A narrative, child-participatory study of domestic mobility within grandmother-headed households in the Eastern Cape, South Africa

by

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Abstract

The movement of adults and children between households in South Africa is a tradition entrenched by apartheid state policies and fuelled by poverty and HIV/AIDS. Children affected by domestic mobility include not only orphans, but those whose families are struggling financially or are deprived of income through illness or death. One example of domestic mobility is the redistribution of children through grandmother-headed households. While domestic mobility has been researched from a number of different academic perspectives, there is scanty psychological literature on the subject, and a gap around children's experiences of their own mobility. Children's roles and agency in their mobility, and how these are shaped by their environments, social relations and resilience, are not considered.

This research aimed to explore the meanings that domestic mobility had in the lives, identity constructions and personal narratives of South African children currently residing in grandmother-headed households in the Eastern Cape. This was achieved through a narrative approach, interested in *big* life-stories, as well as *small* stories of everyday interaction. Over the course of two years, five child participants aged between eight and 12 years constructed narrative material through participatory action research methodologies, including the mapping of time-lines and their lived environments, and photovoice. Child participants and their families were selected from the client-base of a non-governmental organisation, *Isibindi* (Alice). Narratives were analysed as case studies to tell detailed stories of children's lives, and to comment on issues associated with domestic mobility, socio-economic status, gender, education, HIV/AIDS and social protection.

The study found that blanket definitions of poverty and domestic mobility conceal important variations in levels of poverty and individual experiences of mobility. While children are excluded from processes of decision-making about their mobility, they perform their agency by contributing to household survival and ensuring the continuation of mutually beneficial attachment relationships. This research argues that interventions which act on various systemic levels (macro, meso and exo) add support and protection for vulnerable children. This research also argues for psychological "scaffolding" of potentially traumatic or precarious processes, such as domestic mobility and deaths in families, through caregivers preparing and consulting with children before events happen.

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"Until lion's have their own storytellers, tales of the hunt shall always glorify the hunter"

Nigerian Proverb

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Table of Contents

Abstract ... i
Acknowledgements ... ii
Abbreviations and Acronyms ... xii
Chapter 1 – Introduction ... 1
Chapter 2 - Literature Review: Constructions of Childhood ... 8
Developmental Psychology in South Africa: Theory and Research ... 8
A Brief Overview of South African Psychological Literature Pertaining to Children ... 13
The Sociology of Childhood ... 17
Citizenship, Agency and Participation ... 22
Agency and citizenship ... 22
The Convention on the Rights of the Child and The African Children's Charter ... 24
Participation ... 27
Resilience and Systems ... 30
Beverly Killian – violence, vulnerability and resilience ... 34
Attachment Theory ... 39
Mark Tomlinson - Attachment in the context of HIV/AIDS ... 43
Concluding Comments ... 48
Chapter 3 - Literature Review: Domestic Mobility ... 49
Impact of Apartheid on Family Life ... 49
Fiona Ross – post-apartheid life ... 51
Domestic Mobility ... 55
Rachel Bray and Renee Brandt – Child-care and domestic mobility ... 56
Orphaned and Vulnerable Children ... 61
The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Family Life ... 64
Patricia Henderson – HIV/AIDS and resilience ... 68
Grandmother-Headed Households ... 73
Social Protection: Cash Transfers ... 76

Formal social protection: Old-age pension and child support grant 76

Foster-child grant 79

Integrating formal and informal social protection 81

Concluding Comments 84

Chapter 4 - Narrativity 85

The Narrative Turn 85

Narrativity – The State of the Art 88

What is narrative? 88

Narrative inquiry – similarities and differences 89

The study of the self/identity 90

Event vs. experience-centred narratives 91

Agency – big vs. small stories 92

Operationalization 93

Concerns and Cautions over the Popularization of Narrative 94

Stories of Childhood: Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers 96

Situating Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers 96

Stories of developmental psychology 97

Stories of childhood concern 98

The critical polytextual alternative 101

Crossley 102

Situating Crossley – the study of self/identity 102

Trauma and our sense of self/identity 104

Crossley's existing research 105

Bamberg 106

Situating Bamberg – big and small stories 106

Identity construction 107

Narrative practice 109

Why then, big and small stories? 111
Concluding Comments 113
Chapter 5 - Methodology 114
Research Aims 114
Research Site 114
Sampling 117
Informed Consent 119
Production of Narrative Research Materials 124
Participatory Action Research methodologies (PAR) 124
Organised narrative activities 125
First meeting: Road of Life 127
Second meeting: A model of your social world 131
Home visit: Telling stories of photographs 135
Third meeting: What's new in your life? 136
Home visit: Collaborative story-telling 139
Party and ending 140
Transcriptions of stories and field notes 140
Interpretation of Narrative Materials 142
Case studies 142
"Big" story: Crossley 145
"Small" stories: Bamberg 147
Ethical Considerations 148
The challenges of the adult-child power disparity 150
Authenticity 151
Non-malfeasance and beneficence 152
Anonymity 154
Validity 155

Tales of the field: Reflecting on researching with children ... 157
Race and class in South African research settings ... 161
Chapter 6 – Analysis: Langa and Khule ... 163
Introduction: Langa's and Khule's Story ... 163
Domestic Mobility ... 167
Gender differences ... 167
Agency and voice ... 168
Attachment and Resilience ... 172
Positioning of Mother and Grandmother ... 173
Education ... 178
Disruption of schooling ... 178
Education as an escape from poverty ... 179
The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Children ... 181
Protective Relationships ... 182
Friendships ... 182
The extended family and neighbours ... 183
Chapter 7 – Analysis: Luthando ... 185
Introduction: Luthando's Story ... 185
Interrupted Education ... 187
Luthando's Positioning in His Family ... 190
The Role of Women in Luthando's Life ... 195
Loss ... 195
Alternative Attachment Figures ... 196
Manhood and Tradition ... 199
Chapter 8 – Analysis: Patricia ... 206
Introduction: Patricia's Story ... 206
The Impact of HIV on Families ... 209
Poverty and Education ... 214

Gender, Vulnerability and Violence 217
Resilience 221
Chapter 9 – Analysis: Odwa 226
Introduction: Odwa's Story 226
Soccer and Identity 228
A Different Kind of Mobility 231
A Case of Dire Poverty 234
Protective Relationships 236
Chapter 10 – Analysis: Jaclyn 242
Introduction: My Story with Isibindi 242
Translators 244
Negotiating Consent 247
Awkward Wealth Moments 250
The Politics of Food 251
My Journey 252
Dealing with Disappointments 255
Chapter 11 - Discussion 258
Narrativity: Theoretical and Methodological Contributions 258
The Space Between Psychology and Anthropology 262
Agency and Participation 265
Attachment and Resilience 269
Gender 273
Education 275
Poverty and HIV/AIDS 277
Social Protection 281
Domestic Mobility 283
Chapter 12 - Concluding Comments and Recommendations 287
Overview and Summary 287

Limitations and Further Research 290

Recommendations 291

Reference List 293

Appendix A - First meeting: Road of Life 321

Appendix B - Second Meeting: A Model of Your Social World 323

Appendix C - Third Meeting: What's New in Your Life? 325

Appendix D – Ethics Clearance Letter 327

List of Figures

Figure 1: An example of one of the participant's Draw-A-Person illustration *128*

Figure 2: An example of one of the participant's Road of Life map. *130*

Figure 3: An example of one of the participant's Kinetic Family Drawings........................ *132*

Figure 4: An example of one of the participant's model of her community......................... *133*

Figure 5: Example photographs taken by the participant's during the photovoice stage *136*

Figure 6: Photographs depicting two participants' aspirations. *138*

Figure 7: A photograph of some of the members of Langa's family in Alice. *163*

Figure 8: A photograph taken by Langa of his grandmother's computer. *164*

Figure 9: Khule's Kinetic Family Drawing... *170*

Figure 10: "Selfies" taken by Langa and Khule. *171*

Figure 11: Langa's Road of Life time-line.. *174*

Figure 12: Langa's Kinetic Family Drawing *175*

Figure 13: Langa's model of his community *176*

Figure 14: A photograph taken by Langa of Khule and a neigbour and another of the kittens. *183*

Figure 15: A photograph of some of Luthando's family in Alice.. *185*

Figure 16: A photograph of Luthando's play-dough model of a sick patient....................... *189*

Figure 17: Luthando's Kinetic Family Drawing. *193*

Figure 18: Luthando's model of his community.. *194*

Figure 19: A play-dough model of Luthando's hero, Nosi. *198*

Figure 20: Photographs of Luthando's grandparents. *199*

Figure 21: A photograph of Luthando's goats. *200*

Figure 22: A photograph taken by Luthando of his friends engaged in imaginary play....... *202*

Figure 23: A photograph taken of Luthando and his dog. *203*

Figure 24: A photograph taken by Luthando of his sister's bed. *204*

Figure 25: A photograph of Patricia and her family in Alice... *206*

Figure 26: Patricia's Road of Life time-line. *208*

Figure 27: Patricia's "what's new" drawing of a tree representing the loss of her uncle. *213*

Figure 28: A photograph taken by Patricia of her school. *215*

Figure 29: Photographs taken by Patricia of some of her fears in her neighbourhood. *218*

Figure 30: A photograph taken by Patricia of her cat *220*

Figure 31: Patricia's model of her community.. *225*

Figure 32: A photograph of Odwa and his neighbours. *226*

Figure 33: Odwa's Draw-A-Person illustration. *229*

Figure 34: A play-dough model of Odwa's hero and his collection of soccer pictures. *230*

Figure 35: A photograph taken by Odwa of his neighbours TV and a play-dough model of Odwa riding one of the cows he wishes to own.. *235*

Figure 36: A photograph taken by Odwa of Gypsy the dog. *238*

Figure 37: Photographs taken by Odwa of his care-worker and of an Isibindi t-shirt.......... *240*

Figure 38: A photograph of the participants, the translators and myself. *242*

Figure 39: A photograph taken by me of the road I travelled to get to Alice. *254*

Figure 40: Photographs of Sanele and Thandeka, as well as their families in Alice. *257*

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
CRC	Convention of the Rights of the Child
CSG	Child Support Grant
DAP	Draw-A-Person
DSM	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual
FCG	Foster Child Grant
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HPCSA	Health Professions Council of South Africa
IFP	Inkhata Freedom Party
KFD	Kinetic Family Drawing
MDR	Multi Drug Resistant
NACCW	National Association of Child Care Workers
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
OAP	Old Age Pension
OVC	Orphaned and Vulnerable Children
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
UDM	United Democratic Movement
UN	United Nations

UNAIDS Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

WHO World Health Organisation

Chapter 1 – Introduction

The story of Asad Abdullahi, a Somali refugee, speaks of an African odyssey of migration across the continent. It is co-constructed with Jonny Steinberg in the biography *A man of good hope*. The story begins in 1991, with Asad, an 8 year old Somali boy living in Mogadishu. When civil war erupts in the capital, his father is forced into hiding and his mother is murdered in front of him by the militia. Asad is swept up in the chaos which ensues from the war as the city's inhabitants flee and disperse across sub-Saharan Africa and further abroad. He is separated from his uncle soon after, when a mortar bomb hits the truck in which they are escaping from the city and is then separated from his 15 year old cousin when he is forcibly recruited into the militia.

As a young boy alone in the world, Asad begins a journey of migration during which at different times he lives in a number of different places across the African continent. These places range from refugee camps, to small desert towns and big cosmopolitan cities. At different points during his youth Asad forms relationships with two important adults. The first is Yindy, a relative he cares for intimately after she is shot and crippled and who partly fills the void left by the loss of his mother. Yindy eventually leaves for America to try to create a better life for herself and Asad, but he is never given the opportunity to follow her. He drifts back into the world on his own. A second important adult during Asad's youth is a truck driver called Rooda, who takes him on as an assistant and cares for the boy as together they travel thousands of kilometres across the African continent in Rooda's truck. But Asad has big dreams and thus keeps moving until he becomes a successful hustler in the streets of Addis Ababa, earning enough money to take care of himself and a number of other boys. At the age of 18 or 19 he marries Foosiya, an older woman admired by many.

Civil war again threatens and Asad is forced to abandon his successful life and begins a treacherous journey as a refugee travelling over 4000 kilometres to South Africa to again attempt to live his dream of a happy and successful life. His adult years in South Africa are hard. While he owns a number of successful businesses, he is faced with ongoing xenophobia and loses many people close to him as a result. But through his unwavering sense of hope he perseveres and is able to relocate his family to America.

Asad's migration is not an easy story to read. The reader is caught up with fear for the safety of a vulnerable child as he moves across the African continent. It is, however, ultimately one of resilience in the face of hardship, trauma and repeated loss. Asad negotiates his world and

the people in it with agency, constantly forming mutually beneficial relationships with children and adults alike. Whilst an orphan, he is never really alone, cared for by his clan or extended family intermittently along the way or through the relationships he forms. Asad's life is generally devoid of the things we perhaps consider essential for human life: money, possessions, parents, siblings and a place to call home. But Asad's story is not one of passivity or acceptance. Rather it is a story in which we see the resilient capacity of the human spirit to keep moving forward.

Asad's life-story was shared with Jonny Steinberg during hours of interviews, conducted in Steinberg's car in Blikkiesdorp township outside Cape Town between 2010 and 2011. Steinberg in turn shared Asad's life-story in *A man of good hope,* against a backdrop of serious issues facing the African continent such as migration, poverty, crime, civil war, human trafficking and xenophobia.

I was introduced to Steinberg's (2014) biographical narrative of Asad's life during the course of my own research on South African children's mobility and it resonated with me and my work on a number of different levels. As with Asad, the children in my research began a journey of repeated migration and mobility because of the death of their mothers. However, in this research the participants lost their mothers to HIV/AIDS, not civil war. The participant children's repeated mobility was fuelled by significant trauma, further loss, poverty, HIV/AIDS and the desire for a better life. Against the backdrop of assumed vulnerability and passivity, these children acted as agents in their own lives, constantly negotiating mutually beneficial situations and relationships.

Another level on which Steinberg's (2014) work resonated with my own research was that through adopting a narrative approach he became the vehicle through which Asad's life-story was shared. Steinberg occupied the uncomfortable position of sharing the intimate history of someone poorer in resources, and in many ways, different than himself. He did not attempt to do this in a distant and objective manner, but became a deliberate part of the story told. We are given a glimpse into the life of Asad through the eyes of a white male academic, a gay man, with his own history, context and prejudices influencing the co-construction of a life-story. In much the same way, I as a young, white, female psychologist, with a particular history and with particular assumptions, aimed through this research to provide a place for the marginalised voices of children to speak on important issues related to the mobility within their life-stories.

What follows is a brief overview of the contents of the chapters in this thesis.

Chapter 2 is a theoretical review of the field of childhood studies and focuses on how childhood has both historically and more recently been constructed by the academic disciplines interested in the lives of children. At the core of this research is a social constructionist developmental psychology approach. In an attempt to situate and understand the research at hand, Macleod's (2002; 2009) overview of the developmental psychology field in South Africa since the 1990s, was used to unpack the main theoretical trends evident. In order to further situate this research, a selective genealogical review of important existing literature interested in the lives of South African children was considered.

In the 1990s anthropologists and sociologist were the first to begin to recognise children as valid subjects of study in their own right and as such a new paradigm, "the new social studies of childhood" began to emerge. This paradigm was critical of the existing dominant psychological perspective which sought only to study children in order to find solutions to general psychological problems that appeared later on in life. Thus Chapter 2 continues with a theoretical overview of the sociology of childhood and then moves on to consider, from a theoretical perspective, the important concepts of citizenship, agency and participation.

In order to fully appreciate child development as well as agency it is important to get grasp the concept of resilience. The study of resilience has permitted social scientists to identify those characteristics that allow some children to cope and even thrive, despite having faced some seemingly impossible difficulties in life (Killian, 2004). Resilience becomes one of the major psychological lenses employed throughout this research, with its significance in the South African context inherent in its insight into the impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic on the lives of children. Attachment, another major psychological lens, which is linked to the idea of resilience as part of a protective model, is then considered. The important protective role that attachment relationships play is emphasised in this research, where instability is ever-present and the repeated mobility of children is a coping mechanism for dealing with poverty.

Chapter 3 focuses on South African psychological and anthropological empirical literature on the lives of poor families and children and the particular contexts and phenomena that impact on their experiences and identity. While somewhat artificially separated, this chapter begins by considering the impact the legacy of apartheid continues to have on poor South African families. The significant effects of apartheid policy, which lead to people migrating from

rural areas and into cities to seek employment, has been maintained by differential economic opportunities that continue to impact on the family structures of poor black South African families. One of the consequences of entrenched poverty is the high prevalence of domestic mobility, where children and adults are moved between different households as a response to the multiple adversities faced, including illness, death and economic insecurity. While migration and mobility of children has been considered in existing literature, its focus is usually on the decisions and roles adults play in the movement of children. This research opens spaces for children to voice their understanding of repeated movement.

After discussing the impact of apartheid on families and children and its accompanying domestic mobility, and before the impact of HIV/AIDS on family life is considered, Chapter 3 takes a brief detour to unpack the concept of "Orphaned and Vulnerable Children" (OVCs). The HIV/AIDS epidemic has added an additional layer of vulnerability for these children and increased the social and economic pressures already faced by poor South African families. For children, it brings with it the sometimes repeated loss of significant attachment figures which is often a catalyst for their mobility. While the fostering of children in extended families is not a new strategy employed by the poor, it is gaining further significance with the widespread effects of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. This section of Chapter 3 also considers how children affected by the HIV/AIDS are represented in academic literature and mass media.

The last sections of Chapter 3 focus on the phenomenon of grandmother-headed households in South Africa and the increased pressures on these households by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Finally, this chapter considers the important role which the integration of formal and informal social protection plays in the lives of many South Africans, particularly children.

Throughout Chapters 2, 3, and 4, the research and arguments of identified authors are considered, in order to illuminate the contributions made to these particular areas by this research. This is also a way of engaging with historical shifts (theoretically, methodologically and empirically) that these particular authors undertake.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to unpacking the underlying theoretical narrative principles that guide this research. It does this by first elucidating the broad principles that encapsulate the approach, as well as how the field has emerged. This research draws on two particular psychological and narrative theorists, Michelle Crossley and Michael Bamberg, and the theoretical lenses and research tools which each bring to the narrative field. Crossley's (2003; 2000a; 2000b) "big-story" phenomenological approach is useful to this research in providing

a sense of the participant children's overall life-stories, including their experiences of the death of a parental figure and their subsequent mobility between various households. Also discussed is Bamberg's (2008; 2006) "small-story" discursive approach which considers the here-and-now, everyday interactions of the child participants and in which agency and various identities can be practiced and performed.

The methodology presented in Chapter 5 explores the use of a narrative framework and participatory action research methodologies to create child-participatory spaces for children to speak about the experiences they themselves consider important. This chapter discusses the organised activities incorporated into the three official meetings with the child participants, as well as the follow-up home visits. These child-participatory activities included a time-line mapping exercise referred to as A Road of Life created by the participants to tell the grand narratives of their lives and stories of mobility and loss, as well as Draw-A-Person and Kinetic Family Drawing illustrations created by the child participants. The organised child-participatory activities included the participants building a model of their community as well as the important inclusion of photovoice. Following Mitchell (2005; 2011), this involved participant-taken photographs and narrative story-telling about them. The models built and photographs taken by the participants were included to engage with the participants' *smaller stories* of everyday life and interactions. Short reflective activities were included at the end of each meeting to allow the participants an opportunity to express something positive about themselves and their lives to help in the building of resilience. Home visits were included to provide the opportunity for inter-generational dialogue.

Following the construction of narrative material through the various child-participatory methods, the methodology chapter then describes and discusses the recording, transcription and translation of interview material and field notes. Crossley's (2000a; 2000b) and Bamberg's (2008) respective narrative approaches are applied in order to interpret the constructed narrative materials.

Finally, the methodology carefully takes into account the ethical considerations which are of utmost importance when undertaking research with children. A constant factor considered in all the ethical decisions made during this research was the relative marginality and powerlessness of children when compared with adults in society as a whole. The chapter ends with a consideration of the ethnographic work of Van Maanen (1988) to deliberately

highlight the idea of reflexivity as a means of increasing the validity in this narrative research.

Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 comprise of the multiple life-stories of five participants and their families who were chosen as case studies for investigation. In accordance with Riessman (2002), the personal narrative material was written up as "cases" as this approach allows for a deeper engagement with the contexts and conditions of each of the participant's lives. Furthermore, each child's narrative was specifically selected for its ability to add a unique – and located in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa – dimension to the literature on South African children's experiences of domestic mobility. Chapter 6 engages with the stories of brother and sister, Langa and Khule, to explore gendered experiences associated with domestic mobility. Through consideration of the life-story of Luthando, Chapter 7 is interested in the positioning of a child fostered in a family that is not kin. Chapter 8 on Patricia's life is particularly concerned with the impacts of HIV/AIDS on family life, as well as the gendered experiences of vulnerability and violence, while Chapter 9 engages with a case of a child growing up in dire poverty through the story of Odwa.

In line with the promotion of constant reflexivity on the research process, Chapter 10 is the deliberate inclusion of my own story as a reflection on the doing of research. This chapter acknowledges my inability to remove my influence as researcher from the story that is told of the participant children's lives. In accordance with Van Maanen (1988), it does this in a way which, it is hoped, will highlight the reciprocal effect of researcher, participant and the context on the critical narrative of children's experiences of domestic mobility shared.

The findings of the five analysis chapters are discussed in Chapter 11. This chapter begins by considering how the theoretical and methodological contributions of the narrative approach used has set this research apart from previous psychological literature focused on the lives of South African children living in adverse circumstances. An explanation of why this research sits neither comfortably in a traditionally psychological nor strictly anthropological space, but rather in the uneasy territory in between is argued for and is instead positioned in a critical polytextual space as proposed by Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992). The participant children's experiences and understandings of domestic mobility are then engaged with through the particular psychological lenses employed throughout this research – that of agency, attachment and resilience. The discussion considers the impact of poverty and HIV/AIDS as the major driving forces behind domestic mobility. Further, the role that gender

and education play in the process of domestic mobility is explored and the important protective nature of the interplay between formal and informal social protection discussed. Finally, this chapter critiques the existing concept of domestic mobility in light of the issues considered above.

This thesis concludes in Chapter 12 with an overview and summary of this research. Limitations of this study are considered with reference to the number of participants, limited context of this research, and the subjectivity of the researcher and the impact of language. Additional areas for further research on children's experiences of domestic mobility are made. Finally, from the findings of this research, the following recommendations are made: That a general poverty grant be extended to all vulnerable children in South African regardless of orphanhood status. There is a need for greater support of organisations such as Isibindi, which play vital protective roles in the lives of vulnerable children and their families. HIV/AIDS education should be extended to include younger children in South African and that there is psychological "scaffolding" of the potentially traumatic process of domestic mobility by including children in processes of consultation and preparation.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review: Constructions of Childhood

This chapter aims to provide the reader with a theoretical overview of the field of childhood studies and is interested in demonstrating how childhood has been historically and currently constructed by the various academic disciplines (developmental psychology and sociology in particular) interested in children's lives. The theoretical shifts in childhood studies are a reflexive and revolutionary process which sees the interaction between theoretical/academic perceptions of childhood and children's agency.

In considering the main theoretical trends evident in Macleod's (2002; 2009) overview of developmental psychology in South Africa since the 1990s, this study is situated as a narrative, social constructionist developmental psychology approach. In reviewing the existing psychological literature on South African children, gender and race are brought to the forefront of research interested in the psychosocial consequences of adversity. This chapter continues with an overview of the sociology of childhood and then moves on to consider, from a theoretical perspective, the important concepts of citizenship, agency and participation. The concepts of citizenship and participation invite an understanding of how political, civil and social rights, (as in the Convention on the Rights of the Child or the African Children's Charter) serve to construct childhood in particular ways.

Throughout this research various psychological 'lenses' are employed as a means of constructing psychologically informed versions of the child participants' lived experiences. The study of resilience and attachment are foregrounded in this chapter because of their significance in a South African context where adversity is both pronounced and prevalent. The works of Beverely Killian and Mark Tomlinson were selected as a means of elucidating these 'lenses' (resilience and attachment) through an engagement with the theoretical, methodological and empirical shifts evidenced in the history of their research.

Developmental Psychology in South Africa: Theory and Research

At the core of this research is a social constructionist developmental psychology approach. In an attempt to situate and understand the research at hand, I briefly consider Macleod's (2009) overview of the developmental psychology field in South Africa since the 1990s and in so doing, unpack the main theoretical trends evident. Developmental psychology has been inundated by controversy with opposing ideas being debated within the field. For instance, the nature versus nurture debate, activity versus passivity, universality versus relativism and

risk versus resilience debates – all of which appear in one form or another in this research. In tracing the evolution of the field, Macleod (2009) draws on the distinctions made by Overton and Reese (1973 as cited in Widdershoven, 1997) and later added to by Widdershoven (1997) and Lerner (1986). Overton and Reese (1973 as cited in Widderhoven, 1997) initially identified the mechanistic and organismic categories as models for understanding the underlying philosophical assumptions about the developing child/person within the field of developmental psychology.

The main belief of the mechanistic approach is that of cause and effect and the existence of basic universal laws. Thus given the same circumstances, the same cause will have the same effect on different people. According to this approach, people are considered to be passive and their development depends on causes beyond their control (Macleod, 2009). Behaviourism, which is declining in popularity, particularly in South Africa, due to its avoidance of context, is an example of the mechanistic approach.

The organismic approach sees individuals as active contributors to their own development and is concerned with the organisation and unity of human development. Macleod (2009) suggests that development should be seen in totality and rather than causal explanations, "theorising centres on the final goal or the function of development (much like the systems of a living organism)" (p. 382). An example of this is Freud's psychoanalytic theory. When there is an emphasis on internal factors, such as those associated with psychoanalysis, other important political, social and cultural factors that influence development are sometimes ignored. There are naturally always exceptions, however; thus the work of Tudin, Straker and Mendolsohn (1994) is an organismic example that clearly takes context into account. Their work shows an interest in the relationship between Kohlberg's stages of moral development (thereby accepting universal principles that guide the development of morality) and exposure to moral/social complexity among university students in South Africa (thereby considering the impact of social context) (Macleod, 2009).

In 1986, Lerner introduced a new model – the contextual model of human development – which is arguably the most popular approach to developmental psychology research in South Africa at present. Development-contextual, cultural and public health approaches can all be situated within the contextual model (Macleod, 2009). Common to all these approaches is that human development should always be considered in relation to context and take the interplay between individual and environment into account.

As is seen in my own research, this approach avoids dualistic thinking and has space for "both–and" thinking; children's development is understood to be influenced both by the agency of the child and by environmental factors beyond their control. Imbedded systems that influence children, such as the family, the wider community and school, are highlighted, as well as the knock-on effect of change in any of those systems (Cox & Paley, 1997; Killian, 2004). For example, in my own research the effects of parental death on the immediate family system has an impact on the child's living arrangements, schooling and social relationships.

The positivist approach, although often considered to be mechanistic because of its exploration of the relationship between isolated elements, is still concerned with the impact of context to some degree and therefore, as is argued by some, may fall within the contextual approach. In South Africa, quantitative research that allows for the accumulation of knowledge, development of statistical models and generalizability is ubiquitous within the developmental psychology field. It forms an important part of understanding the development of children in South Africa, despite often being criticized for doing so in a non-critical manner (Macleod, 2009).

Macleod (2009) suggests that while the idea of "culture" is a hallmark of South African developmental psychology research, how it is conceptualised and operationalized differs significantly according to various cultural approaches; these can be divided into three different approaches. Here, the idea of universality versus relativism is highlighted. First, cross-cultural research is one form of operationalization in which culture is a variable that is identified as being separate from other variables and can be compared with them. For example, in a paper entitled "Intercultural and cross-cultural assessment of self-esteem among youth in twenty-first century South Africa", Akande (1999) suggests that because concepts of the self can differ in varying cultural contexts, culture can be used as a variable for measurement. Using the *Self-Description-Questionanire-1*, he compares scores from Africa, Asia and Australia. Secondly, the concept of "culture" is sometimes considered to be a primary and fixed feature of human existence, as in essentialism. Finally, some research situates itself within the field of cultural psychology. Here Macleod (2009) suggests that cultural psychology "employs a dynamic conceptualisation of culture as social practices and traditions that permeate, transform and regulate human behaviour" (p. 388).

Another important approach within the contextual model which is of relevance to this research is that of the public health approach. The focus of Euro-American developmental research with regards to public health, is on the general health issues of children and their development which are closely considered (Macleod, 2009). In South African research, the focus is not on the individual; rather health is considered on a greater systemic scale. For example, Duncan (1997) is concerned with the broader social processes at play in the causes of malnutrition. He suggests that in order to combat malnutrition, intervention should not be aimed at the individual, but at broader systems: employment generation programmes, access to basic health facilities and diversified nutrition (Duncan, 1997). As will become apparent in my research, the public health approach is often situated within human rights discourse, such as the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child and The African Children's Charter of 1999. Here, developmental psychology is implemented to make strong claims for marginalised groups (such as poor children) in order to attempt to influence policy at state and international levels. Of particular importance to this research is the "risk versus resilience" debate which is very often significant in approaches to public health. Initially, the focus of public health was on identifying the factors that put children at risk so that preventions could be implemented. However, in the 1980s researchers such as Rutter (1985) began to question why it was that some children coped and even flourished, despite facing extremely difficult circumstances. From a great deal of research, the resilience hypothesis developed; this focused on the protective factors (e.g. children's agency or protective social relationships with neighbours) that helped to foster resilience and coping mechanisms in children, despite them experiencing circumstances such as poverty, loss and violence. The greatest criticism of the resilience hypothesis is that it has the potential to give those in power an excuse for not responding to and ensuring the needs of developing children by relying on the strengths inherent within individuals and family/community systems (Dawes, 1994). Thus authors such as Dawes (1994), and Donald and Swart-Kruger (1994) have sought to highlight that children in South Africa are both at risk and vulnerable, but at the same time, resilient and resourceful.

Finally, a fourth model of human development was introduced by Widdershoven (1997) which he referred to as the "narrative approach". Macleod (2009) makes this model more inclusive by referring to it as the "social constructionist model", suggesting that the narrative approach is merely part of the broader social constructionist approach. It is within social constructionism, a diverse field that is not easily summarised or defined, that this research is

best located. Despite difficulties of definition, Burr (1995), perhaps somewhat simplistically, suggests that social constructionism displays certain basic principles. First, social constructionism is always critical of taken-for-granted assumptions. It is acutely aware of the misuse of knowledge to further certain dominant interests, particularly in developmental psychology. For instance, social constructionism would question the assumption that domestic mobility necessarily causes damage to children, or that mothers should always be the primary caregiver. Secondly, social constructionism proposes that all knowledge of the world is socially and historically constructed through people's interactions and that nothing is fundamental about our views of the world (Burr, 1995). Gergen (1985) emphasises this point by suggesting that "from the constructionist position the process of understanding is not automatically driven by the forces of nature, but is the result of an active, cooperative enterprise of persons in relationships" (p. 267). He highlights the historical and cultural influences on the construction of worldviews and how these constructions change over time. He gives the example of certain periods in which childhood was not seen as a distinct phase of development, or when the self was not considered to be an individual or autonomous entity (Gergen, 1985). Finally, social constructionism, according to Burr (1995), rejects the binary logic referred to earlier in this chapter, such as risk versus resilience, male versus female or activity versus passivity, and instead refers to multiple, complex layers.

Macleod (2009) suggests that in the field of developmental psychology, social constructionism's criticism of taken-for-granted knowledge is very important in in two ways. First, it questions the underlying assumptions and ways in which children, mothers and families are spoken about in developmental psychology. Bozalek (1997) shows that books on developmental psychology (written in the west) indicate that the nuclear family (made up of two heterosexual parents and their biological children) is the universal norm and that all other family constructions are seen as deviations from this norm. In a world where divorce and alternative family forms abound, the assertion that the nuclear family is the norm is to be questioned. It is clearly called into question in the South African landscape where this is rarely the lived reality for most children.

Secondly, Macleod (2009) suggests that social constructionism questions the underlying assumptions of theory and research within the developmental field. Linked to her first point, Bozalek (1997) notes that the roots of developmental psychology are in North America and Western Europe. She suggests that the foundations of the field are built on research which considers the white, middle-class, heterosexual individual to be the norm. All children are

then compared to this norm and when they are found to differ in any way are considered to be deviant and "abnormal". It is on these assumptions that much of the policy relating to health, education and welfare is based.

Macleod (2009), aware of one on the major criticisms often lodged against social constructionism, suggests that it is not only about critique. Here she is referring to the narrative approach, which forms an important theoretical and methodological cornerstone of this research and will be discussed at length in later chapters. As an introduction, however, a brief description is given here. Crossley (2000a) emphasises the role of language in the construction of meaning and in the formation of an understanding of the self and identity, as well as an understanding of "the other". The narrative approach proposes that we do not have one identity but rather multiple identities that are constantly constructed and reconstructed (Crossley, 2000a). This understanding is at odds with the implicit assumptions regarding the study of identity which can be found in more traditional, psychoanalytic or behaviourist approaches (Crossley, 2000a). Furthermore, the narrative approach is able to appreciate that both individual and social factors influence and have an impact on the individual, therefore "overcoming the individual/society divide characteristic of more traditional theories" (Macleod, 2009, p. 395). Macleod (2009) points to the work of Dawes (1994) who makes use of the multiplicity of identities possible in his research on the emotional impact of political violence on South African children.

This research is located in and influenced by a narrative, social constructionist developmental psychology approach. The aim of this section has not been to provide a comprehensive understanding of social constructionism but to give a brief history of the theory of its foundations. During the course of this thesis, the theory will be expanded and its main tenants developed and evaluated.

A Brief Overview of South African Psychological Literature Pertaining to Children

Sandra Burman and Pamela Reynolds were the first to draw attention to the role of children in the family and society in South Africa in the 1980s. Their book entitled *Growing up in a divided society: The contexts of childhood in South Africa* is a compilation of work by a variety of leading theorists from interdisciplinary fields dealing with families and children (Burman & Reynolds, 1986). This book was published during a period of civil strife in South Africa, when although children had been politically active they were seen merely as "appendages" (p.1) until becoming adults who could take their place in the "social

machinery" (p.1). At the time, many suggested that the study of childhood was a luxury and could only be conducted within peaceful societies. In such societies, the focus could be on marginal groups and topics that were peripheral. In societies in the midst of transformation, there were, necessarily, different priorities (Burman & Reynolds, 1986). It was felt that studies should rather focus on individuals and groups whose existence and activities had a major and direct impact on the nation and its future direction. It was for this very reason, however, that Burman and Reynolds (1986) considered it essential to study children as children and not as future adults. This was a significant step in research focused on children and families. Burman and Reynolds (1986) take a closer look at the inequalities faced by the "apartheid child" with regards to childbirth, care-giving and education. It brings to light the "turmoil" of being an "apartheid child" and clearly refers to what it considers to be the irreversible damage of apartheid and its accompanying effects on families. In a sense it divides South African childhoods according to race and looks at the effects of phenomena such as divorce with regards to white children, homelessness with regards to coloured children and the effects of apartheid with regards to black[1] children.

As apartheid was about to end and democracy introduced to South Africa, Campbell's (1994) seminal research on black township families and their influence on the social identity of township youth was published. Rooted in social psychology and from the standpoint of social identity theory, this research focused on youth between the ages of 17 and 23 years. It highlighted the significant shifts that were taking place in black family structures and the different roles the various members played. In the context of both political and economic pressures on black working class families, it was found that the youth were beginning to question their parents' ability to act as social guides in the modern, developing township life. Campbell (1994) found that young people, particularly men, believed that factors such as "parents' rural roots, their lack of education and their lack of political consciousness" (p. 130) were hampering their parents' understanding of the pressures facing the youth in modern urban life. Influential relationships in competing social groups, such as peers or comrades,

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[1] Assumptions are often made about the meaning of specific terms in a research study. Therefore, it is essential to specify that the term "black", when referring to people in the context of this study, makes reference to black South African people of African descent and does not include coloured and Indian people. The apartheid nomenclature based on racial classification is offensive but unavoidable in this study as it focuses on the experiences of a particular grouping of disadvantaged South African people who were (and still are) heavily influenced by apartheid.

encouraged the youth to question their parents' and families' ideas about life, especially with regard to social issues such as respect, alcohol and choosing friends/lovers. Campbell's (1994) research disputed the belief of many social and political analysts at the time that propagated the alarmist idea that township families were in the process of breaking down and disintegrating, with particular fears regarding the situation of the youth. Rather, her research indicated that township families were in the process of rapid and often stressful transformation, as were many other social institutions in the country at the time given the pace and extent of social change. The youth were seen as struggling to redefine so-called "family recipes" for living in the face of so much change, which now offered space for the renegotiation of power relations within the family, particularly for younger men. Campbell (1994) maintained that the family remained a highly valued and influential part of young people's lives and was still a reference point with regards to their social identities.

Dawes and Donald (1994) published a book titled *Childhood & adversity: Psychological perspectives from South African research*. This book was an important milestone as until then, psychologists had rarely considered disadvantaged children or the problems they faced from a psychological perspective. Two important trends are evident in this book. First, it acknowledges that most developmental psychology knowledge has been generated in modern western societies. These cannot simply be applied to the South African context where the majority of children can be considered to be grossly disadvantaged and are at risk for less than optimal psychological development (Dawes & Donald, 1994). It therefore looks at childhood in a South African context. While considering many of the issues present in Burman and Reynolds' (1986) research, such as education, care-taking and health, the focus of this book is on the emotional and psychological consequences of children growing up in adversity. The authors acknowledge that significant damage has been and continues to be caused by particular social structures in South Africa.

The second important trend is a movement from positivist research (the most prevalent form of research generated by the developmental field up to this point) to a more constructivist approach. According to Dawes and Donald (1994) a positivist approach to developmental psychology maintains that knowledge about development can be objective and does not need to refer to history and culture. Positivistic psychological science is concerned with quantification and the use of statistical tests to explain the relationships between variables and to determine the effects on development (Dawes & Donald, 1994). Importantly, in developing theories, the child is considered in isolation – separate from his/her social context.

Dawes and Donald (1994) suggest that while this type of research is useful for answering specific types of questions, children are social and agentive beings, and therefore it is necessary to factor these features into theoretical and research strategies. A constructivist approach tries to understand the process by which people come to understand and explain themselves and the world in which they live. It focuses on the social nature of children and the child's psychological make-up (Dawes & Donald, 1994).

In 1997, *Contemporary issues in human development: A South African focus* was published. This book actively engaged with the "space of silence and omission" (De La Rey, Duncan, Shefer, & Van Niekerk, 1997, p. xiii) in South African research and developmental psychology in particular. While female and black psychologists were evident in previous research, the authors suggest that this was mere tokenism and that women and black people were rarely present in what was taught. When they were present in research, black people and women were usually filtered through the gaze of "the other", typically a white male researcher (De La Rey et al., 1997). The book focuses on human development from the perspective of social psychology and includes developmental psychology. The authors also question the status of developmental psychology: as it holds very real power in the everyday thinking of our lives and selves, it should perhaps be considered to be a perspective rather than a sub-discipline (De La Rey et al., 1997). While continuing with research trends which focus on the lived experiences of South African families and a focus on the impacts of structural and familial violence on children, new areas of research not typically included in developmental psychology texts are present in this book.

The book includes a section on the "making of the self" which critically considers the notion of identity and personality and how the self is affected by oppression and unequal power relations, as well as how it may be nourished in such situations. In line with my own research, in one of the chapters of the book, Laubscher and Klinger (1997) introduce a narrative approach to the study of the self. Furthermore, this section of the book looks at the development of gender and childhood sexuality in a South African context, as well as the enhancement of the self through an intervention programme based on systems theory. Teenage pregnancy is highlighted as being an important issue and HIV/AIDS is addressed in a chapter entitled "Women and AIDS in South Africa". Attention is drawn to the physiological susceptibility of women as well as the social, economic and political factors that have an impact on the transmission of the disease to women in particular (De La Rey et al., 1997).

Following on from their previous research concerning the nature and consequences of psychosocial adversity on the development of South African children, Dawes and Donald with Lowe, identified the need for solutions to the problems previously unpacked. Thus their 2000 text, *Addressing childhood adversity,* focused on how adversity could be addressed, which was particularly relevant at this time of social reconstruction in South Africa. This book proposes a variety of community-based interventions in an attempt to respond to and intervene in the broad array of childhood adversity addressed in the first volume. Donald, Dawes and Lowe (2000) suggest because South Africa was internationally isolated, the country did not keep up with developments in programme planning, intervention and evaluation. However, because of the unique situation in southern Africa that requires different demands, there has been an evolution of child community-based intervention programmes that have different, essential things to say about development in a developing context.

The Sociology of Childhood

The western understanding of childhood has largely shaped the assumptions and contexts of the study of young people and continues to influence the direction and outcomes of research concerning childhood. Ansell (2005) suggests that until relatively recently, the social sciences have largely neglected the field of childhood, and that developmental psychology has always been the dominant discipline in this field. Initially, developmental psychology was more concerned with finding solutions to general psychological problems that appeared later on in life, rather than being concerned specifically with children or child development. Childhood was perhaps considered to be "a means to an end" and research focused on understanding crucial developmental events in childhood to prevent pathology developing in adulthood. This can perhaps be seen in the writings of Freud and other psychoanalysts.

In the 1990s, anthropologists and sociologists were the first to begin to recognise children as valid subjects of study and a new paradigm, the "new social studies of childhood", began to emerge. This paradigm was highly critical of the existing psychological perspective and sought to understand childhood as a subject worthy of study in itself (Ansell, 2005). Far from being the domain of maternal discourse and the theoretical property of developmental psychology, James, Jenks and Prout (1998) suggest that childhood "has become popularized, politicised, scrutinized and analysed in a series of interlocking spaces in which the traditional

confidence and certainty about childhood and children's social status are being radically undermined" (p. 3).

According to Ansell (2005) and Moletsane (2012), childhood has been interpreted in different ways in different societies and cultures, throughout different times in history. During the 1960s the historian Aries brought to the attention of the west the idea that prior to the 15th century the very notion of childhood did not exist; once the dependence of infancy was over, children were treated as miniature adults (Ansell, 2005). Moletsane (2012) argues that although the words, "children" and "childhood" are often used interchangeably, they represent very different concepts and bring to the fore different analytical issues. In common-place discourse, society makes use of these terms with relative ease, but it is essential to consider their cultural understanding. To give a simple example, explanations of immaturity or the exclusion from work due to age are very different in various cultural contexts (Moletsane, 2012). Following James and James (2004), Moletsane (2012) differentiates between the three concepts: childhood, children and child. "Childhood" is understood to be a common developmental stage of all children, the "structural site that is occupied by children as a collectivity" (p. 249). Within the collective space of childhood and as a member of the category of "children", an individual comes to exercise his or her unique agency. The singular term "child", according to James and James (2004), is descriptive rather than analytic and should only be used to refer to an individual between birth and 18 years of age (Moletsane, 2012).

According to James and James (2001), three basic building blocks form the foundation of contemporary childhood studies. The first is that childhood is socially constructed; the second is that children should be studied and are worthy of study in their own right; and the third is that children are competent agents and social actors in their own lives and have perspectives on the world that may be of interest to adults. These basic premises have been taken up and shaped in different ways in the interdisciplinary arena, including psychology. These three building blocks therefore are central and important in shaping an understanding of the narratives co-constructed in this research.

Central to the development of childhood studies is the twin recognition that "childhood is, at one and the same time, common to all children but also fragmented by the diversity of children's everyday lives" (James & James, 2001, p. 27). This is to say that (in line with developmental psychology) childhood is a developmental stage with physical and

developmental patterns common to all children. Thus, while childhood is not a physical category, there are always biological aspects that must be taken in to consideration as physiological aspects form and restrict children's lives. For example, language acquisition and physical mobility can be said to be universal. However, while childhood does involve biological processes, the "social contexts of children's everyday lives are crucial in shaping their experiences" (Ansell, 2005, p. 9). Thus, there is also considerable variation across/between cultures and generations in the way childhood is interpreted, understood and institutionalised by adults through their interaction with children and childhood. Also significant is how different cultures/generations vary in their implementation of child-specific laws and social policy (on a macro-level) according to their interpretation of children's needs and competencies. There is also variation in the everyday, seemingly mundane, social interactions that take place between adults and children (on a micro-level) (James & James, 2001). However, James and James (2001) warn against an overemphasis on local diversity and cultural differences because this may result in losing sight of or minimalizing the commonalities that do unite children. This would mean "dispensing with the political and policy agendas that might be brought into play to serve all children's interests, both globally and within the context of a single society" (James & James, 2001, p. 27). It is the commonalities that keep issues of childhood on important political and social agendas across the world and therefore they have an important role to play in furthering this field, locally and globally. Thus it is thought that childhood studies may be at a crossroads with some uncertainty both for practitioners and policymakers, as well as academics, with regards to how to resolve and make sense of these "twin" aspects.

James and James (2001) thus propose that it is necessary to identify and articulate a theoretical approach/mechanism to mediate the tension that exists between the commonalities and diversities of childhood. James, Jenks and Prout (1998) have outlined four models, from two particular research perspectives of childhood which they suggest could inform contemporary sociological research and, in different ways, try to manage the apparent gulf between the commonality and diversity of childhood referred to. The first research perspective stresses children as social actors with competences and abilities and thus pays more attention to the diversity in childhood research, emphasising children's individual and social action. The second perspective is concerned with how childhood is structured as a social space for children and by highlighting structural issues, is interested in what is common to all children (James, Jenks & Prout, 1998). However, James and James (2001)

suggest that the basis of both of these approaches is the basic idea that "children are not only shaped by culture but also help to shape it" (p. 30).

While the concept and understanding of childhood changes over time and space, so too does the lived experience of being a young person. These are naturally related, as the experiences and role which children play in society are affected by the expectations and understanding of the role that they should play (Ansell, 2005). James and James (2001) suggest that in order to engage with the dynamic interplay between structure and agency perspectives it is essential that the temporality of childhood be made a central and uniting theoretical strand. They suggest that at a theoretical level that there is an active and symbiotic relationship between our conceptualisation of childhood as a particular space and children's actions as inhabitants of that space (James & James, 2001). Children are therefore members of the category "child" and it is through their engagement with the adult world that they help form the categorical identity ascribed to them and the generational/cultural space of childhood to which they belong. Therefore, discourses are not mere rhetoric, but have to be enacted and given realization through the everyday interaction and social practices which occur between children and adults in all aspects of life. This includes social practices in the home, the classroom and community. These discourses originate from a culminated history of policymaking; for example, the protection of children, which promotes certain ideas about children's needs and capabilities (Stainton-Rogers & Stainton-Rogers, 1992). Theoretically then, childhood change, is seen as a reflexive and evolutionary process, which occurs through the interaction between adult's perception of childhood and children's agency. Childhood is imagined as a common socially constructed space, shaped by the structures of a given society but also shaped by the successive generations of children who create and re-create diversity within this social category.

James and James (2001) suggest that the regulatory mechanism which allows this is that of law, as it is law which delineates the rights and responsibilities (legal frameworks) that define childhood and also the social practices that encapsulate everyday interactions between children and adults. Thus law, be it secular or religious, serves to construct and regulate the everyday lives of children. James and James (2001) argue that "what the concept of childhood represents is, in effect, the cumulative history of the formulation of social policies expressed as law in response to the activities of children in their engagement with the adult world" (p. 34). Law allows for the production and reproduction of the social order and is able

to accommodate both diversity and commonality. It permits change, while simultaneously ensures continuity.

Building on the ideas of James and James (2001) theoretically and empirically, Uprichard (2010), writing almost a decade later, takes up the notions of "being" and "becoming" inherent in childhood studies. Whilst the "being" child is considered to be a dynamic social actor engaged in the process of constructing childhood, the "becoming" child is without adult competencies and is thus still an adult in the making. Uprichard (2010) draws on a study on urban change conducted in the United Kingdom and France. Researchers who were interested in different representations of change and continuity in York (UK) and Dijon (France) since the 1970s, conducted small group interviews with children between the ages of four and 12. What proved interesting were the children's views about the present condition and future trajectories of the respective cities as well as their understanding of themselves in relation to the changing places they lived in. Similarly, to arguments proposed by James and James (2001), Uprichard (2010) suggests that in isolation, both arguments (being and becoming) are problematic and insufficient to describe the complexities of childhood and need instead to always be simultaneously considered. Describing children as always and necessarily being and becoming is important if we are to engage with the temporality of childhood as expressed by children themselves. At the same time, the description allows a theoretically sound and suitable construction accessible to both childhood researchers and practitioners.

With regards to time in dynamic systems, Prigogine (1980, as cited in Uprichard, 2010), suggests that the interplay between the different notions of time in the being (indicating the present) and becoming (indicating the future) discourses is key to understanding the "child" as the present and future interact in the course of everyday life. Furthermore, Uprichard (2010) proposes that considering these as complementary discourses rather than opposing increases children's agency, as children are seen both as active agents and, importantly, also as future agents. This is not to deny the significant impact of social constructionism and its role in determining what constitutes an adult or a child, where one ends and the other begins and how "adulthood" and "childhood" serve to construct one another. Because child-care practitioners (involved in health, education, social care, and prevention for example) and policy makers are involved in ways of improving children's present and future lives, Uprichard (2010) believes that there is a significant need for a multi-disciplinary construction of the child which also fits with children's own experiences of childhood, and suggests that the being and becoming perspectives offer such a construction.

Citizenship, Agency and Participation

Agency and citizenship

The concept of agency is not easy to define with certainty. There have been inconsistent definitions in different theoretical disciplines as well as changing ideas over time to encourage a more inclusive approach (van Bueren, 2011). This research accepts the complex theoretical idea of child agency and participation as a feature of citizenship (Earls, 2011). As previously noted, recent research has witnessed fundamental shifts in how we understand children and their place in social and political life. In academic arenas, children are now (more than ever before) considered to be social agents. Their views and perspectives as well as their rights of participation are considered to be essential in the formation of social institutions, such as families and legal systems, which are responsive to them (Graham & Fitzgerald, 2010; James, 2011; Jans, 2004). Children's increasing participation in research is seen as a way of both respecting and promoting their right to have their voices and opinions heard in matters pertaining to their lives and welfare. Children are increasingly being considered as subjects rather than objects of study (Clacherty & Donald, 2007).

