

https://dspace.org/

Parentification in child-headed households within the context of HIV and AIDS

Moffett, Bronwyn

2008-08-15T10:29:21Z
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/5378

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

PARENTIFICATION IN CHILD-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF HIV AND AIDS

Bronwyn Moffett

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Clinical Psychology.

Johannesburg, 2007

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research report, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own, original work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts in Clinical Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

_____

Bronwyn Moffett

_____day of_____2007

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following people have helped me to conduct, and finally complete this study. Thank you to:

All of the adolescents who were willing to participate in this study, most significantly for their engagement, their openness and sharing of difficult experiences.

The staff members at Friends for Live, Heartbeat, Ikageng Itireleng, the Salvation Army and the Department of Social Services (Ivory Park) for facilitating access to children heading their households. The work of these individuals and organisations is admirable.

The staff at various schools who were so hospitable and patient in allowing me access to their learners.

My parents for their support, influence and direction throughout my life and for their encouragement and forbearance in recent years.

Mark, for his tireless support, and especially for making me laugh when I needed it the most.

Siobhán, who led by example yet never allowed me to feel left behind. Thank you too, for her availability for supportive cups of coffee, as well as for proofreading this report.

Debbie, whose advice and meticulous proofreading I have relied on throughout this report, and who believed in me when I needed it most.

And lastly to my supervisor Dr. Vinitha Jithoo, for her time and careful effort, and for lessons learnt during the completion of this research.

ABSTRACT

This report describes a qualitative investigation into the occurrence, nature and extent of parentification, and the psychosocial impacts in children heading their households within the context of HIV and Aids. Research participants included the heads of eleven child-headed households between the ages of 13 and 18 years. The extent to which these responsibilities and impacts were normal within the community was evaluated by the inclusion of a matched control group.

All participants were interviewed using face-to-face semi-structured interviews as a method of data collection. Responses to the interviews were subjected to a thematic content analysis method, which helped to organise the interview data both within and across the two groups.

Results indicated that although not absent within the matched control group, children who headed their households experienced most types of parentification. In particular, responsibility for household tasks, as well as responsibility for caretaking of siblings and parents was more prevalent and extensive amongst children heading their households than amongst children of the matched group. These responsibilities, together with dealing with the illness and death of their parents, exacerbated the psychosocial difficulties endemic to the communities from which they were drawn. However, the children also showed coping strategies and resilience that appeared to mitigate these stressors.

This indicates that the concept of parentification may be a useful framework in which to help child-headed households so that effective interventions may be implemented. This research can be considered to be exploratory in nature, and further, broader investigation is proposed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

ABSTRACT iv

1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. LITERATURE REVIEW 4

2.1. Child-Headed Households 4

2.1.1. Psychosocial Effects of Being a Child Heading a Household 7

2.1.2. Support and Assistance for Child-Headed Households 13

2.2. Parentification 14

2.2.1. Occurrence of Parentification in the event of Parental Illness and Death 17

2.2.2. Effects of Parentification 18

2.3. Resilience and Coping 24

2.4. Summary 27

3. METHODOLOGY 28

3.1. Rationale and Research Questions 28

3.2. Research Design 29

3.3. Participants 30

3.4. Data Collection 30

3.5. Data Analysis 32

3.6. Ethical Considerations 33

4. RESULTS 35

4.1. Demographic Information 35

4.2. Parentification Behaviours 38

4.2.1. Adult-type Behaviour 38

4.2.2. Parental-type Behaviour 40

4.2.3. Spousal-type Behaviour 42

4.3. Psychosocial Impacts 43

4.4. Coping Strategies and Supportive Structures 50

5. DISCUSSION 54

5.1. Demographic Characteristics of Children Heading their Households 54

5.2. Parentification Behaviours 54

5.3. Psychosocial Impacts 58

5.4. Coping Strategies and Supportive Structures 62

6. CONCLUSION 66

6.1. Limitations 68

6.2. Recommendations for Future Research 69

REFERENCES 71

APPENDIX A: ORGANISATION AGREEMENT 80

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 81

APPENDIX C: INTERPRETER CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT 83

APPENDIX D: PARTICIPATION INFORMATION SHEET 84

APPENDIX E: CHILD ASSENT FORM 85

APPENDIX F: CHILD ASSENT FORM FOR AUDIO-RECORDING 86

APPENDIX G: INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARENTS / LEGAL GUARDIANS: 87

APPENDIX H: PARENTAL (OR LEGAL GUARDIAN) PERMISSION FORM 88

APPENDIX I: PARENTAL (OR LEGAL GUARDIAN) CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIO-RECORDING 89

APPENDIX J: TRANSCRIPTS 90

1 INTRODUCTION

The burden of HIV and Aids[1] in South Africa has been found to fall more severely on certain population groups. The Nelson Mandela/Human Science Research Council (HSRC) conducted a national, population-based HIV survey in 2005 and found that females had a higher HIV prevalence rate (13.3%) than males (8.2%), and the prevalence rate in the 15-49 year-old age group was 20.2% in females and 11.7 % in males (Shisana, Rehle, Simbayi, Parker, Zuma, Bhana et al., 2005). This indicates that there is a high HIV prevalence rate in the age group in which people are likely to be economically active and are likely to be parents. This is particularly high in females, who tend to be the primary caregivers. As one of the primary modes of HIV infection in South Africa is through heterosexual sexual intercourse, one HIV-positive parent is likely to infect the other parent. If both parents fall ill with Aids, their children may be left without adequate parental care. There is currently no evidence of a declining epidemic in South Africa (UNAIDS, 2005), which indicates that Aids is likely to impact heavily on the country for years to come. It has been estimated that even with a comprehensive national antiretroviral treatment programme, deaths due to Aids may still amount to 40 000 people annually until at least 2015 (ASSA, cited in Marais, 2005). A consequence of the rising Aids-related deaths is the number of children who are left orphaned.

Due to the varying definitions of what constitutes orphanhood (Foster, 2004), statistics pronouncing the scale of the orphan crisis can vary greatly. Regardless of which definition one uses, the number of orphans is considerable and set to rise. One set of data indicates that in 2005, 14.4% of children aged 2 to 18 years had lost at least one parent, which corresponds to over 2.5 million orphans (Shisana et al., 2005). Due to the long time lag between HIV infection and death, even if rates of HIV prevalence stabilise or decline, the rates of orphanhood will continue to grow for several years. By the expected peak at 2015 there may be up to 5.7 million children under 18 years-old who will have lost one or both parents (Johnson & Dorrington, 2001).

[1] As there can be a long time delay between HIV infection and the onset of Aids, there is a move to treat these conditions as separate. Therefore, this research will not use ‘HIV/Aids’, but rather ‘HIV and Aids’ or ‘HIV or Aids’ where applicable.

It has been speculated that one third of the orphans anticipated in 2015 will not go to homes or institutions, but will be left to fend for themselves, on the street or in child-headed households (Freeman, 2004). However, it should be noted that child-headed households are not only a phenomenon produced when children are orphaned. In cases where parents have become ill and incapacitated, the child may take over many of the household duties. Therefore it can be inferred that more than one million children may be in child-headed households by the year 2015.

Although there is some awareness of child-headed households, there is limited research on the difficulties the children experience, in terms of both practical and psychosocial difficulties. Much of the research regarding children and HIV and Aids has focused on children infected with HIV, or the child orphaned by Aids. It has been argued that such research is too narrowly focused, and omits those children otherwise affected by HIV and Aids (Richter, Manegold, & Pather, 2004). For instance, a child might have become vulnerable a long time before his or her parents died. The term 'orphans and vulnerable children' has developed in response to this call for a wider focus within the context of HIV and Aids. Definitions of childhood vulnerability include children who live in a household in which one or more person is ill, dying or deceased. It could also include children in households that absorb orphans, and children living with very old and frail caregivers (Smart, 2003b). Added to these vulnerability markers are contextual factors that could make a person vulnerable, such as poverty, education, and stigma (Skinner, Tsheko, Mtero-Munyati, Segwabe, Chibatamoto, Mfecane et al., 2004). Predictions have been made that the increasing number of these orphans and vulnerable children may lead to several negative outcomes for the individuals as well as for society as a whole. It is feared that the experiences that children have gone through, as well as the lack of support structures available for them, may lead to reduced literacy, increased crime and economic decline (Bradshaw, Johnson, Schneider, Bourne, & Dorrington, 2002; Schonteich, 1999).

The grouping of orphans and vulnerable children encompasses children in child-headed households, but not all research on orphans and vulnerable children may be applicable to child-headed households. For example, orphans and vulnerable children may be living with adult supervision whereas children heading their households may experience additional difficulties related to the responsibilities they assume within the households. These often include looking after their siblings, taking care of the cooking and cleaning in the house,

sourcing financial support and sometimes providing care and support for adults in the household. These are typically seen as adult or parent tasks, and may have further implications for children's coping. The phenomenon of parentification has been explored as a concept of a child carrying out adult or parental responsibilities (Chase, 1999; Winton, 2003). Although most authors recognise the need for the assumption of developmentally appropriate adult-type behaviour, there is concern about destructive parentification, which interferes with a child's normal development and capabilities (Chase, 1999).

Most parentification studies to date have been conducted in families where the parents are generally present although incapacitated or temporarily unavailable. In child-headed households parents, or an adult presence, are often minimal or entirely absent, and thus these children's experiences of parentification may be different. Several studies have been conducted on parentification in adolescents whose parents have Aids (for example, Stein, Riedel, & Rotheram-Borus, 1999; Bauman, Foster, Silver, Berman, Gamble, & Muchaneta, 2006; Rotheram-Borus & Stein, 1999) However, most were based in America and due to the different primary modes of HIV infection as well as different social, familial and cultural supports in the two countries, their application to the South African setting is limited.

In light of the dearth in literature and necessity for South African based research in the field of child-headed households, the current study examined the occurrence, nature and extent of parentification in children who were heading their households within the context of HIV and Aids. In addition, the psychosocial impacts that these children experienced were explored. It is hoped that this information will allow interventions to be more effective in order to mitigate potential negative outcomes for such children and the communities in which they live.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to examine the topic of parentification within child-headed households, three bodies of literature were reviewed. First, research on the prevalence, existence and psychosocial issues of child-headed households was consulted, specifically within the context of HIV and Aids. Second, parentification literature was examined, because although child-headed households do bear the hallmarks of parentification, this link has not been explicit. Finally, the field of resilience and coping was briefly consulted as it was deemed significant within the context. In spite of an attempt to limit the review of research to less than six years old, this was not always possible, especially with regard to parentification studies, as most of the seminal works were published prior to 2000.

2.1 Child-Headed Households

A child-headed household in this study is defined as a household in which the individual primarily responsible for the day-to-day running of the household is 18-years-old or younger (Foster, Makufa, Drew, & Kravolec, 1997). The emergence of child-headed households is a relatively new phenomenon with cases being documented since the late 1980's (Foster et al., 1997). The Nelson Mandela/HSRC study of 2005 found that 2.6% of children aged 12 to 18 years claimed to be the head of a household. This percentage represents 180 433 child-headed households in South Africa in 2005 (Shisana et al., 2005). Although they currently make up a small proportion of households, studies indicate that their prevalence has doubled between 2002 and 2005 (Shisana et al., 2005). It has been predicted that as the Aids epidemic approaches its peak, the incidence of child-headed households will increase, the children heading the households will be younger, and instead of being transient household arrangements, they will remain for longer periods of time (Foster et al., 1997).

When one or both parents become ill with Aids, children may be recruited to help with various tasks for the household, including caring for their ill parents. In a study of orphans and vulnerable children by Giese, Meintjes, Croke and Chamberlain (2003), 31 of the 118 households were comprised of children living with their sick caregivers, and in just less than a third of these no other adults were present. Their research found that, in most cases, the eldest resident girl child cared for the sick caregiver. Similarly, Germann (2005) found that all of the 105 child-headed households he studied had experienced a long period of illness of

at least one parent and, in the majority, both parents had been ill. Sometimes, because of the strong stigma associated with HIV and Aids, a child assumed a parental or adult role to hide the parent's illness from outsiders (Stein et al., 1999). In this respect, because of their potentially secretive nature, it may be difficult to accurately assess the prevalence of child-headed households. Furthermore, orphan statistics do not necessarily correlate to the number of children heading households as parents do not have to die for children to assume headship.

Child-headed households that have adult occupants, such as ill parents, underscore the need to make a distinction between child-headed households that include adults (accompanied households), and those that do not (unaccompanied households) (Germann, 2005). Likewise, there is ongoing debate regarding what constitutes heading a household, whether it be on the grounds of moral authority, earnings, decision making or presence in the home and responsibility for day-to-day household functions (Budlender, in Richter, 2004). This is particularly relevant in child-headed households in which an adult resides (an accompanied household). According to Desmond, Richter, Makiwane, and Amoateng (2003) a distinction exists between being the instrumental head of a household (*de facto* headship*)*, and being household head by law (*de jure* headship). In child-headed households an absent, ill or elderly household member may be the *de jure* head of the household, whilst the child is the *de facto* head because of their instrumental responsibilities in the home. In terms of child-headship, Desmond et al. (2003) associate *de facto* headship with more problems than *de jure* headship.

This distinction is particularly relevant with regards to children living with their grandparents. When parents become ill or die, the responsibility for their children frequently falls to the grandparents (Foster, 2000; Giese et al., 2003). However these grandparents are sometimes ill or weak, and the caretaking is reversed with the grandchildren caring for their grandparents (Foster, 2004; Giese et al., 2003). In Germann's study (2005), one out of five child-headed households included grandparents who required care. However, in spite of their physical burden on the household, sickly grandparents were also seen to benefit the household by their ability to unite the family, as well as provide advice and guidance. Nevertheless, conflict did exist when the primary caregiver (and '*de facto*' head of the household) disagreed with the grandparent (Germann, 2005).

A more frequent and more distinct presentation of child-headed households is when there is no adult living with the children. Most of these children are orphans, who would usually be cared for by the extended family (Madhavan, 2004). It has been suggested that the existence of child-headed households indicate that the extended family is failing (Foster et al., 1997). Traditionally a strong network of aunts, uncles and grandparents, the extended family might foster children if they could provide better care, schooling and opportunities (Giese et al., 2003; UNICEF, 2003). In times of crisis, for example in parental illness and death, the extended family would provide a safety net and support to vulnerable children (Foster, 2004; Madhavan, 2004). However, the protective structure of the extended family in Africa has been weakened or broken down by a number of factors that have reduced its efficacy in providing support to family members and Ankrah (1994) cites several reasons for this: First, because of migration to urban settings, families have become more nuclear. Second, due to a decrease in financial resources, extended family members are no longer able to offer as much support. Third, the belief in Christianity has decreased the number of polygamous marriages and therefore decreased the size of the primary family. Furthermore, Bozalek (1997) argues that in South Africa the extended family is considerably weaker than other countries in Africa due to the institutionalised racism that affected families' access to land, education and employment possibilities, as well as access to transport and other basic facilities. This already-weakened system has been put under further strain by the Aids epidemic, which has limited both the parents' ability to look after their children as well as the number of extended family members to whom they could turn for alternative care (Foster, 2000; Johnson & Dorrington, 2001).

Other factors have also led to the establishment of child-headed households. In particular, if an adolescent had proved whilst the parent was still alive that he or she was capable of assuming the responsibilities in the household, relatives would leave the adolescent to head the household after the death of the parent (Foster et al., 1997). Sometimes the extended family may try to split siblings up to be cared for by different members in order to share the drain on their resources. But separation from siblings can cause emotional distress in children, and children may refuse to move in with relatives in order to stay together and in a familiar environment, such as home and school (Nampanya-Serpell, cited in Richter, 2004). Other factors that may lead to the establishment of child-headed households include lack of contact with relatives, a last request by their dying parent, and children's refusal to move away from their parental home, especially if they have inherited the property (Foster et al.,

1997). A child-headed household may develop after the death of a relative with whom the children had lived with following their parent's death (Foster, 2004). This occurs especially when children live with their grandparents, who are more likely to be ill and incapacitated at an earlier stage (Foster, 2004).

In contrast to being a helpful resource, the extended family may contribute to a child's vulnerability by treating children that they take in worse than the other children in the house such as making them do more household duties, or work for an income (Giese et al., 2003). In addition, children have been exploited by relatives in other ways such as taking their inheritance and land away from them (Giese et al., 2003), as well as abusing their social support grants (Skinner et al., 2004). Although social support does exist for vulnerable children in the form of the child support grant and foster care grant, it is feared that the foster care grant in particular may lead to the exploitation of children (Giese et al., 2003). The foster care grant, given to relatives who care for an orphan or vulnerable child, is of a higher value and is for a longer duration than the child support grant. Thus a well-meaning support structure may lead to the "commodifying" of a child for their monetary value (Giese et al., 2003, p. 165). In poverty-stricken areas, relatives may fight over who will foster the child, often resulting in the more powerful relatives (rather than the more well-meaning relatives who could offer the best care) having legal guardianship of the child (Giese et al., 2003).

Although residential care institutions, such as orphanages, do exist in South Africa, it is commonly believed that these are not optimal placements for children who have inadequate parental care. As well as being substantially more expensive than foster care (Foster, 2004), they also remove children from the community and family context (Skinner et al., 2004). As a result of both the lack of alternative placements, and the fear of exploitation, children sometimes prefer to live without adults in child-headed households.

2.1.1 Psychosocial Effects of Being a Child Heading a Household

In line with UNICEF's (2004) definition of psychosocial impacts, this study includes cognitive, emotional, social and physical factors. A child heading a household (hereafter also referred to as a child-head), will experience various psychosocial stressors, several will be related to the environments in which they live, several will be related to the illness or death of their parents, whilst other impacts will be directly related to being the head of a household. In

fact, Foster (2004) argues that the difficulties that children heading their households face, such as poverty, access to education, and psychological difficulties are not unique, but what is unique is that these difficulties will need to be faced largely without adult help, and the stressors are likely to be more severe and prolonged.

Research has shown that the prevalence of HIV infection is highest amongst poor households (Shisana et al., 2005), and as the course of the illness continues, the financial struggles of the household tend to be exacerbated. As HIV-positive people become ill, they are less likely to be able to work and the costs associated with their healthcare could increase exponentially (Giese et al, 2003). Thus, as the illness continues and worsens, the household income decreases, whilst the expenses increase, until the point of death which may leave the household impoverished (Foster, 2005; Germann, 2005). In addition, high funeral costs exacerbate the strain (Richter, 2004). This can have far-reaching consequences for the household, such as a lack of money for medical care or for transport to access potential sources of support. Families sometimes resort to reallocating their resources, such as withdrawing children from school, or they may sell household assets (Germann, 2005). This may leave a household in extreme vulnerability as they are left with no reserves or savings (Richter, 2004). As poor households have fewer assets to fall back on, they experience more severe difficulties in trying to cope (SAfAIDS, cited in Germann, 2005).

Children affected by HIV and Aids may also start working for an income. This is particularly true for girls (Foster, 2004). Although child labour in general is not uncommon in South Africa (Richter, 2004), orphans are more likely to be involved in work due to the generally poorer conditions in which they live (Foster, 2004). The types of work that children become involved in include domestic work, gardening, farming, hawking, as well as working in shabeens and brothels (Foster, 2004). In the study by Germann (2005), it was found that most children heading a household spent several, if not many, hours dedicated to earning an income for their families; however the pay was generally very low. Renting out part of their property to others was another way to generate income, which was used by most child-headed households in the study. These responsibilities are considered to be developmentally inappropriate and could lead to long-term emotional problems, disruptions in education and sexual exploitation (Foster, 2004). However, according to Maslow's (1970) hierarchy of needs, basic physiological needs assume priority over all other needs, and the children's emphasis on income generation in order to satisfy these needs may be appropriate in these

circumstances. Thus the developmental impairments that may occur when children are involved in income generation, are seen to be less critical as the consequences of lacking supplies for basic survival.

Research has found that orphans are more likely than non-orphans to be absent from formal schooling (Smart, 2003a; Webb, cited in Johnson & Dorrington, 2001). However, it has been argued that low school enrolment is more strongly correlated with poverty than with orphanhood itself. When orphan enrolment is delayed, it appears to be linked to the poor environments in which they live (Ainsworth & Filmer, 2002; Marais, 2005). Girls are more likely to be withdrawn from school than boys as investment in boys' development is presumed to be more beneficial in terms of later income. Furthermore, girls are more likely to be caregivers and as such are assigned these positions to the detriment of their schoolwork (Giese et al., 2003; Marais, 2005). Although the removal of children from school may assist households in the short-term by reducing their costs, and increasing the labour (either outside or inside the home), this is seen to have a negative effect on the household in the long-term (Hunter & May, cited in Philipson, 2005). Of the children living in child-headed households in Germann's (2005) study, a large proportion did not attend school although they were still at school-going age. It is reported that most children dropped out of school whilst their parents were ill and they had to provide care for them. Furthermore, most of the children attending school did not perform optimally because of a number of factors, including hunger, lack of time to study, irregular attendance, and ruminations whilst at school (Germann, 2005). Not only are children in child-headed households less likely to attend school, they tend to have limited family contact, and therefore may not have access to the life skills or cultural knowledge that is usually passed on from the parents and family (Walker, 2002). Furthermore, many children in child-headed households lack access to adequate information, such as information on household management, sexuality, alcohol use, legal issues to run a household, and care of younger siblings (Germann, 2005).

In 1999, Schonteich predicted that the large number of children orphaned by Aids in South Africa will lead to social breakdown, cultural collapse and other costs to general society. He argued that the large number of poor and vulnerable children who have been traumatised by Aids-related parental death and who lack support as well as role models, would lead to the exploitation of children, delinquency and crime. Furthermore, he argues that on a large scale, the high proportion of young men, who have the highest propensity to commit crime, may

lead to an environment that encourages violent crime and group-based aggression. Schonteich's argument, however, has been disputed by Bray (2003, 2004). In particular, she argues against the causal assumption that family factors, such as parental death, leads to delinquency. She contends that the South African context, including family structures and child-rearing practices, may be very different to the Western contexts that are used to support Schonteich's statements. In particular, she disagrees that if children lose their parents this will mean that they do not have a role model. In African families in particular, there may be people who provide a role model to a greater or lesser degree. In addition to the extended family, there may be individuals within the community who are actual or potential role models. Bray reinforces her argument by referring to other countries in Africa, such as Uganda and Botswana that are further through the process of the pandemic, but have not had massive social upheaval because of their large number of orphans.

Children affected by HIV and Aids within the context of poverty, peer pressure and a lack of adult guidance, may become sexually active at an earlier age, be vulnerable to sexual abuse and become involved in commercial sex work (Richter, 2004). Sometimes girls marry early to provide for their families (Foster, 2004), whilst others may use transactional sex for either basic necessities or for luxury items (Luke & Kurz, 2002 in Marais, 2005). These factors all increase their risk of HIV infection (Richter, 2004).

Children in child-headed households can be vulnerable to abuse. One study found that up to 40% of children had experienced abuse (physical, verbal, sexual, exploitation or neglect) since living in a child-headed household (Walker, 2002). This figure, however, may underestimate the prevalence of abuse due to the vulnerability of children and complexities in reporting such occurrences, particularly if the abusers are known to the children. However, Germann (2005) questions whether this abuse is any more than abuse of other vulnerable children in the community. In spite of his finding that there were over 1000 incidences of abuse among 105 child-headed household members over a one-year period, he argues that children living with relatives may experience equivalent or more severe abuse. In fact, a large proportion (36%) of child-headed households in his study were established in an attempt to avoid the abuse that they had experienced from relatives.

Stigma and discrimination within the context of HIV and Aids are seen as the primary causes of social isolation, shame, and a lack of emotional and financial support, not only for the

individual infected with HIV, but for their families too (Giese et al., 2003). It has also been found that children orphaned by Aids have a much higher rate of attempted suicide than children orphaned by other causes (Bray, 2003), and it has been suggested that this is partly due to the stigma and discrimination that is associated with Aids (Kelly, cited in Bray, 2003). Whilst stigma refers to negative attitudes or beliefs people hold about individuals affected by HIV and Aids, discrimination pertains to actions or lack thereof such that people affected by HIV and Aids are treated differently, in a way that impinges on their human dignity (Deacon, Stephney, & Prosalendis, 2005; Strode & Grant, 2001). In some cases, children do not experience direct discrimination or stigmatisation relating to HIV and Aids, but do feel embarrassed about the poor state of their clothes, stationery and books (Walker, 2002).

An important aspect of stigmatisation within the context of HIV and Aids is the concept of self-stigmatisation (Goffman, in Deacon et al., 2005) whereby individuals avoid situations that they assume will lead to discrimination. For example, some families have chosen not to receive relief packages, or to access health and social services in order to avoid the stigma associated with those packages or services (Giese et al., 2003). Similarly self-stigmatisation also disrupts school attendance, as children will stay away in order to avoid discrimination from teachers and peers (Richter, 2004). Although avoidance is usually seen as a maladaptive response, within the context of Aids this avoidance may constitute a realistic evaluation of a situation or community (Deacon et al., 2005).

Often the instrumental tasks that children living in a child-headed household experience overshadow the psychological issues that they may experience, but Germann (2005) suggests that the effort of appearing to cope and being ‘invincible’ must be enormous. Research has shown that children with HIV-positive parents can experience heightened anxiety and depression, difficulty eating, and somatisation problems such as headaches, migraines and stomach aches (Pivnick & Villeges, 2000; Rotheram-Borus, Lee, Gwadz, & Draimin, 2001). People with HIV and Aids can have various mental and psychological difficulties, including mood disorders, dementia and delirium, which may make them emotionally unavailable parents (Freeman, 2004). Giese et al. (2003) found that children experienced that as their parents became more ill, their attitudes towards them changed, with children perceiving their parents not caring about them, being angry and sometimes dismissive towards them. This was very distressing for the children, sometimes resulting in children staying on the streets rather than going home. Furthermore an ill parent may target their anger and disappointments in life

at their children, which can result in the children feeling incompetent and unworthy of love and affection, which may lead to poor self-esteem (Winton, 2003). In addition, the children may also experience the domestic violence that frequently is related to the environments within which many people with Aids live (Giese, 2002). Giese et al. (2003) found that children being caregivers compromised their lives, such as psychological distress such as worries and nightmares about the ill person. They also needed to take on responsibilities that were overwhelming for them, such as what to do at a particular stage of illness, and when to call for professional help. The difficulties that children experience during their parents illness have led researchers to agree that educational, social, economic and psychological problems may be more severe before and not after parental death (Foster, 2004; Rotheram-Borus & Stein, 1999). Thus, the 'process of orphanhood' (Giese et al., 2003, p. 22) is greatest prior to the death of a child's caregiver.

Parental disclosure to their child about their HIV status, probable illness progression, and plans after their death are important factors that impact on the child's emotional well-being. An absence of illness disclosure and death planning was found to lead children to feel anxious and extremely distressed (Giese et al., 2003; Pivnick & Villegas, 2000), and on a practical level the children were required to accept considerable responsibility without forewarning or foreplanning (Giese et al., 2003). On the other hand frank discussions of this nature helped children to prepare themselves emotionally and practically (Freeman, 2004).

The death of a parent has been associated with anxiety, rumination, depression, and low self-esteem in children (Richter, 2004). Thus, reactions tend to be in the form of internalising rather than externalizing symptoms (contrary to Schonteich's (1999) predictions of aggression and antisocial behaviour). Furthermore, a child who has experienced the death of one parent may, often quite accurately, fear the death of the other parent (Stein, 2003). In many cases, children experience multiple losses, including their mother, father, possibly siblings as well as grandparents or other relatives, which can lead to continuous traumatic stress syndrome (Germann, 2004).

Many children in Walker's (2002) research of child-headed households showed signs of trauma and stress related to their situation and felt powerless and generally pessimistic about their future. Similarly, Germann's (2005) study found that children heading households tended to have fairly low perceptions of both their current and future quality of life. But he

found that quality of life was directly related to support received from siblings, peers and neighbours. And thus perceptions of quality of life appeared better in older and more established communities, where collective care is better.

It has been suggested that in the long term, the increase in children affected by HIV and Aids may result in thousands of children developing mental health problems which may impact on their ability to function at school, to be employed and to develop healthy relationships (Freeman, 2004). These psychological effects, combined with the socio-economic impact of HIV and Aids, may increase children's vulnerability which could increase their chances of HIV infection, illiteracy, poverty, child labour, exploitation and unemployment when they reach adulthood (Foster & Williamson, 2000; UNICEF, 2003).

2.1.2 Support and Assistance for Child-Headed Households

The South African government provides the child support grant and foster care grant for children in need, provided that an adult is present in the home (thus in the case of child-headed households, an accompanied household). Even those children who are eligible for grants actually receive them, due to a lack of awareness surrounding the grants, lack of necessary documentation, administrative delays and the poor service of government personnel (Foster, 2004; Giese et al., 2003). At this stage, children living alone in unaccompanied child-headed households are not able to access social grants for two reasons: First, the law requires that a primary caregiver is an adult, and second, in the case of a foster care grant, it is only accessible by an individual who, by a court order, has been granted fostership of a child (Rosa, 2004), which precludes the informal fostering by another child. This means that the grants exclude some of the most vulnerable children (Foster, 2004; Rosa, 2004).

Other than these grants, the South African government provides food packages for those people who need immediate help to survive. However, the value of these packages is less than the value of the grants, and can only be given to a household for a maximum of three months (Foster, 2004). Apart from state interventions, most formal support for HIV affected households is through non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations. However, these are seen to be fragile structures as they are run mostly by volunteers (Bray, 2003).

It has been suggested that child-headed households are an adequate option for orphans and vulnerable children, provided that the household is supervised by an adult in the community (Skinner et al., 2004) However, support from another adult is not common with almost all children living in child-headed households in Germann's (2005) study reporting no relationship or a poor relationship with relatives. In addition, the majority did not feel they received support at all.

By comparison, however, the children living in child-headed households in Germann's (2005) study were satisfied with the support they received from friends, although several were unable to meet their friends at least once a week. He found that siblings first, and close friends second, were the most important support structures for child-headed households. Other youth their age were also important, indicating that children seek support from other children. In his study, he found that although relationships between siblings in child-headed households were generally good, there were incidences of conflict that usually centred on disobeying the child who has assumed the position of head of the household.

The existence of child-headed households has been viewed at times, not as an indication that family and community safety nets have failed, but rather as an adaptation of those safety nets and a coping mechanism within the context of HIV and Aids (Germann, 2005; Pharoah, 2004). Indeed, child-headed households are usually temporary arrangements whilst relatives organise who will care for the children (Foster, 2004). Even in cases where child-headed households continue, they usually are in contact with some adult support (Pharoah, 2004).

2.2 Parentification

A child taking on adult responsibility is considered a normal part of growing up. It is not unusual for adolescents, in particular girls, to take on some adult household tasks or responsibilities. Research suggests that the assumption of such responsibility, if at an age-appropriate time, could be beneficial in terms of greater self-esteem (Barnett & Parker, 1998), a healthy sense of belonging and usefulness (Chase, 1999), and the development of resilience and coping strategies (Valleau, Bergner, & Horton, 1995). On a systemic level, other theorists argue that provided the adult-type responsibilities are implemented carefully, they can be adaptive in some households, such as large, single parent, or poor families (Mika, Bergner, &

Baum, 1987; Minuchin, Montalvo, Guerney, Rosman, & Schumer, 1967). However not all adult-type behaviours are considered appropriate for children, and several writers warn of detrimental outcomes for the child who assumes too great a responsibility (Chase, 1999; Jurkovic, Morrell, & Thirkield, 1999).

Mika et al., (1987) define parentification as "the familial interaction pattern in which children and adolescents are assigned roles and responsibilities normally in the province of adults in a given culture" (p. 231). The inclusion of culture in this definition of parentification is atypical, but significant in the current study given the non-Western context. It has been argued that parentification may not be universally applicable and that caution should be heeded in terms of understanding parentification in isolation from a sociocultural and historical context (Anderson, 1999; Jurkovic et al., 1999; Winton, 2003). According to Anderson (1999) both the attributes that describe parentification as well as the tools used to measure parentification are not universal, but are socially defined. He claims that American or Westernised values of independence, autonomy, the development of the self and clear boundaries between parents and children are the foundations upon which most parentification studies rest. These values in other contexts may not be applicable, and he cautions against viewing all parental or adult responsibilities as pathological. Throughout history, in various cultures and in many working-class and poor families, family members share the responsibilities of the household, and it is the norm for children to be caretakers (Winton, 2003). Furthermore, Winton (2003) argues that families from these cultures are usually bound within an extended family and community. This extended network, Winton claims, is able to acknowledge the child's efforts and offer their appreciation if a parent does not do this.

Likewise, it has been suggested that childhood is not an objective biological construct, but a sociocultural and historical phenomenon (Dawes & Donald, 1994). At different times in our history and in different cultures, childhood has been conceptualised differently in terms of duration, vulnerabilities, needs, rights and responsibilities (Winton, 2003). Hence, any discussion of what is normal for children should take into account the fact that childhood is not merely biological but is also inextricably linked to the socio-cultural context, which strongly influences ideas about childhood and psychological development. These considerations are particularly important in South Africa, where the heterogeneity of society denotes that there may be a variety of socio-cultural beliefs and practices, which in turn indicates that there may be a variety of conceptualisations of childhood and what is

appropriate in terms of development, roles, responsibilities and vulnerabilities. Thus in order to contextualise the experience of parentification within a community, it is critical that one establishes the norms for that community, and not to rely on Westernised theories of childhood and development.

In order to assess the appropriateness of responsibility a child assumes within a family, a hypothetical continuum consisting of four types of roles has been developed by Jurkovic et al. (1999): This includes infantilisation, healthy non-parentification, adaptive parentification, and destructive parentification. When a child does not assume any age-appropriate responsibility and is dependent on the care of their parents, this is known as infantilisation. Healthy non-parentification is where children are assigned age-appropriate tasks in the home, but rigid roles are not placed upon them. Adaptive parentification refers to when a child is thrust into a parent or adult role during a crisis and for a short period only. In addition, the effort of the child is recognised and acknowledged as a role outside of what is normally expected of him or her. Destructive parentification is defined as excessive responsibility for a child, both in duration and extensiveness, such that it seriously impinges on the child's development, and the child does not receive recognition and support for his or her efforts (Barnett & Parker, 1998; Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Minuchin et al., 1967).

Parentification has also been delineated into different types of responsibilities or roles assumed by (Mika et al., 1987): Non-specific adult role-taking includes household chores, such as laundry, making dinner, cleaning the house, and doing dishes. Spousal role vis-à-vis parent involves the sharing of intimate secrets, personal problems and financial issues of the parent as if the child is another adult. A parental role vis-à-vis sibling refers to caring as well as disciplining his or her siblings as if the child were their parent. Parental role vis-à-vis parent involves the parent asking for input on decisions, seeking advice on adult matters, and receiving care when physically ill from the child. It has been suggested that when a child acts as a parent to their parent, it is a role-reversal, and is potentially a more detrimental form of parentification because in addition to limiting the child's development because of the age-inappropriateness of the role, it also affects the next generation because of the repetition of this family pattern through to the next generation (Barnett & Parker, 1998).

Another distinction has been made between instrumental and expressive parentification. In instrumental parentification, a child is involved in practical tasks, such as cooking, cleaning, and physical care of those he or she parents, and sometimes earning an income. In expressive parentification, which is seen to be more threatening to a child's well being, a child is attuned to the emotional needs of whomever he or she is caring for, and will provide emotional support, or be a peacemaker or mediator as required (Jurkovic, Jessee, & Goglia, 1991). It has been proposed that in middle to upper class families, children are more likely to display expressive parentification behaviours because there is enough money to hire external help (such as cooks and nannies) for the instrumental tasks (Winton, 2003). It is likely that children in households affected by Aids may present with both instrumental and expressive parentification, by assisting with the household tasks and earning money for the household, as well as providing emotional support for household members.

2.2.1 Occurrence of Parentification in the event of Parental Illness and Death

Within the parentification literature, there appears to be a paucity of studies in situations where there is little or no adult assistance, such as in child-headed households. However, relevant to the current study, the literature does cover parentification in relation to parental illness and death. Parentification is likely to occur in homes where, due to major illness or disabilities, parents are unable to fulfil their parenting roles (Stein et al., 1999). The parents' inability to cope triggers a child to step into the vacuum to look after the siblings, as well as the parents (Barnett & Parker, 1998). It has been found that if the mother is the ill parent (as opposed to the father), children will be forced to assume more household duties due to the widespread social convention that women are responsible for most household tasks (Crosby & Jaskar cited in Stein et al., 1999). When a parent becomes ill suddenly, it can be an adaptive function for a child to take over the caretaking processes temporarily, especially in a single-parent household (Winton, 2003).

Sometimes a child becomes parentified when one parent falls ill and the other parent cannot cope and escapes to work or abandons the relationship altogether (Winton, 2003). Similarly if one parent dies, the surviving parent may be sad, anxious or depressed, which may cause a child to become the caretaker (Winton, 2003). For this reason, it has been argued that the care offered by a sibling may be more reliable than the care offered by an unpredictable and

dependent parent figure (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973). Parentification can also be less subtle. For instance, one study showed that in 40% of cases when a parent died, children were told that they should be responsible, and "be the man (or woman) of the house", thus commanding parentification (Sandler, Ramirez, & Reynolds, cited in Winton, 2003).

Researchers have suggested that children of parents with Aids are prone to parentified behaviours (Goglia, Jurkovic, Burt, & Burge-Callaway, 1992). One study (Stein et al., 1999) examined parentification behaviours of adolescents whose parents had Aids, and evaluated these in terms of the roles suggested by Mika et al. (1987), namely adult role-taking, parental role-taking and spousal role-taking. They found that more adult role-taking was associated with having a female parent with Aids, and that adolescent girls reported more adult role-taking. Parental role-taking by adolescents was predicted by more severe parental illness and more parent drug use. Spousal role-taking was predicted by more severe parental illness and the parent with Aids being male.

Winton (2003) argues that parentification is not an inevitable outcome of families who experience high levels of stress. He argues that while it does provide the opportunity for a child to take on that role, this role could also be filled by relatives, friends and neighbours. It should be noted, however, that many child-headed households in South Africa are embedded in the context of poverty, overburdened extended families, and HIV and Aids-related stigma and discrimination. As such many child-headed households were established because no other adults were available and there may not be other individuals to take the roles of parentification.

2.2.2 Effects of Parentification

It has been argued that whilst parentified children are caring for others, they sacrifice their childhood-appropriate needs for attention, comfort and guidance (Chase, 1999). They may become overburdened with additional responsibilities and thus miss out on their own childhood (Siegel & Silverstein, cited in Stein et al., 1999), or ignore their short-term and long-term developmental tasks (Valleau et al., 1995).

Erikson's (1959) theory is frequently consulted when looking at emotional and social development, not only because his theory takes into account stages beyond childhood, but

because it is seen to be culturally and socially sensitive. His model of psychosocial ego development has also been applied to the developmental consequences associated with parentification (Fullinwider-Bush & Jacobvitz, 1993). According to Erikson, an individual faces particular developmental tasks or crises at particular stages of their life, and successful resolution of a stage is necessary to continue to the next stage of development (Erikson, 1959). Therefore it is not possible to skip a stage and move to a more advanced level of development without negative implications. As both child-headed households and parentification are largely discussed in relation to adolescents, it is appropriate to focus on Erikson's view of this stage of development. The stage of adolescence is marked by the crisis of 'identity versus role confusion' whereby the individual has more diffuse roles, and can experiment in order to find a niche that suits him or her (Erikson, 1959). At this stage an individual shifts away from the influence of home and parental figures, and his or her friends or peers become paramount. This social awareness is critical to adolescents as they try to relate their own identity to that of others, in particular to the identity of their peer group (Erikson, 1959). At this stage an adolescent is "more or less retarded in his [or her] psychosexual capacity for intimacy and in the psychosocial readiness for parenthood" (Erikson, 1959, p. 119). It is only after a sense of identity has been reasonably established, therefore after adolescence, that the developmental focus shifts to relationships (with the crisis of 'intimacy versus isolation') and later, to becoming parents (with the crisis of 'generativity versus stagnation') (Erikson, 1959). For the adolescent whose environment does not allow for this experimental phase, but instead demands physical intimacy, occupational choice, competition, and psychosocial self-definition, he or she is likely to experience acute identity confusion (Erikson, 1959). This identity confusion is characterised by an individual who does not have a sense of self, or a sense of his or her belonging or function in the world (Sadock & Sadock, 2003).

It could be argued that Erikson would see parentification of adolescents in child-headed households as implicitly denying this stage of experimentation and requiring the individuals to disregard the importance of identity development. Instead, the adolescents may be forced into intimacy issues (with a remaining parent) and parenting issues (with their siblings and possibly parents), which are consistent with the developmental stage of an older individual. Furthermore, parentification may require an adolescent to seek employment to support his or her family, in which case they may be forced into making an occupational choice, which could further impair identity development. Significantly, however, Erikson (1959) recognised

that the culture and historical era in which a child finds him or herself may limit the number of socially meaningful identifications available to him or her when making choices. He conceded that in some circumstances, such as for soldiers during the war, disregarding the importance of identity formation, or even the threat of losing their identity, was necessary in light of other external circumstances. "During collective emergencies all resources, emotional as well as material, must be mobilised with relative disregard for what is workable and economical under more normal conditions of long-range development" (Erikson, 1959, p. 48). One may speculate on whether Erikson would consider HIV and Aids within the context of adverse environmental conditions, such as poverty and overburdened community resources, an acceptable justification to disregard identity formation as may occur in parentification.

Conversely, Erikson's theory may also explain a child's motivation for taking on a parentified role (Chase, 1999). At least temporarily, the parentified role corresponds to the child's developmental need to be useful and functional, particularly during Erikson's 'initiative versus guilt' and 'industry versus inferiority' stages. However, if the parentification role is overwhelming, the child will not be able to perform and will not feel that they have shown initiative and industry, but instead will feel the inverse - guilt and inferiority (Chase, 1999; Earley & Cushway, 2002).

Although a child who is able to take on parentification tasks may appear to be well functioning within the family, he or she may be struggling in other contexts, such as having difficulty concentrating at school or missing classes to care for the parent. Parentified children typically do not have adequate outlets, such as exercise and recreation, from this stress, which may lead to psychosomatic illnesses, such as headaches, nausea and skin problems (Winton, 2003). At times these psychosomatic illnesses may be functional for parentified children in that they allow these children respite from their tasks and responsibilities (Winton, 2003). Other conditions associated with parentification include accident-proneness, learning and behavioural difficulties, impulsivity, hyperactivity, anxiety, guilt, impaired individuation, low self-esteem, distrust of relationships, ambivalence regarding dependency needs, depressive symptoms and suicidality (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Jacobvitz, Riggs, & Johnson, 1999). A child who becomes parentified because of a parent's physical or mental illness is particularly at risk of blurring personal boundaries. In an attempt to control the feelings and pain of the parent, the child needs to control his or

her own feelings. If these children are unable to ease the situation for their parent, they may disown their own feelings as protection from feelings of sadness, powerlessness, or worthlessness in helping their parents (Winton, 2003).

Parentification responsibilities can also affect socialisation processes, as these children may not have time to be dating, enjoying friendships, or other age-appropriate activities with their peers. (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Valleau et al., 1995). However, poor socialisation in a child is not only seen as the effects of parentification, but also can indicate susceptibility to parentification. Research has found that socially inhibited children, who tend towards contact with a parent or adult instead of contact with peers, are susceptible to becoming the parentified child in a family (Jurkovic et al., 1991).

Specific to Aids, researchers have suggested that children of parents with Aids are prone to parentified behaviours and that these may lead to role strain in the short term and depression or substance abuse in the long-term (Goglia et al., 1992).A study by Rotheram-Borus and Stein (1999), found that more severe parental illness predicted somatisation and other internalising emotional problems among adolescent children of parents with Aids. Researchers posit that parentified adolescents may model the dysfunctional behaviour of their parents, and show an increase in conduct disorders or acting out behaviours such as sexual promiscuity, which in turn increases their risk of HIV infection (Zayas & Romano, 1994). In a follow up of their original study to examine the presence of adult, spousal, and parental role-taking in adolescents of parents with Aids, Stein et al. (1999) examined adolescents' internalised emotional distress, sexual behaviour, alcohol and marijuana use, and conduct problems. They found that adult role-taking predicted more internalised emotional distress, whereas parental role-taking significantly predicted all the externalised dysfunctional behaviours including sexual behaviour, alcohol and marijuana use, and conduct problems.

Because parentified children are constantly faced with tasks that are difficult if not impossible to achieve (for example making a terminally ill parent healthy), West and Keller (1991) theorised that they may develop a basic insecurity that they are never doing well enough, which results in continuous striving for greater control. Thus children who have experienced parentification are likely to become very serious, responsible, dependable and competent adults (Winton, 2003). They also tend to be compulsive perfectionists who are

extremely critical of themselves if something has not been done perfectly, and become embarrassed at making mistakes (Winton, 2003).

The destructive effects of parentification are seen to be moderated if members of a family take turns in being parentified (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Minuchin et al., 1967). If, however, parentification is only confined to one individual, the effects tend to be more adverse. In families where parentification exists, sibling conflict is common, especially if a parentified child uses coercion to get his or her siblings to do something. Children who consistently experience parentification may find that siblings are angry or resentful of them as they have been elevated to parent status, but may be favoured by the parents because of the tasks that they are doing (Winton, 2003).

As parentification usually occurs during a child's formative years, it can have a significant influence on the child's emerging personality, as well as his or her later adult personality. Bowlby (1977) theorised that a mother who was unable to care for her child but welcomed being cared for, created a situation of conditional love, whereby the parent would attach to the child provided that the child take care of and support the parent. In an attempt to bond with the mother, the child will deny his or her own needs for love, care and attention, and instead provide these for the parent. This pattern becomes generalised to others as compulsive caregiving in that individuals fear dependence on others and can only be in unequal relationships where they are in the role of caring for others, and not ever receiving care from others (Bowlby, 1977). In addition to taking care of parents' physical and emotional well being, parentified children may also change their personality to meet their parents' expectations, thereby increasing their parents' self esteem (Jones & Wells, 1996). It is argued that because a parentified child functions in a particular role for the benefit of their parents (or other family members), they may deny their own strivings and thus undermine their true self (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Jones & Wells, 1996; Valleau et al., 1995). Depending on the parental expectations, this process has been associated with the development of masochistic or narcissistic personality characteristics (Wells & Jones, 2000). Masochistic behaviour occurs when children are expected to be in the service of their parents' physical and emotional needs, whilst narcissistic personality characteristics may be created when the child is required to live out the parent's ambitions and to be extraordinary (Jones & Wells, 1996).

In order to maintain the approval or connection with people, parentified children may adopt an excessive caretaking style of relating to others, even at the expense of their own personal well being (Chase, 1999, Jones & Wells, 1996; Valleau et al., 1995; West & Keller, 1991). This can also lead to difficulties in limit setting, in that they are unable to turn down those who request help (Winton, 2003). They may effectively seek out adult relationships in which they are exploited or dominated (Mika et al., 1987). Parentification can be especially detrimental for development as women (Burt, cited in Chase, 1999), as they may actually experience a certain degree of satisfaction by fulfilling socially approved caretaking roles even though these roles may also have discouraged their individuation (Wolkin, in Chase, 1999). Furthermore, it has been argued that compulsive caregiving related to parentification influences a child's eventual choice of career in that he or she will tend towards careers such as nursing, child care, geriatric work, social work, teaching and psychology, which are characterised as caretaking professions (Winton, 2003).

Sometimes parentification occurs in families who are invested in hiding a secret from the outside world, for example divorce, a physical illness, or a parent who is abusing substances. The parentified child becomes accustomed to keeping secrets and lying to the outside world, which later affects their development of intimate relationships as these require self-disclosure, and being open and honest with others (Winton, 2003). It is likely that children who are heading households within the context of HIV and Aids become accustomed to secrecy in order to avoid stigmatisation, and this secrecy may later impact on their development of intimate relationships.

It is considered a normal developmental task for a child to leave the family system and become an independent adult. But a parentified child may believe that their families will not be able to function if they leave and thus will remain within their family of origin, or will leave with much anxiety and guilt (Valleau et al., 1995; Winton, 2003). Furthermore, it has been suggested that the parenting one receives as a child is related to the parenting one can give to ones own children. Thus a child who endured parentification in their family of origin may lead to parentified children of their own (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973), and consequently the process of parentification should be viewed over three generations.

Many parentification theorists advise that a parentified child be returned to the sibling subsystem and the parents be placed in charge again (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973;

Jones & Wells, 1996; Minuchin et al., 1967; Valleau et al., 1995). This would enable the child to try out new age-appropriate roles and to have more equal relationships with his or her siblings and friends. Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark (1973) indicate that a paradox exists in that a parentified child can only mature if they have been allowed to behave as a child. They argue that parental support is needed for adolescents to give up their adult-like behaviour, but "the mere avoidance of childishness [as in parentification] does not lead to a grown-up status" (p. 22). However, because child-headed households within the context of Aids have usually emerged due to parental illness or death and a lack of other adult support, it is unlikely that an adult will be able to take over the responsibility of the household in order to restore the parentified child to the sibling subsystem.

2.3 Resilience and Coping

Both research on child-headed households and research on parentification warn of the potentially damaging outcomes for the children in these circumstances. However, it has been estimated that out of all children who are exposed to extremely disadvantageous situations, less than a third will be adversely affected whilst another third will thrive, be well adjusted and achieve good intellectual standards (Richter, 2004). Specifically with regards to children affected by Aids, appear to be functioning better than expected (Pharoah, 2004). It has been suggested that this ability or skill could be, in part, the result of a child's resilience and coping skills.

Although the distinction between coping and resilience is unclear (Germann, 2005), it appears that coping is typically a short-term mechanism to deal with a specific problem, whilst resilience is a more enduring feature of an individual's character. Lazarus and Folkman (1991) define coping as "realistic and flexible thoughts and acts that solve problems and thereby reduce stress" (Lazarus & Folkman, 1991, p. 190). However, they extend their definition of coping to include processes or efforts to manage emotions and maintain self-esteem when faced with problems, regardless of the outcomes, as not all problems are solvable (Lazarus & Folkman, 1991).

Resilience can be defined as the process of, or capacity for, successful adaptation despite challenging or even extremely threatening circumstances (Masten, Best, & Garmezy, 1990). Resilient children have been described as being:

> …able to manipulate and shape their environment, to deal with its pressure successfully, and to comply with its demands. They are able to adapt quickly to new situations, perceive clearly what is occurring, communicate freely, act flexibly, and view themselves in a positive way. Compared with vulnerable children, they are able to tolerate frustration, handle anxiety, and ask for help when they need it. (Gabarino, 1992 in Germann, 2005, p. 103)

Research on resilience has found that there is not one single factor but usually an interlinking of factors involved in maintaining social and psychological health in spite of conditions that would ordinarily result in severe trauma (Bray, 2004). In children, these factors include the child's personality and temperament, their learned coping style, their age, support available from adults in their environment, as well as opportunities for achievements and new relationships in their current (or new) environments (Richter, 2004). Conversely, the factors related to a child's maladjustment include if the stressors are chronic and cumulative, and if children have few opportunities for supportive experiences. This emphasises that a child's recovery or maladjustment is more dependent on the contexts of the stressors than the type and severity of the stressors (Rutter, 1981 in Richter, 2004).

Parents exert a significant influence over a child's development of resilience, with the quality of care that children receive as infants having a direct bearing on later resilience (Bowlby, cited in Germann, 2005). Resilience is enhanced if parents are supportive, set rules and routines for behaviour in the home, and act in ways that promote stability and cohesion of the family (Werner, cited in Richter, 1994). Critical for resilience, it appears, is a child's relationships with caring others, not only parents but also being part of social networks and social institutions (Luthar & Zigler, 1991). For this reason, culture is also a strong determinant, in that children in communities with strong extended family ties are less affected by adverse situations than those in families with few or no networks beyond their immediate home (Rabalais, Ruggiero, & Scotti, as cited in Richter, 2004). What seems noteworthy, however, is that although children in adverse circumstances do not have extensive caring and supportive networks, they appear to seek out positive experiences and caring others, such as a teacher, who can compensate for this lack (Richter, 2004). Therefore, even in situations of great adversity, children seek out experiences that will encourage resilience and coping, and it is only in severely deprived situations where no adult support is available, that the worst impacts will be felt (Richter, 2004).

Resilience does not seem to be purely a fixed characteristic. Studies have found that it can be developed over time, through coping with successive stressful situations to establish feelings of mastery (Killian, 2004). The opposite is true as well, however, in that failure in the face of stressful or high-risk situations could lead to a decrease in resilience and consequent increase in vulnerability (Killian, 2004). Therefore, a balance is necessary between experiences that strengthen and experiences that weaken a person.

Related research suggests that coping strategies are either problem-focused or emotion-focused (Folkman & Lazarus, 1991). Problem-focused coping is when an individual deals actively with the problematic situation by seeking to change it or by getting help to deal with it. Emotion-focused coping usually occurs when an individual assesses that they do not have the internal or external resources to deal directly with the problem, but will instead attempt to deal with the emotional stress of that problem. Although both problem-focused and emotion-focused coping can occur concurrently, usually one is in the forefront. However, for successful long-term adaptation, an individual should be able to draw on either of these strategies (Germann, 2005). Like resilience, coping is improved if there is social support available, in terms of practical, material, informational, spiritual and emotional support. This assists an individual to deal effectively with the problem, in a problem-focused coping manner. A lack of this type of support can lead to an individual's excessive use of emotion-focused strategies (Germann, 2005).

According to Marais (2005) coping strategies that vulnerable households employ are usually short term, and do not take into account the long-term consequences of these approaches. Examples of these include withdrawing children from school, selling household assets, taking on further debt, and allowing land to lie fallow. Marais (2005) cautions against the reliance on resilience and extended family networks to assist households in vulnerable conditions, such as chronic poverty. He argues that the chronic poverty endemic to the communities most affected by HIV and Aids will result in the number of people in need, far outstripping the supportive factors of resilience and resources of extended family networks.

