kodwa-Ke kunezimo ezenzakalayo kewsinye Isikhathi ezidinga ukuthi Umuntu azibekezelele. Kwenye inkathi ugogo uthetha kakhulu noma akhulume kabi mhlambe uma ediniwe. Kodwa-ke Umuntu uye abekezele ayikho into asuke ezoyenza, impilo iqhubeke kanjalo-ke. Kodwa-ke ngale kwalezoziqubu zokungaphatheki kahle,ngingathi nje, ayi bandla kuhlale-ke kahle lapha ekhaya.

A: Kungani wena ungazange wayohlala nezihlobo zakho emva kokushona kwamama wakho.

B: Ayi, bandla, angeke ngempela ngikwazi mina ukuhlala nesihlobo sami. Ngincamela kona ukuhlala khona la eNqabeni kunasesihlotsheni Angeke ngikwazi nje impela.

A: Ngiyezwa Thuli, uma ucabanga yini engaba yinkinga uma uhleli nesihlobo?

B: Okokuqala nje ngiyathanda ukuzithulela, ngizicabangele mina. Ngisho nalapha ekhaya baye bangibuze bathi, “Uthuleleni kangaka, udinwe yini, kukhona yini okukuphazamisile emoyeni?” Kwenye inkathi baze bangi cebe nakugogo(Orphanage Director). Yingakho-ke ngicabanga ukuthi uma ngihlala nesihlobo loko kungaba inkinga uma sengizithulele, mhlambe singaze sicabange ukuthi ngidiniwe uma ngizithulele, noma sibe nenkinga ukuthi ngingane enjani mhlambe futhi angihloniphi uma sengizithulele ngizicabangela. Okunye futh mina ngiyazikhulumela uma ngingaboni kahle. Uma Umuntu omdala ekhuluma into okungeyona nengingayithandi, ngiyamtshela kahle ukthi angikholwa ukuthi ukuthi nokuhthi kukanje. Uma ngikholwa ukuthi into i-right, ngiyakuvezaloko futhi uma umuntu omdala ese phutheni ngiyamtshela ngithi Ayi, ngicabanga ukuthi unephutha lapha nalapha. Lapha ekhaya babika kugogo bese elalela udaba ugogo uma ngiright abatshela ukuthi ayi uThuli ukuhluma iqiniso lapha nalapha nakuba eyingane kunawe kodwa uqinisile. Ingoba isikhathi esiningi abantu abadala abathandi ukusilalela thina bazitshela ukuthi badala nje kuphela. Futhi, babheke ukuthi kube ithina kuphela esibakhombisa inhlonipho, bakhohlwe ukuthi

inhlonipho iza kabili, nomdala uyadinga ukumhlonipha nomncane ukuze nomnane amhloniphe nomdala.

A: Nginyaqonda sisi. Akesibuyele endabeni yokugula kukamama wakho. Uthe uma exinwa ukugula kade usuvele ulapha?

B: Bengingekho ngenkathi esegula kakhulu. Eqinisweni ngingathi nje wayesebenza emakhishini khon ko Monclair, wase eqala eba nokukhathala njalo azizwe ekhathele nje. Waya kwadokotela. Udokotela wathi uwukhandla kakhulu umzimba wakhe ngomsebenzi,(ngaphezu kuka-100%). Wase ebatshela-ke emsebenzini wakhe umama ukuthi uzosula ngoba akasaphilile. Bamvumela-ke, befanele ukuthi bamkhokhele zonke izimali zakhe, loko abangakwenzanga kodwa. Babefanele ukuyifaka ebank imali yakhe ngithi kw-Old Mutual angisazi kahle. Nokho-ke akwenzekanga loko angazi kwenzakalani yin engahamba kahle. Eqinisweni mangisuka ekhaya ngiza lapha ngangimbona umama ukuthi useqala ukubambeka ukugula, noma ayezama yena ukuziqinisa. Umama wayekade engumuntu wesifazane okhuluphele onomzimba, kodwa esegula ngalesosikhathi wayesezacile... esemncane.Ngabe-ke sengizohlala lapha....ehe... ngezalapha-ke.....

A: Ngiyacabanga bekunzima kakhulu ukubona impilo kamama wakho iya ngokuya iba yimbi, naye eya ngokuya encipha. Ake ungitshela-ke sisi, waphatheka kanjani uma uzwa kuthiwa usedlulile emhlabeni?

B: Hmm... ngaphatheka kabuhlungu kakhulu.....eyi, Nkulunkulu wami.....hmm...ngaba buhlungu. Akuvumanga ngiyikholwe into engiyizwayo ngokushesha. Kwakungathi ngizovuka kuthiwe ayi akulona iqiniso. Nokho-ke ngokuhamba kwesikhathi kwazika kancane kwaze kwadlula. Kodwa angifuni ukuqamba amanga bandla, ayi, ngaphatheka kabi kakhulu.

A: Wenzanjani-ke ukuze ukwazi ukudlulisa lobubunzima bokushiywa umama?

B: Bengizama ukuthi ngikwedlulise ngokuthi ngingacabangi ngako. Noma ngisesikoleni ngiserious ngomsebenzi wesikole kuye kwenzeke ngicabange ngokugula kukamama.