James and James (2004) point out that citizenship is associated with three rights: political (such as the right to vote); civil (which includes free speech, justice and property; and social (such as access to welfare and education). Generally, children are excluded from political rights and only have limited social and civil rights (James & James, 2004). The exclusion of children from full community membership and as such citizenship can be traced back to the early 20th century with the institutionalisation of compulsory education and the formalised separation between the environment of the adult and that of children (Ansell, 2005; Jans, 2004). Moletsane (2012) suggests that the exclusion of children as citizens was given "empirical grounding" through the introduction of social policies aimed at removing children from adult and public life, under the guise of protection. In addition, Jans (2004) suggests that through compulsory education governments, in the west at least, not only wanted to teach children to read and write, but also wanted to teach them to be commendable citizens through instruction in "virtuousness and patriotism" (p. 32). Thus governments used formal schooling to mould children into the type of adults who were considered to be good citizens. Consequently, citizenship became adult territory and the final destination of childhood. The position of children in society has evolved from in the 18th and 19th century when children participated socially and professionally with minimal protection, to a situation in the 20th

century where there is strong protection of children who have minimal social and professional participation (Jans, 2004). How parents constructed and considered their children changed dramatically because as their children's economic contribution diminished, they began to be cherished for emotional reasons (Jans, 2004). The "expert" professions (including psychology) involved in studies of childhood and families played a significant role in ensuring this shift in the construction of childhood as a space of vulnerability, playfulness and the need for adult guidance and protection.

Today, the classification of individuals into the social category "children" means that childhood is still targeted for special welfare measures and specific legal constraints. This process is both necessary and beneficial, but is problematic in that through "bracketing all children together it does ignore children's individuality and uniqueness" (Moletsane, 2012, p. 252). Children's rights movements thus work in both the private sphere, where they champion children being able to negotiate in families, and the public sphere, where they attempt to strengthen the social position of children as a collective (Jans, 2004). Jans (2004) argues that academia, the media and, by implication, society present childhood as a carefree period which he refers to as the "anonymous greatness for children" (p. 33). However, from adolescence onwards, children are expected to be more independent and responsible, and to become socially involved. This perception is what has incited many proponents of children's rights and movements (e.g. Hart 1992, 1997) to develop initiatives that include children in social decision-making involving issues of importance to them and their lives from a much younger age (Jans, 2004). In a sense, adolescents are set up to fail because they are expected to behave in socially engaged and responsible ways, without having been given the opportunity to do so during childhood.

Against the backdrop of significant global change, the social meaning and position attributed to childhood is also changing. Jans (2004) suggests that current lived reality of the childhood years is filled with ambivalence by means of children being surrounded with care on the one hand, while on the other hand being "stimulated to present themselves as individuals with their own rights" (p. 27). James, Jenks and Prout (1998) suggest that the seemingly opposing tendencies between regulation and more autonomy do not necessarily have to cancel one another out. Children are capable of signalling that they are in need of care and protection, as well as space for self-development (Jans, 2004). Jans (2004) suggests that rather than trying to get rid of the inherent ambivalence, it is important to understand ambivalence as a social phenomenon which is "proper to the growing up of children" (Jans, p. 34).

The Convention on the Rights of the Child and The African Children's Charter

In 1989 the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) came in to being, after almost ten years of drafting and was universally accepted by most nation states (Olowu, 2002; Van Bueren, 2011). As the Inter-American Court of Human Rights stated in 2002, the CRC brought with it a "new juridical order" for children's rights which had consequences for the global political order of citizenship. The CRC recognises both the best interests of the child and the child's evolving capacities with regard to citizenship and goes as far as to "envisage children as participants in determining their own autonomy" (Van Bueren, 2011, p. 35). For the first time children participated in drafting some of a global human rights treaty, which resulted in the global community (as represented by the United Nations) acknowledging the ability of children to speak for themselves on issues important to them and also recognised children as citizens of the world able to speak on behalf of their global counterparts (Henderson, Pendlebury & Tisdall, 2011; Van Bueren, 2011). Children's involvement in drafting the convention was more unstructured and intermittent than comprehensive. Their participation ranged from working directly with the Commission of Human Rights responsible for drafting the CRC to lobbying against the death penalty, with most of the children's interventions considered to be successful (Van Bueren, 2011). The CRC is not without its critics, but it was the initial important step in accepting children's rights to participation and citizenship on a global scale.

One of the greatest criticisms of the CRC is that it regards childhood to be a singular and universal concept which can be applied to all children worldwide. One of the most significant contributions made by the sociology of childhood since the 1990s, is its identification of the socially constructed nature of childhood, as previously noted. This significant change in the understanding of childhood means that while children's own experiences of childhood are indeed influenced and impacted on by biological factors, their experiences nonetheless vary historically and culturally (James, 2011). Thus the role western developmental psychological theory has played in shaping a particular construction of childhood is not necessarily of universal significance. However, referring to Uprichard's (2010) construction of childhood as a space of both being and becoming, she suggests that unknowingly and despite claiming to come from a "beings" perspective, the CRC also makes reference to the "becoming" child in its formulation. She suggests that the CRC asserts the right to life of every child, as well as the state's role in ensuring the survival and development of the child as far as possible. She suggests that having their rights fulfilled means that children "live and experience their

childhood in such a way that they *can*, and *do*, become adults" (Uprichard, 2010, p. 7), meaning that they have the right to become adults, but also have the right to experience childhood as children who will become future adults. Uprichard (2010) is thus suggesting that even in academic/policy writing which seemingly supports the being perspective of childhood, there are already indications of implicit and explicit references to the becoming child; the two constructs are therefore already being used to complement one another. This supports her argument that this should merely be done more often and more explicitly.

Few African member-states participated in drafting the CRC and as a result there was a general feeling that pertinent African socio-cultural and economic issues were not appropriately represented and addressed (Ankut, 2008). While there was not necessarily opposition to the CRC, it was felt that there was a need for a local complementary treaty to provide a framework for furthering the discussion on children's welfare in an African context (Olowu, 2002). As a result, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (African Children's Charter), the first regional treaty on the human rights of the child, was adopted by the Organization of African Unity in 1990 and implemented in 1999 (Ankut, 2008: Nakijoba, 2009). In her foreword in the book entitled *The African charter on the rights and welfare of the child: Linking principles with practice*, Ankut (2008) states that the African Children's Charter "provides a basis for the promotion and protection of the rights of children at the national and regional level and codifies the responsibilities of the state, community and individual in the protection of the civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights of the child" (p. 1).

There are many similarities in the content and framing of rights in the CRC and African Children's Charter. However, while the CRC emphasises the rights of children as independent subjects, the Charter makes it clear that African cultural values need to be considered in issues pertaining to the rights of children in Africa (Olowu, 2002). Issues which had not been addressed by the CRC and were taken up in African Children's Charter included the situation of children growing up under apartheid, important socio-economic issues such as a lack of sanitation or lows levels of literacy, as well prevailing practices such as female genital mutilation and the use of child soldiers (Ankut 2008; Olowu, 2002). Furthermore (of significance to this particular research) it was felt that the role of the family and community in children's lives, as well as the duties of children within their families was not adequately addressed (Ankut, 2008). Ankut (2008) goes so far as to suggest that a comparison between the African Children's Charter and the CRC reveal a number of instances where the former

sets higher levels of protection of children than its UN counterpart. For example, while the African Children's Charter prohibits the recruitment of children (anyone under the age of 18 years) in armed conflict, the CRC allows for the recruitment of children above the age of 15 years (Olowu, 2002).

The African Children's Charter is not without its limitations, such as its obvious silence around the issue of abortion, or its failure to make provision for the psychological recovery and reintegration of children involved in armed conflict. While the Charter remains an important legal tool in the protection and enhancement of African children's lives on paper, the biggest problem which confronts those working with children on the ground is the ability to bridge the gap between rhetoric and practice, between what is written in a legal document and the everyday lived reality of millions of African children (Olowu, 2002).

South Africa's political history has resulted in a unique situation with regards to the concept and practice of agency for its children. It serves as a good example of how there cannot be a universal construction of childhood, neither one that does not take historical and social factors into account. The 1980s were a highly politicised time in South Africa when children played an important role in resisting the oppression of the apartheid state (Henderson et al., 2011). Etched in South African history is 16 June 1976. The children in Soweto engaged in a protest march against the state's demand that lessons be given in Afrikaans, a language of little significance to most South African children for whom it was neither their first nor second language. The march was met by strong opposition from the government with 23 children losing their lives and many more being injured (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1998).

With the establishment of the first democratically elected government in 1994, public discourse urged a "normal" state be fostered and as a result "genders and generations were called upon to resume their so-called 'proper places'" (Henderson et al., 2011, p. 3). In a move towards conservatism, children's vulnerability and their need for adult protection was emphasised for "moral regeneration" (Henderson et al., 2011, p. 3) within society. This resulted in the disappearance of spaces for children to participate in informal public and political activities, as well as in few arenas for their formal participation in the progression of governance and policy formation (Bray & Moses, 2011). There have been a number of legislative changes since 1994 that have allowed children to make decisions in certain areas pertaining to their lives such as custody and adoption, consent for medical treatment and

access to state grants (Bray & Moses, 2011). However, these are rarely applicable to pre-adolescent children. Furthermore, Bray and Moses (2011) note that regardless of age, and despite the legislation, children rarely participate in medical or legal scenarios.

Participation

Involving children in research pertaining to their own lives, a popular sentiment championed by child rights activists, has become quite common with the near-universal ratification of the CRC (Naker, Mann & Rajani, 2007). Article 12 of the CRC encourages the visibility of children by emphasising their right to express their views and to be heard. They have the right to have those views taken into consideration in matters pertaining to their own lives (Henderson et al., 2011; Nakijoba, 2009). According to Nakijoba (2009), the rights of children can be applied in various settings, including the home, school and community contexts, as well as in administrative and judicial proceedings. Similarly to the CRC, Articles 7, 4 and 9 of the African Charter on the Rights of the Welfare of the Child (1990), make provision for children's views in matters pertaining to their own lives, with the qualifier that the extent of this participation is determined by both age and understanding. The rights enshrined in international human rights instruments, such as the CRC, have been translated into domestic law in many African countries, including South Africa. In South Africa, the Children's Act as well as the Child Justice Act recognises the rights of children to participate (Bray & Moses, 2011; Nakijoba, 2009).

Guyot (2007) suggests that any definition of child participation must take its prior existence into consideration and be a reflection of the agency of young people, but that at its simplest, it requires adults to listen to children. Despite the CRC being one of the fastest human rights conventions to be ratified and its main tenants (including participation) being so widely accepted, there are still problems with how these rights can be meaningfully implemented. Young people participate in their communities in a variety of ways, in both formal and informal settings (Guyot, 2007; Jans, 2004). In one sense, participation can be understood as the inclusion and active involvement of children in the design, development and implementation of programmes, research and community-based initiatives aimed at their lives. Participation can however also be expressed in various ways by "constrained actors" (Guyot, 2007, p. 165) within households or traditional systems. On a daily basis, we see children actively participating in their families and communities in different ways across the world.

In South Africa, Levine (1999) has documented children's participation in their day-to-day survival as they actively seek formal/informal employment in the context of poverty, while many have documented the creative engagement of children in child-headed households who draw support from surrounding community systems (e.g. Richter, 2004). Furthermore, children participate daily by going to school or engaging in household chores. This participation is not necessarily dependent upon adult intervention, but occurs because the nature of life requires full participation as children negotiate their existence. Mniki and Rosa (2007) thus suggest that "we understand that children are 'empowered' already; they are agents in their own lives and do not need external actors to 'empower' them" (p. 180).

Hart's (1992; 1997) iconic ladder of child participation attempts to understand and reflect the varying degree of child participation and also provide a form of assessment against which practitioners/researchers can self-assess (Guyot, 2007). Despite its somewhat problematic hierarchical structure, its usefulness is in how it represents varying degrees of child participation, ranging from non-participatory, where children are merely puppets used to further adult agendas, to the pinnacle of participation where decision-making is shared by adults and children. More recently, Reddy and Ratna (2002), writing in a developing context similar to South Africa, have discarded Hart's hierarchy of participation. They do however accept his ideas about how child participation manifests in a variety of adult-child engagements and discuss 13 different types of transactions which all focus on the concept of power distribution in these interactions (Guyot, 2007; Reddy & Ratna, 2002).

Hart (1992) (similarly to Jans, 2004) suggests that children need to be involved in meaningful projects with adults from a young age, as it is unrealistic to expect children to suddenly become responsible, participating adults at the age of 18 if they have never been exposed to the necessary skills and responsibilities. Hart (1992) proposes that for children to learn about democratic participation, they need gradual exposure and practice but that this cannot be taught by abstraction. According to Hart (1992), motivation is the most powerful principle behind young people's competence and participation. Therefore, young people can be fully involved in the design and management of complex projects if they have some sense of ownership in the project: "…involvement fosters motivation, which fosters competence, which in turn fosters motivation for further projects" (p. 5).

While the rhetoric around child participation enshrined in child's rights discourse is both important and promising, the practice of children's participation has many contradictions and

challenges (Naker et al., 2007). In many cases, before we have even begun to include children in meaningful participatory research, the child-centred project has an adult-determined agenda (Mniki & Rosa, 2007). Naker, Mann and Rajani (2007) suggest that although many practitioners have embraced the idea of the rights of children being promoted through participation, some are still not confident about how to practically implement these ideals. For example, Naker (2005) conducted a study in collaboration with Save the Children in Uganda which consulted children on their views of violence against children. The research team consisted of practitioners from a variety of backgrounds. However, they wrestled with the practical application of children's participation in this study. Some felt that children's participation should be considered to be an end in itself and that for the children, the process of a meaningful experience was more important than their recommendations. For these advocates, it was "the process of meaningful engagement that would create useful knowledge and teach us about children's urgent priorities regarding violence against them" (Naker, 2005, p.150). Others believed that children's participation should be seen as a means to an end. The specialised knowledge and experience that the children contributed through their involvement would eventually lead to an improvement in the quality of information collected. Thus even among practitioners working on one project, there is significant disagreement as to what meaningful participation really means and how it can be best operationalized.

Bray and Moses (2011) suggest that since the ratification of the CRC, the concept and practice of children's participation has gathered much support and attention internationally but that participation is interpreted and practiced differently in various countries. In South Africa, child participation is considered to be an under-theorised field. Henderson et al. (2011) believe that despite the fact that questions concerning children's participation in areas of education, health care, social services and everyday life are essential, "there is still a great deal of lip-service paid to actual implementation" (p.1). Because of common discourse about children's place in South African society (a place of innocence, vulnerability, being seen and not heard), Bray and Moses (2011) suggest that despite the government's obligation to engage children in participation, its work has been slow and that usually only small changes take place and these happen through the action of interest or advocacy groups. Like this research, university-based researchers in collaboration with NGOs, have been those most active in consulting children with regards to issues such as HIV/AIDS, social grant policy and the revision of the Children's Act (e.g. Clacherty, 2001; Giese, Meintjes, Croke & Chamberlain, 2003). These processes often engage with only small groups of children and

thus are not necessarily representative of the wider child population. Furthermore, the children's engagement varies from adults leading the consultation process to longer-term consultative processes in which children are given the platform to articulate their needs and views (Bray & Moses, 2011; Moses, 2008).

Taking the idea of participation one step further, Stafford, Laybourn and Hill (2003) felt that there was a significant absence of research which sought to understand the views of children regarding the effectiveness of research methods and approaches used to consult them. They therefore conducted research with 200 children between the ages of three and 18 from across Scotland through the use of group interviews and short, open-ended questionnaires. It is important to bear in mind the context in which this research was conducted – a developed country where children could be considered to have more opportunities for formal participation. The authors found that children do have a strong desire to be consulted on issues regarding their daily lives, ranging from issues of education and the schooling environment, to public transport and health (Stafford et al., 2003). Mniki and Rosa (2007) found clear indications that children often felt disappointed with consultation. The children expressed their dissatisfaction because their views had not been accurately represented nor had an impact. The child participants believed that sincere and open communication was essential, the purpose and limitations of consultation should be declared upfront and there should be some feedback given, even if change was slow (Mniki & Rosa, 2007). Stafford, Laybourn and Hill (2003) suggest that the participants had great insight into the strengths and weaknesses of different consultation methods. In research with children there is a general trend for using a combination of methods, particularly in qualitative research, as this ensures triangulation and takes into account the various pros and cons of the different methods used. Furthermore, it is also recognised that no one method is capable of ensuring and increasing participation and accurately capturing the richness of children's stories and experiences (Stafford et al., 2003).

Resilience and Systems

The concept of resilience was developed by Rutter in the 1980s to explain the positive adjustment of adolescents who had been through difficult experiences (Shin, Choi, Kim & Kim, 2010). Initially, the focus was on the personal qualities of an individual. Recently however, the theory of personal resilience has been extended to include family systems. Family resilience is defined by Shin et al. (2010) as a family's ability to "successfully cope with adverse events

together that enables them to flourish" (p. 1697) in terms of communication and support. Family resilience has been studied in families dealing with tough situations, in order to identify elements which may cushion the impact of difficulties and help the family to recover from a crisis. To date family resilience studies have been focused mainly on families' experiences of violence, poverty or illness (Shin et al., 2010).

In order to fully comprehend child development as well as agency, it is important to understand the concept of resilience at an individual level. The study of resilience has allowed social scientists to identify those characteristics that allow some children to cope and even thrive, despite having faced some seemingly insurmountable difficulties in life (Killian, 2004). This field of study is of great significance in the South African context as it provides insight into the impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic and assists and guides policy makers and practitioners working with children affected by HIV/AIDS. According to Killian (2004), while some research predicts that HIV/AIDS will have devastating effects on the cognitive, behavioural, social and moral functioning of future generations, and result in troubled social attachment to significant others, studies of resilience suggest that only some children will be adversely affected whereas others will be protected.

Killian (2004) maintains that resilience can only be understood as part of the social ecological model of child development. Bronfenbrenner's (1992) ecological systems theory accords equal importance to both the developing child and the environment of development. This model prioritises the reciprocity of relations and emphasises the interplay between the individual and the environment (Hook, 2002). Bronfenbrenner defines development as an individual's "evolving conception of the ecological environment, their relations to it, as well as their growing capacity to discover, sustain, or alter its properties" (Hook, 2002, p. 313). The ecological environment is made up of widening systems – the micro-system, the meso-system, the exo-system, the macro-system, and the chronosystem – in which a child is situated.

A micro-system can be described as the smallest subsystem with which the individual has the most direct interaction – the familial, peer or school subsystems. These relationships have the capacity to restrict or promote development. Bronfenbrenner emphasised the importance of the ways in which the child perceives these relationships (Cox & Paley, 1997; Killian, 2004). Supportive micro-systems are characterised by "a network of enduring and reciprocal caring relationships" (Killian, 2004, p. 36). Thus in a situation where the family's energy is primarily taken up by caring for the sick in the face of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, it is possible that the

child might experience her familial subsystem as preoccupied and therefore not always capable of providing caring and reciprocal relationships.

A meso-system is the set of dynamic linkages between micro-systems in an individual's life; it refers to the connections between contexts in which a child plays an active role (Cox & Paley, 1997). An example of a meso-system could include the interaction between a child and community members. Killian (2004) suggests that a strong meso-system has the potential to offset other negative aspects of a child's life. For example, a child's mother might be very ill and dying, but her close relationship with her grandmother and their shared faith in religion and commitment to their local church may support the child and provide emotional safety (Killian, 2004).

The exo-system is made up of the settings which influence children's development but in which they usually do not play an active role (Killian, 2004). HIV/AIDS however means that exo-systems are likely to become of particular importance, as children living in impoverished communities become increasingly active in engaging community support in the face of HIV/AIDS. Killian (2004) suggests that guided by national policy, grassroots community responses and interventions will determine whether participation at this level will prove beneficial or detrimental to children's development.

Children's place in South African society in its broadest sense is dictated by the macro-system and can be seen as the cultural "blueprint" of a particular society, with its specific cultural histories and beliefs pertaining to children and their role in society (Killian, 2004). Policy and legislature are also part of a country's macro-system. South Africa is signatory to both the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, which dictate how children are defined as well how they are responded to by the state (Killian, 2004).

Many medical and psychosocial issues associated with the HIV/AIDS epidemic transcend financial, political and other macrosystemic boundaries. Children who are caught up in, and made vulnerable by the effects of, HIV/AIDS can become "embroiled in a downward spiral of distress and difficulties that affect multiple aspects of their lives" (Killian, 2004, p. 39). There are a multitude of stressors associated with the lives of orphaned and vulnerable children, including but not limited to: poverty, neglect, loss, abuse, a lack of secure attachment to caregivers, and instability. Yet despite being faced with some or all these factors, some children

affected by HIV/AIDS still become stable, successful individuals with the ability to cope and recover in the face of profound problems (Killian, 2004).

There are several conditions that could impact on children's ability to deal with difficult experiences. In this instance, reference is made specifically to domestic mobility in the face of poverty and illness. These could include: intra-individual skills, such as IQ; interpersonal skills, such as the ability to communicate well with others; and the degree and duration of stress or trauma prior to the experience of domestic mobility (Killian, 2004). Much research is focused on the negative consequences of movement for children from a deficits perspective that idealises nuclear families as environments for healthy development. However, more recently researchers have been interested in the positive factors that help individuals overcome potentially traumatic experiences from a strengths perspective (Kelly & Emery, 2003). One specific condition particularly pertinent to this instance is the level of resilience a child displays. Resilience can be defined as "the process of, or capacity for successful adaptation despite challenging or even extremely threatening circumstances" (Killian, 2004, p. 42). In other words, resilient individuals have the capacity to recover, cope and do well in life even when confronted with profound problems.

Three models for understanding resilience have been proposed. The first, proposed by O'Leary (1998), is the compensatory model which proposes that there are certain factors which counteract an individual's exposure to risk. The second, proposed by Zimmerman and Arunkumar (1994), is referred to as the challenge model and suggests that children are eventually able to adapt and cope once exposed to psychosocial risk. Finally, the protective model, proposed by Killian (2004) and Cairns (1996 as cited in Killian, Van Der Riet, Hough, O'Neill & Zondi., 2008) argues that there are numerous protective processes which act to "offset the impact of risk by enhancing self-esteem, increasing personal competence, and accessing social support" (Killian et al., 2008). The greatest difference between the challenge and protective models has to do with where resilience is situated by the model. The challenge model places resilience within the individual child, with the child considered to be the origin and enactor of resilience; while the protective model declares that reliance is both within the individual, as well as the various systemic social layers in which the child is embedded (Killian et al., 2008).

The child's specific context is seen to play a major role in supporting his or her agentive capacity and is essential in circumstances of severe adversity, as is evident in my research. The

protective or universal strengths model argues that varying degrees of resilience, in a range of contexts and at different times, are displayed by different people, but that this resilient capacity is in need of consistent support and nurturance (Killian, 2004). Killian (2004) suggests that every layer of society has a role to play in aiding the development of a child's capacity for resilience and in "increasing the chances of vulnerable children developing into competent, caring and confident citizens" (p. 34). Therefore, despite the effects of HIV/AIDS, poverty or mobility on a child's micro-systems, a beneficial meso-system "has a number of strong, positive connections that can offset the negative influence of other aspects of children's lives" (Killian, 2004, p. 36). The ability to be resilient also seems to depend on being able to share stories of coping with someone. This highlights the importance of a narrative approach taken for my own research. Gender is also said to play a role in moderating resilience. While pre-adolescent boys are said to be less resilient, the pattern is reversed in adolescence when girls experience more distress and are seen to be less resilient (Killian, 2004).

Beverly Killian – violence, vulnerability and resilience

In the wake of democracy, Killian's early work in the broader arena of resilience sought to understand the psychological effects of the political violence which had become such a strong feature of South African society. Two major issues stemmed from work concerned with the impact of civil unrest on the psychological functioning and coping of South African children and adolescents. The first proposed the possibility that children growing up in a climate of wide-spread violence would result in their acceptance of this as the moral code by which to live and through learning and imitation, begin to use violence as the normal manner in which to deal with conflict (Dawes, Tredoux & Feinstein, 1989). Some research (e.g. Staker, 1992 as cited in Govender & Killian, 2001) refuted this notion, while other research (e.g. Dawes et al., 1989) suggests that while some children do indeed develop hardened attitudes towards violence as a result of repeated exposure, there are still a significant number who do not. The second major concern, from which Killian's research stems, is that children who are repeatedly exposed to violence will develop serious emotional and psychological problems as a result (Dawes et al., 1989; Govender & Killian, 2001). While the focus in much of the earlier research on the effects of political violence was on specific clinical syndromes which could be labelled according to diagnostic criteria (e.g. anxiety, PTSD), it was acknowledged that repeated exposure to violence could affect children in subtle ways. These are important to acknowledge despite them not fitting into a diagnostic category. The focus of the research was on the possibly irreversible damage being caused to the "innocent" children (Govender

& Killian, 2001). In a sense exposure to violence robbed children of their agency, as they were considered to be passive recipients of the influence of immoral adult behaviour. However, the rise in social constructionist thinking at the time caused some (e.g. Swartz & Levett, 1989) to question the assumption that exposure to violence necessarily resulted in irreversible damage and to look for mediating factors within community systems.

It was perhaps this thinking that influenced Govender and Killian (2001) to consider the concept of "coping" as a mechanism which had the capacity to reduce the impact of repeated exposure to violence and stress. While the authors suggest that there was existing research and some consensus around adult coping during stressful periods at the time, little research concerning children had been conducted. The early conceptualisation of coping in Killian's work can perhaps be considered as the precursor to her explanation of resilience as discussed above. Initially, as defined by Lazarus and Folkman (1984), coping was considered to be "constantly changing cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person" (p. 14). Problem-focused coping acts on the stressor and emotion-focused coping regulates emotional states as a result of the stressor (Govender & Killian, 2001). In 1986, Slavin, Wagner and Vannatta (as cited in Govender & Killian, 2001) suggested that the effectiveness of coping was dependent on the "goodness of fit between the child and the environment" (p. 2). While Govender and Killian (2001) acknowledged that the relationship between violence and coping was not linear but more complex and dynamic, in 1994 Aldwin (as cited in Govender & Killian, 2001) suggested that the existing conceptualisation of coping was too simplistic and neglected progress that had been made in the literature on cognitive development.

In a quantitative, cross-cultural study conducted in the Midlands of Kwazulu-Natal in the period after 1994, Govender and Killian (2001) sought to investigate the relationship between exposure to chronic violence, clinical distress and coping strategies. The study included 177 black South African adolescents, randomly selected from four secondary schools. Despite all the participants currently being in Grade 9, their ages ranged from 13 to 23 years. The site of the study is significant because at the time there was ongoing but unpredictable violence in Kwazulu-Natal. There were two reasons for this: first, the apartheid system gave rise to a culture of resistance from the majority against domination by and discrimination from the minority, with devastating effects; and secondly, there was a significant amount of factional

fighting between three political parties in the province – the IFP, UDM and ANC – which lead to a cycle of violence and revenge attacks (Govender & Killian, 2001).

For the research, the participants were administered clinical measures of negative life events and manifest clinical symptoms, as well as a modified version of the *Ways of Coping Scale*. Despite being fraught with methodological concerns (e.g. the modification of assessment instruments), this early research paved the way for later research into resilience. It did this by moving away from the more simplistic main effects model and attempting to explore variables which negotiate risk and resilience status in individuals, taking the very particular conditions of adversity into consideration. Some of the findings included gender differences, where it was found that boys were more likely to be politically active and so have a higher chance of participating in and witnessing violence. It was found that girls experienced higher levels of distress and reported using emotionally focused coping strategies such as wishful thinking and acceptance. Age variances suggested that younger adolescents experienced fewer negative life events and that families were often not the primary support mechanism, particularly for older adolescents whose peers more often played this important role (Govender & Killian, 2001). This research offered many questions for further studies. Govender and Killian (2001) suggest that "beyond the relatively immediate reactions, we need to focus on how children's exposure to violence in the community influences their ability to experience and modulate states of emotional arousal, their images of themselves, their beliefs in a just and benevolent world….their sense of morality and the value they place on human life" (p. 10), thus adding to the important research agenda of understanding the consequences of community violence on South African children's development.

At the time, Govender and Killian could not have predicated the significant influence that the rising HIV/AIDS epidemic would have on children's lives and development and the subsequent study of resilience in the South African context. In 2008, Killian and Durrheim set out to explore psychological distress in orphans, vulnerable and non-vulnerable children in high-prevalence HIV/AIDS communities. Through this research there was an acknowledgement that the epidemic had dramatically changed social life for all in sub-Saharan Africa, in particular its children. Killian and Durrheim (2008) found that children living in these communities experienced multiple forms of adversity on a physical, emotional, social, health and security level, similar to that of the children in Killian's previously mentioned work, but now severely compounded by the multiple knock-on effects of HIV/AIDS. Using quantitative methods, they sought to answer two questions: first, how

distressed are the children living in high prevalence HIV/AIDS communities, an area about which relatively little was known. Secondly, they wished to know how this distress is manifested by the children (Killian & Durrheim, 2008).

Using purposive sampling, 741 participants (between eight and 12 years) were selected from nine communities (urban, peri-urban and rural geographic regions) in KwaZulu-Natal. Of the 741 children, 319 were said to be vulnerable and maternally orphaned[2], 276 were vulnerable but not orphaned and 146 were said to be typical developing children. It is unclear what was used to delineate these somewhat arbitrary categories. The primary caregiver of the child completed the *Adversity Index* (Killian, 2004) and the *Conners' Parent Rating Scale* (Conners et al., 1998). The participant children had the *Trauma Symptom Checklist for Children* (Townsend, 2002), the *Reynolds Depression Scale for Children* (Reynolds, 1989) and the *Social Support Scale* (Beale Spencer et al., 1997) administered to them in their home language, isiZulu. The results of this research suggested that the children in the vulnerable group and the maternally orphaned group were exposed to severe levels of adversity and experienced similar levels of extreme distress which in a different context would warrant a psychiatric diagnosis and definite intervention (Killian & Durrheim, 2008). The typically developed group were also exposed to significantly high levels of adversity, but less than that of their counterparts in this research. It was reported that this group did not display severe levels of emotional distress, which the researchers believed was due to their access to social support. The children in the other two groups generally felt that they were less able to access social support. The ability to access social support is thus considered to be an important protective measure for children living in extreme adversity and points to its importance in terms of enhancing resilience.

Through their research, Killian and Durrheim (2008) therefore support the call from grass roots organisations for intervention programmes (such as Isibindi) which assist children in extreme adversity to access social support and thereby develop resilience. Another significant outcome of this particular research is the empirical support for the existing idea that there should be no differentiation between policy and interventions aimed at orphaned and other vulnerable children, suggesting that "it seems that the HIV/AIDS context, with the associated

[2] The differences in definition between orphanhood and vulnerability is discussed in depth at a later stage. However it is worth pointing out here that the term Orphaned and Vulnerable children (OVC) was introduced as a means to counter the restrictive idea of orphanhood in the context of the rapidly increasing HIV/AIDS epidemic.

pervasive and extreme poverty, makes children vulnerable such that when the critical mass of number of adversities is exceeded these children manifest symptoms of emotional distress" (Killian & Durrheim, 2008, p. 428).

A final important study which will be considered as part of Killian's focus on resilience in South African children moves with the general shift in social science at the time, from research strongly focused in the positivist arena to a more postmodernist, social-cultural focus on children's loss of agency under extreme adversity (Killian et al., 2008). In their research, Killian et al., (2008) seek to understand children's experiences of poverty and the HIV/AIDS epidemic in order to understand how children make meaning out of their circumstances and experiences and to seek opportunities to act as agents in their own lives. The qualitative study sought to explore barriers to education from the perspective of primary and secondary school children in Grades 3, 6 and 9 in a variety of settings, paying special attention to issues related to resilience and agentive capacity (Killian et al., 2008). Its foundations are therefore closely related to my own research.

The research site was a small town and its surrounding areas, chosen particularly to explore the socio-political, community and economic effects which its history has on opportunities to the access of learning opportunities. Participants included 117 learners ranging from 8 to 18 years, across Grade 3, 6 and 9, selected through random sampling from class lists. Thereafter a total of 52 focus groups were held, with each child engaging in four focus group discussions over a period of time. Furthermore, participatory action research methods (such as Road of Life timeline, drawings and photographs) were used to get younger children to articulate their experiences through the use of a non-verbal stimulus. Using thematic analysis, Killian et al. (2008) found that the participants in their study were embedded in webs of serious adversity which included the effects of poverty, HIV/AIDS and parental death. While the participants verbalised their experiences of adversity at the micro-systemic level, it was clear to see that much of the adversity originated at wider macro- and exo-systemic levels. For example, at the macro-systemic level, the South African Schools Act of 1996 states that it is compulsory for all children between eight and 15 to attend school and that no child shall be turned away on the grounds that his family cannot afford school fees. However, in their research it became apparent that at an exo-systemic level (the level of the Department of Education and the school itself) children were often turned away or sent home for not having the correct equipment such as a calculator or because their family was not able to afford the uniform which the school required the children to wear (Killian et al., 2008).

The researchers found little evidence to support the existence of the participant children's agentive capacity and resilience. They suggest that the children's context is generally experienced as being so adverse and so devoid of any form of social support that the accumulation of risk factors make it difficult for resilience to emerge when applying either the challenge or compensatory model of resilience (Killian et al., 2008). However, it is suggested that from the perspective of the protective model of resilience, it was apparent that when interacting with peers or other forms of social support the participants felt that they could play an active role in their own lives and were not merely victims of circumstance. In these instances it is suggested that the participants "developed a degree of mastery, self-efficacy and competency" (Killian et al., 2008, p. 410). In line with the aims of my own research, the authors recommend that further research is required to better understand the impact social interventions (which in the instance of my research could be considered to be the intervention and support of Isibindi for individual children and families) could have in building protective processes to help foster and facilitate agency (Killian et al., 2008).

Attachment Theory

Attachment theory forms part of the foundation of developmental psychology and has made prolific predictions concerning early childhood development, which has informed theory and policy for decades. Issues surrounding attachment and developmental psychopathology characterise the field and debate concerning the time-span of early attachment effects on later psychological functioning, as well temperament and environment have long been part of attachment theorising (Belsky & Pasco Fearon, 2002). It is of course not without criticism, as ever since the first empirical evidence emerged from the *Strange Situation* predicting the effects of infant-mother attachment security and subsequent functioning in children, debate has surrounded the interpretation of these findings (Belsky & Pasco Fearon, 2002).

John Bowlby developed attachment theory on the back of his earlier work which showed that children who were separated from their caregivers displayed intense feelings of anguish. He suggested that the separation of child from caregiver resulted in the disruption of a delicate bond linking one being to the other, and believed that the long-term effects of such a separation were significant (Holmes, 1993). Although Bowlby was initially a scholar in the field of psychoanalysis, attachment theory is based on his critique of this field of thought. Neither psychoanalysis's drive theory, nor object-relations theory sufficiently accounts for the mother/infant bond according to Bowlby (1980), who suggested that it is important to see

this attachment as a psychological bond in its own right. Furthermore, Bowlby in part based attachment theory on findings from ethology. He was particularly interested in the findings of Lorenz (1952, as cited in Bowlby, 1980) who described the phenomenon of newly hatched goslings who follow their mother/caregiver and display signs of anxiety when separated from her. In contrast to drive theory, this bond is not forged by feeding, as the caregiver does not provide food directly (Holmes, 1993).

Attachment, according to Bowlby (1980), is monotropic as attachment occurs with a single figure (usually the mother) and attachment to the mother differs to that with others. Bowlby did suggest that this attachment is not absolute but rather hierarchical; besides attachment to the mother attachment behaviour is also directed at the father and older siblings, but with significantly less frequency and intensity (Bowlby, 1980). A significant backlash against Bowlby's idea of monotropism came from the Feminist school of thought. Burman (1994) argues that Bowlby's positioning of mothers as both the object and source of an infant's affections, as well as being the most influential individual who has the capacity to determine the success or failure of a child's development, has significant implications for women's employment outside of the home. Burman (1994) suggests that theories such as attachment theory were used in the period after the Second World War in order to exclude women from the positions of employment which they had held during the war efforts. Developmental psychology helped to put motherhood on a pedestal and celebrated "home and hearth" (Burman, 1994, p. 78), all the while defining and regulating what it meant to be a fit mother.

Holmes (1993) refers to attachment theory as a spatial theory, in which proximity to the caregiver plays a significant role and children actively engage in proximity seeking behaviour in order to be physically closer to their caregiver. How far a child can comfortably move away from their attachment figure depends on variables such as age and temperament, as well as environmental factors such as feeling frightened or being ill. The mother therefore is understood to be a base from which to explore and Holmes (1993) suggests that "the essence of the secure base is that it provides a springboard for curiosity and exploration" (p.70). Bowlby (1980) suggests that protest in the form of behaviours such as crying, screaming and kicking are the main reaction to separation from the mother/attachment figure and serve to restore the attachment bond, as well as "punish" the attachment figure and prevent future separation.

An important concept is Bowlby's idea of the "internal working model", which despite mirroring psychoanalytic ideas of the internal world, has a far more practical mechanism/application. As a child interacts with the world, he/she develops a set of models (based on repeated interaction) of the self/others. These representational models then became a way of predicting and being in the world and form the blueprint for future relationships. Attachment theorists emphasise the role that either sensitive or insensitive mothering plays on the internal working model of an infant (Bowlby, 1980). Children who have experienced sensitive mothering are said to develop secure attachments and have confidence in the mother's emotional availability and react positively and trustingly towards the mother and the outside world in general. Conversely, if children experience insensitive care with relatively unresponsive and emotionally unavailable mothering, insecure attachments form. Children then lack confidence in the mother's emotional availability and develop a negative, mistrusting orientation towards her and the outside world in general. It is suggested that these ways of being in the world are relatively stable and persist into adulthood (Ainsworth, 1978; Belsky & Pasco Fearon, 2002). Perhaps Bowlby is attempting to reconstruct psychoanalytic theory with a more systems approach interested in feedback loops (Holmes, 1993). His theory however, placed impossible demands on mothers, as it was believed that an infant's separation from his/her mother, no matter how brief or prolonged, was inherently traumatic and said to have the same effects on development as death and divorce (Burman, 1994). Furthermore, Bowlby postulated that if a secure attachment had not been established by the age of three, it could not be established later on, and would result in serious psychological concerns in later life. Bowlby's theory idealised the nuclear family and supported conservative moral ideas regarding families by encouraging unmarried mothers to give their children up for adoption and advocating that "a bad home was better than a good institution" (Burman, 1994, p.79).

Attachment theory, unlike much psychoanalytic theory, is more accessible to empirical research and thus we have seen Bowlby's work directly contributing to the rise in infant/child development studies since the 1960s. Ainsworth's *Strange Situation* and interest in individual children's differences in coping with separation and reunion with their mother/attachment figure, has become an essential tool in developmental psychology. (Holmes, 1993). Many (Belsky & Pasco Fearon, 2002; Lamb, Thompson, Gardner & Charnov, 1985; Lewis, 1997) have however subsequently critiqued the "input-output" claims made by attachment theorists,

suggesting that there is a great amount of evidence linking early attachment to later socio-emotional functioning but with an absence of corroborating evidence.

Questions abound concerning the "hypothesised psychological processes" (Belsky & Pasco Fearon, 2002, p. 362) which make use of the *Strange Situation* classifications to predict developmental outcomes years after the initial assessment of attachment security. One of the earliest critiques of attachment theory proposed by Lamb et al. (1985), argued that longitudinal studies had, after the initial assessment of attachment security, neglected to take the role of subsequent mothering and rearing environment into consideration. They suggested that later socio-emotional functioning could be a result of the rearing environment at the time of the later assessment, as opposed to the attachment theorists presumption of attachment security assessed at the end of the first year of a child's life (Lamb et al., 1985). In a strong critique of attachment theorists, Waters, Posada, Crowell and Lay (1993) stated that "attachment theorists often refer to infant attachment status as if it were a trait-like characteristic that an individual carried throughout life. This has stood both as dogma and doctrine based on empirical research" (p. 217). More recently, Lewis (1997) has furthered Lamb's argument suggesting that it is concurrent experiences that mould psychological and behavioural development. Thus if the care provided by mothers to their infants is sustained over time, it is more empirically appropriate to attribute children's functioning to the quality of the care they are receiving concurrently and not inferred by their earlier measured attachment security (Lewis, 1997).

Waters, Merrick, Treboux, Crowell and Albersheim (2000) using the *Strange Situation* found that attachment security measured at one year could significantly predict working models of attachment in young adulthood. However, in their 20-year follow-up of Waters' (1978) original investigation, it was discovered that early security did not in any way mean that later security was inevitable. Rather, where children with secure attachments experienced traumatic life events, such as parental loss or divorce, they had developed insecure internal working models of attachment in young adulthood (Waters et al., 2000). These findings have been replicated in studies by Hamilton (2000) and Belsky and Pasco Fearon (2002). Thus through a review of research on socio-emotional development, including attachment theory, Thompson (1998, as cited in Belsky and Pasco Fearon, 2002) claims that "virtually all attachment theorists agree that the consequences of a secure or insecure attachment arise from an interaction between the emergent internal representations and personality processes

that attachment security may initially influence, and the continuing quality of parental care that fosters later sociopersonality growth" (p. 58).

Mark Tomlinson - Attachment in the context of HIV/AIDS

Most of the research and literature on childhood development has been produced in the developed world/west, with much less attention being paid to infant and child development in the developing world (Tomlinson, Cooper & Murray, 2005). Despite the fact that 90 per cent of the 135 million children born each year worldwide reside in developing countries, a survey conducted in 2003 suggested that only four per cent of the articles in the major journals on child development were found to address the experience of infants and children living in these parts of the world (Tomlinson, Swartz & Landman, 2003). South Africa is a developing country characterised by high levels of poverty and inequality. The pressures inherent for parenting in the face of extreme poverty and instability which form part of South African society are very different from those on which child development research is usually focused.

Furthermore, the everyday lives of many South African children are worlds apart from those of children growing up in the developed world. Numerous children live in communities plagued by poverty and unemployment, high population mobility and illness. The HIV/AIDS pandemic has had a significant impact on the bio-psycho-social systems in which children develop, with many experiencing illness and death in their immediate families (Van der Riet, Hough & Killian, 2005). A few studies (e.g. Hunter & Williamson, 2002) offer an understanding of the psychosocial risk variables associated with children growing up in this type of environment including: "low self-esteem, hopelessness, anxiety, aggression, depression, behavioural, cognitive and emotional difficulties, inadequate communication and life skills, and poorly developed problem solving, decision-making, and conflict resolution skills" (Van der Riet et al., 2005, p. 77). Furthermore, there is anguish associated with the stigma surrounding HIV/AIDS and the shame and fear it elicits. A study conducted in Khayelitsha, a peri-urban settlement on the outskirts of Cape Town, suggests that as many as 40 per cent of children living in that area who have been exposed to community violence were found to have at least one psychiatric disorder (Lockhart & Van Niekerk, 2000).

Mark Tomlinson can be considered to be one of the leading researchers in mother-infant attachment in South Africa and has been involved in cross-cultural and community intervention research from as early as 1994. An early pilot study of mother-infant intervention conducted in Hanover Park, Cape Town, focused on attachment and cross-

cultural relevance (Tomlinson, 2001). Despite its many shortcomings, this study was perhaps the forerunner in providing suggestions for future meaningful attachment research in South Africa. The Hanover Park Project was a pilot intervention study between 1994 and 1996, conducted with an at-risk sample of mothers in a South African area plagued by poverty, unemployment, and significant levels of child abuse/neglect. Employing the work of Olds and colleagues (e.g. Olds et al., 1997; Olds & Korfmacher, 1998) who are prolific American researchers examining the impact of prenatal and early childhood intervention programmes, the Hanover Park Project aimed to support mothers by promoting nurturing relationships with their infants (Tomlinson et al., 2003). Working with a local NGO, the intervention group consisted of 25 mothers and their infants, who were visited by community workers weekly for a period of two years. The community worker's role was diverse and included empathic listening, dissemination of knowledge and advocacy on behalf of the family where necessary. A variety of outcome measures were used to assess the intervention including the *Edinburgh Postnatal Depression Scale* to measure maternal mood at two and 24 months, the *Strange Situation* was used to assess attachment at two years and finally, the *Griffiths Scales of Maternal Development*, was used to assess developmental levels of the infants at 24 months old (Tomlinson et al., 2003).

Compared with the guidelines for community-based interventions proposed by Olds (1988, as cited in Tomlinson et al., 2003), some shortcomings in the Hanover Project included a small sample size, no randomisation, the use of paraprofessionals to implement the intervention and the absence of a control group from the outset of the intervention. However, Tomlinson et al., (2003) highlight the lack of contextual (political, social, cultural and financial) awareness in the Olds (1988, as cited in Tomlinson et al., 2003) model. The somewhat descriptive and illustrative results of the Hanover project, as well as its flawed methodology, are acknowledged, but the impact which this research had on future work in the attachment arena in South Africa is highlighted. From this project, important and extensive experience in mother-infant work in the South African context was gained, and important partnerships, both local and international, were formed.

While there are many examples of studies assessing attachment cross-culturally (e.g. Van IJzendoorn & Sagi, 1999), by the mid-2000s there had only been one study conducted in Africa (Mali) using Ainsworth's *Strange Situation* experiment. When considering infant-caregiver attachment patterns there are two important factors to consider in a South African context. First, the role that conditions of pervasive adversity play in parenting children and

the subsequent attachment that children are able to form with caregivers under conditions of poverty, trauma and loss (Tomlinson et al., 2005). Secondly, the role discontinuity of care and changing caregivers due to high levels of illness and domestic mobility plays and its effect on the attachment status of children.

Based on these ideas and building on previous research such as the Hanover Pilot Project, with sample selection beginning in March 1998, Tomlinson and others sought to investigate the mother-infant relationships and infant attachment in a South African peri-urban settlement (Tomlinson et al., 2005). The study was conducted in two areas of Khayelitsha, an informal settlement in Cape Town, characterised by significant poverty and high levels of unemployment. Several strategies were employed to find a representative sample of participants, which ultimately included 147 black South African women. With significant methodological improvements (most likely due to greater funding and the accompanying possibilities) maternal mood and adversity were assessed in an interview conducted in isiXhosa by a trained researcher, as well as by Tomlinson, using the Major Depression section of the Structured Clinical Interview for DSM-IV diagnoses (Tomlinson et al, 2005). Mother-child interactions at two months were filmed in a standard interaction as described by Murray, Fiori-Cowley, Hooper and Cooper (1996). At 18 months, they were again observed in a structured play situation, as proposed by Stein, Gath, Bucher, Bond, Day & Cooper (1991). Finally, infant attachment was assessed using the *Strange Situation* as developed by Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters and Wall (1978).

Given the high levels of post-partum depression, as well as the apparent high levels socio-economic adversity, Tomlinson, Cooper and Murray's (2003) research on the mother –infant relationship and infant attachment in Khayelitsha hypothesised that rates of insecure attachment would be high. However, contrary to their expectations, almost two-thirds of the sample (147 mother-infant dyads) were securely attached, which is similar to the proportions of numerous cross-cultural studies (e.g. van IJzendoorn & Sagi, 1999). Tomlinson et al. (2005) believe that one possible explanation for this is the protective nature of the dominant Xhosa social and cultural organization evident in Khayelitsha. Despite the role apartheid played in systematically trying to break down family structures and community cohesion, Tomlinson et al. (2005), somewhat simplistically, suggest that there exists the idea that in a sense, children belong to the community as a whole and the community shared the responsibility for their care and well-being. Furthermore, the extremely close proximity of small houses facilitates a great deal of social interaction and the mutual dependence for child-

rearing, which can be seen as a protective factor against many of the ills associated with extreme poverty. Similarly, low rates of avoidant attachment (only 4.1 per cent of infants in the Khayelitsha study classified as avoidant, versus 22 per cent in the Van IJzendoorn and Sagi (1999) meta-analysis) are possibly related to the fact that many of the houses in Khayelitsha have one room, which means that many of the mother's daily household activities occur in close proximity to the infant and contributes to the mother's constant physical availability. Furthermore, the likelihood of maternal rejection during infant distress is diminished (Tomlinson et al., 2003).

What, then, are we to make of attachment to alternative caregivers in a child's life, particularly grandmothers in the instance of this study? While there is little to no research addressing the attachment of infants and children to caregivers other than parents in a developing context, perhaps it is useful to consider the existing research on day caregivers internationally. Studies of children's attachment behaviour in day-care settings suggest the caregivers can form alternative attachment figures in times when parents are unavailable (Howes, 1999). While the attachment formed with these alternative caregivers may be of a different quality to the relationship with their own parents, there appears to be a similar process to that which takes place in mother-infant attachment formation (Gossens & Van IJzendoorn, 1990; Howes, 1999). Just as higher parental sensitivity is associated with more secure attachment relationships, so too is higher caregiver sensitivity associated with more attachment security (Ahnert, Pinquart & Lamb, 2006; De Wolff & Van IJzendoorn, 1997). De Schipper, Tavecchio and Van IJzendoorn (2008) suggest that if differences in the attachment relationship between professional caregiver and child can be explained by the caregiver's sensitivity, the assumption that "attachment relationships is [sic] based on care-giving and mutual interaction between child and caregiver rather than on genetic disposition" (p. 455) is supported. Furthermore, the frequency of positive care-giving in a day-care environment has been found to be related to more secure professional-child attachment relationships (Howes & Hamilton, 1992). Although far more research in the area is necessary, it is perhaps possible to assume that secure attachments between children and alternative caregivers, such as grandmothers and aunts, are indeed possible if sensitive caregiving is offered as well as caregivers who find the time to display their sensitivity frequently enough. Thus a sense of confidence in their availability and as a secure base is developed, despite the incredible difficulties faced by some children in developing contexts such as South Africa.

In a recent editorial, Tomlinson (2015) suggests that despite the fact that both locally and internationally, a great deal of good scientific data has been accumulating on the topic of infant mental health and early childhood development, donor funding and policy have generally neglected the field. He goes on to suggest that most of the interventions, services and advocacy in this field have been driven by NGOs and similar agencies. He suggests that one of the reasons that infant mental health researchers and practitioners have not brought global attention to their work is because of their focus on "proximal" or "downstream" factors. These can be understood as those factors "that act directly to cause disease or act on the body" (Tomlinson, 2001, p. 538), such as physical health and parenting in this case. This has been brought about by the focus on the mother-infant dyad, which Tomlinson (2015) suggests is both the field's greatest strength, as well as one of its weaknesses because it has meant that an equal focus of the social determinants of well-being has been neglected to some extent. These social determinants are the "distal" or "upstream" factors that are features of the environment such as levels of poverty and discriminatory practices, which act as part of a causal chain on infant mental health and well-being (Gehert et al., 2008, as cited in Tomlinson, 2015). Acknowledging this, Link & Phelan (1995, as cited in Tomlinson, 2015) have suggested that "proximate risk factors are simply the mechanism through which the more fundamental societal and contextual factors operate" (p. 539).