One factor that may be a significant factor for children heading their households is required helpfulness, which has been identified as a resilience factor (Werner, 1984). In child-headed households, the resilience of a parentified child who is required to take care of the household,

siblings and possibly adult, may be enhanced. However, if the required helpfulness is developmentally inappropriate, this may hamper resilience (Germann, 2005). Similarly, good relationships with siblings also appear to be an important factor in enhancing resilience and coping (Germann, 2005). An interesting finding of Germann's (2005) study was that the respondents in his study who had been exposed to worse trauma were more likely to report that that they could cope with difficulties in life. He suggests the term 'chronic-traumatic growth' (p. 260) be used in the context of children affected by Aids, and in particular children heading a household, to describe the prolonged adversity and consequent resilience that they experience (Germann, 2005).

Thus, what has emerged is that there is no linear progression of traumatic or difficult experiences and the development of damaging outcomes for the individual, and that an interaction of many factors may provide protection in terms of resilience and coping. These considerations emphasise that in contrast to most research that focuses largely on the negative effects of HIV and Aids on children, research also needs to look at the circumstances in which children have developed, or are contained in protective structures.

2.4 Summary

The literature presented in the preceding sections has attempted to incorporate the salient issues facing children heading their households. The impact of HIV and Aids on children is multifaceted and potentially damaging for the individuals and greater community in the long-term. For child-heads, the experience of parental illness and death due to Aids is exacerbated by the change in roles and responsibilities that they need to assume in the household. However, despite suggestions that children in child-headed households, and children experiencing parentification will experience multiple negative effects, researchers have recognised the presence of protective factors that serve to mitigate the stressors in their particular context. These are important to emphasise not only to curtail sensationalist and pessimistic discourse on children affected by HIV and Aids, but also to ensure that these children have access to as many of these protective factors as possible. The current study aims to explore the presence of parentification behaviours in child-heads and provide a better understanding of the stressors and protective factors in their lives.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Rationale and Research Questions

Literature reviewed in this study suggests that children who are the heads of their households are likely to experience parentification and are at risk of a multiplicity of adverse psychosocial outcomes. However, there is a dearth of information on parentification in non-Westernised contexts, or on parentification relating to child-headed households, which represents a significant gap in the literature. As child-headed households are set to become more prevalent, the current study examined the occurrence of parentification in children who head their households, and explored the psychosocial impacts that these children experience. However, their experiences may not be dissimilar to the experiences of other children within a similar socio-economic and cultural context who are from families unaffected by HIV and Aids. This was therefore evaluated by the inclusion of a comparison group from the same communities as the children heading their households, in order to take account of contextual elements.

The primary research question of this study was:

- What is the occurrence, extent and nature of parentification behaviours and related psychosocial effects in children who are heading their households within the context of HIV and Aids?

This question was operationalised into the following subquestions:

- What adult role behaviours do children heading their households assume?
- What parental role behaviours do children heading their households assume?
- What spousal role behaviours do children heading their households assume?
- What are the psychosocial impacts experienced by children heading their households, and what potential collective impacts these may hold for the greater community?
- What coping strategies and supportive structures do children heading their households use?

3.2 Research Design

The present study forms part of a larger project supported by the National Research Foundation (NRF) into the psychosocial impacts of HIV and Aids in South Africa. This specific research is a qualitative study into the experiences of children heading households within the context of HIV and Aids. Qualitative research as opposed to quantitative research is recognised as able to elicit understanding of phenomena from the participants' perspective (Flick, 1998). Another feature of the qualitative approach is that data usually focus on naturally occurring, ordinary events in the setting, and thus a sense of real life experience is gained (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This real life perspective was important in the current study, which sought to understand the day-to-day life of these children.

In order to access the research sample, referral organisations that focused on supporting orphans and vulnerable children within the context of HIV and Aids were approached. These included four non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and one regional office of the Department of Social Services. Between them, these organisations operated programmes in the peri-urban areas of Gauteng, including Alexandra, Soweto, Ivory Park, and Tembisa. For each referral organisation, an initial consultation was conducted with a senior staff member in order to find out about their services (such as how long they had been operating, where they obtained their funding, and the number of children they were supporting), and to discuss the objectives and practicalities of the research. Written permission was obtained from these organisations to access the relevant children (Appendix A).

Two groups of adolescents participated in the study: one affected and one unaffected control. This control group was selected with school, grade and sex as the matched criteria for inclusion. It was assumed that adolescents at the same school would represent children of a similar socio-economic status and culture. This allowed for comparisons to be made between parentification behaviours and psychosocial impacts considered normal and developmentally appropriate within that community, and parentification behaviours and psychosocial impacts particular to being the head of a household due to Aids. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews between November 2005 and May 2006.

3.3 Participants

Through the referral organisations, non-probability purposive sampling was used to identify the heads of 11 child-headed households. There were two criteria for inclusion in the study: First, that the children were aged between 13 and 18 years of age, which was in line with the parameters of the broader NRF study. Second, they were identified by the referral organisations as taking most of the responsibilities in a household affected by HIV and Aids. In this study, "affected by HIV and Aids" was used to indicate households in which the primary caregiver, most often the parent, was ill with HIV or Aids or had died of an Aids-related illness.

To obtain the matched sample, the researcher approached the 11 schools attended by child-heads. All except one allowed access to their records and to select participants. Stratified random sampling was used to select the participants. That is, a class was randomly selected from the number of classes in the specific grade, and then within that class a learner (matched for gender) was randomly selected. Initially, the control group was to be matched on age instead of grade, and this was the case for the first matched participant. However most schools did not have records based on age, only on grade, and therefore subsequent matchings occurred on grade. This meant that the participant matched on age was in a different grade to her matched counterpart, and for those who were subsequently matched on grade, variations in age occurred between the child-heads and the matched individuals.

3.4 Data Collection

A number of parentification assessment measures are in existence such as the Parentification Questionnaire, developed by Jurkovic and Sessions (1986 in Winton, 2003) and the Parentification Scale, developed by Mika et al. (1987). However, these parentification measures, developed primarily in Westernised society, have been criticised for not taking social legitimacy into consideration, that is, whether the behaviours are normal in the family's sociocultural background (Anderson, 1999; Jurkovic et al., 1999). In light of the work that still needs to be done on parentification assessment measures, it has been suggested that qualitative investigations may prove more useful than quantitative studies (Chase, 1999; Earley & Cushway, 2002)

An interview schedule, (Appendix B) was compiled by the researcher, and consisted of two parts. The first part included questions relating to demographic information such as gender, age, birth rank order, educational level and the number of people in the household. The second part included questions regarding parentification behaviours, parental illness and death, and difficulties and coping strategies that the child experienced. For the matched control group, questions regarding parental illness and death were excluded although they were asked about any significant difficulties in their lives.

The interviews were face-to-face and were each approximately 45 minutes in length. Open-ended questions were used in the interview so that participants were able to give comprehensive answers in their own words, although if necessary more directive questions were used to clarify certain points. None of the participants were first language English speakers, although several participants attended English schools. As this was anticipated, the interview questions were compiled using simple language with each question on one topic, and examples were offered if necessary. Prior to the interview, all participants were asked whether they were comfortable for the interview to be conducted in English. Four participants requested that the interview be conducted in their first language. In these cases, NGO co-ordinators (in the case of child-heads) and a teacher with whom the child felt comfortable (in the case of a matched group participant) assisted. They were briefed on the procedures of interpreting, and each signed a confidentiality agreement (Appendix C). The interview schedule, as well as the information sheets and consent forms (Appendices D-I) were available in English, South Sotho and Zulu as these were considered to be the major languages of the participants.

For the group of child-heads, just less than half the interviews took place at their homes. However, two referral organisations did not allow researchers to go to the children's homes for fear of identifying them to the community, which could lead to discrimination. For this reason several interviews were conducted at the offices of the referral organisations, or a school at the midpoint if there were long distances from their home or school to the referral organisation offices. A co-ordinator from the referral organisation was always available if the child wanted them to join the interview, but in most cases they were comfortable to talk with the researcher alone. All interviews with matched participants took place at the children's schools.

Despite best efforts to locate a quiet area free from disruptions, this was not always possible for either group. Sometimes family members or tenants (in the case of child-heads) or educators (in the case of the matched participants) entered the room, but the researcher only continued the interview once the child indicated that it was acceptable to do so.

3.5 Data Analysis

The interviews were transcribed verbatim including non-verbal information that was deemed important, such as hesitations and crying. The transcribed interviews (Appendix J) were then analysed using the thematic content analysis method described by Krippendorf (1980). This method involved identifying themes in the text, and is more an interpretation and elaboration of themes, rather than an enumeration of themes. There is thus an emphasis on meaning rather than quantification (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). Thematic content analysis is often used in comparative studies between groups, which allows differing perspectives to emerge from the thematic data and comparisons to be made (Flick, 1998). As the current research was comparing two groups of participants, this method was considered an appropriate method of data analysis.

In accordance with the thematic analysis approach advocated by Krippendorf (1980), the following steps were employed:
The interview data were initially read twice and divided into discrete, self contained, information giving thematic units. Recording units varied from two words to several sentences. Coding categories were then identified from the interview data to which these thematic units could be meaningfully assigned. Although a number of categories were anticipated based on review of literature and questions in the interview schedule (a priori categories), these were not confirmed unless they emerged in the data independently. The interviews were reread to ensure that the categories were exhaustive. A further analysis was conducted where similar categories were merged to form more distinct, mutually exclusive categories. Each interview transcript was then systematically coded for thematic units according to this index of categories. These thematic units across interviews were then collated under the specified coding categories, which enabled them to be compared and contrasted. A number of data segments were reassigned to more appropriate categories, and categories were scrutinised to ensure that all were necessary and appropriate. Miles and

Huberman (1994) advocate the repeated revision of codes, as several necessitate discarding, others breaking down, others clustering.

Each of the two sets (that is, the study group and the control group) were analysed separately according to the method above. Once two main sets of themes were compiled, these were compared to elucidate the differences and similarities between the child-heads and the sample population from their community. The demographic information was also analysed for trends in terms of age, gender, educational level and birth rank order.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

As a result of the sensitive nature of HIV and Aids, and the fact that children are considered a vulnerable population (Young & Barrett, 2001), there were a number of important ethical considerations applied to this research that are elaborated on below.

The research proposal for the current study was approved by the Wits University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical). Thereafter written consent was obtained from the referral organisations to allow access to the child-headed households that they were supporting. Similarly, consent was obtained from the principals or heads of departments of schools for access to their registers and to approach the selected children for the matched control group.

The study was explained to all participants, and they were informed of their right to refuse inclusion in the study, as well as their right to withdraw from the study at any time. Confidentiality was assured. Written informed consent for participation and for audio-recording was obtained from each participant and their parents. If the participants did not have parents (as none of the child-heads did), proxy consent was obtained from the social workers or co-ordinators assigned to them by the referral organisations. Telephone numbers of a local support group and the community clinic were given to all participants for any debriefing that they required after the interview. All information sheets given to the participants to take home did not specify that the research concerned HIV and Aids in order to avoid stigmatisation should anybody else read these sheets.

When interpreters were necessary, they were requested to sign a confidentiality agreement prior to attending any interviews. To assure confidentiality, all audio-tapes were transcribed by the researcher, and the names of the participants and identifying information have been altered in all material included in this research document. For the purposes of this report, the child-heads are referred to using numbers (1-11) and the matched participants have been allocated letters (A-K) instead of their names. The audio-tapes will be destroyed on completion of this study.

4 RESULTS

The results of this research are presented in several sections. The first section provides the demographic details of each participant and their family constellation to give the reader a sense of their context. The remaining sections present the findings of the thematic analysis of the interview transcripts. The results of the content analysis were divided into conceptual clusters, representing groups of thematic issues that appeared to have some relevance in combination. These clusters were generated from the interview data, but were also guided by the relevant literature of the field. The following clusters were established: parentification behaviours, psychosocial impacts, and coping strategies and support structures.

4.1 Demographic Information

Table 1 ***Demographic Details of Children Heading their Households***

Participant	Sex	Age	Grade	Others in house	Parental death	Duration of referral organisation relationship
1	F	17yr4m	8	14yr brother	Mother April 2005	1 month
2	F	16yr11m	11	13yr brother	Mother January 2004, father February 2004	1yr
3	F	15yr9m	10	17yr brother	Father April 2005, mother August 2005	9 months
4	F	16yr5m	11	19yr brother, 17 & 16 yr sisters	Father 1996, mother 2001	5 yrs
5	M	17yr8m	11	2 brothers (12, 7yrs), 2 sisters (7, 6yrs), 1 male cousin (2yrs)	Mother 2000	2 yrs
6	M	16yr1m	10	Stepfather for 1m	Mother July 2005	6 months
7	F	15yr6m	11	12yr sister & elderly grandfather	Mother in 2000	6 yrs
8 (two cousins referred to as 8a & 8b))	F (8a) F (8b)	17yr9m 16yr11m	12 10	4 of 8a's sisters (16, 15, 12, 6yrs), 3 of 8a's brothers (13, 10, 4yrs)	8b's father 1999; mother 2003; 8a's mother September 2004, father February 2005	1 yr
9	F	17yr8m	12+	11 yr sister, 6 yr brother	Father 1996, mother 1998	5 yrs
10	M	18yr0m	10	17yr brother, 13 yr brother	Mother 1991	3 yrs
11	F	17yr1m	11	13yr sister	Mother died 2002	1 month

Table 1 represents the demographic characteristics of the sample of children heading their households. It should be noted that at one household (indicated as 8), two cousins claimed joint headship, and were therefore interviewed together. As a result, 12 children based in 11 child-headed households were interviewed. The children ranged in age from 15 years 6 months, to 18 years 0 months, with the mean age of 16 years 11 months. The participants were all Black South Africans. Although a few households had been child-headed for less than a year, for most households it had been for longer than this, up to eight years in one case. The average duration that the households had been child-headed was 2 years 5 months.

Three child-headed households contained adults: one included an older brother (19-years-old) although he was still at school, one an elderly grandfather, and one a stepfather who offered minimal support and who was suspected of exploiting the household. These adult members undertook particular responsibilities in their respective households, such as income generation, decision-making or discipline of younger children. However, in two of these three households, younger females were considered by the NGOs to be the head of the households. Another household contained an older brother (17-years-old), but it was the younger sister who assumed headship of the household. The number of children in the child-headed households (including the child-heads) ranged from one to nine children, with an average of three children per household. Three child-headed households contained very young children (six-years-old or younger), but most households contained only adolescents.

None of the participants of the child-headed household group lived with their parents. An absence of this type of participant may have been due to differences in conceptualisation of a child-headed household as it became apparent towards the end of the study that several organisations referred to children living with very sick caregivers as “potential orphans” and did not consider them for inclusion in this study.

The educational levels of the participants ranged from Grade 8 to one participant (Participant 9) having completed Grade 12 a few months previously. The mode grade of participants (that is, the most frequently occurring grade) was Grade 11. In three child-headed households, another member in the household had a higher level of education than the child-head.

Table 2 ***Demographic Details of Children from the Matched Control Group***

Participant	Sex	Age	Grade	Others in house	Parental death
A	F	17yr3m	11	Parents, sisters (24, 12), brothers (21, 10) & cousin (9)	None
B	F	16yr5m	11	Mother & sister (23).	Father in 2002
C	F	14yr11m	10	Mother	Father in 2000
D	F	16yr7m	11	Parents & sister (19)	None
E	M	19yr7m	11	Parents & brother (14)	None
F	M	16yr2m	10	Parents, sister (24) and sister's 1yr baby	None
G	F	16yr1m	11	Mother for last 3m	None
H	NOT MATCHED				
I	F	19yr8m	12	Grandmother, grandfather and uncle	None
J	M	17yr6m	10	Parents, uncle, sister (13)	None
K	F	17yr4m	11	Mother, 3 brothers (10, 6, 1)	Father in 1994

Table 2 illustrates the demographic details of the participants from the matched control group. The two cousins who jointly headed a household could not be matched as access to their school was denied. Therefore ten interviews from ten different schools were conducted. The children ranged in age from 14 years 11 months, to 19 years 8 months, with the mean age of 17 years 1 month. The participants in the matched group were all Black South Africans.

Nine of the matched participants lived with one or both of their parents, sometimes in addition to other adult family members including adult siblings. One participant lived with her grandparents and an uncle. On average, the children in the matched control group lived with at least two adults in their households. There was thus a much greater adult presence in the matched group than in the child-headed household group. On average there were two children in the households of the matched group. This was less than the average number of children in the child-headed households.

In terms of educational level, participants ranged from Grade 10 to Grade 12, where a child in Grade 12 was selected to match the child-head who had completed her Grade 12 (at the same

school) a few months earlier. In spite of the changes to the matching procedure, Grade 11 was the mode (most frequently occurring) grade for the matched group as it was for the child-heads group. In keeping with the findings of the child-headed household group, the people with the highest level of education in the matched households were not always the head of the household. Several children had higher levels of education than their parents (C, G, J, K), although the latter retained headship of their households.

Except for the first matching (Participant 1 with Participant A), a matching on grade allowed one to view the age at which individuals were studying that grade. On the whole, there was no significant difference in age between the two groups within their respective grades, with the mean age of the group of children heading a household (16 years 11 months) slightly less than the mean age of the matched group (17 years 1 month), although the latter group did have a larger age range.

4.2 Parentification Behaviours

4.2.1 Adult-type Behaviour

Children's responsibilities for household chores and tasks were a feature of both groups of participants which suggests that some domestic responsibilities were appropriate within these communities. However, for the children heading the households the bulk of the housework fell on their shoulders, which included cooking, cleaning the house and washing the clothes with little help from other members of the household (1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11). Participant 11's response was typical: "*I do the cooking, washing, I have to clean the house. Like sometimes I do spring cleaning the whole house because she is young and I can do most of the things in the house"*. By comparison, most participants of the matched control group played more of an assistant role in the household, being responsible for one or two tasks, such as cooking or washing the dishes. Two adolescents in the matched group (F, I) perceived themselves as primarily responsible for the household chores as described by Participant F, "*...it seems like I do all of the jobs…Now, after I get home, I clean, I put the laundry in the machine and I clean the whole room and the outside. Then at night, I wash the dishes, I think that I do all of the jobs*". However, their experiences differed from the child-heads as they could request adult members of their households to take over their chores if they were too busy with schoolwork. There was thus a difference between compulsory tasks for the child-heads and

the optional tasks for the matched participants. In three child-headed households (4, 7, 8), the tasks were shared relatively equally between siblings, especially if they were of a similar age. The sharing of major tasks in these households appeared to lessen the impact on these children, with a number of them regarding the tasks as normal roles within their communities as described by Participant 4: *"Because even if my parents were around they would just let us clean the house, cook. So there's no difference there"*.

Several children who were heading their households made the decisions regarding task allocations alone (5, 6, 9, 10, 11). However it was also commonly reported that the decision-making was a joint responsibility shared by the elder siblings of the household, especially if they were of a similar age (1, 2, 4, 7, 8), for example "*Actually, the three of us. The three of us, we are girls, we are the ones who decide okay, maybe today I am the one who's cooking, then tomorrow is the other one, just like that*" (Participant 4). Participant 3's older brother made decisions for the household although he was not considered by the referral organisation to be the head. In contrast, only two participants of the matched group made decisions regarding the household tasks (D, F), whilst for the majority (B, C, D, G, I, J), the decisions were made by their parents, most often their mothers, as illustrated by Participant B, "*My mother makes those decisions"*.

On the few occasions when child-headed households were in possession of cash, the responsibility for keeping the money and making decisions on how it should be spent was made by the child-head (1, 9, 10, 11), as illustrated by Participant 9, "*I buy electricity, and the other one I give it to my sister and brother when they go to school, like money for lunch*". This was in contrast to the matched participants who were rarely included in the financial management or decisions in the household, as this was usually done by the adults in the household, most often the parents (A, B, C, E, F, G, I). Participant A illustrated the boundaries that were evident in her household and appeared to be typical of the majority of matched participant households:

> *"We don't normally hear what they say, what they discuss when it comes to money, because there is too many things that they talk about that we don't know. But the two of them decide on the money. They just stick together when it comes to money"*.

An exception to this was Participant K who reported joint financial management with her mother with whom she ran a market-garden business.

4.2.2 Parental-type Behaviour

Parental behaviours by children towards their parents, which according to Mika et al. (1987) includes the parent asking for input on decisions, seeking advice on adult matters, and receiving care from the child, were reported significantly more frequently by the child-heads than by the children in the matched group. This behaviour was particularly related to caring for an ill parent, as the children who eventually headed the households were often the predominant, if not only, caregivers as their parents became more ill and more dependent (1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11). Participant 11 stated "*And I was the one who was responsible for her, because I was the one who is older".* This was sometimes for long durations of up to four years (7), and required the children to be responsible for considerable levels of caretaking for their parents, including washing them, feeding them, and walking them to the toilet in the terminal stages. This seemed to be distressing for these children, with the reversal of care responsibilities explicit for Participant 4 as she observed: *"Now imagine just feeding an old person who is supposed to feed you and you're still young. It was very painful"*. Even in cases where another adult was present in the household (such as a stepfather in Participant 11's case), the main burden of care for the ill person fell on the child who later became the household head. In some cases these children were assisted in the care of their parents by other siblings in the household (3, 4), or from people outside the household, such as an aunt, an older sibling, or neighbours (6, 7, 9). Another type of parental type behaviour was reported by Participant (5) who offered moral guidance to his father as he tried to steer him from crime: *"My father he was stealing cars. So I tried to talk to him but he didn't want to listen to me and he kept on stealing, so he go to jail"*.

Several participants of the matched group (A, B, D, E, F, J), but none of the child-headed household group, experienced their parents asking them for advice, mostly regarding new purchases or changes to the house. Participant A expressed ambivalence at being asked for advice from her parents, experiencing both pleasure at being asked and guilt if she was unable to advise them, as indicated by her statement:

> *"Sometimes I think it is ok for my parents to talk to me. But sometimes, there are some questions whereby I can't even answer them. I don't have a clue what to say to them, so I feel so bad that I can't even advise my mom".*

Children displaying parental behaviour towards their siblings was also more prevalent in the child-headed household group than in the matched group as often the child-heads were required to clean, cook for, play with, advise, and discipline their younger siblings (1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 10). Participant 2 offered an example of this type of responsibility: "*Showing him the wrong and the right, what I know, what I've experienced in life and make him understand rules*". In three cases this parental role was at the request of the dying parent (3, 5, 9) for example "*It was painful, because she always said that when I pass away please look after your siblings, your younger sister and brother*" (9). When one participant was asked why he thought his mother requested him, and not one of his elder siblings, to look after his younger siblings, he replied:

> *"Because I was doing what she told me to do. I was doing my homeworks, I was staying in the house. I was not drinking, I was not smoking, I was not going with girls, I was not going out".*

The assumption of a parental role was explicit for two participants (2, 9) who felt that they had become mothers to their siblings, to the exclusion of age-appropriate roles, as Participant 9 expresses: *"I cannot compare my life with other 17-year olds, because they are still teenagers so they like to play, they have parents to look after them. Then I just take myself as a mother to my sister and brother"*. Although a few participants of the matched group did assist in the care of their siblings (A, E, K), this was not considered their responsibility, and they tended to relinquish full responsibility of these tasks to their parents.

The discipline of siblings who were behaving in a way that was perceived as unacceptable, for example using drugs or stealing, appeared to be a significant issue for child-heads that participants from the matched group did not have to consider. Participants from child-headed households were primarily responsible for the discipline of their siblings, and a range of approaches was reported. For two (4, 10) the use of physical punishment was the chosen method "*Maybe, sometimes I just beat her with a stick*" (10), but for others (1, 2, 3, 8) talking was preferred "*First of all, we would talk to them, like tell them, what they are doing is wrong. It's not acceptable*" (8b). The dilemma of physical punishment and talking was also faced by Participant 5, who felt that he would be better placed to talk to an ill-disciplined sibling than his elder brother who lives outside the house. He reasons that *"because if I could tell my oldest one he will beat him"*, a punishment of which he evidently did not approve. Two participants (8, 9) reported that they would usually approach the referral organisation for assistance in this regard. In sharp contrast, most participants from the matched group reported

that their parents would take control of a misbehaving sibling. Even if parents were not aware of the sibling's behaviour, the children in this group would inform them, such as Participant E who explained "*I will tell my father and my father will hit him"*. The one exception to this was Participant K who reported that she and her mother would "*sit down with her and advise her*". This was consistent with other reports that Participant K gave which suggested parentification behaviours.

4.2.3 Spousal-type Behaviour

Spousal-type parentification, which includes the sharing of intimate secrets, personal problems and financial issues of the parent as if the child is another adult, was infrequently reported by both groups, but particularly among children heading their households. Three adolescents in the matched group referred to spousal-type behaviour in varying degrees. In Participant D's case, a close spousal dynamic appeared to exist whereby her mother consulted her with secrets and asked for advice, *"And if she tells me her secret, I will advise her too"*. Participant K reported being an emotional support for her mother, particularly regarding the relationship between her mother and her stepfather, as his visits were infrequent and his financial contributions to the household and for the care of his children, lacking. This affected Participant K as her mother thus needed to carry the burden of care, and *"I don't want to see her stressing"*. Participant G's mother asked her child, to be considerate of her relationship and to leave the house to give her and her boyfriend some space when her boyfriend came to visit. However, this may be made necessary due to socio-economic conditions and consequent small homes in which this population live. Two out of the three parents referred to in these cases, were not living with significant partners.

Several other participants did report that their parents spoke to them about adult matters, but the topics of these conversations perceived as 'adult' concerned social topics, advising them about sex, crime, and good behaviour (6, A, B, E), which could be construed as appropriate discussions for parents to have with their adolescent children. Participant E described these adult discussions, "*I must go to church, things like that. I must do good things, I must not do bad things, I must go with good friends, not bad friends*".

4.3 Psychosocial Impacts

Poverty was an issue for all participants but appeared to differ in nature and severity between groups. The child-headed household group relied heavily on the referral organisations for financial support, and usually this was in the form of payment of school fees and supply of clothes and food. Despite this assistance, however, most child-heads reported that they did not have enough provisions (1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11), and were sometimes left without sufficient food or resources for school, and with nowhere else to turn for this type of assistance. Participant 5 describes:

> *"Other things are difficult because of when there's no food I don't know what to do, because I don't work, and I can't borrow any money from the neighbours. And then I'll go to Carol [NGO co-ordinator], I must phone Carol first, tell me stories that it is delayed, and I have to stay like that".*

Two participants received financial support from family who did not live with them (1, 2), but this was sometimes an uncomfortable dependence as described by Participant 2: *"But she wants us to beg her first".*

Two participants within the matched group also spoke about insufficient resources in their households (E, I). Participant I's mother's financial struggles had led to her being cared for by her grandparents, *"Because my mother she can't…my mother she is unemployment [sic] and she can't afford us because we are many…So then my grandmother ask her to take me and to take care of me"*. But when other participants of the matched group reported financial pressures, the perceived deprivation was more about luxury items than necessities, such as Participant F who complained that his parents did not buy him expensive clothes.

The results indicated that income was more regular in the households of the matched group, than the child-headed households. The majority of households in the matched group had at least one person employed, or were receiving a government grant or money from a compensation fund, thus had more avenues of income generation available to them. By comparison, two child-headed households had adult members (6, 7) were able to assist with the household expenses through casual work and a pension. However, it was rare for the child-heads to have additional money to purchase supplementary food or resources for school should the provisions from the referral organisations become depleted. In terms of their own employment, four children (two from the child-headed household group (10, 11), and two

from the matched group (E, F)) had on occasion worked for money. In all cases, this income was irregular, as Participant 11 describes, "*Because actually, I am working on the shop, so they call me when it's busy, if it's not they don't call*". However, for the participants from the matched group this income was for the purchase of personal, luxury items and did not need to be used for family expenses. Three of the four children who had worked were male.

Several participants across both groups reported that their schoolwork was a major concern for them (2, 6, 11, A, B, D, E), sometimes causing much distress. For example, Participant B reported that she was only passing with low marks, and felt others' appraisal of her would be negative *"So I thought everyone is like meant like, it seem like I'm stupid"*. Two participants from the matched group (E, F) had difficulties with their teachers at school, reporting that they were treated unfairly. For example, "*Ja, it affect me at school, because teacher think that we all do bad things, but we are not doing all doing bad things*". (E) No similar reports were received from the children heading households. Three participants (9, 11, I) reported that their responsibilities at home impinged on the time they were able to spend on their schoolwork. Participant I who reported the most tasks in the home compared to the other children in the matched group reported, "*But sometimes it is difficult because I have to clean, and I have lots of schoolwork, you know. So I don't have time for my books"*.

The child-headed household group reported difficulties with their schoolwork that were primarily related to their parents' illness and death. These, included absences from school in order to care for their parents (3, 4, 8, 9), "*Sometimes we had to miss school, especially when she was very very ill, we had to look after our mother. So we didn't have a chance to go to school*"(4). Several children had difficulty concentrating whilst at school (3, 4, 7, 9, 11), such as Participant 11: "*So for me it was difficult because I couldn't concentrate at school, I failed"*. Furthermore, financial difficulties for child-heads also affected their schooling, including insufficient money for school fees, transport to school, or lunch (5, 8, 10, 11), as illustrated by Participant 8b, "*Sometimes I didn't even have lunch to eat at school, but I kept on, I went to school, ja, and it was so difficult*".

Two child-heads reported less difficulty with schoolwork since their parents have died than when their parents had been ill (4, 7). Participant 7 offered an explanation for this: *"I think it is because my mother has passed away, I don't have to look after someone"*. A unique perspective was described by Participant 4 who felt that her schoolwork currently was better

than even before her parents became ill. She attributes this to her parents' requests for her to go to the shop or to perform other tasks, which would interrupt her work and not allow her enough time for schoolwork. She reported that since the death of her parents, she had more time to work and relax. In contrast, Participant 2 reported that she was able to cope when her parents had been ill, but her current depressive symptoms make it difficult for her to fulfil the requirements of her teachers, tearfully explaining: *"'Cause the subjects, they want more practice like maths and physics but it's tough…Ja, because mostly I can't study when I'm stressed"*.

Crime appeared to be a feature of the communities from which the participants were drawn, as it was commonly reported by both the child-heads and the matched participants. Most crime reported was committed by males although not necessarily by participants themselves. For example, Participant 1's brother stole from her, Participant C's brother was in prison for rape, Participant 5's father was in jail for car theft, and Participant 11's brother was arrested for theft. Of relevance is that the child-heads and not the matched group reported most of these incidences. However, the actual perpetration of crime (or pressure to commit crime) was reported by only two adolescents of the matched control group. Again, this was restricted to males (E, F), with Participant E being arrested for armed robbery, and Participant F being accused of theft. It was noteworthy that both of these participants reported that friends were the instigators of their criminal behaviour. Participant E described his friends as *"criminals, they are gangsters"*, and although he loved them, he was not able to trust them and tried to avoid them. Participant F described a distinction between friends at school and friends at home because *"at home friends put you in trouble"*, as they steal and by association he would get into trouble.

Similar to criminal behaviour, several participants reported encounters with drug and alcohol use, however not always describing direct participation. Five participants (5, 11, A, C, E) reported that their elder brothers were drinking and smoking (in one case drugs were specified), often resulting in negative consequences, such as stealing from, or harassment of the participants. Participant E who had previously been arrested, reported that he had been using drugs, but had since stopped. However, as others in his school were using drugs and disrupting classes, the teachers still assumed that he was involved and held him responsible.

Stigmatisation was a significant factor for several child-heads, particularly related to their parents' Aids diagnosis. Participant 4 reported that neighbours who had known her mother had died of Aids were openly prejudiced towards them, *"they even called us the house that we stayed with, it's the house of people who are HIV. And that makes us feel bad because we are not HIV-positive, it was only our parents that were HIV-positive"*. Interestingly, Participant 4 had not told any of her friends that her parents had died of Aids as she was afraid that they would treat her differently, in spite of a comprehensive Aids education programme at her school. Since her mother had died, Participant 3 experienced harassment from the landlord from whom they rented their shack, as well as:

> *"They will sometimes close the water for them not to do their washing. And also if they go inside into their shack and try to talk about whatever is bothering them, they will throw stones on the shack, and always shouting at them that they are making a lot of noise. Ja, they will even sometimes when they greet them, they will even not respond, they just look away. And if they do really look at them they will ask them why are still here?[2]"*

This direct stigmatisation appeared to come from outside participants' families, and was restricted to those who openly admitted their parents' Aids diagnosis. However, not all participants who admitted their parents Aids diagnosis were stigmatised. Other child-heads experienced more subtle stigmatisation, and in these cases was by outsiders as well as by family members. For example, when asked if anyone treated her differently since her mother's death, Participant 9 stated that, *"Ja, because when my mom was sick, before she was sick, neighbours used to come in and sit and look after us, but now no one comes. [I: And why do you think that is?] I don't know. Maybe they think we also have HIV"*.

Several children heading their households referred to exploitation, or perceptions of being vulnerable to exploitation that were not necessarily related to HIV or Aids. This exploitation sometimes came from the extended family, such as Participant 5's uncle, who received foster grant money for looking after them, but:

> *"He used to keep the money, so [I] had to cut it off, because he didn't want to buy me clothes, and things for the others…Ja, he was using all the money, buying cars from the scrapyard, things like that"*.

[2] Interpreter used

Participant 10 was exploited whilst living with his aunt after his mother's death as he was required to do more chores around the house whilst her own children were allowed to play. Two other child-heads were made more vulnerable by their siblings' actions. Participant 1's older brother and his friends stole a cellphone and a watch from her and her younger brother. Participant 11 experienced harassment from her older brother's friends, particularly when they had been drinking and smoking, *"when he is not around they are coming at home looking for him, while they know that he is not around and they are a big problem"*. Participant 9 reported feeling unsafe in her environment, explaining that, *"I worry about thieves. Maybe they will get to us sometimes because they know that, everyone in the street knows that we don't have parents, I just live with my brother and sister"*.

Several participants' parents had advised them against sexual relationships (3, 4, 6, A, B), such as Participant B "*She tell me that I must take care of myself. And I mustn't have sex now, because sex is for married people*", and several had observed some of the problems associated with sexual relationships in their peer groups, such as unwanted pregnancy, school drop out, and foreshortened career opportunities (11, A, C). Amongst the children heading their households, there appeared to be a direct correlation between those who expressed a cautious attitude about sex and heterosexual relationships, and the fact that their parents had discussed their Aids diagnosis with them.

The extent to which child-heads were informed about and prepared for their parents' illness varied greatly, and affected their consequent coping after the death of their parents. Three child-heads' parents did not prepare them for their impending death or discuss plans for after their death (2, 7, 8). In Participant 7's case, there appeared to be denial about the terminal nature of the illness, as indicated *"She never talked about what she wanted, if she passed away. She always told us that when she gets better, she will work for us"*. The child-heads also had a range of perceptions about the cause of their parent's illness. Several openly admitted the HIV diagnosis (4, 5, 6, 9), such as Participant 6, "*My mom was HIV positive. She was diagnosed in '96. She passed away from TB"*. Others reported that their parents had not told them and they were left to hear from neighbours or relatives about the diagnosis, with reasons ranging from demons (8) to tuberculosis (7). Participant 1 alluded to the cause of her mother's death as bewitchment as she stated, *"Yes, when that man left, that's when my*

mum started getting sick. And this very man, had another wife, who was a traditional healer[3]".

The participants of both groups reported emotional difficulties. Most of the child-heads' distress was related to the death of their parents (1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 10), or the consequent lack of support or guidance (1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11). For example, Participant 9's experience of her mother's absence extended beyond loneliness to a sense that she felt too young and knew nothing, in particular *"...about advising my younger sister and brother. Telling them what to do and what not to do. Because I also need someone to talk to"*. Although these experiences were reported by almost every child-head, they were also reported by two members of the matched group whose fathers had died (B, C). Even though their mothers were still alive, the deaths of their fathers seemed to be significant factors for both of them. Participant C's mourning of her father's death was exacerbated by her dreaming of his death beforehand. This unsettled her particularly in light of her recent dreams of the death of her living brother. Furthermore, her mother's illnesses (diabetes, heart problems and psychological problems) appeared to distress her as she contemplated what would happen if her mother died.

Although all participants discussed above presented with emotional difficulties, none were as conspicuous as two participants of the matched control group (D, J) who spontaneously admitted suicidal ideation, with Participant D reporting a previous suicide attempt. Participant D stated, "*There is this one thing, that I once wanted to kill myself*". Both of these adolescents (one girl, one boy) referred to the difficulties with peers, such as not fitting in and being teased by others, as precipitating factors related to their suicidal feelings. Participant J's extraordinary tallness was of particular concern to him, as is evident from his comment: *"It's about me sometimes. The way I look and my body is more bigger than 17-year-old boys"*. In spite of experiencing these suicidal feelings for several years, neither Participant D nor Participant J had been unable to discuss these feelings with anyone else. In the case of Participant D, this seemed to contradict somewhat what she had described as a close relationship with her mother, where they shared secrets and advised each other.

Friends were regarded as significant sources of emotional support for several participants (6, 7, 11, B, C, F). For example, participant B describes, "*I turn to my other neighbour, she's my*

[3] Interpreter used

friend, and then I'll talk to her, and then if she can be able to help, she can". A number of adolescents reported that their interactions with friends related to doing schoolwork together (4, 8, B, E, G). In three cases, the child-head chose best friends who also were orphans (2, 6, 9), because they felt that *"others don't understand actually"* (2). In contrast to the support experienced by participants above, several matched participants felt that friends were the cause of their stress (D, J). For example Participant D lamented, *"Because I used to cry, I used to cry a lot about friends, that people don't like me"*. Her sense of not fitting in would lead her to further isolate herself, by not leaving the classroom at break, for example, or hiding behind her mother if a group of boys was present. Participant D implied that difficulties with friendships led to her suicide attempt. Participant K reported that she did not like friends, saying *"I like children, not the people of my age"*. Although she associated with people at school, she did not regard them as friends, but rather *"I take them as my sisters and brothers"*. When asked what she likes about these people she indicates a way of relating that could be construed as parental: *"First, we share ideas, we guide each other. So I tell them "no, don't do this, do this". Yes"*.

There also was a distinction between friends at home and friends at school (8, 11, C, F), with the former mostly connected to more negative associations, such as

> *"My friends at home they like boys, so I don't hang around them so much. [I: Is that because you don't like boys or because you don't want to…?] That's because I know that boys hurt, so I just let them go around with them*" (C).

Participant F expressed a similar self-controlling principle: *"At home I don't have friends. It's not like they don't want to hang out with me, it's that I don't want to hang out with them…because at home friends put you in trouble"*.

Several participants (4, 5, B, D, E, J) reported that their spare time consisted of school activities, either doing homework or reading their books. For example, "*In my spare time, I like to do like, most of the time I read my books so that I will understand"* (B). Visiting friends and family (1, 5, B, E, G) were also commonly reported. Across both the group of child-heads and the matched group, participants would also be involved in solitary activities, such as reading, listening to music, playing games, or watching television. Participant D, who reported difficulties with friends, and had in the past felt suicidal, spent her spare time watching television, personifying it by investing it with human qualities: *"Watching TV,*

because I think TV is my friend. Because most of the time when I sit and watch the TV all day until the night. Ja, that's what I like to do".

Two participants from the child-headed household group (10, 11), and two participants from the matched group (I, K) reported that they did not have spare time, either in the afternoons or during the weekends because of their tasks in their households, as illustrated by Participant I: *"I don't have the spare time. I am always busy"*. For the two individuals from the matched group, this corresponded with their report of extensive responsibilities they had at home.

4.4 Coping Strategies and Supportive Structures

As this study drew on various organisations to access children heading their households, it was important to understand the children's perceptions of the support that they received from these sources. For obvious reasons, this section only relates to child-heads and not matched participants. Many child-heads reported that, the only financial support they received was from the referral organisation (2, 3, 4, 8, 9), and for those who had other support, the organisation was still the primary financial support structure (5, 10). The referral organisations generally provided food and clothes and paid school fees, while some also assisted with transport and money for electricity (4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10). A typical response was given by Participant 4: "*Actually, when we need things like food, we get it from Ikageng. And then, they also pay our school funds, they do pay for our transport. So everything that we need we get it from here".*

Several child-heads relied on their referral organisation for emotional support (4, 6, 9), sometimes forming a family bond, such as Participant 9 who states, *"I turn to Ikageng. They're my only family, I have no other family"*. Similarly, Participant 4 regarded the NGO co-ordinator as a mother figure:

> *"Actually I talk to Carol, because she's the only one that listens to us when we talk and she does everything we ask her to do for us. Actually, I call her my mom…She has already taken my mother's path. Everything that she does, it was what our mother used to do".*

In two cases (8, 10), the support that the child-heads received from the referral organisations buffered them sufficiently to feel they were not adversely affected, or that their lives were not

different from other children in the community. For example, Participant 10 comments, *"No I don't see any difference there. Heartbeat help me so much. Maybe past year it was so different, as I used to go at school, and no food in the stomach, and the uniform is grown out…I'm the same as them"*.

Extended family care was a common feature of the lives of participants across both groups. Two adolescents in the matched group had lived with extended family members whilst growing up (A, G), whilst Participant I currently stayed with her grandparents. For example, "*Because when I was one until 7 I wasn't living with my parents, I was living with my grandmother*". (A). Several child-heads relied on the support of family members, such as grandmothers and elder sisters, both during their parent's illness as well as after their parent's death (1, 2, 5, 9). A few participants had been cared for by relatives directly after their parent's death, but as these relatives themselves died, the children were left to look after themselves in child-headed households. For example, Participant 9's aunt assisted her in caring for her siblings until she died and left the children to care for themselves. Similarly, Participant 5's grandmother cared for him and his siblings after his mother's death, until she also passed away. Thereafter an uncle took over the caring responsibilities, but he also passed away.

The primary person that several of the children heading a household had for emotional support was a sibling (2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11), even if the sibling was several years younger than themselves (2). The two cousins who jointly headed the household relied on each other for support (8). Generally participants in the child-headed household group reported good sibling relationships, which had become stronger since their parents' deaths (4, 9, 10, 11). For example, Participant 11 described her relationship with her sister: *"I can say that now we love each more than before, 'cause we know that she is not around anymore, we must be tight"*. Matched group participants' siblings were also a form of support, but these siblings were adults (A, B, F). Usually the support given by siblings to the matched participants was in the form of emotional support, help with homework, and help with housework.

Although child-heads did report conflict with their siblings (particularly regarding chores), these difficulties seemed to resolve themselves spontaneously, or were discussed between the children. In contrast, sibling conflict within the matched group appeared to be more extreme and often required the intervention of a parent, as indicated by Participant A who states,

"Because if she's not there we end up killing each other". Several participants from matched group also reported tense relationships with their parents, including poor communication, absence of trust of their parents, and a lack of guidance from them. Participant G had a particularly strained relationship with her mother, with whom she had been living for only three months at the time of the interview. Prior to this, Participant G had been living with two aunts for most of her life and she found the adjustment to her mother's home difficult. She reported that "*there is always arguments every day. The day won't go along without being involved in an argument*[4]".

The interview schedule used in this study included questions on participants' views of and hopes for the future. This was in order to establish whether individuals would like to move away from their current situation, and if they saw this as attainable, thus indicating hope. All respondents except one child-head (Participant 1) had broad ideas about their future. As Participant 1 was in Grade 8, she was the furthest from completing school, which may account for her limited future outlook. Most participants' responses were in terms of the professions they would like to enter. Across both groups, many respondents discussed their ambitions in terms of a career in the corporate world including careers in engineering, accountancy, law and business generally (3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, A, F, G, I, K). For others, career hopes were more focused on the helping professions such as medicine, social work or psychology (4, 8, 9, C, D, J). Two of these participants were explicit in indicating that it was personal experience that led them to these types of professions. For example, Participant 9 wanted to be a social worker because, *"I want to help others like Ikageng has helped me. Like other orphans"*. And for Participant C: *"I want to be a doctor because I've seen from my mother's sickness that people need help"*. It is noteworthy that both the individuals who expressed suicidal ideation (D, J) were drawn to the helping profession, although Participant J's ideas about his particular career were somewhat more vague, as he reported:

> *"I would like to see myself helping other people. Yes, like orphans, people who have HIV/Aids. Yes…It's something that I feel inside. I feel pain for other people, orphans and people with HIV/Aids. And I feel like I could do something for them"*.

[4] Interpreter used

The future plans of several participants included being in a particular place, with Participant 4 wanting to go to New York, Participant D intending to move to England, and Participant 10 wanting to be *"living in Sandton (laughs) and driving X5!"* Participant 9 wanted to move away from her current home due to the fact that she did not feel safe there, but did not specify a particular area to which she wished to move.

For several child-heads the family remained an important focus. They frequently included their siblings' safety and care in their future plans (3, 4, 9), but also wanted to ensure that their parents would be remembered (3, 4, 11), by for example, actualising a mother's plans for her house. In contrast, only one participant from the matched group (E) included caring for his family in his plans for the future.

5 DISCUSSION

5.1 Demographic Characteristics of Children Heading their Households

The findings of this study indicated that neither age nor educational level was a predictor of household headship, but gender was strongly correlated with headship. When the duration of headship was taken into account, it is evident that most child-heads assumed this responsibility in mid-adolescence or at a younger age, and most would have had a Grade 9 education. Eight of the eleven child-headed households in this study were headed by females. Socio-cultural issues are important to highlight, as female-headed households were not uncommon within these communities, indicated by at least half of the matched participants living in female-headed households. The gendered trend for females to undertake these duties was emphasised by three female child-heads who assumed headship in spite of living with adult males in what Germann (2005) would term accompanied households. The males in these households appeared to be the *de jure* heads whilst the females were the *de facto* heads. Thus, it appeared that in the sample of this study the criteria for headship were responsibilities for household tasks and caretaking (*de facto* headship) and not necessarily moral authority or earnings (*de jure* headship).

5.2 Parentification Behaviours

The responsibilities that children heading their households assumed indicated that they were involved in three out of the four parentification behaviour types identified by Mika et al. (1987). Specifically, non-specific adult-role taking, parental role vis-à-vis parent and parental role vis-à-vis siblings were frequently reported, and as they were not frequently reported by the matched participants, suggests that these were outside of what was normal for these communities. In contrast, spousal role vis-à-vis parent was more frequently reported by the matched participants than the child-heads.

As both child-heads and matched participants reported responsibility for household tasks and chores, it could be inferred that these types of adult-type behaviours were normal within the communities from which the sample was drawn. However, the child-heads performed the majority of the household chores, whereas the matched participants were typically responsible for more minor, or fewer chores, and they were not obligatory. This suggests that

the child-heads experienced adult-type parentification, even in comparison with the norms of their community.

Parental role vis-à-vis parent was particularly prevalent amongst child-heads who almost always assumed the responsibility of primary caregiver during their parents' illness. This constituted significant levels of care, especially towards the terminal stages of the illness. The findings of this research found that coping with an ill parent was as stressful if not more so, than coping with parental death. This gives support to Giese et al.'s (2003) contention that it is the process of orphanhood and not orphanhood per se that is traumatic. Due to the parents' dependence on the children, it can be assumed that the children took over the headship of the households at this time, when their parents were too ill to care for themselves or their children, which is consistent with the findings of Germann (2005) and Giese et al. (2003). It has been suggested that this type of parentification, that is, a role reversal with the child assuming care for the parent, is more destructive than other forms of parentification because it limits the child's development due to the age-inappropriateness of the role (Barnett & Parker, 1998). It was evident that the participants felt distressed about parenting their parents, whilst similar levels of distress were not reported regarding parenting their siblings.

Parental-type behaviour directed towards siblings was more commonly found amongst the child-heads than the matched participants. This was anticipated considering that in most of these cases no other adult was present. There were also more children in the child-headed households than in the households of the matched participants, several of whom were less than six-years-old at the time of the interview, and who had been babies or toddlers when their parents had died. It can be assumed that the levels of parental care required for these children were significant. The responsibilities that the child-heads had to assume at this stage of their lives were likely to have been uncharacteristic of the responsibilities assumed by their similar-aged peers. According to Erikson's theory (1959), parental responsibilities are related to the stage of middle adulthood where the crisis of *'generativity versus stagnation'* takes priority. In fact, he argues that adolescents are "more or less retarded" (p. 119) in their psychosocial readiness for parenthood. Thus the assumption of parental responsibilities for child-heads was outside normal developmental sequences, and may lead to identity confusion or premature commitment to a particular identity (Erikson, 1959). Although not as intense, parental-type behaviour directed at siblings was not absent amongst the matched group. This is consistent with previous research that has found that family care is a collective

responsibility in certain communities, and especially in working-class and poor families (Minuchin et al., 1967; Winton, 2003). One matched participant did report extensive parental-type behaviour vis-à-vis siblings, and this appeared to influence relationships outside of her family, such as not wanting to be friends with children her age, and wanting to guide people that were older than her. This has been explained as compulsive caregiving whereby parentified individuals develop an inability to interact with others as equals (Bowlby, 1977; Chase, 1999, Jones & Wells, 1996; Valleau et al., 1995; West & Keller, 1991).

In contrast to the other roles of parentification, the matched group reported more spousal type behaviours than the child-heads. This inconsistency could be explained by the fact that most studies on parentification with ill parents, including parents with Aids, have been done in America, which has a different course of illness than in South Africa. In sub-Saharan Africa, one of the predominant modes of HIV infection is through heterosexual sexual intercourse, thus rendering both parents vulnerable to HIV infection. Therefore it is likely that for child-heads both parents became infected and died within a short period of time. Thus there may have been limited opportunity between when the one parent died, and their spouse died for these types of interactions between a child and his or her parent. In contrast, the matched group had prolonged time with their parents, several of whom did not live with a spouse. An alternative possibility may be that a number of child-heads were orphaned when they were quite young, and, prior to their death, their parents may have felt that the children were too immature to engage in these types of conversations. The matched group, in contrast, were all adolescents at the time of the interview. This may therefore indicate that, in this setting, spousal type parentification is more likely with adolescent children.

Of interest is that when participants were asked about spousal-type behaviour with their parents, only a few responses could be classified as spousal-type parentification, which have been discussed in the paragraph above. Most of the responses to this question from both groups of participants fell into more appropriate ‘adult’ discussions between a parent and adolescent, and although the adolescents may have experienced these as awkward and perceived them as spousal in nature, they could actually be appropriate discussions between a parent and their adolescent child, particularly with the high HIV infection rates amongst young South Africans. Noteworthy is that sex was discussed more forthrightly by those parents who admitted their Aids diagnosis to their children, and that these children reported a cautious attitude towards sex. It is perhaps the parents’ experience of the illness, and/or their

association with NGOs who ran support groups that facilitated this process. Frank discussions by HIV-positive parents with their children may have been an attempt by parents at psycho-education and promoting moral development so that their children could protect themselves from infection that they had been unable to do for themselves. In spite of concerns of increased and risky sexual behaviour of children affected by HIV and Aids (Foster, 2004; Luke & Kurz, 2002 in Marais, 2005; Richter, 2004), this study suggests that open and accurate discussions between HIV-positive parents and their children can be a protective factor for risky sexual relations and possible HIV infection.

In general, the analysis of parentification in the current study indicated that the responsibilities were more instrumental in nature than expressive. As expressive parentification is seen to be more threatening to a child's well being (Jurkovic et al., 1991), these findings may be suggestive of less severe outcomes. Furthermore, the responsibilities assumed by the child-heads were more masochistic than narcissistic in nature in that they were required to be in service of their families' needs (Wells & Jones, 2000). This presentation of parentification as opposed to narcissistic presentation is also likely to be related to the socio-economic status of these families.

In terms of the hypothetical continuum suggested by Jurkovic et al. (1999), the responsibilities reported by the child-heads of this research could be evaluated to establish whether they constituted healthy non-parentification, adaptive parentification or destructive parentification. In order for the responsibilities to be non-parentification, they needed to be flexible and age appropriate. But, in the case of the child-heads, they were not flexible because the children were often the only individuals available to perform these tasks. The inclusion of the matched control group indicated that although the nature of particular tasks was age appropriate for children in their communities, the extent undertaken by the child-heads was not. Adaptive parentification is when a child assumes adult or parental tasks during a crisis, for a short time only (Jurkovic et al., 1999), and the effort of the child is recognised and acknowledged as a role outside of what is normally expected of them. However, the children in this research had been the heads of their households for long periods of time (on average over two years), and often without any acknowledgement, hence it is clear that these could not be considered adaptive parentification. Therefore, in terms of the continuum, the responsibilities reported by the children heading their households could be considered destructive parentification, that is, excessive responsibility for a child, both in

duration and extensiveness, such that it seriously impinges on the child's development, and the child does not receive recognition and support for his or her efforts (Barnett & Parker, 1998; Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Minuchin et al., 1967).

Parentification has been shown to be particularly detrimental for girls' development because they may gain satisfaction from being in caretaking roles, despite it inhibiting their individuation (Burt, cited in Chase, 1999; Wolkin, in Chase, 1999). This is an important consideration as most of the child-heads in this study were female and may not recognise or acknowledge the potential negative consequences of the roles that they have assumed.

5.3 Psychosocial Impacts

Psychosocial difficulties were reported across both groups. This lends support to the contention that orphans are not the only vulnerable group in these communities (Bradshaw et al., 2002; Geise et al., 2003; Johnson & Dorrington, 2001; Richter et al., 2004), and that the environments in which the participants lived contribute to their vulnerability. However, in addition to the environmental pressures, child-heads were further affected by the illness and death of their parents, and the parentification that they experienced.

In the current study difficulties with school were reported across both groups. This may represent normal struggles of learners as they progress through the grades to greater quantity and greater complexity of work. Especially considering the levels of education of other members of their households, it is likely that most participants did not have anyone at home with whom they could receive assistance with their schoolwork. This is likely to be attributed to the improved access to education for this population group in the last two decades, which has resulted in younger generations achieving higher levels of education than older generations. Another important factor is that the schools from which the participants came did not offer optimal learning opportunities. These schools were characterised by poor facilities, overwhelmed educators, and high learner to educator ratios.