The second reason Tomlinson (2015) highlights for not having had infant mental health at the forefront of advocacy is not unique to this field specifically, but is related to (at a crude level) infants' and children's inability to have speak for themselves and mobilize resources on issues that affect them. In a sense then, my research, while not dealing directly with infants but more generally with childhood development, is attempting to take seriously both the proximal as well as the contextual/distal/downstream factors that contribute to children's well-being. It provides a space through the implementation of specific PAR/narrative theory and methodology in which their voices can be heard and therefore indirectly, mobilize necessary resources. While this research in isolation is merely a drop in the ocean, it can perhaps act as a cog in the wheel to get more funding released to ensure more research from low- and middle-income countries through its use of attachment as one of its lenses through which to understand the impact of domestic mobility on the lives and identities of South African children.

Concluding Comments

The literature reviewed in this chapter has served to situate this research within the broader field of childhood studies. It has demonstrated the need for a multi-disciplinary construction of childhood in which children are seen not as objects of study but as agentive beings. At the risk of oversimplification, this research constructs childhood as a space of ambivalence; one of both "being" and "becoming", one of vulnerability and resilience, and one in which children are capable of signalling that they are both participants/agents in their own lives, whilst simultaneously being in need of care.

The inclusion of the work of Killian establishes the psychological theorisation of resilience, one of the lenses through which the child participants' life-stories will be related. While Killian's research might be criticised for its lack of critical engagement with the concept of resilience, the inclusion of her later qualitative work is significant because of its theoretical and methodological foundations being closely related to this research. Furthermore, Killian's research highlights important questions which this research seeks to engage with, concerning the need for further research to understand the impact which social interventions can have on building protective processes that help to foster and facilitate resilience.

The overview of attachment theory and the inclusion of Tomlinson's work underlines attachment theory's critical position in the foundations of developmental psychology. Tomlinson's work is crucial, as one of the leading researchers in the field of mother-infant attachment in South Africa. He recognises the impact which conditions of pervasive adversity play in parenting, as well as the impact of discontinuity of care and changing care-givers inherent in the idea of domestic mobility as a means of combating poverty. However, while Tomlinson's research seeks to 'measure' attachment, this research is interested in children's understanding and lived experiences of important relationships which extend beyond just that of the mother-infant dyad to consider the possibility of alternative and multiple attachments.

While this chapter has been particularly interested in the theoretical construction of childhood, in Chapter 3 the focus shifts to South African psychological and anthropological empirical literature on the lives of children and the particular contexts and phenomena that impact on their experiences and identity.

Chapter 3 - Literature Review: Domestic Mobility

This chapter seeks to unpack and better understand domestic mobility and its driving forces (in particular poverty and HIV/AIDS), as well as the impact which domestic mobility has on the lives, and identities of South African children. This is achieved by the introduction of current global definitions of important concepts (such as domestic mobility, orphaned and vulnerable children and grandmother-headed households); and the inclusion of empirical anthropological and psychological literature which seeks to explore these concepts in particular South African contexts.

This chapter considers the historical impact and prevailing legacy of apartheid in systematically dismantling family structures and in driving domestic mobility as a coping mechanism for poor families. It also takes into consideration the role which HIV/AIDS has played in creating a higher risk for dissolution and migration when households have experienced multiple deaths and associated consequences because of the disease.

The inclusion of bodies of empirical literature by Fiona Ross, Rachel Bray and Rene Brandt, and Patricia Henderson respectively, highlight important examples of intensive, frequently ethnographic, micro-level studies on groups of particular people (poor people, care-givers, as well as people living in contexts affected by HIV/AIDS). Through a focus on small facets of the participants' everyday lives, the empirical literature can speak to larger societal issues. Furthermore, the research of these authors was deliberately chosen because of the methodological similarities with my own research.

The final section on social protection speaks to the formal and informal measures which have been implemented at a macro-systemic level, or developed at a micro and meso-systemic levels by individual children and families, as a means of coping with the effects which apartheid, poverty and HIV/AIDS have had on South African families and children.

Impact of Apartheid on Family Life

Apartheid had devastating effects on the lives of many South African families. While privileged South Africans lived relatively comfortable lives and were encouraged through western and Christian state-supported ideals to live in stable nuclear families, a significant number of underprivileged and disenfranchised families were wrenched apart (Bray, Gooskens, Moses, Kahn & Seekings, 2010). While apartheid affected all South Africans, the

most devastating effects on the family were experienced by people classified as "African", "for whom the physical and psychological integrity of family life was undermined through the apartheid state's policies of 'separate development', 'influx control' and underinvestment in rural areas" (Bray et al., 2010, p. 49). Two fields – anthropology and sociology – are particularly interested in family structure have thus always considered black South African households as being complex and dynamic, with high levels of adult economic migration. Through the implementation of pass laws, housing restrictions and the control of immigration into towns, many families were separated. Men moved to urban areas to seek employment opportunities, often leaving the women and children in their rural homes and entrenching a widespread pattern of circular migration (Hosegood, Benzler & Solarsh, 2005). From the 1980s onwards, many women began to migrate to the city, forming an increasing proportion of the migrant population, and often leaving children in the care of grandparents or their extended families (Hosegood et al., 2005). Hosegood et al. (2005) suggest that even with the end of apartheid, the circular movement of people between rural and urban areas has been sustained by differentials in economic opportunities, the cost and conditions of living in urban areas and state land tenure systems.

Russell's (2003) research comparing black and white South African family norms suggests that historically, black and white South Africans were raised with two very different kinship idioms. While the prevailing family tradition amongst white South Africans is centred on a romantic love-based marriage and conjugal couple, alone rearing their own dependent children to maturity, historically, black families have been raised against a background of patrilineal extended families with a history of migrant labour (Russell, 2003). Contemporary black South African families' ideas about appropriate family behaviour and patterns of co-residence have been significantly shaped in the past hundred years. Not only have expectations stemming from an agnatic kinship system of pastoral cultivators been confronted by an urban and industrial political economy, ideas have also been powerfully influenced by western expectations originally propagated through Christian missionaries in the colonial era and more recently through urban American ideas of individualism and consumerism (Russell, 2003). Russell fails, however, to acknowledge that within the black South African population there are vast differences of opinion and choice, and there are many cultural norms/practices that are in transition and hybrid.

However, Russell (2003) strongly advocates that the western conjugal-coupled household (the nuclear family) cannot be seen as the norm, but is merely another cultural-specific family

form. It has been greatly undermined in recent years with marriage rates declining significantly, divorce rates increasing, fewer and later pregnancies, more extra-marital births and an increase in cohabitation. Many authors have made the point that some urban black families' move away from cultural forms of kinships is not a move towards the nuclear family structure (Bozalek, 2006; Hunter, 2006; Russell, 2003; Ziehl, 2003). As discussed in Chapter 2, the western notion of the nuclear family forming the foundation of modern democracy within industrialized capitalism is questionable, as it has at times been as oppressive and rigid as any other traditional kinship system, and should be considered as just another possibility amongst many possible family systems.

Russell (2003) notes that in South Africa, public health literature often refers to the current situation of unmarried mothers, absent fathers and female-headed households with reference to epidemiology connecting features of reproductive health and domestic life to deficits among black/poor communities. However, these figures do not indicate an incomplete or flawed transition to the nuclear family. There are similarities between white and black families, such as a need to reduce family size because of costs of living and education, a greater number of women in paid jobs, the pressures of rampant consumerism and therefore the establishment of status through access to goods. However, we must take into account that black South African families "retain their distinctiveness, which is rooted in a different past and a different set of inherited household practices and shaped by a different experience of history" (Russell, 2003, p. 170). Macleod and Durrheim (2002) could be considered as being critical of Russell's stance. In an overview of published and unpublished literature on teenage pregnancy in South Africa from 1970 to 1997, they maintain that although overt racism has disappeared in scientific discourse, a "new racism" has emerged in which "culture" and "tradition" achieve the work previously done by the category of race. They speak of the double-bind created for black families through the racialization of tradition and culture. Even though the traditions of black people are portrayed as breaking down, this does not mean that black people are becoming more urban or modern. Rather there is a "simultaneous depiction of 'black people' as advancing to a more developed state of being and as floating in a sea of culturelessness" (Macleod & Durrheim, 2002, p. 797).

Fiona Ross – post-apartheid life

In her book entitled *Raw life, new hope: Decency, housing and everyday life in a post-apartheid community,* Ross (2010) produces an intensive ethnographic, micro-level study of a

particular group of poor people and their changing lives in the post-apartheid era and in so doing, produces a text in which small facts of people's everyday lives have the capacity to speak to larger issues (Geertz, 1973). The research site was an informal settlement in the Greater Cape Town area known as The Park, which comprised individuals who would have been classified as "non-white" (coloured and black) by the apartheid state. Ross worked with the residents of The Park intermittently from 1991, living in The Park from 1991–1992 and then returning to the research site in 1993, 1995, 1999–2002. In 1992, The Park consisted of about 300 people. By 2000 this number had doubled to 600 and consisted of some of "the poorest of the poor" (Ross, 2005, p. 635). Ross's (2010) research combined a range of methodological tools including surveys, questionnaires, structured/semi-structured interviews, observations, informal conversations, participant cameras and diaries (used with the children in the community) and attendance at community events and rituals. By 2000, it was clear that the residents of this formerly illegal informal settlement would be moved to a planned residential area with low-cost housing, known as The Village, to be funded by an innovative public/private partnership (Ross, 2005).

The people of The Park were largely unemployed; those who were employed usually worked irregularly. Those who had regular income sometimes employed other residents, including children, to perform household tasks, such as cleaning and cooking. Non-kin children were often taken in and cared for by unrelated community members. Ross (2005) suggests that in exchange for some form of labour, sometimes repeatedly, the labourer may get a bed in a domestic unit or a meal. The provision of food for labour was most common amongst young adults. Furthermore, domestic fluidity occurred frequently in the face of domestic violence where women sought refuge in other units within the settlement. In 2005, state assistance for residents of The Village had increased by one-and-a-half times from 1991 and those who received assistance often supported large, extended networks of family and friends. Ross (2005) refers to the idea of "diffused domesticity" in which household functions, "production, reproduction and consumption" (Ross, 2005, p. 636) are shared over a variety of different social configurations and not just within households. Inter- and intra-settlement mobility was common and characteristic of an area where social change occurred frequently.

The residents' attempts to create coherent stable relationships and economic situations for themselves were constantly undermined and complicated by the emotional and financial problems associated with entrenched marginalisation, poverty and illness, as a result of the growing HIV/AIDS epidemic. Ross (2005; 2010) concluded that residents of The Park

created relationships which were often short-lived and flexible, but able to meet basic material needs in the moment. Despite the developers' supposed humanitarian reasons for wanting to build The Village and moving the residents to an area where they would be provided with low-cost brick housing, little thought was given to the impact this might have on the reciprocal social relationships which were a necessary coping strategy for those living in dire poverty. Rather, the developers and community leaders alike saw the urban planning as a means to restrict the unconventional and organic social relationships which were considered to be disorderly and even immoral (Ross, 2005).

One of the major issues explored in Ross's (2005; 2010) work in The Park/Village was that of how marginalised people conceptualise and make meaning of the notion of "home". Through her discussions and interviews with residents, Ross learned that the idea of privacy and relationships within the community were being considered and weighed up in light of the proposed move to formal housing. At the centre of these discussions was the local discourse around the concept of *ordentlikheid*, an Afrikaans word meaning decency or respectability. By means of complex conceptualisation, decency was essentially considered to be innate, but was said to have been lost because of the negative environmental conditions associated with The Park (Ross, 2005; 2010). Many of the residents voiced their hope that the provision of new formal houses and therefore more privacy, would restore some of the respectability that had been robbed from them by poverty, violence and mobility as a result of apartheid policies aimed at undermining the lives of those classified as non-white.

Many of the residents (as well as the developers) agreed that their new "model community" would not naturally occur through the provision of housing, but that would need to take place by developing new approaches to social life and relationships. Developers were particularly concerned with the aesthetics of the development, considering uniformity to be key (e.g. no additional structures could be built on the homeowners' small properties). Stakeholders saw education as central to this process. Workshops (often based on racist ideas) on how to use a flushing toilet, for instance, were seen as necessary to create a model community and model citizens. Ross (2005) poignantly suggests that "there is a deep irony in this instance that rules and appearances have the potential to effect transformations in a context of extreme material impoverishment, where even staying alive requires extraordinary dexterity in managing social relations" (p. 638).

When Ross (2010) attempted to discover what this elusive concept of decency looked like in practice, a complex, interwoven phenomenon emerged. On the one hand, it was suggested that decency was linked to certain kinds of friendly behaviour, while on the other hand, decency was associated with having a particular number of household appliances in your home. What became apparent in 2000, however, was that the only way to obtain this ideal of decency was by obtaining a house in The Park. The hope of a life anew in which past humiliations brought about by poverty could be undone lay for many of the residents in the acquisition of a new brick house on a private property with an enclosed garden. However the only way to achieve this was by applying and qualifying for a state subsidy with which to acquire an allocated house, which meant meeting certain criteria. This led to a flurry of activity around re-engineering social relationships and brought about considerable complexity regarding the ideas of a home and home-making (Ross, 2010).

One of the criteria for qualifying was that the applicant(s) had to have dependents. While the state's definition for eligibility was purposefully broad, it still did not account for the complexity of reciprocal relationships which spanned various households and even different settlements and cities, as a coping strategy against the onslaught of poverty. A second criteria which would have rendered individuals eligible was that they should be married, either through a legal civil union or through habitual cohabitation. While some sought to ensure their eligibility through rapid formalisation of their unions through legal marriages, for others it was more complicated. One young women in her twenties suggested that marrying the father of her son with whom she had lived for at least seven years, would sever ties with her already limited social support network, and would mean that as a married woman she would no longer be able to "run home" to her mother's house when she needed protection from her partner's beatings (Ross, 2005).

Ross (2005) gathered numerous other stories of complex social arrangements of "dispersing dependents", which she referred to as the innovative manoeuvring of reciprocal relationships to meet various needs. This resulted in significant confusion for the planners and developers, unused to dealing with the complexities of poverty and driven by a western middle-class ideal that views the nuclear family form as the norm. While the state's definition of eligibility was driven by legal and economic relationships, rather than moral dimensions, where it failed to completely understand the scope of dependency was in relation to its assumptions regarding the temporal coherence of dependent relationships (Ross, 2005). The state's definition

therefore considered kin and affinal relationships to be relatively stable over time whereas the reality was that dependency relationships were constantly in flux.

Through her research and interest in understanding the process of home-making in post-apartheid South Africa, Ross (2005) proposes that "'home' is an ideal toward which people strive, over which they struggle, and in relation to which they construct aspects of identity without necessarily achieving 'domestic consolidation'" (p. 648). The history of exclusion, migration and mobility which forms such a prevalent part of the country's history means that the concept of home is a complex one – one that is dexterous and in which at different times different people, kin and non-kin, can be incorporated into a home in fluid relationships of reciprocity which often extend across different houses, settlements and cities. The idea of a home also has specific emotional connotations associated with a sense of belonging and respectability and the possibility of undoing past violations and humiliations associated with poverty.

Domestic Mobility

The term "migration" includes widespread rural movement in order to, for instance, gain access to fertile land, long-term movement in response to seasonal shifts and movement to urban areas to seek employment opportunities. However, the broad concept of "mobility" encompasses several types of human movement over various distances, durations and purposes (Hashim & Thorsen, 2011). Mobility includes movement over short or longer distances, of different duration and frequency–from everyday commuting to work to seasonal migration, tourism, pilgrimages or forced displacement due to war or famine (Hashim & Thorsen, 2011). Most importantly, the concept of mobility is not only concerned with movement, but with how mobility is engrained in the history and experiences of people and thus allows for a closer insight into people's understanding of the spaces in which they move and what this movement and accompanying experiences mean for them (Hashim & Thorsen, 2011). Furthermore, instead of conceptualising movement as social rupture, the concept of mobility helps to unpack how various forms of movement are embedded in livelihood strategies and in the everyday social lives of people.

Anthropologists have pointed to the high prevalence of "domestic fluidity/mobility", in which movement of adults and children between households is widespread in South Africa (Henderson, 2006; Spiegel, Watson & Wilkinson, 1996). This frequent exchange of individuals between households is often in response to multiple adversities, such as ill-health

and death of family members, as well as economic insecurity (Hosegood et al., 2005; Russell, 2003). The apartheid state's control of settlement and the ingrained migrant labour system has resulted in the phenomenon known as "stretched" households (Hosegood, Preston-Whyte, Busza, Moitse & Timaeus, 2007). Because members of households are so often resident elsewhere, strong social and financial ties exist between households living in vastly different places and the impact of illness and death extend across varying residential groups (Hosegood et al, 2007). This has been an ongoing pattern that was established during the apartheid era (prior to 1994) because of policies which existed at the time, and has grown due to deepening poverty and the effects of HIV/AIDS (Henderson, 2006; Hunter, 2006; Spiegel et al., 1996).

The concept of domestic mobility has mainly been researched from anthropological, sociological, geographical and/or economic perspectives, with a noticeable absence of psychological research. In the past decade social scientists have begun to consider children's perspectives on and experiences of mobility, as well as take into account whether children's movement is voluntary and taken independently of their parents or instigated reactively by their parents (Hashim & Thorsen, 2011). Hashim and Thorsen (2011) suggest that there has been little exclusive focus on children's migration or mobility; when children's movement is considered, it tends to be as part of the literature on family migration. Furthermore, movement of children without their birth parents is frequently pathologized and these children deemed to be vulnerable. The focus then shifts to the role adults play in the decision-making process, thereby emphasising the supposed coercion involved. Children's roles in their own movement and how these are curtailed and facilitated by their environments and social relations are therefore not considered (Hashim & Thorsen, 2011). Hashim and Thorsen therefore propose that the term "children's independent migration" refers to "the movement of individuals who are under the age of 18, and who are not coerced or tricked into moving by a third person, but who migrate voluntarily and separately from their parents" (2011, p. vii).

Rachel Bray and Renee Brandt – Child-care and domestic mobility

The concept of child-care is a broad one that encompasses a range of activities and responsibilities involving both caregivers and children. This concept has been an area of considerable debate in the fields of research and policy, due to the fact that caregiving activities are mostly ignored or considered to be secondary activities in household surveys

which form the majority of ongoing research in the field of child-care in South Africa. Child-care is thus usually considered in terms of family composition and household economics, which focus on care-giving arrangements with regards to assessing human capital implications (Bray & Brandt, 2007). Little attention is paid to the everyday dynamics of caregiving relationships involving children. Bray and Brandt (2007) suggest that this may be directly related to the alarmist and sensational predictions concerning HIV and OVC, which has resulted in policy prioritization of the so-called "crisis of care". In an overview of existing South African psychological and anthropological literature, Bray and Brandt (2007) found very little work produced by these fields, which are potentially the most useful for understanding caregiving in more nuanced ways. While there exists at least a body of ethnographic research (e.g. Henderson, 1999; Reynolds, 1989) which provides important context with regards to South African childhoods, it still does not necessarily focus on the everyday dynamics of children involved in care relationships in enough detail (Bray & Brandt, 2007). There is still room for research that considers how economic and social changes can affect interpersonal relationships between children and adults as care is performed and experienced at this micro-level.

The possible negative impact of high rates of mobility on family life and child-care is problematized in child-care literature in the developing world and features prominently in policy debate (UNAIDS, 2004; Young & Ansell, 2003). It is assumed that serious disruptions experienced by children who move between different homes and caregivers will undermine stable child-caregiver relationships. According to various developmental theories, this "stability" is said to be crucial to children's "normal" social and cognitive development, as well as their general health. Bray and Brandt (2007) suggest the exact nature of children's and adult's movement needs greater analytic attention. To address these concerns they conducted ethnographic research with caregivers (mainly) and children in Masiphumelele, a poor community on the outskirts of Cape Town which is representative of several poor urban settlements surrounding it (Bray & Brandt, 2007). The data were generated through a series of qualitative studies conducted in the area, which gathered information through observation, as well as formal and informal conversation with adults (mainly mothers who had the primary care responsibilities for their children at the time, as well as fathers and others in carer roles such as crèche staff, community social workers and local clinic nurses), and children (Bray & Brandt, 2007). Despite their findings being context-specific, they are likely to have broad

applicability in South Africa, as in most respects this area is typical of many other poor urban isiXhosa-speaking communities.

Bray and Brandt (2007) found that underlying poverty and the unavailability of employment opportunities lead to high rates of domestic mobility. Furthermore, decisions to move are often made after taking the best educational opportunities and care settings for children into consideration, and keeping the best financial and residential arrangements for parental and grandparental generations in mind. A pattern which emerged in their research involved a great number of children currently living in Masiphumelele who had previously lived with their grandparents in the Eastern Cape until they were about ten-years old, while the children's parents endeavoured to find employment in urban centres. It is important to highlight again that this is not a new phenomenon, as the apartheid state's forced segregation and labour laws served to place severe restrictions on adult movement, forcing families to fragment and "draw on cultural values relating to a sense of communal responsibility for children, and effectively disperse care for children over time and space" (Bray & Brandt, 2007, p. 5). The ongoing effects of poverty and minimal employment opportunities see this pattern continuing. It is suggested that often leading roles for the care of younger children is taken on by members of parental, grandparental and children's generations at distinct times, with shifts in care-giving roles often coinciding with significant shifts in economic circumstances, employment or physical mobility. Additional pressure is created in the case of illness and death as a result of the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Bray & Brandt, 2007; Bray, 2003; Henderson et al., 2011). Children may move back and forth between households and caregivers numerous times and while these moves are sometimes planned, a great proportion of adult and child movement is as a result of unpredicted circumstantial change (Bray & Brandt, 2007). As previously suggested, while this type of ethnographic research provides useful and essential insight into contexts within which care-giving relationships are taking place in a poverty stricken urban settlement in South Africa, there is still room for a closer focus on the social and psychological nuances taking place within in these relationships. My own research therefore hopes to add to the existing body of knowledge in this way, with a particular focus on children's perspectives.

When considering the impact of "disrupted" care-giving settings (as a result of poverty and HIV/AIDS) experienced by a large proportion of South African children, developmental/ attachment theory emphasises the importance of at least one person with whom a child can form an attachment and develop a shared understanding of how daily events unfold and the

spaces in which they occur (Levine, 1990, as cited in Bray & Brandt, 2007). Bray and Brandt (2007) suggest that in instances where there is movement of caregivers or children, the predictability of familiar spaces and the events and relationships which take place in them is threatened. However, in recent anthropological research on migration and identity, Rapport and Dawson (1998) suggest that "when one inhabits a cognitive environment in which one can undertake the routine of everyday life, and through which one finds one's identity best mediated" (p. 10), a sense of being "at home" is achieved. Bray and Brandt (2007) take this to suggest that it is not movement of residence that is negatively experienced by adults and children alike, but rather the problem lies in the sense of vulnerability which comes from an individual's cognitive understanding of their "place" within a set of relationships.

Accounts from Masiphumelele suggest that much of the movement experienced by children took place in familiar places and involved familiar people. It was not uncommon for younger children to speak fondly of the love they had received from more than one person, often a mother and a grandmother. Furthermore, caregiving roles were not always performed sequentially as is usually assumed; often children spent periods of time with both caregivers, for instance during times when mothers went back to rural homes or grandparents spent time in urban areas. Bray and Brandt (2007) felt that children often formed strong attachment bonds with both caregivers and seemed to have some understanding of why it was they lived with specific carers for certain periods of time. This is not to say that unplanned or sudden mobility, specifically as a result of illness or death, is not traumatic and does not cause ruptures in relationships (Henderson, 2006). Such cases can have a great impact on the lives of children who are perhaps vulnerable and sometimes have little control over their own movements and with whom they live. But the continuity and familiarity of relationships and the sense of belonging in the social and emotional sense can serve as an essential "anchor point" (Bray & Brandt, 2007, p.7) in an otherwise disrupted caregiving environment.

It is important to also consider the role relationships with others, both kin and non-kin, play in creating a secure physical and emotional environment for children who are repeatedly mobile. In popular and academic spheres, men and the role they play in their children's life has been cast in a negative light. Some have pointed to the connection between fathers and their children being one based solely on material provision, while others have highlighted the decreasing role men play in every day childcare (Barbarin & Richter, 2001; Henderson, 2006). This representation is given extra salience in a community such as Masiphumelele, plagued by poverty and HIV/AIDS, with high rates of mobility of the adult male population.

However, Bray and Brandt's (2007) research suggests that men can and do play important roles in terms of childcare in a broader sense. There is the assumption that men's contribution to child care is financial and in the face of unemployment, childcare contribution ceases. This appeared to be the case for children aged nine years and older in the Masiphumelele study, as children described their father's action in terms of monetary exchanges, i.e. "the gift he gave me for my last birthday". However, during ongoing conversations over the course of a year, much deeper and more complex relationships with fathers were revealed, but also other adult men such as step-fathers, uncles and grandfathers (Bray & Brandt, 2007). Furthermore, much of the more practical childcare takes place in physical spaces and relationships outside of the direct household. Children often spend a significant amount of time eating and socializing with neighbours and cousins under the supervision of adult neighbours or extended family members, such as aunts and grandmothers. Bromer and Henly (2004) suggest that these relationships with kin and neighbours directly support the child and indirectly support the mother or caregiver, by serving as a buffer against the stresses of poverty and illness. Thus children spend a great amount of time engaged in situations of multiple care.

Bray and Brandt's (2007) close analysis of childcare relationships in poverty-stricken contexts raises some important points and questions. Most importantly, I believe it highlights the notion that although economic security plays a significant role in childcare, emotional support plays as important a role as material provision. Bray and Brandt (2007) suggest that this feature of care relationships goes against simplistic assumptions associated with childcare in poor communities. Often the implicit assumption is that care revolves around practical/economic concerns and that the emotional lives and motivations of caregivers in poor communities are less complex than those of middle-class communities. Instead, they argue for an understanding of some of the very complex ways in which poverty and childcare influence and impact on one another and the need for a comprehensive, multi-perspective, multi-disciplinary approach which sheds light on these important issues. Their research in Masiphumelele demonstrates that childcare takes place in the context of relationships "that are at once fluid and structured" (Bray & Brandt, 2007, p. 13) and that sometimes unacknowledged networks of kin and non-kin contribute to the care of children, both formally and informally. According to Bray and Brandt (2007), while existing models, such as Bronfenbrenner's systems theory, are useful in taking into account the range of relationships in which children are involved, these models (consistent with paradigms from which they draw), risk creating the impression that children's various spheres are distinct and

do not take into consideration the possibility of primary care roles being played by those outside of the current household. Thus while physical and social mobility can have negative consequences, and although poverty significantly shapes childcare practices, neither of these forces are entirely deterministic. Bray and Brandt's (2007) research suggests that both children and adults are able to engage creatively with their environments "in order to achieve individually and culturally constructed ideals for the care of children" (p. 15).

Orphaned and Vulnerable Children

An important factor to be considered is that of "Orphaned and Vulnerable Children" (OVC). The term was initially introduced to counter the existing restrictive one of orphanhood when considering the problem in the context of HIV/AIDS (Skinner, 2004). An orphan, according to UNAIDS, is defined as a child under the age of 15 years, who has lost their mother and is known as a maternal orphan or a child who has lost both parents, and is known as double orphan (UNICEF/UNAIDS, 1999). One of the main criticisms of this definition is that within the orphan grouping, the different layers of vulnerability are not recognised and are instead treated as one system when trying to understand particular situations (Hunter, 1991). Thus Henderson (2006) suggests that often "global terms fail to describe local particularities" (p. 303).

The concept of vulnerability according to World Vision (2002) is somewhat narrowly confined to factors related to HIV, and includes identifiers such as children who live in a home where at least one person is seriously ill or has died, children whose caretakers are too ill to take care of them, children who are in a home where other orphans are being fostered or are living with very old or frail caregivers. Henderson (2006) (and others, e.g. Bray, 2003a) would be critical of this description suggesting that the very limited focus on the vulnerabilities of AIDS orphans clouds the ways in which their circumstances are very similar to other poor children living in that context. Skinner (2004) suggest that there are a number of factors pertaining to the child that are not included in this definition. Such factors exacerbate children's vulnerability and are not necessarily only related to a family facing an HIV-related illness or death. For example, living in the context of poverty, not having access to basic necessities such as shelter or water, no access to education, disability and political repression. It is also important to consider that definitions of orphanhood and vulnerability will differ significantly according to who is doing the defining – an external agency, the state

or the community within which research might be taking place – as each has different vested interests in the impact and consequences of the way in which OVC are defined.

Skinner (2004) therefore suggests that in order to get a valid sense of where intervention and support are most needed and would be best utilised, it is essential to understand the differences in how orphanhood and vulnerability are defined at a macro-level (from country to country), as well as a micro-level (community to community). Skinner (2004) conducted research in three African countries (Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe to develop a basic definition of the term OVC that could be implemented when planning intervention and further research, while still acknowledging the particular context of each intervention/research site. This research formed part of a larger study aimed at developing interventions with OVC across 17 research sites in the above mentioned countries. These would be models for other sites in Africa and globally. The research consisted of a series of group discussions with service providers, orphans, caretakers and members of the wider community in the different sites. The interviews with the above mentioned people consisted of a statement read to each group in order to generate discussion. A thematic content analysis was then employed to analyse the collected narratives. From this, sub-definitions of the OVC term were developed (e.g. child, orphan, vulnerability, caretaker) and thereafter, a working definition of the term OVC was constructed (Skinner, 2004).

While there was a great deal of agreement on many of the constructs in the three countries and various research sites, there were important variation and nuances that are necessary to consider. All the groups extended the previously proposed UNAIDS definition of orphanhood, stating that the loss of parents could also occur if parents deserted the child or if they were unwilling or unable to care for a child. Furthermore, it was agreed that the loss of one parent, particularly if the parent was the primary caregiver, was sufficient to constitute orphanhood status regardless of the reasons for the loss of the parent.

A second concern raised was whether a child who had a caregiver, be the caregiver an extended family member or someone from the community, should be considered to be an orphan. Drawing on notions which tend to idealise the capacity of the extended family, much literature proposes that the term "orphan" is not recognised in an African context (e.g. Henderson, 2006). While the idea that any child in an African context in need will be cared for by the extended family or community was proposed by some of the research respondents, others contradicted this statement. For example, one of the groups from Botswana suggested

that there were two terms in Setswana that described an orphan; one alluded to maternal or paternal orphanhood and another (considered to be derogatory and indicating that a child had nobody in the world) made reference to being a double orphan (Skinner, 2004). In Zimbabwe, many of the groups divided orphans into two groups, those with a guardian and those without, highlighting (as did many of the groups) that being an orphan did not necessarily mean that a child was vulnerable – it would depend on the quality of care the child received (Skinner, 2004). It is also problematic to make sweeping statements that spoke of the existence of a single African context, without acknowledging the vast differences between different communities, areas and cities within in South Africa, as well as the vast differences between different African countries. Furthermore, Skinner (2004) suggests that care by the extended family could sometimes put children in positions of vulnerability, such as in cases where a child's support grant was abused or where the child might actually be abused by caregivers. Henderson (2006) maintains that in the context of the young South African people with whom she works, orphanhood is less about the biological loss of a parent but rather embraces existential dimensions and has "more to do with destitution, alienation and a lack of belongingness" (p. 307). This would mean that on a theoretical level, a child with both parents could still be considered an orphan if they had experienced a sense of being without any social support or place of belonging.

Skinner's (2004) research, state legal documents and knowledge of the context, indicated that the concept of vulnerability could be largely defined as a child not having their basic rights fulfilled and there being a particular problem(s) identified in the child's environment. Particular problems or missing needs were highlighted at the level of the individual (e.g. disability, illness, abuse, huger), the family (e.g. alcoholism, divorce, overcrowded household and lack of resources) and the community (unsafe environment, exposure to crime and violence).

Henderson (2006) is generally critical of interventionist research, suggesting that it often draws on child rights discourse which tends to make assumptions related to "appropriate childhoods" and which emphasise patronising forms of vulnerability at the expense of acknowledging the knowledge, strength and abilities that children bring to bear on their particular situations. Where Skinner (2004) and Henderson (2006) might agree is in their emphasis on particularity/individuality and the need to examine and understand the changing nature of vulnerability in different contexts and from child to child. Furthermore, according

to Skinner et al. (2004), it is important to note that “vulnerability is not an absolute state” (p. 13) and that various degrees exist depending on the specific situation of the child.

Finally, Skinner (2004) sought to compile a general definition of the term OVC, a complex task to which an absolute answer is impossible and only a broad range of factors can be highlighted. First, all the countries and their respective research sites generally agreed that the age limit for the definition of a child should be 18 years. Orphanhood referred to the loss of either one or both parents, which could add to the likelihood of vulnerability. The remainder of the definition is constructed around three areas of dependence: material problems (access to money, food, clothing, shelter, etc.); emotional problems; and social problems (risks in immediate environment, lack of role models or supportive peers, etc.). What was most clear from this research however, was the need for government definitions of OVC to be guided by and in line with community-based definitions which are flexible, context dependent and based on need (Skinner, 2004). While this definition appears to fit the purposes of Skinner et al. (2004), what is entirely omitted is an acknowledgement that even in the face of orphanhood and particular circumstances that add to children’s vulnerability, there are always instances of coping, resilience and strength (Bray, 2003a; Henderson, 2006).

The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Family Life

Empirical studies interested in populations suggest that South African households that have experienced multiple adult deaths, usually associated with HIV/AIDS, during the two previous years are at a statistically higher risk for dissolution and migration compared to households that may have experienced only one or no adult deaths (Hosegood et al., 2007; Hosegood, McGrath, Herbst & Timaeus, 2004). Hosegood et al. (2007) promulgate that in order to understand the complex interactions which make up a household it is essential understand the multiple events that may have occurred within a household over time, as these will all play a role in the current social and financial environment. Furthermore, past events will determine how readily a household is able to respond to subsequent deaths in the present.

In a study which aimed to understand the full extent of households’ experiences of HIV/AIDS in rural Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa, Hosegood et al. (2007) suggest that during the two-and-half years of the study’s observation, many households experienced recurring episodes of illness and death. Many of the households that were already struggling financially were pushed into further financial crisis. There was increased spending during unstable periods involving illness and death, which resulted in a lack of food or trouble keeping

children in school. These findings have been replicated in studies conducted elsewhere in Africa (e.g. Booysen, Van Rensburg, Bachmann, Engelbrecht & Steyn, 2002). As expected Hosegood et al. (2007) found that multiple experiences of illness and death as a result of HIV/AIDS both in households and surrounding social environments lead to strong emotional responses from the individuals left behind. Among these responses was the great distress about HIV relentlessly destroying their families, adding to the fear of HIV/AIDS stigma. Feelings of isolation and lack of community and extended family support were compounded (Hosegood et al., 2007). Hosegood et al. (2007) suggest that the extreme social outcomes of households plagued by AIDS illnesses and death include children being taken out of school or being sent to live with other households.

Hosegood et al. (2005) suggest that child fostering by extended families is partly an adaptive strategy to "optimise individual and household survival" (p. 46). Children's migration is not a new phenomenon or strategy used to meet the needs of children and households in difficult times, but it is gaining significance in the context of Southern Africa's HIV/AIDS epidemic (Ansell & Van Blerk, 2004; Henderson, 2006). South Africa's children have long been involved in fluid care arrangements, whereby both adults and children have been mobile in pursuit of things like schooling, health care and employment (Henderson, 2011). Children affected by domestic mobility thus include not only orphans, but those whose families are struggling financially, and those deprived of labour and income through sickness or death, either of parents or other family members (Ansell & Van Blerk, 2004). Thus Meintjes and Giese (2006) advocate for the use of the term "Orphaned and (other) Vulnerable Children" (OVC), which includes "children who are burdened by the social, economic, physical and emotional effects" (p. 410) of the HIV pandemic. As previously mentioned, Meintjes and Giese (2006) suggest that in a South African context characterised by the marginalisation of children due to significant poverty, the experiences and circumstances of poor non-orphaned children is not all that different from that of children who have lost either one or both parents. Although this will be discussed in more detail at a later stage, it is not uncommon for grandparents to support families and children financially through the use of their old-age pensions, whether they are orphaned or not, due to very high unemployment rates. In view of this Giese et al. (2003) believe there should be a basic income grant for all poor South African families, irrespective of orphanhood. This proposal has been rejected by the state thus far.

While there has been much written both in academic literature and the mass media about children affected by HIV/AIDS, there is limited critical literature about how children are represented in this research (Bray, 2003a; De la Porte, 2008). For example, are they represented as victims, as damaged goods, as orphans alone in the world without any adults around them or as being wilfully neglected and cast aside? Meintjes and Bray (2005) suggest that “what is conveyed both explicitly and implicitly within media texts about the impact of HIV/AIDS on children deserves examination in terms of its impact on public knowledge, policy design and interventions” (p. 148). Furthermore, Bray (2003a) argues that the academic and media spheres’ apocalyptic and alarmist predictions and constructions of orphans as damaged because of HIV/AIDS and as casualties of poverty are both unfounded and ill-considered, thereby misrepresenting the complex problems faced by children and their families in poor circumstances.

Bray (2003a) critically analysed the literature on the social consequences of orphanhood in South Africa, as well as studies undertaken in Botswana, Uganda and Zimbabwe. She draws a comparison between the shared underlying structure of the arguments concerning orphans as a result of AIDS and the idea that children who participated in the South African political struggle for change during apartheid would have detrimental effects on society once liberation was achieved. It was assumed that the South African youth who were privy to extreme confrontations with the apartheid state would carry out indiscriminate violence in the newly liberated state. Similarly, it is assumed that the result of AIDS-related deaths will be result in a greater degree of criminality amongst the “unsupervised youth” (Bray, 2003a). In both arguments, the assumptions and fears surrounding children’s autonomy are directly “linked to the idea of the disintegration of social worlds” (Henderson, 2011, p. 84).

The plight of destitute AIDS orphans is an emotive issue which serves to ensure continued financial support. Bray (2003a) suggests that predictions concerning orphanhood in public and academic literature are often sensational and that it is important to take note of who it is making predictions about OVC. She claims that there is a lack of comparative and contextual analysis on AIDS-related vulnerability and orphanhood, and suggests that much of the research produced by large developmental agencies tends to deal with generalisations. It further makes significant claims of the effects of HIV on families across vastly different geographical, economic and cultural spaces (e.g. UNICEF, 2001). Bray (2003a) notes the misuse of statistics and alarmist predictions that are used to generate large financial support for governmental and non-governmental agencies. Bray (2003a) gives an example of a paper

presented in South Africa, which makes exaggerated predictions with very little evidence in the paper to confirm these predictions. This paper states that "many of these children (orphans through HIV) may become destitute, hungry, exploited, and in some cases completely left vulnerable to all sorts of crime, including child prostitution and drug abuse" (Oni, Obi, Okorie, Thabede & Jordan, 2002, p. 28). What this type of research does is distract attention from areas of social, psychological and economic disadvantage that effect individual children, families and communities dealing not only with the HIV epidemic, but poverty and marginalisation in general.

Often the label of OVC generates certain assumptions around need and vulnerability, from which interventionist programmes are designed and implemented, regularly with little consultation of those at which the interventions are aimed. This means that existing strategies for coping and adapting are not considered, and instead of strengthening these, sometimes interventions can unwittingly undermine existing positive strategies, even when they have the best intentions. Bray (2003a) suggests that she makes this claim "not with intent of reactionary provocation, but with deep concern for the foundations upon which we build our responses to children affected by the pandemic" (p. 52).

De la Porte (2008) suggests that the ideological policy framework concerning children, domestic mobility and social support grants, is drawn most exclusively from conjecture based on attachment theory. As previously discussed, this is a prominent and influential theory of care and development in psychoanalytic developmental child psychology. De la Porte (2008) is critical of this approach and maintains that policy makers, by adopting attachment discourse, presuppose that were a child to lose his or her parents, then it is the extended family that must provide all the "answers to the care challenges" (p. 133). Alternative non-kin arrangements for support would be considered to be less than optimal. This is perhaps a way of placing the burden of care on families often already in dire economic circumstances and gives the state and other major role-players an excuse for not stepping in. De la Porte (2008) however, fails to acknowledge that existing policy also draws on an ecological systems approach to attachment in nested environments. This suggests that it makes developmental sense to, as far as possible, maintain the micro and meso-systemic links and attachments for children in adverse circumstances, thus acknowledging that attachment works as a web of relationships that can serve to "hold" a child if a parent/primary caregiver is lost or absent (Cox & Paley, 1997).

While children have needs such as shelter, food, clothing, adult care, psychosocial support and ideally the opportunity to attend school, they are also actors in a household and are able to contribute to household survival (Ansell & Van Blerk, 2004). The needs and capabilities of children vary according to age and gender, and thus it may be expected that children undertake varying forms of migration, depending on their age and gender (Ansell & Van Blerk, 2004; Henderson, 2006). Many children are involved in domestic tasks such as cooking, cleaning, washing their and others clothes and watching over younger siblings or cousins during certain parts of the day (Bray, 2003a). Thus children's negotiation and participation in such activities and in their mobility between households indicates that care is not experienced as a one-way relationship in which adults give and children take.

It must be taken into consideration that children's engagement in caring relationships can have important long-term impacts on social and emotional well-being. While there is still limited research available globally on what has been termed the "parental child", the context-specific findings do alert us to some potential outcomes for children performing care-giving roles. For example, it was found in the United States Midwest that children aged eight- to 14-years old who were caring for their mothers with HIV/AIDS displayed behavioural difficulties, such as fighting at school. This was due to feelings of stigma, worry and isolation (Keigher et al., 2005). Furthermore, this same study found that adolescents in the same position experienced career and emotional difficulties in making the transition to adulthood. Bray (2003a) maintains that in the United States it would be a highly unusual occurrence for children to be taking care of their ill mother, while in a South African context, children would be doing what was normally expected of them. The essential question to be asked is at what point do children's involvement in household tasks and caregiving relationships exceed local norms and become both social and psychological risks, and what exactly are these risks? Bray and Brandt (2007) suggest that although research with so-called "child-headed households" can shed light on potential social, psychological and emotional consequences of active caregiving roles, there is also research to suggest that children's caring roles are potentially more costly for children in households where adults are sick or dying (e.g. Giese et al., 2003).

Patricia Henderson – HIV/AIDS and resilience

In order to produce her book entitled *A kinship of bones: AIDS, intimacy and care in rural Kwazulu-Natal,* Henderson (2011) spent the years from 2003 to 2007 engaged in intensive

ethnographic fieldwork to capture people's experiences of living with and in the context of HIV/AIDS. This study was conducted in Okhahlamba, a sub-district of KwaZulu Natal in South Africa. The book's various chapters address different aspects of living in the context of HIV and each chapter includes a theoretical theme linked with an ethnographic account of an individual or a group. Overall, Henderson's (2011) aim of this research was to produce an ethnographic account of a period when antiretroviral management was not readily available, suffering was rife and death almost always inevitable. She wished to record the care that people with limited resources are able to bring to bear on this illness, beyond the formal care in hospitals and clinics, and with limited assistance from the state. Towards the end of her research, antiretroviral treatment became more accessible and so her account moves from one of overwhelming death and loss to one where recovery became possible for some people.

Chapter three of Henderson's (2011) book is of particular importance to my own research and centres on the theoretical notions of mobility. It focuses on the everyday lived reality of young people in a rural South African context plagued by HIV/AIDS who have lost one or both parents through death. It appreciates the varied nature of their lives, as well as the multiple relationships of care sought out with adults, both relatives and neighbours. Henderson's (2011) research included 17 girls and 14 boys, who were part of a self-named group called the Leaders of Tomorrow, a gardening and chicken-raising project which formed part of an NGO intervention aimed at OVC. Despite having an OVC focus, members included individuals whose ages ranged from 14 to 20 years, perhaps highlighting the contextual nature of what should be defined as a child, orphan and vulnerability. Research methods included home visits and the recording of meetings between the children and their NGO community workers, open-ended interviews, theatre techniques, accompanying children on household and agricultural tasks, as well as the facilitation of group workshops with the young people (Henderson, 2006; 2011).

In this chapter Henderson (2011) constructs various ethnographic case studies to portray the varied nature of the lives of the young people within the group, briefly considered below.

Sophie Zondo: The story of Sophie, a 14 year old who has lived with her grandmother from a very young age, highlights the absence of parents well before the onset of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Sophie was born out of wedlock and remained with her mother's family after her mother married a man who was not Sophie's father. Sophie's father was not deceased but had left for Johannesburg to find work when she was seven and had never returned. The death of

Sophie's mother was painful for Sophie despite her mother's mobility for most of Sophie's life (Henderson, 2006; 2011).

Happy Mbhele: Happy, a 13 year old, lived in a house with her mother and younger sister. Happy's parents were unmarried. Happy cared for her sick mother until her eventual death in 2000. Happy was the caretaker of her family and was responsible for the household tasks, while at the same time attending school, a 45-minute walk from her home. Henderson (2006) experienced Happy as being stoic but angry. Happy attributed her bravery to her mother's example. After her mother's death, Happy and her sister went to live with her father's brother's wife, a widow with six children. They lived with their maternal grandmother, an *isangoma* (diviner) for a short time, but were often left alone without food for days on end and so the children chose to go back to their father's brother's household. Their father instructed that they be sent away because he had not paid *bridewealth* and therefore felt they did not belong in his family. However, their father's brother's widow enjoyed taking care of them and let them continue to live with her. Happy suggested that they would live with her until they could care for themselves and they would then take care of her. Henderson (2011) suggests that of all the children in the LOT project, Happy and her sister's plight was the most difficult as a secure place in their mother's family could not be found.

In the stories above, as well as others in this chapter, Henderson (2011) highlights the different forms of mobility of the children within networks of kin, while also pointing to the active pursuit of care within these kin networks and other relationships. A final case discussed in Henderson's (2011) third chapter concerns one young woman's mobility, which appears to take on a double nature, "where fluidity is both a gift and an indication of turmoil" (p. 96).

Xoli Bhengu: Xoli is an 18 year old LOT member whose father had passed away. In an environment such as the one under discussion, many children lived with their mothers for far longer than they did with their father, due to the father's migration or the informal nature of parental relationships. Despite this, most young people still marked their identities through their father's kin. Xoli was treated badly by the woman who she referred to as mother, but always doubted that Gloria was in fact her mother and frequently demanded to know who her real mother was. Gloria withdrew Xoli from school at an early age to care for other children and fulfil all the household tasks in their homestead. Even when Xoli organised informal employment for herself, Gloria took the small income she earned. In 2004, Xoli was able to

get enough money for the transport costs to "run away" to her "aunt" in Bergville where she pleaded with her aunt to inform her of her true identity. According to her aunt, Xoli belonged to the Bhengu family, who lived approximately 115 km away. Her aunt accompanied her to Mrs Bhengu, who turned out to be her father's brother's wife. Mrs Behngu was a religious and good woman who much to Xoli's delight invited her to live with her. Here Xoli was able to attend night school. Mrs Bhengu ensured that Xoli received counselling and arranged a family conference with the assistance of a social worker. She also assisted Xoli in obtaining an identity document, by using her own and her deceased husband's documents as though they were Xoli's parents. She was sent to live with her father's brother after she began visiting with boyfriends, but Mrs Bhengu remained a constant and good force in Xoli's life. Xoli's own mobility, driven by her restlessness and turmoil, meant that she was able to have a "second chance" at life and live in a home where her developmental was nurtured and encouraged and where she gained a sense of belonging. Xoli's resilience and determination to have a better life was profound and her ability to be resourceful in the lack of material provision was significant.

In this chapter, Henderson (2011) describes the young people's relationships as being "at odds with the assumptions of passivity and unmitigated vulnerability circulated in discourse concerning 'AIDS orphans'" (p. 83). In all the case studies in this chapter there is evidence of young people's adeptness in drawing on extended networks of kin in order to create a sense of belonging for themselves. What is sometimes less evident but important to point out, is the "layering of pain" which is alluded to in the collected narratives. This chapter also exposes the very different ways in which young orphaned people whose kin networks become seriously compromised are able to draw on other local relationships (with neighbours, peers etc.) to create new networks of care, such as in the instance where two participants entered into early informal marriages.

Many psychological interventions based on a developmental/rights framework, have aimed to find ameliorative interventions and socialize young people and their families to cope with the risks and consequences of HIV/AIDS and provide supportive interventions around parenting (Paruk, Petersen, Bhana, Bell & McKay, 2005). Henderson's (2006) critique of rights-based, development-focused research related to HIV/AIDS and domestic mobility is that it links the idea of parental death/movement, and the subsequent movement of children, to various kinds of social pathology. It is assumed that children who lose their biological parents remain without guidance and therefore do not receive proper care and are in danger of not being

socialized appropriately. The emphasis on children's vulnerability implicit in child-rights discourse has the potential to discount any knowledge and abilities that children may have and makes assumptions about "appropriate childhoods" (Frankberg, Robinson & Delahooke, 2000; Henderson, 2006). Furthermore, Henderson (2011) suggests that in such instances, the ways in which young people are both embedded in and commandeer networks of social relationships which include both other young people and as adults are ignored.

As well as describing the phenomenon of domestic mobility or focusing on micro-practices such as parenting within the family unit, an inter-disciplinary perspective on domestic mobility can serve to render the phenomenon more complex, with an increased need to consider social arrangements and forces. Hashim and Thorsen (2011) suggest that more research is needed to investigate children's choices and engagement in decision-making and how these contribute to understanding their movements in a way that neither "romanticises their strengths nor presents them as passive victims" (p. 17). Such research needs to take into account what the children themselves think about their movement. According to Das and Reynolds (2003), paying attention to children in research about their lives is more difficult than assumed. Such research needs to suspend the use of language used to understand adults, as well as taken-for-granted assumptions about pathology and normality with regards to children's survival strategies. This research thus aims to investigate children's narratives using varying childhood developmental theories to further inform multiple psychological understandings of the influence of domestic fluidity. In line with the criticism of Das and Reynolds (2003), Hashim and Thorsen (2011) and Henderson (2011), it will be important to bear in mind and question the role western developmental theory has played in influencing an understanding of childhood and advocating a particular construction of childhood that might not be of universal significance (e.g. James, 2011).