Studies have found that child-heads, especially girls, frequently withdraw from school in order to lessen the strain of school fees, take care of the household and family members, or seek employment (Giese et al., 2003; Germann, 2005). However, this was not the case in this research as all child-heads were attending school, except for one who had completed school a

few months previously. This inconsistency may have been due to the assistance that these children received from the referral organisations, which lessened the financial reasons behind school absenteeism. It also adds weight to the proposition that poverty related to orphanhood is a stronger correlate to school drop-out than orphan status alone (Ainsworth & Filmer, 2002; Marais, 2005). The fact that most child-heads were not of a significantly different age to their matched counterparts, suggests that they have not needed to repeat grades. However, current legistation in South Africa does not permit schools to make a child repeat a school year more than once and so this comparison may not be informative to scholastic achievement.

Two participants from the matched group reported unfair treatment from teachers at school, whilst no similar reports were received from the children heading households. This could be an indication of indirect support that may be offered to child-heads, in that teachers or other adult role players made allowances for these children because of their circumstances. Alternatively, it may be that the emphasis for child-heads was, by necessity, on their family and home life, and that problems with friends and teachers were relegated to minor issues, and not as distressing as they were for the matched participants.

The experience of having an HIV-positive parent or the death of a parent often leads to various psychological reactions such as anxiety, depression and low self-esteem (Pivnick & Villeges, 2000; Richter, 2004; Rotheram-Borus et al., 2001). Parental death was a significant stressor for participants of the child-headed household group as well as for participants of the matched group who had lost a parent. This was exacerbated for the child-heads as the death of both parents resulted in a lack of emotional support and guidance, which those in the matched group were still able to receive from the remaining parent. Several child-heads appeared to have depressive symptoms such as excessive crying, lethargy and anhedonia. The emotional difficulties reported by the child-heads were exacerbated by their parents' non-disclosure about the cause of the illness as well as the possible consequences of the illness such as parental death. These findings corresponded with previous research that has shown that children's emotional reactions are aggravated if the death of their parent is not adequately explained to them (Giese et al., 2003; Pivnick & Villegas, 2000).

The suicidal ideation reported by two of the matched participants highlights the fact that other children in the community also experience emotional difficulties, which may be related to

their phase of development or socio-economic circumstances. However no child-heads, who were from similar developmental stages and socio-economic circumstances, reported suicidal ideation. There may be several possible explanations for this inconsistency. First, the child-heads were in contact with social workers within the respective referral organisations, whilst the matched group may not have had access to similar sympathetic adults from whom they could receive emotional support. Second, the child-heads may be more resilient in the face of negative stressors as they have had to overcome previous difficulties such as parental illness and death. A third possible explanation for the difference between the severe distress of these matched individuals in comparison to the child-heads, could be the invincibility that child-heads need to display, as suggested by Germann (2005). With the responsibility they have for others, they may feel the need to appear in control of themselves and the household and may not allow themselves any self-reflection. Parentification literature also suggests that children who become parentified because of parents' physical or mental illness may control their feelings in an attempt to control the feelings of their parent (Winton, 2003). Thus there is a blurring of personal boundaries, and this may lead to the disowning of their own emotions.

Financial struggles were a factor for both groups, but appeared to be more extreme for the child-heads. This was anticipated in this study as previous research has shown that HIV infection rates are highest amongst the poor, particularly amongst urban informal settlements (HSRC, 2005), and that HIV infection and Aids-related death in the home tends to exacerbate the financial strain (Foster, 2005; Giese et al., 2003; Germann, 2005; Richter, 2004). Research indicates that children affected by HIV and Aids, especially girls, may seek employment to support their households (Foster, 2004). However, only two child-heads and two matched participants reported being employed. One possible explanation for this inconsistency is that the intervention of the referral organisations and their provision of material resources decreased the need for the children's own employment. Another anomaly of this study is that three of the four participants that had been employed were male in spite of the larger ratio of females in the study. This may be due to gender stereotypes in these communities, in that females are expected to take responsibility for all household tasks, and caretaking tasks, whilst males are expected to take responsibility of income generation, despite the fact that the former meant greater responsibility and emotional burden for girl children.

Although predictions have been made regarding criminal behaviour and social breakdown because of the number of children orphaned by Aids (Bradshaw et al., 2002; Schonteich, 1999*)*, crime appeared to be a feature of the communities from which these participants were drawn, and may be related to the poor socio-economic conditions of the communities. The majority of criminal activities reported was committed by males, which is in keeping with general trends of antisocial behaviour (Sadock & Sadock, 2003). The findings of this research suggests that child-heads may be exposed to, and be more vulnerable to crime in these environments, but do not become perpetrators of crime. It may be that the sense of responsibility they have towards others in their households prevents them from risking any negative consequences of crime. This protective feature may be considered an unexpected positive consequence of parentification. A related feature of these communities was the use of alcohol and drugs. As with crime above, this was not often used by the adolescents themselves, although it did impact on them as they became more vulnerable to others who were using these substances, such as being victims of crime or being harassed.

Research has shown that stigma and discrimination within the context of HIV and Aids is prevalent and affects the person with HIV, as well as their families, increasing social isolation, absenteeism from school, as well as suicidal ideation (Kelly, cited in Bray, 2003; Richter, 2004; UNAIDS, cited in Stein, 2003). The current study found mixed reports with regards to stigma, with several participants of the child-headed household group denying any stigmatisation, whilst others reported direct stigmatisation. Noteworthy, however, is that the participants who openly admitted their parents' HIV status suffered the most stigmatisation and discrimination from their communities. This suggests that the communities from which the participants were drawn negatively view not only the person with HIV, but their families as well. As silence around Aids prevents effective service access and delivery (Strode & Grant, 2001), further education on HIV and Aids is necessary if we are to encourage openness about Aids within communities such as the one in the current study.

The participants' emphasis on peers and friendships was evident, particularly by matched participants. On the one hand, friends were a significant source of support for many participants. On the other hand, an absence of such relationships was extremely distressing for two participants, who were both from the matched group. Problems with friends were not as prominent in the group of children heading households. Erikson (1959) postulated that during adolescence the social group becomes paramount, and in their formation of identity

adolescents attempt to find identities that assimilate with how their social group view them. Thus for the two individuals who reported not fitting in, their distress could be considered age-appropriate. For one of these participants, difficulties with friends and social anxiety had led her to personifying the television. One can speculate that friendships with humans had become so fraught that she isolated herself to an inanimate object with which she could spend time without fear of rejection and feelings of inadequacy. However, this may affect the formation of her identity in that she had not integrated herself to a social group.

5.4 Coping Strategies and Supportive Structures

Results reported thus far have shown that, in spite of assuming many parentification responsibilities and experiencing multiple psychosocial impacts, the child-heads displayed relatively little evidence of maladjustment as they were not involved in crime, nor did they report significant difficulties with teachers or peers. This was consistent with research that has suggested that in spite of deleterious conditions, approximately a third of children will not be adversely affected, whilst one third will thrive, be well adjusted and achieve good intellectual standards (Germann, 2005; Killian, 2004; Richter, 2004). There are several factors that may have influenced the child-heads' ability to cope. One factor may be that, due to level of responsibility that the child-heads held, they were not able to show any weakness or inability to cope. This is consistent with Germann's (2005) finding that the children heading their households in his study appeared invincible. Another factor may be related to personality features. Literature suggests that parentified children tend to be serious and very responsible (Winton, 2003). Although this responsibility may develop once children become parentified, these characteristics may have predated parental illness (and parentification behaviours), and their responsible personalities may have led to their assumption of these roles as suggested by Jurkovic et al. (1991). This was the case for at least one of the child-heads.

Another factor that could have enhanced the child-heads' resilience is the duration that they had been responsible for their households. Research has shown that resilience can be developed over time through the successful coping with various stressors (Killian, 2004). It is possible that whilst they may not have been resilient when they first became heads of their households, they have achieved mastery since that time (on average over two years), which enabled them to be more resilient at the time of the interview. This is related to what has been

suggested as ‘chronic-traumatic growth’ (Germann, 2005, p. 260) to describe the resilience that is developed in children after prolonged adversity.

In addition to these intrapersonal features, resilience is also strongly determined by children’s relationships with caring others, including being part of social networks and social institutions (Luthar & Zigler, 1991). This research found that children heading their households relied on various resources to enable them to cope. The referral organisations were their primary sources of financial and sometimes emotional support. Although at times the supplies given by the referral organisations were depleted, they did provide a buffer against the psychosocial impacts the child-heads experienced.

Extended family care was another form of support for the child-heads, as well as the matched participants, which indicated that this was still an important feature for these communities. Although several participants had become the heads of their households directly after their parents’ death, others had been cared for by relatives before forming child-headed households. However, in line with the findings of Foster (2004) and Giese et al. (2003), this research found that the extended family was not always a consistent support, because of exploitation and abuse of children, or because of the illness and death of these relatives. Multiple deaths of relatives support the contention that the extended family is struggling and does not appear able to sustain their safety network function. (Foster, 2000; Johnson & Dorrington, 2001).

In comparison with the matched group, the group of child-heads appeared to have a more cohesive family structure. Although the child-heads occasionally conflicted with their siblings (mainly about household chores), this was less severe and more easily resolved than the conflict between the matched participants and their siblings. This was contrary to previous research which suggests that sibling conflict is common in families where parentification exists (Winton, 2003). Similarly, the matched participants did not always have a good relationship with their parents. This family cohesiveness in the child-headed households may be due to the loss of their parents which prompted their closeness. According to Erikson’s theory (1959), during the stage of adolescence, relationships with parents lose emphasis and individuals should naturally orientate themselves towards peers. The death of their parents may have disrupted this developmental process, with family becoming more important and friends less important (which was also evidenced in this study). This family

cohesiveness was also evident in the child-heads' reports of future plans as they frequently included their siblings' safety and care in their future plans, but also wanted to ensure that their parents would be remembered. In contrast, only one participant from the matched group included caring for his family in his plans for the future. This emphasis on the family may also be related to the effects of parentification, as research indicates that parentified children may assume that their family will not be able to cope without them and will not leave, or will leave with much anxiety and guilt (Winton, 2003).

Good relationships with siblings also appeared to be an important factor in enhancing resilience and coping which is in line with Germann's (2005) findings. The sample of child-heads in the current study reported siblings who lived with them as significant resources of emotional support, even if the siblings were younger than they. This corresponds to the finding that child-heads were likely to be friends with other orphans because they felt understood. The sense of a common understanding, where they felt others could identify with their experiences, appeared important to the child-head participants in this study. The emphasis on the support of similar-aged youths (and not other available adults such as teachers) is in line with Germann's (2005) finding that child-heads seek and receive help from other children. Similarly, the sharing of responsibilities by similar-aged siblings moderated the impact of parentification on the child-heads. This is consistent with Boszormenyi-Nagy and Spark (1973) and Minuchin et al. (1967) who argued that destructive effects of parentification are moderated if responsibilities are shared between family members. But many child-heads who did not have similar-aged siblings took on these responsibilities alone, and reported more severe psychosocial difficulties.

Most participants in this research were able to express their hopes for the future. On the one hand, there was a strong emphasis on careers in the corporate world. This emphasis could be related to the poor socio-economic environments from which all participants came and a desire for financial security. This corresponded with several reports of wanting to leave their current environment and live in areas of better socio-economic status. These appeared to represent motivations for advancement on an individualistic level. On the other hand there were also many participants who wanted to be involved in the helping professions and assist in the benefit of the communities where suffering is endemic, which is suggestive of more altruistic motivations. Within this latter group, many related their career choice to their experience of being a helper in their family. A parentified child with the related development

of compulsive caregiving, is more likely to pursue a career in the caretaking professions, such as nursing, child care, geriatric work, social work, teaching or psychology (Winton, 2003). The present findings support this notion as many child-heads reported wanting to go into the caretaking professions. However, this goal was also shared by a number of participants from the matched group. This is perhaps an indication that within the communities from which the participants come, the tangible needs prompted them into a response in terms of their career choice.

6 CONCLUSION

Despite social norms, all child-heads reported a significant degree of parentification, frequently and for extended periods of time, with no significant acknowledgement. This is indicative of destructive parentification. Their responsibility for adult and parental tasks was at times overwhelming and this exacerbated the psychosocial impacts they were already experiencing.

Although this research has shown that psychosocial pressures of child-heads were significant, the nature of these pressures was not unique to children heading their households. It is evident from this research that the communities from which the sample was drawn were subject to similar psychosocial pressures, such as financial insecurity, crime, school and emotional difficulties. However, the child-heads were further disadvantaged from those in their general communities in three ways: First, the accumulation of pressure was such that the child-heads experienced multiple and prolonged confrontation of these pressures. Second, they frequently had to face these pressures without the support of a caring adult. Third, the major stressor for these children was the illness and death of their parents, which was not a common experience of the matched group participants. Furthermore, child-heads did appear to be more vulnerable than the average population, not only because of crime and exploitation, but also because they were less financially secure and more dependent on external organisations for help.

In spite of these psychosocial difficulties and assumption of adult and parental responsibilities, the majority of child-heads did not appear to be maladjusted. They appeared more responsible than others in their community, which contradicts suggestions that such children would be more prone to delinquency, crime, and sexual promiscuity (Bradshaw et al., 2002; Richter, 2004; Schonteich, 1999). This may have been due to resilience that they had established over the time that they had dealt with these experiences, or it may indicate the invincibility that parentified children are required to show. This invincibility, although giving the appearance of coping, may actually be a suppression of difficulties, which in the longer term may be problematic. Regardless, their assumption of adult-type responsibilities suggests that they are mature and responsible enough to manage adult-type support, and should be allowed to access foster care grants and child care grants as suggested by Rosa (2004).

Many children reported that their most difficult times were whilst their parents were ill. This highlights the fact that orphanhood is not an endpoint at which support should be rendered, and it is critical that children are supported before their parents' death.

This indicates that parentification research and interventions for parentification may prove useful for child-headed households. In particular, this study has shown that some of the expected developmental interferences can be moderated with informed support from caring others, such as social workers. Furthermore, the recognition that the parental role vis-à-vis parent and parental role vis-à-vis sibling (to a lesser extent) are further outside the norms of the community may allow interventions to assist on these fronts or at least be sensitive to them. Furthermore, Winton (2003) argues that the destructive effects of parentification are moderated if the children are acknowledged in their role. This acknowledgement may be a cost-effective intervention that can be applied by social workers or teachers.

It was consistently shown in this study that many of the potentially negative consequences of being a child-head, and having to deal with an ill and dying parent, seemed to be moderated by the involvement of the referral organization. In some ways, their contribution is critical, particularly because child-heads are currently excluded from benefiting from the state support in the form of foster care grants and child support grants. Unfortunately several of these referral organisations are themselves dependant on financial support from donor organisations or corporations. This, together with the fact that they are often run by volunteers, indicates that they are a fragile structure on which many children depend. In order for the sustained assistance of child-headed households, referral organisations also need to be supported in order to optimise their significant efforts.

Furthermore, child-heads frequently sought emotional support from other children, both siblings and friends. This emphasises the role that young people play in these circumstances. In order to best support the child-heads (and all vulnerable children), it would be important to empower all young children on how they can best support their peers, and how to access available resources. Furthermore, local and regional networks of child-heads and other children affected by Aids could be set up as this study has shown that support from peers going through similar experiences to be particularly helpful in reducing negative impacts.

6.1 Limitations

One limitation of the current study is that no child-heads lived with their sick parents at the time of the interviews. This could be explained by the referral organisations' different conceptualisations of both 'child-headed households' and 'potential orphans'. Literature and the findings of this study suggest that children can take over the headship of their households prior to parental death (Giese et al., 2003). Excluding these children from the classification of child-heads may have skewed the results, as they may have reported different presentations of parentification and different psychosocial impacts. Particularly because the child-heads included in this research reported that their greatest difficulties were when their parents were ill, the data may have not captured the levels of distress experienced, as it relied more upon participants' memories of these experiences.

A further concern of the current research that may have limited the results obtained was the interactions between the researcher and the participants. The participants of this study were adolescents, talking in a second or third language (or through a translator), to an adult researcher. These factors may have contributed to an inhibited rapport and somewhat brief responses from the participants, which may not have reflected the nuances of their experiences. Furthermore, because the interview was often the only time that the participant met the researcher, and the subject matter may have been considered sensitive, this may have also limited the level to which the participants were comfortable to disclose. The researcher's connection to the referral organisation may also have limited the openness of the child-heads to disclose negative behaviours for fear of adverse consequences. A related limitation was that the interview schedule did not explicitly address sexual and intimate relationships. Although several participants in the matched group did introduce the topic, this could have been an important topic for adolescents and the study may have benefited from its inclusion as standard in the interview schedule.

Although this research examined parentification within children who were heading their households, there was no attempt to establish causal factors. That is, whether the parents' illness and death had caused the children to be parentified, or whether the children had a propensity for parentification prior to their parents' illness or death and for this reason assumed the role of heads of their households.

6.2 Recommendations for Future Research

There is a paucity of research on parentification within developing world contexts, although it may be an important avenue to pursue with the increasing number of families disrupted by HIV and Aids. The current study has made a small contribution in this area, but additional questions await further research.

The results of this study were derived within a particular socio-economic and cultural context. Further research in diverse contexts where the support of extended family networks and NGOs may differ, would augment the understanding of parentification and child-headed households. In particular, given that child-heads in this study identified NGOs as their primary support, it may be important to investigate child-headed households that are not in contact with NGOs.

Research suggests that parentified children, and children heading their households within the context of HIV and Aids, will experience long-term difficulties. On the one hand, Freeman (2004) has suggested that children affected by HIV and Aids may experience long-term mental health problems such as personality disorders, employment difficulties and unhealthy adult relationships. On the other hand, parentification studies have shown that parentified children may become adults whose relationships with others, careers, as well as parenting abilities may be adversely affected (Barnett & Parker, 1998; Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Winton, 2003). The current research provided a cross-sectional illustration of parentified adolescents within child-headed households. It is suggested that a longitudinal study would be of value in order to establish the long-term effects, if any, on this set of children.

Because of the absence of a standardised, culturally-applicable measure, parentification in this study was evaluated through themes that arose from semi-structured interviews. Although the interview schedule did allow for important data to emerge, it is hoped that further research leads to the development of a standardised measure of parentification within non-Westernised settings.

All interviews in this study were conducted with the heads of the households, which meant that (except for one household), they were with individuals. However, child-headed

households and parentification are both family-level constructs, and research would benefit from exploring the experiences of other members (such as siblings) within child-headed households. This may allow for a more comprehensive understanding of experiences and needs of child-headed households on a household level, and not only on an individual level.

REFERENCES

Ainsworth, M., & Filmer, D. (2002). *Poverty, AIDS and Children's Schooling: A Targeting Dilemma.* World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 2885.

Anderson, L. P. (1999). Parentification in the context of the African American family. In N.D. Chase (Ed.), *Burdened children: Theory, research and treatment of parentification* (pp. 154-170). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Ankrah, M. E. (1994). The impact of HIV/AIDS on the family and other significant relationships: The African clan revisited. In R. Bor & J. Elford (Eds.), *The family and HIV* (pp. 23-44). London: Cassell.

Barnett, B., & Parker, G. (1998). The parentified child: Early competence or childhood deprivation. *Child Psychology & Psychiatry, 3,* 146-155.

Bauman, L. J., Foster, G., Silver, E. J., Berman, R., Gamble, I., & Muchaneta, L. (2006). Children caring for their ill parents with HIV/AIDS. *Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies, 1,* 56-70.

Boszormenyi-Nagy, I., & Spark, G. M. (1973). *Invisible loyalties: Reciprocity in intergenerational family therapy*. New York: Bruner/Mazel.

Bowlby, J. (1977). The making and breaking of affectional bonds. *British Journal of Psychiatry, 130,* 210-210.

Bozalek, V. (1997). Representations of the family and South African realities. In C. De Le Ray, N. Duncan, T. Shefer, & A. van Niekerk (Eds.), *Contemporary issues in human development: A South African focus* (pp.7-24). Halfway House: International Thomson Publishing.

Bradshaw, D., Johnson, L., Schneider, H., Bourne, D., & Dorrington, R. (2002). *Orphans of the HIV/AIDS epidemic: The time to act is now* (Policy Brief No. 2). Cape Town: Medical Research Council.

Bray, R. (2003). *Predicting the social consequences of orphanhood in South Africa* (CSSR Working Paper No. 29). Cape Town: University of Cape Town, Centre for Social Science Research.

Bray, R. (2004). 'AIDS orphans' and the future: A second look at our predictions. *AIDS Bulletin, 13.*

Chase, N. D. (1999). Parentification: An overview of theory, research and societal issues. In N. D. Chase (Ed.), *Burdened children: Theory, research and treatment of parentification* (pp. 3-33). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Dawes, A., & Donald, D. (1994). Understanding the psychological consequences of adversity. In A. Dawes & D. Donald (Eds.), *Childhood & Adversity: Psychological perspectives from South African research* (pp. 1-27). Cape Town: David Philip.

Deacon, H., Stephney, I., & Prosalendis, S. (2005). *Understanding HIV/AIDS stigma: A theoretical and methodological analysis*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Desmond, C., Richter, L., Makiwane, M., & Amoateng, A. (2003). Child-headed households: Dissecting our understanding of who is at risk [Special Issue]. *Children First,* 56-58.

Earley, L., & Cushway, D. (2002). The parentified child. *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 7,* 163-178.

Erikson, E. H. (1959). *Identity and the life cycle.* New York: Norton.

Flick, U. (1998). *An introduction to qualitative research.* London: Sage Publications.

Folkman, S., & Lazarus, R. S. (1991). Coping and emotion. In A. Monat & R. S. Lazarus (Eds.), *Stress and coping: An anthology* (pp. 189-206). New York: Columbia University Press.

Foster, G. (2000). The capacity of the extended family safety net for orphans in Africa. *Psychology, Health & Medicine, 5*(1), 55-62.

Foster, G. (2002). Supporting community efforts to assist orphans in Africa. *New England Journal of Medicine, 346*(24), 1907-1910.

Foster, G. (2004). Safety nets for children affected by HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa. In R. Pharoah (Ed.), *A generation at risk? HIV/AIDS, vulnerable children and security in Southern Africa* (ISS Monograph Series No. 109) (pp. 65-92). Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

Foster, G. (2005). Putting faith in child care. *eAfrica. 3.*

Foster, G., Makufa, C., Drew, R., & Kravolec, E. (1997). Factors leading to the establishment of child-headed households: The case of Zimbabwe. *Health Transition Review, 7,*(Suppl. 2),155-168.

Foster, G., & Williamson, J. (2000). A review of the current literature of the impact of HIV/AIDS on children in sub-Saharan Africa. *AIDS, 14*(Suppl. 3), S275-S284.

Freeman, M. (2004). HIV/AIDS in developing countries: Heading towards a mental health and consequent social disaster? *South African Journal of Psychology, 34*(1), 139-159.

Fullinwider-Bush, N., & Jacobvitz, D.B. (1993). The transition to young adulthood: Generational boundary dissolution and female identity development. *Family Process, 32*(1), 87-103.

Germann, S. (2004). Psychosocial impact of HIV/AIDS on children. *AIDS Bulletin, 13*(2).

Germann, S. (2005). *An exploratory study of quality of life and coping strategies of orphans living in child-headed households in the high HIV/AIDS prevalent city of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Giese, S. (2002). Health. In J. Gow & C. Desmond (Eds.), *Impact and interventions: The HIV/AIDS pandemic and the children of South Africa* (pp. 59-77). Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Giese, S., Meintjes, H., Croke, R., & Chamberlain, R. (2003). *Health and social services to address the needs of orphans and other vulnerable children in the context of HIV/AIDS.* Cape Town: University of Cape Town, Children's Institute.

Goglia, L. R., Jurkovic, G. J., Burt, A. M., & Burge-Callaway, K. G. (1992). Generational boundary distortions by adult children of alcoholics: Child-as-parent and child-as-mate. *American Journal of Family Therapy, 20,* 291-299.

Jacobvitz, D., Riggs, S., & Johnson, E. (1999). Cross-sex and same-sex family alliances: Immediate and long-term effects on sons and daughters. In N. D. Chase (Ed.), *Burdened children: Theory, research and treatment of parentification* (pp. 34-55). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Johnson, L., & Dorrington, R. (2001). *The impact of AIDS orphanhood in South Africa: A quantitative analysis* (Monograph No. 4). Cape Town: University of Cape Town, Centre for Actuarial Research.

Jones, R. A., & Wells, M. (1996). An empirical study of parentfication and personality. *American Journal of Family Therapy, 24*(2), 145-152.

Jurkovic, G. J., Jessee, E. H., & Goglia, L. R. (1991). Treatment of parental children and their families: Conceptual and technical issues. *American Journal of Family Therapy, 19*(4), 302-314.

Jurkovic, G. J., Morrell, R., & Thirkield, A. (1999). Assessing childhood parentification. In N. D. Chase (Ed.), *Burdened children: Theory, research and treatment of parentification* (pp.92-113). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Killian, B. (2004). Risk and resilience. In R. Pharoah (Ed.), *A generation at risk? HIV/AIDS, vulnerable children and security in Southern Africa* (ISS Monograph Series No. 109) (pp. 33-63). Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

Krippendorf, K. (1980). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. California: Sage Publications.

Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1991). The concept of coping. In A. Monat & R. S. Lazarus (Eds.), *Stress and coping: An anthology* (pp. 189-206). New York: Columbia University Press.

Luthar, S. S., & Zigler, E. (1991). Vulnerability and competence: A review of research on resilience in childhood. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 61,* 6-22.

Madhavan, S. (2004). Fosterage patterns in the age of AIDS: Continuity and change. *Social Science & Medicine, 58,* 1443-1454.

Marais, H. (2005). *Buckling: The impact of AIDS in South Africa.* Pretoria: University of Pretoria, Centre for the Study of AIDS.

Maslow, A. H. (1970). *Motivation and personality* (rev. ed.). New York: Harper & Row.

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

Mika, P., Bergner, R. M., & Baum, M. C. (1987). The development of a scale for the assessment of parentification. *Family Therapy, 14*(3), 229-235.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook.* California: Sage Publications.

Minuchin, S., Montalvo, B., Guerney, B. G., Rosman, B. L., & Schumer, F. (1967). *Families of the slums: An exploration of their structure and treatment.* New York: Basic Books.

Pharoah, R. (2004). Introduction. In R. Pharoah (Ed.), *A generation at risk? HIV/AIDS, vulnerable children and security in Southern Africa* (ISS Monograph Series No. 109) (pp. 1-8). Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

Pivnick, A. & Villeges, N. (2000). Resilience and risk: Childhood and uncertainty in the AIDS epidemic. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry, 24,* 101-136.

Richter, L. (2004). The impact of HIV/AIDS on the development of children. In R. Pharoah (Ed.), *A generation at risk? HIV/AIDS, vulnerable children and security in Southern Africa* (ISS Monograph Series No. 109) (pp. 9-31). Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

Richter, L., Manegold, J., & Pather, R. (2004). *Family and community interventions for children affected by AIDS* (HSRC Research Monograph commissioned by the Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS and Health Research Programme). Pretoria: HSRC Publishers.

Rosa, S. (2004). *Counting on children: Realising the right to social assistance for child-headed households in South Africa* (Children's Institute Working Paper No. 3). Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Rosenthal, R. & Rosnow, R. L. (1991). *Essentials of behavioural research: Methods and data analysis* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Rotheram-Borus, M., Lee, M., Gwadz, M., & Draimin, B. (2001). An intervention for parents with AIDS and their adolescent children. *American Journal of Public Health, 91,* 1294-1302.

Rotheram-Borus, M. J., & Stein, J. A. (1999). Problem behavior of adolescents whose parents are living with AIDS. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 69*(2), 228-239.

Sadock, B. J., & Sadock, V. A. (2003). *Kaplan & Sadock's Synopsis of Psychiatry, Behavioral Sciences/Clinical Psychiatry* (9th ed.). Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Schonteich, M. (1999). AIDS and age: SA's crime time bomb. *AIDS Analysis Africa, 10*(2), 1-4.

Shisana O., Rehle T., Simbayi, L. C., Parker, W., Zuma, K., Bhana, A., et al. (2005). *South African national HIV prevalence, HIV incidence, behaviour and communication survey, 2005.* Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Skinner, D., Tsheko, N., Mtero-Munyati, S., Segwabe, M., Chibatamoto, P., Mfecane, S., Chandiwana, B., Nkomo, N., Tlou, S., & Chitiyo, G. (2004). *Defining orphaned and vulnerable children* (Social Aspects Of HIV/AIDS And Health Research Programme, Occasional Paper 2). Cape Town: HSRC Publishers.

Smart, R. (2003a). *Children Affected by HIV/AIDS in South Africa: A rapid appraisal of priorities, policies and practices.* Arcadia: Save the Children (UK) South African Programme.

Smart, R. (2003b). *Policies for orphans and vulnerable children: A framework for moving ahead.* Washington DC: USAID, Policy Project.

Stein, J. (2003). *Sorrow makes children of us all: a literature review on the psycho-social impact of HIV/AIDS on children* (CSSR Working Paper No. 47). Cape Town: University of Cape Town, Centre for Social Science Research.

Stein, J. A., Riedel, M., & Rotheram-Borus, M. J. (1999). Parentification and its impact on adolescent children of parents with AIDS. *Family Process, 38*(2), 193-208.

Strode, A. & Grant, K. B. (2001). *The role of stigma and discrimination in increasing the vulnerability of children and youth infected with and affected by HIV/AIDS.* Arcadia: Save the Children (UK) South African Programme.

UNAIDS. (2005). *Aids epidemic update: December 2005.* Geneva: UNAIDS.

UNICEF. (2003). *Africa's orphaned generations.* New York: United Nations.

UNICEF. (2004). *Indicators of South African children's psychosocial development in the early childhood period.* Cape Town: Child Youth and Family Development (HSRC).

Valleau, M. P., Bergner, R. M., & Horton, C. B. (1995). Parentification and caretaker syndrome: An empirical investigation. *Family Therapy, 22*(3), 157-164.

Walker, L. (2002). *"We will bury ourselves": A study of child-headed households on commercial farms in Zimbabwe.* SARPN. pp. 8 (On-line). Available http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents

Wells, M., & Jones, R. (2000). Childhood parentification and shame-proneness: A preliminary study. *The American Journal of Family Therapy, 28*(1), 19-27.

Werner, E. E. (1984). Resilient children. *Young children, 39,* 68-72.

West, M. L., & Keller, A. E. R. (1991). Parentification of the child: A case study of Bowlby's compulsive care-giving attachment pattern. *American Journal of Psychotherapy, 45,* 425-431.

Winton, C. (2003). *Children as caregivers: Parental and parentified children.* San Jose: Allyn & Bacon.

Young, L. & Barrett, H. (2001). Ethics and participation: Reflections on research with street children. *Ethics, Place and Environment, 4,* 130-134.

Zayas, L. H., & Romano, K. (1994). Adolescents and parental death from AIDS. In B. O. Dane and C. Levine (Eds.), *The new orphans: AIDS and the family: Coping with death* (pp. 59-76). Westport, Conn: Auburn House.

APPENDIX A: ORGANISATION AGREEMENT

I [ ] *(name)* as a representative of _____acknowledge that Bronwyn Moffett has explained her study of child-headed households to us. We believe that her research sufficiently protects the children she is studying, and we have agreed to allow her access to children who are connected to one of our programmes for her interviews.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

First name:

Date:

Referral organisation:

Biographical Details

1. Gender:
2. Age (in years):
3. Do you go to school?
4. What school do you go to?
5. What grade are you in?

6. Siblings:

Age	**Gender M/F**	**Living with you? Y/N**

7. Other people living in the same household:

   _____

   _____

8. What is the highest level of school passed:

9. How long have you been in contact with the people from [referral organisation]?
10. In your family/household, who decides who does which tasks?
11. What are your tasks in the household?
12. Where does your family get money for the household?
13. How does your family/household decide on money, who keeps it and what it should be spent on?

14. Do you get any government grant?

12a. If yes, what and for how long? 12b. If no, have you applied, and what has been difficult?

15. Who in your family looks after your brothers and sisters?
16. Tell me about the relationship between you and your brothers and sisters. Do you think your relationship with them has changed since your parent(s) became ill?
17. How are arguments or fighting between your brothers and sisters sorted out in your family?
18. If your brother/sister does something that would not be acceptable to you or your parents, what happens?

19. Tell me about when your mother or father was very ill?
20. Did your mother/father talk to you about their illness and what would happen?
21. Does/did your mother or father ever talk to you about 'adult' matters?
22. Does/did your mother or father ever ask you for advice about family/household matters?
23. Did they discuss any requests of you after they died?

24. Looking after one's family is extra work for a child. How has this affected you?
25. What do you think is the most difficult thing for you about looking after one's family?
26. When you are finding your tasks and responsibilities of the family/household difficult, whom do you turn to for help/support?
27. What help do you get with your family/household, from people that don't live with you?
28. Do you think that people have treated you differently since your mother or father was ill or passed away? In what ways?

29. What do you like to do in any spare time between school and household activities?
30. Please tell me about your friends, and what do you like to do together?
31. Tell me about your schooling.
32. How do you feel your life compares to the life of other x year old girls/boys at your school? What do you think is different?
33. What do you think you would like to be doing in 5 years from now?

APPENDIX C: INTERPRETER CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

I, *[name],* agree that I will interpret between research participants and the researcher, in the study into "Parentification in Child-Headed Households". I agree that I will treat the material that is brought up in the course of the interviews sensitively and confidentially.

Signature: _____ Date:_____

APPENDIX D: PARTICIPATION INFORMATION SHEET

Hello. My name is Bronwyn Moffett. I am a student at the University of the Witwatersrand currently studying Masters in Clinical Psychology. I am doing a research project as part of my degree requirements.

Nature and purpose of the research:

The proposed study will explore the different needs, feelings and experiences of those children considered to be looking after most of the family/household responsibilities, and compare this to the needs, feelings and experiences of those children who are not considered to be looking after a family or household.

Voluntary and confidential participation:

I would like you to take part in my study. This will mean that I will have one interview with you of approximately one hour. You do not have to take part in this study. If you do not want to take part, nothing will be held against you. If you do want to take part, but then later change your mind, you can stop at any time in the study and your information will be taken out of the study. If you do take part in the study, I will take out any information (such as your name) that would let other people know that you took part in the study.

Interview procedure:

I will interview you in a place that is convenient to you. The interviews will take approximately one hour. You will have the right to stop the interview at any time. If you agree for the interview to be tape-recorded, I will record the interview. You will be requested to sign a separate consent form for this. The tapes will be destroyed and thrown away when the research is complete.

My contact details:

Should anything be unclear of if you would like more information about this study, please do not hesitate to contact me via email or telephonically. My email address is bmoffett@webmail.co.za and my telephone number is 084-4007505.

Alternatively, you can contact my supervisor Vinitha Jithoo at email address jithoov@umthombo.wits.ac.za or telephone number 011-7174523.

Thank you for taking time to consider participating in the study. If you do agree to take part, please fill out the attached form.

Yours sincerely,

Bronwyn Moffett

APPENDIX E: CHILD ASSENT FORM

I, *[name]*, agree to be in a study to look at the parts that children play in different types of families or households. I know that I will be asked questions about what I do in my daily life, as well as how I spend time with my family and friends, and how I feel about these things. I know that I will be asked to spend one hour talking about these questions.

I am taking part because I want to. I understand that I can stop being in the study at any time, without getting into any trouble.

Child's signature: Age: Date:

Witness: Date:

APPENDIX F: CHILD ASSENT FORM FOR AUDIO-RECORDING

I understand that the researcher would like to tape-record (audio-tape) the interview that I give as part of her study. I _____ [*name*] agree that the interview can be audio-taped, and for those tapes to be listened to by the researcher as well as her supervisor. I understand that all information that can identify me, such as my name, will be not be in the reports, and topics will instead be reported in an more general way. I also understand that the tapes will be destroyed and thrown away at when the research is finished. I understand that I may change my mind about taping me at any time.

Child's signature _____Date_____
(if participant is a child)
Witness _____Date_____

APPENDIX G: INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARENTS / LEGAL GUARDIANS:

Research on child-headed households

Purpose of the study:
The purpose of this research project is to explore the different needs, feelings and experiences of those children considered heading a household, as opposed to the needs, feelings and experiences of those children who are not considered to be heading a household.

Researcher:
Bronwyn Moffett is a student at the University of the Witwatersrand, studying Masters in Clinical Psychology. This study forms part of the requirements for her degree. Bronwyn is available for questions (Monday to Friday 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.) on the following number 084-400-7505.

Inclusion Criteria:
Adolescents aged 13-18 years at the time of the research (November/December 2005)

Description of the study:
The study will be interviewing 20 adolescents during the course of the research. This will be in the form of a single interview of duration of approximately one hour. The interview will be semi-structured and the questions will focus on the child's day-to-day life, including family and peer relationships, and their feelings about this. The interview will be recorded if consent is given for the interview to be audio recorded. A separate consent form will need to be signed for this. The tapes will be deleted and destroyed when the research is complete.

Benefits:
There will be no direct benefits to participation in the study, however, it is hoped that the results of the study will assist government and organisations working in this field to better understand child-headed households, and tailor their support.

Risks:
There are no known risks to participation in this study.

Right to refuse:
Participation is voluntary and the child will become part of the study only if both the child and parent (or legal guardian) agrees to the child's participation. At any time, either the child may withdraw from the study, or the child's parent (or legal guardian) may withdraw the child from the study without penalty.

Privacy:
Participation in the study will be confidential. No identifying names or information will be included in the report.

Financial Information:
There is no cost for participation in the study, nor is there any compensation to the children for participation.

If there are any further questions, the researcher can be contacted at the telephone number above.

APPENDIX H: PARENTAL (OR LEGAL GUARDIAN) PERMISSION FORM

The study of child-headed households has been discussed with me and all my questions have been answered. I understand that I may direct additional questions regarding the study to Bronwyn Moffett, as detailed in the information sheet.

I will allow my child (or the child under my care by legal order)
_____[child's name] to take part in this study, as described.

Parent/Guardian's signature: Date:

APPENDIX I: PARENTAL (OR LEGAL GUARDIAN) CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIO-RECORDING

I have received an adequate description of the purpose and procedures for tape-recording (audio) the interview of the proposed research study. I give my consent to allow _____ [*indicate child's name*] to be audio-taped during participation in the study, and for those cassettes to be listened to by the researcher as well as her supervisor. I understand that all information will be kept confidential and will be reported in an anonymous way, and that the tapes will be destroyed at completion of the study. I further understand that I may withdraw my consent at any time.

Print Name of parent/legal guardian_____
Signature of parent/legal guardian_____Date_____
(if subject is a child)

APPENDIX J: TRANSCRIPTS

All transcripts use the abbreviations below:

"Participant" is replaced by P, for example Participant 3 is represented by P3.

"I" refers to the interviewer

S/W refers to social worker

Co-ord refers to the co-ordinator

[ ] refers to actions or observations outside of the verbal data of the transcript

Child-head: Participant 1 (match with Participant A)

S/W: What is the highest level of school passed?

[S/W interprets for P1].

S/W: Grade 8.

I: P1 and her brother are both in grade 8?

S/W: And he left the school, he is no longer attending.

I: Is she still attending? Are you still going to school?

P1: Ja.

I: Can I just check what school it is, so I can write that down.

P1: X High.

I: X High. Thank you.

S/W: Where does your family get money for the household?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: From our grandmother.

S/W: How does your family/household decide on money, who keeps it and what it should be spent on.

[S/W interprets].

S/W: I keep the money, and I also decide.

S/W: Tell me about when your mother or father was very ill.

[S/W interprets].

S/W: When my mum got sick, in fact her first sickness was when she was hit by a car and then she became better. And then there was this man that she was staying with, and when that man left, she started to get sick. She ended up having a stroke. So I asked her if it was related to HIV, and she said I'm not sure if it was related to HIV.

I: But you are pretty sure that it is?

S/W: Yes, we are. Because I told her that was the case from home-based care, why they are looking after the ill parents.

I: Ok, I'm just going to ask a few questions around that: When was it that your mum died?

P1: 17th of April.

I: Last year?

P1: This year.

I: And you said that she was staying with a boyfriend then. Was she staying here? Were you with her?

[S/W interprets]

S/W: Yes, she was staying here.

I: Ok. And you said that when the man left, then she started to get ill?

[S/W interprets]

S/W: Yes, when that man left, that's when my mum started getting sick. And this very man, had another wife, who was a traditional healer (Aside to I: Do you see where we are going now?)

I: How long was your mom sick, how long would you say she was sick before she passed away?

[S/W interprets].

P1: Two months.

I: And who was looking after her during that time?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: My grandmother.

I: Was she staying here as well?

P1: No.

I: So granny came and visited sometimes to look after her?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: Yes, she would come and visit sometimes.

I: It sounds like it must have been difficult for you to look after her while your granny wasn't there.

[S/W interprets].

S/W: Ok, this is the story: when my mum started getting sick, our grandmother took our mother to where she was working, and then she stayed with her. So what our grandmother would do is to come here and give us money and provide us with money.

I: So for two months, while she was sick, before she had a stroke the children were already staying on their own?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: When she started to get sick seriously, the stroke attacked her when she was already staying with her mother.

I: And the children were already on their own?

S/W: Yes.

Co-ord: Our home based caregiver, she came with a report and she said to me "I, there are children who are looking after their mother", and this child she told me about, I didn't know her, and she said to me please go there and do a home visit and encourage this child because the mother is terminally ill, and the granny didn't come to take their mother. So we organised that.

I: Ok. So before that, they were looking after her, and then the granny came?

Co-ord: Yes.

S/W: What I want to ask her is how she was coping when she was taking care of her mom:

[S/W interprets]

S/W: It was very difficult for me at that time, because she would even wake us up at night when we were sleeping, and say I want to go to the toilet. So we'd have to take her to the toilet and we'd have to prepare her food and she would vomit.

I: We've got to do that section.

S/W: In your family /household, who decides who does which tasks?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: So it is me and my brother, my elder brother. It is us who decides about the tasks.

S/W: What are your tasks in the household?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: I cook and do the washing.

I: The washing of the clothes, or the washing of the dishes?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: Clothes.

S/W: Who in your family looks after your brother and sisters?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: Now we have to start again. My brother, Te is not staying here. The reason he is not staying here is because he is naughty. My grandmother decided to take him away. He is always fighting the people around and even if he is here in the house he is always giving us trouble.

I: What sort of trouble?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: He would come with his friends and they would steal. They stole Th's cell phone and they've stolen my watch.

I: Th is the 14-year-old?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: Yes he is the 14-year-old.

I: So who looks after the brothers and sister? These three live together?

[S/W interprets].

I: The younger one lives at?

S/W: With the father.

I: When did she go stay with her father?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: He took, the guy that was staying with my mother, took the youngest brother because my mum was too sick that time. And the very person that took Th, this baby, is not the father, but they had a relationship because he raised this boy. It's a girl, ne. So he raised this girl.

I: So it was a long-standing boyfriend?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: Yes my mum used to go out with him but they have their problems.

S/W: Do you go visit her?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: They say she is outside.

I: So the mother was seeing this guy and he had been staying with her for a long time, and when the mother got sick…

[Youngest child comes in and talks,]

I: Is that the 11-year-old?

S/W: Yes.

I:…so then when the mother got really ill, the boyfriend, who is not the father, took the 11-year-old.

S/W: Yes.

S/W: How are arguments or fighting between your brothers and sisters sorted out in your family?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: We will fight, but then it won't take long before we talk to each other again. So we don't go back and sort things, but we talk to each other.

I: And can you just ask say if two other people are fighting, she's not involved in the fight, say if the 11-year-old and the 14-year-old are fighting, or the 18-year-old and another one are fighting, how does the fight get sorted out? Does she get involved?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: They don't get involved.

S/W: If your brother or sister does something that would not be acceptable to you or your parents, what happens?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: If my brother is doing something that wouldn't be acceptable, I tell him not to do it.

I: And does he listen to her? Would he change his behaviour?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: Th is not giving me any problems, so he has not done anything that is not acceptable. He is behaving and he understands. Even if our grandmother has to buy clothes for me he would understand that this is my chance to get clothes and then he has to wait until the end of the month. So he is very understanding.

S/W: Did your mother or father ever talk to you about 'adult' or grown up matters?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: No.

S/W: Did your mother or father ever ask you for advice about family/household matters?

[S/W interprets].

I: Like she did ask advise about her child's behaviour, like for instance, was the 18-year-old being naughty by that stage, and would she ask "What do you think I should do about this boy?".

P1: No.

S/W: She was not asking for any advice but she was telling me.

I: Ok.

S/W: Looking after one's family is extra work for a child. How has this affected you?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: It used to affect me because I would just think about my mother's health. And there was a time that I would dream about her, in fact the dreams were just after her death.

I: And now?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: Life has changed ever since my mum has passed away. I don't get that motherly support because I used to chat with my mother. And sometimes I struggle with school things, even if I have if I have to go on school trips, it is more difficult. But when my mother was there, she used to provide for these things. Even if I want money to do my hair now, it is a problem, I cannot go and do my hair because I don't have money to do my hair.

I: Ok. What is it like to look after her younger brother?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: It is not easy because I have to look after my brother, but then he spends most of the time out. He leaves in the morning and he'll come back around 7 o'clock, but I have to cook to make sure that there is food for him when he comes back.

I: Tell me about your schooling?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: At school I am coping, and if there is anything that is needed, I will tell my grandmother, and she will provide.

I: Is it ok for her to pass?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: I am coping and I am passing.

S/W: What do you like to do in any spare time between school and household activities?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: I play netball and go to parties with her friends around here.

I: Ok.

S/W: Please tell me about your friends, and what you like to do together?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: I go to my friend's house, sometimes we watch movies or we go play netball at xx Square with my friend.

S/W: What do you think you'd like to be doing in 5 years time from now?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: I don't know.

I: I don't know. Thank you.

S/W: When you are finding your tasks and responsibilities of the family/household difficult, whom do you turn to for help/support?

I: Financial or otherwise, it could be emotional support where they can cry or talk.

[S/W interprets].

S/W: I don't have anyone.

S/W: What help do you get with your family / household, from people that don't live with you?

[S/W interprets].

S/W: Friends for life and her grandmother.

I: Can you ask her if there is anything else that she wants to tell me about her times without her mom? To help me understand how difficult things are?

P1: No.

I: Are there any questions that you'd like to ask me?

P1: No.

S/W (to I): She has opened so many concerns. I have no closure, and I cannot penetrate her. I am not saying that it is impossible but this is a person you want to sit down with and probe and probe and probe.

I: She's obviously quite new to Friends for Life and maybe it is going to take a while getting used to talking to people, maybe.

S/W: Ngiyabonga.

I: Ngiyabonga.

[S/W talks to P1]

I (to S/W): Are you just explaining to her about Friends for Life?

S/W: Ja and then telling her that we want to see her. We know that girls are vulnerable, and then at the same time we know that they are special, so we need to understand her life better and see her growing up to be a successful woman because there is hope after death.

I: Thank you so much, thank you.

Child-head: Participant 2 (match with Participant B)

I: How old are you, P?

P2: I'm 17.

I: When's your birthday?

P2: On the 7th of March.

I: Ok, and you're going to turn 18 then?

P2: No, 17.

I: You're going to turn 17 then, ok. So you're still 16 at the moment, hey?

P2: Yes.

I: What school do you go to?

P2: X High School

I: Ok, what grade are you in?

P2: Grade 11.

I: How many brothers and sisters do you have?

P2: We are six but the other four are my half sisters and brothers and the one is my real brother.

I: Ok, maybe we can start with who is the oldest out of the six?

P2: My sister.

I: Your sister. How old is she?

P2: I think 32.

I: Does she live with you?

P2: No.

I: Where does she live?

P2: In Sophiatown.

I: Is that your real sister?

P2: No she's my half sister.

I: And then, who's after her?

P2: It's x.

I: And is that a…?

P2: A boy.

I: A boy. And how old is he?

P2: I don't know, but he was born in 1973.

I: So he's about 32. And is he also half-brother?

P2: Yes.

I: And does he live with you?

P2: No.

I: And after him?

P2: It's O, he's a boy.

I: And how old is he?

P2: I don't know.

I: Ok. He's younger that 32?

P2: Ja.

I And does he live with you?

P2: No.

I: Ok.

P2: And then B, he's a boy too.

I: And how old do you think he is?

P2: He's 23.

I: 23. And does he live with you?

P2: No.

I: And then?

P2: It's me.

I: Ok.

P2: Then its my real brother.

I: And how old is he?

P2: I think 13.

I: And he lives with you?

P2: Yes.

I: So it is you, and your younger brother. Is there anybody else that lives with you?

P2: No.

I: It's just the two of you that live together?

P2: Yes.

I: And you're busy doing your grade 11 now, hey?

P2: Yes.

I: So you're the one in the home that has the highest level of education, hey?

P2: Yes.

I: How long have you been in contact with the people from Heartbeat?

P2: It's over a year.

I: Ok. In your home who decides what tasks need to be done? So the washing needs to be done, and who must do that? And the cooking needs to be done and who must do that? Who decides on that?

P2: Our family agree on the tasks.

I: The two of you talk about that?

P2: Yes.

I: And what are your tasks in the household generally?

P2: I have to wash and cook sometimes and clean the house.

I: Ok. Where does your family get money for things that you need in the house?

P2: From my sister.

I: From your older sister, ja it would be, the 32-year old, hey?

P2 has started to cry.

I: Its seems as if it is difficult for you to be talking about these things hey?

P2 nods.

I: I'm sorry I don't have a tissue here today.

I: Does it make you feel sad for you to talk to me?

P2: Yes. (P2 is given a glass of water, which she drinks).

I: Are you ok? You can take your time, alright? You just let me know how things are going for you inside, alright?

P2 nods.

I: It seems as if things are difficult for you to talk about, hey? Maybe it has been a bit strange coming here today, not knowing what to expect, hey?

P2 nods.

S/W to I: Can I call Mama Joyce [careworker] to speak to her, because she is the one who attends to visit the children, so she knows.

I: Is it ok for Mama Joyce to come talk to you?

P2 nods.

I: Remember what I said that it is up to you to tell me whether you want to carry on talking, ok? Obviously I'd like to talk to you but it must be when you're feeling - I don't want you to be upset by it.

[Mama Joyce enters the room and comforts P.]

MJ: She's a real orphan. Really, they are staying together, they are two herself and her brother. Her mother was married to another man, he was married before, and he didn't divorce with that first husband. Now he came here to Jo'burg to work because of the quarrels at home with the husband. So now the mother came and get a boyfriend and give these two to that boyfriend. All of a sudden the mother and the boyfriend were ill, then the mother passed away first. Then that father, who married the mother, came and took the body of the mother to his place, right in Umtata, Transkei somewhere. Then she left the two kids with him, with the father. He said I can't take these, these are a Zulu boy and Xhosa, so that racialism. And then after a long, their father died also. The relative of the

father came and take the body of the father, and they left them in the house. They are staying not far from here, you can just go and see, it is not far where they stay there. So they are really orphans, they are really really orphans. I do care for them all the time.

I: So P, Mama Joyce has told me a bit about what happened. How does that feel for you?

P2: Its painful.

I: It's painful. When did your mom die?

P2: It was 2004, January.

I: So it still feels very sore, hey. It hasn't been long for you. It still feels very sore, and it sounds like things that happened after your mom's death have also been upsetting for you?

P2: Yes.

I: And now it is just you and your brother left together. It must be very difficult to be just the two of you, hey?

P2: Yes.

I: Can I talk a little bit about when your mom was ill?

P2: Yes. It was 5 o'clock in the morning someone was asking her if she wanted hospital, on Thursday, Friday, Saturday then Sunday at 11 pm at night she passed away. Then we found out on Monday, then we went to school.

I: Had she been ill for a long time?

P2: Only a few weeks.

I: Only a few weeks?

P2: Yes.

I: And the man, the boyfriend or father, did he die before your mom, or after your mom?

P2: He died after.

I: Afterwards. Were you close to him?

P2: Yes.

I: And did that happen quite quickly as well?

P2: Ja, because it was during holidays, and he went home to see his mother. And my gran called us to see him and when he left her he was fine. Then he went and when I see him he couldn't talk, couldn't walk, then I asked me can he see me, he told me about money and customers, then I couldn't see that he saw me.

I: He saw what?

P2: When I asked him do you still see me, then he didn't answer my question, he told me something else about customers.

I: So at the time that you really wanted him to be able to see you and to recognise you, he didn't give you any direct indication or answer for that?

P2: Yes. Then he passed away. I was asleep actually then my brother, my granny told my younger brother to go and look for him, then they found him. He already passed away.

I: So it sounds like that was a very difficult few weeks or months?

P2: That thing was weeks.

I: So in that time you lost both your mom and your dad, hey?

P2: Pardon?

I: During that time you seem to have lost both your mom and your dad in not such a long time. It seem to have happened quite quickly, hey?

P2: Yes.

I: Did your mom or your dad ever speak to you about the illness, or what was happening?

P2: No, everything was so quick.

I: It just happened so fast.

I: And it sounds like after your mom passed away, your father was away for a bit of that time. He went to go visit his mom, and so times when you were maybe needing some support, he wasn't there?

P2: I think he was visiting his mum 'cause he knew that he was sick but didn't tell us.

I: So your mom or your dad, did they ever say anything about what they wanted you to do if they passed away?

P2: No.

I: You said that it all happened so quickly.

P2 nods. [She is teary throughout.]

I: When this all happened, who did you turn to for support? Who helped you through this? Was there anybody?

P2: My sister. She was there for us and she gave us support. Until a certain time and she started to pull away. 'Cause my father's family didn't care about us. [P2 is crying a lot now.]

I: So she was helping at first, but then that got less and less and you think that is because your father's family didn't like that?

P2: No, I know that. My father's family didn't support us at all. Then she started to pull away too. Since we buried our father, we didn't see them ever again since then. They didn't come. Since 2004 they didn't come. They've done nothing for us actually.

I: That must be very difficult, especially since you were relying on some of that support?

P2 nods.

I: You said that your sister sometimes helps with money?

P2: She does. But she wants us to beg her first.

I: She wants?

P2: She want us to beg her first.

I: Beg her first. So it sounds like it gets to a stage where you have to be so desperate that then you have to go and ask her, and it is very difficult for you to ask her for some help?

P2: Yes.

I: It sounds as if just the two of you at home have a lot to deal with, you've had so much to cope with?

I: Ja.

I: What do you do, if things in the household are becoming too much for you? So if you're feeling that this is too much, who do you turn to for support?

P2: My brother is very supportive.

I: The 32-year-old, or which one?

P2: The younger one?

I: The 23-year old?

P2: No the last one.

I: The 13-year-old.

P2: Yes.

I: So when you're feeling overwhelmed, and that things are too much, you actually talk to the one that is also in the same situation as you?

P2: Ja.

I: And you feel that you get support from him?

P2: Ja.

I: Do you get help from anybody outside the house? We've spoken about Heartbeat, but do you get any help from school or churches, or neighbours or other family that help you?

P2: There is no one that helps me besides Heartbeat.

I: Ok. It must make you feel quite alone and desperate at times, hey?

P2 nods.

I: Do you think your relationship and your brother's relationship has changed since your parents died.

P2: A lot.

I: Can you explain a bit more?

P2: Like when school re-opens we just have like things and new things and I think I it's hard when it comes to…I would say my life has changed a lot, 'cause there is a time when I have to act as S's mother, and all sorts of things. And I don't think his life has changed a lot.

I: So maybe you think that his life hasn't changed a lot because he still has a mother, but your life has changed a lot, you being a sister to him, you've had to become a mother?

P2: Yes.

I: What sort of ways do you think that you've become a mother to him?

P2: Showing him the wrong and the right, what I know, what I've experienced in life and make him understand rules.

I: What would happen if your brother did something that you or your parents wouldn't approve of, so maybe he was taking drugs or stealing? What would happen?

P2: I don't know, but I try to give him advice about drugs, that they are harmful, they don't take him anywhere, he'll just out of school. I tell him things I think will make him don't even think about taking drugs.

I: How do you think your life now compares to those of other girls your age?

P2: Could you repeat the question?

I: I'm just wanting to find out from you, how do you think your life is different compared to other girls of the same age as you, so other 16-year-olds or other 17-year-olds in your school? How do you feel?

P2: I think things worse sometimes because they…girls in my age enjoy partying and all this stuff. But I don't think about it, some stages.

I: So it sounds as if you feel that they have a more fun and sociable time?

P2: Yes it is.

I: Is there anything that you like doing, say between school and when you have to be at home looking after the house and your brother? What are the things that you do?

P2: I like travelling, going to some places.

I: What do you like about travelling?

P2: To me, I think it gets me to learn about things I don't know, see things I haven't seen before.

I: Ok. Tell me about your friends, do you have friends, do you have a few friends, do you have lots of friends?

P2: I have only one friend.

I: One friend. Tell me about that friend.

P2: She's supportive, she's kind, understanding. She is a person like me, she doesn't have parents.

I: What do you mean by that?

P2: She is a orphan.

I: She's orphaned as well. It sounds like it is really important for her to understand you?

P2: Yes 'cause others don't understand actually.

I: That other people might not understand what it is like for you to be going through this?

P2: Yes.

I: Do you get any money from the government, any of the grants?

P2: No, not yet.

I: Not yet. Have you applied?

P2: I was thinking about it.

I: Ok. When your mom or your dad was very ill, did they ever talk to you about things that were more adult things, like tell you secrets or talk to you about things that you would've thought they would talk to their friends, or their partners?

P2: No.

I: Did they ever ask you for advice about the house, or maybe your brother?

P2: No.

I: Ok. Can you tell me about your schooling – how is that going for you?

P2: It's tough, but I try my best.

I: What are you finding difficult?

P2: 'Cause the subjects, they want more practice like maths and physics but it's tough.

I: So they're wanting more practice from you but that is difficult for you to do?

P2: Ja, because mostly I can't study when I'm stressed. [P2 is crying a lot now.]

I: You can't study when you're stressed. And it sounds like this is a very stressful time for you, hey?

P2: Yes.

I: So it makes studying very difficult for you?

P2: Yes.

I: What was it like when your mom and your dad were ill? Were you able to cope at school?

P2: Yes, I coped.

I: So it sounds as if a lot of this is about the stress that you're experience, and it is missing your mom and your dad?

P2: Yes it is.

I: But trying to cope with your brother and looking after the house on your own as well? And having no other family to support you?

P2: Yes.

I: I can understand how you're feeling very stressed. Do you speak to anybody about how you feel?

P2: My brother.

I: Only your brother. You don't speak to anybody at school, like the guidance teacher or anything?

P2: No.

I: Is it difficult to talk to other people?

P2: Ja.

I: Is that something that you would like to do, is when you're feeling stressed to be able to talk to someone?

P2: I'd prefer to find a solution myself.

I: You'd prefer to find a solution yourself. Because sitting here talking to you, it sounds as if you are very upset, and it sounds as if things are very overwhelming for you. And I can understand why, there is a lot that you've gone through and you've had to do so much on your own. But I also want you to know that there are people and places that you can go if you do feel you want to talk to somebody. I know that you said that you prefer to find solutions on your own but to know that if you do ever want to talk to somebody else, that you don't have to be on your own. Heartbeat is one of those organisations that can help you to talk through these things, but there are others if you want to, ok?

P2: Ja.

I: My last question for you is about the future. I'm wanting to ask you what you think you will be doing in 5 years time? What would like to be doing in 5 years time?

P2: I think by that time I'll still be at college.

I: What do you think you'd like to be doing at college?

P2: I want to study zoology.

I: Is there something about Zoology that interests you?

P2: Yes.

I: What interests about animals?

P2: I really like animals. All the animals that are hurt, I feel something for them. I enjoy being around animals.

I: Ok. That's the end of my questions for you. But I want to ask you, is there anything else that you want to talk to me about, about what makes it difficult for you being the head of a household?

P2: No.

I: Are there any questions that you'd like to ask about my research, or about anything else?

P2: No.

I: Then I want to end off by saying that I really think that if do need to speak to somebody, if you do want to speak to somebody, that there are people out there that can speak to you, ok?

P2: Ok. [Still crying]

I: There is obviously Heartbeat but there are also helplines that I could give you a telephone number, there are free numbers, that if you wanted to speak to somebody on a helpline, or anything like that, ok. I know at the moment it sounds as if you want to keep things on your own and you want to try find a solution on your own, and that's ok, that's your choice. But to know that it doesn't have to be like that, ok?

P2: Ja.

I: Thank you so much for coming to talk to me today. I know that its been really difficult for you but I really appreciate it.

P2: It's ok.

I: Would you like some more water?

P2: I would just like to be excused for a moment. (gets up and walks out)

S/W: Yoh!

I: She can go if she wants to, but I want to make sure that she is ok. Shame. This is still very difficult for her, hey?

S/W: Yes, 'cause when she goes to school she travels, you know these things. She walks from here til maybe 1 hour 30 minutes.

I: Shoe! Why doesn't she go to a school closer?

S/W: Maybe because that one is the best she knows.

I: She knows them?

S/W:

I: Do you think I should go and talk to her, or do you think I should leave her to talk to Mama Joyce?

S/W: ja, but the way she is…?

I: She seems quite depressed. That's why I said to her that she must – I don't know about clinics in this area, but if there is a clinic with a psychologist or a psychiatrist, and if she is interested in going, then she should go. Obviously it is difficult because you don't want to force her, but she seems very depressed.

S/W: [unable to hear tape]

I: She definitely does.

S/W: Because she can't cope.

I: I can also find out if there is a clinic in Tembisa that has a psychologist. But it depends on where it is, I suppose.

S/W: Ja. And we think maybe she took something to [unable to hear tape]

I: Do you think she might be?

S/W: Ja, because we know she was staying with a boyfriend, just to get money, not really to stay, so we suspect, but we're not sure. But it is a problem, yes. But I'll tell xx today, then we can see what we can do.

I: Ok. I don't think she's going to come back.

Child-head: Participant 3 (match with Participant C)

I: So you're 15 years old, hey?

P3: Yes.

I: And when is your birthday?

P3: 16 May.

I: 16th of May. So you're going to turn 16 then?

P3: Yes.

I: What school do you go to?

P3: X.

I: X. Ok. And what grade are you in?

P3: Grade 10.

I: I now want to ask you about your brothers and sisters: How many brothers and sisters do you have?

[She talks to interpreter].

I: Two brothers.

[Interpreter talks to her].

P3: One brother older than me.

I: One brother older than you. And how old is he?

P3: 17.

I: And does he live with you?

P3: Yes.

I: And then have you got another brother?

P3: Yes.

I: How old is he?

P3: He is 7.

I: And does he live with you?

P3: No.

I: Who does he live with?

Interp: But they usually live together until the relative came and took him. But they used to stay together in a shack.

I: When did the relative come?

Interp: It was December now, in December.

I: Ok. So is it just the two of you, you and your older brother?

P3: Yes.

I: Does anybody else live with you?

[Interpreter translates and she discusses with him]

P3: Two.

I: Just the two of you. What were you asking?

Interp: Because they were like renting a shack. So she wanted to know that do you mean the other people that are there.

I: Oh ok. So its just the two of them, ok. And you're in Grade 10 now. And your brother?

P3: Grade 11.

I: He's in Grade 11. Is he in school too?

P3: Ja.

I: How long have you been in contact with the people from this organisation, from Ikageng?

P3: Last year

I: Last year. Towards the end of the year? What month, do you remember?

[Interpreter translates].

Interp: I think it was around maybe June or so.

I: Ok. Between you and your brother, who decides on which tasks? Who must do the cooking, who must do the cleaning?

P3: My brother.

I: He decides?

P3: Ja.

I: Ok. And what are your tasks in the household?

P3: Cooking and cleaning.

I: You do the cooking and cleaning. And for your brother, what does he do?

P3: He wash dishes.

I: Ok. Where does your family get money for things that you might need, like food or things for school?

[Interpreter translates and they discuss]

P3: We are helped by Ikageng.

I: Ok. So you don't really have any money?

P3: No.

I (to interpreter): Because you don't give money, hey? You just give food and stationery and..

Interp: Yes, its food, like whatever they need we buy it for them.

I: You don't ever give them money?

Interp: Ja.

I: Do you get any government grant?

P3: No.

I: Have you applied for one?

P3: No.

I: Why not? Have you thought about that?

P3: Yes.

I: But what happens?

P3: I didn't know what to do.

I: You don't know what to do? That's the difficulty?

P3: Yes.

I: Alright. Tell me about with you and your brother - do you get on, or do you fight?

P3: We don't fight.

I: You don't fight. Has that always been the case, or has it changed since you were living alone?

[Interpreter translates].

Interp: They never fought.

I: Ok. If your brother did something that you didn't agree with, or you disapproved of, or maybe your parents disapproved of, like maybe stealing, or taking drugs, what happens?

[Interp translates]

P3: I shout at him.

I: You shout at him, ok. Can you tell me about when your mother or father was ill? What happened there? You're living alone now. Can you tell me about what happened to make you live alone?

P3: I'm speaking in Xhosa.

I: That's fine.

[Speaks to interpreter]

Interp: It wasn't good.

I: When did your mom get ill?

P3: August.

I: August last year?

P3: No July last year.

Interp: Ja, July. Because their mom was a member of our support group. We have a support group for HIV positive women. So ja like she was a member of our support group. And then when she start becoming ill, she asked us to look after her kids before she died. Ja.

I: So your mom was quite ill, was she very ill? Did you have to take care of her, look after her, feed her, things like that?

[She talks to interpreter]

Interp: Like, they were looking after her, doing everything for her, and it was such a bad experience to see their mother being ill infront of them. And when she start getting sick it wasn't that serious. But when time went by she got serious.

[P3 talks to Interpreter]

Interp: Ja, when she got sick, they never expected that she might get sick because she was someone who was a believer, a Christian. And but it happened so it was for them, they never expected that someone who was a Christian might get sick in that way.

I: And when did your mom pass away?

P3: 2nd August.

I: 2nd of August. So she was sick for a short period, hey?

P3: Yes.

I: Did your mom talk to you about the illness and what would happen? Did she talk to you about what sickness she had, or that she might pass away.

P3: Yes she did tell us.

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: She told them that the disease she had, she got it from their father.

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: The father told their mother before he died.

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: So they were shocked when they got that their mother was sick because they never expected that. Because according to them the notion they had, the people who caught this virus were the people who are sleeping around. So she is someone who is always, as she said before, she was a Christian, she never did that sleeping around thing.

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: So because she always communicated with her, so she was hurt something like a guilt, so she told her that since it went like this then the mother told her that once that guilt comes to me this side is when she's going to die.

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: So she believed that's what killed her mother.

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: The aunts also confirmed that that was what killed her mum, because she wasn't that ill or maybe the virus wasn't everywhere, like it didn't damage the body that much.

I: Ok, alright. And your father, when did he pass away?

P3: 16th April.

I: So was he living with you as well? Were you all living together?

P3: Ja.

I: So there have been some big changes over the last year, hey?

P3: Ja.

I: Did your mother ever talk to you about adult matters, like things you would think she should rather have spoken to a grown up, like maybe telling a secret, or things that you would've thought she would either talk to your father about or a friend, and not a daughter.

[Interpreter translates]

P3: Yes.

I: Can you tell me about what sort of things?

[Interpreter translates]

Interp: Most of the things are the things that were shared by their mum, they are about their family which she would like to keep within herself. But one other thing that is important that her mother told them was, before she died she called them and spoke to them about if she passed away. It is important for them to treat themselves, among themselves as brothers and sisters, to be united as brothers and sisters. And also she especially explained to her that she is a girl and she should watch out, she shouldn't just go out for boys. Ja. Some other matters are family concerns, ja.

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: She also told them that since his brother – like his brother was somehow misbehaving – so that was part of what, their mom told them that was part of her sickness, was her brother, her older brother, the one who is 17-years, was misbehaving.

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: There was a dream that her mom shared with them, that she dreamt of his elder brother and there they were in a rocky place and she was calling her older brother, and her older brother didn't want to come to her. And that showed that something bad that she didn't do, the fact that her elder brother didn't come to her mother showed something that something was going wrong. So like we black people believe so much in dreams and meanings when it comes to dreams.

I: So do psychologists, don't worry!

Interp: Exactly.

I: Did your mom ever ask you for advice about like the house? Like what she should do about your younger brother, or what she should do about your elder brother, or about money, or anything like that?

[Interpreter translates and they discuss]

Interp: There way things were said was that her money, they were registered with the aunt, and she is the one who was to be responsible for the money after the mother has passed away.

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: Also, she told them that they should look after the young one.

I: Ok. Would you say that, out of you and your brother, who looks after the house, is it you more?

[Interpreter translates].

Interp: Both of them, they do.

I: Both of them, ok.

Interp: But according to us, she is the person who, even if they need something, she's the one, she's going to come to us. She's the one if anything that goes wrong she is the one who is active.

I: Looking after one's family is extra work for a child. How do you think it has affected you?

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: It gave them quite a difficulty because of, after their mom has passed away, their brother sometimes if she goes to another room, she sometimes come back crying and saying she's seen her mum, and they spoke to the elders and they told them that ja, its supposed to be that way because he is too young to lose his mom and his dad within a very short period of time. And it is difficult to look after one another at this age.

I: What do you think is the most difficult thing for you now, looking after the house?

[P3 talks to interpreter].

P3: The most difficult thing…

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: Ja when the mum was still alive she would like guide them, telling them to do A, B, C, not to do A, B, C. But now since they are alone, there is no one who is guiding them in a sense. So what they miss most is parental guidance.

I: Someone to tell you what to do when you're faced with difficult issues.

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: Someone who can always advise you.

I: Ok. When you're finding things difficult for you, who do you turn to for support?

P3: No one.

I: No one, its just you?

P3: Yes. We just talk together with my brother.

I: We've spoken about Ikageng and that they helped you. Is there anybody else that helps you, other than the two of you, so maybe a neighbour, or any other family, church or anything like that?

P3: No one. Only Ikageng.

I: Ok. And your younger brother is now with a relative, hey?

P3: Yes, with my aunt.

I: Do you see him anymore?

P3: No.

I: What is that like? Is it difficult for you not to see him anymore?

P3: Yes it is difficult.

I: Ok. Do you think people have treated you differently since your mom passed away, your mom and your dad passed away?

P3: Yes.

I: Can you tell me about it, or what do you think is different?

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: Where they are in a shack, the person, there is a guy who is staying there, he used to insult them and their mom.

I: When their mom was still alive?

Interp: No, after the death of their mom. Saying 'such and such has happened to your mom' things like that, and then like he is always telling them that he is going to evict them from where they are staying.

I: So the place that you are now, they threatened to evict you?

P3: Yes.

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: They will sometimes close the water for them not to do their washing. And also if they go inside into their shack and try to talk about whatever is bothering them, they will throw stones on the shack, and always shouting at them that they are making a lot of noise.

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: Ja, they will even sometimes when they greet them, they will even not respond, they just look away. And if they do really look at them they will ask them why are still here?

I: Ok. Is there anybody else treat you differently? Like maybe the people at school, or has that been the same do you think?

P3: No one.

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: No, with people at school everything is still ok.

I: OK. What do you in your spare time between school and going home to cook and clean? What do you do?

P3: I go to church, I listen to gospel music, gospel songs, and I read the bible. Ja, that's all.

I: Tell me about your friends, do you have any friends, do you prefer to be alone, or do you have lots of friends?

P3: I have lots of friends.

I: And what do you like doing together?

P3: Um, we like to talk and share our stories.

I: Have they treated you differently at all? Since your mom passed away?

P3: No they don't.

I: Tell me about your schooling, your schoolwork, how is that going?

P3: Sometimes it is difficult. Sometimes.

I: What makes it difficult?

P3: Sometimes I miss my mum. Sometimes I need someone to talk to.

I: And when your mom was sick and you were looking after your mom, were you able to go to school all the time?

P3: No, I was not able.

I: So you missed school? Were you not at school that time? When your mom was sick, were you going to school or were you staying at home.

P3: Yes I was going to school, but sometimes I got upset.

I: How do you feel that your life compares to other 15-year-old girls, the same school as you perhaps? How do you think, other 15-year-old girls, their life is different to yours?

[Interpreter translates and they discuss]

Interp: She feels quite bad about that because she always ask herself that why did that happen to her.

I: So you feel quite different to the other girls, like maybe your friends? They're quite different to you?

I: What would you like to be doing in 5 years time?

P3: To be a business woman.

[Talks to interpreter].

Interp: She like to see herself being a business woman and being a successful person. And also do unveiling for her parents and also like another thing that she would like to see her younger brother growing up without facing the challenges that she has had.

[P3 talks to interpreter].

Interp: And also she just wants to see herself affording to appreciate the people who helped her out in the situation.

I: Ok. That's the end of my questions. But is there anything else that you would like to tell me, or you think that it would be good for me to know what you go through, to understand a bit more of your experiences?

[Interpreter translates and they discuss]

Interp: Sometimes they always like, what is upsetting her too much is that they need people to talk to, someone that she can just sit down, and someone that she doesn't know, just to talk to that person.

I: And they're not someone that you're worried with shout at you, or a friend that sometimes gives advice, but not the right advice?

P3: Ja.

I: Thank you for that. Is there anything else?

[P3 talks to interpreter].

P3: No.

I: Nothing else, ok. Thank you very much for talking to me today, I really appreciate it. I know sometimes these questions can be a bit difficult, hey. Sometimes they are a bit sore. So what I want to say to you is that if feel sad, or if you need to talk to somebody after leaving here, maybe when you go home, you must come talk to someone at Ikageng that you're feeling upset, or you can phone me, or anything, ok, if you're feeling that you need some support. Ok?

P3: Ok.

I: There is also the Orlando clinic, the Orlando East clinic. There are some psychologists there, but I'm not sure what languages they'll be speaking. But I could find out perhaps, it might just be a useful contact, because it is free and there are psychologists there and things.

I: Now that I have interviewed you, what I'm going to do, is that I'll go to your school, and ask them if I can interview another 15-year-old girl. And I won't tell them that I've spoken to you. But what I want to do is speak to somebody different to you to find how the things compare, what they find is difficult and how things are different to you. Does that make sense? Do you understand that?

P3: Yes.

I: So if you see me at your school you mustn't worry. I'm not going to tell anybody that it is you that I've spoken to. I'll just say that I've spoken to a 15-year-old girl, and I'd like to speak to another 15-year-old girl. Ok? Do you have any questions or anything?

P3: No.

I: Well thank you so much again for coming to talk to me, ok. I really appreciate it.

Child-head: Participant 4 (match with Participant D)

I: So thanks for coming to talk to me. You say that you're 17 years old?

P4: I'm turning 17.

I: Okay, so you 16 at the moment. And when are you turning 17?

P4: On the 30th of September.

I: In September. So you do go to school, I can see from your uniform.

P4: Yes.

I: What school do you go to?

P4: X school.

I: X school? Is that what it's called? Is that the full name?

P4: Yes.

I: Is that high school?

P4: Yes, it's a secondary school.

I: Okay. What grade are you in?

P4: I'm doing grade 11.

I: How many brothers and sisters do you have, P4?

P4: I've only got one brother and two sisters.

I: One brother and two sisters. Who's the oldest?

P4: My brother.

I: Okay. And how old is he?

P4: He's 19.

I: And does he live with you?

P4: Yes.

I: And then, who's after your brother?

P4: After my brother, it is my sister.

I: Okay, and how old is she?

P4: She's 17.

I: 17. And does she live with you?

P4: Yes.

I: And after that?

P4: It's me, and then my other sister.

I: And then your other sister, how old is she?

P4: She's also 16.

I: She's also 16? Are you twins or are you...

P4: No we are not twins. We are just born in the same year but different months.

I: Oh Ok. And does she live with you?

P4: Yes.

I: So you live with your brother, and two sisters. Is there anybody else that lives with you?

P4: No.

I: Who's got the highest level of schooling amongst you?

P4: I can say it's me, because every time my reports, when they get my report, they see I get more marks than them, so I'm the one with the highest marks.

I: Your 17-year-old sister, is she's still in school now?

P4: Yes, she is doing grade 12.

I: She's doing grade 12. And your brother?

P4: He's doing grade 11.

I: He's doing grade 11 with you. But you feel that you are doing better than them?

P4: yes.

I: Okay. I'm not going to write everything down, cos I know the tape will get it.

P4: Okay.

I: How long have you been in contact with people from Ikageng?

P4: Actually, it's been years from 2000.

I: From 2000?

P4: Yes, when our parents died. So it's when we started meeting Carol.

I: Ok. How did you first meet the people from Ikageng? How did they first get in contact with you?

P4: My mother used to go church at Methodist Church, where Carol goes. So they met there before my mother died.

I: And then she told her...

P4: Ja, she was HIV-positive, so then we go through the organisation.

I: Okay. I'll ask you a bit more about things a bit later, okay. First, I want to ask you about your house: in your house, who decides which tasks need to be done? Who needs to do the washing? Who needs to do the cleaning? Who needs to do this?

P4: Actually, the three of us. The three of us, we are girls, we are the ones who decide okay, maybe today I am the one who's cooking, then tomorrow is the other one, just like that. And the washing, we do the washing all of us. Then, we also iron together and the cleaning, we also do the cleaning together, excluding the boy.

I: So you decide together really?

P4: Ja.

I: And you say, excluding your brother?

P4: Ja, because he doesn't like cleaning at all, even washing. But he sometimes wash for himself.

I: What are your tasks in the household? What do you have to do in the house?

P4: I have to clean, cook, and as I've mentioned, wash, and ironing, and that sort of tasks.

I: And that's something that you and your sisters, you do it together, or one person will do it some time, and another person will do it in another time?

P4: Let's say today I am the one that's doing those tasks, and then tomorrow it will be another one, just like that. We change it.

I: So it changes?

P4: Ja.

I: Where does your family get money for the things that they might need in the house? Say, for food, or you needed something for school? Or you needed something to buy for home?

P4: Actually, when we need things like food, we get it from Ikageng. And then, they also pay our school funds, they do pay for our transport. So everything that we need we get it from here.

I: Ok. Is there anybody that gets any money in the house? Does your brother work?

P4: No.

I: He's still at school hey?

P4: Yes.

I: Who makes decisions about big things, like, what you should do, and if there is any big decision be made, who would make that?

P4: Actually, there is no one who makes big decisions because we all agree to one thing. So there's no one saying 'you are going to do this'. Just like my sister, she is the same age as me, so she cannot tell me to do a thing, whilst she is still going to be doing it. So we decide among ourselves.

I: Does anybody need looking after in your family? You don't have any young brothers or sisters, but does anybody need any special help like help with homework? Or are you all the same?

P4: No, I don't think anybody needs help, because we are all the same age.

I: You're all a similar age. Tell me about your relationship with your brother and sisters. What is that like? Do you fight a lot? Or do you get on really well?

P4: Actually, we do fight sometimes, and when we fight, we make sure that by the end of the day, we come up with a solution. It doesn't mean that we've got to fight and be angry for the whole year or the whole week. We fight, then we will come up with a solution. Then if someone around us has a problem, she comes to us about her problem, then we go to resolve the problem. So that everything is stable.

I: How do you resolve a problem?

P4: By talking to one another.

I: Okay. Do you think your relationship with your brother and sisters has changed since your parents have died?

P4: Ja, it has changed but it took a lot of time to change. Because sometimes when you find out that you've lost your parents, it becomes very hard for you to accept that. But there are so many different things, there is a space where you see that my mum is not here, my dad

is not here. And there is still that feeling sometimes, we need to talk to our parents, and we don't feel like they're still there with us. So, there is a big gap since they have passed away.

I: So your relationship with your brother and sisters, do you think that's changed, since..?

P4: It has changed, because we now understand one another, and is no more mistaking, we are like only quiet.

I: So, before they was difference between you, but now you're all the same?

P4: Ja.

I: If your, say, you're younger sister, if she did something that wouldn't be acceptable to you or to your parents, what would happen? So maybe if she was stealing, or using drugs, or being with a boy that nobody approved of, what would happen?

P4: Actually, if my parents were still there, they would have just hitted her or beaten her up, and tell her that what she is doing is not actually right. And actually, we follow our parents rules in the house. We have been told that we are not expected to do that, so we are just going to be punished, if one of us was found doing such mistakes.

I: So if your sister was doing something like that, she would be then punished and perhaps beaten?

P4: Yes.

I: And who would do the punishing?

P4: I think my mum.

I: And since your mom and dad haven't been around, who would it be? Say like now?

P4: Nobody. Because I cannot just hit that person who's just at the same age, like me. There is going to be a fight. The minute that I hit her, she's going to hit me back, and its going to be a fight. So we just talked to that person, and tell that person that it's wrong to do this thing in this way, and stop doing that. Because, maybe let's say, she's taking drugs. We know that drugs are not okay for a teenager, because once she takes drugs there are some bad things that she is going to do, or bad things that are going to happen to her.

I: So, who would it be that would talk to her? Would it be all of you? Or would it be your older brother? Or your older sister? Or will it be you that would talk to her, if something like that happened?

P4: I think it would be our older brother, because most of the time he's the one who tells us not to do that and do this.

I: Ok, so he's the one who tries to bring the rules down?

P4: Ja.

I: Okay. Can you tell me about when your parents were very ill? Can you tell me about that?

P4: Actually, I cannot explain the way they were, but it was painful to us to see our mother. Just getting ill, not being well. And every day, she can't even stand, we had to feed her on the bed. Now imagine just feeding an old person who is supposed to feed you and you're still young. It was very painful.

I: This is in 2000 did you say? When did your mom died?

P4: She died in 2001.

I: in 2001. So you were maybe 12 years old at that stage, and you were hoping for your mom

to look after you?

P4: Yes, not us looking after her.

I: So how long was she sick for?

P4: Maybe, let's say, when we recognised that she was sick, it started quite late, round about 1998, 1999, it was when we started recognising that mom is ill.

I: Did she talk to you about being ill?

P4: Yes she told us, but it was then late, in the year before she died.

I: When did she tell you? The year before she died?

P4: Yes.

I: And did that make sense to you? Did you know what that meant? And did she say that she might pass away?

P4: Ja at school they have already tutored us about Aids, and told us everything, symptoms and everything. So we already knew the virus of Aids. So when she told us we were surprised, but we did accept it because it is something that is around us.

I: So it was a surprise for you to know that even though you had seen your mom getting sick, for her to say that it was HIV, was a big surprise for you?

P4: Yes.

I: Did she say that she might die and things like that?

P4: No, but we knew that there would be a possibility that she died. She never told us but we knew. I mean if you see a person is very very ill, it is obvious that this person is no longer going to make it.

I: Shame that must have been very difficult for you, hey? Well for all of you to have watched that. And what about your father, has he been around? Do you know much about your father?

P4: Um, he also died.

I: When did he die?

P4: I don't know, because I was still young.

I: That was before your mom?

P4: Yes.

I: Did you know your father?

P4: No.

I: You were too young?

P4: Yes.

I: Do you know what he died of?

P4: It was also Aids. He died of the same thing.

I: So things have been very difficult for you, hey? Tell me, when your mom was ill did she ever talk to you about adult matters? Things that maybe you would have thought maybe she should have rather spoken to another adult or grown-up about? Maybe about secrets, or about money things, that you think she would have spoken to another grown-up, like an

aunt or a boyfriend or husband rather than speak to her daughter? Was there anything like that?

P4: No. If she had a problem, or had something to add, she would obviously tell her children. That's what she would do first. She would not tell anybody else, but she would tell us first.

I: What sort of things did she tell you?

P4: Like the one that she is HIV positive, and like that she has just left money for us, for in sake if she dies.

I: Did she ever ask you things about the household? Like asking for advice about what to do for the house, for the family? Did she ever ask for any help or advice?

P4: No.

I: And before your mom died, did she ever say anything about what she wanted from you all from the family when she died?

P4: Actually, the first thing that she told us was that we must stay at school so that one day we can be successful in life, and work hard at school so that we can aim our goals for whatever we want to be. So that's the main thing that she told us that we mustn't play around boys, we must keep on studying at school.

I: You remember that a lot, hey? Did she ever say anything about how she wanted her children to live together? Did she say you must go and live with your grandmother? Or I want you to stay at home together?

P4: No, she just left us with the house and said we must live together there.

I: She said that you must live together in the house?

P4: Yes.

I: Okay. Looking after your own family is extra work for a child. How do you think it has affected you?

P4: Huh, I can't answer that. Because, actually looking after the house is not our duty. It's was supposed to be our parent's duty, but we have no choice. The only thing to do is to look after the house, our mother's house that she left us with. And if there is anything that we could do to make the house perfect, well then we have to do that, and keep the promise that we said to our mom that we were going to keep it.

I: Do you think it has changed the way things happen for you? Like, has it changed the amount of time that you can spend on your homework? Or the amount of time that you can spend with your friends?

P4: Ja, actually it has changed. Because, you know, when our parents were around, we couldn't even have time to study our work, do I work, but now we do have plenty time to study, do our homeworks, and if anybody feels like going out and hang out with her friends she does so, and come back at home at time.

I: So before, when you parents were still alive you didn't have time to do that? How come?

P4: You know, when your parents always there, actually they didn't want us to go around and stay with your friends. And sometimes when, say you're studying, like my dad or my mother would just call me and say would you please just go to the shop and buy something for me. So you wouldn't have enough time to study.

I: Was this before they were sick?

P4: Ja, it was before they were sick.

I: So in a way, it sounds as if they were lots of things that you had to do when your parents were alive, but now it seems as if you're coping?

P4: Yes.

I: What do you think is the most difficult thing about your life at the moment? What are you finding the most difficult?

P4: Mmm, I don't find anything difficult. Because everything has changed. I've just seen that the world, and I've just accepted that our parents passed away. And there is nothing else we can do, just to accept. Because everybody here chooses just to stay.

I: You have found that you're coping okay?

P4: Yes.

I: When you're finding things a bit difficult, like you have got too much work, or you don't know what to do about a certain thing, who do you turn to for support? Who do you turn to for help?

P4: Actually I talk to Carol, because she's the only one that listens to us when we talk and she does everything we ask her to do for us. Actually, I call her my mom.

I: She is like your mom for you?

P4: She has already taken my mother's path. Everything that she does, it was what our mother used to do.

I: You feel very close to her?

P4: Yes.

I: You've spoken to me about help that you get from Ikageng. Is there anybody else that helps you? People from the church? Neighbours? Or other family members?

P4: No. It is only Ikageng that helps.

I: Do you think that people have treated you differently since your parents have passed away?

P4: No, since our parents died of Aids, some people knew she had died because of Aids. And some of them, they even called us the house that we stayed with, its the house of people who are HIV. And that makes us feel bad because we are not HIV positive, it was only our parents that were HIV positive. So they used to call us that we were from the house of people who are HIV.

I: And who were these people? Were they neighbours?

P4: Yes, they were neighbours. People around us.

I: And other than them, has anybody else treated you differently? Like somebody at school? Or?

P4: And no, it wasn't at school. There's nobody who knew our parents were HIV. Because if you would have chosen your friends, or anybody, they were just going to treat you differently from the other times they treated you good.

I: You think if you told your friends that your parents died of HIV they would treat you differently?

P4: yeah I do.

I: How do you think they would treat you differently?

P4: Honestly I think they wouldn't even like me the way they like me before. Even their attitude was just going to change towards me.

I: So let me understand this: Even though at school, you've got a programme on HIV/Aids, and what causes it, your friends would treat you differently if they knew that your parents had died of Aids.

P4: Yes

I: OK. It sounds as if you've had to keep this very quiet?

P4: Ja. I just have to keep a secret of mine.

I: Is it difficult to keep it a secret of yours?

P4: There are things that I keep as a secret, but there are those that I think 'this one, I cannot just handle it on my own, I do need to tell a person. But the other one of my parents, I kept it on my own.

I: And the ones that you feel you do need to tell a person, who do you end up telling?

P4: I speak to Carol.

I: Ok. What do you like to do in your spare time, say between school and…

P4: I like reading.

I: What sorts of things do you like reading do?

P4: Actually, I like reading…actually when I grow up I'd like to be a social worker, and the most books that I read its about politicians, and child abuse….

I: The factual books?

P4: Yes.

I: So tell me what you'd like to be doing in 5 years from now?

P4: I'd can see myself being a successful social worker, looking after my sisters if they will be there, but if they have moved on with their lives, I will be living my own life too, but not forgetting my parents.

I: Is there anything that you would do in 5 years time. Can you see yourself in a particular area? Will you still be in Soweto?

P4: No! I just want to go to New York City.

I: What do you like about that?

P4: I don't know, but I like that place. I like it, if I had money, I would fly there and just go and see that place, I like it.

I: Ok. Can you tell me about your friends: do you have lots of friends, one or two friends, or do you prefer to spend time on your own?

P4: I prefer one friend, because you know sometimes when you hang out with so many friends, there is this thing that the friends pressurize you to do this and do that. And so I don't like many friends, I prefer one friend because I know, when I'm not around her, there is nothing else that she's going to talk about me, like gossiping.

I: So you trust her? And that it's difficult for you to trust a lot of people?

P4: Mm, and most of my friends I can call them my sisters. I made them my friends at home. Actually at home I don't have friends, I don't like friends.

I: No? Its just at school?

P4: Yes.

I: And what do you like to do together with your friends?

P4: We like to hang out. She's just like me, she likes music, most of the time you'll find her reading. If we're not reading, we're just like nothing.

I: Oh ok. Tell me about your schooling. How's that going?

P4: My school is great.

I: You're finding it ok to get your work done?

P4: Yes.

I: You've spoken a bit about the fact that you've got more time now to do your schoolwork?

P4: Ja. Let's say if I have a problem with maths, I can go to another person that understands maths so that she can make me understand just like the way she does. I don't have any problems.

I: Did you have problems before? Was it difficult for you to keep up with your school work when your parents were sick, when your mom was sick.

P4:Yes it was difficult. You couldn't even focus on your schoolwork. Everytime when you have to focus, you are thinking about your mother.

I: Did you have to miss any school to take care of her?

P4: Sometimes.

I: Was that very difficult for you?

P4: Sometimes we had to miss school, especially when she was very very ill, we had to look after our mother. So we didn't have a chance to go to school.

I: How long did you miss for?

P4: Maybe for a month.

I: Ok. And was it difficult for you go back to school and catch up the work that you missed?

P4: No it wasn't difficult because I just asked my friend what had they done, so I cover up everything.

I: How do you feel your life compares to the life of other 16 year old girls, say maybe at your school? Do you think it is different?

P4: Yes it is.

I: What do you think is different?

P4: It is different because I cannot just keep on my mind that my mother passed away, that I be sad every day. I need to keep a smile on my face. Actually I like laughing. Even if there is something bad that somebody did to me, I will laugh at you and leave you alone.

I: But you think your life is different because other children haven't lost their mom like you have?

P4: Yes.

I: Is there anything else that you think is different? Do you think they have to do more things at home, or do you think that you have to do more things at home than they do? Like cooking and cleaning, than other children, or do you think that's the same?

P4: It is the same. Because even if my parents were around they would just let us clean the house, cook. So there's no difference there.

I: Ok. So that's the end of my questions for you. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me, that would make it easier for me to understand what you go through, the difficulties or problems, or anything else.

P4: The only thing that I would just says is that losting of your parents is a very difficult thing because it is very difficult because it gets a lot and lot of time to accept that your parents have died, and so many things change. And when you've got problems, there's a time whereby you need your parents to be there. Even when you hear at school that there's a parent meeting, you think of your mother that's not there. Losting your parents is not a good thing. We still need our mother's love.

I: What do you miss most about your mom?

P4: I miss her cooking. Actually her love. She loved us very much.

I: Ok. Well thank you so much for talking to me today. What I want to do is to compare, to see how different it is - remember I was asking you what you think is different from another person at school. So, what I am going to do is go to your school and ask them for me to interview another 16 year old girl at your school. I won't tell them that I spoke to you, I won't use your name at all, ok? I will just say that I have interviewed another 16-year-old girl, and and I want to interview another. And what that is for, is for me again just to ask similar questions, what difficulties they have, how is there schooling, what there friends are like, just to compare the differences between you and another person. Do you understand?

P4: Yes.

I: Ok. So if you see me at your school, don't worry I won't tell anybody that it's you I've spoken to, OK?

P4: Do you know my school?

I: Um, you said to me that it is X Secondary.

P4: Its around at xxxx.

I: Ok. Thank you so much. And if you feel that you're feeling a bit sad about what we've spoken about, some of the things are a bit difficult, hey? If you feel that you want to talk to somebody, then get in touch with Ikageng, Carol, or you've got my telephone and you can call me and we can talk about things, ok? Does that feel ok?

P4: Yes.

I: Thank you so much for coming to talk to me, ok?

Child-head: Participant 5 (match with Participant E)

I: How old are you P5?

P5: I'm 18.

I: Are you 18 now?

P5: I'll be 18 in June

I: Turning 18 in June. Do you go to school?

P5: Yes.

I: What school do you go to?

P5: X High.

I: X, like that?

P5: Yes.

I: And what grade are you in?

P5: Grade 11.

I: Grade 11?

P5: Yes.

I: How many brothers and sisters do you have, P5?

P5: Actually, I have ten.

I: Ten. Ok, I want you to tell me about them, but start with the person who's the oldest. Who's the first born?

P5: Its B.

I: Is it a girl or a boy?

P5: Boy.

I: And how old is B?

P5: He's 21.

I: And does B live with you?

P5: Sometimes.

I: After him?

P5: Its me.

I: Ok, and after you?

P5: It's M.

I: And is it a girl or a boy?

P5: A boy.

I: And how old is M?

P5: He's 15.

I: And does he live with you?

P5: No, he lives in Braamfischer.

I: Who does he live with?

P5: He lives with an uncle.

I: Ok, and after him, who's next?

P5: G.

I: Is it a girl or a boy?

P5: A girl.

I: And how old is she?

P5: She's 13.

I: And does she live with you?

P5: No.

I: Where does she live?

P5: In Braamfischer.

I: In the same place?

P5: Yes.

I: Ok, and after that?

P5: M.

I: How old is she?

P5: 13 as well.

I: It's a girl as well?

P5: Ja.

I: And where does she live?

P5: In Braamfischer.

I: And after her?

P5: It's L.

I: A girl or a boy?

P5: A boy.

I: And how old?

P5: 12.

I: And does he live with you?

P5: Yes.

I: And after that?

P5: Its M.

I: A girl or a boy?

P5: A boy.

I: And how old?

P5: He's 7.

I: And does he live with you?

P5: Yes.

I: And after that?

P5: M.

I: A girl?

P5: Yes.

I: How old is she?

P5: 5.

I: And does she live with you?

P5: Yes.

I: Two more, hey?

P5: Yes.

I: Who's after that?

P5: K.

I: A girl or boy?

P5: A girl.

I: How old is she?

P5: Six years old.

I: And does she live with you?

P5: Yes.

I: And the last one?

P5: Its M.

I: A girl or boy?

P5: A boy

I: How old?

P5: 2 years now.

I: And does he live with you?

P5: Yes.

I: He does live with you?

P5: Yes.

I: So you've got a 2-year old, 5-year old, 6-year-old, 7-year-old, and 12-year-old and yourself living here. Is there anybody else that lives here? Any other relative, or cousin?

P5: Ja, she used to come and visit us.

I: Who's that?

P5: My aunty.

I: So there is nobody else at the moment that lives here, it's just those people that I've said?

P5: Yes.

I: And you're the oldest, hey?

P5: Yes.

I: And you're doing your grade 11 now.

P5: Yes.

I: Ok. How long have you been in contact with the people from Ikageng?

P5: Maybe two years now.

I: Two years. How did you get in contact with them?

P5: There was a lady called P, maybe she died last of last year. Because of my uncle, she saw we were staying here. So she contacted Carol and asked her to come here.

I: Your uncle used to live here?

P5: Yes.

I: So before 2 years ago, you were living with an uncle? Here in this place?

P5: Yes.

I: And your brothers and sisters, the ones that are now living in Braamfischer, were they also living with you, or have they always been staying there?

P5: No, they were always living with me.

I: They were always living with you and then two years ago they moved to Braamfischer?

P5: Yes.

I: In your family - just tell me if you don't understand, and we can wait until Pro comes back, ok?

P5: Yes.

I: In your family, who decides who must do the cleaning, who must do the cooking, and who needs to do the washing?

P5: P & M used to do the washing, me and x used to clean the house.

I: Who decides?

P5: I told them that they could do washing and we could clean the house.

I: Ok, so you decided?

P5: Ja.

I: Ok. What are your tasks in the house? What do you do?

P5: I clean the house, and cook.

I: Where does your family get money for things that you might need in the house?

P5: Things that we need we contact Carol.

I: So it is mainly Ikageng?

P5: Ja.

I: And before your uncle died, was he working?

P5: Yes.

I: Do you ever have any money here?

P5: No.

I: Who would make the decisions, say if you had to decide on something big, who would make the decisions for the people living here?

P5: It would be my brother – the big one.

I: Your big brother, although he doesn't always live here?

P5: Yes.

I: Ok. Where does he live sometimes?

P5: In Wadeville.

I: With family, or on his own?

P5: Actually, he doesn't even tell us.

I: Oh really. So sometimes he comes here and stays?

P5: Yes.

I: Do you get any government grant?

P5: No.

I: Did you ever try to get a government grant?

P5: Yes, I used to when my uncle from Braamfischer also stayed with us. He used to keep the money, so had to cut it off, because he didn't want to buy me clothes, and things for the others. .

I: So your uncle in Braamfischer he used to get a grant for you, and for the other children as well, or just for you?

P5: For all of us.

I: For all of you. And then you said that he was using the money.

P5: Ja, he was using all the money, buying cars from the scrapyard, things like that.

I: Ok. So you've decided to stop it?

P5: Yes.

I: Did you ever think of getting it again, but just for you to be able to look after it?

P5: Ja, I wanted to get it, because if I want to buy these things.

I: Because especially if you are looking after such young children that must be difficult for you not to get any help?

P5: Yes.

I: Who in your family looks after your brothers and sisters? The ones that live with you?

P5: She maybe she is going to work, she is now working. She was not working before.

I: Who was that?

P5: My neighbour.

I: So she used to help you a lot with looking after things?

P5: Yes.

I: But now you say that she has got a job?

P5: She's got a job, and now she stays in Orlando.

I: So how long has she had a job for?

P5: Maybe she started this year to work.

I: So now who looks after your brothers and sisters.

P5: It's M. The one who used to live here.

I: So does she come here often?

P5: Yes.

I: Every day, or..?

P5: She likes to stay every week, and then she comes again the next weekend.

I: Does she live here in this house, or just lives over there.

P5: She used to live there over in Orlando.

I: So she still comes, like will she be here tonight?

P5: Ja.

I: And who is this person, is she family?

P5: She's a cousin.

I: Can you tell me about your brothers and sisters? Do you get on well with your brothers and sisters – the ones that live with you?

P5: Yes.

I: Or do you fight a little bit?

P5: No, we don't fight actually.

I: You don't fight. So you never fight?

P5: Yes.

I: And say, if you don't fight with them, but do they fight at all?

P5: Ja, they used to fight until I tell them to stop fighting.

I: So you would tell them to stop fighting?

P5: Ja.

I: If your brother or sister did something that you didn't think was right or you think that maybe your parents would disagree with, so maybe your younger brother was doing drugs, or stealing or doing something like that, what would happen?

P5: I would take him, and sit him down and tell him this is wrong, this is right.

I: And it would be you that would talk to him?

P5: Yes, because if I could tell my oldest one he will beat him.

I: If you told your 21-year-old brother, then he would beat him, and you don't like that?

P5: Yes.

I: Has anything like that happened before where you've had to talk to your brother?

P5: Yes.

I: Can you tell me a bit about that?

P5: Ja, about drinking. He likes to drink too much and smoke. So I told him please don't smoke in the house in front of children. But he like to cheek me out, he want to beat me.

I: This is your older brother?

P5: Yes.

I: You say that you started looking after your family when your uncle died. And how long had you been living with your uncle?

P5: About 20 years.

I: Twenty years? A long long time, hey?

P5: Yes.

I: Did you know your parents? Your mom and your dad?

P5: Yes.

I: Have they passed away?

P5: Yes, in 2000.

I: In 2000. So was your uncle living with you then as well?

P5: We were living all together?

I: All living together, and then your parents died. Both your mother and father?

P5: My father he was stealing cars. So I tried to talk to him but he didn't want to listen to me and he kept on stealing, so he go to jail. After that, he comes out but I don't know where to.

I: So you don't know where he is?

P5: Yes.

I: When did he come out of jail, do you know?

P5: Maybe three years ago.

I: And by that time your mom had already died?

P5: Yes.

I: Can you tell me about when your mother was ill?

P5: They would like to fight and we try talk to them, ok this is not right, because our children, we want to learn them not to fight, and then we want them to grow up to not fight the other one.

I: So your mom - before she died, was she sick?

P5: Ja.

I: Can you tell about what happened.

P5: Ja, she was HIV positive.

I: And what happened, was she sick for a long time?

P5: For a long time.

I: And did you see her getting sick?

P5: She even told me that she was HIV positive.

I: She told you. What did you think about when she told you?

P5: I didn't know if she was joking because the way she was talking, she was laughing with me, she was playing with me, and then she told me at the end.

I: So you didn't know if she was joking or not?

P5: Yes.

I: Ok. Did she tell you that you might pass away?

P5: No.

I: So she didn't talk to you about things like whether she wanted you to stay in the house, or she wanted…

P5: Ah, she always told me that, before she was HIV positive, she said I must stay with my sisters and my younger brothers, and we must stay together, and tell them they have to listen to me.

I: Were you very close to your mom?

P5: Very close.

I: Because you must have been about 12 years old when your mother died?

P5: Yes.

I: And then your uncle started looking after you?

P5: Ok, because my uncle used to live together with my mother in this house. After my mother passes away, my gran took care of us, buying clothes for us, doing everything for us. And she applied for grant money and she took all that money and buy us clothes and everything. After that, she had a heart attack. When he was going to work I think. He come back in the house and talk to us. They told him maybe she had a heart attack and after that he have a short temper, and then she died.

I: Oh really, shame. And after that your uncle looked after you?

P5: Ja.

I: When your mom was alive, did she ever talk to you about things that you would have thought she would have talked to a grown up about, instead of you? So maybe if she told you secrets, or told you about things that she was worried about, that you thought she would have usually spoken to another grown up, an aunt or her husband or something, rather than speak to her son? Did you ever feel anything like that?

P5: No.

I: Did your mother or father ever ask you for advice about your family or about your house, like what she should do, maybe about the little ones?

P5: Yes.

I: Can you tell me about that?

P5: They used to tell me that I must take care of the little ones. If those big ones don't want to listen, I mustn't worry, as long as I can take care of the little ones.

I: So that's what your mom used to say to you?

P5: Yes.

I: So she used to say that even if the older ones don't listen to you must take care of the younger ones?

P5: Yes.

I: It sounds like your mom trusted you a lot, more than your older brothers and sisters?

P5: Because I was doing what she told me to do. I was doing my homeworks, I was staying in the house. I was not drinking, I was not smoking, I was not going with girls, I was not going out.

I: So you were doing a lot of things around the house.

P5: Yes.

I: And when your mom was ill, who was looking after her?

P5: My aunt.

I: Looking after one's family is extra work for a child, hey?

P5: I am used to it. When it was at first, it was difficult.

I: What did you find difficult at first?

P5: Because, my aunt she died, maybe after having a baby for three months. So I thought that was a difficult one, because I didn't used to look after a small baby. And my sister told me to do this and to do this. Ok I told her, because I can't do this, will you come and stay with us and help me with this one. Ok she will come, yes.

I: So your sister came and helped?

P5: Yes.

I: What are the other things that you think that are difficult?

P5: Other things are difficult because of when there's no food I don't know what to do, because I don't work, and I can't borrow any money from the neighbours. And then I'll go to Carol, I must phone Carol first, tell me stories that it is delayed, and I have to stay like that.

I: So it's a lot about having enough food and things like that?

P5: Yes.

I: When you're finding things difficult, like your tasks, having to cook and to clean, and to look after the little ones. If you are finding it too much, who do you go to for support.

P5: If it is too much, I go to my sister, I told her, ok, maybe I've got to do something after class. I'll phone her, I'll tell her 'will you come and take care of the house as I have

something after class' and she will say yes. When I come back to school, I'll find the house is clean.

I: So your sister is a big support for you?

P5: Yes.

I: Other than your sister and Ikageng, Carol, do you get any other help from neighbours, or church or school or anything like that?

P5: Most of the neighbours.

I: So the neighbours are quite good to you?

P5: Yes.

I: Do you think people have treated you differently since your mom died and then your uncle died?

P5: No, they also treat me the same. They are like my mother.

I: Because some people say that if they hear that somebody has died of HIV, then they treat you differently, they tease you, they think that you're dirty, has anything like that happened to you?

P5: No, they wouldn't do that.

I: Ok, you haven't found that. What do you like to do in your spare time? Say between when you come back from school, and when you have to do things around the house?

P5: Maybe if I clean all the things, I'll stay rather do my homeworks, or play with the little ones.

I: Ok, so you like staying at home mostly?

P5: Ja.

I: Can you tell me about your friends: do you have lots of friends, one or two friends, or do you prefer to be on your own?

P5: I have four friends.

I: And have you been friends for a long time?

P5: Yes, four years.

I: What do you like to do together?

P5: Because we are joining the church choir, that is what we do.

I: You sing in the church choir, the five of you?

P5: Yes.

I: Are there lots of other people there that sing?

P5: Yes.

I: Tell me about your schooling – how is that going?

P5: Ah, its going well. The only problem is that I don't have money for lunch because we used to jump the fence and come and cook the lunch.

I: Ok, so you used to come here so that you could eat something?

P5: Yes, because they don't allow us to get out of the gate, so we jump the fence.

I: Can you take food to the school? Like in a lunch box?

P5: We used to, because Carol was giving us money for bread to make skofte, but she is not giving it anymore.

I: Ok, so you come here to cook something here?

P5: Yes.

I: When your mom was sick, you said your aunt looked after her. Did it affect your school work at all?

P5: No.

I: You didn't have to miss any school, or..?

P5: No.

I: And when your uncle was sick, who was looking after him?

P5: His wife.

I: And did that affect your schooling at all?

P5: No.

I: How do you feel that your life compares to other 17 year old boys, say at your school? Do you think your life is different to the other 17-year-olds?

P5: Ja, some of them, they are different.

I: Tell me about that?

P5: Ok, they are different, because they buy food. Ok, I don't buy food, I see them and look at what they eat. Ok they wear expensive clothes. Ok, I don't have expensive clothes, I don't care about that. I just watch them wear their expensive clothes. That is what I find is different.

I: So its about money; having enough money either to buy food or to buy clothes? Is there anything else that you think is different?

P5: Different because sometimes they put themselves on top because they, look at me because I live in a shack. They say, "Ah, you live in a shack, don't go with us".

I: They don't want you to be with them, because you live in a shack, which is different to them?

P5: Ja.

I: What do you think you'll be doing in five years time from now? So when you're 24?

P5: Maybe I'll be finished at school, and I'll do a software engineering.

I: Software engineering?

P5: Yes.

I: So have you thought about where you want to do it? Will you still be living in Soweto? Or will you have moved? What do you think?

P5: I didn't think about that.

I: Why do you want to be a software engineer?

P5: Because I am good at computers, and I like it.

I: So you're good at it, and you enjoy it?

P5: Yes.

I: That's the end of my questions. Is there anything else that you'd like to tell me which you think would make it easier for me to understand what you go through, any difficulties? Is there anything else that I haven't asked that you think is important for me to know?

P5: No, I don't think so. You've actually asked all the questions.

I: You know the question that I asked you about how do you think your life is different from other children that maybe are at your school?

P5: Yes.

I: What I am going to do is that I'm going to go to your school, and I'll tell them that I've spoken to a 17-year-old boy. I won't tell them your name. And I will say that I want to speak to another 17-year-old boy. And do you understand random? I'm going to ask them to randomly pick another 17-year-old boy. And I'm going to interview another boy from your school, who is 17-years-old, who isn't looking after his family, who maybe has got his parents or maybe is living with his gran, or his aunt. I want to ask them all the same questions, like how they do at school, what they find difficult, what they like to do with friends. I want to ask them similar questions to the ones I've asked you, to see how I can compare the two of you. Does that make sense? You might see me at your school, but not to worry and I won't tell anybody that I have spoken to you. Remember that this is confidential so if the teacher says to me "which boy have you spoken to?", I won't say anything, ok? I'm just using another 17-year-old boy to compare to see how things are different for you. Ok?

P5: Yes.

I: Do you have any questions for me?