None of this is to say that the long-term erosion and multiple deaths associated with the AIDS epidemic will not have profound effects on the lives of the young people of South Africa and their social relationships. The point is not to minimise the unbearable pain of children living in the presence of illness and death. The increasing number of deaths as a result of HIV/AIDS and the accompanying increase in the number of orphans, even if inflated, are a cause for grave concern and require immediate action. Henderson (2011) suggests, however, that sweeping one-dimensional ideas about poverty and AIDS are problematic and exclude "texture of lightness, beauty, love, strength and conviviality, often equally present in social contexts of scarcity and pain" that are "excluded from analyses in an attempt to depict the

gravity of the epidemic" (p. 85). Thus while we cannot underestimate the impact of the epidemic on the lives and of young people in South Africa, it is important to acknowledge that there is "improvisation and dexterity" (Henderson, 2011, p.85) even in the face of illness, death and the fracturing of social relations. Henderson (2011) believes the obsession and exploitation of children's personal pain in the face of parental loss in contexts with high HIV prevalence is unethical and that children should be allowed to remain silent and have a choice about when to speak of issues of personal pain. It is however also important to bear in mind that cultural patterns of shielding children from the truth and stigma surrounding HIV may prevent children from being allowed to acknowledge and speak about the pain of loss.

Grandmother-Headed Households

Traditionally, older people in African societies were cared for in extended families and participated in domestic responsibilities such as caring for their grandchildren (Bray, 2003a; Kimuna & Makiwane, 2007). However, the structure and functions of many African societies, as well as the functions of families, have undergone significant change. Kimuna and Makiwane (2007) suggest that there has been a role reversal, with older people often having to take on the role of the main breadwinner and caregiver to younger generations. One example of domestic fluidity is the relocation or redistribution of children through grandmother-headed households. In addition to concerns over healthcare, social security and old age, the elderly in South Africa have for decades been burdened with concerns such as the migration of adult children and unemployment, with the role reversal being exacerbated during the apartheid era and more recently fuelled by the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Kimuna & Makiwane, 2007; Schatz, 2007). In light of the impact of HIV/AIDS on many South African families, the elderly are playing important caregiving roles in taking care of their and others sick adult children, as well as other kin (Schatz, 2007).

According to Monasch and Boerma (2004), 60 per cent of HIV/AIDS orphans in South Africa live in grandparent-headed households. Furthermore, according to the UNDP (2003) the percentage of persons aged 60 years and older is projected to almost double in the years between 2000 and 2030, from seven per cent to 12 per cent due to the increasing mortality rates of young adults, as well as an increase in infant mortality rates. Meyiwa (2011) suggests that for many poor black South African families, HIV/AIDS has forced the re-definition of the concepts of "family", "parenting" and "motherhood", beyond the "traditional boundaries of age, sex and gender" (p. 165). Unlike other diseases in Africa, HIV/AIDS especially

affects the economically productive age-group and it is often the old who are left to care for the young and one another (Kimuna & Makiwane, 2007; Nyasani, Sterberg & Smith, 2009). Women are disproportionately infected and affected by the HIV/AIDS disease (Chazan, 2008; Schatz, 2007). It is mostly women who are expected to support and take care of the sick and orphaned, and thus in addition to age, gender plays an important role in influencing the burden of care in a South African and African context, resulting in an increase in elderly caregivers, particularly grandmothers (Hunter, 2006; Schatz, 2007). In addition, in the reversal of traditional roles, grandmothers are increasingly becoming the sole breadwinner in many households, often through informal employment and the use of old age pensions and child support grants (Kimuna & Makiwane, 2007; Nyasani et al., 2009). Kimuna and Makiwane (2007) found that households headed by older females were far more likely to provide care to their extended families, even though they lacked the essential resources necessary to sustain a family. The phenomenon of grandmother-headed households' effectively becoming single-mother homes without any income beyond social services has been referred to as the "feminization of poverty" (Benjamin, 2007).

Over the past 15 years, the pivotal role of grandmothers has been increasingly recognised internationally by the United Nations Organisation, the World Health Organisation and the World Bank (e.g. UNAIDS, 2004; WHO, 1999; World Bank, 2005). Various international declarations have meant that governments have to take the needs of the elderly affected by HIV/AIDS in to account (e.g. the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing of 2002, as cited in Kimuna & Makiwane, 2007). Grandmothers affected by HIV/AIDS received a great deal of attention from the media and public during 2006, when in the lead up to the International AIDS Conference in Toronto, over 100 grandmothers from southern Africa, as well as numerous grandmothers from North America were hosted by the Stephen Lewis Foundation of Canada. The extensive media coverage portraying the grandmothers' hardships and accompanying courage led to both awareness and mobilisation around grandmothers affected by AIDS.

Chazan (2008) suggests, however, that despite the hype created around AIDS-affected grandmothers, little attention is paid to the elderly when it comes to allocating AIDS resources. HelpAge International (2004) suggests that older people's contribution to sustaining the integrity and functioning of families has not truly been recognised and often older people's need for support to enhance their caregiving roles has been overshadowed by the attention and resources allocated to policies and programmes aimed at the needs of

HIV/AIDS orphans. Kimuna and Makiwane (2007) feel that greater efforts need to be made to support grandmothers in their roles as the heads of multi-generational households, through the provision of educational programmes that cover issues such as budgeting, parenting and dietary issues, as well as the need for separate poverty alleviation schemes outside of the OAP scheme.

Chazan (2008) suggests that discourse around grandmothers is laden with many ungrounded and incorrect assumptions, which have been shaped and used by the media, NGOs and academic researchers, to help fuel the need for funding and support. Through her ethnographic research and survey data, Chazan (2008) illustrates how some of the prevailing "wisdoms" about grandmothers and the effects of HIV in South Africa are not entirely accurate and as a result do not take in to consideration the vulnerabilities, diversity of conditions faced in different African settings, nor the complex social relationships between grandmothers and their families.

Drawing on her own and others studies, Chazan (2008; Schatz & Ogunmefun, 2005), addresses some of the assumptions around grandmothers and the effects of HIV/AIDS. She suggests that the assumption that AIDS is fundamentally changing the role of grandmothers in African families is faulty. Although it has added an additional layer of stress to their lives by altering the reciprocal relationship of care, South African grandmothers have always played an essential role in child-rearing and family life (Chazan, 2008). We cannot assume that the absence of AIDS would result in most South African grandmothers enjoying retirement. The historical and social conditions imposed on South Africa by apartheid and the accompanying system of migrant labour, mean that the disproportionate load born by grandmothers in terms of child-rearing and family responsibility existed long before HIV/AIDS (Chazan, 2008). Furthermore, the media overplays the prevalence of "skipped generation" and "child-headed" households, which do indeed exist but are not yet the principle family form. Instead, statistics on South African living arrangements portray a multitude of multi-generational networks, in which individuals across all age groups reside in households (Chazan, 2008; Desmond, 2006).

Furthermore, it is too simplistic to assume that HIV/AIDS is the primary stress in South African grandmothers' lives. Research and interventions need to also take into consideration that over and above HIV, grandmothers are faced with unemployment, poverty, migration, displacement and their own chronic illnesses. Chazan (2008) suggests that "AIDS is a

profound stress but not an exceptional force" (p. 946). Schatz and Ogunmefun (2005) suggest that while AIDS might not be the most immediate threat facing grandmothers, it is indeed a compounding factor for vulnerabilities which already exist.

It is also faulty to assume that by speaking of South African grandmothers we are referring to a group of frail old women. Chazan (2008) suggests that South African women, on average, become grandmothers in their 40s. Thus many grandmothers caring for their grandchildren are unable to make use of an old age pension provided by the South African government, as only women over the age of 60 are eligible (Schatz, 2007). There is some relief for these women in the form of the child support grant; this is available to grandmothers who are the primary caregiver and are responsible for children under the age of 18. However, this only amounts to a small amount per child, per month. Access to such pensions and grants are also problematic as they require specific legal documentation, such as identity documents and birth certificates, which not all families have access to. Furthermore, while it is true that many grandmothers do live and care for the young in rural areas of South Africa devoid of essential resources, there are an ever increasing number of grandmothers who live and work in urban areas and who are both highly mobile and active in community projects, as well as caring for the young (Chazan, 2008).

Social Protection: Cash Transfers

Formal social protection: Old-age pension and child support grant

Social protection can be defined as all initiatives on behalf of the poor – public and private, formal and informal – that seek to address risk, vulnerability and chronic poverty. The overall objectives of social protection are to reduce economic and social vulnerability of poor and marginalised groups (Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler 2004; Goudge et al., 2009; Holmes & Jones, 2009). The drive to invest in social protection has risen to new heights with HIV/AIDS interacting with other drivers of poverty to "simultaneously destabilise livelihoods systems and family and community safety nets" (Adato & Bassett, 2009, p. 60). While government intervention can take a variety of forms, cash transfer programmes already reach millions of people in South Africa and are increasingly considered an essential part of a comprehensive response to HIV/AIDS (Adato & Bassett, 2009). Children's movement between different households and their relocation to households headed by grandmothers has significant implications for social protection practices aimed at protecting the poor and marginalised. Of significance to this study are two forms of cash transfers (formal social protection measures)

in particular, the old age pension (OAP) and child support grant (CSG) (Case & Deaton, 1998; Case et al., 2004).

Cash transfers are essential in protecting the human capital of vulnerable children and families. Some of the most important ways in which cash transfers work is to improve children's nutrition, health and education (Case et al., 2004; Adato & Bassett, 2009). While other forms of social protection, such as food support, should be an important part of government and NGO agendas, cash transfers offer the very poor immediate benefit and "appear to offer the best strategy for reaching families who are the very poorest, most capacity constrained and at-risk, in large numbers, relatively quickly, in a well-targeted and systematic manner, compared to alternative approaches" (Adato & Bassett, 2009, p. 72). One well-known programme is the conditional cash transfer programme, *Oportunidades* (formerly PROGRESA), aimed at families with children in Latin America. This programme designates cash transfers on a monthly basis to vulnerable families with children based on health-related behaviours of a household and has shown promising results with regards to child anthropometrics and child morbidity rates (Case et al., 2004).

South Africa is said to have the largest social grant system in Africa, with much of the system aimed at reaching vulnerable children (Hall & Proudlock, 2011). The South African CSG and OAP are non-conditional cash transfer programmes. The CSG was introduced in 1998 with the aim of alleviating poverty. It is available to the primary caregiver of a child under the age of 18 years who is not paid to look after that child. Furthermore, the primary caregiver may not earn more than R34 800 per year. The age limit of the child-support grant was increased from the age of nine in 2003 to its current age limit of 18 years, which is considered a progressive and appropriate extension. The CSG qualifies the caregiver to receive R310 a month, per child in their care. The grant is not afforded for more than six children who are not biological or legally adopted (South African Government Services, 2014a). The OAP, now also referred to as the older persons grant, is aimed at individuals 60 years and older who earn less than R49 200 per year. The maximum amount it pays out is R1 350 per month (South African Government Services, 2014a). There have been repeated suggestions that the South African government should consider imposing conditions that require grant recipients to behave in certain ways in order to receive cash transfers, such as those already mentioned in Latin America (Case et al., 2004; Hall, 2011). Those who advocate for conditions do so for four main reasons: first, greater effects are said to be obtained if recipients are forced to take action to improve things like education for themselves and their children and so the grant has

a wider reach and longer term benefit; secondly, gender discrimination is said to be lessened as there is the incentive to send girls to school; thirdly, there is sometimes stigma attached to the idea of receiving a hand-out; finally, those who do not receive grants may be more willing to see public funds, such as their taxes, distributed to the poor if they are seen as being more than a hand-out (Hall, 2011). However Hall (2011) argues that these arguments may not be applicable in a South African context as the existing grants have so far managed to make a significant impact without applying conditions, particularly in the areas of education and health, said to be essential for the alleviation of poverty. School attendance rates in South Africa are reported to be relatively equal for boys and girls and concerns about stigma seem irrelevant when poverty is so prevalent that the many households that receive grants are not an exceptional group. Hall (2011) suggests that the only argument for grant conditions in South Africa is one of political acceptability with regards to those who do not qualify for grants.

While being an essential financial resource for many of the poorest caregivers to provide for their families, the South African OAP and CSG are not without problems, particularly when considering this from a micro-systemic perspective. The greatest of the concerns is that there is a lack of a reliable and effective system for distribution of the cash to all eligible people (Kimuna & Makiwane, 2007). The pensions and grants are usually paid out through a contracted third party at a pay-out point, through a bank or through the mail. There are often problems at the pay-out points, including older women being targeted and robbed, as well as faulty mailing addresses and the like. Furthermore, for those who do receive their CSG and OAP, the amount is often insufficient to meet even their most basic needs (Kimuna & Makiwane, 2007). Thus although the grant helps to alleviate some of the pressures associated with poverty, often it is merely a drop in the ocean for vulnerable children and families.

However, when looking at the effects of these cash transfers from a macro-systemic perspective there is significant evidence to suggest positive impacts for the poorest with regards to education, health and nutrition in the South African context. In relation to education, cash transfers protect and increase enrolment in education through covering school costs, making up for the income lost through children going to school as opposed to working, ensuring that children are better nourished when attending school. In the context of HIV/AIDS, girls, particularly benefit as they often are expected to care for the sick and other children (Adato & Bassett, 2009). In the poor and mostly rural Umkhanyakude district in Kwazulu-Natal, it was found that there was an 8.1 per cent increase in school enrolment for

six year old children whose families received a CSG and a 1.8 per cent increase for seven year olds. The major difference can be attributed to the overall lower enrolment rates at age six in this region. Furthermore, Samson et al. (2004), making use of national level data, note that there is a 25 per cent reduction in the number of children not enrolled in school associated with families receiving an OAP or CSG. Significant gender differences and inequality have been noted, with higher impacts for older boys than girls (Adato & Bassett, 2009).

With regards to health benefits, Goudge et al. (2009), using longitudinal household research in rural South Africa, found that cash transfers mean that vulnerable families are more easily able to cover costs associated with healthcare, such as transport and medical fees, and served to strengthen social networks. However, it was also found that households that did not receive at least two strands of social protection (e.g. cash transfers, social networks, free health services), were severely affected and impoverished by the direct and indirect effects of long-term illness, often associated with HIV/AIDS. In a study conducted in the Langeberg Health District of the Western Cape, Case (2004) found that in households that pool income, the OAP is often used to protect the health of adult and child members by improving the quantity and quality of food consumed, by improving living conditions and by reducing day-to-day stress of household members and thereby improving psychological health. In terms of nutrition in particular, it has been found that an OAP in a household reduced the likelihood of an adult missing a meal by 25 per cent if income was pooled. The presence of a female pension holder had a more significant impact on child hunger than adult hunger (Case 2004; Samson et al., 2004).

Foster-child grant

A further form of cash transfer made available by the South African government is the Foster Child Grant (FCG). This is a cash transfer of R810 per month for each child under the age of 18 placed in a caregiver's custody by a court, as a result of being orphaned, abandoned, at risk, abused or neglected (South African Government Services, 2014b). The FCG was introduced much earlier than the CSG as part of the child protection system. It appears to have attracted a great amount of interest in recent years with the growing concern of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, suggesting that children who have been orphaned require additional financial support over and above the limited CSG. However, by drawing on a combination of primary research and demographic projections, Meintjes, Budlender, Giese and Johnson

(2003) argue that the provision of a grant to orphans as a distinct category of children is problematic and ignores the pervasiveness of poverty across the child population of South Africa and ignores the socio-economic vulnerability associated with HIV/AIDS. Furthermore, it appears that although the CSG forms part of the government's poverty alleviation response, and the FGC is meant to be part of the child protection systems, their purposes have become conflated over time (Hall & Proudlock, 2011).

The process of obtaining a FCG is far more complex than that of the CSG or OAP and is designed to be court-ordered care, which is awarded once a child is found to be "in need of care" as set out by the criteria above. The procedure places a great deal of pressure on the already overburdened social services and court systems, making implementation impractical and results in many who are eligible not benefiting from this grant (Hall & Proudlock, 2011). Furthermore Meintjes et al. (2003) suggest that a social protection mechanism which directs a significantly larger amount of cash to children being fostered, as opposed to those whose parents are living but often very sickly, is inequitable. They suggest that targeting interventions based on a category such as orphanhood significantly incorrectly targets funds aimed at reducing vulnerability and thereby contradicts the South African Constitution's aim to support vulnerable families. It also gives poor families reason to leave their children in the care of others. Also, the proposed legal provisions for FCG's, which indirectly assumes that an orphan is a child who is automatically "in need of care" ignores social context, as often the majority of children who have been orphaned do not find themselves without any adult care (Meintjes et al., 2003). In 2002 the Minister of Social Development announced that the FCG would be made available to relatives who cared for orphaned children, although many families had been doing this for years without government assistance. Following the Minister's statement, the number of FCG's grew rapidly and researchers warned that the foster care system was becoming overburdened and reducing the system's ability to care for abused and neglected children; those for whom the system was designed (Hall & Proudlock, 2011).

Of particular significance to this study are the findings from Meintjes et al.'s (2003) research, which highlights the mobility of children between households as a natural and often preferred response to coping with poverty, illness and death. It also points to the less documented phenomenon of the movement of older adults, in particular to assist in the care of the sick as well as their grandchildren. Meintjes et al. (2003) therefore argue for sensitivity to these patterns of mobility when designing and implementing appropriate policy and intervention.

Yet the FSG contradicts this by imposing immobility as the legal requirement of the grant. This means that the child needs to be in the physical care of the caregiver at all times. Thus when practically applied to the situation of many orphans in South Africa, these legal requirements create difficulties for the extended family networks often responsible for caring for these children, as well as for the social service providers who are responsible for monitoring the foster placements.

Meintjes et al. (2003) argue that an alternative social protection mechanism, specifically a cash transfer programme which is "adequate, equitable and accessible" (p. 54), needs to be implemented, particularly in the face of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Their suggestion is that the most effective way of addressing the needs of millions of children burdened by poverty in the South African context is to extend the CSG to all children up to the age of 18 years and remove the means test component. They thus suggest that a universal CSG would remove the necessity of any additional grants which are biased towards alleviating the poverty of some children only and aid in the practical implementation and insurance of maximum reach of the grant. In this way, the authors believe that impoverished children, irrespective of their parental circumstances, will be drawn into the formal and informal social protection "safety net". Thus far the suggestion has still been denied by the South African government, although many steps, such as the increase in the age limit of the existing CSG, is a positive direction that has been taken.

Integrating formal and informal social protection

From an economic anthropological and sociological perspective, Du Toit and Neves (2006; 2008) conducted in-depth case study-based research in an attempt to understand how it is that poor and marginalised people in post-apartheid South African networks of migration seek to soften the blows of poverty and manage their vulnerability. The research sites included selected households in Khayelitsha, an informal settlement in greater Cape Town and villages in the rural Mount Frere district of the Eastern Cape. The link between these two areas was initially fuelled by the forced migration of men from traditional homelands to seek employment during apartheid which has been perpetuated by ongoing poverty and marginalisation. The data were collected as part of a larger study on vulnerability and the role of social protection, and consisted of an in-depth focus on 11 case studies which were based on a number of visits and interviews conducted over a 12 month period (Du Toit & Neves, 2008). The importance of this research was that rather than the researchers just focusing on

the members of the household under investigation, they included additional households and its members who were identified as important recipients or providers of beneficence in various forms. In this way they were able to document various livelihood strategies, but they also began to understand the complex social relationships intertwined in these activities (Du Toit & Neves, 2006; 2008). Bracking and Sachikonye (2006) suggest that the only way to make sense of how people make decisions regarding the utilisation and distribution of formal social protection grants is to understand pre-existing and underlying practices and systems of informal social protection. Furthermore, Du Toit and Neves (2008) suggest that there are two important phenomena which influence these informal social protection strategies, namely: "complex, spatially extended, de-centred social networks; and deeply sedimented and culturally specific practices of reciprocal change" (p. 1).

The case studies under discussion reveal the interaction that takes place between the system of receiving social grants and frequent practices of informal social and reciprocal welfare. Du Toit and Neves (2008) propose that the different kinds of transactions poor people engage in, be they material, economic or non-economic, suggest that they act as "'bricoleurs': they weave together different livelihood activities, divergent streams of revenue and assets, formal and informal kinds of exchange, into more or less coherent livelihoods" (p. 22). Because social grants in South Africa are specifically cash transfers, and not food stamps, for example, agency is placed in the hand of the recipient to decide what to do with the money. One of the recipients of an OAP in the research under discussion (Mashiya, an older female living with three other female family members from different generations) used this to ensure basic daily needs, as well as to provide capital for an entrepreneurial endeavour in which the household sold sweets to obtain money for paraffin. Furthermore, her OAP allowed for provision to be made for the eldest female member of the household who was sickly, as well as upgrading their home, which was important for their continued independent existence (Du Toit & Neves, 2008). Another case study of a middle-aged female highlights the use of a social grant to provide start-up money for a fruit business from which to support herself, while also later providing money for an important traditional ceremony for her daughter. This was deemed to be important as it would be an investment in her respectability, allowing her to re-marry and return to paid employment (Du Toit & Neves, 2008). Despite there only being a relatively small number of case studies under investigation, the documented variety of benefits made possible by social grants included the purchase of basic necessities, the support of various activities, cellular communication expenses, purchase of goods for resale,

schooling, medical expenses and obtaining building material (Du Toit & Neves, 2008). The authors therefore suggest that policy makers need to take into consideration opportunities to support hybrid livelihoods by promoting links between formal and informal social protection rather than breaking it down. The benefits of social protection grants are well documented as benefiting spatially extended kin networks.

It is of course important not to romanticise the use of social grants and in the process take away the state's responsibility to deal with structural poverty and marginalisation. Often grants are used in ways that do not benefit the intended recipient. This is particularly true in the case of children fostered by extended kin. Du Toit and Neves (2008) suggest that the use of social capital amongst extended networks of kin is often accompanied by tension and conflict and should not be simplified to a choice between selfishness and altruism. Instead decisions should be considered against a backdrop of power relations and leverage that impact on inter- and intra-household decisions around the distribution of benefits within the various social networks and through different reciprocal exchange practices described in this research. These come about as a result of strong social pressures, hopes of building social credit for future reciprocity and a history of obligation (Du Toit & Neves, 2006; 2008). How people choose to use their grant is also shaped by their social standing and role within families, with men and women who invest heavily in the wellbeing of their families often doing so in different ways (e.g. economic assistance vs. care-work). The particular investments of their pension by older women in families is highlighted by Duflo (2003), but extended to include their investment in the broader wellbeing of their families and particularly in children, through essential unpaid household and care work.

Finally, Du Toit and Neve's (2006, 2008) research highlights the important role that social grants play in the lives of many South Africans, but speaks very clearly to the ameliorative nature of this process rather than a transformative one. Furthermore, the authors suggest that while for many, social networks act to ameliorate vulnerability in certain ways, for some they create news forms of vulnerability. While informal and formal social protection are certainly routes to the reduction of poverty through small scale employment and investment, these are merely a way of "plugging holes" rather than a solution to the widespread existing chronic and structural poverty. Du Toit and Neves (2008) suggest that as things stand, social protection is merely a means to a kind of "sustainable poverty" (p. 24) and ensures the maintenance of political power for those in charge, but will not have any significant effects

on the root dynamics which continue to drive social and economic inequality and marginalisation, despite the fall of apartheid.

Concluding Comments

This chapter has questioned the usefulness of global definitions (of domestic mobility and OVC in particular) through the inclusion of empirical literature which highlights the 'local particularities' inherent in different contexts which these conceptual definitions ignore. This chapter has highlighted that sweeping, one-dimensional claims about contexts affected by poverty and HIV/AID are problematic and exclude other possibilities. In this research it is essential to consider domestic mobility from an intensive, micro-level, contextual perspective which gives space to the voices of those affected, rather than just considering it from a perspective of deficit and damage.

This chapter has highlighted the existence of some important ethnographic research on the lives of poor and marginalised South African families. It has however also highlighted the need for further research which is interested in the everyday, interpersonal dynamics which play out in important relationships, and which considers the psychological nuances inherent in complex social relationships. This research aims to rectify this need, while at the same time providing spaces for children's voices on important issues pertaining to their lives.

Furthermore, my own research sets out to achieve the aims stated above from a narrative methodological perspective, using methods of enquiry utilised by Ross and Henderson, in order to construct in-depth life-story narratives of the child participants. Chapter 4 therefore shifts to focus on understanding the narrative approach which informs this study and how it is the narrative approach itself which allows for an innovative and alternative perspectives on the issues identified in the previous two chapters.

Chapter 4 - Narrativity

This chapter introduces the narrative theoretical and methodological approach which underlies and informs the research at hand. It begins with understanding the historical shifts away from realism towards a narrative approach, which (importantly for my own research) allows room to see different layers of meaning in children's stories of domestic mobility and to bring these into a useful dialogue with each other, in order to understand more about individual and social change. In considering the 'art' of narrativity, it becomes clear that it is impossible to make sweeping statements about groups of people and their experiences, and instead what a narrative approach promotes is an understanding of varying contextual factors.

The work of Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992), is introduced in this chapter as a means of highlighting the importance of critiquing taken-for-granted knowledge and assumptions about children and so-called appropriate childhoods, constructed by psychology and other interested disciplines. There is a deliberate inclusion of psychologists whose work deconstructs theories of childhood from a strongly narrative position, making it particularly pertinent for consideration in the context of the research at hand. Furthermore, their work speaks to the impossibility of measuring characteristics of childhood and instead focuses on situated truths and the possibility of a multiplicity of stories.

This chapter then moves on to the consideration of two psychological and narrative theorists – Michelle Crossley and Michael Bamberg – and the theoretical lenses and methodological tools which each independently brings to the narrative field of inquiry and the research under discussion. When considering the research on children's lived experiences of loss and domestic mobility from either of these perspectives (Crossley's phenomenological life-story approach and Bamberg's functionalist and action-orientated approach), each on their own omit certain important elements. This chapter argues that to consider them as co-existing and complimentary, adds depth and richness to understanding children's individual and personal experiences of domestic mobility.

The Narrative Turn

It is difficult to establish exactly when narrative study started as a large number of fields have informed narrative inquiry (Czarniawska, 2004; Riessman, 2008). Contemporary interest in narrative inquiry may be traced back to the Russian literary formalists, such as Propp and

Bakhtin, whose work first received recognition in the 1960s after being translated into English and French (Czarniawska, 2004).

Interest in narrative study moved beyond literary theory and it became an object of study in the social sciences and humanities (Riessman, 2008). At the same time, the post-war increase in humanist approaches influenced contemporary interest in both sociology and psychology (Squire, Andrews & Tamboukou, 2008). Historian Hayden White controversially proclaimed that history did not exist as a profession, only historiography. He maintained that historians could not "find" and describe events in history, only plot them (Czarniawska, 2004). According to Czarniawska (2004), Labov and Waletsky, made strides in socio-linguistics, while Richard Harvey Brown (emulating Bakhtin) introduced the idea of "a poetics of sociology". By the end of the 1970s, narrative theorising was evident in sociology and economics, with psychologists such as Bruner (1986) and Polkinghorne (1988) advocating the central role of narrative in their field. Thereafter narrative inquiry was driven by the New Criticism of traditional hermeneutics, lead perhaps by the formidable character of Paul Ricoeur writing in the 1980s. Ricoeur (1991) considered and combined ideas from various fields and related these all to his chief interest – the connection between narrative and temporality. According to Czarniawska (2004), by the 1990s narrative analysis had become an established methodological approach in the social sciences.

Riessman (2008) noted that now the realist descriptions of positivism informing anthropology and sociology of the early 20th century had been replaced with ethnographies that acknowledged and included the subjectivity of both the researcher and participant. The mechanical metaphor, which was adopted from the natural sciences and which claimed to be able to objectively stand outside experience and comment on it, gave way to narrative studies that "position the investigator as part of the field, simultaneously mediating and interpreting the 'other' in dialogue with the 'self'" (Riessman, 2008, p. 17).

During the 1980s, a fertile space developed in the feminist arena for interdisciplinary writing, with significant contributions by literary scholars. According to Riessman (2008) this was when narrative turned a significant corner, with a decentralisation of the objective/realist/removed representation of the female subject. Instead there emerged an interest in the context as well as the relationship between the narrator and interpreter. This was furthered by theorists such as Mischler who released a book in 1986 that radically revised how research interviews were conducted, claiming that the interview should be

considered as an event in itself. Also in 1986, Sarbin and Bruner (and Polkinghorne a few years later) made significant contributions to narrative theory in psychology. Common to these texts was their assumption of the fluidity of the boundaries between the social sciences, humanities and arts (Riessman, 2008). This significant cross-disciplinary shift differed significantly from the realist assumptions that dominated at the time. Bruner (1986) goes so far as to date the shift, noting the appearance in 1981 of a group of cross-disciplinary essays from literary theory, anthropology, history and psychoanalysis all asking very similar questions regarding "textuality".

Kirstn Langellier (as cited in Riessman, 2008), a critical feminist theorist, suggests that four movements shaped the turn away from realism towards narrative in significant ways. The first was the social sciences' critique of positivist modes of enquiry and their realist foundations. Secondly, the "memoir boom" in literature and popular culture helped shape the narrative turn. Thirdly, the "identity movements" of freedom for the marginalised (such as people of colour and women) and finally, the growth in the therapeutic culture and interest in an exploration of the personal life through therapy. Corinne Squire (2008), a psychologist, located the emergence of narrative within larger movements in the social sciences in late 20th century western thought, which moved away from practices specific to certain disciplines as well as the practice of the investigator (researcher) controlling the research engagement entirely. Thus, the turn towards narrative was part of a scholarly trend towards inter-disciplinarity. These shifts in thinking brought with them an interest in the unconscious, language and biography. Power hierarchies in research relationships were exposed and reflexivity/inter-subjectivity considered.

While most of those working in the narrative field would agree that the turn to narrative has already occurred, some have gone so far as to suggest that we are in a second wave of narrative analysis and that there is already "a 'new' narrative turn" (Georgakopoulou, 2006, p. 128) emerging. Others, such as Schiff (2006), suggest that narrative still occupies a marginal position in many disciplines and cautions that narrative inquiry may be discarded before it has had time to reach its full potential. Smith (2007) suggests that these differences in opinion bring about a number of empirical questions to be considered. He asks an extremely important question about whether or not narrative work is being published and disseminated only within exclusively narrative circles and speciality journals and what the effect of this is on the field? Finally, Smith (2007) suggests that if we are to take into

consideration the long history of narrative in certain fields, perhaps it is more appropriate to describe the turn to narrative as a "(re) – turn" (p. 394).

Apart from the theoretical shifts of the 1960s which impacted on the turn towards narrative, there were other more practical developments that permitted a greater focus on the close reading of texts evident in narrative inquiry. Riessman (2008) suggests that despite rarely being mentioned, advances in technology were a major factor in the development of narrative inquiry as a sub-category of the larger qualitative field. The advancement in small and accessible recording equipment meant that naturally occurring conversations could now be recorded verbatim. This opened up spaces for questioning language use and the relationships between what participants were saying and how this was interpreted by researchers. The study of visual narrative also became possible (such as is the case in this research) with easier access to inexpensive cameras and video cameras.

Narrativity – The State of the Art

What is narrative?

The term "narrative" is not simple to define (despite often being used synonymously with "story") and has come to have different meanings in different fields (Riessman, 2008). Although narrative theory first developed from the examination of literary texts, Riessman (2008) suggests that a variety of texts can be considered narratively, including written, spoken and visual material. Simply, narrative can be defined in its oral form as a group of events that are selected and connected into a particular sequence (with temporal and/or causal coherence) to convey a specific meaning to the listener (Laszlo, 2008; Riessman, 2008). Thus, although the way the term is used varies significantly in the different social science disciplines working with first person accounts, all have in common the fundamental concept of contingency – the consequential linking of ideas/events. Narratives do not speak for themselves, and cannot provide a window into a kind of "essential self" that can be discovered and described; they require interpretation (Atkinson & Delamont, 2006). Narratives are produced at a particular time in history and for a particular audience, thereby drawing on particular discourses and assumptions available in particular cultures. When used as part of research these narratives therefore require detailed interpretation, called narrative analysis, which is accomplished in a number of different ways, depending on the objective of the analysis and theories from which it draws (Riessman, 2008).

Unlike many other qualitative frameworks for research, such as grounded theory or interpretive phenomenological analysis, narrative research does not have easily defined beginning and end points, which sometimes exist with the analysis of specific elements of language (Squire et al., 2008). Riessman (2008) usefully considers the operationalization of narrative on a continuum of academic disciplines. She suggests that at one end there will be theorists such as Labov who, using oral discourse, may analyse a research participant's extended tape-recorded answer to a single question about a violent incident. This is a social linguistics approach to the definition of narrative. At the other end of the continuum Riessman (2008) approaches narrative from an anthropological or historical perspective. The narrative might refer to an entire life-story, put together by collating parts from interviews, existing documents and observation. Finally, Riessman (2008) suggests that somewhere in between these two approaches, we may find the discipline of psychology. Here, personal narrative could include long sections of dialogue, developed over one or many interviews or therapeutic interactions with a series of stories evolving and being framed/shaped through interaction.

Narrative inquiry – similarities and differences

While it is virtually impossible to make definitive claims about the field of narrative inquiry, there are a number of broad views that seem to be supported by various theorists across a variety of fields. These contribute to an understanding of narrative inquiry and what it aims to achieve. However, not all theorists in the field agree with one another, as it is inherently a field characterised by tension and differences, as well as similarities (Smith, 2007). For example, theorists such as Gergen and Gergen (2006) forefront the idea of narrative as a cognitive structure while others such as Smith (2007) consider narrative to be discursive actions. Squire, Andrews and Tamboukou (2008) suggest that theorists (of whom I am one) working in the field and driving them to continue framing their research in narrative terms are united by the fact that they believe that by doing so they are able to "see different and sometimes contradictory layers of meaning, to bring them into useful dialogue with each other, and to understand more about individual and social change" (p. 1). Narrative inquiry has the following advantages: it allows investigation into the mechanics of story construction; gives insight into how narratives are constructed by different people; it explains who constructed the story and for whom the story was constructed; and explores how narratives are either contested or accepted, as well as silenced (Squire et al., 2008).

Smith (2007) in a special issue of *Narrative Inquiry*, entitled "Narrative – the state of the art" aims to encapsulate some of the central views that hold narrative together, while Squire, Andrews and Tomboukou (2008) in their book entitled *Doing narrative research*, look at the theoretical divisions.

The study of the self/identity

An area of narrative research where there appears to be broad agreement concerns the study of the self and identity. Smith (2007) suggests that narratives play an important role in the process of constructing selves and identities (e.g. Crossley, 2000a; Gergen & Gergen, 2006). Social constructionist approaches to the study of the self and identity are often referred to as "language-based" and are at odds with the implicit assumptions of the study of the self often found in "traditional" personality and social psychology, which are generally behaviouristic or psychoanalytic in nature (Crossley, 2000a). Here, from a realist perspective, it is assumed that the self exists as an entity in its own right and can be found and described in similar ways to any other object, living or not. This is considered to be problematic from a social constructionist (narrative) perspective in which the study of the self is seen to be undistinguishably linked to language (Crossley, 2000b; Smith, 2007). A narrative approach, broadly speaking, proposes that people make sense of themselves through the stories they construct about themselves and others. While these stories are personal, they are also entirely social (formed in social interaction) and therefore influenced and shaped by context, audience, setting and the narrative resources available to those constructing the stories. The stories serve to *frame* what may be said and how it can be narrated (e.g. Bamberg, 2006; McAdams, 2006; Taylor, 2006).

Crossley (2000b) suggests that this leads to an understanding of the self as "a phenomenon characterised by interpretation, variability, reflexivity, flux and difference" (p. 529). From this perspective, it is impossible to make sweeping claims about the nature of people and their experiences, as these will differ significantly depending on varying contextual (cultural and historical) factors. Furthermore, Smith (2007) suggests that people use narratives as important social functions to demonstrate "moral force" and achieve "social status". This further serves to highlight the fact that stories speak about facets in relation to others, often unpredictably, as they allow for multiple interpretations and perspectives.

Smith (2007), referring to many of the articles in the special issue of *Narrative Inquiry*, points out that to make "meaning" is an inherently human function. It is suggested that being

human means actively constructing and interpreting meaning, and that people use narratives in the process of meaning making (Squire, 2008). Therefore, the link between narrative and meaning is of the utmost importance in understanding any kind of human behaviour. Many suggest that it is this focus on the relationship between meaning and narrative that distinguishes narrative inquiry from other social sciences. According to Atkinson and Delamont (2006), narratives are thus able to provide researchers with valuable insights regarding how people organise and make sense of their experiences.

Event vs. experience-centred narratives

In the field, there are clear differences in approach – one approach focuses on narratives of specific events (event-centred) that have occurred in the life of the narrator; the second focuses on the narrator's experience (experience-centred) (Squire et al., 2008). Labov (2006) is perhaps the theorists who best describes the research focus on events and is interested in the spoken recounting of particular events that happened to the person telling the story in the past. Squire (2008) suggests that when personal experience is considered in terms of narrative "events", three central narrative elements are omitted:

> Talk that is not about events but that is nevertheless significant for the narrator's story of "who they are".
>
> Representation itself. The uncertain, changeable nature of written, spoken and visual symbol systems means that stories are distanced from the happenings they described, have many meanings, and are never the same when told twice.
>
> Interactions between storyteller and listener, researcher and research participant, in the co-construction of stories. (p. 41)

Others, (e.g. Riessman, 2008; Squire, 2008), who are more concerned with experience, are interested in investigating a range of stories – these can vary significantly in length and can be about things that might have happened to the narrator or they may be about topics of which the only the narrator has heard. This experience-centred framework dominates current social science narrative research and is often related to the work of Paul Ricoeur (1991). Squire (2008) suggests that this work relies on the phenomenological assumption that "experience can, through stories, become part of consciousness" (p. 41). This approach makes four assumptions about narratives: they are both sequential and meaningful; they are

definitively human; and are capable of "re-presenting" experience; and there is a link between narrative and transformation or change (Squire, 2008). Furthermore, experience-centred research often makes use of narratives from a range of media, including spoken, written (letters, diaries), and visual (photos, visual diaries) material (Squire et al., 2008). Craib (2000) however cautions against including such a wide range of material as narrative data, claiming that a lack of specificity may result in losing the descriptive and explanatory power of narrative data. Riessman (2008) also expresses concern and suggests that despite the recent popularization (and accompanying loss of specificity) of the term "narrative" in the media and everyday society, all talk and text is not necessarily narrative. She posits that "narrative is everywhere, but not everything is narrative" (Riessman, 2008, p. 4).

Where event-centred and experience-centred types of individually-orientated narrative research concur is that both believe narrative allows for the external expression of events, thoughts and feelings. While event-centred research considers these individual/internal representation of occurrences to be relatively stable, experience-centred research suggests that these representations can vary significantly over time, so that very different stories could be told by the same person about a single occurrence depending on the audience it is being told to and the context in which it is being recounted (Squire et al., 2008; Crossley, 2000b).

Perhaps, a third type of research to consider which isn't quite encapsulated by either event- or experienced-centred understanding, is one that is particularly interested in co-constructed narratives which develop in conversation (e.g. Bamberg, 2006: Georgakopoulou, 2006). Here the thinking is that narratives are not so much an expression of internal states (thoughts and feelings), but are dialogically constructed and are interested in the social function of stories (Bamberg, 2006; Squire et al., 2008). This socially orientated research focuses on the influence of the audience and "how personal stories get built up through the conversational sequences in people's talk" (Squire et al., 2008, p. 6).

Agency – big vs. small stories

When considering the difference between socially and individually orientated narrative research, there is further divergence that is of particular importance for the research at hand. Some theorists are interested in the agency of narratives/narrators while others believe that there is no relationship between agency and narratives/narration (Squire et al., 2008). Research approaches that focus on personal experience most closely assume the essential link between narrative and agency. Here the significance of stories are seen as a way of building

up an individual's personal identity and agency (such as Crossley). Research that focuses on the co-constructed nature of stories as talk-in-interaction is more concerned with the number of different and "troubled" subject positions which the storyteller can occupy (Georgakopoulou, 2006). Bamberg (2008) would suggest that it is in these very co-constructions of various subject positions that the very essence of agency is practiced.

A recent and particularly pertinent (to this research specifically) division in the narrative field is concerned with the idea of "small" versus "big" stories (Bamberg, 2006; Georgakopoulou, 2006). Theorists who have shifted their focus to small stories advocate for greater attention being paid to the positioning of the speaker/audience/subject and micro-linguistic structure which occurs naturally in everyday, naturally occurring conversation. Squire, Andrews and Tamboukou (2008) suggest that generally, the small-story emphasis tends to prioritize events over personal experience (more closely aligned with event-centred research) but with a significantly broadened definition of the term "event". This emphasises the socially orientated over the individual experience, with attention given to the social/context in both micro-social versions, as well as in wider cultural context alternatives.

Squire, Andrews and Tomboukou (2008) suggest that the focus on the small-story manages to bring together the Labovian concern with naturally occurring stories and a discourse analytic focus on natural language. However, in contrast to existing research, small stories apply these to a wider, more social range of narrative phenomena. While big-story advocates such as Crossley (2000a) who are interested in life-stories and biographical research might argue that "experiential richness, reflectiveness and validity of big stories" (Squire et al., 2008, p. 8) is lost, those writing from a small-story perspective often do acknowledge the additional value which big story research brings to the table.

Operationalization

Finally, Smith (2007) in his summary of common ideas that appear in the special issue of *Narrative Inquiry*, suggests there is a trend towards working with narratives in either a "formulaic" or "playful" (p. 392) manner. This might best be understood by (once again) considering this operationalization on a continuum. For example, at one end of the continuum would be theorists such as Labov (2006) whose work is more *formulaic* and is rooted in structuralism. Labov's (2006) method would include highly standardized approaches to transcription and analysis, which would be used in a mechanical and prescriptive manner in each analysis. At the other end of the continuum would be theorists such as Taylor (2006)

whose work with narratives is more *playful*. Theorists can use transcriptions with limited detail. They also often make use of and present extended accounts of participants' narratives. Interpretations of narrative accounts, which are by no means less plausible, are arrived at through more flexible analytical methods as opposed to the strict formulaic application previously considered. What is produced might resemble what Van Maanen (1988) refers to as a "realist tale".

Concerns and Cautions over the Popularization of Narrative

The focus on language or lack thereof in contemporary narrative research is contentious. While a focus on narrative brings with it the implicit assumption of a focus on language, research which is interested in social realities or the expression of individual experience (as much social science research is) often tends to neglect the focus on language and concentrates instead on the meanings of the stories (Squire et al., 2008). Narrative language as a secondary consideration is thus a broad trend in contemporary narrative research in small and big stories alike. While an obsession with narrative language in social science research is perhaps not the answer, Squire, Andrews and Tamboukou (2008), like Derrida (1985, as cited in Squire at al., 2008), suggest that perhaps more focused and deliberate attention on narrative language might well be necessary.

Atkinson and Delamont (2006) take a cautious approach to the recent explosion in popularity of the exploration of narratives which, they believe, stems from what they have termed "the interview society". In the west, the interview and personal revelation phenomena have assumed unprecedented popularity: there is mass distribution of personal stories and anyone can have their stories or problems turned into a product for consumption by the public. Furthermore, particular professions make prolific use of the concept of narrative making it an accepted but often unscrutinised, part of popular discourse (Squire et al., 2008). For example, politicians are described as paying close attention to "the people's narratives", journalists explicate the "underlying narrative" of their piece or we citizens are encouraged to hear the stories of other's struggles in order to bring about true understanding. Perhaps a good example of this in the South African context was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This was established after 1994 to create spaces within which victims and perpetrators could have their stories heard and acknowledged.

Atkinson and Delamont (2006) fear that by becoming swept up in this "interview phenomenon", narrative inquiry has lost its distinctive scrutiny and analytical edge. They

maintain that narratives are a natural phenomenon by means of which social life takes place and therefore need neither advocacy nor defence. They stress the importance of both narrative and narrative inquiry, but caution against a "celebration" of narrative over analytical rigour.

Atkinson and Delamont (2006) also claim that when narratives are collected for research purposes (regardless of their form, e.g. life stories, etc.), there needs to be a clear explanation of the social and cultural contexts of the stories and what impact the context may have had on the narrative under consideration. Furthermore, there are particular narrative conventions which differ from context to context; these will significantly alter the type of story and way in which stories can be told. In my research, therefore, my aim has been to constantly reflect both on the context in which my research was taking place (a rural town in the Eastern Cape where poverty is endemic and where children are positioned in particular ways in the Xhosa culture), as well as on my own position as the researcher (a young white woman with particular perceptions linked to a tertiary institution).

In his earlier writing, Atkinson (1997) warns particularly of the use of narrative in what he refers to as a "recuperative" role, which aims to "give voice" to marginalised groups (such as children). He is highly critical of claims that material from extended personal narratives can, in an unmediated way, offer some kind of interior knowledge of an "authentic self". Atkinson (1997) uses illness narratives such as those collected by Riessman (2008), as an example of understanding people who are living with an HIV positive diagnosis. Atkinson (1997) declares that individuals who are privy to personal experiences, or recipients of reported events cannot then assume to having access to a kind of "truth". Rather, all experience, personal or otherwise, is impacted upon by cultural convention and social context, action and interaction. He argues that social scientists need to apply as much critical engagement to a personal illness narrative than they would to any other type of narrative. Atkinson and Delamont (2006) therefore believe that all narrative analysts need to treat collected narratives "as 'accounts' and as 'performances'" (p. 166). Furthermore, the authors suggest that while an exploration of "muted" voices might carry political significance, they cannot be considered to be "authentic" or the "truth", merely because of the social position of the teller. Instead they suggest that "the testimony of the powerless and the testimony of the powerful equally deserve close analytical attention", as "moral commitment is not a substitute for social-scientific analysis" (p. 170).

Stories of Childhood: Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers

Situating Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers

The history and foundations of developmental ideology locate it in modern western industrialised society. The geographical and temporal location, as well as the agendas of primary texts of child development are therefore entirely specific. Crossley (2000a) suggests it was during the 1980s that social constructionist approaches really began to criticize the realist assumptions that were the foundation of traditional psychology, including developmental thinking.

Drawing from social constructionist, postmodern and post-structuralist critiques of developmental theory, Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992), who are psychologists, produced an important text entitled *Stories of childhood: Shifting agendas of child concern,* which deconstructs (psychological and other) theories of childhood from a strongly narrative position, making it particularly pertinent for consideration in the context of the research at hand. Their main premise in this text was that the notion of "childhood" is constructed through its telling. Meant as a "radical challenge" (Stainton-Rogers & Stainton-Rogers, 1992, p. 7) to existing theory on development, the authors suggest that all we have to work with are stories of children and childhood; merely a collection of texts on the young. They introduced the term *critical polytextualism* to represent their approach. While Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) acknowledge the resistance to the introduction of more jargon, they maintain that their use of this word has specific importance – their resistance to simply overlaying an existing term with a particular history and agenda, and rather using a term that will "start out unknown" (p. 7). This does not mean that the authors dispute that critical polytextualism has its foundation in modernism (and its subsequent critics). In modernism's attempt to uncover the mysteries of human development and better humanity through scientific application it drew particularly from the discipline of psychology. However, the need for a completely new conceptual framework came when Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) realised that that the only intellectual tools to address the concept of childhood during their research were developed from a modernist perspective.

Furthermore – as is evident in the term *polytextualism* – Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) argue for a transdisciplinary approach that which aims to do away with duality. Their turn to a narrative root metaphor is however not new; in 1986 Sarbin suggested that well before psychology emerged as a science, people used stories to make sense of their world.

While Sarbin (1986) suggests that "story making, storytelling and story comprehension are fundamental conceptions for a revived psychology" (p. vii), Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers propose (in line with Rorty, 1989) that narrative should not be used to rejuvenate old "truths" of past psychological theory, but rather as a catalyst to accelerate the reconstruction of a new psychology. Using Rorty's (1989) words, Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) suggest that what is needed is "a general turn against theory and towards narrative" (p. xvi).

Stories of developmental psychology

Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) suggest that at the outset, the field of psychology drew heavily on the natural sciences, which at this time had made compelling claims concerning the inorganic world. Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) propose that psychology employed "science" as a type of metaphor to explain human development and behaviour. An example given is that of the concept of socialisation: the authors suggest that socialisation could be described as a process much the same way as the creation of a chemical compound form various elements. When sodium and chlorine are combined, they create an entirely new compound (salt) with its own chemical characteristics and properties that are completely distinct from the initial elements. In the same way, early psychology portrayed socialisation as a developmental process, where genes and the environment are combined to create a socialised individual. However, unlike the chemist, psychologists never really have a clear idea of how this process works and at best speculate about the way in which socialisation operates. However, this has not prevented psychologists from trying to understand socialisation and as a result, which has had significant impacts on the way people choose to lead their lives. In the same vein, according to Crossley (2000a), the problematic modernistic/realist assumptions of "the self" suggest that the self can be found and described in much the same way as an object in the physical world. Social constructionists disagree with this view, maintaining that it denies the constitutive role of language. Language is used to interpret our own and other's behaviour. Language also changes the meaning attributed to our own and other's behaviour, which will vary according to the lens through which we choose to do the interpretation. Therefore, the idea of a pre-existent self that excludes language and interpretation is considered to be naive.

Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) (along with many other critical psychologists writing later) suggest that the shift away from "certainty" is difficult to make as it destabilizes

the existing power structures. Instead, a social constructionist approach such as critical polytextualism offers "a tenuous, uncomfortable, traction of contradictory ideas, stories, vying one against the other" (Stainton-Rogers & Stainton-Rogers, 1992, p. 9). Thus in order to dislocate, deconstruct and interrogate the taken-for-granted "knowledges" of childhood we have inherited from modernism, the authors suggest that it is important to look backward before looking forward, and suggest that "deconstruction is a precondition for reconstruction" (p.12). Thus there is a need to deconstruct the self-evident and consider it to be a socially constructed product constituted to serve a particular ideological purpose. Through a critical polytextualised approach there can thus "only be stories and storytellers of childhood" (Stainton-Rogers & Stainton-Rogers, 1992, p.12), making Mark Twain and Sigmund Freud both narrators of narratives of childhood. Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) doubt the credibility of making a distinction between the human sciences or the arts, and thereby undercut their claims on certain knowledge of childhood (e.g. developmental psychology).

Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) aim to deconstruct the assumption that characteristics of childhood can be empirically proven (measured) and suggest (in a critical ideological sense) that all we ever have are texts or stories of childhood. First, they suggest that tests (e.g. IQ tests) never tell us anything directly about the child or his/her psychological make-up. What they do tell us is what was believed about childhood by those who conceived the test. Secondly, they suggest that observation cannot provide us with the answers modernism seeks, as observation can never be objective; it can only be the observers' subjective account of what they see. Finally, Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) suggest that a shift needs to be made and we should seek to discover what can be learnt about childhood by examining the different stories that are told about children. In this way, they suggest, once the pointless search for validity has ceased, two important questions remain: What is the function of the story? What ideology is it trying to convince the reader/listener of?

Stories of childhood concern

Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) introduce the notion of "childhood concern" from a polytextual perspective, which when considering the current system of child welfare or social protection, is interested in the production and implementation of ideas around children's rights, needs, safety and protection. It is interested in the justifications around what should be done about children's needs and who should be responsible for doing this. Only

when we consider the social protection ideas from the past, can we begin to unpack the assumptions entwined in existing systems that are in place to respond to children's needs. The notion of "concern" works well in the polytextual framework proposed by Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992), as it is suggested that concern is not the singular aspect that we can with confidence use to analyse any situation: it cannot be separated from other concerns or disconnected from the culture within which it is situated. Instead, it will "always imply a messy, deeply dilemmatic landscape, where exploration must be expected to trip us into unseen potholes and leave us splattered with all the philosophical and ideological mud that surrounds issues of human conduct" (Stainton-Rogers & Stainton-Rogers, 1992, p. 189).

Contemporary child-centred welfare/social protection has been largely influenced by the professional gaze of "experts" on children in the fields of developmental psychology, social work, and child psychiatry (to name a few). However, Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) suggest that the professionalised gaze is merely one type of story, whose plot only appeared on the stage of western society less than 200 years ago. Although childhood concern is constructed from a number of voices, Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers suggest (1992) that two stories have dominated its construction. The first can perhaps be considered to be the civilization tale. This is the child concern story that most professionals favour and which has a significant impact on society. This tale suggests that progress is based on the improving concept for children grounded in scientific evidence of the needs of children. The second is termed the conspiracy theory tale and is concerned with highlighting the growth of professional power and its use in the mistreatment and oppression of children. While these tales differ, it is what unites them that is of interest to Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) – the hegemony of "professional" child knowledge and its gatekeepers in the form of practitioners and experts. The authors suggest that in all industrialised countries, the agencies responsible for the protection of children act within specific civil and criminal legal systems. This legislation is in charge of the protection of arenas such as education, health and moral welfare. In theory, these systems are meant to ensure that every child (minor) falls under some kind of state wardenship. Furthermore, Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) suggest that by "both exclusion and specific design, they also delineate the segregation, to greater or lesser degrees, of children from the life world and experiences of adults" (p. 73).

Current discourses on child concern have undergone significant changes in a relatively short period of time, according to Williams (1992, as cited in Stainton-Rogers & Stainton-Rogers,

1992). He suggests that this has resulted in social policy being trapped within postmodernism, as seen in the fragmentation and uncertainty of social protection provision. This has led to a number of smaller, local independent groups working on gathering funding for protection (Williams 1992, as cited in Stainton-Rogers & Stainton-Rogers, 1992). Not only is there competing implementation in practice, but the consensual meta-narratives of the past have been replaced by "competing viewpoints, often reflecting 'identity politics' in which individual and small groups vie with each other for ideological supremacy" (Stainton-Rogers & Stainton-Rogers, 1992, p. 78). Thus we see debates from those interested in children who, on the one hand, are concerned with ensuring children's right to be protected and those whose major concern is to ensure the emancipation of children, with the right to autonomy protected. Any attempt to systemise this debate results in a reduced and simplified story – to a cultural label to be used (e.g. romantic). Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) suggest that other critical writers (such as Hendrik, 1990, as cited in Stainton-Rogers & Stainton-Rogers, 1992) have sought this systematization by employing the use of the label of the representation of the child. For example, he offers the representation of the evangelic child; the school child; the welfare child, the psychological child; the family child and the public child (which is the one perhaps adopted by Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers in their book under discussion).

The contemporary story that advocates for the right to protection for children can best be viewed as welfarist protectionism, which typically takes a structuralist-functionalist perspective on society. This view considers that instances of cruelty or neglect occur in small pockets of society and are viewed as being correctable diseases (Stainton-Rogers & Stainton-Rogers, 1992). Here we see the legal shift in the position of children from poor families (particularly) who no longer "belong" to families but are considered as national assets under the conditional care of their family. The welfare/social protection programme creates ways of monitoring (e.g. childcare works). These agencies were created to respond to the failure of families to protect their children from cruelty or neglect. The welfare/social programme, in its contemporary form, incorporates the voice of child psychology, but its existence predates the formalisation of the field of developmental psychology. While protection is both necessary and important, the way the welfare story is framed implies that it is the poor who require this professional gaze and thereby children become pathologized along economic, class and often racial lines. Furthermore, the welfare story currently wields so much power that in order to

safeguard the "right" to protection, professional opinion and intervention is often justified for overriding the civil rights of parents/families and, of course, children.

Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) maintain that the child-emancipatory discourse around child concern and the accompanying policies are modelled (possibly, at times, without awareness) on the liberatory movements and their belief that citizens' rights, afforded as a democratic construct, should include children. Just as other groups such as women and the physically disabled have their "rights" defended, so too should children. Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) suggest, however, that for child emancipatory discourse's major focus on listening to children and not imposing solutions from above, it currently runs the risk of being driven by a single ideology – one that sees power as the major problem.

The critical polytextual alternative

Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) highlight the historically and structurally constituted discursive practices about "the child" within which we currently operate. Their critical polytextual analytical approach addresses these discourses as socially constructed (and very much lived in) stories. Furthermore, a critical polytextual analytical approach aims to understand child concern by recognising that it cannot be separated from the influence of social thinking. The basic premise upon which critical polytextualism rests is this: "be in doubt; know when you are using a self-justifying story; be aware that telling stories is also preaching parables; accept that your actions are problematic but also that non-engagement in the social is not possible" (Stainton-Rogers & Stainton-Rogers, 1992, p. 84).

Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers' (1992) approach is not so much a concern regarding child concern, but rather more of a concern about existing concern. Thus their aim is not to address only the various stories being told about childhood (e.g. welfarist, emancipatory), but to unpack who is telling the story, from what perspective and for whose interest. They also consider what stories about children's needs and protection are told to permit a specific response. Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) argue that it is essential to be able to point out the oppressive nature of either of the discourses discussed above, without being accused of attacking the good work that comes from both stories. The authors thereby suggest that "our approach cannot – and would not seek to – offer a singular actionable morality towards the young, precisely because it seeks to address the very plurality of such moralities" (Stainton-Rogers & Stainton-Rogers, 1992, p. 83). The belief is that over a range of reactions and actions concerning children there is little agreement. Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-

Rogers (1992) suggest that the polytextual gaze doubts that anything more than a situated truth can be established and thus advocate for the possibility of many stories. A polytextual approach to child concern suggests that there can be no singular discourse and therefore it becomes impossible to identify the "good" and "bad" characters – either adults or children – and there can be no universal solution. Instead, there are always a number of stories that form the basis of child concern.

Crossley

The research at hand draws on another two psychological and narrative theorists – Michelle Crossley and Michael Bamberg – and the theoretical lenses and research tools which each independently brings to the narrative field of inquiry.

Situating Crossley – the study of self/identity

The question of self and identity has been considered from a number of different perspectives in the field of psychology. The first is experimental social psychology, which is based on the behaviourist ideal of producing hard "scientific" theories that can be tested in the controlled environment of the laboratory and is highly critical of the subjective ideas of introspection to understand human behaviour. Crossley (2000a) suggests that the picture of the "self" painted by this approach is of "empty, lifeless selves, devoid of any sense of privacy, feeling or humanity" (p. 7). The second approach that aims to understand the concept of the self is the field of humanism. This field largely uses qualitative research (e.g. auto/biography, individual case study methods and applied in the context of psychotherapy) to understand the individual as a unique person, with unique experiences. Thus the general focus (the individual) of this field of study is aligned with a narrative psychological approach, as well as humanism/narrative psychology's shared rootedness in the philosophical branches of phenomenology and existentialism. However, a third approach to understanding the self, the psychoanalytic/psychodynamic approach, is critical of the humanist approach for its emphasis on agency and choice and, instead, emphasises the psyche's role in the unconscious drives influencing behaviour. This approach is also qualitative and also focuses on the deeper understanding of the individual by means of narrative (Crossley, 2000a).

However, Crossley's (1997; 2000a; 2000b; 2003) narrative psychological approach to the phenomenological understanding of people's identity differs in important ways from both the humanist and psychoanalytic approaches and as a result, can be broadly situated within the

social constructionist paradigm and more accurately described as being social constructivist. Social constructionism is most often associated with the field of discourse analysis (e.g. Potter & Wetherell, 1987), critical feminist theory (e.g. Walkerdine, Lucey & Melody, 2001) and the postmodernist approaches (e.g. Gergen, 1985; Kvale, 1992;) in psychology. While these approaches are distinct, they are united in their criticism of the previous approaches (e.g. social psychology, humanist psychology, psychoanalysis) that implicitly suggest that the "self" exists as an entity that can be identified and described. In contrast, social constructionist approaches pay particular attention to the complex and inseparable link between the self and social structures, most significantly the link between the self and language. The social constructionist commitment to deconstructing the self, maintains that the self is characterised by flux and different meaning so that there can be no central concept of a unitary self. It is because of this lack of unity that the postmodernists "declare their 'death of the subject'" (Crossley, 2000a, p. 529).

Whilst Crossley shares with the social constructionist/postmodernist approaches an appreciation for the centrality of language in constructing and deconstructing the self, in line with Parker (1991), she is concerned with the question of "what is going on inside human beings when they use discourse?" (Crossley, 2000a, p. 83). Parker (1991) goes on to suggest that social constructionist approaches, like discourse analysis, omit the essential agentive idea that human beings have the capacity to be reflexive. A discourse analytic approach to the research at hand, when trying to understand children's experiences of the loss of their parents and their subsequent mobility, would suggest that there could be no way of understanding what kind of people these children are, as the idea that human beings have an internal sense of themselves is rendered invalid. Instead the children's self/identity and their accompanying experiences would only be understood in terms of individual discursive acts. Crossley (2000a) suggests that when we overplay language in this manner, what is left is merely a "grammatical shell" (p. 32) that cannot get to grips with the dimensions of personal experience. Dunne (1995) suggests that context and language used in this way is overplayed to such an extent that the self "is engulfed, if not annihilated" (p. 140). Therefore, Smith (1994) relevantly questions the extent of the usefulness of postmodernist theorising and whether it has the capacity to really connect with the lived realities of, in the case of this research, children's experiences of the multiple losses associated with HIV/AIDS and this disease's accompanying social consequences.

Crossley (2000a; 2000b) thus proposes that an alternative model is needed – one that appreciates the importance of the discursive act in human psychology thereby foregrounding social constructionism while, as the same time, appreciating the essential "real" nature of human experience, agency and subjectivity. It is in the latter aspect that Crossley's approach can also be understood as acting, on a philosophical level, within a realist epistemology and can thus more accurately be described as social constructivist. It is important, however, that this is not a romanticised image of the self which uncritically accepts the individual's experienced understanding of a phenomenon and thereby ignores the concept of power (Crossley, 2000a).

Drawing on the work of Polkinghorne (1988), Crossley's (2000b) approach to the study of identity and experience foregrounds the unique "order of meaning" that makes up the human consciousness. "Activity" and "relationships" are two important concepts which form part of this order of meaning. Activity is made up of time and sequence: for individuals to make sense of particular occasions in their lives and of their identity within these experiences, the sequence of events is of critical importance. Temporality, or the linear progression of past, present and future events, is thus inextricably linked to identity. A second feature of the order of meaning related to consciousness, according to Polkinghorne (1988), is that of "relationships/connections", because people interpret experiences and events around them in terms of relationships/connections. That is, meaning comes from asking questions about the relationship with and connectedness to something or someone. Thus, as others have done before, cotemporary narrative theorists (e.g. Carr, 1986; Sarbin, 1986) propose that there is an essentially narrative structure of human psychology.

Trauma and our sense of self/identity

Crossley (2000a) is critical of the postmodern emphasis on fragmentation, flux and incoherence of human experience and suggests instead that through the organising principle of narrative structure there resides a general sense of unity and coherence. But as human beings (and not authors of fiction for example), while we can impose structure on the flow of our experiences we do not always determine the material with which we form our identities and stories. There are certain capacities and circumstances over which we do not have control, such as the loss of a parent to HIV/AIDS.

Frank (1995, as cited in Crossley, 2000b) uses the concept of "narrative wreckage" to explain what happens to our sense of who we are and why we exist when a traumatic event occurs.

During a traumatic experience, as would occur in the event of death, divorce or the diagnosis of a terminal or mental illness, our taken-for-granted underlying assumptions about the world and our place in it are thrown into disarray. While Yardley (1997, as cited in Crosley, 2000a) speaks of a type of "biographical disruption", Good (1992, as cited in Crossley, 2000a) suggests that it is our "building blocks" (made up of time, language and space) that are overwhelmed and threatened. Perhaps the most fundamental building block that is threatened is that of time. When people are diagnosed with a terminal illness, for instance, the idea of an assumed future is shaken and people's ways of being in the world and their understanding of themselves and their role change radically. Van den Berg (1972, as cited in Crossley, 2000a) suggests that:

> The horizon of time is narrowed. The plans of yesterday lose their meaning and importance. They seem more complicated, more exhausting, more foolish and ambitious than I saw them the day before…the past seems saturated with trivialities. (p. 28)

It is at these points, where the connection between time and identity are suddenly foregrounded (as they are severely disrupted in the face of trauma), Crossley (2000b) suggests that stories and narrative become important. In instances of trauma and suffering we attach meaning to our experiences in order to make sense of our experiences and to bring about a renewed sense of coherence. The proliferation of autobiographies about people's experiences of living with a serious illness are perhaps proof of the importance of story-telling during times of trauma. Similarly, there is a much academic writing that tries to get to grips with people's experiences of trauma and the use of story-telling in the process of narrative reconfiguration (e.g. Brody, 1987; Crossley, 1997; Farmer, 1995). Broyard (1992) perhaps best captures the importance of story-telling saying: "Always in emergencies we invent narratives. We describe what is happening as if to confine the catastrophe" (p. 21).

Crossley's existing research

Crossley's research generally seeks to apply a narrative style of analysis to contemporary issues of trauma and how identities and subjectivity are constructed within these experiences. Her doctoral work (e.g. Davies, 1995) offered autobiographical accounts of adult women who had been subjected to and survived childhood sexual abuse. She suggests that often the survivors write these accounts to try to make sense of what has happened to them. These women all drew on very different narratives (which have particular socio-cultural climates)

that served to construct their identity but also had implications for their construction of memory, health, blame and responsibility. In her PhD thesis, Crossley (Davies, 1995) used case study methodology for a focused understanding of an autobiographical account of Sylvia Fraser's survival of incest entitled, *Healing Sylvia: Childhood sexual abuse and the construction of identity* (Davies, 1995). In this case study, Crossley (Davies, 1995) makes use of a psychoanalytic feminist lens through which to understand Sylvia's experience. Using this lens thus has certain implications for what is told, how it is told and what is left unsaid. In her own writing, Sylvia Fraser appropriates a number of Freudian theory and concepts: having experienced mental illness and subsequently undergone therapy, she draws on psychoanalytic language to help her makes sense of the actions of her father, mother and self. Her therapy helped Sylvia to connect events and consider explanations that helped her to make peace with herself and her place in the world. Sylvia comes to a place of acceptance and in so doing she wishes to deconstruct her trauma narrative and reconstruct a "healing" and "survivor" story (Crossley, 2000a).

Crossley's (1997) later work stays within the framework of trauma but the focus shifts to trying to understand the effects and experiences of living with a terminal illness, such as HIV. Through in-depth, semi-structured interviews conducted between 1994 and 1996 with people living with an HIV positive diagnosis, Crossley (1997) demonstrates how a physical illness can shatter an individual's taken-for-granted assumptions about time (particularly the future) and the narrative configuration of human experience. Furthermore, this research highlights how we constantly strive to maintain a sense of order and coherence, despite the relentless threat of impending disorder. Many of the participants in Crossley's (2000a) research make use of "growth" and "normalizing" stories in order to construct a sense of meaning and aims, despite the realisation that their death may be imminent.

Bamberg

Situating Bamberg – big and small stories

Bamberg (2006) suggests that for too long, big-story research in the form of life stories or biographical research has dominated the field of narrative inquiry and is hindering the progress of the field in general. Instead, Bamberg and others (e.g. Georgakopoulou, 2006; Gubrium & Holstein, 2008) are interested in what has been termed the "new turn" in narrative analysis, with a focus on small stories. Bamberg (2008) suggests that "small stories" can be used as an umbrella term to cover a variety of under-represented narrative activities,

"such as tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, and shared (known) events, but it also captures allusions to (previous) tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell" (p. 381). Bamberg (2008) is interested, metaphorically, in the "smallness" of talk – the smaller fleeting moments of engagement and interaction that can easily be missed when we consider the big story as the model for narrative analysis. He therefore proposes to radically "re-position" big-story approaches (such as Crossley's) by grounding them in dialogical and discursive small-story approaches and in so doing enrich traditional narrative inquiry in a theoretical and methodological manner.

Building on the work Phelan (2006) (a narratologist), Bamberg (2006) in the same edition of *Narrative Inquiry* suggests that while Phelan proposes that narratives have to be backward-orientated by virtue of the interest in their content or what the narrative is about. If we are to consider narrative from a different, small-story orientated perspective, then the focus on reflexivity changes. Instead, if like Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008), one considers narrating as an activity that is practiced between people, then the focus shifts dramatically to the present "telling" moment. The narrative taking place in the moment looks backward to the immediately preceding interaction, as well as forward in its anticipation of a response. Thus we see Gergen and Gergen (2006) drawing a distinction between these two approaches and proposing that there are "narratives as cognitive structure or schema through which we understand the world" and "narratives as discursive actions" (p. 118).

Bamberg (2006) is critical of the importance assigned to the role of reflection. He suggests that tellings of experiences that display the possibility of being able to step back from the experience and comment on it are often considered more rational and therefore more value is placed on them. Bamberg suggests, however, that these types of reflections only "display" this potential and should not necessarily be deemed as better narratives or any closer to the actual experience. Instead, Bamberg's (2008) action-orientated and functionalist-informed approach is interested in how people use stories at an interactive level to construct a sense of who they are and not what he considers to be mere representations of identity and the world, as in big-story analysis.

Identity construction

To understand Bamberg's (2008; 2011) approach to narrative analysis, it is perhaps useful to consider his conceptualisation of identity and the three dilemmas we face when trying to

answer the "Who am I?" question. Bamberg (2011) suggests that when trying to answer this question from a retrospective/content driven narrative approach, we "condense and unite" (p. 7) and to try to resolve any existing ambiguity. This results in narratives being reduced to what they are about and in so doing, reduces identity to a depiction at a representational level of characters and their development in a big life-story. Missing entirely from the construction of identity is the everyday lived conversations and realities, where in the space of everyday talk-in-interaction, identities are formed and performed (Bamberg, 2011).

Bamberg's (2008; 2011) first dilemma, which has been abbreviated to the phrase "continuity and discontinuity", has to do with constructing a sense of self that is the same across time, despite being faced with constant change. Bamberg chooses to view this dilemma from an agentive position and not one which sees internal continuity as challenged by the notion of change which comes from the outside. He suggests that for a diachronic sense of self to develop, individuals can choose what is selected to inform and transform the development of their identity. This is not a simple, sudden, voluntary choice that occurs reflexively between one over the other (e.g. sameness over change), but is a negotiation or navigation that relies on culturally available symbolic tools (Bamberg, 2011). It is not a straightforward task for a person to present him/herself as the same person they were previously and simultaneously different, but Bamberg (2008) suggests that narratives are the ideal for sorting out this diachronic feature of identity construction. Bamberg might be criticized by social constructivist theorists such as Crossley (2000a) for overstating the notion of identity being constantly in flux and in so doing losing any real sense of self which exists outside of dialogue. However, Bamberg (2011) suggests that it is possible to view the individual as "not locked into stability nor drifting through constant change, but rather as something that is multiple, contradictory and distributed over time and place, but contextually and locally held together" (p. 9).

The second dilemma is concerned with attempting to view the self as unique and special, despite being the same as everyone else (Bamberg, 2011). Here I become who-I-am based on my positioning with regards to others. Thus in order to differentiate my sense of self, others need to be constructed in terms of social categories (e.g. reference groups, membership groups, cultural groups) (Phoenix, 2007 as cited in Bamberg, 2011). Building on Billig (1987 as cited in Bamberg, 2011), Bamberg (2011) suggests that developing a sense of who we are

occurs in everyday interaction through conversations and dialogue and is an ongoing navigational process, not a static one, that encompasses pre-existing traits.

Bamberg's (2011) third dilemma is interested in agency and is one, he suggests, that rarely forms part of the debate on the ideas of sense of self and identity. This dilemma has been termed "the construction of agency" as constituted by self (with a self-to-world direction of fit) and world (with a world-to-person direction of fit). When considering the idea of agency, the question of who is in control is usually considered; is it the individual who constructs the world in certain ways or is it the world that serves to construct the individual? Bamberg (2008) suggests that the answer lies somewhere between these two poles that are constantly in flux. At one end of the agency continuum there is an interiority which originates with biological/psychological dispositions which determine behaviour, while at the other end there are social structures which influence and partly determine people's behaviour. Bamberg (2011) views the individual "as the active and agentive locus of control, through simultaneously attributing agency to outside forces that are situated in a broader socio-historical context as well as in bodies and brains" (p. 10). This is particularly useful for this research on children's experiences of domestic mobility, as it allows for the consideration of children as active agents in their own lives, who are able to constantly construct and position their own (and others) identity in their everyday small interactions. It positions the children as having a locus of control that influences behaviour, while simultaneously acknowledging the constant interplay with social structures that influence behaviour and identity construction.

Bamberg (2011) suggests that in order to deal with identity analysis, all three dilemmas need to be addressed and it is the empirical work of identity research to unite these three contradictions. This means that identity is open to change and cannot be confined to just one societal discourse. This fits well in an ever-changing globalized world in which a number of "cultural multiplicities" are part of everyday life (Bamberg, 2006).

Narrative practice

Incorporating interaction and performance-orientated aspects into the analysis of identity is not an entirely new phenomenon and can be traced back to Goffman (1959, as cited in Bamberg, 2011). It has been emphasised more recently by those in biographical research, such as Riessman (2008) for example, and those interested particularly in the performative aspect, such as Peterson and Langellier (2007). Following on from the understanding of

identity development, Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) have attempted to develop an approach to narrative in practice. In this approach, the focus is on narratives as they occur in everyday interactions and conversation as the site where identity is continuously practiced. This is a model of positioning in which the focus on small stories allows for individuals as agentive beings to position themselves and others.

Positioning constructs identity at two levels (Bamberg, 2006; 2008). As narrative analysts we can try to understand how the external world is constructed by the narrator and at the same time, we are able to try and understand how this external world is constructed as a function of the interactive engagement. Bamberg (2008) thus suggests that the "way the referential world is put together points to how tellers '*want to be understood'*; or more appropriately, how tellers *index* their sense of self" (p. 16). It is suggested that analysis which remains focused on the represented content of the story and through this, claims to reflect the teller's sense of self, misses out on the social and relational interactive constructing of identity. Furthermore, Bamberg (2008) suggests that through this type of practiced approach, we are not only able to consider what is said, but also what is not said, what is left out, ambiguities, contradictions and "the tellers" constant navigation and finessing between different versions of selfhood in local interactional contexts" (p.16).

Perhaps it is easiest to understand Bamberg's narrative approach through an example on some of his research: using a longitudinal study, he sought to investigate adolescent boys' (aged between 10 and 15) discourse development (Bamberg, 2004). The data collected included a variety of naturally occurring material ranging from individual audio-taped interviews, to moderated and videotaped group discussions, as well as writings about "the self". While Bamberg (2011) works with audio-recorded transcripts from interviews, he is also interested in more recent developments in video-recordings, as these allow for a closer analysis of the performative nature of narratives as they emerge in interaction. The excerpt discussed involves a group discussion involving four 10 year old boys and an adult moderator. Sometime into their discussion, the moderator poses a question to the group about what they find attractive in girls. One of the participants, Victor, chooses to speak up at this point. This small-story excerpt is not about Victor, but rather about a male friend and a girl who lives on his street, and was an incident in which Victor was supposedly a bystander. Bamberg (2008) draws on the distinction put forward by Goffman (1981, as cited in Bamberg, 2008), highlighting the difference between the author, the animator and the

principal. While the author can be considered to be someone who has chosen the sentiments expressed in talk and the manner in which they are encoded in language, the animator is only the "machine" out of which the talk originates. Finally, the principal is someone who firmly believes in what is being told and positions him/herself in relation to what is being said. Bamberg (2008) suggests that what is interesting in this small interaction is that Victor is hesitant to act in front of the group as animator, and so whispers the story into someone else's ear to tell it. Furthermore, he distances himself from the principal. His authorship is minimal and there are a great number of hesitations and withdrawals from Victor. Thus if we are to compare this to life-story research on identity in which there is only a reflection of a past sense of self, according to Bamberg (2011), then there is not a great deal to work with here. Yet he suggests that there is a wealth of information in terms of how the participants all position themselves in relation to what is going on in the narrated story. To unpack this, he engages in a fine-grained analysis comprising five steps which aim to unpack separate and yet interrelated positioning processes (Bamberg, 2008).

Why then, big and small stories?

When considering the research at hand concerning children's lived experiences of loss and domestic mobility from either of the perspectives unpacked – that of Crossley's phenomenological life-story approach and Bamberg's functionalist and action-orientated approach – I believe each on their own omits certain important elements. However, when considered as co-existing and complimentary they add depth and richness to understanding children's individual and personal experiences of movement across geographical location and familial arrangements. Crossley's (2000a, 2000b, 2003) life-story approach gives us an understanding of the big-story, "bigger picture" of the participant children's lives, made up of a linear, chronological family narrative of events, illness experiences and moving between different households. Through this we are able to gain a global understanding of the experiences of each individual child and their experiences up to this point, retrospectively. However, these are often stories of multiple adversities (illness, loss, poverty, abuse) and trauma that have repeatedly affected the children and their families. Crossley's (2000a) model of breach cannot account for these. When considering the child participants' lives in this retrospective manner, while a clear context of experiences is painted, the children seem to have had very little agency in their lives thus far. What is completely left out are the instances of joy, coping, success and problem solving which also form important aspects of the participants' identity construction. Sartwell (2000) suggests that what results is that the

everyday lived moment, which is both sensed and experienced, only gains value or a "life-worthy quality" (Bamberg, 2011, p. 14) when placed next to other moments which result in a temporal plot configuration. Sartwell (2000) goes on to suggest that understanding narratives in this way means they become a form of normalizing, which robs the individual of finding joy in the here-and-now, moment-to-moment aspects of life. This is not to say that Crossley does not emphasise a sense of agency. Her idea of agency is just located in the children's ability to show resilience in re-constructing their narratives – and in a sense their identities – in the face of trauma/breach.

Bamberg's (2008; 2011) approach offers the ability to locate agency in the children's here-and-now, every day small moments of interactions. It is useful in helping to understand on a micro-level the constant positioning of self and others that takes place in the smallest interactions (within social structures) on a daily basis. In this way, we as analysts are able to gain significant understanding of how participants position themselves and others in even the smallest relational engagements. This does not require someone to necessarily have to hear your story (and in this process make sense of identity), because it occurs naturally. This is also useful if we consider the idea that by virtue of being part of the category "child", children are positioned and position themselves as powerless in many situations. I have already considered the lack of opportunity for children's voices to be heard on issues pertaining to their own lives. I have also alluded to the idea that in families where people are struggling to even meet their daily basic needs, there is little room for more formal spaces where children are asked for their opinions and perspectives on experiences. Perhaps Bamberg's (2008; 2011) approach allows for a place where children who are often telling stories "from below" hierarchy, autonomy and structure can be performed.

This means that the one-on-one interview emphasised in Crosley's approach (2000a) as a means for constructing data is not necessary, and that data can be collected without this more formal/deliberate approach. Instead the data production in Bamberg's (2008) narrative practice approach can occur in more natural interactions between peers and with adults. However, what appears to be missing in Bamberg's (2008) approach in terms of my own research, is the greater context in which this positioning is taking place. Thus, while Bamberg might argue that a grand life-narrative is not required to provide this context and identity construction takes places in the small moment-to-moment engagements, at times this approach appears to take place on too micro-a-level to give an in-depth understanding of the

phenomenon of domestic mobility, thereby highlighting the need for the application of both approaches.

Concluding Comments

Having situated the research under discussion within the field of narrative enquiry and specifically within the lenses and methodological tools which Crossley and Bamberg bring, Chapter 5 moves on to the operationalization of the theoretical and empirical literature considered in the previous chapters. What follows is a discussion of the methodology employed to understand the lived experiences of domestic mobility from the perspective of the participant children.

Chapter 5 - Methodology

Research Aims

The aim of this research is to explore the meanings that domestic mobility has in the lives, identity construction and personal narratives of South African children currently residing in grandmother-headed households in the Eastern Cape, using participatory action research methods and a narrative methodological approach.

Research Site

The research site was the small town of Alice, located in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa, and its surroundings. The areas surrounding Alice are rural in nature, with a number of smaller settlements established on the outskirts of the town. According to Statistics South Africa (2011) the town has a population of 8 009 inhabitants. However, this figure does not necessarily include the surrounding areas that form part of this research, as many of the participants reside in the smaller settlements. Alice is both a service centre and a university town, housing both the University of Fort Hare and Lovedale FET College (Aspire, 2010). Black Africans are said to account for 93 per cent of the population with isiXhosa being the predominant language spoken (84 per cent) (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Census data reveals that 43, 9 per cent of Alice residents are 19 years old or younger, which would mean that nearly half of the population would be classified as children or youth. According to a report by Aspire and the National Treasury (2010), the population of Alice is marked by the contrast between the students of the university and college who are highly educated and those who have had little opportunity to receive any education, particularly those from the surrounding areas. Furthermore, as this report suggests, many households in Alice and its surrounds are sustained by social grants and income from a single-wage earner or small-scale activities, such as hawking.

Participants were identified through collaboration with an existing non-governmental organisation (NGO), the Isibindi ("Strong heart") project in Alice. The Isibindi model was developed by the National Association of Child Care Workers (NACCW), an independent and professional child and youth care association, operating in the various provinces of South Africa. It aims to provide professional training to existing community members who then become essential role-players in the promotion of child and youth development and care (Pillay & Twala, 2008). The Isibindi model was researched and developed as a sustainable

community-based model for providing developmental support to children, youth and families rendered vulnerable by HIV/AIDS. At the same time, it provides training and employment for previously unemployed community members. According to Pillay and Twala (2008) the essential elements of the Isibindi model include: providing emotional support to children and youth who have lost one or both of their parents (with child-headed households considered a priority); the recognition and promotion of potential resources within communities (such as religious or educational institutions); training and building the capacity of child and youth care-workers, who are tasked with promoting the development of children and youth through experiences of mastery, independence and generosity.

Initially donor funding helped to pilot, replicate and establish Isibindi sites throughout South Africa. However, during my three-year research engagement with Isibindi Alice, much of the international funding was withdrawn due to the economic crisis of the time. This led to unreliability with regards to receiving the small monthly stipend (amounting to approximately R1200 per month) which care-workers received for their work. Recognising the instrumental role the programme played in many communities, the Department of Social Development stepped in to fill the financial and administrative void, and increased the care-workers' stipend (now amounting to between R1750 and R2100 per month). While this was a welcome relief and would ensure the continuation of the organisation's work, it meant the care-workers were not paid at all during the hand-over period.

Care-workers train over a period of two years. During this time they complete four 12-module courses which take information from a variety of disciplines, including psychology, physiotherapy and social work. The specific focus is on child development. On completion of the courses, care-workers are assessed by accredited NACCW trainers and become accredited child care-workers. In this way, the Isibindi model meets its commitment to community capacity building and the reduction of unemployment (DGMT, 2014).

At the completion of this research, the Isibindi, Alice project had 25 full-time child and youth care-workers working in six settlements/villages. The number of care-workers fluctuates slightly as there is often upward promotion of existing staff, making way for new care-workers. Isibindi Alice works with approximately 1600 children and youth. While staff are contracted to work eight hours a day, their duties often extend far beyond the expected time. Many of the care-workers live in the same communities as the children and families for whom they care and thus are closely involved in their lives. It is a challenge to convey the

level of devotion with which the care-workers carry out their responsibilities; it is evident in their strong bonds with the children for whom they care. Furthermore, during the administrative destabilization when the Department of Social Development stepped in, many of the Alice care-workers did not receive their monthly stipend for a number of consecutive months and yet most continued to carry out their duties with the same levels of commitment. New care-workers are recruited through advertising in the Alice community, with short-listed applicants being interviewed and appointed accordingly. What became evident during my time with this specific project was that there were some young people who had come through the Isibindi model themselves were now being recruited, trained and employed as care-workers.

One of the main responsibilities of care-workers is to undertake home visits. All care-workers are assigned to families who have been affected by HIV/AIDS and require additional support. Isibindi Alice has 911 families whose members are either currently being cared for or have been cared for in the past and have since been able to disengage from the care-worker. The relationship between the care-workers and their assigned families is an intimate one, and they are often considered to be an extension of the family. Thus the Isibindi model draws on both attachment theory and an ecological systems model. In line with attachment theory, the assumption can perhaps be made that because the care-workers provide frequent sensitive care-giving they are able to perform the role of alternative attachment figures, meaning that a process of attachment can take place similar to that of the mother-infant attachment bond (Gossens & Van IJzendoorn, 1990; Howes, 1999). Furthermore, from a systemic perspective the care-workers (and the Isibindi organisation as a whole) play an integral role in supporting the interplay between individuals and their environment, and are involved in many of the widening layers of support systems (micro-, meso- and exo-) in caring for children and their families. By drawing on attachment and systems theory, the care-workers and Isibindi are working to support and foster resilience (Killian, 2004).

Home visits usually take place daily and a developmental plan is designed and followed according to the specific needs of the family involved. The main objective of these visits is to create functional homes in which children are cared for in a safe environment (Pillay & Twala, 2008; Thumbadoo, 2011). Care-workers engage in a variety of activities, ranging from daily tasks such as cooking, cleaning and homework assistance, to tasks requiring psychological assistance, such as grief/trauma counselling. Care-workers often assist families with the process of applying for state grants, such as the child support grant or old age

pension, accompany the families to health clinics and assist with referrals to hospitals when necessary (Thumbadoo, 2011). This model of domestic intervention is referred to as lifespace work within an early childhood development framework. Lifespace work is inherent in child and youth care work and as such in the Isibindi model. Lifespace work can be understood as using everyday activities, routines and experiences to provide care, and support the development of children and youth (Phelan, 2005). Therapeutic intervention and intervention to support early childhood development takes place during daily events in the children's and families' homes. It is less reliant on dialogue and is more focused on shared lived experiences between the child, family and care-worker (Thumbadoo, 2011).

Another responsibility of the care-workers is to administer and maintain the six safe parks which form part of the Isibindi Alice project. Safe parks are a piece of land allotted by local municipalities to the NGO, which are then fenced off and used as a safe place for children to come to after school where they can play and participate in arranged activities. There is a variety of outdoor equipment on which the children can play, as well as shipment containers which house a small selection of age-appropriate toys with which to play. Drawing on early childhood development theory (lifespace work) and with links to areas of psychological intervention such as play therapy (which support the importance of imaginative play in the process of emotional processing), the idea behind these safe parks is to provide opportunities for adult-mediated play and learning in an area of deprivation in impoverished communities where children generally tend to play with peers. In this space, children engage in play and leisure as well as some homework activities which are mediated by a care-worker taking the role often performed by a parent in western settings. All the children from the local communities make use of the safe parks, not just those under the direct care of Isibindi.

Sampling

The aim of this research was to communicate details of children's subjective experiences of domestic mobility, not to make more general claims. Thus a relatively small sample was used. A narrative approach was used to examine multiple case studies using the individual child's experience of domestic mobility as the unit of analysis. The contextual conditions that formed part of the investigation were the child's placement in grandmother-headed households and wider community systems (Yin, 2004). This allowed for an intensive, ideographic, contextualized investigation of particular children's stories. Furthermore, at the same time, this type of approach allows for an exploration of rich descriptive information

while promoting critical reflections on existing theories of childhood, children's development and domestic mobility (Lindegger, 2006).

Participants included seven children and their families from the client-base of the Isibindi Alice project. Using their case records and knowledge of the families with whom they worked, a number of suitable child participants were identified by the care-workers according to the inclusion criteria provided. The aim was to negotiate an alliance between the research needs and the family's needs (as identified by the care-workers involved) so participants included families who might benefit from additional care/support. The criteria for inclusion were that the child participants must be between the ages of 10 and 12 years old and currently be residing in a household headed by their maternal or paternal grandmother. Age of the child participants was specified, as following Piaget's cognitive developmental theory, McAdams (2006) suggests that children of this age are able to think in a formal-operational manner and so are able to construct coherent past, present and future narratives of their lives. Furthermore, child participants must have been "relocated" to their grandmother's household within the last two years, having previously resided in a different location/household.

Throughout the research process tensions emerged between the research needs/expectations and the practicalities of working on the ground within the context of an NGO dealing with human lives. From the outset it was an overt decision to always put the well-being of Isibindi, its care-workers and the children and families under its care first. Not all the children identified by the care-workers fell within the age bracket provided – three were younger than 10 years old (the inclusion criteria initially provided). However, a decision was made to include these children in the study as only a limited number of children met the stringent criteria and because it was felt that they would benefit from additional attention. It would be helpful to note that, in line with developmental theory, it was indeed more challenging for the younger children to weave together coherent past, present and future narratives, compared to the narratives of those children who fell in the slightly older category and whose narratives were more in-depth. Whether this is confirmation of the theory or simply a reflection of the individual children involved is difficult to assess, given the small number of children involved.

What follows is a brief biographical description of each of the seven child participants at the outset of this research. Certain features have been changed to protect their identities, an action that will be discussed in more detail later on:

Luthando is an 11 year old boy who is currently in Grade 4. His mother passed away when he was about 10 years old. He presently lives with his grandmother and grandfather, as well as three other children between the ages of 12 and 19.

Thandeka is an 11 year old girl who is currently in Grade 4 and at the same school as Luthando. She lives with her elderly grandmother and her grandmother's eldest son, who is in his late twenties. Prior to living with her grandmother, Thandeka had lived in a state-run children's home for a number of years.

Sanele is an eight year old girl who is currently in Grade 1. She lives with her grandmother and grandfather as well as a girl cousin of the same age and an older boy cousin.

Odwa is a boy between the ages of 10 and 12 years old (there is uncertainty about is exact age). He lives with his grandmother, younger brother and older girl cousin, as well as his older sister and her baby.

Patricia is an eight year old girl and is currently in Grade 1. Her mother passed away a year ago and after being taken away from her father, she now lives with her aunt, uncle and three older siblings between the ages of 13 and 20.

Langa and Khule are siblings. Langa is a 12 year old boy, while his sister, Khule, is nine. They currently reside with their grandmother and their two older girl cousins, as well as their cousin's baby. Before moving to their current home, Langa and Khule had never lived together.

Informed Consent

Despite being a topic usually discussed under the heading of ethical considerations, special attention was paid to how informed consent was obtained from Isibindi Alice, the children's caregivers/grandmothers and the child participants themselves. Thus it is discussed here as an important negotiation that occurred before the start of any organised activities with the child participants.

My relationship with the NGO began with a partnership between Isibindi Alice and the Rhodes University Master's programme in Clinical and Counselling Community Engagement. My involvement with this organisation took place between 2011 and 2012 when I was a master's student and counselling psychologist in training. I and two other students provided psychological support for the care-workers. After I had qualified and

registered as a counselling psychologist with the Health Professions Council of South Africa, my interaction with Isibindi Alice continued. My prior relationship at Isibindi, support from Rhodes University and my qualification as a practising psychologist played a significant role in securing access to the NGO in order to undertake this research. These factors, however, also brought complications with regards to certain expectations from the care-workers, grandmothers and children, often calling on me to act in my capacity as a practising counselling psychologist with certain knowledge and connections rather than as a researcher.

Obtaining informed consent in this research involved a multi-level process and continuous re-negotiation during the research process. Because Isibindi Alice was the nucleus of the research site from which the participants were recruited, the first step involved consulting the child and youth care-workers involved in the day-to-day work on the ground, in order to gauge their level of interest and commitment to the research. I decided to consult with them first because of the existing history and relationship between the care-workers and me, and because I believed they would be able to provide honest and significant insights concerning the relevance and importance of the research aims. Furthermore, the research would require a great deal of input from the care-workers themselves and thus it seemed only fair to initiate discussions at this level before gaining more formal consent from the administration of the greater Isibindi organisation. In this way I hoped to instil a sense of collaborative partnership from the outset of the research (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006).

Thereafter the relevant gatekeepers of Isibindi in the Eastern Cape were consulted in order to explain the nature and purpose of the research, and to gain official permission and access to the research site. Setting up the initial consultation proved more difficult than expected, as this was a period of significant re-structuring in the greater Isibindi organisation as a result of international donor funding being withdrawn and the Department of Social Development stepping in. Swartz (1998) refers to this problem in her book, *Culture and Mental Health* in relation to health systems in primary health care settings. Swartz (1988) comments specifically on nurses positioned in primary health care clinics who move between clinics, are promoted and move up the hierarchy or find better jobs elsewhere. She suggests that this affects the continuity of care. This problem is further intensified by a high staff turnover, as is the case at Isibindi where leadership and care-workers are frequently reallocated through promotion. Often it was unclear with whom to negotiate and I was never able to negotiate with the same people, making research access and continuity difficult as I continually needed to reframe the research. Access thus needed constant negotiation during my research process.

The issue of informed consent concerning children always raises considerable debate, particularly with regards to the idea that cognitively and socially, children at different developmental stages can understand and make decisions about the implications of informed consent for themselves (Cocks, 2006). Often it is suggested that informed consent be obtained from a parent or responsible adult, while informed assent should be obtained from the child (Cocks, 2006). Others have argued that adolescents have sufficient capacity for informed consent and that in fact, it sometimes might prove counter-productive to the purpose of the research to seek adult consent. Opinions and arguments aside, the South African Children's Act 38 of 2005 (as amended by Act 41 of 2007) and the National Health Act (2003) has legislated specific requirements – non-therapeutic research with any child under the age of 18 years is subject to numerous permissions. First, the individual child needs to either give assent or consent (if considered capable of understanding). Secondly, the child's parent, guardian or primary caretaker needs to provide consent. Earlier legislature which permitted those "in loco parentis" (in place of parents) to provide consent, such as school principals or in the case of this research, the Isibindi organisation, has fallen away. Thirdly, consent is required from the Minister of Health or a legally appointed deputy or committee which has accreditation to approve research involving children (e.g. certain university ethics committees). In the case of therapeutic research which provides direct benefit to the individual child (which it is argued is the case in the research at hand), consent from the Minister of Health as stated above is not a legal requirement. This research therefore complies with legislature by having obtained assent from the participant children and consent from their guardians. Additionally, the research has been approved by the Rhodes University Psychology Department's Research Projects and Ethics Review Committee, as well as the Rhodes University's Ethical Standards Committee (see Appendix D).

To add to the complexity of the consent process are the practical challenges faced in the South African context, such as the major challenge of gaining access to parents or guardians in order to obtain consent (Clacherty & Donald, 2007). Often parents are away seeking work in urban areas, while the HIV/AIDS epidemic has resulted in increased domestic mobility with many children being raised by members of the family other than the child's parents, such as grandmothers or aunts. It is essential to pay careful attention to how child participants are informed about the research. Age-appropriate vocabulary must be used, potential risks explained and the option to withdraw at any point carefully explained. No matter how carefully these considerations are implemented there are often still problems as when

working in a social culture where children are expected to never question adults, agreeing to participate is almost always automatic (Clacherty & Donald, 2007). Furthermore, in instances where children form part of an arrangement with adults and the community/adults agree to participate, there is little room for children to voice their opposition (e.g. Henderson, 2011). Therefore, the importance of separate and repeated negotiation for access to children's lives is highlighted, as well as the importance of building a relationship of trust with the child before consent/assent is sought.

Once Isibindi Alice's records had been consulted and discussed by the care-workers and a sample of seven potential participants who suited the selection criteria as closely as possible were identified, the relevant care-workers directly involved with those children/families accompanied me to the homes, schools and workplaces of the children and caregivers involved. The process of obtaining informed consent/assent took place over two consecutive days. All the caregivers consulted were the children's grandmothers with whom they currently resided. While some of the grandmothers had become the children's legal guardians, often with the help of the Isibindi care-workers, others were informal caregivers with caregiving relationships having been negotiated within families.

During this consultation period, the nature of the research content and process was fully explained in appropriate language to both the potential child participant and the child's caregiver. The purpose was to give potential child participants the opportunity to ask questions and raise any concerns during this visit. Reflecting the work of Clacherty and Donald (2007), the power disparity between me and the children, and even between me and the grandmothers quickly became evident and it seemed that all potential participants would find it difficult to refuse to participate in the research. The impact of the involvement of Isibindi and the care-workers was a relevant factor; the care-workers were often held in very high regard by these families and thus their endorsement of my research meant that participation was more likely. However, there was still a sense that participation was coercive, due to the strong dependence on care-workers and the participants not wanting to disappoint them or risk losing their assistance. Furthermore, because of my professional position as a practicing psychologist many of the grandmothers expressed a desire for any help they could get in learning about and raising these children, some of whom had suffered much loss in their short lifetimes. Despite having received consent/assent from all seven children selected and their grandmothers, I still felt some misgivings about the relative

powerlessness of all involved and the children/grandmothers having agreed to participate because of the involvement of their care-workers.

Initially it was decided that written consent would be obtained from the caregivers as well as written assent from the child participants. This would have required the caregiver and participant to sign a consent form that had been written in appropriate language, translated into isiXhosa, and read to the families by the care-workers. The decision to obtain written consent was however carefully considered as the level of literacy in the various homes was unknown at the time. An important reason for signing consent forms in medical or health research is to protect the researchers from any legal action against them; this; however, is said to be less relevant in social research (Save the Children, 2004). While signing a consent form when literacy is limited could merely serve as a token exercise, it could indicate that the consent is being taken seriously (Save the Children, 2004). Written consent/assent was obtained from the first two caregivers/participants, but thereafter it was decided that verbal consent/assent would replace this. It became clear that written consent/assent was possibly a token exercise and that the benefit for the research outweighed the benefit for the caregivers/child participants involved. This decision was made after one of the caregivers signed using an "X", as she was both partially blind and unable to read or write. Furthermore, consent was sometimes negotiated in public spaces, such as on a main road where one of the caregivers was a hawker, and made signing a document seem to add to an invasion of privacy. The idea of signing a document seemed foreign to the child participants and so this too was decided against early on in the consent/assent gathering process. Finally, the care-workers were also given a consent form indicating their roles, responsibilities and rights in the research, but were not asked to sign anything, merely verbally consenting to what was indicated on the form.

An important methodological inclusion was the use of the "Stop" sign. Participants were informed of their right to withdraw or remain silent at any point in the research process. If the topic at hand was too difficult to speak about, or the participants wanted to stop for a short while or stop altogether all they needed to do was hold up the "Stop" sign (Save the Children, 2004). The "Stop" sign principle also formed part of the idea that it was necessary to gain ongoing consent/assent from participants and so this was negotiated at various points throughout the process and not merely at the outset.

Production of Narrative Research Materials

Participatory Action Research methodologies (PAR)

Historically, methodological literature concerning research with children from a psychological perspective occurred in a relationship of "deception" between researcher and child, whereby the researcher had the questions and yet the reason for these questions was possibly not understood by the child in the same ways (Hart, 1997). The aim of this research is therefore to allow children to focus on issues and experiences which they themselves consider important and in so doing allow children to define their own ("big" and "small") stories about their lives and families. PAR methodologies were used to increase participation by using creative methods and to gain insight through a collaborative process (Bray & Moses, 2011). Participatory research can have many meanings, but is generally known for its "inclusivity, democratic ethos, and political and moral imperative" (Van der Riet, 2008, p. 546). It has its roots in Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). RRA emerged in the 1970s and was used in health, agriculture and natural resource management (Van der Riet, 2008). From this PAR developed, with roots extending into anthropology, activist participatory research and agriculture; it was considered "a semi-structured process of learning from, with and by rural people about rural conditions" (Chambers, 1992, p. 298). The inclusion of the term "Action" stresses the belief that research and action work hand in hand (Hart, 1992). PAR draws on critical social theory and is particularly concerned with social justice and transformation. The aims of PAR research are to bring about transformation in living conditions, as well as change at an individual level that takes place through a process of empowerment of the participants (Kelly & Van der Riet, 2001). Furthermore, Hart (1992) suggests that while some refer to this as the "de-professionalization" of research, he suggests that it might be considered a "re-professionalization", in which the researcher becomes a participant in a democratic process.

The PAR methods employed by this research serve to both complement and operationalise the narrative approach discussed and assist in the gathering of storied data. It would have proven difficult, if not impossible, to expect the child participants to produce life-stories without a stimulus (e.g. time-line, photographs etc.) provided by the methods employed. PAR methods are used to increase participation, specifically with marginalised populations such as children, through the use of engaging methodologies in which young people can become co-researchers (Sonn, Santens & Ravau, 2011). These methods are both developmentally

appropriate and creative, and allow for the creation of discursive spaces in which participants are given the opportunity for self-expression (Sonn et al., 2011). Furthermore, the methods allow people to express and analyse the realities of their own lives and, specifically, encourage the involvement of those who cannot read and write (Save the Children, 2004). Thus, by incorporating popular PAR techniques and methods, this study aims to engage children about the big stories of their lives and the events that have taken place as well as the small every day, moment-to-moment interactions in which identities are formed in interaction with others. Methods employed in this research ranged from drawings and model building to photovoice and drama, all aimed at allowing participants a variety of non-threatening ways in which to express their identities and tell their stories.