P5: Ja. But its about another thing. You see, I need a computer for my school work. When they are old, like my other friend, ok he used to help me on his computer to do my works. So I want to ask you that can you help me with a computer?

I: I can't do that. I am a student, so I don't have that ability. But what I'll do is include this in the report, that money is a big problem for a lot of children who are left to look after themselves, hey? I'm sorry that I can't help with things like that, OK?

P5: Ok.

I: If you've got any questions, or you feel upset that you want to talk to somebody about it, then either speak to someone at Ikageng, or you can call me on my number, and we can talk about what to do to help you feel better about it. Ok?

P5: Yes.

I: Alright, P5. Is there anything more from you?

P5: No.

I: Thank you so much for talking to me today. I really appreciate the time that you've taken. It's really helped me understand the difficulties you go through.

Child-head: Participant 6 (match with Participant F)

I: Thank you so much for agreeing to talk to me. You say you're 16 years now?

P6: Ja.

I: And when do you turn17?

P6: Next year. 14 February next year.

I: 14 February next year. So you've just turned 16?

P6: Ja.

I: Do you go to school?

P6: Ja.

I: What school do you go to?

P6: X High School.

I: Can you spell that for me?

P6: X High school.

I: And what grade are you in there?

P6: Grade 10.

I: Grade 10, ok. P6, how many brothers and sisters do you have?

P6: One.

I: Who is that?

P6: N.

I: And is that a…

S/W: Brother.

I: And how old is he?

P6: 23.

I: And does he live with you?

P6: No.

I: Where does he live?

P6: In KZN.

I: And so, who else lives with you here?

P6: My stepfather.

I: Your stepfather, is he always here? Does he stay here all the time? Is it just the two of you?

P6: He stays all the time.

I: Ok. Now, you're doing your grade 10. Your stepfather, how far did he get at school? [S/W translates.]

P6: Standard 9.

I: Standard 9, that's grade 11, hey?

P6: Ja.

I: How long have you been in contact with the people from the Salvation Army?

P6: Last year…[asks s/w]

S/W: September or October.

P6: Ja, September.

I: And how did you get in contact with them?

P6: [Talks to s/w]

S/W: Somebody from support group, hey. Her mother attended support group.

I: Alright. In this household, who decides which tasks need to be done. Like who does the cooking and who does the cleaning, and…?

P6: Me.

I: You decide?

P6: Yes.

I: And what do you do? What are your tasks? What do you have to do for the house?

P6: Clean, cooking.

I: Is there anything that your stepfather helps with?

P6: Ja. Food.

I: He buys the food?

P6: Ja.

I: Does he work?

P6: Ja.

I: What does he do?

P6: He's a driver.

I: Is that the only place that you get money for the house, if you need something?

P6: My brother and my stepfather.

I: Your brother, does he work?

P6: Ja.

I: In KZN, he sometimes sends money?

P6: Ja.

I: Ok. Who in your family decides on the money, like who keeps it, and how it should be spent?

P6: Me.

I: You keep it?

P6: Ja.

I: And how do you decide on where the money must go?

[He doesn't understand and asks the s/w. Two women come in and sit down. He talks further to s/w]

S/W: He doesn't want to answer that as it is difficult.

I: Ok. Do you get a government grant?

P6: No.

I: Have you ever tried to get one before?

P6: No.

I: You've not tried before?

P6: No.

S/W: We've tried, but the thing is, they said that there is a grant that he can apply himself because like there was nobody in the family, who will be in charge, and like he was afraid that maybe that person can use that money for himself, for themselves. So there is a grant that we are still waiting for, to apply for him, so that he can apply for himself, like a child support grant, but for himself. Like everything must apply, like it was difficult for me to apply for him because…

I: Because there is nobody else?

S/W: Yes.

I: Tell me about your relationship with your brother. Do you get on very well, or do you fight?

P6: No we fight sometimes.

I: How long has he been in KZN?

P6: I think it is 5 years.

I: And when did your mom pass away?

P6: 2005, in July.

I: Do you think your relationship with your brother has changed since your mother passed away?

P6: No.

I: It's the same?

P6: Ja.

I: And with you and your stepfather, how are things?

P6: They are good.

I: Have they changed, has it changed at all since your mom passed away?

P6: No.

I: Can you tell me about when your mom was ill? (Quietly to P6 and S/W: These ladies, is it ok for them to be here?) [Another man comes into the household, and P6 tells him that he is busy. They all go away.]

I: Can you tell me about when your mom was ill?

P6: My mom was HIV positive. She was diagnosed in '96. She passed away from TB.

I: Ok. And was she very sick during that time?

P6: Ja.

I: And who looked after her when she was very sick?

P6: It was me and the neighbours.

I: You and the nieighbours?

P6: Ja.

I: And did she talk to you about the sickness that she had and that she might pass away?

P6: Ja.

I: She did. What did she say.

P6: (Talks to S/W).

S/W: She used to tell him he must be careful with HIV/Aids it's killing people, its very dangerous.

I: When was she still alive, did she ever tell you secrets, or say things to you or ask you things that were more for a grown up than for a child? That you would have thought that she would have asked a grown up rather than a child? (To s/w: You might have to translate that, as it is a bit more difficult: When she was still alive, did she ever talk to him about adult or grown up matters, which perhaps he thought that she should rather have spoken to a friend or another grown up, rather than to him? Like secrets or…?)

P6: Yes.

I: Can you tell me about it, can you give me an example of what sort of things she would say to you that you though

P6: I must not stick to sex. No smoking, no drinking.

I: Did she ever ask you for advice, about what to do about the house, or things like that?

P6: No.

I: Looking after the house is extra work for a 16-year old. How do you think it has affected you? [S/W translates, and he talks back to her.]

S/W: He said at first it was very difficult, but now he is used to it because there is nothing that he can do.

I: What were the things that were difficult? What was the most difficult, when you say that things used to be more difficult?

P6: First time I was living alone here – I think I stay with my father, I think its more than a month now. I was living alone. To stay alone is difficult, yebo?

I: What was difficult about staying alone? Was it lonely? Were you worried about how you would cope? Or were you sad? Or what was it?

P6: You know when I was sitting here, I was thinking every day about my mother. Maybe she was lying on the bed, I used to talk to him. Now, I'm living alone, no one to talk to.

I: Your mom is not there anymore to talk to you?

P6: Ja.

I: What do you think is the most difficult thing for you now, living alone, looking after the house?

P6: Nothing.

I: You not finding anything difficult?

P6: Ja.

I: What sort of help do you get from the Salvation Army? What sort of thing do they help you with?

P6: Food parcels, uniform and counselling. And whenever I have problem, I go to them.

I: When you're looking after the house, and you feel that it is just too much, who do you turn to for support?

P6: Sorry?

I: When you're looking after the house, and you're trying to do your schoolwork, and you're finding it just too much, who do you turn to for support?

P6: That guy that was here.

I: Is that a friend of yours, or is he a relative?

P6: No [talks to s/w]

S/W: They are from Newcastle, both of them. It's like a neighbour, home boy.

I: So he lives close by, and you're from the same area?

P6: Ja.

I: Other than him, and from the Salvation Army, do you get any other help? Like maybe from school, or church, or other family.

P6: Salvation.

I: Other than Salvation, and this guy that was here, does anybody else help you? Maybe school or church or..

[Talks to s/w]

S/W: Her friend's family.

I: The friend that came here?

S/W: No, the other one from school. They both go to the same school, and he's also our orphan.

I: Oh, ok. Do you think people have treated you differently since your mom passed away?

P6: No.

I: You said your mom died of HIV, or that she had HIV, did other people know that she had HIV?

P6: Ja.

I: Nobody treated you differently?

P6: Ja.

I: What do you like to do in your spare time, say from school until you have to come and cook and clean? What do you like to do?

P6: Play cards, in my spare time.

I: Ok. Do you get much spare time?

P6: Ja.

I: There is some time for you?

P6: Ja.

I: Tell me about your friends: Do you have lots of friends, or one or two friends, or do you prefer to be on your own?

P6: Two friends.

I: You've got two friends. And what do you like to do together?

P6: With P6 we sing, we dance.

I: Ok. Tell me about your schooling: How's that going, your school?

P6: (Talks to S/W).

S/W: He said its difficult, its very difficult. But little by little, he will push until he gets to matric.

I: What do you find difficult?

P6: Maths.

I: So it is a particular subject that you find difficult?

P6: Ja.

I: When your mom was sick, and you were looking after her, were you able to cope with school, or did you have to miss school?

P6: I used to go to school, because there were neighbours that were helping us. So I'd leave the neighbours and go to school, and then come back and cook.

I: And then you would look after her?

P6: Ja.

I: Was it difficult ever for you to concentrate at school?

P6: No.

I: How do you feel that your life compares to other 16-year-old boys, maybe 16-year-old boys at your school? Do you think your life is different to their's?

P6: No.

I: You think it is the same for them?

P6: Ja.

I: What do you think you'd like to be doing in 5 years time from now?

P6: Working.

I: Do you know what you want to be working in?

P6: I want to be a lawyer.

I: Ok. Do you have any other ideas of what you'd like to be doing - where you'd like to be living? Or anything like that?

P6: Living in Sandton (laughs), and driving X5!

I: Alright. That's the end of my questions. Is there anything else that you'd like to tell me that you think I should know to understand what you go through, what you've been through?

P6: No.

I: No. You think that the questions have covered it?

P6: Ja.

I: P6, what I am going to do now, now that I've spoken to you, I'm going to go to your school and I'm going to ask them that I want to speak to one 16-year-old boy. I won't tell them that I've spoken to you, I'll just tell them that I've spoken to a 16-year-old boy, I won't tell them your name. What I'm trying to do then is to compare. Is to say, somebody else at the school, and I'll ask them the same questions, how do they find school, who does the cooking and things around the house, and it is just to compare your experiences with another 16-year-old boy from your school. But its confidential, I won't tell them your name or anything, ok? Does that make sense? Do you understand?

P6: Yes.

I: So if you see me at your school, don't worry that I'm going to talk to your teachers or anything, because I won't do that, ok. If they ask me, 'Who's the person that you spoke to?', I won't tell them, ok?

P6: Ja.

I: Do you have any questions for me?

P6: No.

I: Ok. Thank you very much for your time, ok?

Child-head: Participant 7 (match with Participant G)

I: So how old are you?

P7: I'm turning 16 this year.

I: So you're 15 at the moment?

P7: Yes.

I: And when do you turn 16?

P7: On the 14th of September.

I: Now you do go to school, I can tell. What school do you go to?

P7: X

I: Can you spell that for me?

P7: X.

I: Is it a high school, a secondary school?

P7: It's a high school.

I: And what grade are you in?

P7: Grade 11.

I: Grade 11, ok. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

P7: I've got three sisters.

I: Three sisters. Can you tell me, who's the oldest?

P7: My sister.

I: And how old is she?

P7: She's 25, I think.

I: And does she live with you?

P7: No.

I: And then after that, who's born after her?

P7: My other sister.

I: And how old is she?

P7: She's 23.

I: Sorry, where does this 25-year-old sister live?

P7: It's not far from here.

I: Does she have a family? Is she married? Or is she…?

P7: No, she's got a boyfriend.

I: Ok. And then you've got a 23-year-old sister.

P7: She doesn't live with us.

I: She doesn't live with you. Where does she live?

P7: In Meadowlands.

I: And then?

P7: It's me.

I: And then it's this sister?

P7: Yes, after me it's my sister.

I: And how old is she?

P7: She's 13 this year.

I: Is she 12 at the moment?

P7: Yes she's 12.

I: And she lives with you?

P7: Yes.

I: So other than the two of you, who lives here?

P7: My grandfather.

I: Ok. And how old is he, do you know?

P7: He's 70 something.

I: I'll just put about then. Is there anybody else that lives here?

P7: My aunt comes sometimes.

I: When does she come?

P7: Yo. Maybe after about 3 months.

I: Ok, and does she stay here, or does she just come and visit and then leave again.

P7: She stays maybe about two weeks and then she leaves.

I: Ok. Now you're busy doing your grade 11. Say, your grandfather, do you know how far he got to school, or are you the highest, the person that has got to the highest at school?

P7: Ja, I'm the highest.

I: Ok. How long have you been in contact with the people from the Salvation Army?

P7: Yo, a long time. I don't know how many years.

I: And how did you get in contact with them?

P7: I don't know. I just saw them coming here, and bringing food parcels, and stuff.

I: At that time were you just living, or your parents?

P7: With my mother.

I: Ok. Has your mom has passed away?

P7: Yes.

I: Do you remember when your mom passed away?

P7: In 2000.

I: In 2000, ok. In your family, who decides on the tasks? Who needs to do the cleaning and cooking?

P7: It's me. And my sister.

I: Is it you and your sister, or is it mainly you?

P7: Both of us.

I: You both decide. And what are your tasks? What do you have to do?

P7: I clean the kitchen, then she cleans this other room. I wash the dishes, ja.

I: And who cooks?

P7: I do. Or sometimes she cooks.

I: And does your grandfather help with anything?

P7: No. He just brings money, that's all.

I: He brings money. Is that from a grant, his pension?

P7: Ja. Sometimes he goes out and works for people and they give him money.

I: Oh ok. And do you get any other government grant in this house?

P7: No.

I: When you get money, say from your grandfather or from somebody else, who decides on the money? Who keeps it and who decides what it needs to be spent on?

P7: My older sister.

I: So even though she doesn't live with you – which sister, the 25-year-old, or 23-year-old?

P7: 25.

I: Even though she doesn't live with you, she will be the one that makes the decisions?

P7: Yes.

I: Ok. Who looks after your sister if she needs anything, or needs some help?

P7: My elder sister.

I: Your elder sister. What happens if say, your sister woke up in the middle of the night, and she was sick, what would happen?

P7: Nothing would happen. We'd just wait until the morning, then we'd go and tell my sister.

I: Ok. So you would have to look after her until the morning until you could tell your sister?

P7: Yes.

I: What is your relationship like with your sisters?

P7: With all my sisters?

I: Mmm.

P7: Its fine. But then we always fight.

I: All of you fight?

P7: Yes.

I: Is it you and the older one, or all of you?

P7: Not with my older one.

I: With the 23-year-old one?

P7: Yes, and with her (points to sister)

I: And with her, ok. What sort of things do you fight about?

P7: Chores, things like that.

I: So mainly with your 12-year-old sister you fight about the chores?

P7: Ja.

I: And with your 23-year-old sister, what do you fight about?

P7: Yo. With many things. Like if she brings a boyfriend in the house. We just talk, we don't want him here. She'll talk, then we fight.

I: How often does she come around here?

P7: Maybe after two weeks, she comes for a weekend, and then she leaves.

I: And do you think your relationship with your sisters has changed since your mom passed away?

P7: No, it's the same.

I: You think it's the same. You've always been fighting like this?

P7: Yes.

I: Ok, what would happen if say, you and your sister were fighting - what would happen?

P7: My grandfather will ask us to stop. But then sometimes we don't listen to him, we just carry on.

I: Sometimes you get quite angry with each other?

P7: Yes.

I: What happens, say if your sister was doing something that you didn't approve of, or you think that your mother wouldn't have approved of, say maybe she's doing drugs, or stealing, what would happen?

P7: We tell her, if she's stealing from the house, we tell her we don't want her stealing.

I: Say if she was stealing from somewhere else and you heard?

P7: We don't tell her to stop stealing and stuff. We just leave her.

I: You just leave her?

P7: We think she is old enough now.

I: Alright. Can you tell me about when your mom was very ill?

P7: Yoh. Me and my older sister…

I: Your 23-year-old or 25 year-old?

P7: 25-year-old, we were looking after her, but my 25-year-old sister, she always left and then maybe comes after 3 months. So I had to look after my mother.

I: So even then, your sister wasn't that involved. It was mainly you that was looking after her?

P7: Yes.

I: And was she sick for a long time?

P7: Yes.

I: How long would you say?

P7: Maybe 3 years, or four.

I: Three years, and during that time that you had to look after her you had to do the things around the house as well as to care for her?

P7: Yes.

I: Did she ever talk to you about what illness she had, and what would happen.

P7: No, I only knew that she had TB.

I: And did she tell you that she had TB, or did you hear from somebody else.

P7: No, every Monday the doctors came, they brought her pills.

I: It must have been very difficult for you to see your mom so ill and not to talk to her about it?

P7: Yes.

I: Did your mom ever talk to you about grown up or adult things, like maybe tell you a secret, or tell you about problems with men or something that you would have thought that maybe she should tell other grown ups rather than you?

P7: No.

I: Did she ever talk to you about money problems or anything like that?

P7: No.

I: Did she ever ask you for advice about things about the house? Like what shall I do about my youngest daughter's schooling?

P7: No.

I: She didn't ask you for those things, ok. Did she ever, when she was very ill, did she ever talk to you about what she wanted, if she passed away.

P7: She never talked about what she wanted, if she passed away. She always told us that when she gets better, she will work for us.

I: Oh ok. So she always gave you that hope that she would get better?

P7: Yes.

I: Looking after one's family is extra work for a child. How do you think it has affected you? And you can tell me about it, because it has obviously been, even when your mom was ill, which was 5 years ago, there might have been different experiences that you had then?

P7: Yo! It affected me in many ways. In my schoolwork, ja. I never played with other children. I would just play with them for maybe one hour or so, then I had to come back.

I: Tell me about your schoolwork. What happened there?

P7: Lack of concentration. But it's fine, because now I'm fine. I can cope now.

I: Ok. Did you ever have to miss school to look after your mom, or to look after the house?

P7: No.

I: So you would always go to school, but when you went to school, you would worry about things.

P7: Yes.

I: And was that when your mom was still alive, or after she has passed away?

P7: When she was still alive and when she has passed away.

I: Ok. You say that things are now a bit easier and you're managing to cope a bit better.

P7: Yes

I: What do you think that is about. Do you think that is because you don't have somebody to care for, like your mom who was sick, or do you think it's just been that you've learnt to cope?

P7: I think it is because my mother has passed away, I don't have to look after someone.

I: So that was an extra burden that you don't have, even though you must be sad that your mom is gone, but the fact that you don't have to look after her is an extra responsibility for you?

P7: Yes.

I: What do you think is the most difficult thing for you caring for your own family now?

P7: The most what – important?

I: The most difficult thing for you.

P7: It is telling my sister what to do and she doesn't listen to me. So ja.

I: So having to tell her off, and give her orders and things?

P7: Yes.

I: When you find looking after the house, and your school work and stuff too much for you, it's overwhelming, who do you turn to for support?

P7: My friends.

I: You said earlier that when your mom was very sick you didn't play with them very much. Was that because you didn't have time?

P7: Yes, because I didn't have time to go and play, because I had so much work to do.

I: Oh ok. So now you turn to your friends for support?

P7: Yes.

I: Do you have lots of friends, or one or two friends, or do you prefer to be on your own?

P7: I have lots of friends, but sometimes I prefer to be on my own.

I: How are you feeling when you want to be on your own?

P7: I feel so lonely.

I: Ja, Its quite lonely out there?

P7: Yes.

I: And when you ask your friends for support, are they helpful, is it good support for you?

P7: Ja, they are very helpful.

I: Alright. Now we've spoken about the Salvation Army, and you've told me about your friends that they support you. Do you get any help from anybody else?

P7: Besides the Salvation Army and friends?

I: Ja, so church, or neighbours or school, or anything like that?

P7: No.

I: Do you think people have treated you differently since your mom has passed away?

P7: No.

I: Because a lot of people say that with HIV sometimes that people treat people differently when somebody gets ill. You haven't experienced that?

P7: No I haven't experienced that.

I: Ok. What do you like to do in any spare time, say between when you finished school and when you have to do things for the house.

P7: I would like to be an accountant, if possible.

I: Ok, so that is after school.

P7: Yes.

I: Ok. But between school, say now, say what time did you finish school?

P7: Today is Friday. Half past one.

I: And what do you like to do in your spare time, so before you need to do things for the house?

P7: I go at my friends place.

I: Do you get much spare time, or do you find that you have to come straight from school and start things, start cleaning?

P7: I do get too much spare time.

I: You do get some spare time?

P7: Yes.

I: You said that you go to your friend's house. What do you like to do together with your friends?

P7: We talk about stuff, girl's stuff you know.

I: Ok. Tell me about your schooling – you said that it was difficult for you to concentrate when your mom was very ill. Did you fail any grades or anything?

P7: No.

I: You managed to get through?

P7: I managed.

I: And how is your schooling now?

P7: It's better, its much better.

I: It's much better. You're able to concentrate?

P7: Yes

I: How do you feel your life compares, do you feel your life is different to other 15-year-old girls that are perhaps from the same school as you?

P7: Yes.

I: What do you think is different?

P7: Because some bring money to school for lunch, then I don't have money. But then my friends help me. Ja, its totally different.

I: What else do you think is different?

P7: Their parents buy them clothes, maybe after two weeks or something. Then I have to wait for my grandfather to get pension. If there is no food at all, I don't have to get the shoes, I'll wait for some time.

I: So it is about money – them having more money to buy clothes and to buy food?

P7: Yes. And them having someone to talk to when they have problems.

I: They talk to their parents?

P7: Yes.

I: I asked you what you'd like to do after school, and you said you'd like to be an accountant.

P7: Yes

I: What do you think you'd like about that?

P7: It's working about money that I like.

I: You like working with money?

P7: Yes.

I: That's the end of my questions, but is there anything else that you think I should know that you'd like to tell me about the difficulties that you've had?

P7: No.

I: Do you think the questions have covered it?

P7: Yes.

I: Well P7, what I am going to do now is…you know I asked you what you think your life is like compared to other 15-year-old girls. So what I'm going to do, is I'm going to go to your school, and I'm going to ask them if I can talk to a 15-year-old girl at your school. And I'll tell them that I've spoke to another 15-year-old girl, but I won't tell them your name. Ok, remember that its confidential what we've said. So I won't be telling your teacher or anything that I've spoken to you. And what it is, is that I'll just be asking that 15-year-old girl, you know, who does the things around the house, how is your schooling, how are your friends, just to compare, to see the differences. So if you see me at your school, don't worry that I'm going to be saying anything about you, or anything. Its just in order for me to compare your experiences with somebody else the same age and same school as you, ok?

P7: Yes.

I: Do you have any questions for me?

P7: No.

I: Then we're finished then. Thanks so much for agreeing to talk to me. I appreciate it.

Child-head: Participants 8 (not matched)

I: I see you have different surnames?

P8b: We are cousins.

I: You're cousins.

P8b: Ja, her father and my mother were brother and sisters.

I: Ok. So its P8a and P8b, and you're cousins. Sorry, say that again, your…?

P8b: My mother and P8a's father were brother and sister.

I: Ok. How old are you now, P8a?

P8a: 18 years old.

I: 18 years old, and when do you turn 19? When is your birthday?

P8a: In June.

I: And will you turn 19 then?

P8a: I turn 18 then.

I: Ok, so you're 17 at the moment, and then you'll turn 18 in June?

P8a: Yes.

I: And you P8b, how old are you now?

P8b: I'm 16.

I: And you turn 17 in?

P8b: I'm turning 17 in April.

I: In April. Ok. Do you go to school?

P8b: Yes, we do.

I: Both of you go to school?

P8b & P8a: Ja.

I: What school do you go to?

P8b & P8a: X.

I: I've not heard of that, what is it?

P8a: A polytech.

I: Is that the full name?

P8b & P8a: X.

I: Ok. Where about is that?

P8b: It's in Braamfontein in Johannesburg.

I: And what grade are you?

P8a: Grade 12.

P8b: I'm doing Grade 10.

I: Grade 12 and 10. Alright. I'm going to start asking you (P8a) some questions, and then I'll come and ask you (P8b).

I: Can you tell me, how many brothers and sisters do you have?

P8a: Eight sisters, and four brothers.

I: Who's the oldest one?

P8b: She (P8a) is the eldest.

I: Are you the eldest (P8a)?

P8a: Yes.

I: And after you, who's next.

P8a: Its P8b and T.

I: Now, but she's not your sister, hey?

P8a: She's my cousin. And then there's T.

I: T. That's your real sister?

P8a: Yes.

I: And how old is she?

P8a: She's turning 17.

I: So she's 16 now. And does she live with you?

P8b & P8a: Yes.

I: And after that, who else - and I'm just talking about real brothers and sisters, not cousins. I will come and talk to you about your side of the family but…

P8a: T

I: And is that a girl or boy?

P8a: A girl.

I: And how old is she?

P8b & P8a: She's 15.

I: And does she live with you?

P8b & P8a: Yes.

I: And after that?

P8b & P8a: Its N.

I: Ok, and how old is she?

P8b: She's 12 this year.

I: 12. And she lives with you. And after that?

P8a: A boy.

I: How old is he?

P8b: 10 this year.

I: He lives with you?

P8b: Yes.

I: Ok, and after him?

P8b: Its P.

I: A girl or a boy?

P8b & P8a: He's a boy.

I: And how old?

P8b & P8a: He's 13 this year.

I: He's turning 13 this year. And does he live with you?

P8b & P8a: Yes.

I: Ok. And then?

P8b & P8a: S, a girl.

I: How old is she?

P8a: Six this year.

I: And does she live with you?

P8b: Ja.

I: And then?

P8b & P8a: L.

I: And how is L?

P8b: Four this year.

I: Four. And he lives with you. That's it for your family?

P8a: Yes.

I: And your (P8b) family - your brother's and sisters?

P8b: I've got two brothers and one sister.

I: Ok. And starting with the oldest, who's the oldest?

P8b: Its V.

I: And how old is she?

P8b: She is 27 this year.

I: And does she live with you?

P8b: No.

I: Where does she live?

P8b: She lives in Cape Town.

I: Ok. And after that?

P8b: Then it's my brother, D.

I: And how old is he?

P8b: He's 25 this year.

I: And does he live with you?

P8b: No, all of them are in Cape Town.

I: Oh, ok. And then the –

P8b: O is 23.

I: Its your brother, hey?

P8b: Ja.

I: And he also lives in Cape Town?

P8b: Ja.

I: So is that it?

P8b: Ja.

I: So there is you (P8a) and you (P8b), and seven of your brothers and sisters that live together?

P8b & P8a: Ja.

I: Is there anybody else that lives with you, like any other cousins or aunts or neighbours or anybody?

P8b & P8a: No.

I: So there are nine of you in total?

P8b: Ja.

I: Out of all of you, who has got the highest level of education, who has got the furthest in school?

P8b: Her.

I: And you are in Grade 12?

P8a: Yes.

I: Ok. How long have you been in contact with the people from Ikageng?

P8b & P8a: It was from about last year January.

I: How did you get in contact with them? What happened?

P8b: Our story was in the Daily Sun.

I: Your story was in the Daily Sun?

P8b: Ja. In the newspaper. So they got hold of that paper, so they contact us.

I: How did your story get into the paper?

P8b: It was one of our cousins who used to live with us last year. So she put the story in the paper. She went to Daily Sun and told our story.

I: Told them that you guys were struggling?

P8b: Ja.

I: And what does Ikageng help you with?

P8b: It helps us with food, education and some clothes. Basically the needs.

I: Ok. How were things before they got involved?

P8b: It was slightly difficult. Because our cousin's sister was not working, the one that used to help us. And we were a lot of us then.

I: There were more of you beforehand?

P8b: Ja. It was a big job for her.

I: Ok. In your house, now there are nine of you that live together, who decides on what must be done around the house? Who decides who must cook, who must clean, who must…?

P8b: Usually, we set a timetable, all of us, we set a timetable to who is going to cook and do this and that.

I: Who sets the timetable?

P8b: We usually help each other.

I: Ok. And is it mainly the two of you, or is it also your…?

P8b: With T too.

I: The 15 –year old?

P8b: The 16-year old.

I: So it is usually the older people that try set up a schedule, a timetable.

P8b: Yes.

I: But the younger ones, do they also help? Do they also do things or is it mainly the older children that do things?

P8b: It's mainly the older ones.

I: What are your tasks in the house? Is there something set that you every time or each day. What sort of thing do you have to do?

P8b: We share the cleaning. Today somebody is going to cook, tomorrow its me, and then another day, who's going to clean. So we change around, change around, like circle.

I: So between you, you do the cooking and the cleaning and the washing and things – you rotate it?

P8b: Ja, we rotate it.

I: Where does your family get money for things that you might need in the house, or for school, or?

P8b: We get money from Ikageng.

I: Do you actually get physical money to help you with things, or do they just organise for your fees to be paid, for instance.

P8b: They organise for us.

I: So they organise, ok. If you've got something important like money or something valuable, say you had money, or food parcels or something like that…who keeps it, and who decides where it should be spent?

P8b: Well, when we have money, she (P8a) keeps the money. Then we discuss what we need we see the basic needs that we have at home, and can we make something out of that money to get us that need.

I: Has there ever been a time that you've, maybe before Ikageng helped out, that you had to try look for work, or somebody else in the family had to look for work, or to beg for money or anything like that? Did that ever happen?

P8b: Ja, it happened, when we went to Daily Sun, like we were asking people for food and stuff.

I: And that was amongst the neighbourhood, you were asking people for food and things?

P8b: I wouldn't actually say it was in the neighbourhood, because it was the whole of Gauteng, and other provinces who get Daily Sun.

I: Does anybody in the house get a government grant?

P8b & P8a: No.

I: Has that been discussed with you? Have you tried to get one?

P8b: Actually, we haven't tried.

I: Who looks after the young children, like the six-year-old and the four-year-old in the house? Who looks after them - like make sure that they've bathed and they've got clothes on?

P8b: That's us: Me and P8a, and T. We have a rotation. So one does this today, like cleans and does stuff to the children.

I: So one of the tasks on that timetable is to look after the younger ones as well?

P8b: Ja.

I: How long have you had this timetable?

P8b & P8a: Since last year, I think it was January or February.

I: And you decided that it would be a better way for it to work?

P8b: Ja.

I: Before that it was just everyone doing a bit?

P8b: Ja.

I: What is your relationship like with your brothers and sisters? I'm asking you mainly (P8a), because you (P8b) don't really live with your brothers and sisters. What's your relationship like with your brothers and sisters?

I: Is it difficult to answer?

P8b: Well I take them like my brothers and sisters. Our relationship is like normal kids, you know, sometimes fighting, sometimes happy. Just like that.

I: And for you? (P8a)

I: Is she shy?

P8b: I don't know.

I: I'm wondering if it is different being brother and sister, but also having to be looking after them. I was wondering you sometimes feel like you're the mom and they don't like that. Or that they feel like you're being too strict?

P8a: No.

I: Do you think its just normal brother and sister, the way you guys get on?

I: It sounds like you don't want to answer that question, hey? It's a bit difficult. I'll go on, but you can bring it up again if you want to, ok.

I: Can I just check, the reason that you're staying alone, is it because your parents have passed away?

P8b: Ja. My aunt, her mother she died in September 2004, ja. And my uncle died on February, on the 5th of February last year. And my mother died on the 16th May 2003, and my father died March, 27th March in '99.

I: So were you already living with them, with this family? And then your mom and dad passed away as well?

P8b: Ja.

I: Do you think things have changed a lot since they passed away?

P8b: Ja, its difficult, eish.

I: Maybe I can start with you because obviously your dad passed away and then you had a few years with your mom, and then your mom passed away.

P8b: Ja. When my dad passed away, my mom was a housewife. So it was difficult for her to look after me and my sisters. And my sister at that time, she had a job and she lost her job during that year when my father passed away. And it was difficult. And I had to go to school and stuff. You know, it was so difficult. Sometimes I didn't even have lunch to eat at school, but I kept on, I went to school, ja, and it was so difficult.

I: So you had to deal with the sadness, but also the fact that the money, and there wasn't any work and so sometimes you were hungry and things?

P8b: Ja. Whereas my mother tried her best. That year, she started selling some stuff, like some sweets and some apples, you know, just to get me to go to school and stuff. And one of her sisters helped her with the money to go to like school and come back, ja. It was difficult for her, but she tried her best.

I: And then, when your mom passed away?

P8b: Yoh, when my mom passed away, that was the saddest day of my life. You know, when she passed away, it was better because my sister was working at that time. And she could, like, take me to school and stuff and you know. But it was still difficult because she had a small baby. And during that year, she got a stroke.

I: Your sister?

P8b: Ja, she got a stroke. And it was difficult and my aunt had to take control of me.

I: So there were a lot of things that were going on, even though maybe you were in a financially better position, your mom was very important to you.

P8b: Ja.

I: Did your mom speak to you about her illness?

P8b: My mom wasn't ill.

I: She wasn't ill. Can you tell me what happened?

P8b: It was on a Friday. She woke me up to go to school and I woked up and went to have a bath. And when I came back she had difficulty to breathe. When I asked her what was wrong, she said she was hot. Then eventually she died just like that.

I: Do you know what happened?

P8b: They said that it was a heart attack.

I: Shame. And your dad, what did he pass away from?

P8b: Even my dad, it was the same death. They passed away the same deaths. My dad, it was in the morning. He felt sick, like he wanted to, like there was something that was covering his lungs, he couldn't breathe. Then he went to the clinic and came back and then later in the evening he passed away.

I: So both of them were sudden, hey?

P8b: Ja.

I: Sjoe. And P8a, what about you? Can you tell me about when your – who passed away first - your mom passed away first?

P8a: Yes.

[P8a converses with Ikageng co-ordinator]

I: Is everything ok?

P8a: My mother passed away in 2004 because of demons. And my father was the same.

I: And they died a few months apart? It wasn't at exactly the same time, hey?

P8a: Ja.

I: Did you notice anything, did they speak to you about what was happening to them?

P8a: No.

I: They didn't talk to you about it?

P8a: No.

I: How have you found out it was demons afterwards?

P8a: The x-ray…

P8b: Like in the hospital, they didn't see what was wrong. And the traditional healer said it was demons.

I: Ok. So they didn't talk to you about it. Were they ill for a long period of time or not?

P8b: My aunt was ill for a long period of time. And my uncle. He was, because he used to like, the demons used to talk. Like when the demons talk, it wasn't like it was him talking, it was like something else that was saying something. Ja.

I: Alright. I'm just going briefly back to your brothers or sisters and I'm going to use it for both of you, because you (P8b) say that they're like your brothers and sisters as well. If your younger brother or sister did something or was doing something that wasn't acceptable to you, and you didn't think it would be acceptable to your parents, what would happen?

P8b: Like the small one?

I: Ja, maybe we can talk about the 12-year-old, or 15-year-old or the 10-year-old. Say if they were using drugs, or stealing, or something like that, what would happen?

P8b: First of all, we would talk to them, like tell them, what they are doing is wrong. It's not acceptable. And we'll tell them that what they are doing, they are playing with their lives.

Because what they are doing is wrong and it will destroy their lives. And if they are doing drugs, we'll try to help them to stop. We'll ask Ikageng to put them in rehab and stuff.

I: Is there anything else that you would want to add? Anything else that you would want to say?

P8a: No.

I: Ok. When your parents were alive, did they ever talk to you about adult or grown-up things, like secrets, or if they were worried about money, that you thought would've thought they shouldn't be talking to me about this, they should be talking to a friend, it is too much for a child to listen to this?

P8b & P8a: No.

I: They didn't talk to you about things like that?

P8b & P8a: No.

I: Did they ever ask you for advice? Like, 'what should I do about my younger child' or 'what should I do about the house'. Things like that, for advice?

P8b: No. Our parents were like, they were proud of themselves, they wouldn't say something like I've got a problem, now and stuff. They would keep it inside and just figure out something that they would do.

I: Ok. Did they ever, maybe when they were ill, did they ever talk to you about things that they wanted to happen after they died? So did they ever say I want you to go live with your cousins? Or I want you to stay together if I die. Or I want you to stay in Soweto? Or did they ever say anything about what they would like?

P8b: My aunt, she would say that she would want the family to stay together. All the children to be in one place.

I: And that would be in one house?

P8b: Ja.

I: Looking after one's family is extra work for a child. How do you think it has affected you?

P8b: Well, I wouldn't say – actually, it's not much. We're having help from Ikageng, so its not much trouble for us, you know.

I: And before they came and helped you. Things were a bit different, they were a bit more difficult?

P8b: Ja.

I: Because you didn't have food, didn't have money to help with the school fees and things like that?

P8b: Ja.

I: And for you P8a, how do you feel it has affected you to look after…?

P8a: It's been ok.

I: It's been ok. What do you think is the most difficult thing for you now, looking after your family? What do you think is the most difficult?

P8b: The most difficult thing? Actually when you tell a person, like we are all children, like telling them, no this is wrong and stuff, they don't usually want to listen to you. They will just tell us "you are also a child, don't tell me, you know". Stuff like that.

I: So they don't like you being a mom to them, or anything?

P8b: Ja.

I: And for you, P8a, what is the most difficulty thing for you?

P8a: Nothing.

I: When you're finding things very difficult, like you're overwhelmed, you've got school work do all the housework, when you're finding it too much, who do you turn to for support? When you are feeling 'Ug, this is too much for me'?

P8b: We usually turn to each other. We rely on each other.

I: And you just talk things through. And do you feel that helps you enough?

P8b & P8a: Yes.

I: You've spoken about help from Ikageng. Is there anybody else that helps you, like neighbours or relatives, family or church or school or anything?

P8b: No. Our relatives are not here. They're in Cape Town.

I: And your brothers and sister, they don't help like send money or anything like that?

P8b: No, because she's not working.

I: Ok. Do you think people have treated you differently since your parents have passed away?

P8b: No, it's the same.

I: And you? (P8a)

P8a: No.

I: It's the same as well.

I: What do you like to do in your spare time between school and then coming here to do your housework, the chores that you need to do.

P8b: During my spare time, I like watching tv, singing, that's all. Or maybe sometimes reading a magazine.

I: Ok and you P8a, what do you like to do in your spare time? So between school and your housework and the things that you have to do?

P8a: I am doing homework.

I: Doing homework. So you don't feel there is much spare time where you can completely relax?

P8a: Not much.

I: It's not much, ok.

I: Can you tell me about your friends: do you have lots of friends, one or two friends, or do you prefer to stay on your own?

P8b: Well here I don't have friends, I only have friends at school.

I: And at school, do you have lots of friends, or not really?

P8b: I've got about maybe ten friends, I think.

I: And what do you like to do with your friends?

P8b: I just sit in class and just talk.

I: And you P8a, what about you and friends: do you have lots of friends, one or two friends, or do you prefer to be on your own?

P8a: One friend.

I: And what do you like about that friend?

P8a: Just like talking about schoolwork.

I: You like just talking about your schoolwork?

P8a: Yes.

I: Speaking about your schooling, how is your schooling? How do you feel your schoolwork goes? You're in matric now (P8a), how is that going?

P8a: It's not too difficult.

I: It's not too bad?

P8a: Yes.

I: And when your mom was sick, was that difficult for you to go to school?

P8a: Yes.

I: What was difficult? Was it the finances, or?

P8a: Because I was travelling a lot. So my mother they suffered.

I: With money?

P8a: With money.

I: And when she was sick, who was looking after her? Or when your dad was sick, or your mom was sick, who was looking after them?

P8b: When my aunt was sick, she (P8a) used to look after her. Then sometimes, maybe some days she didn't go to school, you know.

I: So there were some days that you missed school?

P8b: Ja. My uncle was in Cape Town, my sister took her. She was looking after her.

I: Did you miss a lot of school, so that it was difficult for you to catch up?

P8a: It was difficult.

I: And when you were at school, and your mom was ill, did you ever worry about her, and have difficulty concentrating?

P8a: Ja.

I: And for you, P8b, how is school going?

P8b: Ah school, its difficult. What is difficult for me is biology and geography. Maybe it's just that I don't like the teacher that is teaching this. Maybe it's that.

I: Ok. Your parents weren't ill for a long time, but when they passed away, was that difficult for you to concentrate on your schoolwork?

P8b: Yes, it was difficult.

I: And that was mainly concentration?

P8b: Yes.

I: How do you feel that your life compares to other girls at your school, say the same age as you?

P8b: Well, our life is different because they have got parents who looks after them. And they get stuff that they want at the time that they want. And we have to wait to get something that we want. Ja. Its sometimes not that much. But we are not the same. But I don't usually compare myself with them, because I know my situation.

I: So it is mainly has to do with the things that they get, that they can get them quite easily, but for you it means that you have to wait.

P8b: Yes.

I: What do you think you'd like to be doing in five years from now.

P8b: Five years from now, I'd like to be in university, studying, maybe medical, or psychology, or something like that.

I: P8a, I'm going to come back to a question that I asked S. How do you think your life is different from other girls at your school that are the same age as you?

P8a: It's not different.

I: It's not different. You think that their lives are the same as yours?

P8a: Yes.

I: And my other question to S, is what would you like to be doing in five years from now?

P8a: I'd like to be an accountant.

I: An accountant, ok. I think that is the end of my questions. Is there anything else that you'd like to tell me, about how difficult it is looking after yourselves as children? Do you think there is anything else that you think I should know that I haven't asked you?

P8b & P8a: No.

I: Do you have any questions for me?

P8a: No.

P8b: I've got a question: Why are you doing the research?

I: I have to do it as part of my masters. But what I'm wanting to do is to try understand the difficulties that children in your circumstances go through. So is it to do with grants, the fact that you don't know whether you can get a grant, whether it is getting a grant, or do you have problems at school, or do you have problems that you don't have enough spare time to play, that is the sort of thing that I'm wanting to find out. And what I am doing, is that I'm comparing it to other children in your community, to see how much of it is just normal, you know, is it normal for a child to cook supper when they're 17-years-old. And what I am hoping is that my research forms part of a bigger research project, and then that hopefully goes to government. So its going to be a long journey, but hopefully then the government will better understand what needs there are out that, what needs to be done, and how can they help better. Does that make sense?

P8b: Ja.

I: Do you have any more questions?

P8b & P8a: No.

Child-head: Participant 9 (match with Participant I)

I: P9, you say that you're 17?

P9: Yes.

I: Are you 17 now, and turning 18?

P9: Yes, in July.

I: In July, you'll turn 18?

P9: Yes.

I: And do you go to school?

P9: No, I did my matric.

I: No. You were young to do your matric, hey? Actually I finished my matric also when I was 17. What school did you go to?

P9: X.

I: Ok. And what are you doing this year?

P9: Nothing.

I: Can you tell me, how many brothers and sisters do you have?

P9: I have one brother and one sister.

I: One brother and one sister. Ok, and tell me, who's the oldest of the three of you?

P9: I am.

I: Ok. And after you?

P9: It's my sister.

I: And how old is she?

P9: She's 11 years.

I: 11. And does she live with you?

P9: Yes.

I: And after that, your brother then?

P9: My brother.

I: And how old is he?

P9: Six years.

I: And does he live with you?

P9: Yes.

I: Other than the three of you, is there anybody else that lives together?

P9: No.

I: It's just the three of you?

P9: Yes.

I: And this question is about who has got the highest level of education, and that's you, hey, with your Grade 12?

P9: Yes.

I: How long have you been in contact with the people from Ikageng?

P9: Since 2001.

I: Since 2001, and how did you get in contact with them, or how did they get in contact with you?

P9: Oh, I found them. It was my other aunt that lives in Dube, introduce me to Mrs Carol. Then if I need something, I just call them, and they come. Like, every month they bring us food and money for electricity and stuff.

I: So that's been about since 2001 that they've been doing that?

P9: Yes.

I: Ok. In your house, who decides who needs to do the cleaning and the washing and the cooking?

P9: I decide.

I: And what are your tasks, what do you have to do in the house?

P9: I have to clean, cook and wash for my younger sister and brother.

I: Do they have tasks as well? Do they do anything to help around the house?

P9: My sister, she sometimes cleans.

I: She sometimes cleans?

P9: Ja.

I: Where does your family get money for things that they may need in the house, maybe if they need something for the house, or maybe your brother or sister needs something for school.

P9: From Ikageng, from Carol.

I: Ok, so it is mainly from Ikageng. Before you were in contact with them, how did you cope?

P9: I just had to stay without, and my aunt used to bring me some food sometimes.

I: It sounds like things were quite difficult then?

P9: Ja.

I: If you do get money, who keeps it, and who decides on what it needs to be spent?

P9: I keep it.

I: And how do you decide on what to do with it?

P9: I buy electricity, and they other one I give it to my sister and brother when they go to school, like money for lunch.

I: Do you get a government grant at all? Does anybody here get a government grant?

P9: No.

I: Have you ever tried to get a government grant?

P9: No.

I: So it sounds like you look after your brother and sister?

P9: Yes.

I: Does your aunt still help at all?

P9: No.

I: She doesn't help. Is she still around, do you still see her at all?

P9: No, she passed away last year.

I: She passed away. I'm sorry about that. So she used to help a bit?

P9: Yes.

I: What is your relationship like with your brother and sister?

P9: It's fine, we get along with each other.

I: It's fine. Do you ever fight?

P9: No.

I: Can I just check – you're looking after the house because did your mom or dad pass away?

P9: They both passed away.

I: They both passed away. When did they pass away?

P9: My mom passed away in '98, and my dad in '96.

[she closes the door]

I: Alright. Can you tell me about when your mom and dad were ill?

P9: My dad, I don't know about my dad.

I: Was he living with you at the time?

P9: Yes. My mum got sick in 1994, she started to get ill, then she passed away in 1996.

I: So she was sick for about two years?

P9: Yes.

[Interruption from tenant.]

I: I just didn't want to talk in front of anyone else. And did your mum speak to you about what illness she had?

P9: No.

I: She didn't talk to you about what was wrong with her?

N: No.

I: Did you know what was wrong?

P9: No.

I: And what do you think she passed away from now?

P9: I think it was HIV.

I: You think that but nobody ever spoke to you about it?

P9: Yes.

I: And your aunt? Did she also die of HIV, or what do you think?

P9: I don't know about my aunt.

I: Ok. When your mom was ill, who looked after her?

P9: I did and my aunt.

I: And was your aunt living with you?

P9: No.

I: Sounds like that must have been quite difficult for you to look after her on her own?

P9: Yes.

I: Since your mom has passed away, do you think your relationship with your brother and sister has changed at all?

P9: Ja, it's getting stronger every day.

I: It's got stronger. What's do you think that's because of?

P9: Because we love each other and we don't want to lose any of us.

I: So you worry about losing another family member?

P9: Yes.

I: If, say, your sister did something that wouldn't be acceptable to you, that you didn't agree with or you think that maybe your parents wouldn't agree with, what would happen?

P9: I would just call Ikageng, and ask sister Carol to come and help.

I: So, say if she was taking drugs or something like that, then you would call Ikageng and ask them to help?

P9: Ja.

I: Did your mom ever talk to you about adult things, or grown up things, like secrets, or things like relationships with men, that you would have thought she shouldn't be telling me, her daughter, she should be telling another friend or somebody else the same age as her, not her daughter?

P9: No.

I: Did she ever ask you for advice, like about what to do about the house, or if she was worried about the other two children, did she ever ask you for advice?

P9: No, she just kept quiet because she thought maybe I was too young.

I: And when she was sick, did she ever talk to you about the fact that she might pass away?

P9: Yes she did.

I: She did say that?

P9: Yes.

I: Ok. What was that like for you?

P9: It was painful, because she always said that when I pass away please look after your siblings, your younger sister and brother.

I: So she asked you that you must look after them?

P9: Yes.

I: And were you living here in this place?

P9: Yes.

I: So you just carried on staying here?

P9: Yes.

I: Is this your house?

P9: Yes.

I: Looking after one's family is extra work for a child. How do you think it has affected you?

P9: I sometimes had to do like household work and not my homeworks.

I: So you think it affected your schoolwork?

P9: Ja.

I: And when your mom was ill, you said that you were looking after her some of the time. Did you have to miss school, did you have to sometimes not go to school?

P9: Yes, when my aunt was not here and you know when she was very sick, I had to stay here and look after her.

I: And would you say that you missed lots of school, like weeks or months?

P9: Yes.

I: What would you say, a week or a month?

P9: A week.

I: A week here and there?

P9: Ja.

I: Was it difficult for you when you went back to school, to try and catch up the work?

P9: No.

I: What do you think is the most difficult thing about looking after your family now?

P9: It's that I'm too young, and I know nothing.

I: You feel that you are too young to be doing this?

P9: Yes.

I: And you feel that you know nothing?

P9: Yes.

I: When you say that you know nothing, what are you talking about? You feel that you know nothing about what?

P9: About advising my younger sister and brother. Telling them what to do and what not to do. Because I also need someone to talk to.

I: So you find it difficult to know what to say when you're looking to give them advice or to discipline them, because you also need somebody to help guide you?

P9: Yes.

I: When you finding things difficult, like you have to try manage all of this and you're feeling that it is too much, you're feeling too stressed, who do you turn to for support?

P9: I turn to Ikageng. They're my only family, I have no other family.

I: So once your aunt passed away, there has been no other family that helps you?

P9: No.

I: Do you get any help from anybody else, like neighbours, or church or anything like that?

P9: No.

I: So it's only Ikageng.

P9: Yes.

I: Do you think that people have treated you differently since your mom passed away? It was a while ago that your mom passed away, but I'm wondering if you can remember whether people treated you differently from before she was sick, and and after she passed away?

P9: Ja, because when my mom was sick, before she was sick, neighbours used to come in and sit and look after us, but now no one comes.

I: And why do you think that is?

P9: I don't know. Maybe they think we also have HIV.

I: Some people act strange that way, hey?

P9: Yes.

I: What do you like to do in your spare time, if there is nothing that you have to do for the house?

P9: I just sit down.

I: Do you do anything in that time, when you're sitting down?

P9: I just watch tv.

I: Is there anything else that you like doing?

P9: Ja, I like singing, joining choirs.

I: Do you get a chance to do that?

P9: Ja, sometimes.

I: Sometimes. Tell me about your friends. Do you have any friends, or do you prefer to stay on your own?

P9: I have a friend.

I: A friend here that lives close by?

P9: Yes.

I: And what do you like to do with that friend?

P9: She also lost her parents, so we just sit and advise each other, like to go to school, look after ourselves.

I: So you turn to her, like you'd like to be able to turn to someone else for guidance? You turn to each other?

P9: Ja.

I: You said that your schooling was a bit difficult. And it was mainly when you had things to do to look after the house, or especially when you were looking after your mom.

P9: Yes.

I: And how was last year, because you were in matric last year?

P9: Yes I was in matric last year, but I had no choice but to study harder, concentrate on my books, but then I did then give time to my sister and brother.

I: So it was difficult to try concentrate on your books and then also look after your sister and brother?

P9: Yes it was.

I: When your mom was sick, or even when she passed away, was it difficult for you to concentrate in class, or even with your homework?

P9: Yes it was, because she passed away in November, and we were writing exams. It was very difficult.

I: So when you were supposed to be working, you would be thinking about other things, and about your mom?

P9: Yes.

I: How do you feel that your life compares to the life of other 17-year-olds, say maybe in your environment? Say if I had to say another 17-year-old at your school. How would you think that your life compares to theirs?

P9: I cannot compare my life with other 17-year olds, because they are still teenagers so they like to play, they have parents to look after. Then I just take myself as a mother to my sister and brother.

I: You say that you can't compare because they are teenagers?

P9: Yes, so I take myself as a mother to my two siblings.

I: So that you're not a teenager and you can't play?

P9: Yes.

I: So you feel that they can play more, and they've got parents to help guide them and look after things.

P9: Yes.

I: Is there anything else that you think is different?

P9: Ja, they have parents to turn to when they need something. Like at school when they need something, they have parents to turn to. I have no one. I just have to call Ikageng.

I: It sounds like sometimes it is difficult having one person to rely on, one organisation to rely on?

P9: Yes.

I: My last question is what do you think you'd like to be doing in five years time?

P9: In five years time, I'd like to have my own house, like maybe my sister and brother move away from here, and live in another village, have my own car. I'd like to be working.

I: Do you think you know what work you'd like to be doing?

P9: I want to be a social worker.

I: Why do you want to be a social worker, what makes you interested in that?

P9: I want to help others like Ikageng has helped me. Like other orphans.

I: You said that you'd like - this place you are staying in now, are you renting it?

P9: No. My mum left it to us, it was my mum's place.

I: Ok, but you'd prefer to leave it, and you'd prefer to leave this place that you're staying at and move to a different village?

P9: Yes, because of the environment. The environment is not good.

I: What don't you like about the environment?

P9: We are not safe here.

I: What do you worry about?

P9: I worry about thieves. Maybe they will get to us sometimes because they know that, everyone in the street knows that we don't have parents, I just live with my brother and sister.

I: So you get worried that people will take advantage of that, and you'd prefer to move away where you feel safer?

P9: Yes.

I: Ok. That's the end of my questions. But is there anything else that you think I should know to help me understand how difficult it is looking after your brother and sister on your own without your parents?

P9: No.

I: You think the questions cover everything?

P9: Yes.

I: Do you have any questions for me?

P9: No.

I: Ok, thank you very much.

Child-head: Participant 10 (match with Participant J)

I: So P10, you say that you're 18.

P10: Yes.

I: And when will you turn 19?

P10: Next year, 4 March.

I: Next year 4th of March. So you've just turned 18?

P10: Yes.

I: And do you go to school?

P10: Yes I go to school.

I: What school do you go to?

P10: X High School.

I: Can you spell that for me?

P10: X

I: Is that high school?

P10: High School.

I: And what Grade are you in there?

P10: I'm in Grade 10.

I: P10, how many brothers and sisters do you have?

P10: I have two brothers, no sisters.

I: No sisters, ok. Who is the oldest?

P10: I'm the oldest.

I: And after you, who is next?

P10: The small one is Z.

I: How old is he?

P10: 17

I: Uh-huh.

P10: And the other one is 13 year old.

I: And do they both live with you?

P10: Yes.

I: You all live together?

P10: Yes.

I: Is there anybody else that lives with you?

P10: No.

I: It's just the three of you?

P10: Yes.

I: And you're in your Grade 10 now?

P10: Yes.

I: And your brother? Where is he? What grade is he in?

P10: Grade 10 also.

I: Grade 10 as well, ok. How long have you been in contact with the people from Heartbeat?

P10: From 2003.

I: From 2003. And how did you get into contact with them?

P10: Some lady informed me that they get food somewhere somehow. And then I tried to contact the social worker and told me that I can get food - I told her how I suffer to support my brothers - and he informed me that I can get food in with Heartbeat.

I: So since 2003 they have been helping you with things like food?

P10: Yes, and clothes and school.

I: Sounds like it is quite difficult for you to talk about this?

P10: Ja.

I: How long have the three of you been living alone? Just on your own?

P10: 2002.

I: And what happened then?

P10: My mother was passed away in 1991, and I was living with my aunt. My aunt he go somewhere around and maybe he come back and he go, come back. Ai. Yes since that time. I thought it'd be ok.

I: So your mom passed away in 1991, and then you went to live with your aunt?

P10: Yes. They took me from home, go by here and here and come with me.

I: But she came and she left, and she came and she left, she wasn't there all the time?

P10: Ja. Sometimes she go to Middelberg and visit her husband there.

I: And then what happened for her - did she go away completely, or did she pass away?

P10: No, she still alive but can sometimes come sometimes once a year sometimes, just to see us and go again.

I: Are you still living in her house? In whose house are you living? Where do you live?

P10: In xxxxx. [district]

I: Is it your aunt's house?

P10: It's my aunt's house.

I: But she's not very often there, only maybe once a year?

P10: Yes.

I: So that's been a difficult time that slowly she has become less helpful for you. Sounds like she used to help you a little bit, but now she doesn't help at all?

P10: Yes. Now she doesn't help.

I: Tell me P10, in your house, who decides who must do what things around the house? Who must do the cleaning, who must do the cooking, who must do the washing? Who decides those things?

P10: Yes I decide those things.

I: It's you that decides, ok. And what do you do in the house? What are your tasks?

P10: I clean and cook, and then my brother help me sometimes to cook. The young boy he wash the dishes, and nothing.

I: Where does your house get money for things that you might need? So maybe if you need some food or you want to buy something for school?

P10: Heartbeat help me with things like that.

I: What do Heartbeat help you with? Food, your clothes and school stuff?

P10: Yes.

I: Do you ever actually have money with you in the house? Maybe sometimes some people rent rooms in their yard, or maybe there is somebody that gives you money, or anything like that?

P10: Sometimes I used to go somewhere and do garden work for some R20. Yes.

I: How often do you do that?

P10: I buy some, maybe xxxx [indistinct] and something.

I: And when do you garden, like say go get a job and do some gardening? Is it every week, every month, once a month, once a year?

P10: Sometimes once a week on Sunday or Saturday.

I: Ok. So last weekend, the one that we've just had, did you do some gardening work then?

P10: No I didn't.

I: No, ok. And when you have money, who keeps the money, is it you?

P10: Yes, I keep the money.

I: And is it you that decides that we must spend it on this and this and this?

P10: Yes I do.

I: Does anybody in your house get a government grant?

P10: No.

I: Has anybody spoken to you about a government grant and whether you could try and get one?

P10: No one.

I: Who in your family looks after your younger brother? Makes sure he has done his homework, and is clean, and…?

P10: I do. My younger brother also help me to look after our brother.

I: So the two of you try help. Tell me about your relationship with your brothers? What is it like with you and your brothers? Are you close, or not so close?

P10: We are close, very close.

I: You're very close?

P10: Yes, we do many things together.

I: You do many things together. What sort of things?

P10: We used to go to church and everything like that. Where you'll find my younger brother, you will find me and you'll find my other brother.

I: So you're always together. Has it always been like that or has that changed? Did it change maybe when your mom died, or did it change when your aunt went away a lot, or or has it always been that you've been very close?

P10: It change when my aunt did go away.

I: Then you became closer? Before you weren't so close?

P10: Yes.

I: When would you say that your aunt actually went away?

P10: I see that my aunty is, I cannot describe her, it's a woman who likes many men.

I: She's with a lot of men?

P10: Ja. My aunty, her husband passed away in 1998. And after then she always been with many men.

I: So there have been a lot of different men around her?

P10: Ja. Now its have another man then he used to go to Middelberg they are fighting too.

I: Ok. Are there ever any arguments or fights in between you and your brothers?

P10: In past year maybe.

I: In the past. And what do you fight about mainly?

P10: Ai we are still small that time, we are fighting the small things.

I: So they were little things. And what happens, who sorts the fighting out? How does the fighting stop?

P10: It just stop, I don't know why.

I: OK. Say if your little brother, your 13-year-old brother – if he was doing something that you didn't feel was right, or you thought that maybe your mom would think that it wouldn't be right, what would happen?

P10: Maybe, sometimes I just beat her with a stick.

I: Sometimes you beat him with a stick. So like if you thought he was stealing or using drugs, or something, then that would happen?

P10: Yes.

I: And your 17-year-old brother, would he get involved? Or is it mainly you?

P10: My 17-years brother, ai, don't have a problem.

I: But would he help you with the younger one?

P10: Yes.

I: Can you tell me about when your mom was very ill. Do you remember?

P10: I don't remember that. They tell me it was a natural disease that take her. I don't remember.

I: So you're not sure what she died of?

P10: No.

I: Because you must have been quite young, hey? She died in '91, did you say?

P10: Yes, '91.

I: And you were young then, little still?

P10: Ja.

I: Do you remember her being ill?

P10: No.

I: Ok. Looking after one's family is extra work for a child. How do you feel that this has affected you?

P10: Looking after what?

I: Looking after your brothers on your own without parents, is extra work for a child to have to cook and clean and look after things. How do you think it has affected you?

P10: It is hard, but I need to do it because we are poor. It is very hard, because nothing can do. I need to do it.

I: What do you think the most difficult things are for you? What do you think is the most difficult thing about looking after your family on your own?

P10: Maybe sometimes I need to go somewhere around, and then the young one is very small, you can't leave her alone. The older one wants to go out, so I stay with this young one, the old one go around and see her friends.

I: So sometimes it is difficult for you to be able to go out as freely as you'd like to?

P10: Yes.

I: And it sounds as if you would be the one that stays at home and looks after the 13-year-old, while your brother goes out and sees his friends, and not he stays while you go and see your friends?

P10: Yes.

I: So it must be difficult for you in terms of seeing friends and relaxing?

P10: Yes, relaxing.

I: It sounds like you don't do that much, hey?

P10: Yes.

I: When you're finding things difficult in your house, like you've got schoolwork and then you've got to come home and then you've got to do all this other work and then you've got to look after your brothers and you're worried about things – if you're finding it too much, who do you speak to, who do you turn to for support?

P10: For support, I speak to the lady who is my, I don't know what I can call her, I talk to him about many things. It was her who sent me here at Heartbeat.

I: Is she family, or not?

P10: She is family of my aunty's husband.

I: And does she live nearby to you?

P10: Ja she lives near us.

I: It sounds like she's someone that you turn to for support?

P10: Yes.

I: And she's the person that told you about Heartbeat?

P10: Yes.

I: So other than Heartbeat, and this lady, do you get any help from anybody else? Like neighbours, or church or school?

P10: No.

I: Nobody else comes and helps you?

P10: No.

I: What was it like, do you think people have treated you differently since your mom passed away? I suppose maybe you were too small to remember?

P10: yes, my aunty used to treat me badly and things before she go away.

I: When you say that she treated you badly, what happened?

P10: She used to call me some bad names.

I: Can you say that to me, can you tell me what she used to say to you?

P10: She used to say, - I'll put it in Sepedi. She used to say "your mom has passed away and xxx [Sepedi]".

I: So she used to say some horrible things to you?

P10: Yes. Then when she is around she used to say "clean, do this and do this", and her children stay, they go around.

I: So it sounds as if when you were living with her, you were living with her children as well?

P10: Yes.

I: But you had to do a lot more things around the house, she used to make you do a lot more things?

P10: Yes.

I: And other than your aunt, did anybody else treat you differently?

P10: No.

I: You've spoken to me, you said to me that your aunt left about in '98 when her husband passed away. So that's when she started seeing different men, and things changed a bit then.

P10: He go away in…Ja, things change in '99, ja when her husband has passed away.

I: What was her husband like?

P10: A very kind man.

I: So you felt closer to him, than to your aunt?

P10: Yes.

I: What happened - you got in contact with Heartbeat only about 2003. How did you cope? Things must have been very different before then? How did you cope for food and money for school before then?

P10: It was so hard. The lady I talk to you about, the one who sent me here, used to buy me food to eat and clothes and the school fees.

I: So she used to help you out?

P10: Yes.

I: What do you like to do in your spare time, say if you're finished school and then before you have to go home and cook and start cleaning? Do you have any time to do your own things? Or maybe on the weekends?

P10: Spare time. Nothing I can do, but reading is the best thing.

I: There is nothing that you do, but reading is the best thing that you prefer doing?

P10: Yes.

I: Do you get much spare time?

P10: I have too much spare time. At weekend I have spare time.

I: Ok. Tell me about your friends: do you have lots of friends, do you have one or two friends, or do you prefer to be on your own?

P10: I have one friend. But he is not around. He come December time and June. He live there in somewhere in the rural areas.

I: Ok. So most of the time you don't spend time with friends?

P10: Ja. At school there are some friends, I suppose.

I: And what do you like to do with your friends?

P10: At school?

I: Mmm.

P10: Talk, we just talk.

I: And your friend that comes from the rural areas, what do you like to do together?

P10: Many things. We share many things. When we are together, eish, its just amazing, we play, we used to go anywhere we like.

I: Sounds like he is an important person for you?

P10: Yes he is.

I: Tell me about your schooling: how is that going?

P10: Eish! My school is too far and I don't have money to travel there. My school is starting at quarter to seven.

I: It starts at quarter to 7?

P10: Yes. I wake up at 5, at 6 I make sure that I get out. Every day at school I can go late.

I: So that becomes a problem, hey?

P10: Ja.

I: And how is the school work? Is it ok, or are you struggling? Are you failing or are you passing?

P10: Ai the schoolwork, now it is starting to be difficult.

I: Have you repeated any years?

P10: Yes I failed Grade 1 two times, and Grade 2 one time. But now I am alright.

I: Ok. When your aunt was treating you badly and things weren't going so well at home, did it affect your schooling? Were you able to do your homework?

P10: I didn't take it, I used to take it easy. Because this lady of my, she used to advise me with many things.

I: She used to advise you?

P10: Yes.

I: Did she advise you about your schoolwork, or…?

P10: About my aunty, how I get treated.

I: Do you ever feel that it is difficult, or maybe before, did you feel that it was difficult for you in the classroom to concentrate because you were thinking about things at home?

P10: Ja sometimes I used to think a lot, and cry alone. It used to be terrible for me.

I: Is that sort of happening now, or before?

P10: Before.

I: When your aunt was still living with you?

P10: Yes.

I: So that sounds like it was the most difficult time for you, hey?

P10: Yes.

I: How do you feel that your life compares to other children, maybe other 18-year-olds at your school? Do you think it is different?

P10: No I don't see any difference there. Heartbeat help me so much. Maybe past year it was so different, as I used to go at school, and no food in the stomach, and the uniform is grown out.

I: So before, things were very different. But since Heartbeat has helped you, you feel that you're the same as others.

P10: I'm the same as them.

I: And what would you like to be doing in 5 years time? So maybe when you're 23?

P10: I want to see myself in working somewhere. My studies I take maths, physics and biology and I understand that these subject will help me to reach my career in engineering.

I: You want to be an engineer?

P10: Ja.

I: So it sounds as if your maths and your physics, that's going to help you get to where you want in 5 years time. You'd be wanting to be in a job or studying?

P10: Yes.

I: Alright. That's the end of my questions. But do you think there is anything that you'd like to tell me that would help me understand the difficulties that you're going through, but also the difficulties that you've had before? Is there anything more that I should know?

P10: All my uncles and others, three uncles, but they don't take care of me. Even I call them up and say I don't have anything left, they say 'Ai, don't worry help will come', but I don't see any change.

I: When do you phone them? Have you been phoning them recently?

P10: Yes.

I: And they don't really offer you any help?

P10: Someone stay in Pretoria, and others they stay in the rural areas.

I: So even though you ask for help from some family, they don't always give it?

P10: Ja.

I: It sounds like you're disappointed, hey? You're sad that they don't help you?

P10: Ja, they really disappoint me.

I: Is there anything else that you want to tell me, that you think I should know? Or do you think my questions are enough to help me understand?

P10: I think it's all.

I: Ok. Are there any questions that you'd like to ask me?

P10: Ah no.

I: P10, now that we've spoken, you know I asked you how you think that your life compares to other children, other 18-year-olds at your school? What I'm going to do is that I'm going to go to your school and I'm going to ask them if I can speak to one male, one boy, Grade 10 learner. And it will be random, so it will be like the lotto. And I'll just speak to one other boy there. And I'll ask them similar questions about who does the cooking, who does the cleaning, because they'll probably have a mom at home that does some of the cooking and things. But when I go to your school, I won't tell anybody that I've spoken to you. I will tell them that I've spoken to one child, but I won't tell them your name or anything like that. So they won't know that I've spoken to you. But just to know that if you see me at your school, I'm trying to speak to another child, just to see the differences. But remember that it is confidential what you've told me and I won't tell anybody that you've spoken to me or what you've said, ok.

P10: Yes, I trust you.

I: Good, I'm pleased. And that's the end. So thank you so much for coming to talk to me today. I really appreciate the help.

P10: Ok.

I: Ok great. Thank you.

Child-head: Participant 11 (match with Participant J)

I: P11, you say that you're 18 years.

P11: Ja.

I: Are you 18 now, or are you turning 18?

P11: I'm going to turn 18 on the 25th May.

I: Ok. And you go to school, I can see that from your uniform. What school do you go to?

P11: X.

I: And is it X High School?

P11: Secondary School.

I: And what grade are you in there?

P11: Grade 11.

I: P11, tell me how many brothers and sisters do you have?

P11: I only have 4 brothers and one sister

I: Four brothers and one sister. Who is the oldest?

P11: My big brothers. I'm in the middle.

I: You're in the middle, ok. So your oldest brother, how old is he? The first born?

P11: He was born in 1974.

I: And does he live with you?

P11: No.

I: And then after him, who's that?

P11: 1977.

I: It's a boy again, hey?

P11: Ja.

I: And does he live with you?

P11: No.

I: Ok.

P11: 1980, May, no.

I: Ok. Is it you then?

P11: No. 1985, May, no.

I: Then it's you?

P11: But ja, this one, 1985 ja he lives with me.

I: He lives with you?

P11: Ja.

I: Ok.

P11: It's me.

I: Ok, then it is you.

P11: 1988.

I: Ja, I've got your age here. And then your sister?

P11: 1992. Yes she does.

I: She does live with you. So it is the three of you that live together. Does anybody else live with you?

P11: No.

I: So it's just the three of you. Alright, out of the three of you, who's got the highest level of education?

P11: I do.

I: You're the one. Your brother hasn't, so although he's older than you, he doesn't have?

P11: Ja.

I: So this is the Department of Social Services, that's how you know him, Timothy, hey?

P11: Yes.

I: How long have you been in contact with Timothy's organisation – Department of Social Services.

P11: From last month.

I: From last month only, one month.

P11: Ja.

I: How did you get in contact with them.

P11: Firstly I talked to my class teacher I have a problem when it comes to food, and school fees and so on and so on. So she gave me a letter and send me to the other church, the Roman Catholic Church. So I take the letter there, they give me something like a grocery and so on, so since then I was in contact with them.

I: So the Roman Catholic Church, when you went there, then Timothy started to help you?

P11: Ja. It's the first time for me seeing Timothy, 'cause I was working with the other lady whose name was Nomphile.

I: And just with the Catholic Church?

P11: Ja.

I: So you haven't come here before?

P11: No, this is first time coming here.

I: What help do you get from here, and from the Roman Catholic Church?

P11: Ja,they first promised to buy us school uniform, pay school fund, giving us food, because my younger sister doesn't have a birth certificate, and my brother he doesn't have an ID. So they were promising to give us those things.

I: And have they given them to you?

P11: Not yet.

I: How long have you been in contact with the people of the Roman Catholic Church?

P11: Last month.

I: Also last month?

P11: Ja.

I: So at the moment they've given you some groceries.

P11: Ja, it was the end of February.

I: But you haven't had any help with school fees – have you had any help?

P11: No.

I: Nothing yet. And with uniforms?

P11: No.

I: Nothing yet. They've said they're going to help you with that?

P11: Ja.

I: In your family, where you live together, who makes decisions on who needs to do the cleaning, who needs to do the cooking, who needs to wash the dishes?

P11: Ja, I am the one, I am responsible. Because my brother, he lives with her girlfriend in the other room, the outside room. He live with his girlfriend, so we are only two in the big house.

I: So does your brother help with anything, in the house? Does he do anything, like any cleaning or..?

P11: No, he doesn't.

I: So it is you and your sister that look after the house?

P11: Yes.

I: When you are cooking – who does the cooking?

P11: We change. Sometimes it's me, the other times her.

I: What are your tasks in the house? Sometimes you do the cooking, what else?

P11: I do the cooking, washing, I have to clean the house. Like sometimes I do spring cleaning the whole house because she is young and I can do most of the things in the house.

I: Ok. And what does she do? What are her tasks? So sometimes she does the cooking, what else?

P11: She does the cooking, cleaning when I'm not around. Like when I'm at school she cleans the house, sometimes she does cook.

I: OK. And when you're cooking, do you cook for your brother and his girlfriend as well?

P11: No.

I: They cook their own?

P11: Ja.

I: So they're quite separate from you?

P11: Ja, I can say that we are separate.

I: In a way they're in a different house.

P11: Ja.

I: Alright. How does your family get money for things that they may need for the house, or for school, or…?

P11: Sometimes they do help us, like when we are visiting them, telling them that we need this and that, they do help.

I: Who is they?

P11: My mother's sister, the younger one, and my eldest brothers. But the problem is they are far away from us. So sometimes we do have problems when coming to food, because we don't have money to call them and tell them about our problem.

I: Ok. Some people in their house they rent out a room to make extra money. Does that happen in your house?

P11: Yes, it starts last of last month, January, we had another woman who is hiring, whose having her shack like, she's renting.

I: So she gives a bit of money to you?

P11: Ja.

I: Have you ever had to work, or do anything else like that?

P11: Yes, like last year I was working in Midrand, I was a shop assistant.

I: Was that during school, or after school, or during holidays, or…?

P11: It was on weekends part-time and holidays full time.

I: OK, and how long had to you been doing that for?

P11: From last year June til last year December. This year I only gone there twice, end of February and during the month. Only twice.

I: Why has it changed?

P11: Because actually, I am working on the shop, so they call me when it's busy, if it's not they don't call.

I: So they haven't called you and you think maybe that's why because they've just not been busy.

P11: Ja.

I: Does your house get money from anywhere else? Do your family get any other money – we've spoken about sometimes your family helps you, your brothers help you, sometimes you rent the room, and sometimes you work. But anything else?

P11: No.

I: Does anybody in the house get a grant from the government?

P11: No one.

I: Do you know anything about them? Has anybody spoken to you about them?

P11: Yes, we had some people who were talking to us about grants and so on. So we had a problem because we once applied, so we didn't qualify because my sister she doesn't have a birth certificate. So before we must face this problem of her not having a birth certificate.

I: So first you need her to get a birth certificate.

P11: Yes, but I will not qualify because I am too old, she is the only one to get it.

I: And who spoke to you about that?

P11: People around the community and this lady who is in the Roman Catholic Church.

I: And that was recently, like last month?

P11: Yes. Sometimes last year, people around the community told us about that.

I: Ok. Who in your family looks after your sister? She's 13, 14. Who looks after her, who makes sure her homework is done, and she's done her washing, and…?

P11: I am the one.

I: What is that like for you?

P11: This thing for me, It shows that I am grown up, I am responsible. I am the one who must take care of her because my mum has passed away, so I have to take the responsibility.

I: Ok. I'll ask you a bit more about your mom a little bit later. What's it like with your brother and sister. What is your relationship like?

P11: Ja, it is fine with my sister. With my brother sometimes a bit difficult 'cause he's drinking and smoking. Like during weekends he doesn't sleep at home, his friends are coming at home, like during the night looking for him. So we have a problem with him 'cause he is not educated, he was stoling, last years ago. So sometimes he is a big problem to us. But during the other days he is fine.

I: What happens when he is drinking and smoking, and he is causing problems for you?

P11: Ja when he is smoking with his friends then some of his friends are coming home, smoking, drinking and so on, and some of his friends, when he is not around they are coming at home looking for him, while they know that he is not around and they are a big problem.

I: Are they quite horrible to you?

P11: Sometimes, but sometime they are ok.

I: And do you talk to him about it, or is it something that you can't really talk to him about.

P11: I tried, but he was so harsh 'cause he trusted his friends so when you come and tell him about his friend, he doesn't trust us. So to us it is a problem.

I: Sounds like a very difficult situation, hey?

P11: Ja.

I: And with your sister?

P11: She's fine because she listen to me when I'm talking to her. Ja she is fine with me we have a good relationship.

[Telephone ringing].

I: Do you think your relationship with your brother and your sister has changed since your mum has passed away?

P11: Ja I can say that 'cause after, ok my mom passed away in 2002 and he was not around, he was arrested because he once stolen somewhere in KZN. So after that it changed because he couldn't accept that she's gone and we never see her again. 'Cause I was staying with my second brother, there this one, 1977, so he moved last year in April. He was staying with his wife and three children. So he moved, and we were only three. It was difficult, sometimes because he didn't give us money to buy food, he didn't come and see the situation, and when he goes, he moves out…

I: So you were staying with the wife and the children?

P11: Yes it was overcrowded. He take his furniture, so we were left behind without furniture. He only left my mother's furniture before she passed away. So it was difficult for us because everyone could see that here there is no elders, they were criticising us, I can say.

I: People in the community were criticising you?

P11: Yes. So, when time goes by we get used to the situation that she has gone and we have to be responsible and take care of ourselves and so on.

I: Tell me about when your brother came back to live with you? He was arrested and then he came?

P11: He came back. I can say my brother is a straight person. He can think straight, he can do everything but sometimes, like when he drinked, he change everything. Because once he drunk alcohol and smoked, he think of stoling. And that thing to us it cause a problem, because even the community they know that our brother is stealing and so on and so on.

I: And he's always been like this, it wasn't since your mom died?

P11: Ja, he was like this before.

I: And your relationship with your sister, was it always the same? Or has that changed since your mom passed away?

P11: Ja, this time it change a lot, because we take each other as sisters. I can say that now we love each more than before, 'cause we know that she is not around anymore, we must be tight.

I: Ok. Can you tell me about when your mom was very ill; you said that she passed away in 2002?

P11: She started to be sick in 2001, October. It was me, my younger sister, her and my stepfather. We are only four. And I was the one who was responsible for her, because I was the one who is older. So my family was not coming, like often, and we are only three who was responsible for my mother.

I: Why were your family not coming?

P11: I don't know why, but sometimes, sometimes they would come.

I: Was it because there was a big distance and it has always been like that, or did it change when your mom got ill?

P11: No, we were living in Tembisa before. Then in December 2001, we moved to Kaalfontein here in Midrand. We move there. So it was a bigger distance from there, so they didn't come often.

I: Ok.

P11: So it was…it was difficult ‘cause she was sick, she can’t even wash herself, we must bath her, feed her, wash her, and I was doing Grade 7 in 2002 she was worse. We moved to Kaalfontein in 2001 December, so she get worse during that month. So for me it was difficult because I couldn’t concentrate at school, I failed.

I: You failed that year?

P11: No, I failed only in March, but in June I was fine. So I had to dodge during break to see my mom, and come back and make sure that she was fine, up until 2002 and she passed away.

I: What time of the year did she pass away?

P11: It was May, on the 1st of May.

[Telephone ringing]

I: So it sounds like for a long time, maybe 8 months, 9 months she was very ill, hey?

P11: Mmm.

I: And it sounds as if there were three people that were looking after her. And would you say that there was one person that was doing more of the looking after?

P11: Yes I was the one who was responsible.

I: You said that your stepfather was there. Was he involved at all?

P11: Yes he was there, but he was not that much involved.

I: And your sister was obviously quite a bit younger then as well?

P11: Yes she was.

I: How do you think it has affected you now?

P11: For me, I can say that it changed my life. Because I used to miss my mom and before, I couldn’t live without my mum, I depended on her very much. So now she is away and sometimes I can’t cope. When coming to think about my parents. It is difficult ‘cause sometimes we are running out of things and people outside, and my younger sister she is young, she like to wish and I don’t have that money to buy her like clothes, shoes and pretty hairstyles. So sometimes for me it is difficult because I have to talk to her and tell her just to accept the situation, and as time goes on things will be fine.

I: So it has made you to have to try and cope with a lot of things, including looking after your sister and her big wishes?

P11: Yes. And at school I have to concentrate I have to put more effort in my schoolwork sometimes it is difficult.

I: So when your mom was sick you sometimes missed some of the school?

P11: Ja because sometimes we have to go to the doctors, clinics and so on.

I: Did your mom talk to you about what illness she had and what would happen?

P11: Yes, not much. But when I ask her, she told me that this thing it’s about tradition and so on. ‘Cause she ate something somewhere and that thing was eating her inside until she was thin.

[Telephone ringing]

I: Ok. Did she mention to you that she might get ill and she might pass away? Is that something she ever spoke to you about?

P11: No, sometimes she didn't want us to wonder or worry about her because she used tell us about life, she was born in 1956, she was a bit elder, so she told us that one day she passed away so we have to be responsible and whatever, we mustn't depend on her that much. So for us it was too hard.

I: So she used to say that a long time ago, that you mustn't depend on her?

P11: Yes. So for us it was difficult, because we are too young, and we didn't have that mind of being responsible. So sometimes we were a bit confused about that.

I: And did she ever say that she wanted you to stay in one place, or she wanted you to live together, like after she passed away.

P11: Before she passed away, she was worried about me and my sister because we were the only ones who were young. She told our brothers that when she passed away, she asked them to take care of us because we were the only one who were young. And from the first one, they were not educated and we are the only ones who go to school and we must focus on our schoolwork. And mostly she told my big brothers that they must take care of us.

I: It sounds as if that is difficult, sometimes you feel that they don't take care of you enough?

P11: Yes.

I: Can I ask you, what happened to your stepfather?

P11: After my mom had passed away, we started to stay with my brother.

I: The 1977 brother?

P11: Yes, so he had to move because my mom was not around anymore. So it was a bit difficult to us 'cause he was the one that was working, and buy groceries. So after he move, it was difficult because my brother was the only one who was working and all of us – like me and my sister, we are at school, his wife was not working and he had three children, young ones. So he had more responsibilities on us.

I: Can you tell me, when your mum was still alive, did she ever talk to you about grown up things, like tell you secrets or tell you about things maybe with her and your stepfather, that you thought she shouldn't be telling me this, she shouldn't be telling me, her daughter, she should rather be telling a friend or somebody else?

P11: Yes, my mom was talking to me. Especially because I was the one who used to be with her around the house, cleaning and so on. She was telling me, like I once asked her about my father, because I didn't know him. So she told me many things about him, up until she met my stepfather. Yes, she used to talk to me.

I: And what sort of things were they? Were they things that you thought were good to know, for a daughter to know about her father, or did you think they were a bit too grown up?

P11: Yes, for me, it was fine because I had to know the truth that what was going on during that time up until now.

I: Ok. Did your mom ever ask you for advice about things to do with the house, like what they should do about money, or about maybe your little sister, did she ever ask you for advice about things like that?

P11: Sometimes she used to 'cause we are not understanding sometimes like when you want clothes, and she don't have money. Sometimes, like when it is month end she take the

whole salary and put it on the table and tell me that this one is going to do this and that and that. So sometimes I can't be able to buy clothes every month, or after maybe 2 months, so for her it was easy for her to talk to me, because I was a bit elder, so I understand.

I: Looking after one's family is extra work for a child, how do you think it is affecting you?

P11: For me it is affecting me a bit because as a teenager I have to face some stages, so when I'm responsible for a family, I can't do whatever thing, like young teens used to do. So I jump some of the stages and I'm responsible to do elders things, like being responsible. So for me this thing is affecting me a lot because like when it is after school I have to go straight home, cooking, cleaning the house, and sometimes I don't have enough time, like to study my books, doing my homeworks, because I have to do most of the things at home.

I: What are the things that you think are missing out on, and the stages that you're missing out on by being in this situation?

P11: Really I don't know what to do 'cause like, with friends, I don't have friends around the community because I don't have time to be on the street running around and playing. So for me I don't know what to do, because I had to do it like at home.

I: So you think that other teenagers – you say that you're missing out on a lot, and you've had to jump a few stages and a lot of that is around being responsible and also not having friends and that freedom to play?

P11: Yes, 'cause I used to have friends before, and they are all pregnant by now. So I learn a lesson from there that I don't need a friend anymore. I only have friends at school, so with friends I don't need that time.

I: What do you think is the most difficult thing for you now about looking after your family or about your life in general? What is the most difficult thing for you?

P11: For me, the most difficult thing is that, ok, it's hard to look after a family in my age. It's hard 'cause like my first brother, after my mother's death, he was after the house, he want the house. So for me it is difficult and I don't know what to do after like finishing my matric and my younger sister. 'Cause this thing is cames time and again. Like when we are together with the family sometimes it come up that my brother wants the house, so for me it is difficult because I can't co-operate with the situation 'cause my mum she left us in this house. So when she is gone there are people who are looking on what's going on the house, and they are not responsible for us. So for me it is difficult, or how to cope with this situation? I don't know what to do.

I: You need somebody to help you guide you, and you're worried about other people taking advantage of you?

P11: Yes.

I: When you're finding things difficult and you're finding you have to – maybe you're worried about your schoolwork and you're worried about things at home and your family, who do you turn to for support?

P11: Usually I used to talk to my friends at school, and my second big brother in Tembisa, because we used to see him almost every weekend when we are going to church. He is the one who I believe in and comfort, when coming to comfort he used to talk to us, not to lose hope and believe in ourselves, and so on.

I: Sounds like an important person to you?

P11: Yes.

I: So we've spoken about some of the help that you get from the Roman Catholic Church, and sometimes your family help you, your brothers give you money, is there anybody else that helps you that doesn't live with you, so maybe the school or any other organisations, or the church, or?

P11: No.

I: Do you think people have treated you differently since your mom was ill and passed away?

P11: No, when coming to family, family treat us like the other children. Only the community it changed a lot, because they think maybe when my mum passed away we are going to like to get pregnant, like on weekend, going to taverns drinking and so on. Ja. People in the community were different. But now...

I: Did they talk to you about things or did you just hear that they were talking about you?

P11: Ja, sometimes I do hear.

I: But now?

P11: But now, I can say that everything has changed 'cause some of them understand that we are alone, and there are no elders at home. So it seems to be balancing.

I: But soon after your mom passed away, there was a big change?

P11: Yes.

I: You've spoken about you don't have much spare time from school and then you must go straight home. But maybe on the weekends, is there anything that you like to do in your spare time? What do you do in any spare time?

P11: On Saturday we are practicing like in school choir, maybe from 9 to half past 11, we must sing, and by 2 to half past four we sing for the church choir, then after that I have to come home. Then on Sunday I go to church.

I: Do you think you've got much spare time? Not really, hey?

P11: Ja.

I: Tell me about your friends. You say that you don't have many friends around the community, but you've got some friends at school. Do you have lots of friends, or one or two friends?

P11: I only have two.

I: And what do you like about them? What do you like to do together?

P11: Its that one, they understand my situation. And usually, daily, I don't have money to buy food, they used to buy me. And I can say that to me they are important because they understand my situation in such a way that even other people, they can't see that, like, I don't have money, where I come from, because they try to close that space of being low.

I: Ok. Tell me about your schooling: You said that when your mom was very ill, it was very difficult for you to concentrate, plus also you had to miss a lot of school. Did you have to repeat a year?

P11: No, I only failed in March. So during the second and the third term, I was fine.

I: And how are you doing with your schooling now, how are you finding it?

P11: For now like in Standard 6,7, 8 it was fine. And now in Grade 11 it seems to be difficult 'cause things used to change. But now I am not working up fine, sometimes it's difficult in some subjects.

I: So it is more now about the things getting more difficult rather than it being about that you're missing school, or that you have to stay at home and cook and clean. It's more about the subjects getting more difficult?

P11: No, its not about my family problems, it is about only school.

I: About school, whereas before, maybe in Grade 7 or Standard it was more about your family?

P11: Ja it was easier than now.

I: How do you think your life compares to other 17-year-old girls at your school? Do you think your life is very different?

P11: I can say that because when I look at other teenagers, we are a bit different. Because when I got money, I know how to use it. And they are using it in such a way that they can't have maybe R20 to break, so I am a bit different from them, because I have that mind of thinking for the future.

I: Is there anything else that you can see that is different, that you feel is different between you and them?

P11: Yes, I can say that like when coming to when it is civies day at school, we must wear

I: You must wear, sorry?

P11: When it is civies day. So we must wear, I know how to match my things when I do. But I can say that I'm different, 'cause when it is civies some of the other teenagers are going straight to buying special clothes for that day. So for me, I am different 'cause when it is civies, I have to wear casual like that. So some others they are just doing it for fun.

I: So they do things in a bit more rushed way, and a bit more fun, whereas you think about the future?

P11: Yes, and they want to be seen by other children.

I: They want to be seen by other children?

P11: Yes.

I: My last question for you is what do you think you would like to be doing in five years time?

P11: I want to finish my matric. Maybe when I get something like a bursary, I want to finish my studies. For now not yet, I don't know, what is it I want to be in the future, because I am a bit confused with my studies and so on. But I want to finish my matric, finish my course, I want to do a two to three year course. So I want to finish my matric, finish my studies, working, I want to stay in my own house, maybe getting married and so on. And I want to – oh my mum before she passed away, she had a plan for her house, so I want to rebuild that house for her.

I: So you want to build a house like your mom wanted a house?

P11: Ja.

I: That is the end of my questions, but is there anything else that you think that I should know that would help me understand what you go through? I mean is there anything that we haven't spoken about?

P11: Up to so far, I'm covered.

I: Before we put on the tape, you said something about food is still quite difficult for you to get. So you've got one parcel of groceries but other than that, you're finding that getting food and school fees and things still difficult?

P11: Yes with groceries, sometimes we are embarrassed, like when it is during the month. For us it is difficult 'cause when we are running out of meat, we had nowhere to go, so we must just accept that we don't have meat, we only have meilie meal or rice only. So we had to accept the situation. So when coming to school, I had a problem, serious because last year I didn't pay school fees, so this year I don't know what is going to happen.

I: Ok. That's the end. Do you have any questions for me that you want to ask me, about the study or anything like that?

P11: No I don't have. The only thing I can ask maybe, is if you have something that you can help us with?

I: What it is, is I'm trying to do research on all the different children that are in your situation, and I'm trying to find the difficulties. But once I've submitted my report, then maybe I can help more. And then I'll come back to Timothy and ask that I can help you. Ok, does that make sense?

P11: Ja.

I: Thank you so much for your time.

P11: Ok.

I: I'm sorry that you had to wait so long.

Matched Participant A (match with Participant 1)

I: So you're 17, and when are you turning 18?

PA: 28 December.

I: 28 December. So you've just turned 17, well…

PA: Yes

I: And you go to X. And what grade are you in?

PA: I'm in Grade 11.

I: Tell me PA, do you have brothers and sisters?

PA: Ya I do. I've got an older sister and older brother, and there's a younger brother and a younger sister.

I: Ok. Who's the oldest?

PA: My sister.

I: And how old is she?

PA: She's 24.

I: And she lives with you?

PA: Yes

I: And then there is your brother?

PA: Yes.

I: And how old is he?

PA: He's 21.

I: And he lives with you?

PA: Yes.

I: And then it is you?

PA: Yes

I: And then?

PA: My little sister.

I: And how old is she?

PA: She's 12.

I: She lives with you?

PA: Yes. Then, my little brother, he's 10.

I: He lives with you as well?

PA: Yes.

I: So other than the five children, who else lives at home?

PA: There's my uncle's son. His parents just passed away so my mom took him to stay with us. Because he was living with his grandmother then she also passed away so there was no one to take care of him, so my mom took her to stay with us.

I: So he was living with his parents and then his parents died and then he went to live with his granny and then his granny died, and now he is with you?

PA: Yes.

I: So it's this cousin, and your mom…

PA: My mom and my dad.

I: And your dad as well. Anybody else that lives there?

PA: No.

I: Out of everybody at home, who has got the highest level of education?

PA: The highest? Probably my sister.

I: And how far has she got?

PA: She went to Pretoria tech, but then she stopped and then she did nursing. Right now she's a nurse, but it was a contract, she's going to finish in April, then she is going to find another job. Because she wanted to be a doctor, so she decided she must take a course of being a nurse then she's going to find another job.

I: Some of these questions are with regards to the children that don't have parents, so I'll just skip over those ones.

PA: ok

I: In your family, who decides on who must do which tasks, like who must do the cooking, who must to do the washing?

PA: Normally I cook. If I cook my little sister washes the dishes, my sister over the weekend she do the washings. We exchange, we work together.

I: And who decides that, is it your mom or your dad that decides, "kids you need to make sure there is food on the table"?

PA: No, we decided as sisters that our parents they did their job of taking care of us, now lets do for them. It's like helping them. Its nice, we love doing cooking and all of that.

I: How long would you say you've been doing more of those sorts of things?

PA: I started when I was 15. Because when I was 1 until 7 I wasn't living with my parents, I was living with my grandmother. Then, I learnt from her, from my grandmother, then she passed away, then I had to go live with my mom.

I: How come you were living away from your mom and your dad?

PA: Cos my mom was living right here in Alexander, and it was a small house, and my dad was not permanent at work. So he get a permanent job, he got a house at Ebony Park, then we had more space for us to live there, and then we went there. And then my mom had two children which is my little sister and my little brother, because I was the last one while she was living here. Then they got enough room so we came and live with my mom.

I: When you were living with your gran, were your older brother and sister also living with you?

PA: I was living with my older sister. Then my older brother was living this side of my father with my other grandmother. Ja, I was living with my sister.

I: Ok. So you said that your responsibility in the house is to cook?

PA: To cook.

I: To cook during the week?

PA: Yes. Sometimes over the weekends, if there is nothing. If I don't have homeworks, actually if I don't have homeworks during the week, then I do cooking. If I got more work and my sister is not around, my mom does the cooking. Also my dad, he likes cooking because at work he's always cooking. He's a manager at xx, so he loves cooking too. So he'll help us if there is too much work at the house.

I: And if you've got too much schoolwork and things?

PA: If I've homeworks, my mom knows. Because she doesn't want us to do anything if we've got homeworks, she does everything for us if we've got a lot of homeworks.

I: Ok. How does your family get money for things that they may need in the house?

PA: My dad is working.

I: Your dad has got a permanent job, hey?

PA: Yes. My mum she's - I can say designer, because she does curtains, toilet seats, ja. She works for herself.

I: She works from home mainly?

PA: Yes. And then my sister, she's with a contract. She's helping us. And then my brother, is still at school. He didn't finish matric. So he is supp-ing the subjects, but at the same time he's doing the course of computer, so that if he finish, he can look for a job.

I: Ok. How does your family decide on money? Like who keeps the money, and who decides what it needs to be spent on?

PA: When it comes to money, my parents and my mom sit down and talk about it. We don't normally hear what they say, what they discuss when it comes to money, because there is too many things that they talk about that we don't know. But the two of them decide on the money. They just stick together when it comes to money.

I: Ok. Does anybody in your house get a government grant?

PA: That would be my cousin, the one that doesn't have parents. Ja, he was getting a grant when while he was living with his grandmother. Then he came to my mom, they are still fixing the whole thing because they say he register to get a grant if he can.

I: So it still needs to be transferred from your grandmother to your parents?

PA: Yes.

I: How old is he?

PA: He's 9.

I: So there's another young person in the house, hey?

PA: Yes there is.

I: In your family, who looks after your brother and sister, we're talking about your younger brother and sister and your cousin. Who looks after for them, makes sure they've got clothes, everything.

PA: That'd be my parents, my mom and my dad. More especially when it comes to my mom, she knows if someone needs something, then she talks to my dad about it and they sit down and talk about it, and they provide with us what we can do.

I: And maybe when they were younger like for bathing and stuff like that, who would bath them and make sure they were in their pyjamas, or ready for school?

PA: Ok, my mom. And I was like, when I see my mom do that, I wanted to do the same to my brother and my little sister, so I was helping her. Also my sister. If my mom was not around, my sister was taking care of us.

I: Ok. Tell me about the relationship with you and your brothers and sisters. What's that like?

PA: Me and my sisters, especially when it comes to my sister, we're very close, we're very close. And my brother, we don't normally talk too much, because he's a boy and I'm a girl. He's a very rough person, but sometimes got time to talk to me.

I: Your older brother?

PA: Yes, by my sister anytime when I need her, she's there for me. Then my little sister and my brother, they're very playful, they love playing. So I'd say we've got a very good relationship, it's a very nice one.

I: It sounds like you are closest to your older sister?

PA: Ja. I love her, she's like my friend. Because at home, I don't have friends, so I talk to her a lot. I would say I have a very strong relationship when it comes to my sister.

I: How far away from school do you live?

PA: I live in Midrand, so its not so far away.

I: Ok. Say you're fighting with your brother, or if the younger two are fighting or arguing, what happens?

PA: Ok, if we fight, if my mom was there, she'll take us and say sit down, and talk to us to not fight at all because it is not nice at all for sisters to fight or brothers to fight. Because if she's not there we end up killing each other. So she doesn't like it when we fight. So if we fight, like right now, after 2 minutes we have to talk to each other, like 'I'm sorry I did that' and you apologise back 'I'm sorry I did that'.

I: So that is if your mom is there?

PA: If she's not…!

I: If she's not, things can get quite nasty?

PA: Ja, we don't normally talk to each other, probably for maybe an hour. The young ones they're like 'where is something' you know. And I'm like 'ask nicely and then I'll tell you where it is', and then ok, they'll go, 'Sorry, where is what-and-what?', then I'll go ok fine and I'll tell them. We don't normally fight. Unless if they're playing, and someone scratch you by mistake then the one gets angry and then, but normally we talk, if we've got problems or if I do something that you don't, I talk to you about it. But the younger ones, they're still young, they don't understand. So they fight, but…

I: Then your mom will come and talk to them?

PA: Exactly. Even me, if I find them fighting, I tell them don't fight because if you fight with another person, like especially someone who lives with you, who would you talk to if you fight? And then they'll be fine.

I: Ok. If your brother or sister, if they were doing something that was unacceptable to you, or unacceptable to your parents, what would happen?

PA: Normally, it happens like that. I don't know, probably I would talk to them.

I: Say, if you thought they were using drugs or stealing or something like that?

PA: I'd have to talk to my parents about it. I mean, if my parents they couldn't do anything about it, there are some counsellors at my place, where only youth they go there talk to that person. So I'd go and ask some advice, what should I do because my brother is doing that and that, and I told my parents and there is nothing that they can do about it. Ja, I think I could get help from counsellors and people - there's this group it's called Youth for Today, or something like that, so I normally I go there and listen to all the problems and all that. So, ja, I think they could help me when it comes to that.

I: What would your parents do if they became aware of maybe you doing something…?

PA: They'd talk to that person, yes they do. They sometimes get angry, but not for long. If you stop doing the wrong thing that they are telling you, they'll be fine with you. But they don't shout at you when they talk to you. They like sit down with you and talk to you, if there is no one at home. They don't like, discuss if something that you did wrong, in front of everyone. Because they want you to understand them.

I: Alright. Does your mother or father ever speak to you, or did they ever speak to you about things that are quite adult or grown up in nature, that you would have thought that maybe they should just speak to each other, or a friend, and they shouldn't talk to a younger person about it?

PA: Yes they do, especially when it comes to sex.

I: Can you tell me about that.

PA: My mom advises me. Because right now I'm 17, turning 18. She's always telling me about boys. She's not saying that it is a wrong thing to have a boyfriend, but when it comes to sex, I mean I'm very young, I should wait. Ja, and if I am having sex, there's condoms and there are so many diseases, so it's better for me to abstain, not to have sex at all. And also my father, he once told us that there is this disease, which is not cured. So if you sleep around, especially when you're not using a condom, you're going to have that disease and no one can help you when it comes to that disease. Yes, they talk about those things. Ja, that's it.

I: Do they ever talk to you about things that are perhaps about them, like maybe they tell you about their experiences, and you would have thought 'shoe! This is not really…'

PA: Do you mean when they grow up or right now?

I: Or right now, ja. Like maybe they're worried about the finances, or they're worried about…

PA: Yes they do. Yes they do, my mum, if we're maybe having problems with money, she tells us. Maybe if I need something, I need to buy something and she doesn't have enough money, so she tells I can't give you money because of I'm running short of this and this, I have to pay some stuff and all that. I can't buy that, so I'll try next month. They do talk about some of the things.

I: Do they ever ask you for advice about things about the family or about the house?

PA: Yes, they do. Like right now, my dad and mom they wants to buy a house, another house, so they've been asking us where should we buy the house. They want to buy a car, so they ask us, what kind of a car should they buy. Yes they do. And they are some insurance that they'll ask us, do you think this one is ok, should we take it or not?

I: How do you feel about them asking you these things? Do you think it is nice to be involved, or do you think 'shoe, I'm being asked things that are maybe too much for me? They're asking their children for advice?'

PA: Sometimes I think it is ok for my parents to talk to me. But sometimes, there are some questions whereby I can't even answer them. I don't have a clue what to say to them, so I feel so bad that I can't even advise my mom. But I think it is beautiful when your parents are talking to you. Ja, it is.

I: Ok. What do you think is the most difficult thing for you at the moment, growing up as a 17-year-old girl?

PA: I think boys approaching, because there are some other boys which are rude. If they call you and you ignore them, they just call you with names. Ja, I think that would be the one. And studying, comes to my Grade 11. It's most difficult level, whereby I really need to be focused when it comes to it. Because next year I want to go to Grade 12. Ja, I think that'll be the two things.

I: Maybe you can tell me about your schooling? How's that going? Has that been going ok?

PA: Ja, its cool, its ok. I'm working very hard. And the teaching is cool, the teachers are always there. It's ok.

I: If you're feeling a bit overwhelmed by things, like maybe you're worried about your homework, and then you know that you want to cook and help out at home - if you're feeling a bit overwhelmed, who do you turn to for support?

PA: That would be my sister. My sister was helping with so many things. If I have to cook at the same time I've got homeworks, I'd cook and then later on, when they're all sleeping, then I'll study. Cos there's more space for me to do all that schoolwork. So I'll switch off the TV, the radio, and then I'll do my homework, and from there I go to sleep. But ja, my sister has always helped.

I: Your sister, ok. Is there anybody outside the home that helps you, like church, or? You've spoken about this youth group?

PA: Yes. That group, I've been with them like, I started this month, I didn't know there was a youth group. More especially they talk about sexual activities, homework, how to handle school work, all that. So if there is something that I really need which I can't even talk to my sister or something, I'd go and tell them and then they help me out.

I: Is there anybody else that you can think of that…

PA: That would be this other old lady, that likes to tell us stories about her past that when I was young I was doing this and this and that. Ja, sometimes I'll go and I'll ask her so many questions and she answer them back.

I: Ok, so she's a wise woman in your life?

PA: Ja she is. Right now I don't have a grandmother, so I take her as my grandmother.

I: Is she a relative?

PA: No she's not, she's just a family friend.

I: What do you like to do in between school and household activities, in your spare time?

PA: Listening to music, reading, dancing. A lot more dancing, ja. That's what I love to do.

I: Tell me about your friends, do you have one or two friends, do you have lots of friends, or do you prefer to be on your own?

PA: I used to have friends. There was this other girl – can I mention her name?

I: I won't use her name.

PA: Her name is M. She was my best friend. So we were living in the same street, so she moved out, and she's living not far away from my place.

I: Still in Midrand?

PA: Yes. So she was getting used to where she is living now. Then she started changing for me, you know, not coming to my house. Then I asked her what's the problem, she said 'No, I'm trying to get used to the place'. So when I went there, I found her with other chicks, other friends. Then ok, I didn't have a problem with her having other friends. But I can see the way she was talking to me, she was no longer interested in me. So I decided let me just stay home and see if ever she will come. But I still called her, and she would always say, 'I'm not at home' all that. So I decided no, you know what, let me just give her her space, and let me just stay at home. Then ja, I stayed at home. So even if I don't have homeworks or that, then I'll listen to music and I'll dance. So lately I'll say I don't have friends.

I: She didn't come to the same school as you?

PA: No. Even here at school, I don't have a person whereby I can say this one I talk to about everything. No it's just my classmates. And I talk to all my classmates.

I: Ok, they're a bit distant to you?

PA: Yes, so I'd say I don't have a friend, I don't have friends. But there's people around me, not a friend, a person I could call a friend. There is no one. Except my sister, she'd be my friend.

I: Ok. How do you feel your life compares to other 17-year-old girls in a similar circumstance to you?

PA: Right now, I think…I mean, even this age. Others they don't go to school, others they're having sugar daddies, others they have kids. So I would say my life is perfect, I love my life the way it is. Because I'm not rushing my life, I'm not rushing my age. Cos, there are too many girls, even at a younger age of me, like 16, 15. They are far away, they've got kids, they're not coming to school, they're smoking drugs, there are always boys around them, you know. I think that's the problem, there is too much of us. And we are teenagers, we grow up in this stage whereby there's this disease called Aids so its very difficult sometimes, but if you put yourself together and you focus on what you want, especially when it comes to school, then there is no problem. I think my life is perfect.

I: So you see a lot of children that are a similar age to you that are doing lots of different things and they're getting themselves more and more into trouble it seems?

PA: Yes.

I: Ok, what do you think you'd like to be doing in 5 years from now?

PA: Five years from now…?

I: Say when you are 23?

PA: I'd love to have my own car, my own house, working. At the age of 23, I don't want kids. I think probably at 26. Ja, have kids. But at the age of 23, 24 have my own house, actually I want to own my own company, have a car.

I: Do you have any idea of what sort of company you'd like to be owning?

PA: That'd be designing, you know companies which they design, or advertising, ja.

I: So something creative?

PA: Ja, something creative, ja because I'm a person who likes creative things.

I: And you say you'd like to own your own house. Have you thought about where you'd want that to be?

PA: I haven't thought about it. But I want a house where there is big space for me, swimming pool, Jacuzzi, all those fancy things, you know. So anywhere is fine, but not in township, not in township. This is a very rough place. Not in township.

I: Do you feel your home area is different to here in Alex?

PA: Ja it is. Here there is too much drugs, there are too many things here. And where I live the children go to multiracial school, you know, I live with people who go to white schools, there is not too many of us. So you know, I learnt from them, they don't do drugs, all that. Ja, so I think where I live it's fine, it's ok. There are some who are doing drugs, but …

I: It's not too many?

PA: To the other side, not my side. And ja, not too many. But where I live all the kids they are fine.

I: That is the end of my questions. Is there anything else that you think you should tell me that would make it easier for me to know what this 17-year-old is going through?

PA: What can I say? Ok, 17-year-old girl…

I: Well you?

PA: Like having a boyfriend, or my sports, or what I love to do?

I: You can tell me about what you find is different, or what you feel is important for me to know about your life.

PA: There is something, but I don't know if it is encouraging or something. Cos, I'd really like, at the age of 17, I'd really wish all the girls could be different. Like be focused on studies, and just leave boys alone. If you have a boyfriend, just have one boyfriend, and your boyfriend should be ok with you going to school. And you mustn't only talk about having sex or kissing, sometimes he must come to school. Maybe sometimes he must advise you to school, if you need some help from school, then that would be the person I would call your boyfriend. But if someone is always 'Ai, lets go somewhere, he, he, I want to have this and that', no you shouldn't call that person a boyfriend. Ja so I'd say at the age of 17 just be focused on studies.

I: For you that's really important?

PA: Ja, cos I really want to finish my matric. I want to be out of school. I'm tired of wearing uniforms. Ja, that's all I can say. Thanks, its nice talking to you, it was very nice.

I: Thank you so much for talking to me, I really appreciate it. Please thank your parents for allowing me to talk to you, ok.

PA: Ja I will. It was very nice. I enjoyed answering all the questions.

I: They're not too bad, hey?

PA: No they're not!

Matched Participant B (match with Participant 2)

I: So you say you're 16 years old?

PB: Ja.

I: And are you 16 now, or are you turning 16?

PB: I'm 16 now, I'm turning 17.

I: And when are you turning 17?

PB: October.

I: And you go to X. And what grade are you in?

PB: 11.

I: Alright. Can you tell me how many brothers and sisters do you have?

PB: I have one sister only.

I: One sister. How old is your sister?

PB: 23.

I: And does she live with you?

PB: Yes.

I: Other than you and your sister, who lives in your home?

PB: My mother.

I: Your mother. Anybody else?

PB: No.

I: Ok. Who has got the highest level of education between your mom, your sister and you?

PB: My sister.

I: How far did she get at school?

PB: Ummm.

I: Did she finish matric?

PB: Yes.

I: Did she do anything afterwards?

PB: No, she's working now.

I: Ok. In your family or in your house, who decides who must do the cooking, and who must do the washing, and who must wash the dishes, and who must clean, and who must clean the yard? Who makes those decisions?

PB: My mother makes those decisions, and when we are finished eating, I must wash the dishes, and I'm washing with the washing machine.

I: So your tasks in the house are to wash the dishes and to wash clothes, but in the washing machine?

PB: Ja.

I: Anything else that you need to do?

PB: No.

I: Where does your family get money for things that you need either at home, or if you need things for school? How do you get money for the house?

PB: From my sister because she is working. She's the breadwinner at home.

I: She's the breadwinner. Does your mom work?

PB: No.

I: Ok. Some people also do other things to earn money, so sometimes they rent rooms on their property, or other sort of ways, is there any other way that your family gets money?

PB: No.

I: If you get money, so maybe your sister worked and she gets paid, who keeps the money, and who decides where it must be spent?

PB: My mother and my sister.

I: They both keep it and they both decide? Together?

PB: Ja.

I: Does anybody in your house get a government grant?

PB: No. No one.

I: In your family, who looks after you and makes sure that you've done your homework, and you've...

PB: My sister, because she understand what I'm doing. The subjects that we are doing nowadays, she understands them.

I: What's it like with you and your sister, what's your relationship like?

PB: Um. We are working together, ja we love each other.

I: Are you close?

PB: Ja we are too close.

I: Do you ever have arguments or fights?

PB: Ja, sometimes.

I: And what do you argue about?

PB: Sometimes, like last week, we argue about earrings, like sharing earrings. Like girls things.