Following Van Staa, Jedeloo, Latour and Trappendburg (2009), as well as Sonn, Santens and Ravau (2011), this research recognises the benefits of participatory research methodologies with children but argues for negotiated and equitable participation, rather than that of equal participation. Power and status differences between participants and the researcher are acknowledged. Thus while I chose the methodology and overall design of the study, the participants fully participated in the production of the narrative research material, and informed the content, direction and outcome of the study (Sonn et al., 2011). Advocates of participatory research with children support the maximization of their input through inventive and engaging methodologies that will include participants as co-researchers (Sonn et al., 2011; Thomas & O'Kane, 1998). Because I am a counselling psychologist with experience in child-focused therapy and support, I was very much of the opinion that the narrative frame of this research would also have benefits for children in terms of someone listening to them telling their own stories about their lives. While the aim of this research was not in any way to offer therapy to the participant children, the activities/methodologies were considered as a way of including psychosocial support. Furthermore, the work of Isibindi through their lifespace work and adult-mediated play in the safe parks, might be considered as an element of "action" in this research, in which there is some form of intervention to bring about transformative change in living conditions, as well as at the individual level of participant empowerment (Kelly & Van der Riet, 2001).

Organised narrative activities

Three meetings that included all the participants and were structured around organised narrative activities, were held at a designated safe park over a period of approximately one

year. During this period there were also multiple visits to the participating children's homes during which engagement with story-telling activities took place. After careful introductory and consent/assent processes with the participants and their grandmothers, the aim was to incorporate various interweaving forms of production of material, using methods situated within a performative narrative framework and drawing on PAR methodologies (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Sonn et al., 2011). The use of multiple methods opens up opportunities for children to share diverse and even contradictory stories from different periods and contexts in their lives. In this way narrativity attempts to multiply and elaborate on stories in order to deepen an understanding of the contexts and audiences for which stories are performed. Furthermore, to facilitate expression during the organised activities, many of the research techniques used draw on participatory research literature and do not rely on reading and writing skills (Van der Riet et al., 2005). Younger children are said to respond better to techniques that encourage more than just verbal discussion with an emphasis on "the power of visual impressions and the active representation of ideas" (O'Kane, 2000, p.138). While the children in this research do not necessarily fall into the category of "younger children", the importance of the use of PAR methodologies with children who do not share a first (home) language with the researcher is emphasised. It is however important to remember that flexibility is key and that no technique can replace the importance of a child-friendly approach with a human connection (Save the Children, 2004).

All facilitated narrative activities were conducted on the premises of one of the Isibindi Alice safe parks in a container where interruptions could be minimised and privacy ensured. All the activities were conducted with assistance of two specific care-workers, Zinzi and Letshego, who also acted as translators. Both care-workers volunteered to be part of the research process, although I do believe there may have been some pressure placed on them from the administration. Zinzi was a natural choice as she was the designated care-worker to four of the seven children who participated in the research. She therefore had an existing close relationship with more than half of the participants, as well as intimate knowledge of their life stories. Zinzi was a slightly older "mother-figure" with her own children the same age as many of the participants. Letshego was a young man who was still involved in the official NACCW training programme. He had himself come through the Isibindi Alice project and fulfilled the role of "big brother" to many of the participants. Letshego was also one of very few men who formed part of the staff of Isibindi Alice.

First meeting: Road of Life

Drawing on the work of Crossley (2000a; 2000b; 2003), the first meeting involving organised narrative activities aimed to collect the bigger overarching life-story of both the child participant and his or her family. This provided the participants with a space in which to have their life stories (including moments of loss and suffering as well as instances of joy, coping and resilience) witnessed and heard. All the participants were brought by their respective care-workers to the first meeting. Following Van der Riet, Hough and Killian's (2005) lead, time was spent at the outset of the activities to begin to build a relationship of trust between the child participants and me. While the care-workers and I were well acquainted, and the care-workers and participants had an established relationship, the participants and I did not yet have a relationship. Thus after consultation with the care-workers, a few local games were played in order to begin to build trust. Thereafter, similar ice-breakers were used at the start of each meeting in order to create a relaxed environment and promote participation (cf. Van der Riet et al., 2005). Initially the participants were shy and only engaged with one another in whispers.

Because the participants engaged in these organised activities in a group it was important from the outset to establish a set of group norms. Following Van der Riet et al.'s (2005) guidelines, the participants were encouraged to contribute and establish their own criteria for the safety of the group. This however was a difficult exercise, as they were unwilling to freely offer their ideas at this point, perhaps highlighting the power disparity at play. I therefore made suggestions for norms, to which the participants could either agree or disagree. Furthermore, in an attempt to establish a confidential space and to give credence to the idea of equal rights of participation, I and the participants sat on a blanket during interviews (cf. Van der Riet et al., 2005). During home visits, this blanket was used during story-telling activities.

The first activity involved asking the participants to draw a picture of themselves doing something they enjoyed. The aim was to help them relax and to emphasise expression and creativity over precision. This was also a useful way to begin to unpack the participants' identity construction. The Draw-A-Person method, a projective technique used in research and practice, draws on psychoanalytic thinking. It is often used in work with children as a tool that allows them to project their thoughts, ideas and feelings about themselves and their worlds onto a piece of paper in a non-threatening manner (Skybo, Ryan-Wenger & Su, 2007).

The method is based on theories of Human Figure Drawings proposed by Goodenough in the 1920s and later Koppitz and DiLeo in the late 1960s (Skybo et al., 2007). When used in practice these drawings are themselves not diagnostic, but provide useful insight into potential emotional indicators to be followed up. Interpretation of drawings is based on normative developmental sequence, are individualistic and occur in the child's context. Human Figure Drawings are useful because they are an easily administered and inexpensive tool and do not rely on verbal competency (Mitchell, 2008). However, this projective technique has been heavily criticized for the subjectivity involved in interpretation, thereby questioning its validity. Furthermore, because its development occurred many years ago in the west, its applicability in different cultures is questioned (Skybo et al., 2007).

This criticism was perhaps valid in the context of this research where instead of making the participants feel comfortable, the exercise took much longer than planned, as many of the participants were clearly uncomfortable, attempting to draw small, precise versions of themselves and often calling for the eraser. Perhaps the use of drawings in this research is more in line with the work of South African researchers such as Claudia Mitchell (2005; 2011). She uses Human Figure Drawings in a less clinical manner and as one of the many visual methodologies she employs in her research to, for example, understand the perceptions of young women in Rwanda on gender violence (Mitchell & Umurungi, 2007) or in South

Figure 1: An example of one of the participant's Draw-A-Person illustration, which shows her engaged in domestic activities to assist her grandmother, whilst simultaneously depicting her recent academic achievements at school, illustrated through the trophy she proudly grasps.

Africa to understand children's images of teachers (Weber & Mitchell, 1996). In this sense then, the Human Figure Drawings used in this research become a useful tool for the creation of a narrative concerning identity construction, without completely ignoring the emotional indicators present. In line with the work of Crossley (2000a; 2000b; 2003), the main aim of the first meeting was to incorporate activities in order to gather the big stories of the child participants' lives and key events that had taken place in their lives thus far. Therefore, the next activity involved the use of time-lines, which are a popular method used for conducting life history research and have been used extensively with children (Adriansen, 2012; Clacherty & Donald, 2007; Van der Riet et al., 2005). Generally, time-lines are a visual representation with a horizontal or vertical line drawn to reflect the past, present and future and the important events and changes that have occurred along the way (Bagnoli, 2009). Besides being able to provide useful life-story data, this method was purposefully used in accordance with this researcher's focus on child participation and awareness of power hierarchies. It allows the participants to participate in the reporting of the interview and thereby seeks to share analytical power in the interview process, creating a sense of ownership for the participants (Adriansen, 2012).

The participants were asked to draw a "Road of Life" in order to share their life stories through the metaphor of life as a journey or road. This was done individually by each participant in a group context. The backbone of this method is the time-line drawn horizontally across a large sheet of paper, with the child's birthdate marked as the start of the time-line and the date of the activity marking the other end. Thereafter particular questions were posed to the group which guided the participants in constructing their individual road of life maps (Adriansen, 2012). Examples of instructions included: "Mark the different schools you have attended", "Have you moved between different houses? Mark these on your map or indicate if you have lost anyone in your family along the way". The hope was to gain access to the participants' significant life events thus far and their feelings about these (cf. Van der Riet et al., 2005). Adriansen (2012) cautions against an assumption by the researcher or participant of linearity, and suggests rather that the time-line becomes an organising principle for significant events which provides an opportunity for linking the participant's story with the broader social, economic, political and environmental context. Adriansen (2008) herself made use of time-line interviews (among other methods) to understand the greater story of nomadic mobility of the Fulani people of Senegal. While Adriansen's (2008) participants were illiterate, which meant she would be the person doing the writing, her notes were still

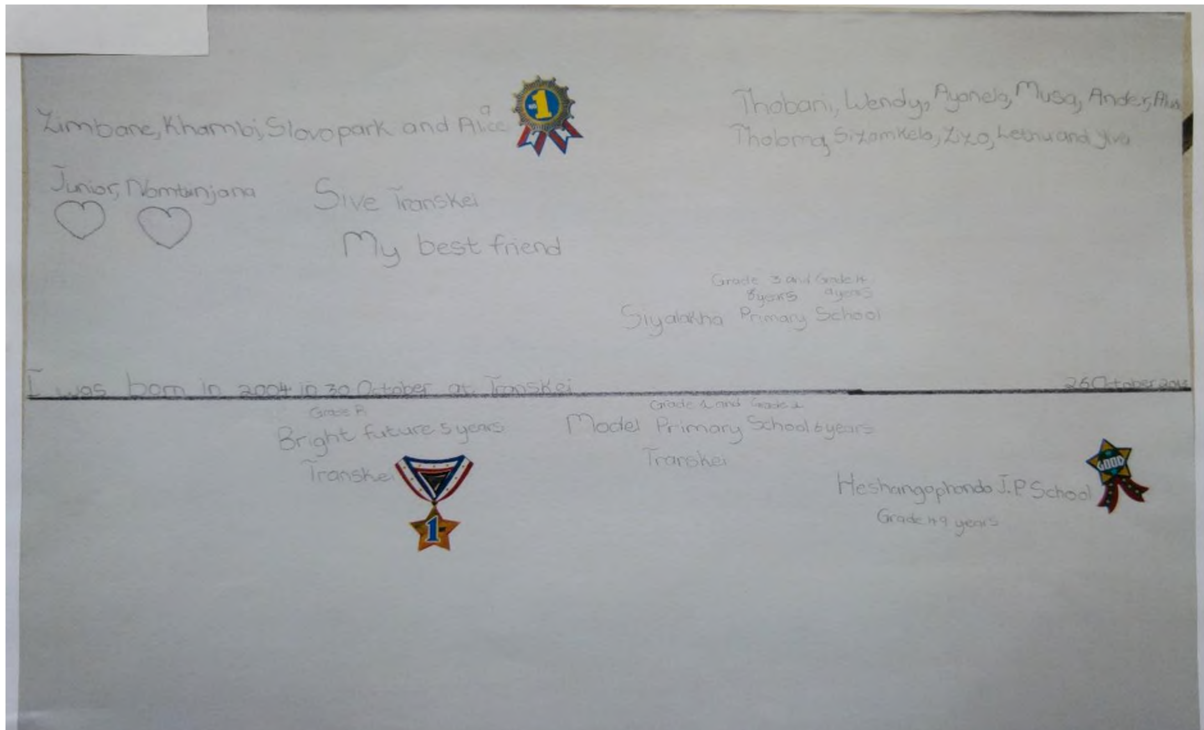

Figure 2: An example of one of the participant's Road of Life map. During this activity, there appeared to be a symbiotic confusion between the instructions about creating the time-line and that of the participant's experiences of their own lives.

shared with her participants in the form of the time-line drawn in front of them. In my research, the child participants themselves were in charge of physically constructing the time-line/map/road of life and were encouraged to use words, images, stickers and anything else they wished so that the ability to write was not a prerequisite. With the permission of the participants, all drawings and models were photographed, but the originals were returned to the child participants to honour their ownership of the co-constructed material.

Once the time-line had been constructed in the group setting, the children were then given the opportunity to sit with me and a care-worker (Zinzi), alone or with a friend, to provide a space where they could give voice to their drawing. I became acutely aware of the confusion that surrounded the reconstruction of participants' bigger life stories. There was often uncertainty as to where to place events that had happened on the actual time-line or whether or not significant people in their lives were actual relatives or not.

This meeting was also used to renegotiate consent for the next stage of material collection with the participants, involving photovoice. All narrative interviews/discussions with

participants were tape-recorded. Furthermore, all translation by the care-workers took place in-situ and basic training was provided to the care-workers in order to facilitate children's voices when translating (cf. Save the Children, 2004). An independent translator was later employed to check the tape-recorded interviews against the written transcripts for accuracy. This was abandoned after the second meeting, as it was determined that the in-situ translation was in fact accurate and sufficient.

It was important to have a process of closure at the end of each meeting, in order to maintain a "holding" space for the potentially difficult topics discussed during the course of the workshop. Thus there was a short reflective activity with the participants in order to express something affirming about themselves and their lives. Grotberg (1995, as cited in Van der Riet, 2008) suggests that resilience literature affirms that being able to articulate positive things about oneself (such as what one has and what one can do) is part of being able to build resilience; an important theme in this study.

Second meeting: A model of your social world

The second meeting took place two weeks later. It had been pouring with rain for almost a week which meant that access to some of the participants' homes was difficult and there were significant challenges in arranging transport to the safe park in Alice. Our ice-breaker games needed to be moved inside and some of the participants took the initiative in leading these.

As an introductory activity, the participants were asked to draw a picture of their families all doing something, in which they could include/exclude whoever they wanted. The aim of this activity was to begin to get to grips with the participants' understanding of their family construction and their own place and identity within this family. The Kinetic Family Drawing (KFD) is another projective technique commonly used with children and aims to assess the individual child's perceptions of the interpersonal relationships within his/her family (Tharinger & Stark, 1990). Burns and Kaufman (1970), the two leading theorists behind the KFD, maintain that everyone in the family drawing should be doing something as this allows

Figure 3: An example of one of the participant's Kinetic Family Drawings in which she described everyone as standing and smiling for the photograph which was about to be taken.

attitudes regarding self and other family members to become more apparent. Similarly to the DAP, the KFD has been heavily criticized because of its lack of assessed reliability and validity (Tharinger & Stark, 1990). Because this research was not interested in diagnosis, but rather in children's understandings and experiences related to domestic mobility, using the family drawing as a visual stimulus to unpack family relationships proved valuable.

Thereafter the main activity for the day aimed to allow the participants to construct a representation of their social world. The idea was to shift from the bigger overarching life stories to the smaller stories of everyday life and interactions (Bamberg, 2006). Following Clacherty and Donald (2007), the participants were asked to construct a model of their current living and social environment, including their home, school and community, using provided materials and material from their environment.

After this, the participants were given the opportunity to sit with me and a care-worker, individually or with a friend, to provide a space where they could give voice to their model. Using the models as a visual stimulus (like the Human Figure Drawings and time-line) to encourage descriptions and discussions, the participants were able to reflect on their daily routines and activities, as well as their social interactions (cf. Adriansen, 2012). It was interesting that while some participants “built” their whole communities, others concentrated only on their individual homes or even just their bedrooms, describing the activities and interactions that occurred in these spaces.

Figure 4: An example of one of the participant’s model of her community.

After a break we moved to the small stories of everyday life; these were collected by the participants through the use of photographs and stories about them. Photovoice is a popular child-participatory methodology that has become increasingly popular in education research in South Africa through the work of Claudia Mitchell (2008) and links well to the narrative framework of this study. Photovoice enables people to represent their community through a specific photographic technique and is an entry point for researchers into participants’ perspectives and experiences (Mitchell, 2008).

According to Wang (1999) photovoice has three main uses: it allows people to capture and reflect their personal and community concerns and strengths; it creates dialogue and knowledge about personal and community concerns through the discussion of photographs; and finally, it reaches policy makers (Wang, 1999). Furthermore, photographs are a creative way of entering the life-world of a child; this world is more easily accessed in this way than through words alone (Mitchell, DeLange, Moletsane, Stuart & Buthulezi, 2005; Skovdal, 2010; Skovdal, Ogutu, Aoro & Campbell, 2009). While initially made popular by Caroline Wang's (1999) work that looked at women and health issues in rural China, photovoice has been used successfully with marginalised groups in a variety of settings across the world (e.g. Hubbard, 1994). Of particular interest to this research is existing South African photovoice research with school learners exploring stigma associated with HIV/AIDS (Moletsane, De Lange, Mitchell, Stuart, Buthelezi & Taylor, 2007), safe and unsafe spaces in schools (Mitchell, Moletsane, Stuart, Buthelezi & De Lange, 2005) and working with rural teachers and community care-workers to address the challenges (and solutions) brought about by the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Mitchell et al., 2005).

In line with the work of Mitchell (2008; 2011) and Wang (1999), the second half of the meeting introduced the participants to the photovoice concept and method. Participants were familiarized with the underlying issues concerning the use of cameras, power, and the ethics of photographing others. During the explanation of the ethical considerations of taking photographs, the participants were encouraged to obtain consent from those being photographed. As far as possible, participants were encouraged to take unidentifiable photos of people, for example from the back or of an unrecognizable part of their body (cf. Skovdal, 2010; Skovdal et al., 2009; Wang, 1999). This was done in order to try and protect the identity and privacy of third parties who had not consented to participate in the research. However, this was never the case; participants took photos of people, things and places that were important to them and the idea of leaving someone's face out of a photograph seemed strange and perhaps even disrespectful to many of the children. The participant children were told at the outset of the photovoice phase that they would be able to keep the photographs once developed. It would thus make sense that they would want to have recognisable people in their pictures so that the photos could serves as a tool for remembering them. This was an instance where the needs of the research and that of the children to have mementos were at cross purposes.

After this, participants were taught how to take photographs. Wang (1999) suggests offering minimal technical advice to avoid inhibiting people's creativity. Following Mitchell, DeLange, Moletsane, Stuart and Buthulezi (2005), Skovdal (2010) and Wang's (1999) guidelines, all the participants were given the opportunity to take a few practice photographs and ask questions concerning any aspects they were unsure of. The participants were then given a disposable camera and a week in which to photograph aspects of their everyday lives that were important. This activity generated a great amount of excitement among the participants. The researcher was interested in the children's every day, mundane situations and the small stories that created a sense of who they were and "capturing narratives-in-interaction as sites of engagement where identities are continuously practiced and tested out" (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 379). After a week the cameras were collected from the participants and the photographs developed. The photographs contained in this thesis were used with the permission of those who took them, but remain their property.

By the end of this meeting, the group dynamic had shifted. Friendships had begun to develop between some of the children and small groups appeared. Generally, the participants seemed to have all become more comfortable with me and one another, with different activities speaking to their varied interests and strengths and allowing them to feel more competent and comfortable.

Home visit: Telling stories of photographs

Approximately three weeks later Zinzi, Letshego and I visited the participants' homes with the photographs. The photographs became a story-telling device and were combined with a narrative interview to facilitate the telling of small-stories and in order to fill in any potential gaps not covered in the photographs (cf. Mitchell et al., 2005). The photographs were often of great interest to other family members in the home, who moved in and out of the conversation, adding their comments, thoughts and praise for the photography of the participants.

Figure 5: A few examples of the photographs taken by different participants indicating what was important to them. Included in this collection are photographs highlighting important social relationships with peers, caregivers and even pets. Also indicated are important places, such as a home Luthando strives to one day own, or the dam where Odwa and his friends are able to slip into fantasy during play.

Examples of questions asked during the interview include: “What is going on in this photograph?”, “Who appears in it?”, “Why did you take this photograph?” and “What does this photograph tell us about you and your life?” Participants were given copies of the photographs to keep, and permission from the child participants and their families was requested for the use of their photographs in published research reports. At the end of the second meeting, a portrait was taken of each child, which was printed and given to them as a gift during this particular home visit, as it took place just before Christmas, a special time for many of the participants.

Third meeting: What’s new in your life?

The third and final meeting took place after a six-month break. In this way it was possible to track the bigger overarching significant changes that may have occurred in the participants’

lives, such as significant losses or their own relocation. One of the initial participants, Khule, had in fact relocated to another part of the Eastern Cape at this stage and the group was reduced to six individuals. Furthermore, due to structural changes at Isibindi, Zinzi was no longer available to act as a facilitator and translator. Despite my initial concerns regarding the impact which the length of time may have had on the relationships between me and the participants, it appeared that many of the children had grown in confidence and were willing to try to speak to me directly in English and not through the translators as before. Thus drawing on theories of narrativity, attachment and sociality, it is possible to make interpretations regarding the potential benefits which this research intervention and the intervention of Isibindi in the form of its lifespace work can have for the child participants.

After a variety of ice-breaker games, there was a re-negotiation of informed consent and group norms, as well a re-explanation of my research purpose. The first activity referred to as “What’s new?” aimed to identify the major changes that had occurred in the participants’ lives. The initial instruction involved once again asking the participants to draw a picture of themselves, but to include any changes since our first meeting and organised activities. Following Mitchell (2008), a range of facilitating questions were then asked to draw out any significant changes in their lives since our first meeting. Examples of questions included the following: “Are you still living in the same house or have you moved?”, “Is there anyone new living with you?”, “Have you lost anyone who was important to you?” The idea was that these drawings were an addition to their original time-lines. Thereafter a space was once again provided in which the children could sit individually with the researcher and care-worker (in this instance Letshego and not Zinzi), to give voice to these significant changes and the effects they had had on their lives. The methodological inclusion of the same blanket to sit on during interviews was used to create a sense of consistency and thereby safety for the child participants.

While these individual meetings took place, the other participants engaged in putting together a short play entitled, “A day in the life of a child in Alice”, which was later acted out for me and Letshego. Following Mitchell’s (2008) lead, the play offered another way to narratively enter into the worlds of the participating children, in an attempt to understand the daily activities and interactions (small stories) of the participants’ lives, giving a deepened understanding of the children’s context and everyday lived experiences. The play took place without any guidance from the adults; the children were in charge of settling on a story-line and choosing who would play the different characters.

Because this would be our final group meeting with organised activities, it was considered an important ethical decision to close the day with a positive activity in which the participants were able to consider their hopes and dreams for the future. Again in accordance with literature on resilience, these exercises aimed to articulate positive things about the participants and their futures (cf. Grotberg, 1995, as cited in Van der Riet, 2008). It was hoped that clues about preferred and imagined adult identities would be narratively constructed and performed, which would in turn influence their current identity construction

Figure 6: Luthando holding up a play-dough model of his older sister, who he described as his hero, and a play-dough model representing Odwa's future aspirations to become a farmer and own livestock which will allow him to provide for his family.

to promote and foster self-confidence. Using play-dough the participants were asked to build a model of their hero or something that represented their hero. Their hero could be anyone/anything they wanted, animate or inanimate, known to the participants or not. As a group, we then engaged in discussions about their reasons for selecting this person or object, as well ways in which the participants felt they may be similar to their hero. Thereafter, they were asked to once again use the play-dough to build a model of who/what they would like to be when they were older. No limitations were given and thus while some chose to represent

themselves in their hoped-for adult professional capacities, others represented the financial wealth they would one day like to acquire, symbolised through a collection of livestock and crops.

Home visit: Collaborative story-telling

One month later, I visited the child participants' homes to meet with the child and his/her grandmother/caregiver, as well as any siblings. A care-worker used the collected narratives in the form of the time-line, the photographs and the "What's new?" activity to negotiate a collaborative story-telling session and as such create intra- and inter- generational dialogue (cf. Meintjes, 2009). Meintjes (2009) suggests that this allows children the opportunity to not only address silences in their families, but also brings to light issues and experiences that trouble them. However, things did not go according to plan and so a variety of different types of interviews were conducted. For instance, Odwa's family could not be located during the scheduled time to meet and the interview had to be abandoned. Luthando was not home during the arranged time and so the interview was conducted without him, but included the rest of his family. Langa and Patricia's interviews included the children themselves, their current primary caretaker, their siblings, and their care-workers. This created an atmosphere of collaboration in which many of the participants' stories were fleshed out with context and detail that they themselves were perhaps not even aware of. There appeared to be instances when the child participants gained valuable information about their situation and about the family's positive feelings towards them. However, it was apparent that there was less space for the child participants to correct an adult's expressed view point, and thus instances of correction or negotiation usually occurred between children of similar ages.

Examples of questions asked of the child's caretaker during this interview included: "How is it that this child came to live with you?", "Has this child living with you changed the household in any significant ways?", "Does he/she have any responsibilities in the house?", "For how long will the child stay here?" and "What are your hopes for the child's future?". Then the children were given all their artwork created during the various organised activities to keep and do with as they pleased. Many of the children appeared proud of what they had created and enjoyed explaining their various drawings to their siblings and caretakers. From a psychological perspective, this perhaps speaks to various shifts or cognitive/emotional growth that may be seen in a therapeutic process.

Party and ending

It was important at this point to have an official ending to the research process with the child participants and their families. Often the participants had siblings who had also wished to be part of the research but were not included because they did not meet the selection criteria. Therefore, it was important that they be invited to the party and get to share in some of the activities that their siblings had been involved in. Furthermore, I also wanted the children's caretakers to witness a celebration of the children's life stories and accompanying agency. I aimed thus to invite the participants, their siblings, their caretakers and the family's specific care-worker. However much to my disappointment, I was advised not to invite the children's caretakers/grandmothers, as it was suggested by the Isibindi gatekeepers that if they were to attend they would expect more than a small meal and perhaps would even expect financial compensation or compensation in the form of food parcels. Not only was there not enough money in the budget for this but, ethically, the decision had been made not to include financial compensation as part of participation in this research. Although this had been discussed at the outset of the research, the gatekeepers' opinion was that too much time had passed since the initial negotiations.

Therefore, the decision was made to include the child participants, their siblings (or young children with whom they lived) and their family's particular care-worker. The party included a photographic exhibition of a few select photographs which the participants wished to share with others, and in this way it became a celebration of their life stories. Once the formalities were completed, and speeches made by the gatekeepers of Isibindi, Zinzi, Letshego and me, the child participants received certificates of recognition for their contribution to informing research about children growing up in South Africa. Thereafter the afternoon was spent in celebration: singing and dancing, face painting, games, and cake. In recognition of this being the end of our research process, I accompanied each child back to their home to greet and thank their families and symbolically, end the research process where it first began – in the children's homes.

Transcriptions of stories and field notes

It was important that all the data were captured as accurately as possible and that nuances and other verbal cues included. Therefore, rather than attempting a written recording, all narrative interviews from the organised research activities as well as the narratives from home visits were recorded using a digital tape-recorder (Smith, 2003). Translations from English to

isiXhosa for the participants, and from isiXhosa to English for me were facilitated in-situ by a care-worker. Following the guidelines from Save the Children (2004), basic training was provided to care-workers to assist them in the facilitation of children's voices when translating.

In the next step, I produced a transcription of only the English parts of the narrative material. This included the questions which I, as the researcher, had asked, and the care-workers' English translation of participant(s)' responses to these questions.

An independent translator was later employed to assist me in working through the tape-recorded narrative material from each interview in order to check that the in-situ translation had been accurate. More specifically, the independent translator was used to translate the care-worker's isiXhosa interpretations of questions I had asked and the participant's response, which had been translated by the care-worker in-situ. This translation by the independent translator was incorporated (using a different coloured font) into the earlier version of the English transcript, in order to check the veracity of the in-situ translation. In essence this meant that questions and answers would appear twice in the final transcript which was used during the analysis process. The independent translator and I listened to the recordings together. She spoke each interview out loud and I recorded them in writing. This method of checking was abandoned after the material from the organised activities of the second meeting had been checked, as it was determined that the in-situ translation accurately reflected the content of the interview.

With the permission of the participants, all drawings and models were photographed, but the originals were returned to the child participants. Furthermore, once again with permission, digital copies of the children's photographs were kept for possible inclusion in this and future research publications.

Following an anthropological lead, field notes were kept throughout the research process. There is little consensus by researchers in the field when they speak about what constitutes field notes, as a wide variety are seen to exist ranging from "scratch notes" to "headnotes" and "field notes proper" (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011). Perhaps the term which best describes the field notes under discussion is that of a journal or diary. After I had returned from each visit to the research site, I recorded the activities involved in my visit, my experience of the group dynamics at play, and my experience of each individual child participant. This was useful for comparing my experiences of each child from the outset to

the end of the research process and to make interpretations as a practicing counselling psychologist. My final recording after each visit included an intimate reflection on my own experiences of the day's interactions and how they had left me feeling. Following Van Maanen (1988), this became a particularly important part of my promotion of constant reflexivity and acknowledging my influence on the ultimate story told. This part of the journal recordings play an important role in my analysis of the research, found in Chapter 8, as they speak to my own understandings of children's experiences of domestic mobility.

Interpretation of Narrative Materials

While the narrative theoretical approach which underlies this research was discussed in detail in Chapter 3, this section seeks to further expand on how the theory was operationalised, in order to construct and interpret the narrative materials at hand.

Case studies

I made the decision to concentrate on the life-stories of five participants and their families in order to give an authentic account of the children's subjective experiences of domestic mobility. This was a theoretical, as well as a practical decision. Riessman (2002) suggests that there are various ways to write up studies of personal narratives. One way is to make compare and discuss themes that repeatedly emerge in the participants' stories. However, this research is more in line with her second suggestion – in distinctive contexts, it is possible to write up personal narrative material as "cases" which allow for a deeper engagement with the unique context and conditions of each of the participants' lives (Riessman 2002). Therefore, while the particular cases chosen in this research had common themes, such as the effects of poverty and loss, the important role of education, as well as resilience supporting protective relationships, each case was chosen because it refers to particular differences in experience across the life stories of the participants.

The stories of brother and sister, Langa and Khule, were chosen as case studies for discussion to gain a deeper understanding of sibling dynamics and begin to explore the different gendered experiences associated with domestic mobility. The central theme of Luthando's story of domestic mobility is concerned with the positioning of a child fostered in a family that is not kin, which is a useful issue to consider from a positioning and attachment perspective. Patricia's story was selected as a case study for discussion because of its links with existing literature concerning the central themes of the impact of HIV/AIDS on family

life and gendered experiences of vulnerability and violence. Finally, the central issues related to the stories of Odwa are concerned with the consequences of growing up as a child in dire poverty due to an inability to gain South African citizenship. Therefore, each child/household discussed had something unique to add to the literature on domestic mobility.

The stories of Thandeka and Sanele provided valuable insights which helped to deepen an understanding of children's experiences associated with domestic mobility, poverty, gender, education and loss. However, Sanele was only eight years old at the time of the research, which was younger than the initial inclusion criteria of 10 to 12 years. This particular age was specified because, according to McAdams (2006), and drawing on Piaget's cognitive developmental theory, children of this age can begin to construct coherent, past, present and future narratives of their lives. Sanele had great difficulty with the idea of looking into the past and future, and thus her interviews were often much shorter than the other participants'. In contrast, Patricia, who was also only eight years old, managed to easily construct thick past, present and future narratives. The difference between the two might indicate individual differences in their cognitive, social and emotional development. While Thandeka was already 11 years old at the start of the research, she was painfully shy and only ever spoke in whispers. The Isibindi care-workers were of the opinion that because she had spent a number of years in a children's home, she had never really been given the opportunity to voice her opinion and she would have had few opportunities to do so with adults. Therefore, Thandeka's individual interviews were also often relatively short, resulting in limited and thin narrative material for analyses. It was decided that her choice to not speak about certain topics was an important "voicing" of her agency and, in line with the ethics of this research, she was never forced to discuss anything with which she was uncomfortable. Thandeka was always actively involved in the organised group activities and appeared to enjoy being part of the research.

Yin (1981) refers to case studies as being more of a global research strategy that does not necessarily imply a particular type of evidence (e.g. field work, archival data, interviews, observations etc.). Yin (1981) suggests that the particular characteristic of a research strategy that uses case studies as is that case studies attempt to examine "(a) a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when (b) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 59). Lindegger (2006) suggests that case studies can be understood as intensive, detailed investigations of particular individuals, which are usually descriptive in nature and are able to provide rich longitudinal information about individuals

or particular situations under investigation. Thus, the specific individual's narratives were also chosen because of the rich descriptive information they provided, and their ability to shed light on particular aspects (which were different for each case under discussion) of the phenomenon of domestic mobility. In the examination of multiple, but particular, case studies, the individual child's specific experience of domestic mobility became the unit of analysis. However, the child's placements in grandmother-headed households and wider community systems were considered as contextual conditions under investigation (Yin, 2004). Considering gendered experiences of domestic mobility, vulnerability and violence, kin and non-kin relationships and citizenship, I have attempted to understand the meaning of domestic mobility in the lives, identity construction and personal narratives of South African children living in grandmother-headed households.

Flyvbjerg (2006) unpacked the five most common misconceptions related to case study research. The first misunderstanding proposes that general, context-independent knowledge is of more value than concrete, context-dependent knowledge. The second misunderstanding is that because one cannot generalise from a single case study, such a case study cannot contribute to the generation of scientific knowledge. Thirdly, it is a misunderstanding to propose that case studies are only useful for generating hypotheses, and that other methods are more useful for hypothesis testing and building theory. The fourth misunderstanding is that case studies have a tendency to confirm the researcher's preconceived ideas surrounding the research. Finally, the fifth misunderstanding is that it is difficult to generate theories and propositions on the basis of individual and specific case studies (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

These misunderstandings deserve further discussion. The first of these misunderstandings is related to the positivist idea that generalisable, theoretical and context-independent knowledge is considered to be more valuable than concrete, context-dependent knowledge produced by case studies. However, for those interested in understanding human experiences, the richness and detail found in case study research offers nuanced views of human behaviour and reality. These cannot be reduced to only theory (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Flyvbjerg (2006) maintains that in the study of human behaviour, we can never truly make universal claims. He revises his opinion of the first misunderstanding and suggests that "predictive theories and universals cannot be found in the study of human affairs. Concrete, context-dependent knowledge is, therefore, more valuable than the vain search for predictive theories and universals" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p.223). This is endorsed by Eysenck (1976, as cited in Flyvbjerg, 2006) who was initially a harsh critic of case studies, suggesting that case studies

could only produce anecdotes He later changed his mind to suggest that "sometimes we simply have to keep our eyes open and look carefully at individual cases – not in the hope of proving anything, but rather in the hope of learning something!" (Eysenck, 1976, as cited in Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 224). However, I do not wish to deconstruct the long history of questioning the validity of case studies; the view of this type of research has changed significantly and is now a widely accepted and used research strategy. Using case studies in this research was the best method to find out about and describe domestic mobility with reference to poverty, attachment, gender, social support, resilience and narrativity, and explore the five participant's particular stories in great detail.

"Big" story: Crossley

By applying Crossley's (2000b) theoretical approach, operationalised through the use of PAR methods such as Road of Life time-line, I hoped to get a sense of the child participants' overall life-stories, including their past and present experiences, as well as their hoped-for futures. In this way I could begin to understand the big events and experiences in their lives that led up to this point where they are living in Alice in a grandmother-headed household and are under the care of Isibindi.

In order to analyse life-story interview transcripts, Crossley (2000a) draws on McAdams' (1993) theoretical and methodological approach to personal narratives and proposes five steps to be taken in the analysis of the co-constructed narratives. In my own research, these various steps were applied dynamically and not in the somewhat superficial linear manner in which they will be presented. However, for clarity, the steps are presented below. Crossley (2000a) suggests the first step is for the researcher to repeatedly read the transcript and become familiar with the content, and begin identifying emerging themes.

Thereafter, I identified important concepts which were to be looked for in the personal narratives of participants. Crossley (2000a) suggests that there are three essential elements to look for, namely: narrative tone, imagery and themes.

According to Crossley (2000a) narrative tone is either predominantly optimistic or pessimistic and is the most pervasive feature of adults' personal narratives, but is perhaps more flexible in childhood. Children are more easily able to move between different tones in their personal narratives and the tone is often conveyed both in the content and how the story is told. Therefore, I needed to look at what had been reported in relation to the experience of

domestic mobility and also at how it had been reported. Determining the predominant tone was not always easy in the interview transcripts with which I worked, as I believe that often linguistic nuances (such as tone) get lost when interviews are translated into a different language. In the case of my research, the translation occurred in-situ by translators for whom English was not a first language. Therefore, it often felt as though sentiments conveyed by the child participants were simplified when translated, making the identification of a predominant tone difficult. McAdams (1993) somewhat simplistically suggests – along psychodynamic psychological lines – that the greatest formative influence on narrative tone is derived from the establishment of secure or insecure attachment relationships in early childhood. This appears to be a very simple cause-and-effect way of considering attachment and does not take a number of complexities and alternatives (resilience for example) into consideration. However, it is an interesting idea to consider in the context of the current research.

The next step involved the simultaneous identification of imagery (including metaphor and symbolism) and themes. These were considered together as they often overlap and "the use of certain images and imagery tends to point towards, and be indicative of particular themes" (Crossley, 2000a, p.91). Themes and images were unpacked individually in each case study and later on, across the various case studies considered. Crossley (2000a) suggests that like our identities, images in personal narratives are both made and discovered. Here she is alluding to the idea that despite the fact that we "make" our own images, this making is significantly influenced by the raw materials (e.g. language and stories) that are provided through the culture within which we are immersed. For example, the metaphorical image of love in the form of a material token (e.g. new shoes) that appeared in all the participants' stories, is significantly shaped by the context of poverty, where affection is shown by providing for someone with the little means available to the giver. What was perhaps different to Crossley's own research was that this research included actual images/drawings/models constructed by the child participants which further helped to enrich their personal narratives and the story told by, with and about each participant.

According to Crossley (2000a), in the final step, the researcher weaves the identified themes and images emerging from the interpretation of a transcript into a coherent story, linked to previous literature and expanded on in the analysis of each case study. What Crossley's (2000a; 2000b) methodological approach allowed when applied to this research, was an understanding of the participants' greater life stories thus far, involving mobility between

different houses, families and cities as well as experiences of intense hardship and sadness, as well as joy, closeness and success.

"Small" stories: Bamberg

Once the overarching life-story and context of the child participants was unpacked by applying Crossley's (2000a; 2000b) approach, I attempted to ground this big-story approach into Bamberg's (2008) dialogical and discursive small-story approach in the hope of enriching the more traditional narrative inquiry in a theoretical and methodological manner. Bamberg (2008) is interested in the smaller fleeting moments of engagement and interaction that can easily be missed when we consider the big story as the model for narrative analysis. Thus the next part of my analysis involved the application of Bamberg's (2008) small story approach to the co-constructed data (such as the photovoice interviews, for example) in order to locate agency and resistance via counter-narratives at a micro-level in the here-and-now, every day small moments of interaction in which the child participants engaged.

Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) propose five steps to be taken in the analysis of separable yet interrelated positioning processes at work within the collected and transcribed ("big" and "small") narratives. These steps grew out of a model of positioning, put forward by Bamberg (1994; 2004) and Georgakopoulou (2000), which aimed to navigate between two extremes: fine-grained micro-analysis and macro accounts. Thus the aim becomes to explore the self as a character in the story and at the level of narrator in the present, here-and-now situation of the story. In this way, identity construction is analysed in two ways: the way in which the referential world is constructed with characters in time and space; and as a function of the interactive engagement with the world. Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) suggest that how the individual chooses to construct the referential world points to how he/she wishes to be understood in it. Again these steps were applied dynamically and in a way that best served to illuminate the agency, resistance and positioning at work in the child participants' narratives and counter-narratives. Thus this analysis can be seen as shifting between an understanding of the big stories of the participants' lives containing the linear, chronological family narratives of events, illness experiences and moving between different households within which selves are already positioned, while simultaneously also looking at the small stories which allowed for the study of how the participants as agentive actors positioned themselves.

The positioning levels proposed by the authors deal with how characters are positioned in the story (level 1), how the narrator/participant positions himself/herself in the interactive situation (level 2) and how the narrator/participant positions a sense of identity with regards to dominant discourses (level 3) (Bamberg, 2004; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008).

The first step involved identifying who the characters in the participants' stories were and how they were relationally positioned in the story (positioning level 1). This would have occurred dynamically in Crossley's (2000a), as well as Bamberg and Georgakopoulou's (2008) approach. The second step looked at the interactional engagement between the characters (positioning level 2), while the third step involved a closer analysis of the research setting in which the researcher asked a particular question, how it was answered in the form of story-telling and what could be concluded from this (positioning level 2). For example, was a question posed to the child participant with just her/his care-worker present or was it posed in front of her/his whole family? (as might have been the case during the photovoice interview), and what was the impact of this? Or what may my impact as a young, white woman researcher have been? The fourth step was therefore concerned with the relation and interactional engagement between all the characters (positioning level 2). Finally, the fifth step reflected on how the participants constructed each other and themselves in terms of narrator roles and so established a sense of self/identity (positioning level 3) (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008). Through these five steps (superficially separated to some extent) conducted with each case study, the aim of the analyses was to attempt to explore the "how" of meanings and practices in everyday lives and stories/selves, produced through a collection of both big and small stories.

Thus the analyses of the constructed narrative material was arranged and analysed making use of narrative models (Crossley and Bamberg). The analysis was anchored in multiple-life story materials within a case-study approach following Riessman (2002). The photographs were not analysed using a separate visual material methodology, but rather children's stories about these photographs were narratively analysed in a way that prioritised their interpretation and voice, as per photovoice methodology.

Ethical Considerations

As previously discussed, partly as a result of the growing awareness of the CRC, the inclusion of children in research as active participants in the creation of knowledge concerning their lives is a growing phenomenon (Save the Children, 2004; Van der Riet et al.,

2005). However, because of the research imperative that drives the public health sector, research institutions and academic careers in university settings, there is the potential for children and their lives to be exploited for purposes that do not necessarily benefit them individually. As a result, child concern and agendas have shifted as is clearly evident in the introduction of national legislation for the protection of children in research – e.g. The Children's Act 38 of 2005 (as amended by Act 41 of 2007) and the National Health Act (2003), as previously discussed. This has significant implications research concerned with the lives of children, such as this research. There are also implications for the interpretation of research published before the new legislation was introduced. The consideration of ethical concerns is of the utmost importance when engaging in research with children. An overriding factor in all of these ethical concerns is the relative marginality and powerlessness of children compared to adults in society as a whole. Thus power disparity becomes an important consideration with extensive implications, to which careful attention is paid in almost every ethical decision (Clacherty & Donald, 2007; Save the Children, 2004; Thomas & O'Kane, 1998). Furthermore, it is again highlighted here that in line with the new legislation, this research received ethical clearance from Rhodes University Psychology Department's Research Projects and Ethics Review Committee as well as the Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee.

In a comprehensive overview, Clacherty and Donald (2007) aimed to draw attention to specific ethical issues that commonly arise when conducting psychological research with children in southern Africa. While ethical questions relating to work with children are universal, the interpretation and application of ethical principles in different social, economic and cultural contexts take varying factors into account. Van der Riet et al. (2005) refer to this as situated ethics and is "an eclectic set of practices that can be broadly categorised as postmodern, feminist, post-colonial and democratic, particularly well-suited to working with disenfranchised research participants" (p. 80). Drawing on their own experiences of the influence of particular cultural and socio-economic factors and following on from Boyden (2003), Clacherty and Donald (2007) suggest that a universalist view of children that disregards social contexts misrepresents childhood experience and adults' understanding of what "childhood" is. Thus context becomes an essential part of ethical decision making. Situated ethics means that there is recognition of the socio-political context of all research, with careful attention being paid to local and specific factors prevailing at multiple levels in the research site (Van der Riet et al., 2005). For instance, factors such as the HIV/AIDS

epidemic and its potential social repercussions, pose very particular ethical challenges in relation to research with children in South Africa and thus need specific attention. Thus the work of authors such as Bray and Moses (2011), Clacherty and Donald (2007), Dawes, Bray and Van der Merwe (2007), Meintjes (2009), as well as Van der Riet, Hough and Killian (2005) become all the more important when considering ethical issues and challenges in the context of this research.

The challenges of the adult-child power disparity

Thomas and O'Kane (1998) maintain that the most critical ethical challenge faced in research involving children is the power disparity between adults and children. This power imbalance underlies many of the central ethical principles considered in practice, such as informed consent, anonymity, beneficence and non-malfeasance (Clacherty & Donald, 2007). This power and status disparity is of particular importance in a developing context such as South Africa and yet codes of research ethics prevalent in this context do not always make explicit reference to this factor in research with children (e.g. HSRC, 2006). Clacherty and Donald (2007) suggest that the general consensus in the west that children should be actively involved in research concerning them has spilled over to a wider audience with an acceptance of the importance of "children's voices". However, they feel that this acceptance is far from the case in South Africa, where full child-participatory research is limited. Authors such as Bray (2003a) and Meintjes (2009) have called for authentic child-participatory research to address the stereotypes surrounding OVC and HIV/AIDS.

Acceptance of the validity of children's voices is particularly difficult in a cultural context that generally protects the power of adults over children. Clacherty and Donald (2007) suggest that this is predominantly true in recently urbanised and rural communities in South Africa, like the research site for this study. In such contexts, children's roles in their communities, households and families are often task-orientated, but rarely involve decision-making or giving their opinions on familial matters (Mukasa & Van der Grift-Wanyoto, 1998). Furthermore, the values of respect for elders and obedience are often strongly emphasised which means that children rarely speak out or voice their opinions. Thus in research for Save the Children, a survey of 1200 children from a socio-economic cross-section was sampled. It was discovered that South African children's right to participate and be heard was ranked as the third most commonly violated right. The most commonly violated

right was the right to be protected from abuse (including corporal punishment) (Clacherty & Donald, 2007).

This meant that inherent in this research was a methodological challenge to break through the initial value-laden restraint that children may have felt in voicing their experiences, feelings and opinions to adults. Clacherty and Donald (2007) suggest that although children are aware of the power held by adults, under conditions of trust they are more willing to speak out. It was important to take into consideration the amount of time the participants may have needed to build trust in the research process and with me. Thus the initial meeting, subsequent organised activities and home visits were spread out over the space of a year. However, it is equally important to point out that my access to the children was mediated through the Isibindi care-workers with whom the children had intimate existing relationships. This meant that from the outset there was an element of trust in me and my intentions, because of the trust the children and their families had in the care-workers. This also meant that when I withdrew from the lives of the children at the end of the research period, the important and protective relationship with the children's care-workers remained in place.

The organised activities included local games and the production of narrative material using methods which aimed to help participants feel comfortable. Furthermore, as previously suggested, in order to give credence to the idea of equal rights of participation, a blanket was introduced which was sat on during interviews with the participants in order to attempt to physically convey the idea of equality (cf. Van der Riet et al., 2005). Clacherty and Donald (2007) suggest that another essential condition in breaking down the power disparity is that researchers be familiar with the local area and its cultural practices. While I cannot change the fact that I (the primary researcher) am a white young woman from a different cultural, socio-economic and educational background, I had conducted previous work with the NGO and had a level of familiarity and comfort with the local area, its people and its practices before the start of this research. Furthermore, through the deliberate decision to include care-workers as part of the research team, there was the hope that the child participants would feel more comfortable and trusting of the process, as well as allow the participants to communicate in the language in which they felt most comfortable.

Authenticity

Boyden and Ennew (1997) suggest that in order for research to be authentic, children need to feel free to construct a representation of their world from their own perspective and the

process needs to be one which allows them to express their ideas in their own terms without interference from adults and misrepresentation adults' thinking. Without authenticity in child-participatory research the validity of the findings are both questionable and unethical in terms of the level of tokenism which they represent (Clacherty & Donald, 2007). Clacherty and Donald (2007) suggest that in a South African research context the adult-child power disparity and authenticity are closely linked. Thus in terms of Hart's (1997) "ladder of participation" in which there is a progressive power shift from adult to child, the greater the power disparity within a given society, the harder is becomes to achieve true participation and authenticity. Although much research claims to listen to and champion children's voices, this is often done without critically questioning how these voices were manufactured through the research process. Hence Bray's (2003a) insistence that authentic child-participatory research is still rare in South Africa, as well as Clacherty and Donald's (2007) suggestion that in the wider social community token child-participatory research is still uncritically received, particularly when used for political ends.

Non-malfeasance and beneficence

The principle of non-malfeasance requires that the researcher be particularly sensitive to harm which may be caused to participants and take the steps necessary to avert negative or detrimental consequences (Van der Riet et al., 2005). It is usually considered in conjunction with the principle of beneficence with regards to considering the balance between risks and benefits. The difficulty comes in social science research where the risk is often social or psychological in nature and thus predicting the level of risk is tentative at best (King & Churchill, 2000). In a South African context, Clacherty and Donald (2007) suggest that in order to avoid inadvertent harm it is essential for field researchers to be familiar with the cultural practices, norms and social conditions of the communities in which they work. When working in contexts plagued by HIV/AIDS, the risk of stigmatisation and discrimination are very real, as well the potential for emotional damage due to the extent of the epidemic (Clacherty & Donald, 2007; Van der Riet et al., 2005). Sensitive subjects, such as HIV/AIDS, are deeply contested areas of debate even within the social sciences. It is therefore important to consider the position from which research might be coming. For example, Clacherty and Donald (2007), as well as Van der Riet, Hough and Killian (2005) come from a psychological perspective which believes that talking about loss and sadness through the research process can have positive benefits for child participants and can lead to positive interventions which bring about change. Alternatively, Henderson (2011), coming from an anthropological

perspective, would potentially disagree with the ethics of asking sensitive questions or imposing interventions. Instead, she might consider her role as a researcher to be a companion on the participant's journey, only placing value on that which participants wish to voice.

While there is agreement that children should benefit from the research in which they partake, there is debate about how that benefit would be judged, specifically in social science research (Clacherty & Donald, 2007). However, some indirect benefits have been argued as being important in the social and psychological development of children. For example, the benefits of participation are often said to add to the development of identity, competence and a sense of responsibility (Kjorholt & Qvortrup, 2000). Clacherty and Donald (2007) suggest that that issue of social democratisation in a South African context is an important benefit for children who have little experience of participating in a democratic process. These authors suggest that by understanding the research process, children are able to gain an understanding of how civil society works and the impact they could potentially have on policy and law reform (e.g. Clacherty & Budlender, 2004). Children are said to easily learn their role in representing other children in similar circumstances. However, I made it clear to the child participants that although we would present the findings to relevant authorities, change could often take a very long time and could not always be guaranteed, particularly for them as individuals. From a psychological perspective, Clacherty and Donald (2007) suggest that a participative research approach also allows children to express their opinions and to listen to those of others with the benefits of increasing self-esteem, feeling heard and empowered and feeling important, especially in a South African context where children are often made to deal with marginalising issues such as poverty, HIV/AIDS and orphanhood.