I: And when you argue, how does it get sorted out?

PB: It hurts because sometimes I feel guilty of what I am doing. Because, like, I want to respect her, and I want her to respect me too.

I: So what happens, so if you're having an argument, how does it eventually get better?

PB: Unless my mother will stop the argument, ja stop us from the argument.

I: So sometimes your mom comes to talks to you and tries to sort it out?

PB: Ja.

I: What would happen, say, if you were doing something that your mom didn't approve of, that your mom didn't think was right, so maybe you were stealing, or using drugs, or whatever, what would happen?

PB: She'll get hurt, and she'll get cross, and she angers with you.

I: Ok, so she'll get cross with you. Does your mom ever talk to you about grown-up matters, like adult matters?

PB: Yes.

I: Can you tell me about what sort of things.

PB: She tell me that I must take care of myself. And I mustn't have sex now, because sex is for married people. And you mustn't steal, you must appreciate what my sister is doing to me. Ja.

I: Did she ever talk to about things that you think she shouldn't be talking to a child about this? She should rather be talking to a friend or another grown up, rather than to me, a child? So maybe she's telling you secrets, or something about her and another man that you think 'I shouldn't know about this as a child'. Does anything like that happen?

PB: No.

I: Did she ever ask you for advice about things about the house? Like what she should do…

PB: Yes.

I: Like what?

PB: She ask me if she can buy a dvd. I said yes, it is fine you can buy a dvd because it is easier when you want to go watch movies like in a mall, it is easier. And then how to decorate the house. We share ideas.

I: Is it mainly your mom that asks you, or does she also ask your sister?

PB: She only asks my sister and me. We share ideas.

I: All three of you share together?

PB: Yes.

I: What happens when you're feeling like things are too much for you? Like you're worried about your schoolwork and then you go home and you have to wash the dishes, and you've got to put the washing in the washing machine. And if you're feeling that things are too much, who do you turn to for support? Or your life in general, if you're feeling it's too difficult, who do you turn to?

PB: I turn to my other neighbour, she's my friend, and then I'll talk to her, and then if she can be able to help, she can.

I: This is a neighbour, how old is the neighbour? Is it your mom's age, or your age?

PB: She's 16, she's my friend.

I: Ok. Does your family or your house get any help from anybody that doesn't live in the house? So maybe the church, or the school, or neighbours – do they ever help you?

PB: No.

I: Do you know anything about your father?

PB: Ja, I know.

I: Do you keep contact with him at all?

PB: No he is dead.

I: Oh he's passed away. When did he pass away?

PB: When I was in Standard 5.

I: Ok. Was he living with you?

PB: Yes.

I: And do you know what happened? Do you know what illness he had?

(She has started to cry.)

I: Is it difficult to talk about that hey?

(Wait for a while for her to compose herself)

I: What do you think the most difficult thing is for you about your life at the moment?

PB: (Still crying) I'm sorry.

I: Its ok. It's obviously still very sore for you to think about your dad, hey? You miss him a lot, hey?

PB: Ja.

I: Do you feel ok? Do you want to talk about it at all?

PB: No.

I: What I wanted to ask you, is what do you think is the most difficult thing about your life at the moment?

PB: Like when I'm getting hurt, I see my life is so difficult.

I: So it is when you're getting hurt, then things are very difficult.

PB: Ja.

I: And what makes you feel so hurt?

PB: Like when someone accuse me of doing things wrong, and then I feel bad and then things hurts me, and so I will cry then.

I: What sort of things do people accuse you of?

PB: Its not like they accuse me. Like sometimes I thought of it they accuse me. Like this year, my subjects that I was passing, I didn't pass them very nicely. I pass them with a low marks. So I thought everyone is like meant like, it seem like I'm stupid.

I: And that makes you feel very hurt?

PB: Ja.

I: So its things like that that makes your life difficult at the moment?

PB: Ja.

I: Alright. What do you like to do in your spare time, so maybe on the weekends, or after school?

PB: In my spare time, I like to do like, most of the time I read my books so that I will understand. And then on weekends, I would like to go on Saturday school or do my hobby, like, I like to do a tennis but I can't.

[Interruption from teacher.]

I: So you like to read a lot. You'd like to do Saturday school. Do you do Saturday school?

PB: No.

I: No, but that's what you would like to do. You said you've got a hobby?

PB: Yes.

I: What hobby is that?

PB: Tennis.

I: Ok. Do you play tennis?

PB: No, I've got a racquet. And a tennis at home.

I: Ok. So what do you do now? Mostly, you just read on the weekends?

PB: Ja. I read on the weekends and sometimes I go with my friends out.

I: I'll ask you about your friends now: Do you have lots of friends, one or two friends, or do you prefer to be on your own?

PB: I have many friends.

I: Many friends, and is that both at school and at home?

PB: Yes.

I: What do you like to do with your friends.

PB: Um. Here at school, I would like – lets say we are free, ne? - I would like to read with them, then study. Then at home I can chill with them, then thereafter we can study.

I: You'd like to study with them. Tell me about your schooling, you said that it seems to be a bit difficult because you got low marks, you passed with low marks? How are you finding your schooling generally? You're finding your school ok? You're happy here?

PB: Ja, I am very happy here, I'm comfortable with this school.

I: But you're finding some of the subjects a bit difficult?

PB: Ja.

I: Do you think it is getting more difficult? Since when have you been struggling?

PB: I've been struggling since last year, late last year with these subjects, because last year was my first time doing these sort of subjects, so now I'm getting used to it now.

I: Ok. Do you think that your life is different to other 16-year-old children at the school?

PB: Not really, but I think it is different because we are from different backgrounds at home.

I: So you think you are different in terms of your backgrounds?

PB: Not like that, but…ja, I can say that, ja.

I: Is there anything more that you want to say about how you are maybe different to other 16-year-old girls at the school?

PB: No.

I: My last question for you then, is what do you think you'd like to be doing in 5 years time?

PB: Actually I haven't decided, but actually I want to do an I.T., I want to do pharmacy, I want to do a pilot. So I am a bit confused there.

I: So there are three things that you're interested in at the moment?

PB: Ja.

I: Do you have any other ideas of where you'd like to be in 5 years time, will you still be in Jo'burg, or …?

PB: Well my dream is that I want to go and live in England, and then I will come back here in South Africa, when like I am visiting South Africa I will come back home.

I: Why do you want to go to England?

PB: Because I want to get used to other people, like maybe in South Africa I'm with a different languages and cultures, so I want to know how to stay with other people from other countries, how does it feel.

I: Ok. That's the end of my questions. Is there anything else that you'd like to tell me about yourself that we haven't covered in the questions?

PB: No.

I: Do you have any questions for me?

PB: No, not now. If I have any questions, I'll phone you.

I: Ok, that's great. That's it. Thanks very much.

Matched Participant C (match with Participant 3)

I: So you say you're 15 years old?

PC: Ja.

I: And when do turn 16?

PC: I'm turning 15 on the 10th April.

I: You're turning 15 on the 10th of April. And you're at X. And what Grade are you in?

PC: Grade 10.

I: PC, tell me, how many brothers and sisters do you have?

PC: I have two brothers and no sisters, I am the only girl.

I: No sisters, ok. Who is the oldest?

PC: The one who lived in xxx.

I: How old is he?

PC: I think he is 36.

I: And then, who is after him.

PC: My brother who is in jail.

I: Ok. How old is he?

L: 26.

I: And he also doesn't live with you, he's in jail?

L: Yes.

I: Where does the first brother live?

PC: The first brother he lives with his two children and the mother of the children.

I: Ok. Are they your real brothers?

PC: No the 26 year old one is my real brother, but my other one is my mother's, we don't have the same father.

I: Ok. And then it is you after that?

PC: Ja.

I: And then that's all the children. Who lives at home?

PC: I live with my mother.

I: Anybody else?

PC: No.

I: It's just the two of you?

PC: Yes. And my father passed away in 2000.

I: Your father passed away?

PC: On the 31st March. He had cancer.

I: Had he been sick for a long time?

PC: No, it was something like he didn't think he could die from. Like at the meantime, he was sick, but then not that much that he could die from it. Then he was going to work.

I: He was still going to work?

PC: Ja, on the way he fell down and then two men took him to the doctor and [can't make out tape]. Ja, so he died there.

I: Shoe, so that wasn't a long time ago, hey? Was that really upsetting for you? Before that, was he living with you?

PC: Ja he was living with us, and then before he died, I had a dream of him dead. I dream of his death, and he told me that he's not going to die. I was nine years old.

I: Quite upsetting for something that you have to deal with when you are 9 years old, hey? And he wasn't sick for long, so it wasn't something that you had got used to?

PC: Yes.

I: Tell me, out of the people that live with you, so it is you and your mom, who has got the highest level of education? Do you know how far your mom got at school?

PC: No, she doesn't want to tell me, but I think the last time she told me she was in Grade 3 or something. Because it was the times of apartheid so she could not get there at school.

I: So you've got the highest level of education, between you and your mom?

PC: Ja, and my brother. My brother was in school, ok fine.

I: The 26-year-old?

PC: Ja. Then in matric he don't like do matric. He ended in Grade 11. He did not write his matric. He was attending here in X.

I: Ok. And when did he go to jail? Has he been there for a long time?

PC: Last year May on the 12th.

I: Ok. In your house, who decides who needs to do the cooking, who needs to do the washing, who needs to clean the dishes?

PC: It is my mother but then I sometimes help her.

I: So she decides what needs to be done?

PC: Ja, when she is at work, I cook. And then maybe on the weekends we wash the washing.

I: So sometimes you do the cooking, and then you help with the washing.

PC: Then on Sundays she does the cooking.

I: She does the cooking.

PC: Ja.

I: Mostly do you do the cooking or does she do the cooking?

PC: Mostly I do.

I: Has it been like that for a long time, that you've done the cooking?

PC: No, it started from last year. From last year I did the cooking.

I: Alright. How does your family get money for things that you need in the house, or things for school.

PC: My mother is the only one that is working. She works at XX in Braamfontein, but the salary that she gets is not enough, 'cause it's R300 per week and then she has to pay my school fees, and stuff like that. Sometimes we sleep without eating. Ja, but then my brother's friend brings us bread every day.

I: Your 26-year-old brother?

PC: Ja, his friend.

I: And some people they rent out the rooms in their house to other people. Is that anything that you do?

PC: No.

I: Have you ever had to work, like go to help in the garden for somebody else to get money?

PC: No the community I live in, like they don't want, they do it for themselves.

I: So when you get money, say your mom has got her salary, who keeps it? Does your mom keep it?

PC: Ja, she keeps it.

I: And who decides on how it must be spent? On what she needs to spend it on?

PC: My mum.

I: Does anybody get a government grant?

PC: No but then my mother now she is sick. Ok, from my father's death she is mentally disturbed now she is attending the clinic for psychologists.

I: The Mofolo Clinic?

PC: Ja. And then, she got diabetes, she is getting at Baragwanath Hospital, and now they told her that she has got a heart attack. So both of the heart attack and the diabetes, she she attends to Baragwanath.

I: And then for psychological things she…

PC: She goes to Mofolo.

I: How long has she been doing that, since your dad passed away?

PC: Ja, the mentally disturbed one, since my dad passed away. Then the diabetes and the heart attack thing came like, started this year, earlier in January. She slept in Baragwanath I think for two weeks when the schools were closed.

I: And what happened when she was there? What happened to you? Did you stay alone?

PC: Ja I stayed alone, but then she decided like she'd ask my friend to sleep with me. So I ask my friend and her parents and they say it is ok. Then my friend's brother, he was coming and check on us if we are ok.

I: The two of you?

PC: Ja.

I: So you say that you don't get a government grant now, do you think that you will with your mom's illness?

PC: The doctors told her that she will get it if then she is strongly sick.

I: Ok. Who makes sure that you've done your homework, and you've got clean clothes for school?

PC: I do it for myself.

I: You do it for yourself. Tell me about your relationship with your brothers?

PC: Ok, B, the 36 year one, I don't really have a relationship with him, because he doesn't stay with us. Ok, the 26-year-old, ja, our relationship was nice until he got into jail. I really love her, and now on the 26th of last month, I dream of him dead. Like he got shot when he was going to court and on the 3rd of this month, he is going to court.

I: On the 30th?

PC: On the 3rd, 'cause that thing happened before. Like I dreamt of my father and my mother's sister.

I: So you've done that before, so that is a bit worrying for you because you're close to your brother?

PC: Ja.

I: Do you think that your relationship has changed with them since your dad has passed away?

PC: No.

I: With neither of them?

PC: He's trying with all means that I mustn't like believe what they say.

I: Ok. Did you and your brother ever argue?

PC: No.

I: Lets talk about your brother. When he started using drugs and started getting into trouble, what happened? Like did someone talk to him?

PC: Ok, my brother is a bad line, a person who doesn't want to be advised. So my mother was telling him, and he didn't listen, he just go and on.

I: So your mom did talk to him?

PC: Ja.

I: What did she do, did she sit him down and talk to him, or shout at him, or smack him, or...?

PC: No she sat down and talk to him, and my brother said "It's my life, I'm going to do what I want to do", so my mother just said "ok". And then my brother was like always maybe on Saturdays and Sundays around his friends and drink alcohol every Saturday and Sunday. Then my mother felt that this thing is wrong, then she went to the police station and told the police what my brother was doing. Fine. And then the police came.

I: What did she tell the police?

PC: That my brother is harassing her.

I: Was he harassing her?

PC: Ja because at night he came and knocked and while he's drunk, then he knocked at the door. He open open all the food, then sometimes we don't have food he says "xxx" [in Zulu].

I: What's that?

PC: "What do you work for?" Ja.

I: And then she called the police to say that?

PC: Ja, then the police told him. Maybe it was two weeks he stopped doing that, then he came back and do it again.

I: And why is he in prison now?

PC: I think last year in April, one day, me and my mother we went to Ennerdale. And then he was left at home alone. So him and his friend got their girlfriends in the house. So the girl was his girlfriend. It's just that the girl is under age. So they had sex and then the girl didn't sleep at her home, then tomorrow she went home and they ask her 'where were you?', and she said my brother raped her, so they said to her father so she must go and arrest him.

I: Ok. So if you were starting to do drugs or something, what do you think would happen?

PC: No, I 'cause I wouldn't do drugs. My mother would be freaked out.

I: She'd be freaked out?

PC: Ja.

I: Alright. Does your mom ever talk to you about grown up things? Things that you think are adult, like you think she shouldn't be talking to me, a child about this, she should rather be talking to another adult, another grown up about this?

PC: No, my mother doesn't tell me anything. I just learn it from school.

I: And does she ever you for advice about things about the house, like what do you think I should do about this child, or what do you think I should do with the house?

PC: Ja because my father left the house to her, then she told me that she's going to give it to me and my brother when she dies. Ja.

I: Is there anything else that she..?

PC: We don't communicate very well.

I: You and your mom don't communicate well?

PC: Ja.

I: Alright. What do you think is the most difficult thing for you in your life at the moment?

PC: It's my father's death and my mother's illness.

I: You think about those things quite a lot, hey?

PC: Because when she dies, I don't know what I'm going to do.

I: It sounds as if you're worried about her dying quite soon?

PC: Ja.

I: Is she very sick, or does she seem to manage?

PC: Ja but then, the doctors gave me an injection to inject her at 6 o'clock in the morning, and 6 o'clock at night. So I'm doing that very well and there is no problems.

I: So you have to inject her?

PC: Ja.

I: Is that for her heart attack or what?

PC: It is for her diabetes

I: Is that difficult for you to get used to?

PC: No, the doctor has taught me.

I: Ok. When you're finding things too difficult, like it's too much, so you've got lots of school work on, and you've got to go home and you've got to cook, and then you're worried about your brother and you're worried about your dad and your mom, who do you turn to for support?

PC: My friends, because I don't have other relatives. Ja, I talk to my friends.

I: And are they friends at school, or friends at home?

PC: At school. My friends at home they like boys, so I don't hang around them so much.

I: Is that because you don't like boys or because you don't want to…?

PC: That's because I know that boys hurt, so I just let them go around with them.

I: It's not because your mom says you're not allowed to?

I: Ja, she also says that.

I: You say that you don't have any other family. You don't have any grannys, or…?

PC: No, I have an aunt who lives in Eshowe, ja, and her daughter.

I: So that's the only family that you really know?

PC: Ja.

I: And are you close to them? Do you see them?

PC: Ja, I sometimes go there.

I: Do you get any help for your house – you've told me about your brother's friend that comes and gives you bread every day - is there anybody else that helps you? Maybe like the church or the school, or any organisation, or neighbours?

PC: No.

I: What do you like to do in your spare time, say on the weekends, or if you've finished your homework, and before you have to start cooking? What do you like to do in your spare time?

PC: Oh I sometimes go around with my mother and visit her friends, and then come back and listen to music, and talk.

I: And who do you talk to? To your mom again?

PC: Ja.

I: Tell me about your friends, you mentioned them: do you have lots of friends, one or two friends, or…?

PC: No here in school, I have three friends. Those are the friends that I talk to.

I: What do you like about them?

PC: We are so close, and they don't gossip with other people, and say 'oh that person is like this this and this', they are true friends.

I: Ok. How do you think your life compares to other 14/15-year-old girls at your school? Do you think your life is different?

PC: No, because my mother is trying her best to give me to keep me in contact with other people. I don't feel excluded.

I: So you think that your life is the same as other 15-year-olds?

L: Ja.

I: My last question for you, is what do you think you'd like to be doing in five years from now?

PC: I would like to be a doctor. And I was thinking maybe a social worker.

I: Why are you interested in those ones?

PC: Ok, mostly I want to be a doctor. I want to be a doctor because I've seen from my mother's sickness that people need help. Maybe I could be a caregiver who visits people in their homes, maybe or a doctor in a hospital, ja.

I: Ok. So that is the end of my questions. Is there anything else that you'd like to tell me that you think I should know, to understand a bit more of your life that we haven't covered in the questions?

PC: No.

I: You think we've covered it?

PC: Yes.

I: Do you have any questions for me about the study?

PC: Ja, what do you do this study for?

I: I'm doing it for my course, I'm doing Masters in Psychology. So I need to do research for my course. But this study, at WITS there are a few people, there are about twenty people that are doing different types of studies, all on HIV and Aids. So my one is looking at the different types of families that are happening, you know, whether it has changed a lot because of HIV and Aids, or not changed. So all these studies, these 20 studies altogether are going to form a bigger study, and then that report is going to go to government. So the government knows that children that - like my colleague, I'll tell you about my colleague is doing it on teenage pregnancy, so the government will get a bit of information on what she found with teenage pregnancy, and there will be a little bit about what I found out about children looking after themselves, and there are other people are looking at old people, so lots of different things forms a bigger project.

PC: How long you doing this?

I: My studies or my research?

PC: Your research.

I: I started early 2004. About 2 years, but I'm hopefully finishing soon. Any more questions?

PC: No.

I: Thank you so much for speaking to me.

Matched Participant D (match with Participant 4)

I: Ok, let me just fill this in....so..PD, you're 16? Are you 16 now, or are you turning 16?

PD: I'm 16 now.

I: Ok, and when do you turn 17?

PD: I'm 17 in August, the 11th.

I: Ok, and you're in X school. And what grade are you in?

PD: I'm in Grade 11.

I: In Grade 11. Ok, PD, how many brothers and sisters do you have?

PD: I only have a sister. I don't have a brother since my brother died.

I: Oh ok. How old is your sister?

PD: She's 19 this year.

I: And does she live with you?

PD: Yes.

I: And can you tell me about what happened with your brother.

PD: Yes, well I think my mother must have had sugar, because he died when he was about 9 months.

I: Oh I see. And how old would he have been now?

PD: I think he would have been about 17 now.

I: Ok. And who else do you live with?

PD: I live with my mother and father.

I: So it is just the four of you?

PD: Yes.

I: And who has got the furthest in school?

PD: I would say it is my sister. She finished Grade 12, and then she went to Wits to do FIS, but she had to stop because of finances. But she's working now and wants to go back to finish her studies.

I: Oh ok. So she got further than your mother or father?

PD: Yes. My mother finished Grade 12, but my father only got Grade 8.

I: Ok. In your home, who decides who must do which tasks? So, who decides who must do the washing, who must do the cleaning, who must do the cooking?

PD: That would be my mother.

I: Your mother decides those things. And what are your tasks in the house?

PD: I need to feed the dog, and lock the gate. I also do the dishes.

I: And how does your family get money for the house?

PD: My father, he transports children to school. He takes children that maybe go to school in Norwood, he takes them to school. My mother she used to work, but now she only is in those social clubs, so one month they get money, then the next month someone else gets it. And my sister also works.

I: Ok, they pay the rent, alright. Is there any other way you can think of how you get money?

PD: My mom usually borrows money from my granny, because my granny gets salary from this government money. She usually borrows it from her.

I: That was going to be my next question, does anyone get any government grant money?

PD: Yes, my cousin, and my granny, ja, only them.

I: And they don't live with you, though?

PD: No, they live in East Rand.

I: So out of the people that live in your house, that doesn't happen?

PD: No.

I: Who in your family looks after you? Who would it be that looks after you, makes sure you've done your homework, things like that?

PD: My mom.

I: Can you tell me about your relationship with your sister. What's that like?

PD: Huh! We are usually close, but now, I don't know what is happening. You know because there was some other thing happen, the vibe between my mom and my sister and then they didn't catch up there. But now, like I don't think that they are really close like right now. Sometimes I side with my mother, sometimes I side with my sister, but sometimes its just shut up don't talk, because if I talk I will tell the whole truth, you see. The relationship, we do talk, laugh, but we are no more playing together.

I: So do you think that has changed recently, you say that it used to be good but now it seems to be a bit funny because of her relationship with your mom?

PD: Mmm.

I: How long would you say it has been changing?

PD: Since 2004, as until right now. From 2004 til now.

I: What do you think changed?

PD: The bond between us. Because we used to talk about everything, but right now she is quiet, she doesn't talk to you anymore.

I: Why do you think that is?

PD: I don't know. I don't want to lie, I don't know.

I: So things are a bit difficult with your sister and you. You used to be close, but now you're not so close?

PD: Yes.

I: If you and your sister are having a fight, or having an argument, what happens? How does it get sorted out?

PD: If we fight?

I: If you're having an argument or are fighting.

PD: My mom always sort it out. Between us she beat us both, or she find out whats the problem and then we solve the problem, and then we talk again to each other.

I: Ok, so she'll either find out what is happening and try and sort it out between you, or she'll beat you both to sort it out, to keep you quiet, or whatever?

PD: Sometimes she beat us both, sometimes she find the problem and then sort it out.

I: Alright. What would happen if, say, your sister started doing something that your parents didn't think was right, or maybe you were doing something that they didn't think was right, so maybe using drugs, or skipping school, or stealing, what would happen?

PD: Let me talk to my sister, because she once done something like that. She once stole my father's gun and then gave it to her boyfriend. And then, my father, yoh, my father cried. It was my first time to see my father cry.

I: He was very upset, hey?

PD: Ja, he was very very upset, and then he was disappointed because she's the first born. And I have to look up to her, you see. And now he was disappointed. So they did solve the problem, but found out that the boyfriend was wrong, you see. I don't know how they solve the problem because sometimes they didn't talk in front of me. Because if I see they shout my sister, my heart doesn't feel well and then I cry also. But they did solve the problem.

I: So something like that happened, and it was sorted out. Your mom and your dad sorted it out with your sister?

PD: Yes.

I: Ok. Does your mom or dad ever talk to you about grown up matters or adult things that you think they shouldn't be talking to their daughter about this, a child about this, they should rather be talking to their friends, or to each other about it? So maybe about secrets, or about things that they are disappointed about, that you think it is a bit strange for them to tell a child that. Does anything like that ever happen?

PD: Me and my mom we are so close, we will tell each other secrets. Because if I tell my mom my secret, she will advise me. And if she tells me her secret, I will advise her too. Like mother like daughter advice. Ja, but they do talk.

I: Ok. What sort of things does your mom tell you that she needs your advice on?

PD: Maybe lets say that she has to decide, like her friend have a problem and her friend told her, and now she doesn't know what to decide.

I: What to tell her friend?

PD: I mean, like her friend telling her the problem she has, and that my mom doesn't know what to tell her friend. Ja, and then she needs my advice.

I: So she'll come and ask you?

PD: Ja, and then she'll come and say 'PD, you know', because her friend is B, 'you know B says this and this, and then I don't know what to tell her, so can you point some points there'. And then I will tell her that its like this and like that. That means that you have to do like this. So then she says 'ok, I can see now'.

I: So it is sort of grown up things that she asks you about sometimes?

PD: Ja, sometimes we gossip! Like who's going to marry who! When? Who told who? You know, stuff like that.

I: Uh huh. And does your mom and dad ever ask you for advice about things about the house. Like decisions about the house, or what they should do with some money, or what should we do about your sister, or any decisions about the house, do they ever ask you for advice?

PD: Ja my dad always asks me about the car. Because he wanted to sell the car and then I told him that no, first budget for the other car before you sell the car. Because what if you sell the car and then that car cost bigger than the amount that you have sold the car with. And then my father think about it and said ja, that's a good idea because we have to budget and see how much we have budget and then we have to sell the car and then we go and see how much the car is that he wants to buy.

I: Ok. So that sort of happens?

PD: Ja.

I: Alright. What do you think is the most difficult thing for you in your life at the moment?

PD: Difficult things? Friends, and being confident about myself, my self-esteem I don't have. And I don't believe in myself. And my mom always tells me you have to believe in yourself and you have to love yourself before you love others. Ja, that things are difficult in my life.

I: So it is about friends, on the one side and then on another side it's being confident, and having good self-esteem and believing in yourself? You find that very difficult.

PD: Yes.

I: Would you say that you've been battling with those things for a long time?

PD: Yes, I think since at the age of 11. Because I used to cry, I used to cry a lot about friends, that people don't like me. And like when I see boys, I isolate myself, its like I'm ashamed of myself. When I go with my mom, when there is a group of boys sitting there, I have to move to the other side so that they cannot see me.

I: You don't like other people even seeing you?

PD: Ja. That's strange. Even here at school, my first time here at school, I used to sit in class. I didn't want to go out. Ja, but I have friends that no, you have to go out and socialise with other people.

I: When you say that one of the difficult things is friends, is it that you're not sure who likes you?

PD: Ja, because some other friends pretend. Because I once had a friend, I used to tell her secrets, but she tells other people. Because secrets you have to keep it to yourself, not to tell other people. Then I was sitting and they were whispering, and they were whispering the same thing that I've told my friend. That means she told them and I didn't want her to tell them because it meant to be with her inside not with other people.

I: So sometimes friends disappoint you?

PD: Ja. Sometimes disappoint me.

I: Ok. I'll come back and ask you a bit more about that. When you're finding things difficult, so maybe you're feeling worried about your schoolwork and then you go home and you're worried about doing the dishes and having to sort out everything, who do you turn to for support?

PD: No one, I just cry. And pray. I don't tell anyone.

I: So you keep everything very much to yourself?

PD: Yes.

I: Does anybody help your house, other than - you've spoken to me that your gran sometimes helps with some money – does anyone else help your house, like maybe the church, or the school, or any neighbours help?

PD: No. Ai, the neighbours! Ai! The neighbours they no, they won't! The only thing they know is to find the news like 'what's happening to that house, what's happening to that house', ja they won't.

I: Alright. What do you like to do in your spare time, so say after you leave school before you have to do your chores at home, what do you like to do? Or maybe on the weekends, what do you like to do?

PD: Watching tv, because I think tv is my friend. Because most of the time when I sit and watch the tv all day until the night. Ja, that's what I like to do.

I: So that's what you'll do on a weekend?

PD: Yes. Or sometimes if they give us homework, I read and study or if we are going to write tests, I practice and read.

I: Ok. Now I'm going to ask you about your friends, I'm going to go back to your friends. Do you have lots of friends, do you have one or two friends, or do prefer to be on your own?

PD: Yoh, I don't know. Sometimes I feel like I prefer to be on my own, sometimes I feel like I have to have friends. As of right now I have six friends.

I: And are they friends from school or friends from near where you live?

PD: Friends from school. But at home I don't have friends.

I: You don't have friends at home, ok. And what do you like about your friends here and what do you like to do together?

PD: Jokes and studying, and advising each other.

I: So that's what you find about these friends is that you can laugh with them, and study with them and talk to them as well?

PD: Yes.

I: Ok. How is your schoolwork going?

PD: Hmm! My schoolwork right now, I think it is a bit difficult, because I have to study hard to reach the goal that I want to make. Hmm! Ja, that's a bit difficult.

I: So you're finding it a bit of a struggle?

PD: Ja. I have to work hard because I do sometimes read books that encourage yourself, encourage me, that you know, you have to aim high, everything you have to aim high and always study. And if you find work, lets say the teacher gives you work, you have to say, 'ag, it is simple', even though it is difficult, but you say it is simple. And the other friend, my classmate once told me that the thing that doesn't talk, that means you can beat it.

I: That means you can?

PD: You can beat it, like you can do it. And then I think that's good advice, you know.

I: Has it always been a bit of a struggle for you, or do you find it is getting more difficult?

PD: I find it's getting more difficult, because last year, no, it wasn't a struggle, but this year, yoh, I think it is difficult.

I: How do you feel that your life compares – do you think your life is different to other 16-year-olds in your school?

PD: Ja.

I: How do you think it is different?

PD: Because first thing, I'm not in a relationship. Most of my friends are, and most of the teenagers here at school they are. And I think they are confident of themselves, you know you see a person walking proud, and then I am walking ashamed. And I sometimes wish I could be like that one. Ja. I think it is very different.

I: You think their lives are very different?

PD: Yes, by my side. Many think their lives are fun, and mine is not.

I: OK. And do you always feel that you've been different, or is it getting worse or getting better?

PD: I always feel that it is different.

I: My last question for you is what would you like to be doing in five years time?

PD: In five years time, I want to be the doctor who specialises with children, because I do adore children, you know, small ones, cherrie ones. Ja, I like children. I want to work with children, but as being a doctor.

I: Why do you think you want to be a doctor working with children?

PD: First I said, I adore children, and I want to help. I want to help children, because some of the children, like if they have a problem, like lets say one child has more chromosomes, because a child must have 46 chromosomes, and she or he has 47, and you must have to help a child in that kind of a situation, hey. Because it is difficult, maybe some things is damaged, your ear or nose so you're feeling 'shame' or you're feeling sorry because of that child. Ja, so I want to help children.

I: Ok. That is the end of my questions that I've got down, but I was wanting to know if there is anything else that you'd like to tell me which would be important for me to know what it is like to be you, or like to be in your life?

PD: I wanted to be?

I: I'm finished my questions, but I was just wanting to know if there was anything else that you'd like to tell me that you think I should know? For me to understand your life?

PD: Oh ok. There is this one thing, that I once wanted to kill myself. Ja, I once wanted to kill myself. Because I have drink Handy Andy, do you know it? Ja, the one litre, I drank it all. And then at night, I vomit and vomit, and my mom and dad worried, and then asked me. And then I told them it is nothing, because in Zulu we have this thing called Inyongo, and then I told them 'No, Inyongo medicine, maybe I have to clean my stomach'. But I didn't tell them that I have drank Handy Andy.

I: So can you tell me about Inyongo? Is it a little bug?

PD: No, Inyongo, its like when you have eaten lots of sweets and then you don't clean your stomach, and then there's Inyongo. Then some other people vomit. Ja.

I: So that what you told them because you didn't want to tell them about…

PD: Ja.

I: How long ago was this?

PD: Last year, early last year.

I: What was happening at that time that made things feel so desperate for you that you wanted to die. Can you remember?

PD: Ai that time. Before that, I remember before that, I cried a lot and then something came up that go and drink this thing. I then went to think about the Handy Andy, but there are so many things. Ai, I can't remember.

I: So there were a lot of things that you were sad about?

PD: Ja.

I: What made it difficult for you to talk to your mom or dad, or to tell them that…?

PD: First of all, my mom will beat me. Ja, my mom will beat me. But my dad won't do nothing. Maybe he will say why, because they always advise me that friends can come and go. And then sometimes I do believe that. Sometimes I think that friends are forever, because I want a friend forever, that I can rely on, that I can trust, put my trust on her, and then they do advise me, so if I told them that I drank handy andy, my dad would be very disappointed in me and he won't trust me again.

I: Alright. And have you ever felt again like that, that you wanted to kill yourself?

PD: No. If I felt like that, I usually cry, I cry a lot. And sometimes when I come to school, my friends will ask me 'why are your eyes so swallowed?', you know, because when you have cried a lot and then you sleep, and then your eyes swallowed, then I told them that maybe it is an eye problem. I don't want to tell my story.

I: And you say you're quite close to your mom?

PD: Yes.

I: Do you tell her about when you're feeling so sad?

PD: Ja I do tell her and then she advise me about the bible. Like when she advise me she refers me to the bible, and then go and read this verse and verse. And then I will go and read it. Sometimes it do explain to me, and sometimes it doesn't.

I: Ok. Is there anything else that you'd like to tell me or do you think that we've covered it?

PD: No, no. Everything I've told you.

I: Ok. Do you have any questions for me?

PD: Like how?

I: About the research, or what is going to happen to it or anything like that?

PD: Ja, I've read it, that you said that the tape will be destroyed?

I: Umm.

PD: Ja. I don't have a problem.

I: Ok. I'm going to stop the tape now.

[Referred to clinic]

Matched Participant E (match with Participant 5)

I: Thank you for talking with me today. You understand why I am doing this research?

PE: I understand why you are doing this research.

I: I'm trying to understand, children that don't have any parents and they're looking after themselves at home, and I want to see what the difference is with children that maybe do have parents, or they're staying with their granny or whatever, ok? So its not because you are naughty or anything like that, ok. And it's confidential what you and I say to each other, so even when I write it in my report, I won't use your name. And also none of your teachers will know what you said to me, or anything like that, ok?

PE: Ok.

I: PE, how old are you?

PE: I'm 19.

I: Are you 19 now, or you are turning 19?

PE: I'm 19.

I: When do you turn 20?

PE: I turn 20 on 21 August.

I: And you're in grade 11?

PE: Ja, 11.

I: How many brothers and sisters do you have?

PE: I have a young brother. One young brother.

I: One young brother, that's all?

PE: That's all.

I: How old is he?

PE: He is 14 years old

I: And does he live with you?

PE: Ja he lives with me.

I: And who else lives with you?

PE: My mother and my father.

I: Your mom and your dad, ok. And does anybody else live with you?

PE: No.

I: So it's the four of you?

N: Ja it is the four of us only.

I: Now you are in grade 11. And your mother and father, how far did they get at school, do you know?

PE: Ja.

I: How far did they get?

PE: How far did they get?

I: At school, how far did they get?

PE: I don't remember.

I: Did they get further than grade 10?

PE: My father finished grade 12 and my mother she was in Grade 11 and got pregnant. And my father was working.

I: Ok, so your dad finished his matric.

PE: Ja, my dad finish his matric.

I: In your house, who decides on who needs to do the cleaning, who needs to do the washing, who needs to do the cooking, who needs to take the rubbish, who decides that?

PE: My mother clean the house, cook, and me and my brother wash our clothes. And he wash my father's clothes, my mother.

I: Your mother washes your father's clothes?

PE: Ja.

I: But for you, what you need to do, is you know that you need to wash your own clothes?

PE: Ja.

I: Is there anything else that you need to do?

PE: I clean the garden and I clean the yard.

I: Ok. Where does your family get money? Do your mom and dad work?

PE: Ai, my mother doesn't work and my father doesn't work. My father was working at the Star, but he got the accident. His hand doesn't work. His hand doesn't work at all.

I: His head doesn't work?

PE: His hand doesn't work.

I: So how do you get money for things that you might need at the house?

PE: My mother sells some things.

I: Your mother sells some things. Is that enough to cope on?

PE: Ja it is enough, but it is not enough enough. But we sleep we eat, when we go to school, we got something to eat at school. Give us few rands so that we can buy something we can eat.

I: So that is the only money that you get? You don't rent anything out? Nothing like that?

PE: Ai, nothing.

I: So it's only the money from your mom selling?

PE: Ja.

I: If you get money, who keeps it and who makes decisions? So who keeps the money and who says we need to spend this money on this and this money on this? Who's the person that decides that?

PE: My father decides and my mother. The two of them decide.

I: They together decide? Not your mother and not your father?

PE: Ja, they decide.

I: Does anybody in your family get help from the government, like a government grant?

PE: No one.

I: And when you say that your father hurt his arm, does he get any money from maybe the compensation commission, or from the Star, or anything like that?

PE: He gets money from the Star. Getting money from the star.

I: So because he can't work because of his hand, they give him some money?

PE: Ja they give him some money.

I: Did he hurt his hand while he was working for the Star.

PE: He was working on the bike, on the motorbike. He get an accident. He was working, he was waking up at early two o'clock in the morning and go to work and come back at 6 and sleep, and go at 12 o'clock to work and come back at five o'clock. And he sleep, and you know that he's going to wake up at the morning at two o'clock and go to work.

I: So it was lots of work, hey?

PE: Lots of work.

I: Who in your family looks after your brother? Makes sure he's done his homework, that he's got enough clothes, he's eaten, that he's washed himself?

PE: He knows that when he comes back to school he must eat, and after eat go and play. At six-o-clock he must come back at home and do his homework and do another things, polish shoes. When he want something I can help him.

I: So he knows that he needs to come in at 6 o'clock from playing and he needs to do those things. Who tells him to come in at 6 o'clock?

PE: My father.

I: Your father.

PE: My father is very strict. He don't want a person that come in late.

I: He's very strict?

PE: Ja, he's very strict

I: If you and your brother are arguing or fighting, what happens?

PE: My father tell me that I'm old. I must not fight with my younger brother. And me I know that he is young, I must not fight with him. I must take care of him.

I: And does that happen? When you're in a fight and your father comes to talk to you, is that ok for him to say to you?

PE: Ja is that ok.

I: And you manage to say, ok, I don't want to fight with you?

PE: Ja.

I: Ok. What happens if you or your brother, or lets think about your brother, was doing something that your parents didn't like, or maybe you didn't like, like maybe he was stealing, or taking drugs, what would happen?

PE: Ai my father doesn't like drugs. Because if my brother do taking drugs, doing these bad things, my father will tell him that he must stop doing those bad things. He must do good things and go to school and learn. And me I'm going to tell him, drugs are not good, because if you take drugs, going to steal do crime, do bad things. He must not take drugs, drugs are not good.

I: And will it be your father, or would it be you that is telling him not to do drugs?

PE: It will be me, because my father won't see him because I live with him in my room. When he come I see him that he taking drugs, I will see him, because I see him everything he does. I will tell him that he must not take drugs, drugs are not good.

I: And say if your father did find out that you that he was taking drugs, would he hit him at all, or would it just be talking?

PE: My father, I will tell my father, and my father will hit him. Every day when he come in the house, my father would look his eyes.

I: He would?

PE: Look at his eyes.

I: Oh, look at his eyes.

PE: When he take drugs he will look his eyes. His eyes will be red and my father see that he taking drugs.

I: Does your mom or your dad, your mother or your father ever talk to you about grown up things, like adult things? So maybe they tell you about a secret, or they tell you that they're worried about something, that you think they shouldn't be telling me, they should be telling each other and not their son. Does that ever happen?

PE: Ai, they tell me. They tell me how they grow up, how things are. I must go to church, things like that. I must do good things, I must not do bad things, I must go with good friends, not bad friends.

I: But don't ever say anything about like a secret to you that you think...

PE: No, they will never say a secret to me.

I: Do they ever ask you for advice about like if they're worried about something in the house, or maybe worried about your brother, do they ever ask you for advice?

PE: Ai they will ask me for the advice.

I: Like what?

PE: Like when my brother come late at night, they will tell me that I must tell my brother he must not come at night, he must come early at home, things like that.

I: And do they ask for help, or do they just talk?

PE: They ask me for the help to tell my brother.

I: They ask for you to tell your brother?

PE: Ja.

I: What do you think is the most difficult thing for you in your life at the moment?

PE: The most difficult thing in my life is that I want to finish the school and work and buy something that I like and help my father and my mother, and my brother. Ja, that's my thing.

I: So you want to finish your school and get a job and to be able to help your mom and your dad and your brother?

PE: Help my family.

I: And is that helping with money, is it? Or help them in other ways?

PE: Help them with food, everything, everything. When they ask me something, when I work, I will help them, because they raise me.

I: It sounds like it's quite difficult for you at school. Is it something that you find difficult? How is your school?

PE: Ai, my school here is not good, my school. Other children smoking drugs at school, when the teacher is teaching, they don't listen to the teacher, they talk, they do bad things.

I: And does that affect your schooling? Does that affect you at school?

PE: Ja, it affect me at school, because teacher think that we all do bad things, but we are not doing all doing bad things. Others they do good things others they do bad things.

I: And are you worried about your marks and being able to pass?

PE: Yes, I'm worried about my marks, but I will try my best to put my marks.

I: Does anybody in your house, like, who helps your family? Does somebody help your family, like maybe a church, or a neighbour, do they come and help you with maybe sometimes food or come and help clean or anything like that? Or is it just your family alone?

PE: Just my family alone, but other families they come to my home and ask some money so that they can buy food. But my father when he have the money he give them, so that they can pay him when he wants money.

I: Ok. What do you like to do in your spare time, so when you are finished you leave school, and before you have to wash your clothes at home, what do you like to do?

PE: When I come out to school?

I: Or on the weekends.

PE: On the weekends?

I: Either, or both?

PE: On the weekends I go to my relative, to my grandmother, visiting to him, talk to him. At 12 o'clock I come back at home and watch TV, soccer. After soccer, some soaps, drama. After dramas I sleep. And then Sunday, I wake up, I wash myself. At 9 o'clock I go to church and I come back to church at 2 o'clock. And I read my books, I do my homeworks its Sunday, so when I come Monday at school they wants homeworks the teacher, I give them, they want something, I give them.

I: And in the afternoon, like after you finished school, what do you do?

PE: After finishing school?

I: Like what time do you finish? Three o'clock?

PE: Two o'clock.

I: What do you do then?

PE: When the school is out at two o'clock me and my friend we stay, we do homeworks, where we don't understand, we help each other. At 3 o'clock we go home, we wash our clothes. After washing our clothes we meet again. At 5 we study.

I: What do you do, you study together?

PE: Ja I study with my friend. After studying at 6 o'clock we finish at seven. And at 7, I go home. I go home at 7.

I: So tell me about your friends. You said that you've got this one friend that you study with here, and then you meet him later. Do you have lots of friends, or is it just this one friend?

PE: I was having a lot of friends, but I am learning that a lot of friends are not good for me. I want one friend that is honest to me.

I: That is honest to you?

PE: That is honest to me and I trust him.

I: So before you had lots of friends but you didn't trust them?

PE: Ja I didn't trust them but I love them.

I: What happened that you didn't trust them?

PE: Because others they are doing bad things, they carry guns, they are criminals, they are gangsters.

I: So that what was happening when you had lots of friends?

PE: Ja it was happening. When they come home, my mother telling me that I must not go with criminal boys, doing crime. It's like that.

I: So you think it is easier for you to have one friend that you trust?

PE: Ja, its easier to make one friend that I trust.

I: And what do you like doing together with this friend?

PE: With this friend we teach each other, we do good things, we go to church together, we study, we work hard.

I: You don't play with him, play soccer, or play games, or?

PE: We were playing soccer, but we saw that soccer doesn't work for us. Because we go to gym Monday to Friday, at Saturday we don't get to play, we stay on the bench, so we don't play every Saturday, we don't play. So that the money we must study. But when the schools are closed, we take the road work. Every morning at 5 o'clock we take road work. Take road work, we know that we woke up at 5 o'clock in the morning and at 6 we go to our homes and wash ourselves, but in the holidays.

I: Ok. How do you feel that your life compares, is it different to the other grade 11s?

PE: Ja, its different, because other children they don't have mothers and fathers. Many children in our community they don't have mothers, other didn't have fathers. They are suffering in poverty.

I: What do you think you'd like to be doing in five years from now?

PE: In five years from now?

I: So when you're 24/25?

PE: I'd like to drive my car, to have my home, my family, to have a good life. I don't want in 5 years time to be in court, in jail. I don't like that. I want to work for my family. l don't know. Because life is going, I don't know I will have a girlfriend, I'll have a family, but I would like to work.

I: Do you know what type of work you'd like to be doing?

PE: Any work, any work that is good for me, that's good for me, I'll do it. But I want to finish school first, I want to finish my matric.

I: Ok. That is the end of my questions. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about your life that would be important for me to know?

PE: Ja the thing I would like to tell you because my life is not good, but I will try to stop smoking cigarette. Because I see that it is not good for me. And me I was in drugs, doing bad things, and last year I was caught doing armed robbery.

I: For doing..?

PE: Armed robbery.

I: What's that, I don't understand?

PE: I was taking a phone.

I: Oh, armed robbery.

PE: Doing armed robbery, doing bad things with my friends, smoke drugs, don't go to church. When you got some money you go and buy beers and smoke drugs. After smoking drugs and go home, my father told me that I must stop smoking drugs. I don't listen to him. When he talk to me, I just get up in the house and sit outside. When he telling me that I must come back, I say I don't want. I don't listen to him.

[Interruption from teacher]

PE: Can I continue? I was doing bad things, things that hurt me. But now, I see that the things that I was doing, was not good for me. That's why I go to church, and pray every day when I sleep. I do good things and choose friends. That's why I manage to choose this one friend that I tell you about.

I: What happened that made it change? Because you were doing these things, and your father was trying to make you stop, but you didn't want to listen to him. What made you change, what happened?

PE: What made me change, because I was caught last year, my father take me out of jail. After he take me out he tell me I must go to church, and I go to church. I listen to him, I go to church. After going to church I see that I don't want many friends, because many friends they influencing, I must go and do something that is bad, you see. I told myself that I must not go with criminals, bad friends, I must choose my friends that I can go with. Because in our community there is drugs, many things in our community are criminals. Others they are in jail, they are doing 25 years, other they are doing 15 years. But my friends, I was having four friends, all my friends that I was having, they was caught. Now they are in jail now. I saw that, me I was the only one in my group that I wasn't caught. But I was caught and get out because my father talk to those guards that that they must get me out so that I can go to school.

I: Ok. Thank you for that, it is important for me to remember.

PE: Ok.

I: Do you have any questions for me?

PE: Yes I have a question. My question, you're doing the research in our community about our feelings, about our needs?

I: Ja, about things like what do people without parents need, and how that compares to other children who have got parents.

PE: Ok.

I: Alright. So we're finished now. Is that ok?

PE: That's ok.

I: Thank you so much for talking to me today.

Matched Participant F (match with Participant 6)

I: How many brothers and sisters do you have?

PF: I have only one sister, and I don't have any brothers.

I: One sister, ok. How old is your sister?

PF: 24.

I: And does she live with you?

PF: Ja she lives with me.

I: Who else lives with you at your home?

PF: It is only my sister, and my sister's baby, and my mom and my dad.

I: And who's got the highest level of education, do you know? How far did your sister get at school?

PF: I can say my sister.

I: Uh-huh. How far did she get?

I: She finished matric, went to Vaal Technikon, and then she finished. And then now, I don't know if she had a course, and now she is working at SARS.

I: Ok. And your mom and your dad didn't get as far as your sister?

PF: I'm not sure.

I: You're not sure. OK. In your family or your house, who decides who needs to do the cleaning, who must do the washing, who must do the cooking, who decides on that?

PF: We have already decided. But now, it seems like I do all of the jobs. Because my sister, before like she didn't work, and now she is back to work. Now, after I get home, I clean, I put the laundry in the machine and I clean the whole room and the outside. Then at night, I wash the dishes, I think that I do all of the jobs.

I: Who made the decision to ask you to do that?

PF: No one told me, I just do it. Because there is no one at home so I'm the one. From six o'clock they go to work, so I do it.

I: They leave at six o'clock in the morning?

PF: They leave at 6 o'clock and return about 7 o'clock. My sister comes at five and then she cooks.

I: And your mom and your dad, what do they do? Do they help out with the house things, or not?

PF: Ja because right now she is on leave, so does all the cleaning. And on Saturdays she cleans, I don't do nothing, and my dad cleans the yard.

I: And when she's not on leave?

PF: I get to do it. Maybe she cleans on Saturdays with my sister.

I: Ok. How does your family get money for things that you need in the house? If you need food, or if you need things for school, how do you get money for the house?

PF: Like how do they provide?

I: Mmm.

PF: They usually fight, because my mom usually fights that they must give me money to go to school with, they usually fight, but then they know that I will get money. My sister comes, its either my mother comes for a month she buys like pieces of meat, like for the month, my mom buys food, the grocery and then the next month my dad, and then the next month my mom again, and sometimes my sister buys it too.

I: So does your mom and your dad both work?

PF: They both work.

I: And that's five days a week that they work?

PF: Yes.

I: And your sister also works?

PF: Yes she works.

I: And does she add in sometimes to help with money?

PF: No, she doesn't. She just spend it, go out with friends. Sometimes she buys groceries.

I: Sometimes she buys groceries. Is there any other way that you get money, maybe you rent out a place on your property, or anything like that?

PF: No, they just buy from their salaries.

I: And have you ever worked, or had to work, or done anything to get some money?

PF: Yes in December I did. In my mom's job, they were changing floors, like from the lower floor, then they wanted someone to take all the tables and the computers to the next level. Then they pay me like every day depending how many hours I worked.

I: And was that money yours, or did you have to use it for the things for the house? Did you use that for your own things?

PF: I used it for my own things.

I: Your own things, ok. Does anybody in your house get a government grant?

PF: Ja, my sister gets for my little sister.

I: A child support grant?

PF: Yes, she just buys the baby, like she buys her food, just food. Then the money for clothes and other things, she takes it from her own salary.

I: Alright. Can you tell me about – what's it like with you and your sister? What is your relationship like?

PF: Sometimes, like when she tells me to do something, and then I finish doing a job, and then she tells me do another job, then she is not doing anything, I get so angry and I just leave the house, and just go somewhere. And come back when my parents arrive. But normally it is a good relationship, she just gives me money and then she goes and spend it somewhere. It is a good relationship, but sometimes it gets a bit hectic.

I: And when it gets hectic, is it mainly about doing things around the house that you get cross with each other?

PF: Ja, because normally she doesn't do the job. She just cleans on Saturdays and Sundays. On Monday to Friday, I do all the housework jobs, because they are at work.

I: It sounds like that feels for you that it is a lot of work for you to do?

PF: Ja, it's a lot of job. Because when she return, she just cooks and then she goes in the room. Then my mom just ask me, 'go tell your sister, to prepare the baby's food'. Everything they just tell me, when they need to go to shop, they tell me, they tell me everything, they tell me.

I: What do they tell you when they need to go to the shops?

PF: Like go buy this, then when I am finished buying then clean the dishes and mop the floor, because my little sister, she just pulls everything…

I: Your sister's child?

PF: Yes.

I: How old is she?

PF: She is one year.

I: Shoe! Its sounds like things are quite busy for you at home, hey.

PF: Yes.

I: If you and your sister are fighting, what happens? How does it get sorted out?

PF: Maybe we haven't fought. Because there is the one time, like, I didn't clean, like I was out somewhere with friends and I didn't clean, then she just yell at me, and I didn't tell her, I just tell myself, I'm just going to ignore her, but we don't normally fight.

I: Uh-huh. And when something does happen, you just keep quiet?

PF: I just ignore her.

I: Does your mom or your dad ever talk to you about adult things, like grown up things, that you would have thought that they shouldn't be telling their child? So maybe they tell you some secrets or they tell you about something that you think that's a bit strange, they should rather be telling their friends, or each other, rather than telling you?

PF: They won't because like at home I don't discuss many things. We don't talk. We can talk, but we don't discuss our issues and stuff. Even like how I grow, like they don't tell me that in a certain time and in a certain space and things like that.

I: So things about growing up, they haven't really spoken to you about?

PF: They don't tell me. I just find out on my own.

I: Ok. And do they ever ask you for advice about things in the house, like 'PF, what do you think we should do with this house, or what food do you think we need to get, or anything like that? Or what decisions we should we make about the little one'?. Do they ever ask you for advice?

PF: My dad he can ask me.,but my mom doesn't. Just does it on her own because she doesn't ask. I don't know why. Yes my dad asks, like 'How can I do this', then I tell him, then if we get an agreement, then we do it.

I: What sort of things does your dad ask you for advice?

PF: I can say like, these properties like, they are like, on the back room, there is like his property where his things to do. And he ask me, where can I put this? And then we clean the whole room. He asks me a lot of stuff.

I: So it is about practical things?

PF: Practical things.

I: What do you think is the most difficult thing for you at the moment in your life? It doesn't have to be about home, but it can be if you want?

PF: In my life?

I: Ja, what do you think, if I had to ask you what is the most difficult thing that you have to deal with in your life?

PF: I will say my family because we don't discuss things. Like, when I come from school, I don't ask them for like, can you help me do my homework. I just ask my dad and my sister. Because my mom, when I just ask her, I don't because then if I make a mistake she makes such a big deal, ok, she yells at me, yells at me. Then I go out. Then I'm late then we are just watching tv. Then she opens the other issue that we discussed, it comes again then she starts yelling at me again. That's what I don't like.

I: So when you say that this is the most difficult thing is that your family don't talk, but it sounds as if it is mainly to do with your mom and you not talking?

PF: Ja, its my mom and me.

I: You can talk a bit easier to your dad and your sister.

PF: My dad and my sister it's ok.

I: And there are some things that you would like to have been able to talk to your mom about?

PF: Ja, I just don't ask her, I just ask my dad. Normally I don't ask her some things, like I just go and ask someone, like my friends. Someone I can trust.

I: It's difficult to trust your mom sometimes?

PF: Its difficult.

I: Has it always been like that?

PF: Ja, its always like that. I can't just tell her how I feel, I can't. Even my dad, I just don't tell them, I just keep it all to myself.

I: So it is tough keeping everything inside?

PF: It's tough, because I really need someone that I can talk to, you know. If I have this problem, how can I solve it? And if I ask my cousins, they're like, like I'm the tall one, and then if I ask them, then it sounds like I am stupid. So I just keep it to myself.

I: So even your cousins, you worry about asking them, because you feel that you should know these things?