From the outset of this research, it was important to establish a source of referral for participants in the event of emotional difficulties experienced during or after the research process. This was one of the overriding factors for choosing to work in an existing organisation where trained care-workers were there to assist and to guide onward referral if necessary. Furthermore, one of the guiding principles for conducting this research was that despite the indirect benefits for the child participants involved, there needed to be additional benefits for Isibindi, Alice. Thus while I benefited from acquiring valuable narrative research material for my study, I simultaneously provided my input and expertise as a counselling psychologist registered with the Health Professions Council of South Africa, and experience in working with children and families, in ways deemed useful by the organisation. I did this

throughout the process of the research engagement, but also hoped to organise a short "care for the caregivers" retreat for the care-workers in which a space would be provided for them to rest, gather their strengths and share their emotional difficulties in one-on-one sessions with a qualified professional. Despite attempting to gain support for this from my academic institution and its qualified psychology professionals, as well as from private practitioners, there was not enough interest and the idea was abandoned. Although it was initially thought that an intervention would be arranged for the children or grandmothers, it soon became clear that the care-workers were doing such a thorough job in this regard that the intervention needed was one in which the care-workers could themselves be taken care of.

Anonymity

The preservation of the anonymity of research participants is a central ethical component in all research contexts (HSRC, 2006). Thomas and O'Kane (1998) suggest that with regards to the adult-child power disparity, where children are involved in research the application of this principle sometimes becomes difficult. The extent of the HIV/AIDS epidemic and the potential for stigmatisation and discrimination in South Africa means that protecting privacy being extremely sensitive are very important considerations (Clacherty & Donald, 2007).

Confidentiality forms part of this concept and since the participants were involved in group activities and potentially exposed to one another's stories it was essential that the concept of confidentiality was fully understood. A conscious decision was made, with the permission of the participants and their families, not to blur their faces in the photographs used in this research. After serious consideration, it was decided that if this research was to have an impact on policy, law and state services for the people who needed these services, then it needed to have images of real people attached to it. It is far easier to ignore statistics that can be far removed from reality, than it is to ignore a human story that is represented by a face. While anonymity was protected in writing up the research by allowing participants to choose pseudonyms and altering minor details in order to protect their identity, this was done more to protect secondary participants from identification through association. Following Clacherty and Donald (2007) it was decided that a particular name didn't necessarily make as significant an impact when compared to the "realness" inherent in photographs. Furthermore, it was not always possible to protect families from the curiosity of others when an outsider was seen entering their homes. In fact, there was often great excitement when the participants returned from a day of organised activities, with many of the neighbouring children waiting

in anticipation for them on their return. The involvement of Isibindi Alice played a significant role in normalising this, as most of the community members were aware of the positive role the care-workers and the NGO played in their communities, decreasing the likelihood of stigma.

Validity

Narrative researchers suggest that the generation of narrative material concerning the personal descriptions of life events serves to provide important knowledge about significant, but often neglected areas of the human realm (Polkinghorne, 2007). Polkinghorne (2007) suggests that there are degrees of validity, rather than claims of knowledge being deemed to be either valid or not. Thus knowledge claims are not intrinsically valid but are a “function of intersubjective judgement” (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 474). The validity of a claim relies on consensus among a collective of speakers, with the validation process taking place in the realm of symbolic interaction in an argumentative practice. Thus the purpose and process of validation is to convince readers of the likelihood that the evidence for a claim is strong enough that this claim can form part of an understanding of a particular part of the human realm (Polkinghorne, 2007).

Yardley (as cited in Smith, 2003) offers three broad principles that can be used to assess the quality of interpretive qualitative research. The first is that of sensitivity – a good qualitative research study should show sensitivity to the context in which the study is situated. This study established sensitivity by me, the researcher, being aware of the differences between me and the participants, as well as not claiming to know any truths about the various cultures of the participants. Instead, I engaged in respectful enquiry into anything claimed to be as a result of “culture”. This study also established sensitivity through an awareness of the existing literature on the topics of domestic mobility, HIV/AIDS, childhood, agency and participation, with a specific focus on the meanings domestic mobility has had on the lives, identity construction and personal narratives of South African children. The important relationship between the researcher and participant in narrative research is another context in which one might be sensitive; again in this instance, by acknowledging and being sensitive to the differences between me and the participants (cf. Smith, 2003). It is essential to acknowledge the inherent power disparity at play by virtue of the participants being children and in all possible ways attempt to create an environment in which children’s voices could be heard (cf. Save the children, 2004).

Yardley's (as cited in Smith, 2003) second principle of validity is that of commitment, rigour, transparency and coherence. Rigour is indicated through the thoroughness of this study, with respect to appropriateness of the sample to the research question at hand. Transparency is enhanced through a description of how participants were selected through clear inclusion criteria, as well as through justification of the PAR methods used and the manner in which interviews were conducted. A clear description of the steps used in the analysis of narratives further serves to enhance transparency. Coherence refers to the logic of the argument put forward and the plausibility of the conclusions reached, which must be supported by evidence. Polkinghorne (2007) suggests that this concept and the concept of validity in general means being "well-grounded and supportable" (p. 104).

In accordance with Yardley's (as cited in Smith, 2003) third principle of impact and importance, this research sheds light on the existing work that has been done in the area of OVC and specifically the effects of domestic mobility on the narratives and identity of children, while generating greater insight into this experience.

Reflexivity is another important principle to be considered when establishing the validity of narrative psychological research. Finlay (2002) defines reflexive analysis in research as "the continual evaluation of subjective responses, intersubjective dynamics, and the research process itself" (p. 532). It is a deliberate move away from our understanding of data collection as something which can be objective, to an acknowledgement that we (as researchers and participants) actively construct our knowledge. Finlay (2002) describes the research process as one in which meaning is co-constituted; that meaning is negotiated between the researcher and participant within a particular social context, so that a different researcher with a different relationship to the participant would co-construct a different story.

While "methodological self-consciousness" (Finlay, 2002, p. 533) has been common among ethnographers and anthropologists in the form of "confessional tales" since the 1970s, Finlay (2002) suggests that in less obvious ways the origins of reflexivity as a concept can be found in other theoretical frameworks, including phenomenological, social constructionist, and psychodynamic theories, as well as participative approaches. Reflexivity then can be understood in several ways depending on which research tradition is adopted. From a psychodynamic perspective, it might be about examining the effects of one's own personal, and frequently unconscious reactions on the relationship between researcher and participant. While from a social constructionist perspective (echoed in my own research) it might mean

an exploration of the researcher-participant dynamics and its impact on the co-constituted production of knowledge (Finlay, 2002).

Crossley (2000a) suggests that the narrative researcher needs to be aware that the material used in any analysis is strongly influenced by the researcher. Therefore, Crossley (2000a) suggests that it is essential that rather than collecting "neutral" material, the researcher frames the research question, chooses particular participants and interacts with them in order to produce narratives which are used in the analysis. There is then further selection and interpretation by a subjective researcher, of certain material which influences the eventual conclusions drawn. Thus, it is important to emphasise that while this study is about the lives of children, it was conducted by a young, white woman who is a registered counselling psychologist, with specific beliefs and pre-existing prejudices, which ultimately affected the way that the participants' stories were heard and conveyed. Several narrative researchers have referred to the final role of the researcher as "story-teller" – as weaving the narratives of the participants into the bigger story of the research study (Day-Sclater, 2004; Kruger, 2003; Kvale, 1996). Therefore, the researcher must engage with the material, acknowledging the subjective views of a young white woman psychologist attempting to convey the complex stories of participants of a different age, from very different cultures, classes and contexts, rather than attempt to withdraw and treat the material as if it were an objective record of "reality" (Yardley as cited in Smith, 2003).

Tales of the field: Reflecting on researching with children

According to Etherington (2006), postmodern thinking has contributed to the "greater recognition of the importance of relationship between the story-teller and the listener and between the knower and what is known, and what each brings with them into the research relationship to create meaning and understanding of the topics under exploration" (p. 80). What is meant by reflexivity might then be described as the researcher's ability to recognise how his/her own background, fluid contexts and experiences impact upon and inform the outcomes of the research inquiry. Reflexivity might be understood as creating and occupying the space between subjectivity and objectivity, which Etherington (2006) suggests allows for "an exploration of the more blurred genres of our experiences" (p. 81). When we position ourselves as researchers within the text alongside the stories which our participants tell about their own lives, we view those stories within the contexts of existing dominant discourses and without privileging one story over the other, we are able to produce new and reflexive

knowledge (Hertz, 1997). Through the acknowledged inclusion of the researcher, there is transparency about the values and beliefs that have inevitably influenced the research process and its outcomes (Etherington, 2006). Callaway (1992, as cited in Hertz, 1997) suggests that reflexivity is a continuing mode not only of self-awareness, but of political awareness too.

When considering the idea of reflexivity as a means of producing validity in narrative research it might prove useful to turn to the work of John Van Maanen, a prolific ethnographic researcher, who in 1988 wrote an important book entitled, *Tales of the field: On writing ethnography*, which foregrounded the often disregarded narrative conventions of ethnography. Most importantly, Van Maanen (1988) highlights how the narrative and rhetorical conventions adopted by a writer will significantly shape the story which is ultimately told about a research study. He adopts the term "tale" purposefully, indicating the story-like nature of field work in which the author/researcher makes particular decisions of inclusion/exclusion, as well as highlighting the representational quality of writing which comes from research conducted in the field. Van Maanen (1988) goes on to highlight three particular types of ethnographic tales and the conventions that define each, acknowledging that in practice, these distinctions are never quite as clear-cut and often overlap.

The first type of tale which Van Maanen (1988) highlights is what he refers to as the realist tale. Typically, this tale is narrated by a single author in a distanced, "neutral", third person voice and concentrates on that which is studied and not the conditions under which this occurs. This type of tale is characterised by the marked absence of the researcher/author in the presentation of the final product. The realist tale differs most significantly from my own because the author of the realist tale is rarely self-reflective and is portrayed as having a kind of "interpretive omnipotence" (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 51). The realist tale is also said to be more interested in the everyday details of a group under study (e.g. social networks, authority relations, kinship patterns etc.), and less on the thoughts, feelings, and actions of individuals. In this sense, it is markedly different to my own research which in trying to understand the phenomenon of domestic mobility, is interested in individual children's experiences of it.

Based on the narrative and rhetorical conventions employed, Van Maanen (1988) highlights a second kind of tale which has been significantly influenced by the interpretive fields of phenomenology and hermeneutics. This is referred to as the confessional tale. Perhaps this type of tale has more in common with my own research, while still differing in important ways. Van Maanen (1988) suggests that the characteristic most clearly defining confessional

tales are their "highly personalised styles and their self-absorbed mandates" (p. 73). They purposefully lay bare the processes that the field-worker engages in during the research, avoiding omnipotence and replacing it with doubt. We see a personalised authorship established by the use of first person. This was employed in my own research as a means to highlight transparency and claim ownership of my interpretations as only one possible version of the tale that might be told about children's experiences of domestic mobility. Van Maanen (1988) suggests that confessional tales are not employed to replace realist stories, but instead often stand in a supportive role beside them and are used to elaborate and expand on the more formal methodology sections inherent in realist accounts. Confessional tales are often seen as separate articles, appendices or even chapters of more realist-orientated books. Like my own research, the confessional tale makes it clear that the point of view being represented is my own (influenced by the theoretical lenses which I choose to employ); however, my research is not the self-referential "character-building conversion tale" which is a hallmark of the confession tale (p. 77). Rather, the object of my study (children's experiences of domestic mobility) remains a central focus of the research and does not do so at the expense of a self-reflective account of the field.

The third tale referred to by Van Maanen (1988) is that of the impressionist tale which, like the famous painters, is out to startle its audiences with striking stories, armed with metaphors and imagery, combined with expansive fieldwork experience. While the confessional tale represents the "doer" of fieldwork and the realist tale the "done", the impressionist tale seeks to represent the "doing" of fieldwork (Van Maanen, 1988). Much like my own research, the aim of the impressionist tale is to simultaneously keep both the subject and the object in mind – to be able to examine the story of domestic mobility itself, as well as my own way of coming to know about this phenomenon. Van Maanen (1988) suggests that "the epistemological aim is to braid the knower with the known" (p. 102). However, this is as far as the similarities between this type of tale and my own research extend. Unlike the impressionist tale, my research does not employ the use of evocative language and elaborate characterization in the hope of keeping the audience interested in a "good tale".

While my research builds on the longstanding and more recent approaches inherent in ethnography used as a means to get to grips with a cultural and experiential understanding, my research is not purely ethnographic and offers perspectives and practices from the field of psychology. Unlike the ethnographer, I was not present during many of the "remembered" events that make up the eventual tale which is told. Using a much more strategic construction

of the narrative material production process (including interviews, photographs, drawings etc.), my tale of domestic mobility is therefore often of events told to me (rather than witnessed/experienced) as the researcher. Therefore, while there are elements of the confessional tale, the impressionist tale and even the realist tale, none of these are able to capture and truly reflect the aims of my research. Even Van Maanen (1988) suggests that although field work is essential in complex settings, on its own it is unlikely to provide a "particularly balanced representation of a culture without being supplemented by diverse readings, broadened reflection, and other research techniques" (p. 139).

However, perhaps there is a fourth, "lesser-known" tale referred to by Van Maanen (1988) – a creative, new direction in fieldwork, which seems to most closely align with my own research. The critical tale is often employed to shed light on greater social, political and economic issues. In the group constructing these tales, there appears to be an appreciation that field work has to acknowledge the influence of the political economy within which all groups function at some level. Van Maanen (1988) suggests that critical tales sometimes have a Marxist edge, and are often employed as a means of understanding social structure through the experiences and understandings of disadvantaged groups. Its characteristic feature is "the conscious election of a strategically situated culture in which to locate one's fieldwork" (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 128). Another marked feature is that this is inherently a cross-disciplinary tale that sees field workers drawing from economics, history, politics and psychology. Van Maanen (1988) proposes Hochschild's (1983) work on the sociology of emotions as a creative and engaging example of a critical tale. According to Van Maanen (1988), she combines field work with a literature review and depth psychology, blurring the boundaries of more traditional ethnography. Hochschild spent time with and purposefully targeted (mostly female) Delta airline flight attendants as a participant-observer and interviewer, in order to get to grips with what she thought might be some problematic emotional work – "service with a smile". Thus, my own research can be seen as a critical tale that consciously selected a particular group of children, seeking to immerse itself in, understand and represent children's experiences of domestic mobility, while at the same time paying attention to the social, economic and political influences on this particular group.

Perhaps there is a 'position' as researcher which supports the telling of the critical tale. Kruger's (2014) work on 'marginal maternities' is interested in the impact of race and poverty on emotional experiences in motherhood and focuses on low-income, black mothers from a semirural community in South Africa. Despite being a clinical psychologist by

training and identifying as a community psychologist, Kruger (2014) chooses to position herself as a psychoethnographer. She suggests that as an ethnographer she is interested in the "maternal body; the practices, rituals, and myths related to pregnancy, birth, and motherhood" (Kruger, 2014, p. 1011), while as a clinician she is interested in how these reproductive experiences play out and shape experiences of psychological distress, as well as psychological resilience. It is through the latter which she hopes to use knowledge gained toward designing of policies and planning of services to address distress and utilize resilience. As a result of her positioning of herself as a psychoethnographer, Kruger (2014) suggests it is already possible to discern the "inevitable tension between the desire to know and the longing to help, the schism between epistemology and action/ethics/politics" (p. 1012). I believe this resonates strongly with my own research, in that while trying to increase the academic knowledge base regarding children's experiences of domestic mobility, this research aims to make a direct difference to the lives of those who are participants in it.

Race and class in South African research settings

In acknowledging the influence of the social, economic and political issues within my own research, it is essential to consider race, class and language as signifiers of difference between self (as researcher) and other (as participants). Drawing from the work of two South African psychologists, Saville Young (2011) and Kruger (2014), the importance of reflecting on, theorizing and 'reading' race and class in the South African interview context is highlighted.

Saville Young (2011) suggest that as a white South African it is never easy to write about race and the various elements of difference that cut across it. In her qualitative interviews about men's relationships with their brothers, Saville Young (2011) suggests that the fact that in a specific South African context, she was a white, South African well-educated woman, interviewing black, South African, lesser educated men, from impoverished backgrounds "seemed to inhibit and constrain every aspect of our meaning making together" (p. 46). She suggests that racism is something which happens in research relationships which needs to be brought to the forefront of reflexive analysis in qualities research, because race 'does' things between people that needs to be analysed. In a research context where the researcher engages with participants that is marked by difference in every respect, Saville Young (2011) argues that a psychosocial framework/lens (drawing particularly on the work of Lacan) allows one to theorize about the specifics of this encounter in a manner that moves the analysis along. Related to social constructionist thinking, Saville Young (2011) (from a psychosocial

perspective) argues for an emphasis on the relational, social space in interviews, above a focus on the self in reflexive practice. Gilbert and Sliep (2009, as cited in Saville Young, 2011) argue for an "interrelational reflexivity" which considers reflexivity as taking place in the spaces between people rather than as an internal process; a negotiated relational process as opposed to "an individual soul searching" (p. 53).

It is essential to acknowledge the impact that I as a white South African, English speaking woman, interviewing black isiXhosa speaking children and families, from an impoverished, context, have had on the story ultimately told by this research. I cannot ignore the impact which my whiteness and my participants' blackness, or my relative wealth in relation to my participants' relative poverty, has had on the relationship between us. It is in this inter-relational space that certain stories are told, while others are silenced and in which another researcher, with a different relationship would inform a different story (Finlay, 2002). My race and class are inextricably linked to the research relationship, and just like the psychological lens, informs the ultimate tale which can be told in this particular context about children's experiences of domestic mobility.

Chapter 6 – Analysis: Langa and Khule

Figure 7: A photograph of some of the members of Langa's family, including his grandmother, Langa and his cousin's daughter. By the time this photograph was taken, Khule had again moved from Alice to a different household.

Introduction: Langa's and Khule's Story

At our first interview, Langa was 12 years old and in Grade 5 and his sister, Khule, was nine and in Grade 4. While it was clear that they had the same biological mother, it remained unclear to them whether or not they had the same father. When I first met Langa and Khule, they were living with their grandmother, in their grandmother's home in Elton location, just outside the town of Alice. Also living in the home were their cousin's one year old baby and a woman who was referred to as the baby's nanny. Before moving to Alice, Langa and Khule had never lived together in the same household.

The children's grandmother was approximately 50 years old and was a teacher at a local primary school. In that community, she was relatively wealthy as she has a stable monthly income and a home that belonged to her. Furthermore, unlike others in the neighbourhood, she owned a car and appliances such as a computer, symbols of great wealth, according to the children's narratives. Their grandmother had built her home in 1994 on her return to Alice

(where she was born) after her husband had died. Her home was built across the road from her aunt's house and there were various other family members who lived in the vicinity.

Figure 8: Both Langa and Khule took photographs of their grandmother's computer. The computer was a symbol of wealth for the children and set them apart from neighbouring children/families.

Khule was born in a village called Kambi in the Transkei. After spending her first year with her mother, she was sent to live with a grandmother and her cousins in Zimbani, another village in the Transkei. While Khule's mother moved in and out of her life on a regular basis, she would never again live with her mother for any extended period. Khule was later moved back to Kambi and again back to Zimbani. Khule said that during these times "Langa was far away" (Khule, HV1[3], Telling stories of photographs), referring not only to their physical distance but possibly metaphorically referring to their relational/emotional distance.

Langa was born in Zimbani. When he was one year old, he moved to Pietermaritzburg with his mother, where they lived with Langa's father. After a short while, Langa and his mother moved back to Zimbani. Thereafter Langa lived in two other villages in the Transkei before moving to Alice. Unlike Khule's experience, however, Langa was always accompanied by his mother during his movement between various households and lived with her for most of his life before she died.

[3] HV refers to Home Visit

During our first interview, both participants said that, were they given a choice, they would like to go back and live in the Transkei, whereas by the third interview (approximately 6 weeks later) Khule was happy to stay in Alice, while Langa felt similarly by the fourth interview (approximately 7 months later) saying: "I want to stay here" (Langa, I3[4], "What's new?") and "yes I will come back after the holidays and I will school at Elton" (Khule, HV1, Telling stories of photographs). Because his mother had told Langa before she died that she would like him to go and live in Alice, he was initially less outspoken than Khule about his desire to go back to the Transkei. Their transition to their new home in Alice was apparently not easy. Khule remembered "crying because I wanted to see my cousins" (Khule, I1[5], Road of Life) in the beginning, but perhaps their ability to adjust to their new lives and environment says something about their resilience. This resilience appears to have been supported by the efforts of Isibindi and its care-workers. Khule told a story of how one of the care-workers fetched her and her brother on the day they arrived at their new home in Alice and took them to spend time with other children at the safe park. This meant that Khule and Langa did not have to be at home to witness family members and caregivers from their previous households leaving to go back to the Transkei. Khule interpreted this experience as being protected from unnecessary emotional harm: "because if I didn't go to the safe park I was going to cry" (Khule, I1, Road of Life). During our third interview Langa spoke about one of the reasons he was happy in Alice – because he was able to visit the safe park in the afternoons and interact with other children and the care-workers. Both siblings felt that one of the greatest positives of living in Alice was that they were able to live together for the first time. Khule was excited that she and her brother had their own bedroom and that she wasn't required to share with other people. Langa often positioned his sister as being smarter/older/stronger than him. He suggested that one of the best things about living with her was that she could help him with his homework: "When reading books, if there are words I don't understand she explains" (Langa, I1, Road of Life).

Khule completed Grade 1 and 2 at Model Primary school in the Transkei. She remembered this as being her favourite school "because I was a little child and they liked me and we were also playing at school and my teacher liked me" (Khule, I1, Road of Life). Her identity as being someone who was liked by significant adults in her life was important to Khule and

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[4] I3 refers to Interview 3
[5] I1 refers to Interview 1

perhaps contradicted her experiences of the current adults in her life. Khule was moved to a different school for Grade 3 and 4 as a result of her grandmother's inability to pay school fees at Model Primary. She narrated the story as follows: "They also liked me...in Grade 1 there was nothing wrong and then I went at Grade 2 and I stayed a long time...and they said I must pay and grandmother said she would pay...then they said I must go" (Khule, I1, Road of Life). Khule tied her likability by significant adults to the economic standing of her family and believes that her teachers stopped liking her when her family was unable to pay school fees. Half way through Grade 4, Khule's schooling was once again disrupted. When her mother died, Khule was sent to live with her grandmother in Alice, where her new school insisted that she repeat Grade 4. It was unclear to the family in Alice what school she was attending after leaving Alice and moving back to the Transkei. We therefore see the significant impact of poverty and HIV/AIDS on the education of vulnerable children.

Langa's experience of schooling in Alice had a significant impact on the construction and enactment of his identity. He said that his previous school in the Transkei had been his favourite because he was able to play all the sports he loved and was good at them, but that the children in Alice "don't want me to play sport there because they say I'm a *moffie*" (Langa, I1, Road of Life). At this point Zinzi (translator and family care-worker) felt it necessary to explain to me that the word *moffie* when used in this context meant "when you are a boy and doing things of a girl" (Zinzi, I1, Road of Life). While Langa positioned himself as having been somewhat of a sportsman in his previous school, drawing on normative gender discourse in Alice he found he was repositioned as a *moffie* who does "things of a girl" (Zinzi, I1, Road of Life).

The grandmother's own children had completed either a university degree or diploma, and photographs of their various graduation ceremonies were proudly displayed throughout the house. The grandmother positioned herself as an educated person who had used education to improve her life, "I've got honours in education" (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling). The grandmother lived what she preached – she had a strict routine for the children in her home which included an uncompromising stance on the importance of homework. During the family interview there seemed to be a tension between the grandmother and the children. She positioned Langa as being mediocre compared to Khule, who was positioned as being the cleverer of the two, but that her behaviour was problematic, describing her as "bright and unruly" (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling).

Because of power differences associated with age, race, class and status between me and the child participants, most of the children initially felt more comfortable communicating in isiXhosa as it created a sense of distance and safety from me. From the outset Khule, was determined to speak English to me without translation stating “no I know English” (Khule, I1, Road of Life) when I suggested that Zinzi could translate for us. She radiated confidence and independence, perhaps a by-product of needing to adapt to constant movement and change. Further, because Khule’s mobility, mostly occurred within familiar, loving, extended family networks, her movement had perhaps fostered in her a sense of self-reliance and confidence, which perhaps also indicates the benefit of multiple attachments. Khule sought to address the power differentials in the interview space head-on positioning herself as autonomous and capable, able to communicate both in English and isiXhosa. Perhaps there was also a need to impress me (a white, ‘wealthy’ outsider) with her knowledge and in this way set herself apart from the other children.

Domestic Mobility

Gender differences

The gender differences in experiences of mobility described by Hashim and Thorsen (2011) were evident in Khule’s and Langa’s stories. Langa was the eldest of his mother’s surviving children and the only male. Until her death all his experiences of mobility included his mother, as opposed to Khule, the younger of the two who only lived with her mother during the first year of her life. Because the Xhosa culture is patriarchal, Langa would have been accorded more status than his sister, with boys being considered higher in the social hierarchy (Russell, 2003). The children’s mother was only able to take care of one child financially, so the other was fostered by the extended family as an adaptive strategy to combat poverty (cf. Hosegood et al., 2005). Thus perhaps the decision to raise Langa, leaving Khule to be absorbed into the extended family network, was based on his social importance as the eldest child and the only male.

When he was one year old, Langa and his mother moved from the Transkei to Pietermaritzburg in Kwazulu-Natal, to live with Langa’s father. Ross (2010) suggests that often women who find themselves in desperate poverty support themselves and others through their romantic and sexual affiliations. Langa could have been considered to be a form of social capital, used to ensure a place to live and financial support for him and his mother. Because Khule was not this man’s child, she was sent to live with her extended family where

she was taken care of by the household that was best able to care for her financially at the time. The separation of siblings, as in this instance, indicates how poverty impacts on children's important social and emotional bonds. While Khule continued her developmentally important socialisation within the family by residing with her older and younger female cousins; Langa was reliant on peer socialisation, interacting with neighbouring children and at school when he was of school-going age.

Further gender differences were evident in the children's recent commute to Alice. Although there was only a year's difference in their age, Langa's and Khule's journeys were very different. Langa "… took a taxi because I came alone" (Langa, I1, Road of Life), while Khule recalled an older female cousin "… coming with me because I didn't have a person to come with" (Khule, I1, Road of Life). Langa as a male is expected to make the journey on his own, whilst Khule is accompanied by an older family member. There appears to be an underlying assumption that boys are expected to be brave, independent and emotionally more capable of undertaking something of this magnitude on their own while girls are assumed to be fragile, vulnerable and dependent.

Agency and voice

In Langa's and Khule's big stories of mobility, their lack of choice and participation in the decision-making process in moving between various households became evident. Langa said, "They chose for me", "They decided for me to come to Alice" and "I didn't want to come. I wanted to stay with my grandmother" (Langa, I1, Road of Life). Similarly making use of words associated with power, Khule said, "They put me here" and "They took me to Alice" (Khule, I1, Road of Life). Through the adults' actions and the child participants' words the children position themselves as being powerless. This contradicts with the adults who acted as agents on behalf of the children, without having consulted them. The children's voices about their movement were therefore silenced. Both children spoke of overhearing their grandmother speaking on the phone about the possibility of sending them to live elsewhere, but neither were consulted nor officially informed of their impending movement. Perhaps this is linked to Bray and Moses's (2011) idea that because of long-standing beliefs about children's place in South African society, often there is little consultation about matters that involve them. The popular discourse in South Africa that children should be "seen and not heard" offers little space for children's voices in important issues at micro and macro-levels.

Khule told a significant story of how she was taken to town on a Saturday morning and allowed to select a new hairstyle: "I said I will do the twist" (Khule, I1, Road of Life). In this moment she is positioned as being given a choice and chose a hairstyle that formed part of her enactment of her identity. Khule said that when she arrived home, in an excited mood after having had her hair done, "She [grandmother] told me that tomorrow I will pack my clothes and go" (Khule, I1, Road of Life). Khule shared that she had been "sad because I didn't finish my school" (Khule, I1, Road of Life) and lamented not having had the opportunity to take leave of her friends and members of her family. There appears to be references being made to the idea of having "unfinished business" and not being able to take leave of people in a manner which brings about a sense of closure, much like Khule's experience of the death of her mother had done. Furthermore, she believed that she was moving to Slovo Park and was only informed on route that she was actually going to live in Alice, in a household in which she had never lived before. In this story, there appears to be tension between small instances of agency where Khule was making decisions pertaining to her identity, and the decisions that significantly affected the big overarching story of her life narrative in which she had no role to play and her voice was not only silenced but completely absent.

Langa's experience of having to move to Alice was different, in that he knew where he was going and why he needed to move there. However, he too had little choice in this decision. He said: "It's difficult because my mother before she is going to die, she read that will that when she dies I must move, I must go to stay in Alice. But then I didn't like to come to Alice" (Langa, I1, Road of Life). There is tension in this story in that at the time of his mother's death, Langa was living with her and taking care of her. Looking after his ill mother, he was positioned and expected to act as a responsible adult. But then he is positioned as a voiceless child when it came to making decisions about where he would live after her death. It is useful to draw from Jans (2004) here; the idea that children need care and protection from adults is both normal and necessary, but children also need a space for self-development and to have a voice. Therefore, childhood is a space for ambivalence.

As mentioned earlier, initially both children expressed a desire to return to the Transkei but later declared they were happy to stay in Alice with their grandmother. However, they were unsure whether they would be moved once again. In Khule's case this became a reality quite soon after she had expressed her desire to stay in Alice. Because I did not have the opportunity to speak to Khule personally, my understanding of her movement was shaped by

Langa and his grandmother. Langa understood his sister's mobility in the following way: "Oh the grandmother asked her did she want to go there or did she want to come back, then she refused to come back, she wanted to stay there" (Langa, I3, "What's new?"). Langa positions Khule as having chosen to stay in the Transkei and thereby gave her agency over her own mobility. This explanation was in stark contrast to their grandmother's explanation of Khule's move back to the Transkei:

> She want to stay here but, ooh, I have so many complaints about her. She was very rude, unruly. Then I complained to my mother-in-law and sister-in-law. And she is a bad influence on this one. This one is very nice if you can take away that one bad article about him, otherwise he is a right kid. (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling)

Figure 9: Khule's Kinetic Family Drawings in which she described everyone as standing and smiling for the photograph which was about to be taken. She included in her drawing her two grandmothers, despite only currently living with one of them, as well as her younger brother, her older cousin and herself. The grandmothers are placed above the children and are significantly larger, perhaps indicating their importance, power and status. Furthermore, Khule drew herself with a very different hairstyle from the other female family members. Interpreted from a psychological perspective in the context of Khule's story of repeated mobility, this could perhaps indicate her feelings of often being the outsider or different to her family in Alice.

In contrast to Langa, his grandmother's explanation did not position Khule as having had any choice in whether or not she would move back to the Transkei. Instead because of her "unruly" behaviour her mobility had once again been initiated by the adults in her life. In this instance the adults were again positioned as agents acting on the powerless children. Furthermore, while Langa was positioned as a "right kid" (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling), Khule was said to be "rude" and "unruly" and "very silly" (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling). Khule's voice suddenly disappeared in her own story and what I learned about her from then on was hearsay.

From a gender perspective of domestic mobility, it is it interesting to note that the cycle of mobility versus stability for Langa and Khule had once again been repeated. Langa had again been placed in a situation of relative stability with the possibility of staying indefinitely and was being taken care of by a strong maternal figure in a good financial position. In contrast, Khule was more easily diverted back into the pool of the large extended network of female caregivers. This was perhaps not only related to her unruly behaviour, but because of her lower social standing by virtue of being a young girl.

The photovoice stage of this research gave Langa and Khule an interesting opportunity to enact their identities. Drawing on popular culture both children (as did many of the other participants) took a number of "selfies" (when the photographer takes a photo of him/herself). Khule commented that she had seen someone else do this and was copying them, except she was "making my own styles" (Khule, HV1, Telling stories of photographs), indicating her sense of individuality. She further commented that "I am just me" in these photos and that the

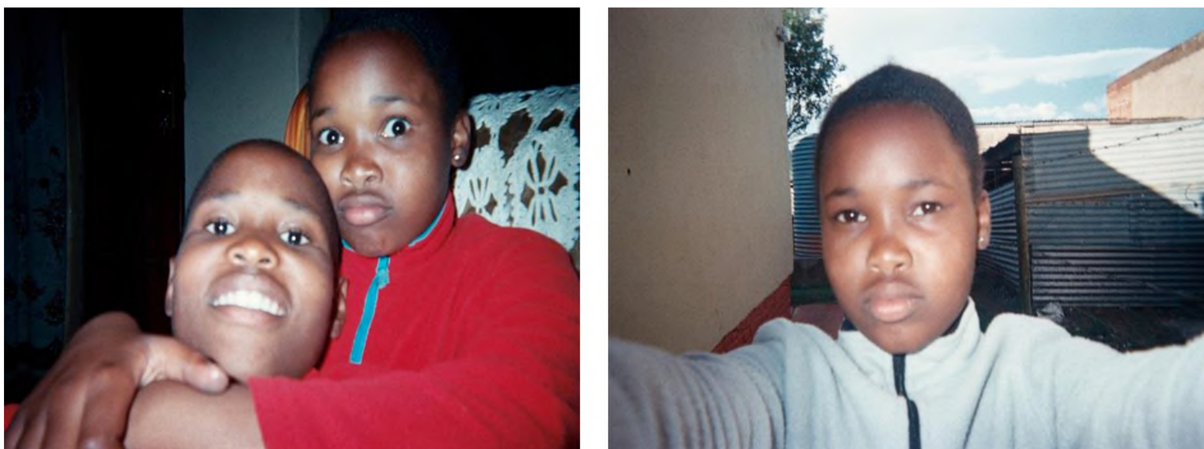

Figure 10: Two examples of the selfies taken by Khule and Langa as enactments of their preferred identities.

children had taken them because “we love ourselves” (Khule, HV1, Telling stories of photographs), again indicating their sense of agency, identity and individuality. The siblings had taken a number of photos together, which would perhaps have had even more significance once they had, again, been separated.

Attachment and Resilience

In literature on child care there is concern about the negative impact of high rates of mobility on child care in developing countries (UNAIDS, 1999; Young & Ansell, 2003). According to various development theories, children’s movement between different households will disrupt stable care-giving relationships, said to be essential for “normal” development. From Langa’s and Khule’s histories, it would appear that Langa had experienced relatively stable care-giving relationships and consistency in his life, having lived with his mother until her death when he was 10, and then being fostered by his grandmother with whom he had a good relationship and where he was likely to continue living for the foreseeable future, given his grandmother’s financial stability and Langa’s easy temperament. Langa, however, had looked after his mother when she was ill and dying. Furthermore, according to the children’s grandmother, Langa was “ill-treated” (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling) by his mother, but no specifics regarding what this entailed were provided.

In contrast, Khule had engaged in a pattern of circular mobility resulting in her living with a variety of caregivers at different times due to unpredictable circumstances (cf. Bray & Brandt, 2007). However, despite these constant moves, Khule seems to have always had at least one person with whom she could form an attachment and develop an understanding of her place within her relationships (cf. Levine, 1990). Like the children of Masiphumelele described in Bray and Brandt’s study (2007), Khule’s circular mobility involved familiar people and places and she spoke very fondly of her relationships with all her primary caregivers. Furthermore, it seems that Khule’s mother was able to negotiate her mobility in such a way that she maintained a relationship with Khule throughout her life. Therefore, contradicting western developmental psychology that emphasises the need for stability in a child’s life, it seems that despite her frequent mobility, Khule’s multiple attachments and secure relationships with her aunts and grandmothers promoted a strong protective social network for her. Langa was not necessarily in a better position, despite his more stable, but complicated relationship with his mother as his primary caregiver and attachment figure. The conclusion to be drawn is that the quality of the relationship with attachment figures is

perhaps as important, if not more important than the stability of the relationships. Instead of considering Khule's frequent mobility from a deficits perspective that idealizes the nuclear family, it may prove useful to look at the positive factors that help individuals overcome potentially difficult experiences from a strengths perspective. Despite being faced with a great amount of change in circumstances, Khule's individual resilience could be seen as a way in which she copes and recovers even when faced with difficulties. Furthermore, this resilience is nurtured by the systems of care she is embedded in, such as her strong relationships with her extended family.

Positioning of Mother and Grandmother

It is interesting to consider how Langa and Khule's mother was positioned by the children, their grandmother and Zinzi (translator and family care-worker) throughout the course of our interviews. Khule always spoke positively of her mother and appeared to understand at some level why it was that she had been sent to live with her extended family. Khule's narratives were of a mother who was loving and who wanted her children to be happy: "I remember she was doing *kwaito*. She was singing. She liked the dances from Zola Seven and she liked making her kids happy" (Khule, I1, Road of Life). Langa's relationship with his mother was somewhat more complex, especially as the adult/child roles were reversed when she was ill. Langa however told stories that positioned his mother as always providing for him. He said, "My mother always bought me what I wanted. Whenever I needed shoes she bought them and also Christmas clothes" (Langa, I1, Road of Life).

When drawing his Road of Life time-line, Langa included a picture of a police station as one of his significant life events and explained that when he was much younger, he and his mother had been evicted from their home because she had forgotten to pay rent. They had then spent a few nights sleeping at the police station. Rather than positioning his mother as an unfit and irresponsible parent (as was my reaction to the story) Langa positioned his mother as protective and willing to do whatever it took to ensure his safety. At this point Zinzi interprets this for her own understanding and perhaps mine, suggesting "he was having a bond with her, an attachment" (Zinzi, I1, Road of Life), thereby drawing on discourses put forward by attachment theory and developmental psychology to understand Langa's relationship with his mother.

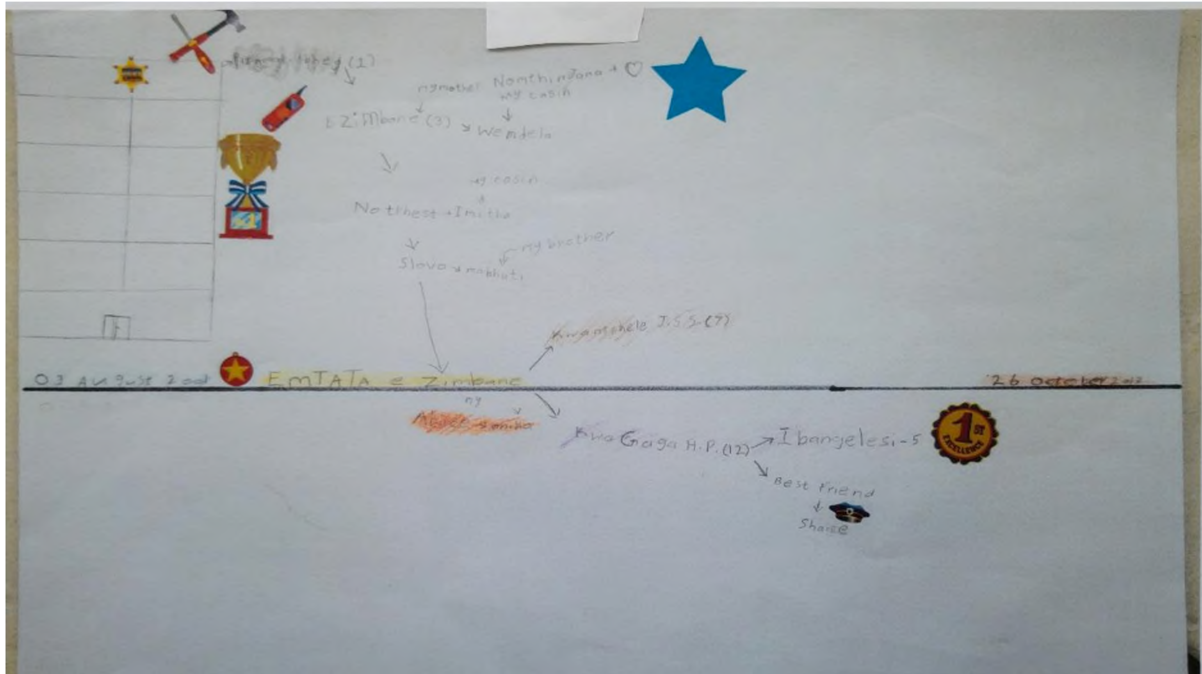

Figure 11: Langa's Road of Life time-line. The police station where he and his mother spent a few nights after being evicted from their accommodation for not paying rent is clearly indicated in the top left-hand corner of the drawing.

As previously suggested, Langa considered the time spent sleeping in the police station with his mother to be a particularly important life event, as indicated by its inclusion in his Road of Life time-line, as well as by the relative size of the police station compared with other elements of the time-line. He spoke favourably about his time at the police station. He praised his mother for taking care of him and also spoke about feeling safe and protected by the "nice policemen" (Langa, I1, Road of Life). While Langa spent his earliest year(s) of his life with his biological father, it was unlikely that he had any significant memories of the man. Yet, in his KFD he placed his father and himself at the centre of the drawing, with other important family members indicated in speech bubbles connected to the tree – an apt, but perhaps unexpected, visual metaphor for a family tree. Langa's positioning of his father highlighted his importance in Langa's life; it perhaps speaks to his absence in Langa's life and Langa's desire to have a relationship with his father. The father figure's importance was indicated by its size and, noticeably, that Langa depicted his father as a policeman. An interpretation of this drawing from a psychological perspective seems to indicate that not only did Langa want to have a relationship with his father, but also, having explained that he felt safe in the police station, that he would feel safe and protected in this relationship. Langa's depiction of himself

was of a much smaller figure than his father but with a broad smile. Langa's pictures showed him and his father engaged in the activity of fixing things with their tools, a possible allusion to the mending of their father/son relationship.

Figure 12: Langa's KFD, in which his mother, father, sister, a cousin and himself are represented in speech bubbles on the tree to the left of the drawing. Langa and his father are depicted in the foreground of the drawing.

The grandmother's narratives about the children's mother position her in a very different light to that of the children. Discourses of blame and stigma are evident as the grandmother suggests "she picked up all these diseases, because she was just going along" and "she was going around bad places, because that is why she got sick, because she was HIV positive and once she had MDR" (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling). Their mother is blamed for having contracted HIV through her risky and seemingly immoral behaviour. It is significant that this was the only time during all the interviews conducted during this research, that a family member named and spoke of HIV/AIDS directly, confirming the stigma and conspiracy of silence associated with the disease. In contrast to the children's positioning of their mother as a loving protector and provider, the grandmother positioned her as reckless and an unfit parent. Zinzi adds to this suggesting that "their mother died without building their home" (Zinzi, I1 with Khule, Road of Life), thereby implying that the children may not have had to move around as often nor have moved to Alice were their mother to

have provided for her children as expected and built a home for them to live in. Zinzi appears to be suggesting that if their mother had built a home for the children, after her death extended family members would have moved in and out of their home to take care of them instead of the children needing to move repeatedly. There is also the idea in existing literature that a home is associated with a sense of decency or morality, and thus perhaps there is an implication that the children's mother is positioned as someone who is not decent (cf. Ross, 2010).

A home represents stability and belonging. If the children had had a home they would probably not have had to move around as often, and would perhaps have been less of a "burden" on the extended family. Financially, they might have found themselves in a better position because of their ownership of something. If other family members had come to live with them after the death of their mother, they would be able to reciprocate the care they received from these individuals by providing them with a house in which to live. Owning a

Figure 13: Langa's model of his community showed an idealised version of his home with a swimming pool and big trees. While this was not necessarily a true representation it does indicate Langa's positive associations with his home in Alice. Of significance were the roads Langa has used to indicate the connections between the various elements of his life: home, school, the church, etc. This clearly represents the importance of the protective micro and meso-systems at play in Langa's life.

home would have given the children bargaining power and a greater sense of agency. Furthermore, from a psychological perspective, the stability associated with a sense of belonging, of having roots somewhere, and the accompanying emotional well-being cannot be underestimated. Finally, it might have allowed Langa and Khule to live together and offer each other emotional support.

Khule and Langa were very proud of their home in Alice. During the photovoice stage of this research, both children took many photographs of those parts of the home that were important to them and which they perhaps wished to “show off”. For instance, there were photographs of the kitchen which Khule described as follows: “I love it, and it looks so beautiful, and it’s special… I didn’t see it everywhere… it’s big” (Khule, HV2, Telling stories of photographs). Other photographs included a special flower arrangement with stones in it from a beach trip which Khule’s grandmother had gone on and of the computer.

When the children’s mother was in Grade 8, she too lived with the grandmother in Alice. This indicates the circular nature of caring for children within family systems and the burden of care placed on female family members. The grandmother said that “the mother was just like the daughter” (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling) and so chose to leave because she would not, according to the grandmother, accept the rules. The grandmother seemed to fear that Khule’s unruly behaviour would result in her ending up in the same position as her mother. However, during our final family interview the grandmother seemed to imply that before her death the children’s mother realised the error of her ways: “She sms’d me asking me ‘mom you did your best but it was my fault’. She recognised her fault and the she asked me if I could please raise this one” (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling).

Here, the mother was once again positioned as a provider and protector, willing to do whatever was necessary to ensure the safety of her children. Furthermore, the grandmother positioned herself as someone who was called on in times of need. Despite having raised her own children, as well as various other children in her extended family, the grandmother said that it is still “very nice” (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling) to raise young children again and that she does it because she enjoys it and loves children.

It was interesting to try to understand the shift in Langa’s positioning of his grandmother. Initially he positioned her as “withholding” and not providing for him in the same way his mother always did. Langa was upset with the fact that “I asked her to buy me a phone then

she said she would only buy it when I was in Grade 12” (Langa, I1, Road of Life). The implication was that if he had asked his mother, she would have bought him the phone. Near the end of our first interview, I enquired as to whether there was anything further Langa would like to share. He shared the following story about his grandmother: “When I come back from playing, I get at home and the dishes aren’t done, so my grandmother hits me and says I didn’t wash the dishes on purpose because I wanted to play” (Langa, I1, Road of Life). There appeared to be various reasons for Langa wanting to share this story specifically with me and Zinzi (the care-worker assigned to his family). First, Langa was still very conflicted about having had to move to Alice after the death of his mother and his expressed desire to stay with a different grandmother in the Transkei. He cried often when speaking about his mother during our first interview and resented the possibility of anyone ever being able to replace her. This was a normal and expected reaction to the death of his mother who was his primary attachment figure. However, in terms of agency, perhaps Langa’s reasons for sharing this were (drawing on discourses of children’s rights), he was informing us of his grandmother’s physical discipline so that we, as adults, would intervene and even arrange for him to go and live with his grandmother in the Transkei. Thus Langa was using the agency and discourses available to him to try to bring about desired changes in his life.

Later, after Langa had decided he would like to remain in Alice (as discussed previously) he again used the options available to him as a child to exercise his agency. He negotiated with the significant adults in his life to bring about the most beneficial social situation for himself. He told Zinzi of his wishes, he wrote a letter to his grandmother with his request “mom I don’t want to go away, I want to stay here” (Zinzi, personal communication) and enlisted the help of the baby’s nanny to support him in his wishes. Langa is again using the options available to him as a child to act as an agent in his own life and impact the decisions made by adults on his behalf.

Education

Disruption of schooling

Perhaps one of the greatest concerns of repeated mobility for children is the disruption of their schooling. Khule was only in Grade 4 and appeared to have attended approximately four different schools since starting Grade 1. We therefore see the significant impact that growing up in families plagued by poverty, HIV/AIDS and death can have on the education of vulnerable children. Because education has such an important role to play in the protection

and socialisation of children, the repeated disruption of Khule's schooling could have been considered problematic for her continued development. Despite the grandmother's assessment that Khule was a bright child, her mobility could have affected her acquisition of the basic knowledge on which her further education would depend. It is possible that were she to fall further behind, the quality of attention from her teachers could be compromised, thus having an impact on her self-confidence. Important social relationships were also repeatedly disrupted. Furthermore, her recurrent mobility has resulted in her having to repeat certain grades. This is frustrating for the child, whilst placing an additional financial burden on the family, as well as a burden on the South African schooling system, which is already stretched.

Education as an escape from poverty

The importance of education as a means to exit the cycle of poverty was emphasised by the grandmother during the final family interview. Her honours degree and her children's qualifications bore testimony to the impact education had had on her life. The children's grandmother has used education to secure a stable job and income, with the result that she was able to foster Langa and Khule, as well as other children at various times. She was able to afford a car and a computer and because she had her own home in Alice, was not domestically mobile. Similarly, whilst her youngest child is away at university obtaining a degree, her other child has already obtained an honours degree and works in the medical field in East London. According to the grandmother education is seen as a means of ensuring that you become "somebody", perhaps something which she considers Langa's mother never to have been. She suggests that "just like I wanted with his mother, I want him to be somebody, I want to give him an education" (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling). Therefore, the grandmother had a strong sense of pride and status associated with an education, and perhaps shame and blame attached to their mother who never finished high school.

Langa and Khule's grandmother could be considered to be the custodian of the children's education. Because she was not reliant on the child support grant for the day-to-day household needs, she was saving it and investing it for Langa's education to ensure a better future for him. The grandmother lives her life and raises children according to a personal philosophy which she shared with us during the family interview: "you must teach somebody to fish, not fish for that somebody" (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling). The grandmother also suggested that she still puts money into Khule's policy every month,

despite no longer receiving her social grant. In one of her interviews Khule spoke of education as an act of love and caring, suggesting that she knew her grandmother loved her because "my grandmother find for me a school" (Khule, I1, Road of Life).

It is important to acknowledge that despite the grandmother having received what might be considered a middle class income and living a relatively comfortable life compared to many in her surrounding community, her income was still significantly stretched. She not only supported herself and her immediate family, but fostered children from her extended family and supported the extended family located elsewhere. Because education acted as a protective factor against poverty for the grandmother, she was the only person in the participating families who did not speak about the financial burden of raising children which were not her own.