PF: Because they share it, because they can discuss with their parents.

I: I'll come back to that a little bit later. When you're finding things difficult, so say, you're finding your schoolwork a bit much and then you have to go home and you have to do all the cleaning and all the chores at home, who do you turn to for support?

PF: Usually, its either I clean and after cleaning and doing all the household, I'll go to my room and study. If they ask me I just tell them that I'm studying.

I: If you're feeling that it is too much for you and you've got all this schoolwork, and then you've got all this housework, do you talk to anyone about it?

PF: Ja I can tell my sister to do the housework chores. I just ask my sister, she understands me.

I: Ok. Do you get any help for your house from anybody else like from the church, or school, or sometimes the neighbours, whether they come help you?

PF: The neighbours, I take them as my mother.

I: The neighbours?

PF: I can describe them as cameras because if maybe If I am coming with friends at home, they just watch and then when my mom arrives they just go there and tell my mom that 'no, she is doing this and this and that'. I just don't' trust them.

I: So they tell your mom about things that they think your mom will be upset about?

PF: Ja, and sometimes they put in lies.

I: Sometimes they put in lies?

PF: Ja. They tell her and then my mom puts in lies. Something that I don't do, like she starts saying – like when I makes mistakes, she starts saying I'm smoking.

I: So you don't trust your neighbours either? So it doesn't sound as if you get much help from anybody around you, hey? It sounds like a difficult place to be?

PF: Yes.

I: What do you like to do in your spare time, do you get any spare time? So on the weekends what do you like to do? And maybe even after school, before you have to do all the cleaning, is there anything that you enjoy doing?

PF: Ja there is. Like if there is no, like the household jobs is just to clean the dishes I've done them, I just go and play with my computer, listen to music, watch movies, play games.

I: So that's on the weekend as well, you play computers, and play music?

PF: Yes.

I: Can you tell me about your friends: do you have lots of friends, do you have one or two friends, or do you prefer to be on your own?

PF: I can say I prefer to be on my own, because friends put you in trouble. Like I have like four friends at school, but at home I don't have friends. Its not like they don't want to hang out with me, its that I don't want to hang out with them.

I: At home or at school?

PF: At home because at home friends put you in trouble.

I: What sort of trouble are you worried about being put into?

PF: Like they normally steal, you see. And they say they stole with you, and then you are in trouble. And then if like my friends come and, like my friend's mom come and report that her son did this with you, and then my mom start yelling at me and stuff, and she starts putting lies. That's why I prefer not to have friends at home.

I: And your friends here, do you do things together? Your friends at school, you say you've got about four friends?

PF: Ja we are friends.

I: What do you like about them?

PF: I like them because they are really understanding. There is one who is really understanding. But sometimes he makes angry. Others they like doing things that are like crazy, like in the classroom, they normally play, get ontop of tables.

I: Things that you don't want to do?

PF: Ja. I just watch them.

I: So there is one friend that quite close to you, but even that friend sometimes makes you cross.

PF: Yes.

I: What happens when he makes you cross?

PF: Like sometimes we get cross to each other, and then we say 'you are stupid', tell each other, yell at each other, and the next morning we start talking to each other again. Sometimes it just take as jokes and then we are yelling at each other but then we are joking. Sometimes I can make jokes then he takes them seriously, then he can make jokes, and I take them seriously. Then we are yelling at each other.

I: Alright. Tell me about your schooling: how is that going?

PF: It's tough. Like the teachers, for me, and so my friend told me, that like the teachers, normally when they explain they don't explain like you don't understand. Even like they, treat you, like they taught you something yesterday, something new. And then today they are going to teach you something new again, that thing you didn't ask, then if someone understood it, then they take that the whole class understood that thing. So after school we just attend afternoon classes.

I: Does that help you?

PF: Ja, it help me because right now we are on exams. And with Business Economics it helps me. Because I usually didn't understand, like if I am in class I don't understand, but then if I attend afternoon classes, I understand.

I: So you seem to be struggling during the classes, but after school it is ok?

PF: Yes.

I: Alright. How do you think that your life compares to the lives of other 16-year-olds in your school?

PF: Like other 16-year-olds, like in their homes, their parents are understanding, they can laugh with their parents, make jokes, buy them expensive stuffs.

I: And you would say that is different to even children in your school, that they can do those things, like their parents buy them things.

PF: I can say that because there are people in this school like their parents buy them expensive things, and they normally share everything with their parents.

I: So it is about two things: one thing is about having the money to buy their children things, but the other thing is being able to talk to them, and you feel that is different for you?

PF: Yes.

I: Ok. My last question is what would you like to be doing in five years time?

PF: In five years time, to be my own man, like to be my own boss. Yes, to be my own boss, so in that way, no one can tell me what to do. I'll my own boss and I'll do whatever I want to do.

I: Do you have any idea of what business you'd like to be the boss of?

PF: I'll just become like a business man, yes, that's all I can do. Because the one thing I wanted to be, was to be a scientist, but then like I thought that the opportunity to be a scientist is very low at schools like ours so I just took commerce, so maybe I get better opportunities.

I: That is the end of my questions, but is there anything else that you think I should know that you'd like to tell me about what it is like to be in your position? Is there anything else that we haven't covered?

PF: I can say that like, my home environment, like my mom, she doesn't understand, but with my sister and my dad, my dad does understand me. Then if my mom like, my dad, like, he listens to my mom, if my mom say this and this and this, so will my dad. Sometimes they like tell me things that I didn't do and they yell at me for things that I didn't do. And it is usually my mom.

I: That is upsetting for you, hey?

PF: Ja.

I: It sounds like sometimes you get in trouble for things that you don't do?

PF: Even like my little sister, like even if my little sister is making bad things, she like spills everything and then I just yell at my baby sister, and they just yell at me, 'why do you yell at your baby sister?' and then the next time when she does something I just keep quiet, and then they tell me 'why can you leave the baby doing this thing, while you are present?'.

I: So it sounds like things are difficult because you don't know what to do; you go this way and it's the wrong way, and then you go this way and its wrong?

PF: Ja. And like they expecting me to be like a kid.

I: They expect you to be like a kid?

PF: To be treated like a kid. Right now I tell myself it's a bad move. My dad told me that I am growing up right now, so I must stop looking, like my cousins are like children, like 13-year-olds, and my dad told me that I must be like an adult, and I will try to be like that.

I: So your dad is saying that you must be a grown up, but then you feel that your mom treats you like a child?

PF: Ja like when I do something then my mom starts yelling to me, 'you're acting like a grown up, you're acting like a grown up'. Since, like when I'm gone for holidays then I come and then she start, then after some time, 'since you have arrived, since you have arrived, you're acting like an adult. Stop acting like an adult'.

I: So she doesn't like it when you are an adult?

PF: No. She expects me to listen to her and everything that she says. I just ignore her.

I: Well that is it for me. All my questions done. Are there any questions that you'd like to ask me?

PF: Not really.

I: Thank you so much for talking to today. Was it alright?

PF: Ja it was ok.

I: It was ok. I really appreciate you talking to me, and taking some time out of your lunch break!

Matched Participant G (match with Participant 7)

I: PG, you are 16-years old?

PG: Yes.

I: When do you turn 17?

PG: Next year.

I: Next year, and what month?

PG: 24-02.

I: Ok, 17 in February. And you go to X School. And what grade are you in?

PG: Grade 11.

I: Grade 11, ok. PG, tell me, how many brothers and sisters do you have?

PG: I have four sisters and two brothers.

I: Four sisters and two brothers. Who's the oldest, who's the first born?

[PG talks to interpreter]

Interp: The problem is, the other four children are her step-sisters. So biologically, from her mother, there are only two. Then adding the father because the father is having these step-sisters, then they are six.

I: Ok, so the stepsisters are older?

PG: Yes, they are older.

I: So you've got four sisters, and they are all older than you?

PG: Yes.

I: And who is the oldest?

PG: M.

I: And how old is she?

PG: About 28.

I: Does she live with you?

PG: Yes. No. [PG talks to interpreter.]

Interp: She lives at Swaziland.

I: Ok. And after her, who is next?

PG: L.

I: And how old is L?

PG: 26.

I: And does she live with you?

PG: No.

I: And after L?

PG: T

I: And how old is she?

PG: 25.

I: And does she live with you?

PG: No.

I :And your last stepsister?

PG: S.

I: How old is she?

PG: 22.

I: Does she live with you?

PG: No.

I: And then, after that, is it you?

PG: It's my two brothers.

I: Are they older than you?

PG: Yes.

I: So how old are your brothers?

PG: 22.

I: And?

PG: And 17.

I: And they don't live with you? They live away?

PG: Yes.

[PG talks to interpreter].

Interp: We are having now a problem. She is thinking of extended family that is what she is thinking of. Because the two brothers that she is mentioning says she lives with their parents. I think it's the aunt, so according to our custom if an aunt – we call them our brothers. So that is the problem.

[Interpreter talks to PG].

Interp: Ok, lets rectify the mistake. S is not the stepsister, it is her sister, real sister.

I: Which one was that? The last one?

Interp: Ja, the 22-year-old.

I: Ok, and she doesn't live with her?

PG: Yes. Eastern Cape.

I: So there are only two of you that are direct, and are you the only child in the house?

PG: Ja.

I: Who else lives with you?

PG: My mother only.

Interp: It's you and your mother? You are the only child?

PG: Ja.

I: Is there anybody else that lives with you, an uncle, an aunt, a neighbour, or anything, cousins?

PG: No.

I: Just the two of you?

PG: Yes.

I: You're in grade 11.

PG: Yes.

I: Your mom, do you know how far she got in school?

PG: Who?

I: Your mother, did she go to school? Do you know if she finished school?

PG: No, she not finishing.

I: So you've got more education than her?

PG: Yes.

I: Ok. In your family, who decides who needs to do the washing, who needs to do the cooking, who needs to do the cleaning?

PG: It's my mother.

I: And what do you have to do in the house? What are your tasks?

PG: I am cooking and then after that I am cleaning and wash my clothes.

I: So every day you cook? Do you cook every day?

PG: Sometimes my mother, sometimes it's me.

I: Ok, you change?

PG: Yes, we change.

I: Where do you get money for your house, things that you might need in the house?

PG: My mother is working and she sells papers.

I: She sells papers, newspapers?

PG: Yes. Then her money is not supporting us because it is not normal, she gets less money.

I: Ok. Do you get money from anybody else, like family? Do they help you with money?

PG: No, my mother only. My father sometimes he gave me money, maybe on December, money for buying clothes, sometimes.

I: Where is your father?

PG: He lives on N, here in Jo'burg.

I: Ok, but your mother and father are not together?

PG: Yes. My father has another wife, yes. And she is married with that man. And my three sisters, that is my stepsisters, lives, one of my stepsisters she lives in Springs here in Jo'burg, and two lives in Swaziland. And her mother was dead last year and then my father stay with another wife. Her wife have two child, boys only.

I: Ok. So sometimes he gives you money, but it is not often?

PG: Yes, sometimes.

I: If you do have money, who keeps it, and who decides how it needs to be spent? That it needs to be spent on food or something for the house, or for school fees? Who decides and who keeps it?

PG: My mother.

I: She keeps it?

PG: Yes.

I: And she decides?

PG: Yes.

I: Does anybody get a government grant, help from the government?

PG: No.

I: Do you know your sisters very well?

PG: Yes.

I: Are you close to them or do you fight a lot?

PG: I fight a lot. Yes I know.

I: Do you like each other, or do you fight?

PG: Ai, I like.

I: You like?

PG: Yes.

I: So there is no fighting between you sisters? No arguments?

PG: Yes, no arguments.

I: Ok. Does your mom ever talk to you about things that are a bit grown up, that you think she should be talking to another adult, not to a child? So maybe she is telling you secrets, or things about boyfriends, or sex, or relationships that you think that she should rather be telling a friend, or a partner, and not her daughter?

[Interpreter talks to PG].

Interp: She does.

I: Can you give me example of things that you feel that she should rather be talking to other people?

Interp: If her boyfriend is going to visit her, she will ask her to leave them a space and go somewhere else. She ask her to do that. Not forcing her, that you have to leave, somebody is going to come and visit me. So obviously ask for permission, can you do that?

I: Ok. Does your mom ever ask you for advice about things in the house? Like what shall I do about the house, or what shall I do about this money, things that again, she's asking for advice from her daughter?

PG: No.

I: She doesn't ask you?

PG: Yes.

I: Ok. What do you think is the most difficult thing for you in your life at the moment.

[Interpreter translates for PG.]

Interp: There is a problem. She didn't grow up under her mother's care, it is just now that she lives with her mother. And there is always arguments every day. The day won't go along without being involved in an argument.

I: How long have you been living with your mom?

PG: Three months.

I: Three months. And before that?

[PG talks to Interpreter].

Inter: She used to stay with her aunt, then there was a problem because the aunty's husband used to work in Johannesburg, so whenever she is frustrated, maybe something the husband has done, then they will anger to them so they decided to move from one aunt to another. Until she had to come to Johannesburg to her mother. So they have been changing places.

I: So you have been moving lots. And now you and your mom are having arguments?

PG: Yes.

I: When you're finding things difficult, like maybe you're worried about your schoolwork, and then you have to come home and cook and, and when you're finding things difficult, who do you turn to for support?

[Interpreter translates to PG.]

Inter: The person she talks to is her cousin. She stays in the same yard. I think they are tenants in that yard, so the cousin stays in the other room. So whenever she is having a problem with the mother, she consults and talks to the cousin about the problem. But unfortunately the cousin cannot help her because she is also afraid of her mother.

I: What are the main sort of arguments that you have with your mom? What are the main things that you argue about?

[Interpreter translates to PG]

Interp: She says if her mother gives her instructions to do something and she does not do that at that point in time, and she that later on, then the argument starts. So whenever she tells her to do something, she has to do it immediately.

I: Alright. Do you get any help from anybody else? You said that sometimes your father gives you money for clothes – is there anybody else like neighbours that help you, or…?

PG: No.

I: What do you like to do in your spare time, say between school and before you have to go home and cook? On the afternoons or on the weekends, what do you like to do with your spare time?

[Interpreter translates for PG.]

Interp: She likes to visit her cousin who stays at Pimville, which is another location around Soweto.

I: And what do you like to do, just to talk there?

[Interpreter translates for PG.]

Inter: To visit some of the places in Johannesburg because she does not know anything about Johannesburg. So she take her there and show her all these areas, interesting areas.

I: Ok, and where did you come from?

PG: Eastern Cape.

I: Ok. Can you tell me about your friends. Do you have lots of friends, one or two friends, or do you prefer to be on your own?

[PG talks to interpreter].

Interp: She has three friends, out of Jo'burg.

I: Outside Jo'burg?

Interp: Here, inside Jo'burg.

I: And what do you like to do together? Are they friends from school, or are they friends from outside of school?

PG: From school.

I: And what do you like to do together, or what do you like about them?

[Interp translates for PG.]

Inter: The thing that she likes with them and makes her to be attracted to them is that they are hard workers, they are intelligent people who always help her in schoolwork. So that's why she clings on them.

I: Can you tell me about school: how is that going for you?

[Interpreter translates to PG.]

PG: Ai, alright.

I: It's a bit difficult having your teacher here, hey?! (All laugh). Your teacher has promised me that whatever you say here, she won't use it against you in your classroom!

Interp: It's confidential.

[PG talks to interpreter].

PG: It's alright.

I: It's ok for you?

PG: Yes.

I: There's no areas that you're struggling?

[Interpreter translates for PG.]

PG: Accounting.

I: Ok.

Interp (to PG): Do you ever approach the teacher, saying that I am having a problem? Please can you help?

PG: No.

Interp (to I): Now I am interviewing! (All laughs).

[PG talks to interp].

Interp: She is afraid to approach her even if she is having problems with that particular subject.

I: You're in Grade 11 now, hey?

PG: Yes.

I: Do you think you'll get through the year ok?

[Interp translates for PG.]

Interp: She will try her best in other subjects, but she is having a problem with accounting. She is not sure whether she is going to be a problem.

I: Ok. How do you feel that your life is any different to other children in Grade 11? Do you think there is anything different?

PG: No.

I: What do you think you'd like to be doing in 5 years time from now?

[Interpreter translates for PG].

I: Have you thought about what job you'd like to be doing, or if you'd like to be studying, or where you'd like to be living, or whether you'd like to be married? Anything?

[Interp and PG discuss].

Interp: She wants to see herself being a successful person, working, improving her life, as from the one that she is doing now. Having a better life from the one that she is having.

I (to Interp): At the first, what did she say? 'I don't know'? When I first asked the question, she said something, and then you said 'Don't you have dreams?'. What did she say?

Interp: She said she is not sure.

I: She's not sure. (To PG): Do you have any idea what you'd like to be working in?

[Interp translates].

Interp: She thinks she's going to be a business manager, because they have been doing business management.

I: OK. That is the end of my questions. Is there anything else that you think you'd like to tell me about your life for me to understand the difficulties that you have to deal with, or anything like that?

PG: No.

[Interpreter and PG discuss].

Interp: With her mother. Their relationship, I think that is the problem.

I: When was the last time that you were living with your mom?

[Interp talks to PG].

Interp: She only visited them in December time, during school holidays only.

I: Since you were very young?

PG: Yes.

I: Ok. So this is the first time that you are actually staying with her?

PG: Yes.

I: It must be very difficult for you to adjust. Ok. Thank you so much for agreeing to talk to me today. I hope you found it ok?

PG: Yes.

I: Thanks so much.

Matched Participant I (match with Participant 9)

I: Ok, and today's the 3rd of May. You say you're 19?

PI: Yes.

I: And are you 19 now, or are you turning 19?

PI: I'm 19 now.

I: And when is your birthday?

PI: On September.

I: So you're going to turn 20 in September?

PI: Ja.

I: Ok. And you go to X school, is that what you call it?

PI: Ja, X.

I: And what grade are you in?

PI: Grade 12.

I: Ok. PI, tell me how many brother and sisters do you have?

PI:I have two brothers and one younger brother.

I: And one younger brother?

PI: Ja.

I: You've not got any sisters?

PI: No, I'm the only one sister.

I: Ok. Tell me, who's the oldest? Who's the first born? It's a boy hey?

PI: It's a boy.

I: And how old is he?

PI: I think he is 28…27.

I: And does he live with you?

PI: No, he lives with my mother at Rustenberg.

I: Ok, and after him, who's next? How old is he?

PI: I think he is 24.

I: And does he live with you?

PI: No, he lives in Mpumalanga.

I: He lives in Mpumalanga?

PI: Ja.

I: And then it is you.

PI: Its me.

I: And then how old is your younger brother?

PI: 16.

I: 16. And does he live with you?

PI: No.

I: Where does he live?

PI: In Rustenberg with my mother.

I: So who do you live with?

PI: I live with my grandmother and my grandfather.

I: Ok, and how long have you been living there?

PI: Maybe three to four years.

I: Three to four years. And before that, were you also living in Rustenberg?

PI: Yes.

I: And what made you come here to live with your grandmother and grandfather?

PI: Because my mother she can't…my mother she is unemployment and she can't afford us because we are many… So then my grandmother ask her to take me and to take care of me.

I: Ok. So who else lives there? Its your grandmother, your grandfather and you. Is there anybody else that lives there?

PI: Its my uncle.

I: Your uncle. Is that your mom's brother?

PI: Ja.

I: Ok. Anybody else? He doesn't have a wife or children that live there too?

PI: No, his wife is at Rustenberg.

I: Oh ok. So it's your grandmother, grandfather and uncle. Who's got the highest level of schooling? Who got the furthest at school?

PI: Between the two?

I: Between your gran, your granpa and uncle?

PI: It's my grandpa.

I: How far did he get, do you know?

PI: No!

I: You don't know. Do you think it was as high as grade 12, or do you think you've got the highest?

PI: Me?

I: Did your grandfather finish school?

PI: Yes. He finished.

I: He finished grade 12?

PI: Ja, and he continued.

I: Oh, he went after that. Ok. In your house where you live, who decides who needs to do the cooking, and who needs to do the cleaning and who needs to do the washing and who needs to sweep? Who makes those decisions?

PI: It's me.

I: You make those decisions?

PI: No, I make because my grandmother, she's working, and there is nobody at home. After school I clean, I sweep, I do all the lots of job.

I: Ok. Did someone tell you, did your grandmother tell you this is what you must do?

PI: Ja.

I: So you need to clean, sweep. Who does the washing?

PI: It's me.

I: And the cooking?

PI: Me.

I: You as well. Does your uncle help with anything?

PI: No!

I: Ok. Does anybody else help with anything, or is it only you?

PI: No, no one.

I: Where does your house get money for things that you might need, like food or maybe something that you need at school?

PI: It's my grandmother.

I: She works, you say. What work does she do?

PI: She's a domestic worker.

I: Ok. And does your grandfather work?

PI: Ja. He's a gardener. But it's not full time.

I: Not full time. Ok, and your uncle, does he work?

PI: Ja.

I: What work does he do?

PI: He builds houses.

I: Do all three of those people help with money, or is it just your grandmother?

PI: No most of it, it is my grandmother, because she buy food, she takes care of me, she do everything for me. Ja.

I: When your family has got money, who keeps the money, and who decides what it needs to be spent on? Is it your grandmother or your grandfather or your uncle…?

PI: My grandmother.

I: She keeps the money? So she will say we need to pay your school fees, we need to buy this type of food?

PI: Ja.

I: Does anybody in your house get a government grant? A grant from the government?

PI: No-one.

I: Ok. What's your relationship like with your brothers?

PI: No, it's fine.

I: It's fine. It's a good relationship?

PI: Ja, we are close.

I: All of you? There's nobody that you don't get on with? You don't fight with any of them.

PI: No, we are close.

I: Do you ever have any arguments with any of them?

PI: With my brothers?

I: Ja.

PI: No.

I: What would happen, say, if your 16-year-old brother; your younger brother, if he was doing something that you thought was wrong, or you think that your mom would have thought was wrong? So maybe he is smoking, or he's stealing, or using drugs or whatever…what would happen?

PI: I would talk to him about what he is doing is wrong, and I'd try to guide him that it is better to leave what you are doing, and to look after your books, your reading, do your homeworks. Ja.

I: So, would your mom find out about it? Would she know?

PI: No!

I: What would happen if she did know?

PI: Oh, I don't know…because she's…jo! I don't know but I didn't tell her.

I: She's..? What were you going to say?

PI: Because she will be very angry with him.

I: And what happens when she is very angry?

PI: She is crying – eish!

I: Ok, now I'm going to ask you, do you have a father?

PI: Ja, I have a father, but I think 1999, they are divorcing my mother. My mother have a boyfriend. She live with her boyfriend.

I: And your father, do you see him at all?

PI: No, he lives at Rustenberg.

I: When you go see your mother, do you see your father at all?

PI: No.

I: Does your mom or your gran talk to you about grown up things? Like adult matters? So sometimes when they talk to you do you think 'they shouldn't be talking to me about this, she should be talking to a friend, or her boyfriend, or something like that. She shouldn't be talking to a child about these things. So maybe she's telling you a secret about her

relationship, or she's worried about something, and she talks to you about it. Does anything like that happen?

PI: No.

I: And your gran – does she ever to talk to about things that you think are a bit grown up to speak to a child?

PI: No, my grandmother, she's so strict!

I: She's very strict? She's strict with you?

PI: Yes.

I: And so she doesn't talk to you about those sorts of things?

PI: No.

I: Does your gran ever ask you for advise about the home, like what she must buy, or what she needs to do for things in the house? Does she ever ask you things like that?

PI: Ja.

I: What sort of things does she ask you for advice?

PI: Um…my grandmother?

I: Mmm.

PI: Like school uniform. Ja.

I: So its about school stuff. And your mom, does she ever ask you for advice about things?

PI: No. I think I see my mom at the holidays, the school holidays.

I: So when you see her, it's not for long?

PI: Ja.

I: What do you think is the most difficult thing for you about your life at the moment?

PI: The difficult things?

I: Ja, what is the most difficult?

PI: No, there is nothing.

I: You don't find anything difficult?

PI: No, I think everything is easy for me.

I: You find things easy?

PI: Ja.

I: When you find things - you've spoken to me that you do everything at the house. So you come home from school and then you must clean and wash and cook and do everything.

PI: But sometimes it is difficult because I have to clean, and I have lots of schoolwork, you know. So I don't have time for my books.

I: So that must be quite difficult trying to do both of them, hey?.

PI: Ja.

I: What happens when you things too much, like you've got too much work at home and too much schoolwork. Who do you turn to for support? Who do you speak to about it?

PI: I try to speak to my grandmother and tell her that I can't do all that work, its too much for me.

I: And what happens?

PI: Maybe sometimes she helps me.

I: Ok. Do you get any help for your house from people that don't live with you? So, like, does your mom help with any money for the house?

PI: No.

I: And does any neighbour or church, or school help with anything?

PI: No.

I: What do like to do in any spare time? It sounds like you don't have much spare time during the week because you go from school to home and you start working there.

PI: I don't have the spare time.

I: And maybe on the weekends?

PI: Ai! On the weekends I wash. And after I wash I iron, and cooking and you know. And doing my school homework. I don't have the time.

I: So you don't have any spare time to read, or to play with your friends, or anything like that?

PI: I don't have the spare time. I am always busy.

I: Tell me about your friends: Do you have lots of friends, do you have one or two friends, or do you prefer to be on your own?

PI: I have one friend.

I: Is that a friend from school?

PI: No, she is finished school.

I: So she's finished school. So does she live close by to where you live, where you live with your grandmother and grandfather?

PI: Who, here?

I: Your friend?

PI: She lives with her mother.

I: How do you know her?

PI: Oh, we live at the same street.

I: Oh, ok. Did she used to come to this school?

PI: No.

I: What do you like about that friend?

PI: No she is a friendly friend, and every time she guide me, advise me, she help me with my homeworks. Ja.

I: Ok, how old is she?

PI: I think she is 24.

I: 24? And she has finished her Grade 12?

PI: Ja.

I: Tell me about your schooling? How is your schooling going? You say that sometimes it is difficult to manage everything.

PI: Ja, sometimes its difficult because I live at extension 4 and I have to travel to the school. And to wake up early in the morning to attend the morning classes.

I: So are you finding any things difficult? Have you repeated any years at school?

PI: Ja, I repeated Grade 11.

I: Grade 11. And are there some subjects that you find more difficult than others?

PI: Ja, its maths and accounting.

I: Maths and accounting – so that's the real struggle?

PI: Ja.

I: And do you speak to anybody about how you're struggling with those?

PI: Ja, I speak to the teachers.

I: And does it help?

PI: Ja.

I: Ok. How do you feel your life compares to other Grade 12 learners at your school? Do you think your life is different to other Grade 12 learners?

PI: Ja, its difficult.

I: You feel your life is more difficult? In what way?

PI: Because, ja, I think it is difficult. For me, it's difficult.

I: What part of it is difficult that they don't find as difficult?

PI: Because I don't have time to do my schoolwork, and then maybe sometimes teachers come and look for his books and you know I didn't finish my schoolwork.

I: So it sounds as if you think your life is different to other people because they don't have as many responsibilities at home.

PI: No, they don't have.

I: The things that you need to do all the cooking and the cleaning. Is that what you think is different?

PI: Ja.

I: So they have other people to help them, so they can concentrate on their schoolwork?

PI: Ja.

I: Ok, is there anything else that you'd like to say about that?

PI: No.

I: My last question for you is what do you think you'd like to be doing in five years from now, so when you're 24?

PI: When I am finished my matric, I want to continue with my studies and find a good job, to build myself a beautiful house, to buy a luxury car, eish! Ja, that's what I think.

I: So you say that you want to continue with your studies, and you want to get a good job – do you know what type of job you want or what type of studies that you want to do?

PI: No, I didn't have a research, but I want to do market management. Ja.

I: What makes you want to do something like that?

PI: No, I think it is my career, I like it.

I: Ok, alright. That's all the questions that I've got here. Is there anything else that I haven't asked that you think I should know about your life?

PI: No, its nothing.

I: Do you have any questions for me, about the research or anything like that?

PI: Ja, I can ask you: How long it will take, the research?

I: The research – I'm hoping to finish it by May or June.

PI: And after finishing, what will happen?

I: What happens, is that I produce a report. You know you produce your essays for school, but it is a long essay, and it gets handed in to somebody at WITS University. I'm hoping that it helps form another project, helps another project, which is looking at all different sorts of things and hopefully helps government to help people that maybe they don't know about, things like children need more help at school or children need more help at home. But for me what happens is that it goes in and once it is marked, and it is passed, then I get my masters, and then I can work as a psychologist. Does that answer your question?

PI: Yes, thank you.

I: Ok, but you know that the report it won't ever have your name in it, or anything that identifies you, ok. It will be confidential, ok. So instead of saying "PI said", I'll say "Rachel said" or something like that, ok. And most of the time I just group things all together, like you've said things that are similar to what other children, other girls have said so I'll say "some girls feel that their housework…", so I'll use "some girls", I won't use your name, it'll be a summary. Ok?

PI: Ja.

I: Any more questions for me?

PI: No, that's ok.

I: Ok, alright.

Matched Participant J (match with Participant 10)

I: PJ, you say you're 17.

PJ: Yes I am 17

I: And you go to X?

PJ: Ja, X.

I: And what grade are you?

PJ: Grade 10.

I: Grade 10. PJ, How many brothers and sisters do you have?

PJ: I don't have any brothers.

I: No brothers. And how many sisters?

PJ: One sister.

I: And how old is your sister?

PJ: Thirteen.

I: She's 13. And does she live with you?

PJ: Yes.

I: So you're the oldest child there?

PJ: Yes, I'm the oldest child.

I: So other than you and your sister, who lives at home?

PJ: I live with my parents.

I: I think when we first met you said something about your mom was there because your dad was away working?

PJ: Yes, sometimes there, sometimes he travels.

I: He's sometimes there, he sometimes travels?

PJ: Yes.

I: So sometimes it is just you, your mom and your sister?

PJ: Yes.

I: Out of your mom and your dad, how far did they get at school, do you know?

PJ: Ai, I don't know.

I: You're not sure. Do you think they got as far as Grade 10, or do you think you've got the furthest in the family?

PJ: I think I got the furthest.

I: You've got the furthest. So nobody else lives with you, a granny or an uncle or anything like that?

PJ: My uncle.

I: Your uncle lives with you. Does he have a wife and children?

PJ: He has a wife and children.

I: Do they also live with you?

PJ: No.

I: So its your uncle, your mom, your sister, and then sometimes your dad when he is not away?

PJ: Yes.

I: In your house who decides who must to do the washing, who must do the ironing, who must to do the cooking, who must do the cleaning? Who decides on that?

PJ: My mother.

I: And what are your tasks in the household? What are the things that you need to do?

PJ: Sometimes I clean the house or wash the dishes to help my mother.

I: So is that the thing that you do every time or is it sometimes when she asks you?

PJ: Everytime.

I: So that is the usual thing for you to do?

PJ: It's usual.

[Interruption from teacher].

I: Sorry about the interruptions. Tell me, where does your family get money for the things that you need in the house, like where you get food from or if you need things for school? How do you get money for the things that you need?

PJ: Money comes from my father's work.

I: Your father's work. What does he do?

PJ: Electrical.

I: He does electrical things?

PJ: Yes.

I: Ok. And does your mom work?

PJ: No.

I: And your uncle, does he work?

PJ: Yes.

I: What does he do?

PJ: He's working, panelling or somewhere.

I: Does his money help for the house or does he keep his money separate?

PJ: Sometimes he helps.

I: Ok. Does anybody in your house get a government grant?

PJ: No.

I: Who in your family looks after your sister, makes sure she's done her homework, makes sure she has bathed and got clean clothes, and ?

PJ: Usually it is my mom.

I: Usually your mom, ok. What is your relationship like with your sister?

PJ: Ai, sometimes good, sometimes bad.

I: So sometimes there are times that you fight?

PJ: Yes.

I: And when you are arguing, when you are having an argument with your sister, how does it get sorted out?

PJ: It sorts itself sometimes.

I: It sorts itself out. Will your mom ever come and talk to you and say stop arguing or anything like that? Or is it mostly just happens between the two of you?

PJ: Mum tries to sort it out sometimes.

I: Ok. If your sister did something that you didn't things was right, that you thought was not acceptable to you or to your parents, so maybe she was using drugs, or she was stealing, or if she was a much older man and you were worried about that, what would happen?

PJ: I would try and sort it out by telling my mum. And I'd try convince her, or to help her?

I: Help your sister?

PJ: Yes.

I: And if you told your mum, what would your mum do?

PJ: My mum usually shouts too much. She shouts too much.

I: So if you told your mum about something that you felt was wrong, she would shout at your sister?

PJ: Yes.

I: Does your mom or your dad ever talk to you about things that are a bit grown up, like that you think she shouldn't be talking to a child about this, she should rather be talking to a friend, or your dad or somebody else? So they're a bit grown up, so maybe they talk about secrets or relationships or something and you think that she shouldn't talk to you as a child like that?

PJ: No.

I: Did she ever ask you for advice about things about the house?

PJ: Yes.

I: What sort of things?

PJ: Maybe she has a problem, sometimes she asks me what can she do about the problem?

I: What sort of problems, can you give me an example?

PJ: About sometimes neighbourhoods, or the garden, usually it is the garden.

I: So she asks you for advice on what to do with those sorts of things?

PJ: Yes.

I: Why do you think she asks you instead of say maybe your father or your uncle?

PJ: Maybe she thinks that I am responsible, maybe I have more information.

I: Ok. What do you think is the most difficult thing for you at the moment in your life?

PJ: My difficult thing with my life is making friends. Ai, it is a problem to me.

I: You find it difficult to make friends?

PJ: Yes.

I: Tell me about that – have you been to this same school for a while, or is it…? What makes it difficult for you to make friends?

PJ: I don't understand.

I: You don't understand the question?

PJ: Yes.

I: You say that you think the most difficult thing about your life at the moment is trying to make friends?

PJ: Yes.

I: What do you think makes it so difficult?

PJ: I don't know.

I: Tell me about your friends, do you have any friends, or do you usually stay alone?

PJ: Sometimes I stay alone.

I: Do you prefer to be on your own, or would you prefer to be with friends?

PJ: Sometimes I prefer to be alone sometimes I prefer to be with friends.

I: The friends that you do have, are they from school, or are they from where you live at home?

PJ: Most are from school. At home I don't have any friends.

I: At home you don't have any friends. What do you like about the friends that you have made?

PJ: Ai, its because they are supportive, they encourage me.

I: Ok. What do you like to do together with your friends?

PJ: Usually it is reading books, doing homeworks, ja, that sorts of stuff.

I: With your friends?

PJ: Yes.

I: Do you get any help with your house from people that don't live at your house? So you've said to me that your dad helps with money. Does anybody else help, like neighbours, or a church organisation, or a community organisation?

PJ: No.

I: What do you like to do in your spare time, say between school and when you have to go home and do some cleaning? What do you like to do on the afternoons on the weekends?

PJ: Usually I like watching tv and reading.

I: Watching tv and reading.

PJ: Yes.

I: What sort of books do you like reading?

PJ: For now, when I read books, I read notes that they give me at school.

I: Ok. Talking about schooling, how do you find your schooling going?

PJ: My schooling is going great.

I: It's going well. You're finding the work ok?

PJ: Yes.

I: Are there any subjects that you have problems with?

PJ: Yes it was maths, but I've changed it. Now I'm doing literacy.

I: Oh ok. How do you think that your life compares to the life of other 17-year-old boys in this area? Do you think it is different, or do you think it's the same as other children?

PJ: Ai, it is different.

I: What do you think is different?

PJ: It's about me sometimes. The way I look and my body is more bigger that 17-year-old boys.

I: Your what?

PJ: My body.

I: Your body. Do you think that makes you feel – that makes you feel different, obviously. But is it different in a good way, or in a bad way? Would you prefer to be the same?

PJ: I prefer to be the same.

I: Ok. So it is mainly to do with, the difference that you feel with other 17-year-old boys is mainly to do with how you feel in your body?

PJ: Yes.

I: Alright. What do you think you would like to be doing in 5 years time, so maybe when you are 23?

[Interruption from teacher]

I: I'll ask you the question again: What would you like to be doing in 5 years time, so maybe when you are 23?

PJ: I would like to see myself helping other people. Yes, like orphans, people who have HIV/Aids. Yes.

I: What makes you want to be doing that?

PJ: Its something that I feel inside. I feel pain for other people, orphans and people with HIV/Aids. And I feel like I could do something for them.

I: What sort of thing would you like to be doing for them? How do you feel that you could help?

PJ: Like donating money, trying to help with food, and all sorts of stuff. Yes.

I: Do you have any idea of what type of job you'd like to be doing when you leave school? Or whether you would like to do some training after school? Have you thought about that?

PJ: I haven't yet thought about that.

I: Ok. That is the end of my questions. But is there anything else that you would like to tell me about your life that you think would be important for me to know?

PJ: Yes. It's about me. Sometimes I feel like I could kill myself. Yes. About the life that I am facing right now.

I: You feel so desperate about life that you feel like killing yourself?

PJ: Yes.

I: What is it that makes it so difficult? What makes you think that 'Sho! I don't want to live this life'.

PJ: Ai. It's…I can't explain it. But it is so difficult. Seeing other people progressing well, when I'm not progressing. Yes. And other people try to put me down all the time. Yes.

I: What sort of people put you down?

PJ: Sometimes friends. They tell me disgusting things about me, telling me I'm older, or I look ugly sometimes.

I: How long have you been feeling that this is so bad and that you've thought about killing yourself? How long would you say that's been going on for?

PJ: It's about two years.

I: Two years. And have you ever spoken to anybody about how you feel?

PJ: No.

I: So it sounds as if life is very difficult for you sometimes and you're so desperate you don't know what to do or who to talk to?

PJ: Yes.

I: So it seems important for you to help other people, but in a way, you're also looking for help for yourself, hey?

PJ: Yes.

I: You're the type of person that is sensitive to other people hurting, but it is difficult for you to talk to other people when you're hurting?

PJ: Yes.

I: Where do you live? Here in Ivory Park?

PJ: Yes, Ivory Park.

I: I'm just wondering whether you would like to speak to somebody else, maybe on a weekly basis, whether you'd be able to start talking about some of these things and helping you through with some of these feelings?

PJ: I don't know, I will think about that.

I: Because, do you know Midrand? Do you know where the Boulders shopping centre is?

PJ: Yes

I: There is a clinic there, and there is one of my colleagues that works there. And she's there every week on a Monday I think. And she's a psychologist, so she's somebody that people talk to about all different types of problems that they're having and if they're feeling bad about things. Do you think that would be something that you would be interested in doing?

PJ: Yes.

I: Maybe what I could do is give you a telephone number, or what would you like to do? Do you want to just think about it for a while?

PJ: Yes, I'd like to think about it for a while.

I: Do you have access to a telephone that you could call me if you wanted to speak to somebody? Or is it difficult for you to do that?

PJ: It's not difficult.

I: PJ, then what I am going to is I'm going to give you this sheet here. And I'm going to give you my telephone number if you want to call me, and I'm also going to let you know that the clinic in Midrand is up the road from Boulders, I don't quite know the address. But there is a place there that you can go to if you want to talk to somebody. But if you phone me then I can also try organise for you. And I'm also going to give you a telephone number of an organisation called Depression and Anxiety Support Group, have you heard of them?

PJ: I haven't heard of them.

I: They deal with all sorts of things, and one of the things that they deal with is children and children, teenagers especially who are feeling so down that they might want to kill themselves, or something like that. How does that sound?

PJ: Ai, it sounds good.

I: Do you think that would be helpful for you?

PJ: Yes.

I: Well thank you for sharing that with me, because it is obviously very difficult for you, life at the moment, and especially not having anybody to talk to.

PJ: Yes.

I: That is my number, ok, so if you want me to organise something for you, for you to be able to go to the clinic then to call me. If you can't call me, then the clinic is across the road from Boulders [draw and talk through map]. On Mondays, I think she's there from about 9 until 1. If you're worried about getting time off school or something…

[Interruption from teacher]

I: If you're worried about getting time off school, she can write you a note to say that you were at the clinic, and that she wants to see you the next week or something like that. And then I want to give you…

[Interruption from teacher]

I: So this is my telephone number if you want to call me so I can try and organise something at the clinic for you, like maybe a specific time or something. But if you can't call me, and you're feeling desperate, then go to the clinic on your own. Ivory Park is somewhere here [drawing on map], and my friend works there on a Monday from 9 to 1, that is if you can't call me to set up an interview. And then this is a telephone number, it is tollfree, ok, 0800567567. This is a tollfree helpline and it is open 24 hours. So if you're feeling that you want to talk, then go and find a pay phone, a landline or something, you won't have to pay. You can just ring this number. How does this sound?

PJ: It's ok.

I: You can just keep this and then if you need to speak to somebody, you can do one of these three things, you can call me, go to the clinic, or you can call this helpline. Does that sound ok?

PJ: Yes, its fine.

I: Is there anything else that you would like to talk about?

PJ: No I don't have anything else.

I: Do you have any questions for me?

PJ: No.

I: How was the interview? Were you nervous? I'm going to switch off the tape.

Matched Participant K (match with Participant 11)

[Participant K started to talk generally before the tape was switched on.]

PK: Or when you ask a question that, like maybe they are from families that are sick with HIV and all that stuff. For a child, it's really difficult, because sometimes you have to do some homework, you have to take care of your parents if they are sick and you have to look after younger brothers. So I think it is difficult.

I: So you can understand that it is a very difficult situation for people that have got their parents who are ill?

PK: Ja. Or maybe when your parents are always fighting, you can't cope with that thing.

I: That's another big difficulty, hey?

PK: Ja, difficult. You can't concentrate at school, you can't do nothing. Or maybe sometimes you find that you left home without any money to buy food to school, so when it is lunch you start getting worried 'what I am going to eat?', all that stuff.

I: Are those things that you worry about as well?

PK: Ja.

I: Do you sometimes come to school without any money or is it that you see other children?

PK: No. It's what I see happening in other children.

I: Ok, so we'll talk a bit more about that and you can add on wherever ok?

PK: Ok.

I: Now you say you're 17. Are you 17 now, or are you turning 17?

PK: I'm 17 now.

I: And when do you turn 18? When is your birthday?

PK: Next year, 20 January

I: 20 January. And you go to school, and you're at X, hey?

PK: Yes

I: And what grade are you in?

PK: Grade 11.

I: Ok. PK, can you tell me how many brothers and sisters do you have?

PK: I only have 3 brothers.

I: 3 brothers, and who is the oldest? Who is the first born?

PK: Its me.

I: You. And after you?

PK: My younger brother.

I: Ja, and how old is he?

PK: He is 10 years.

I: 10 years, and does he live with you?

PK: Yes.

I: And after him?

PK: The other one is turning 7.

I: And does he live with you?

PK: Yes.

I: And the third brother?

PK: The third brother is turning 2 years.

I: 2 years. And does he live with you?

PK: Yes.

I: So you don't have any sisters?

PK: No I don't have any sisters.

I: So who do you live with?

PK: My mother.

I: So its your mother and these three brothers. Is there anybody else that lives with you? Like a gran or uncle?

PK: No.

I: Do you know about your father?

PK: No my father passed a long time ago. I think it was in 1994.

I: 1994?

PK: Ja. I had a stepfather.

I: You had a stepfather. And what happened with your stepfather?

PK: I can say he's a person who is on and off. Sometimes he comes, sometimes he don't come.

I: Ok. So he sometimes lives with you, and sometimes doesn't live with you?

PK: Ja.

I: Ok. With your mom, do you know how far your mom got at school?

PK: My mother didn't go to school.

I: She didn't go to school. So in your family, you've gone the furthest? You've got the highest schooling? Because you're in Grade 11 and no one else has been in Grade 11, because your brothers are younger than you and your mom didn't go to school.

PK: Yes.

I: In your family, who decides you need to do the cleaning, you need to do the cooking, you need to do this, you need to sweep the yard - who decides those things?

PK: Its my mother…and me.

I: Your mom. And you? You do it together?

PK: We share ideas.

I: Tell me, what are your tasks in the family? What do you need to do?

PK: Me and my mother we have a business, we sell vegetables. On Saturday and Sunday it is my turn to go and sell then my mom will stay at home and clean. Then when I am coming back we can cook.

I: And do you cook?

PK: No, she's the one.

I: And during the week, what do you need to do when you get home?

PK: Wash my brothers t-shirt for school and cook and clean.

I: So every day, that's what you need to do?

PK: Yes.

I: Where does your family get money for things that they may need in the house, like food or things that you might need for school?

PK: When my father passed away he left some money because he was working. So every month my mom go to the bank and take the money.

I: And you say that you've got a veggie garden, that you and your mom sell vegetables. Does your mom work?

PK: No, she doesn't work.

I: So that's the only money is from when your father passed away…

PK: And the one that we get when we sell.

I: Ok. Some families they rent out maybe a room in their house to somebody else for money.

PK: Sometimes.

I: You sometimes do that? Is that what's happening now, at the moment? Do you have someone staying there?

PK: No.

I: Ok. And your stepfather, does he help at all with money?

PK: Sometimes, sometimes, because he doesn't come every day.

I: How often would you say that he comes to the house?

PK: Oh, maybe once a month, or after a long time.

I: So even longer than that. Does he work?

PK: He is working.

I: When your family gets money, say for instance at the end of the month when your mom goes to the bank, who keeps the money.

PK: My mom and I.

I: Your mom and you. And who makes decisions about what it needs to be spent on?

PK: Both, because we share ideas.

I: Does anybody in your house get a government grant?

PK: No.

I: Not even the young children?

PK: No, because they say that if my mother can go there and get that grant, while she's getting the other one, they will close the other one.

I: Oh, while she is getting the money from when your father passed away?

PK: Yes.

I: Oh, ok. Who in your family looks after your younger brothers?

PK: Oh….it is my mother actually.

I: Your mother. You took a while to answer that, you thought about it first?

PK: It's my mother.

I: There are some things that you do for your brothers, like wash their shirts.

PK: Yes, doing washing, and help them with their schoolwork.

I: So what does your mom help with?

PK: My mom sometimes she washes clothes for me.

I: And who makes sure that your brothers have bathed? Is that you or your mom?

PK: It's me.

I: What's your relationship like with your brothers? Do you get on well? Do you not get on well?

PK: No we are just happy.

I: You're happy. With all three of them?

PK: Ja, because I don't have friends, to play with. So we are happy.

I: You don't ever have arguments?

PK: Sometimes, because they are children. You have to tell them, 'don't do this, do this'.

I: And what happens? How do the arguments get sorted out?

PK: Ai, you know children…they don't understand. You tell them 'don't do this' and they are doing it.

I: Ok. So what happens if your 10-year-old brother and your 7-year-old brother are fighting, what happens? Is it you that sorts it out or is it your mother that sorts it out?

PK: It's me.

I: Ok. If your brother, say your 10-year-old brother, if he did something or started doing something that you didn't think was right, or your mother didn't think was right, what would happen? So maybe he was stealing, or using drugs, what would happen?

PK: Well first I can say that it would destroy her future. I can say cos if you look now children of nowadays, some they do drugs, do all that silly stuff, so he may end up on the street.

I: And what would happen if your mom or you would find out that your brother was using drugs or stealing?

PK: I think it would depend because sometimes you find that maybe police took him. But one thing for sure we can do is sit down with her (sic), advise her.

I: And who would it be that sits down, would it be your mom?

PK: Both of us. Me and my mom.

I: You and your mom. It sounds like your mom and you talk about grown up matters quite a lot, hey? Because you say that you talk to her about business, and what to do with the money and the house, and make decisions about things like that. Do you ever think that your mother tells you things that she shouldn't be telling you? That she should rather be telling another grown up or another adult?

PK: My mother, she do tell me. Because sometimes you'll find him sitting and thinking. So I'll just ask "what is wrong?", so sometimes she'll refuse to tell me. And I'll ask her "what is wrong" and she'll end up telling me.

I: Do you sometimes think that she shouldn't tell you, she should rather tell somebody else? Because it is a lot to handle for a child.

PK: Sometimes I think that.

I: Like maybe she tells you secrets that you think, "Shoe, I don't really want to know that, or I don't think a child should know that?"?

PK: Maybe she could tell somebody.

I: You think that sometimes she could tell somebody else, rather than you?

PK: Yes.

I: It sounds like you do a lot of looking after in the house, so you look after your younger brothers, you help with the house. What happens when you feel that it is too much? Like you've got lots of schoolwork to do, and you come home you've got lots of things to do for the house. What happens if you're feeling that it is too much?

PK: Mmm, I just leave some work and do my schoolwork, because it is very much important.

I: Do you talk to anybody about it? Who do you turn to if you need some support?

PK: To my mother, because I don't have any friends, I don't have friends.

I: I'll ask you more about friends a bit later, but first do you get any help with the house from people that don't live with you? So maybe from a neighbour or a church or..?

PK: Yes, from my sister's mother. She helps us.

I: She helps - and how does she help?

PK: Maybe if I go there and tell her that I don't have money to buy maybe some school things, then she will give it to me.

I: She gives you money. Ok. Anybody else other than her?

PK: No its her.

I: That's your mom's sister?

PK: Yes.

I: What do you like to do in any spare time between school and going home and doing your things at home. Do you have any spare time during the week?

PK: I don't have spare time.

I: And on the weekends, is there any time that you have to do what you want to do, some time for you to relax and to have fun?

PK: Sometimes, I think it depends because sometimes you have a job to go to, so you can't just go.

I: So you feel that during the week there is no spare time, and then during the weekend sometimes there's not spare time either?

PK: No.

I: So there is no time that you think I want to go read my book, or I want to go play outside?

PK: I have time to read my books.

I: Is that your school books or…?

PK: School books.

I: Tell me, you said you don't have any friends.

PK: Yes, I don't have any friends. Not that I don't like people, its just that I don't like friends.

I: Here at school, or at home?

PK: No, here at school, I do have some friends, but I don't take them as my friends, I take them as my sisters and brothers.

I: Here at school?

PK: Yes.

I: But at home you don't like spending time with other people?

PK: No, I spend time with my younger brothers.

I: Why do you think that is?

PK: I don't know, I don't know.

I: You don't like the people around you? Or is it that you don't have time?

PK: Not that I don't like people around me. It's the way I am.

I: You like to be on your own?

PK: I like children, not the people of my age.

I: Ok. And when you're at school here, you have some people that you're friendly with, and you take them as your sister and brothers. Are there ones in there that you like more than others?

PK: No, I like them equally, I treat them equally.

I: What do you like about the people here at school?

PK: First, we share ideas, we guide each other. So I tell them "no, don't do this, do this". Yes.

I: Tell me about your schooling? How do you feel about school and how do you feel about how your work is going?

PK: I think this school is good for me. I think it is good.

I: What makes it good?

PK: The teachers, I understand. If I don't understand, I just go there and tell them 1-2-3, I don't understand.

I: And how are you finding your schoolwork? Is it ok?

PK: Yes, it's ok.

I: Are there any particular areas that you struggle with?

PK: Ah, sometimes. But I get some help for it.

I: You get help?

PK: Ja, I get some help.

I: Ok. How do you think your life compares to other girls in your school, so maybe 17-year-old girls? Do you think your life is different to other children that are a similar age to you?

PK: First of all, I can say it is different, because everyone is unique. We do things on their own, we believe things on their own. Because if you can just look at the girls at my age, they like to groove a lot.

I: They like to groove? What does that mean? Explain that to me.

PK: Maybe go to the nightclubs, all those things. Maybe to the Rand Show. I can say they are different.

I: So you feel they are different to you in that way because they go out a lot, doing these things and going to clubs.

PK: Yes.

I: What makes you not go to those clubs – is it that you don't want to, or you can't afford it? What is it?

PK: I just that I don't like that life.

I: You don't like that life?

PK: Yes.

I: Is there any other way that you think your life might be different to children…?

PK: Yes, because I can guide the person that is older than me.

I: Ok. Tell me about that.

PK:Maybe you come with your family problems because sometimes you see some of your brothers and sisters they stare in class and she is thinking a lot. I'll go and ask "What is wrong with your family", and she will tell me and then I can guide them.

I: And how do you guide them usually?

PK: It depends on what kind of a problem do you have.

I: What do you think is the most difficult thing about your life?

PK: Difficult?

I: What do you find is the most difficult? It can be about home or school, or just inside you? Or anything.

PK: I think sometimes the family matters, the family problems. It's very difficult.

I: Can you tell me a bit about that?

PK: Oh, like my stepfather because he doesn't come a lot and he has childrens, so my mother had to take care of her childrens, and she is working but she doesn't come even to give to them money, to buy food. So I think that is difficult.

I: It makes it difficult for you because you see what is happening to your mom?

PK: Yes, because I don't want to see her stressing.

I: Because then it makes you worried?

PK: Yes, it makes me worried.

I: My last question for you is, what do you think you'd be like to be doing in five years time, say when you are about 23?

PK: Oh, in five years time I would like to see myself running a company. Because I am doing accounting and business economics. So I want to see myself running a big company and driving a smart car.

I: Do you have any idea of what kind of company that you want to be running?

PK: Mmm, no. I am not sure.

I: Ok. That's the end of my questions, but is there anything else that you think I should know about what it is like to be PK? Is there anything that I haven't asked that you feel is important?

PK: No you have asked me a lot.

I: There's nothing else that you think is important for me to know what it is like to have your life?

PK: All I can say, is that people sometimes don't understand my life. Maybe they think, that ah I don't want to be with people, or doing all those things. But I can't change it, the way I want to live, so somehow I believe it. Because I avoid certain things, like go, stay in the street, doing some silly things, so I think for me, my life is good.

I: So people don't understand that for you it is a good thing?

PK: Ja, they don't understand. Maybe they think that this girl, she doesn't want to stay, all those things. So for me its good, the way I live.

I: Ok. Great, thank you. Is there anything that you would like to ask me, about the study, the research or anything like that? Do you have any questions for me?

PK: Are you still a student?

I: Yes, I'm doing my masters.

PK: Where would you like to see yourself doing in five years time?

I: Probably…when I'm finished I'll become a psychologist, so I'll be a psychologist but I also want to be doing some other project work or research work or something.

PK: That's great.

I: Ok. Anything more that you'd like to ask?

PK: No, I think that's it.

I: Ok, thank you so much for talking to me today, and I'm sorry I've kept you late after school.