When her grandmother in the Transkei could not pay her school fees, Khule maintained that she "forgot" to do so. Perhaps this can be considered to be a kinder way of speaking about poverty. Thus instead of being unable to afford the school fees Khule didn't blame her grandmother for "forgetting" to pay but rather positioned the school as being unreasonable by asking her to leave. Another interesting phenomenon that emerged during the interviews with both Langa and Khule, as well as all of the other participants, was that often emotional transactions were spoken about in financial terms. Therefore, Langa spoke about his mother's love for him by referring to the things she had bought for him. Perhaps this was simply due to semantics with words being unavailable to describe certain emotions in isiXhosa and English. Perhaps it could be attributed to cultural differences, with Xhosa culture being more stoic and less emotionally expressive than western culture. However, it is also possible that this phenomenon was as a direct result of poverty. In relationships without financial security, value is based on the willingness to spend what resources are available to ensure the continuation of your relationship; whether this is your caregiver-grandmother buying you clothes, your older adult brother who lives far away but buys you shoes when he visits, or your closest friend who buys you sweets with her pocket money Further, speaking about emotions in financial terms permits a safe emotional distance, both for the children and the caregivers, in an environment where mobility and the subsequent loss of an important attachment figure is a constant threat.

The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Children

The impact of their mother's HIV/AIDS related illness and eventual death was very different for Khule and Langa. As discussed above, Khule only lived with her mother for a brief period of time and saw very little of her during her last few months of her life when she was possibly in her worst physical, mental and emotional condition. Also as discussed above, Khule appears to have had many attachment figures as a result of her circular mobility. Because of these factors she was possibly able to cope and deal with the situation more easily. Perhaps if it had been one of her two grandmothers from the Transkei with whom she had spent most of her life, who had died, the situation would have been different.

In contrast, because Langa lived with and cared for his mother until her death (as discussed above) his relationship with her was more complex. Langa said that "she was very sick" and "I could see in her body she was sick" (Langa, I3, "What's new?"). Langa and his mother lived alone during the last stages of her illness, which meant that he took on most of the caretaking responsibilities. Langa became what has been referred to as the "parental child" (Keigher et al., 2005). This is not to say that Langa had not performed as an active agent, contributing to the household survival previously. This was probably particularly true in this instance considering that for most of his life with his mother, he would have been the "man of the house".

It seemed that having to witness and engage with his mother's illness and suffering had had an impact on Langa. When I first met him, he was a quiet, shy boy, who often relied on his younger sister to speak on his behalf. He cried when he spoke about his mother. The grandmother said that he had been treated badly by his mother at times and there was evidence to suggest that Langa's schooling had been affected by his mother's illness and death. Perhaps his grandmother's suggestion that Khule was brighter than him had little to do with intelligence but was actually the result of inadequate foundational knowledge. This could have been due to Langa missing a significant amount of school and the emotional energy spent having to take care of his mother. Furthermore, the shame and stigma associated with the disease could have been a heavy burden for Langa to have carried, as despite his mother's disease being openly discussed in front of him by his grandmother and care-worker, he claimed not to know what it was that had made her sick.

However, by the time I disengaged with the participant families at the end of 2014, Langa was a very different child. He was visibly more confident, outgoing and happy. He was able

to speak about his mother calmly, albeit still with great sadness. He and Luthando (another participant) had become close friends and would often spend time interacting during our meetings. He took on the organization of and leading role in a play put on by the child participants for me and the care-workers. I believe that this is was the result of his innate capacity and resilience, which was supported by systems of care from the time of his arrival in Alice. I believe that relationships with important adults, such as his grandmother, as well as the grandmother who lived down the road, with whom he has a close relationship, helped foster this resilience. Furthermore, I believe the significant work of Isibindi and specifically his care-worker in assisting him to deal with his difficult experiences and accompanying grief, helped foster this resilience. This again highlights the importance of having a space in which children's stories of struggle, as well as coping and resilience can be acknowledged and supported.

Protective Relationships

Friendships

Because of their own movement or the movement of various friends and family members, both Langa and Khule had lost contact with various friends. Khule told a story about the very difficult day when her best friend, Sive, had to move away "because their home was no longer good" (Khule, I1, Road of Life). She had fond memories of their relationship suggesting "when we play we must go and buy with that money or we must keep it and then go and buy together" (Khule, I1, Road of Life). Through this small-story, Khule highlighted the mutually beneficial and financially reciprocal relationship children are able to construct. Not only did Khule and Sive provide social and emotional support for one another, they also pooled their resources and saved in order to support one another financially. This is an example of what happens within community networks of care and support. Aside from the girls' relationship, Khule spoke about the important role Sive's mom had played in her life – she often looked after her by providing for her financially with meals and emotionally with love and support. Similarly, Langa spoke about his friend, Shaun. "When I don't have money he buy for me and also if I have money I buy for him" (Langa, HV1, Telling stories of photographs). Shaun also became Langa's social and emotional confidant when children at his new school bullied him. In these reciprocal relationships the children were positioned as equals, as agents able to help one another in times of need. Langa and Khule were also able to speak of the "new best friends" they had made every time they moved to a different household. This perhaps points to their ability to negotiate beneficial social relationships,

while also suggesting a degree of resilience and agency which allowed them to engage in and negotiate new relationships of support. These micro-systemic relationships played an important role in supporting the continued development of these children and offered an important type of informal social protection.

The extended family and neighbours

Both children spoke about various forms of support they received from relationships with certain adults within their extended families and wider communities. Langa spoke of an aunt who he lives close to since his move to Alice. She reminds him of his mother to some degree and he suggests that "she also buy things for me that I want" (Langa, HV1, Telling stories of photographs), just like his mother would have done. Langa also spoke about their neighbours in Alice "who when they are going somewhere or to a birthday party they always go and ask whether I can go from my grandmother" (Langa, HV1, Telling stories of photographs). The family next door had therefore taken Langa on as a social and emotional extension of their

Figure 14: A photograph taken by Langa of the "granny" who lived down the road and who played an important informal social protection role at a micro-systemic level; alongside a photograph of the kittens Langa played with and in return provided the "granny" with companionship and assistance in her home.

own family and included him in family activities. Finally, Langa spoke of the "granny" who lived down the road with whom he had a close relationship. This "granny" allowed him to play with her kittens and in return he offered her companionship, protection and help when her own grandson was away. Furthermore, Langa suggested that if there was "a challenge of having a mouse he is going to ask the one kitten from the granny and keep it" (Langa, HV1, Telling stories of photographs). He was thinking of solutions to help solve the rodent problem in his own grandmother's home. He also spoke about the small tool box he had brought with him from his previous home in the Transkei that he used to mend things in his grandmother's home when necessary. In this way he was also an actor in the household where he was living and able to contribute towards the household survival in certain ways (cf. Ansell & Van Blerk, 2004). Of interest this particular "granny" who lives down the road is in fact the mother of one of the Isibindi care-workers and so perhaps symbolically represents the supportive meso-systemic role which the care-workers play in individual children and family's lives, as well as the structural exo-systemic supportive role played by this NGO in general in Alice and its surroundings.

Chapter 7 – Analysis: Luthando

Figure 15: A photograph of Luthando's family, including his grandmother, grandfather, an older male cousin and his sister's baby. Luthando was noticeably absent from this photograph, an apt metaphor for his position within the family.

Introduction: Luthando's Story

When I first met Luthando in 2013, he was 11 years old and in Grade 4. He had moved to Alice about five months before our meeting and was living in a household comprising his "step-grandmother" and grandfather, his older sister and her young son (a toddler), as well as two older male cousins.

Luthando was born in Alice and very soon after his birth, went to live with his grandmother, "the mother of my mother" (Luthando, I1, Road of Life), because his mother had married a man who was not his father. Luthando, not being the man's child, was not permitted to live with his mother and her husband. Although his explanation was not entirely clear, Luthando suggested that initially he was unaware of his mother's marriage saying, "I lived with my grandmother because my mother was married but I didn't know" (Luthando, I1, Road of Life) and also seemed to be somewhat unsure about why he couldn't live with his mother at

the time. The theme of being unwanted from a very young age re-occurred throughout Luthando's narrative.

When he was about six years old, Luthando's grandmother sent him to live with an aunt in East London. While the reason for this was not explicitly explained to Luthando, it appeared that it was because his grandmother was ill, as she died shortly after he had moved. Despite only being six, Luthando made the journey to East London alone and was given little prior warning of his departure. He narrated: "My grandmother took me to the busses and then she said she would leave me there and then I would go stay in East London. I'm staying with my aunt" (Luthando, I1, Road of Life). Luthando added that "it wasn't difficult" and "No, I wasn't scared" (Luthando, I1, Road of Life), positioning himself as a brave young man rather than a child. Despite his age, Luthando did not attend pre-school or participate in any other form of organised peer interaction/socialisation, such as a crèche, while living in East London.

Within the space of approximately a year, Luthando was moved to another family member in Fort Beaufort. Despite not knowing his father, Luthando went to live with his father's side of the family, with either his father's mother or grandmother (Luthando was not sure exactly who she was). Again, Luthando was not informed as to why he needed to move there, but implied that he had not minded. Unlike Khule who was outspoken about her lack of choice in her mobility, Luthando seemed to have accepted the common discourse that "children should be seen and not heard". He did not openly protest about the lack of choice in his mobility between family members, both known and unknown to him. The exclusion of children in spaces that directly impact on their lives was evident throughout Luthando's narrative. He was able to attend school for the first time while living in Fort Beaufort, although he couldn't remember the school's name or very much about it. His mother seemed to have been somewhat uncomfortable with Luthando living with his father's side of the family and as a result came to "take him to stay together with the step-father and my mother" (Luthando, I1, Road of Life) in Alice for a short period of time, where he attended school. This arrangement only lasted "a little time" (Luthando, I1, Road of Life), after which Luthando was sent to live with another aunt and elderly family member in Cape Town, where he lived for two years.

It was apparent that Luthando had travelled between the various households and cities by himself and after he had moved, he never returned to a home or the people with whom he had previously lived. In this way his mobility differed from Khule's, who through circular

mobility repeatedly returned to the same family members and thus was able to experience a sense of familiarity and comfort. Many of Luthando's social relationships were often short-lived and served mostly to meet the needs of those involved in the immediate social configuration. This was perhaps why Luthando suggested that "I was alone" (Luthando, I1, Road of Life) when referring to his mobility between different households, indicating that he had been unaccompanied, but possibly also referring to his sense of loneliness during his movement between various cities, provinces and homes. Luthando did not attend school while living in Cape Town. Shortly after his mother died at the beginning of 2013, Luthando was sent to live with his older half-sister, Nosi, who was approximately 19 years old, and his step-grandmother and grandfather in Alice.

It is unclear why the death of his mother resulted in Luthando moving to Alice to live with his sister and her family as he had not been living with her before her death. Luthando was not directly related to the family he was living with when I met him; it was explained to me that "Luthando's sister is the daughter of the grandmother's son" (Zinzi, I1, Road of Life). Because Luthando and his older sister had the same mother (but different fathers), Luthando referred to his current caregiver as his "step-granny". It became clear during our family interview that Luthando's future mobility would be decided for him by Nosi.

Luthando, a tall boy, was quiet but very friendly with a ready smile. He had a keen sense of humour and liked to tease the adults with whom he worked. He participated actively in all the workshops and was well liked by the other children. Luthando was an avid sportsman and had natural sporting ability, using the breaks during our research engagement to play soccer with Letshego. His identity was closely tied to his ability to play cricket, soccer and rugby, with rugby being his favourite. He was very happy in his current school because in many of his previous schools there had been no organised extra-mural activities. Luthando had a friend called Hlomla, and together they enjoyed passing the time by eating and playing sport. They always waited for one another to walk to school together. Luthando appeared to have a natural ability with the camera and produced clear, interesting and insightful photographs during the photovoice stage of this research.

Interrupted Education

Luthando's story gave some insight into the destructive role repeated mobility can have on a child's access to education. Luthando had missed a significant number of years of schooling as a result of his mobility. Despite being 11 years old when we first met, Luthando was only

in Grade 4, approximately two years behind the norm for children of his age. However, there did seem to be a wide spread of ages in his grade; while all the histories could not be established, there was always the possibility that other children's education had likewise been affected by mobility and poverty. It was apparent that Luthando had either missed certain grades entirely or had been pushed through grades without having completed the entire year. Drawing on developmental theory, it could be argued that Luthando would not have been able to develop essential foundational skills, with the result that he was likely to have ongoing academic difficulties.

Luthando's extended family was repeatedly thrown into disarray by the death of family members and the accompanying financial shock, compounding their dire financial situation. The death of a family member is often accompanied by extensive funeral costs and sometimes the need to redistribute the extended family's overall income. This global family income is generally gained through employment in bigger centres by the economically active (such as Luthando's aunts in Cape Town), minimal informal wages or through government grants (for example, Luthando's step-grandmother was a hawker but also received an old age pension and child support grant). Often there are strong financial ties between branches of the extended family across South Africa (cf. Hosegood et al, 2005). Luthando's situation with his extended family was perhaps a good example of what Ross (2005) referred to as "diffused domesticity", in which household functions are shared between different homes, settlements and even cities. Thus Luthando's regular movement between different members of the extended family became a coping strategy in an attempt to soften the blows of poverty and spread the burden of care. In these instances of significant financial instability, schooling is possibly considered less important. Thus Luthando would have had access to schooling when he was in Cape Town, but he was not sent to school for reasons that are not clear, but which were very likely linked to a lack of finances. While, in theory, children in South Africa without financial resources do not pay for schooling, the costs of school uniforms, books and transport costs often prevent children from attending school.

Luthando regularly attended school from the time he moved to Alice in 2013. Therefore, the stability that came from staying in one place could have been a protective feature in terms of his education and an increased likelihood of regularly attending school. This was important for various reasons. Drawing on systems theory, on a macro-level, education is seen as one of the most important ways of breaking the cycle of poverty that often is perpetuated in generation after generation. While breaking this oppressive cycle is a dream often not

achieved, the importance of education has been repeatedly highlighted by significant figures in our South African history, such as past-President Nelson Mandela. At a micro-level, school was important for Luthando because he enjoyed it, he could participate in sport and he was able to socialise and make friends. These were all important parts of his identity formation. Furthermore, school offered an important informal social protective measure – while Luthando was attending school, he could not be put to work to support his family's income. The meal provided by the school at lunch time meant that he received at least one good meal a day. Although Luthando generally received three meals a day, there were some children living in such dire poverty that the school meal may have been their only meal for the day. This appeared to be the case for one of the other participants, Odwa; were it not for his school meal and the kindness of neighbours, he could go without food for an entire day. Thus education plays an important role at the macro and micro-level in the lives of all children, but particularly for those living in poverty.

I found aspects of interacting with these children very distressing at a personal level: listening to them describing their dreams and aspirations, but pragmatically accepting that the chance of many of these dreams becoming a reality was negligible. Luthando wanted to be doctor when he was older in order to "make sick people feel better" (Luthando, I3, "What's new?").

Figure 16: A play-dough model Luthando made of a sick patient, with a bandage wrapped around the head. The model represented Luthando's desire to one day be a doctor.

Given the financial strain experienced by Luthando's extended family and the history of his education being side-lined in difficult times, it was patently going to be very difficult for Luthando to achieve his educational dream and would require a great amount of perseverance and support. Furthermore, the likelihood of his relocation through mobility was relatively high, which would once again interrupt his schooling. From a psychological perspective, it was also possible that Luthando's desire to be a doctor was related to the loss of his mother and grandmother. While never directly spoken of, it became known that Luthando's mother had been ill before her death. Luthando's comment that his mother had died "not long ago" (Luthando, I1, Road of Life), perhaps highlighted the intensity of his struggle to accept her death, as well as that of his grandmother, with whom he had lived for the first six years of his life. His desire was perhaps to make others better so that they did not have to die or go through similar experiences.

Only one member of Luthando's extended family had obtained a university degree, and the significance of this was indicated by the photographs of her at her graduation displayed throughout the house. She appeared to be a symbol of hope for the family: for the older generation, she perhaps represented the end of legalised oppression through the system of apartheid, while for the younger generation she was possibly a source of inspiration indicating that the dream of economic upward mobility could be a reality. She provided financial support by sending home some of her income each month, confirming the direct and important micro and meso-systemic impact her education had had on her family.

Luthando's Positioning in His Family

During this research, Luthando's only blood relative in his home was his half-sister, Nosi. During the time I spent with Luthando's family, it was made clear that the only reason Luthando had been accepted into the family was because of his relationship to Nosi and "she [the grandmother] loves Luthando as her child because of his sister" (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling). Therefore, Luthando's sense of worth was directly related to his sister.

Despite his apparent acceptance by the family, Luthando was often positioned as being different from the other children in the household. At one point the grandmother suggested to me that she "likes to raise Luthando because he doesn't have no-one" (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling). There was a sense of sympathy for Luthando who in this context, was positioned as a child alone in the world, fending for himself. The grandmother therefore

chose to position him as vulnerable and helpless. This, combined with a sense of empathy unrelated to blood and kin ties, promoted in her the feeling that it was her duty to take him in.

When I first met Luthando, he had only been living with his new family for a short time. Therefore, his value and reason for being included in the family lay very much in external factors, such as his vulnerability as a child on his own and because of his ties to Nosi. However, by the final family interview, almost a year-and-a-half later, Luthando appeared to have gained value in his own right. This seemed to be related to him understanding himself as an individual who contributed to the family both in terms of what he offered with regards to chores but perhaps on an emotional level, too. Furthermore, Luthando brought with him the attentions of Isibindi, which resulted in positive benefits for the family. These benefits include having Isibindi help the family obtain a child foster grant for Luthando, which despite being meagre, supported more than just Luthando. In trying to highlight his increased significance to the family, the grandmother said that "Luthando is a hard worker, he doesn't have a cheek, he even washes dishes. He is just like a normal child in the house like others" (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling). However even in her attempt to include him and indicate his unique importance, the grandmother perhaps inadvertently highlighted his perceived difference by likening him to a "normal child". Despite his greater inclusion into the family at this stage, everyone in the family and especially Luthando, were still aware that he was indeed different and that this was not his biological family. Luthando even said that while he was treated well in his current home, one of the older children in the household liked "bullying" (Luthando, I1, Road of Life) him because, in Luthando's opinion, he was not a "real part" (Luthando, I1, Road of Life) of the family. Even the use of the word "step-granny" was interesting, as it denoted some distance and an indication that Luthando and the grandmother were not blood relatives.

During our first few interactions, Luthando made it clear that he wanted to go back to Kamnandi, where his aunt (his mother's sister,) lived. Kamnandi was a village not far from Alice but it seemed that this family was unable to take care of Luthando financially. Luthando suggested that his reasons for wanting to go back were because "at Elton it is not my biological family" (Luthando, I1, Road of Life). He poignantly suggested that "I want to go back to Kamnandi…because they don't want me here" (Luthando, I1, Road of Life). He spoke about "just sitting around nicely, washing and eating" with his family in Kamnandi and how his aunt "did everything" for him and "I got everything I want" (Luthando, I1, Road of Life). There was a clear sense of belonging in the description of these ordinary domestic

scenes he engaged in with his family, as well as the important emotionally-loaded idea that his aunt was able to provide for him. However, approximately nine months later Luthando suggests “I don’t want to move to other places, I want to stay here” and “just visit my aunt for holidays” (Luthando, I3, “What’s new?”), perhaps indicating a shift in his feelings of belonging and highlighting his agency in choosing the best possible living arrangement for himself.

For Luthando and many of the other participants, there was perhaps a sense that it was dangerous to admit to being comfortable and wanting to stay in a certain household. They perhaps felt that this would be tempting fate as so often, despite being happy where they were, decisions beyond the participants’ control were made, and they were again moved to another household (much as was the case with Khule). Luthando had until this point spent much of his life moving between different families, whether kin or not. I sensed that for most of his life he had felt like an outsider, never fully being accepted. Even his mother chose not to have him live with her when she married a man who was not Luthando’s father. While her reasons for this may have been to provide financially for Luthando, he was not aware of this and seemed somewhat confused by all his moves, especially as the reasons for these were never explained to him by the significant adults in his life.

In one of Luthando’s first drawings of his family (KFD), he chose to include only himself and his sister, indicating who he considered to be family in his current home. When psychologically interpreted, a smiling Nosi was positioned right in the front of the drawing, representing her importance. Luthando also included a car (perhaps a symbol of mobility) and a tree. What was striking about the tree, however, was that despite its significant size, it had no roots or solid base and looked as though it may fall over. This was perhaps linked to Luthando’s feeling of not being grounded nor having been given the time to grow any roots before being moved to another home and family. Since the death of his grandmother and mother, Luthando’s life had been a bit like a rootless tree, characterised by uncertainty and instability.

Figure 17: Luthando's KFD, which included only himself and his older sister Nosi, and no other family members with whom he had lived, past or present. Of significance was the rootless tree, an apt metaphor perhaps for Luthando's life of frequent mobility.

It was clear that Luthando's future mobility would be decided by his sister. The grandmother suggests that "when his sister leaves they will leave together" (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling) again highlighting that his presence in the family was only because of his relationship with Nosi. Luthando's agency and ability to make his own decisions was undermined when it was suggested that "in December it is his sister who will decide if he must come back or not" (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling). Thus despite his declaration that he was in fact happy and wished to stay in the current household, there was the distinct possibility that Luthando may once again be moved to an unknown destination by the end of the current year. This would, again, have a significant impact on his education, on his friendships, and on his identity and sense of belonging, all of which would indirectly impact on his self-esteem and feelings of worth. It was however also noted by the grandmother that their decision to leave would be entirely their own and that "nothing bad will make them go" (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling) nor would they be asked to leave if they did not wish to. However, if Luthando were to stay, his grandmother predicted his adult agency and ability to make his own decision in the future with the following statement:

> It depends on Luthando because he does have relatives. His aunt is at Cape Town, so maybe he can change his mind to go to Cape Town. As the child changes when he grows up, I don't know whether he will have that mind of

> “I do not belong here, I want to go back”. (Luthando, HV2, Collaborative story-telling)

Luthando’s agency and decisions around where he belonged were located in the future, while his current circumstances were determined by his older sister. His position in his current household was complicated and there seemed to be constant shifts in his identity as he is positioned and oscillated between him feeling a sense of belonging and of being an outsider.

From a psychological perspective, this model of Luthando’s community (Figure 18)

Figure 18: Luthando’s model of his community, represented as a relatively unstable double-storey house, with little connection to any system of community support around it.

represented isolation, as the greater community was not indicated. Furthermore, the model’s height created great instability, needing to be built up every time it fell over. This was perhaps a metaphor of Luthando’s life – every time he built a life somewhere new, it fell over and he once again had to start building his life in a new place with new people. If we consider the importance Ross (2010) places on the sense of belonging that comes from having a home and a place in it, it is not surprising that Luthando would represent his home as being

unstable. Its double-storey indicates Luthando's desire to acquire wealth and the concomitant independence and control over his own mobility.

Luthando's story could be considered in terms of the dominant discourse (and supported in literature, e.g. Tomlinson et al., 2005), regarding Xhosa social and community cohesion: a child is considered to belong to the community as a whole and there is a shared responsibility to care for children and ensure their well-being. However, I believe that this is too simplistic a concept and needs reconsideration. According to the work of Russell (2003) and Hunter (2006), black Xhosa families have increasingly been confronted by an urban and industrial political economy requiring movement away from collective living. This has resulted in many cultural norms/practices changing and transitioning, with resulting hybrid structures. Further, the HIV/AIDS epidemic is placing further pressure on already financially compromised households making it more difficult for care for children in extended families, let alone those children who are not directly related. While black South African families retain a distinctiveness based on a particular past and have inherited certain household practices (broadly speaking), the need to reduce family size due to high costs of living and access to education and the pressures of living in a consumerist economy apply to people of all races, classes and cultures (cf. Russell, 2003). These factors resulted in Luthando's precarious position in his current household and help to explain the ambivalence with which he was received into the family. In accordance with Dawes (1994), Luthando's situation highlights the need for intervention and excludes the possibility of using the strengths inherent in family/community systems and individuals as an excuse not to intervene.

The Role of Women in Luthando's Life

Loss

A number of women have played the important two-fold role of provider and nurturer to Luthando. Important male figures, such as his father or step-father had had an impact on Luthando's life with regards to having a strong voice in terms of his mobility and where he lived, although they never played a direct role in his life.

Despite his confusion about why he could not live with his mother when he was a small child, he eventually accepted this and acknowledged that, despite the fact that she was never a constant figure in his life, she had tried her best to provide for him. She always had an important influence on his life, albeit being from a distance. He said that what he missed most about his mother was that "she made lunch for me, washed my clothes and did everything she

should have" (Luthando, I1, Road of Life). There was little direct emotional content when Luthando described his mother and her role in his life, but perhaps his ability to express her importance was connected to what she provided for him in the way of maternal care rather than financial provision (which her circumstances precluded).

Luthando had experienced significant loss during his life. In a sense he lost his mother twice: when she married a man who was not his father and when she died. While his mother's death was a significant shock and loss for Luthando, the death of his maternal grandmother, who had raised him for the first six years of his life seemed to have had a more significant impact. He recounted his memories of the time she died as follows:

> My grandmother first passed away and then they told me to go stay with my mother because they are going to rent out the house. So I left my clothes. They took Nosi's clothes and my grandmother's clothes, but the people were found in town who stole the clothes, wearing one of Nosi's shirts. Nosi took it. (Luthando, I1, Road of Life)

Luthando's explanation of the loss of his grandmother was interesting. He avoided any emotion and chose to recount how his grandmother's house had been broken into just after her death. However, this narrative should perhaps be considered in terms of the extent of the loss suffered. Not only had Luthando lost his primary attachment figure, but also his home, identity and stability, and as a result of the break in, all his worldly belongings. Luthando's mobility meant that he regularly lost significant relationships with peers and family members and was required to build new relationships each time he moved.

Alternative Attachment Figures

As discussed above, the death of his mother was experienced as a big loss, but the loss of Luthando's maternal grandmother was devastating and traumatic. This indicates that it is possible for a child to have important attachment figures other than the biological mother. It could be assumed that Luthando's maternal grandmother provided sensitive and "good-enough" mothering for him in the first six years of his life, laying the foundation for secure attachments and the subsequent development of resilience. His extended family of different "aunts" and "grandmothers" cared for him as he was moved from household to household. Meintjes and Bray (2005) point to numerous available research which indicates that HIV/AIDS and repeated mobility in the life of a child could have significant consequences.

On the basis of such research, Luthando could have manifested cognitive, behavioural, moral and social difficulties. However, according to his step-grandmother, his care-worker, and his school teacher, Luthando is a "good boy" (Zinzi, HV1, Telling stories of photographs) (indicating an absence of behavioural/moral difficulties), who does well at school (cognitive development) and has good relationships with peers and adults alike (possibly highlighting social attachment). Thus despite the significant instability in his life, Luthando displayed personal resilience. This would have been fostered by nurturing and supportive networks of extended female family members who provided informal social protection mechanisms of care and support.

Luthando's network of care highlights the burden of care placed on women in poor South African families. Luthando's step-grandmother was an elderly pensioner with two adult children, two young children (of which Luthando was one) and one toddler for whom she provided financially. She informally hawked fruit and cigarettes at a small stall in the town of Alice in order to supplement her pension and the child support grant she received for each of the young children in her care. During my final family interview, it was revealed that with the help of the Isibindi care-worker (Zinzi), the grandmother had been able to apply for the more substantial child foster grant, instead of the grant currently received, which resulted in an increase from approximately R300 to R800 per child per month. The importance of formal social protection mechanisms (CSG and CFG) for vulnerable and at risk children and families, was evident in Luthando's story. Without the child support grant for Luthando, the grandmother may not have agreed to take him in and care for him. The extent of the burden of care placed on the grandmother was verbalised by the translator during our final interview: "It is not easy but she is coping, as she is a pensioner. So everything depends on her" (Letshego, HV2, Collaborative story-telling). As well as the children under her care, the grandmother also cares for her husband who was left paralyzed a number of years ago as the result of a stroke and requires a significant amount of care.

Luthando's older sister, Nosi, was playing a central role in his life at the time of this research. As discussed above, she was responsible for him being taken in by his current household and was a strong female figure in his life, once again indicating the possibility of numerous attachment figures in a child's life. While the grandmother and the state provided for him financially, Nosi was responsible for much of his emotional development and clearly the person with whom he had the strongest attachment in the household. Because the grandmother was often out working and tired when she returned home, Nosi was responsible

for the day-to-day running of the household and ensured that the children completed their homework. Despite only being in her late teens and having certain care-taking responsibilities of her young child, Nosi was also completing a diploma at the local FET College. When asked to build a figure of his hero using play-dough, Luthando built his sister and said that "she helps me in everything I want" and "buys clothes and school books and everything for school" (Luthando, I3, "What's new?"). Luthando attributes this financial provision to Nosi, showing his strong emotional connection to her. Although as the reader/listener we know that the money to buy the provisions mentioned above by Luthando are provided by the state and his step-grandmother. Luthando often mentioned the gifts Nosi gave him, the latest being a pair of shoes given to him to celebrate Mandela Day. In order to show his awareness and appreciation for everything Nosi did for him, he took a photograph of the photograph of her deceased father, so that she would have her own copy were she to move.

Figure 19: A play-dough model of Luthando's hero, his older sister, Nosi. What is interesting to note was that Luthando has represented Nosi with the maternal symbol of large breasts and wide hips, despite her petite frame in reality.

Other significant female figures who played important maternal roles in Luthando's life included Zinzi, his Isibindi care-worker and Ma Mthobeli, the school cook. When asked to take photographs of things that were important to him, Luthando took a photo of Zinzi's

youngest son who attended school with him. He suggested that he wanted to show how important Zinzi was to him through this photograph. Further, Luthando took a photograph of the "auntie" who cooked at school, Ma Mthobeli (or the mother of Mthobeli). He considered her to be special as she cooked all of his favourite meals.

Manhood and Tradition

Luthando and his family made many references to "tradition", "being a man" and "becoming a man" during our time together. He often tried to position himself as a man in his stories, drawing on existing masculinity discourse to suggest that he wasn't scared when he had to travel between cities on his own or that "it was nothing" (Luthando, I1, Road of Life) to be moved between households.

Figure 20: Luthando captured a moment between his grandparents; and takes a photograph of his grandfather proudly displaying a carpentry certificate, a symbol of his ability as a younger man.

Although thus far reference has been made to the step-grandmother with whom Luthando lived while he was in Alice, his step-grandfather was also a member of the household. This man had had a stroke and the subsequent paralysis meant that he could not physically contribute to the household in any significant way. During one of my visits to their home, Nosi and the grandmother pointed out the grandfather's many carpentry certificates which lined the walls. Nosi said that, "He built this house, but because of his health, because he has

a challenge of having a stroke, then he not finish up" (Nosi, HV1, Telling stories of photographs). This was perhaps an attempt to reclaim agency and masculinity on his behalf.

During the photovoice phase of this research, the grandfather asked Luthando if he would take a photograph of him holding his certificates. Perhaps the grandfather was attempting to reclaim his own agency and ensure that his legacy was immortalised in the photograph. Another photograph taken by Luthando was of his grandmother sitting next to his grandfather; while she was laughing, the grandfather looked the other way. Luthando explained that the events preceding this photograph included the grandfather having sent for his wife in order to have a photograph taken together. When she did not return he began to get worried as she had suggested she would be back soon. As it began to get dark he became more agitated. When the grandmother arrived home she teased him for having been so worried and so in this photograph Luthando explains that she is trying to make up for having upset her husband. While the photograph captures a playful and affectionate moment on the grandmother's part, the grandfather's body language could indicate his sense of powerlessness to protect his wife as a result of his disability and thereby feeling emasculated.

Figure 21: A photograph taken by Luthando of the goats which he shepherded, an important part of his identity as a young man.

It is interesting to note that in this household, as in many others, the very young (Luthando) and very old (grandfather) both experienced powerlessness and felt the need to position themselves as men and agents in their own lives.

Luthando appeared to claim his agency by actively contributing to the household in ways that he was able to. He took pride in his identity as a shepherd and a hunter (nurturing and providing) and often spoke about the animals he cared for. As well as contributing to the household, Luthando and the grandmother said that he needed to take care of the animals: "He is the shepherd of them because he is going to be *abakhwetha*. He is going to use the goats, that's why he look after them" (Grandmother, HV2, Telling stories of photographs).

Young Xhosa men take part in traditional circumcision and initiation rites as a passage into manhood, and to prepare them for the responsibilities of manhood. Young men involved in the traditional rite of passage are known as *abakhwetha*. Thus in preparation to become a man Luthando was required to look after the young goats, who might then be used as a sacrifice during his passage into manhood. Luthando was thus, in a sense, protecting and nurturing the animals and thereby nurturing his own growth from boyhood into manhood. While masculinity is prized and lauded in Xhosa culture, Luthando's manhood did not appear to have received much nurturance or guidance from any significant male figures in his life.

Aside from that of hunter and shepherd, Luthando identified himself as a sportsman. Using a photograph taken of his friends in their school sports gear, Luthando explained that he was good at cricket, soccer and rugby. There was a sense of mastery and achievement when he spoke about being a sportsman, as well as the idea of belonging to a team. During the photovoice stage, Luthando took many photographs of various children at school, perhaps showing that he had many friends and, despite not always fitting into his current family, he belonged and was liked at school. Perhaps, too, this was a way of compensating for his feelings of inadequacy in his own family at times. He spoke about the mutually beneficial relationship he shared with his friend Sipho. Luthando suggested that he and Sipho "like to share and eat together and play things together" (Luthando, I1, Road of Life), once again acknowledging emotion and connection with others through the idea of being able to provide for one another. One of the photographs taken by Luthando displayed images of his friends wearing what I initially thought were swimming costumes made out of plastic bags over their clothing. When describing the photograph, Luthando explained that the boys were in fact playing "Mr Muscle" (Luthando, HV2, Telling stories of photographs). In their imaginary

play, they were in charge of the world and decided their own fate, thereby having agency and power in their own lives.

Figure 22: Serious faces as Luthando's friends pose for a "Mr Muscle" photograph.

The introduction of the camera in the photovoice stage created interesting social dynamics for Luthando. Many of the children at school were fascinated by it and wanted to take photographs with him or have photographs taken. This initially increased his social capital and standing amongst his peers. However, some children then questioned whether the camera was in fact real or not, which in a sense positioned Luthando as an imposter or as being fake, not only in his family but also at school. There were also many photographs of his grandmother and grandfather which, as it transpired, his grandparents had told him to take; they were taken, "because my grandmother say I have to shoot" (Luthando, HV2, Collaborative story-telling). He is therefore positioned as having to follow instructions from those who have authority over him. At this point in the interview Zinzi wishes to shift the control back to Luthando and therefore suggests "he's very good in shooting" (Zinzi, HV1, Telling stories of photographs) emphasizing his mastery of photography. Zinzi's maternal reaction to Luthando's photograph of her son (she hugged him warmly) was obviously very

important to Luthando and there was a sense, in their shared special moment, that he felt totally accepted. It may have been that Luthando felt as though he was like one of Zinzi's children or he could have been expressing a desire to have a mother like her. Zinzi played a strong emotionally supportive and protective role in Luthando's life and was one of the reasons he was happy living in Alice.

Another special moment took place when Nosi, entered the discussion about his photographs. First both Zinzi and Nosi made a fuss about each new photograph, clapping and laughing while complimenting him on his expertise. Nosi then came across a copy of the photograph of her late father which hung on a wall in the house (as discussed earlier). Nosi became tearful at Luthando's thoughtful gesture and Luthando smiled shyly but with a sense of pride at having made Nosi so happy. While he was not able to give much to his sister materially, this was a small reciprocation.

Acting an agent in his own life, Luthando planned to use the photographs as a form of social capital to ensure his popularity and friendships at school were maintained and possibly in an attempt to be less of an outsider. While he would keep some of the photographs he had taken,

Figure 23: A photograph that Luthando asked Nosi to take, to highlight the important protective function of his dog.

his plan was to give others away to the subjects. More importantly, the photographs were to be used as social capital to ensure that he continued to receive care from his sister, grandmother and Zinzi, all important maternal figures in his life.

Luthando was missing during our final family interview. He had apparently expressed some reluctance at being involved in an interview that would include the whole family and had set off into the mountains with his dog and goats. I understood Luthando's actions to mean that he was claiming his right to not participate in this interview by being physically unreachable. Issues associated with poverty was the main topic brought up during our family interview. The grandmother said "I don't have someone to assist me. I am alone dealing with them" (Grandmother, HV2, Collaborative story-telling), referring to the economic burden on her shoulders to care for the entire household. Many of the participant children, including Luthando, took photographs of animals to convey their sense of wealth. He suggested that the photograph of the chickens which he took show their importance "because they help us when there is no meat" (Luthando, HV1, Telling stories of photographs). Animals have economic and protection value, not sentimental value). Even Luthando's current dog is described in

Figure 24: Nosi's bed, a possible representation of Luthando's aspirations to acquire wealth and in the process, a sense of stability. It is also possibly a metaphor for the 'big' role Nosi plays in his life.

terms of his ability to protect them and assist them whilst hunting. Luthando also took photos of wealth to which he perhaps aspired. One of his photographs was in front of the "fancy house" (Luthando, HV1, Telling stories of photographs) in his village which he suggested was a "nice house" (Luthando, HV1, Telling stories of photographs), as well as one of Nosi's double bed. While Luthando shared a bedroom with Nosi and his two older male cousins, he chose to take a photograph of her bed and not his own because "because mine is smaller" and hers was "a nice bed" (Luthando, HV1, Telling stories of photographs).

Chapter 8 – Analysis: Patricia

Figure 25: A photograph of Patricia's family, including her older brother, two older female cousins, Patricia and her aunt.

Introduction: Patricia's Story

Patricia was nine years old and in Grade 2 when we first met. She had recently moved to Alice to live with her aunt and uncle following the death of her mother. When we met, she was living in a small, two-bedroom house with her aunt and uncle, their two older children and Patricia's brother, Michael.

Patricia's father was a Xhosa man whose family resided mainly in the Eastern Cape. He was still alive, but moved in and out of the children's lives, occasionally visiting, but never contributing financially. Patricia's family indicated that he was not a good person and not fit to take care of his children nor did he wish to do so. During one of our interviews Patricia suggested that "he used to hit us" (Patricia, I1, Road of Life), alluding to physical abuse of the children by her father. Patricia's mother was a coloured woman from the Western Cape. Little information was available about her family, but it seemed that she had moved to the Eastern Cape for a period of her life, where she met the children's father and gave birth to Michael and Patricia.

Patricia was born in Fort Beaufort, but moved with her mother and older brother to the Western Cape shortly after her birth. They lived in the Cape Flats[6] for most of their time in the Western Cape. The political history of the Cape Flats is complex, but it is now known to be an area where extreme poverty is endemic and there are significant social problems – wide-spread gang activity being the most notorious of these problems. Patricia and her brother experienced relative stability during this time, living with their mother in Cape Town. Soon after their mother's death, Patricia and her brother moved to Alice where they were currently residing. Unlike the other participants, as previously described, Patricia was happy to have moved to Alice and did not wish to return to Cape Town.

Michael was approximately 13 years old when I first met him, but presented physically and emotionally as younger than Patricia. He was born with a number of birth defects, which meant that he was significantly smaller in stature than his peers of a similar age. Furthermore, he was hard of hearing, and had poor sight, resulting in significantly delayed development. While never overtly stated, Michael's mother seemed to have consumed alcohol throughout her pregnancy, perhaps contributing to Michael's delayed development.

Her uncle and aunt with whom Patricia was living in Alice had an inter-racial marriage. Her uncle, a Xhosa man, was her father's biological brother, while her aunt was a coloured woman (as with her parents' relationship). The integration of cultures was evident in the children's names: the oldest daughter had a western family name from her mother's side of the family, Sarah, and the youngest daughter had an isiXhosa name, Mpho.

Patricia's Road of Life time-line was significantly different from the other participants' in that rather than including significant events that had taken place in her life to that point, she chose to include the names and ages (to the best of her knowledge) of significant people in her life. This was possibly because up until the death of her mother, Patricia had lived a relatively stable life and not moved often. Most of the people depicted were children, either Patricia's cousins or friends. Four adults were represented – Patricia's aunt and uncle who were not given ages, and her mother and father. Patricia's mother had two numbers associated with her, the first was fifty, the age she was when she had died, in Patricia's

[6] During apartheid, this was an area of Cape Town to which 'non-white' (coloured and black) people were relocated under race-based legislation such as the Group Areas Act.

estimation. The second was number eight – the age Patricia was when her mother died. Her father's number was 95 – his age, according to Patricia.

Figure 26: Patricia's Road of Life time-line in which she chose to represent all the significant people in her life to date rather than the significant events.

Patricia identified herself as being coloured like her mother although her father was black. She was small in stature and was initially very shy amongst the group of child participants. Perhaps this was because she was not black like all the other participants or because she spoke a different language. At the outset of this research Patricia was only able to speak Afrikaans and comprehend a little English. This set her apart from the other children in the research group, the school and the community. Patricia and Luthando had therefore both experienced being positioned as outsiders; considered to be "other". In the research group, Patricia initially worked with a translator who translated the proceedings into Afrikaans. While she managed to negotiate social relationships with the other children relatively well, despite the language barrier, her communication with her care-worker (Pumla) was more difficult. Despite their inability to communicate in a shared language, the bond between the two developed well.

I first met Patricia at her school, when she was called to the principal's office to meet me with her care-worker, who had accompanied me. She, as had Langa and Khule, thought she had been engaged in some or other misdemeanour and was to be disciplined. Because Pumla and Patricia could not communicate with each other, I became the translator and the go-between. Thus, she managed to establish that Patricia was safe and happy both at home and at school. Up until this point, a family member or teacher had been the translator which may have influenced Patricia's responses.

In line with my wishes for my research, Pumla positioned my presence as being useful and that it had added value to their relationship. Pumla used subsequent interactions with the three of us in a similar manner. However, Patricia positioned me very differently and my difference in race and class were significant. As I was about to leave she asked, "Does auntie not just have a one rand for me" (Patricia, meeting 1, consent negotiations). My reaction to this question will be addressed fully in a later chapter. Suffice it to say here that I had hoped to become part of these children's lives and be perceived in a similar way to their care-workers. I now realised that I had been naïve to think this and that my difference (based on race, class and status) would always play a significant role in my relationships with the children. It would have an impact on the stories they chose to share with me and how they were shared.

Patricia quickly learned isiXhosa and within six months of living in Alice was able to communicate in the local dialect. In my final two engagements with her she refused to speak Afrikaans and asked to be spoken to through a translator in isiXhosa, taking tremendous pride in her ability to speak a new language in such a short space of time. Her mastery of isiXhosa meant also that she was no longer considered to be an outsider. This was accompanied by a growth in self-confidence and a new position in the group of child participants, where she appeared to assume leadership of a group of girl participants. Patricia left her best friend behind in Cape Town, but said she had formed many new friendships at school and enjoyed playing with her older cousins.

The Impact of HIV on Families

Patricia's mother died in March 2013, from what appears to have been an HIV/AIDS-related illness. The terms HIV or AIDS were never used in connection with the illness that lead to her death, probably due to the stigma and silence still associated with the disease, particularly in rural communities. Little was known about Patricia's life before her mother's death, but it

can be assumed that Patricia and Michael witnessed their mother's decline in health and eventual death. I sensed that her mother's death had not been unexpected as she had been ill for some time, but that this did not make her death any easier to accept. When I enquired about what happened to her mother, Patricia stated, without euphemisms, that "she is dead" (Patricia, I1, Road of Life). Her emotional distance perhaps served as a protective mechanism, but her confusion around her loss is evident when she said, "It happened next week Friday. I mean in last week…it happened on a Friday" (Patricia, I1, Road of Life).

Despite her illness, Patricia's mother had been a constant caregiver and had provided stability for her children. Although they had moved to different places in Cape Town, Patricia and Michael always lived with and were provided for by their mother. It was after her death that Patricia's life was significantly disrupted and she was made to move from the Western Cape to Alice in the Eastern Cape. Therefore, unlike the other participants in this research, Patricia had one significant caregiver in the first eight years of her life and did not experience repeated domestic mobility. Whilst illness, death and movement are known to disrupt families (e.g. Hosegood et al., 2007; Russell, 2003) and can result in siblings being separated (as was the case with Langa and Khule), Patricia and Michael were fortunate to both be fostered by their aunt and uncle. It is possible that the siblings acted as alternative attachment figures for one another, thereby affording a sense of comfort and familiarity for one another when they first moved to Alice.

During our first few interactions, Patricia's denial of her emotional struggles appeared to be an important way of protecting her from the overwhelming loss of her mother. It appeared that she was still very much in the process of trying to come to terms with the death of her mother so she denied that this loss was difficult or would change the subject when asked about her mother. However, in some of our later workshops the full extent of the loss seemed to have become more of a reality for Patricia and she would often become tearful when speaking about her previous life in Cape Town or her mother and would admit to missing her, saying "I miss my mom" (Patricia, I3, "What's new?"). As did many of the child participants, Patricia described her strong emotional attachment to her mother through her mother's ability to provide for her financially saying "She always gave us lots of things" (Patricia, I3, "What's new?"). Perhaps there was the idea that speaking about emotions in monetary terms was easier to do and was the only language available to Patricia to more easily express herself.

Patricia told of how her father came to take care of Michael and her in Cape Town just after their mother's death. At first this seemed to be that their father wanted to fulfil a caregiving role, but Patricia quickly dispelled this idea by asserting that she did not like her father because he physically abused her. Thus the death of her mother created a caregiving vacuum in Patricia's live and resulted in her vulnerability, and indirectly resulted in further trauma in the form of abuse. Patricia's uncle became aware of their father's abusive behaviour and brought the children to live with his family. Patricia's uncle was described by various people as being "a good man" (Pumla, personal communication). Patricia said that she would much rather live with her aunt and uncle than her father and said that "it's nice here", they "buy us nice things" and they can all "eat nice Simba chips" (Patricia, I1, Road of Life) together. This is yet another example of Patricia conveying her feelings for her aunt and uncle in monetary terms – the currency of emotions. Patricia's father had been seen in Alice on a number of occasions since the children had moved there. Patricia's aunt described his involvement in their lives as follows: "Their dad is around. I don't know where he stays…their dad doesn't help…he comes and looks. Sometimes he just comes to look, sometimes he doesn't come" (Aunt, HV2, Collaborative story-telling).

Patricia would prefer that he did not come and visit and appeared to be afraid of him. During one our interactions she announced that she was "feeling happy" (Patricia, I2[7], A model of your social world) because it had been reported that her father had left Alice to go back to the Western Cape.

This is an example of when it is best for the child that the biological parent is not involved in a child's life. There was the potential for serious emotional and physical damage to Patricia by the involvement of him in her life. In her case, her attachment to a caregiver who was not her biological parent would have been a protective feature, providing a safer emotional environment in which she could develop.

I first met Patricia's aunt and uncle at the hospital where a care-worker had arranged for us to meet to discuss the possibility of Patricia taking part in my research and to get their consent. There was little privacy available to us for our meeting, and it was conducted in my car so as to afford us at least some privacy. It transpired that the uncle had just been diagnosed as being HIV positive during his visit to the hospital just before I was due to meet him. When I

[7] I2 refers to Interview 2

was informed of this, I immediately suggested our meeting be cancelled but the family insisted we continue. I did wonder why the family were comfortable with meeting a stranger when a life-changing diagnosis had just been received. My immediate reaction was that they had already anticipated this diagnosis, considering that he had been sick for some time or that an HIV diagnosis occurred so frequently in this community that it was no longer a shock when made. Neither of these was relevant: the stigma around the disease meant that it was never named by anyone other than the Isibindi care-workers. I also pondered whether the power disparity based on race and class between me and this family meant that they felt obliged to consult with me despite, in my opinion, the traumatic life event they had just experienced. The lack of privacy in communities plagued by poverty could perhaps also be said to have played a role in further normalising this seemingly public meeting. Many of the child participants shared bedrooms with a number of other people, including siblings, cousins and caregivers. Despite our insistence on the need to observe privacy, Patricia frequently walked in on other children's individual interviews; she did not consider her behaviour in any way unacceptable, given that her entire family in Alice slept in one room.

During our third meeting of organised activities Patricia reported that her uncle had died since our last engagement, a significant emotional and financial shock for his family. Patricia was faced with a second significant loss of an attachment figure and caregiver through HIV/AIDS.

After the death of her husband, Patricia's aunt had to care for her own two children as well as Patricia and her brother on her own. Because the family's economic situation was significantly affected by the death of her husband (the only member of the household who was earning a regular income), the aunt was uncertain about what might happen to Patricia and Michael in the future. She said that "the social worker said I must keep them here, I don't know for how long" (Aunt, HV2, Collaborative story-telling). The aunt voiced her financial concerns about having to care for all the children alone saying: "Sometimes it's difficult, I'm struggling here, I'm not working. I get their support grant, sometimes it runs out, it's not a lot of money" (Aunt, HV2, Collaborative story-telling).

If the family was unable to manage the latest death and accompanying financial shock, Patricia and Michael may have been forced to go and live elsewhere, with a different part of the family better able to financially provide for them. The impact of HIV/AIDS on Patricia's life was immeasurable. Not only had she now lost a second attachment figure, but she may

have been forced to move house/family/city again, which would probably have an impact on her education. The ripple effects of HIV/AIDS on families living in poverty are enormous and cannot be cushioned.

The impact of Patricia's second significant loss became clear in our third meeting. I had asked the children to draw a picture showing what had changed in their lives since our previous meeting six months earlier. Patricia was hesitant and then refused to draw, stating that she did not feel like drawing. I did not pressure her to do so, but took her aside to find out a little more about her refusal. It was at this point that she told me about the recent death of her uncle. Just telling me about it upset her deeply. After spending some time together, she made the decision to re-join the group and chose to draw a tree to represent her uncle. The symbol of a tree was perhaps easier to consider as although it represented her uncle it was not an actual drawing of him and allowed a degree of emotional distance. (It was interesting to note that Patricia was the third participant to include a tree in one of their drawings.) Patricia's tree had a thick trunk and a wide base, giving it a sense of solidity. This depiction thus appeared to be an apt symbol for the role her uncle had played in the children's lives. Another noticeable feature in Patricia's drawing was the vast amount of space on the page,

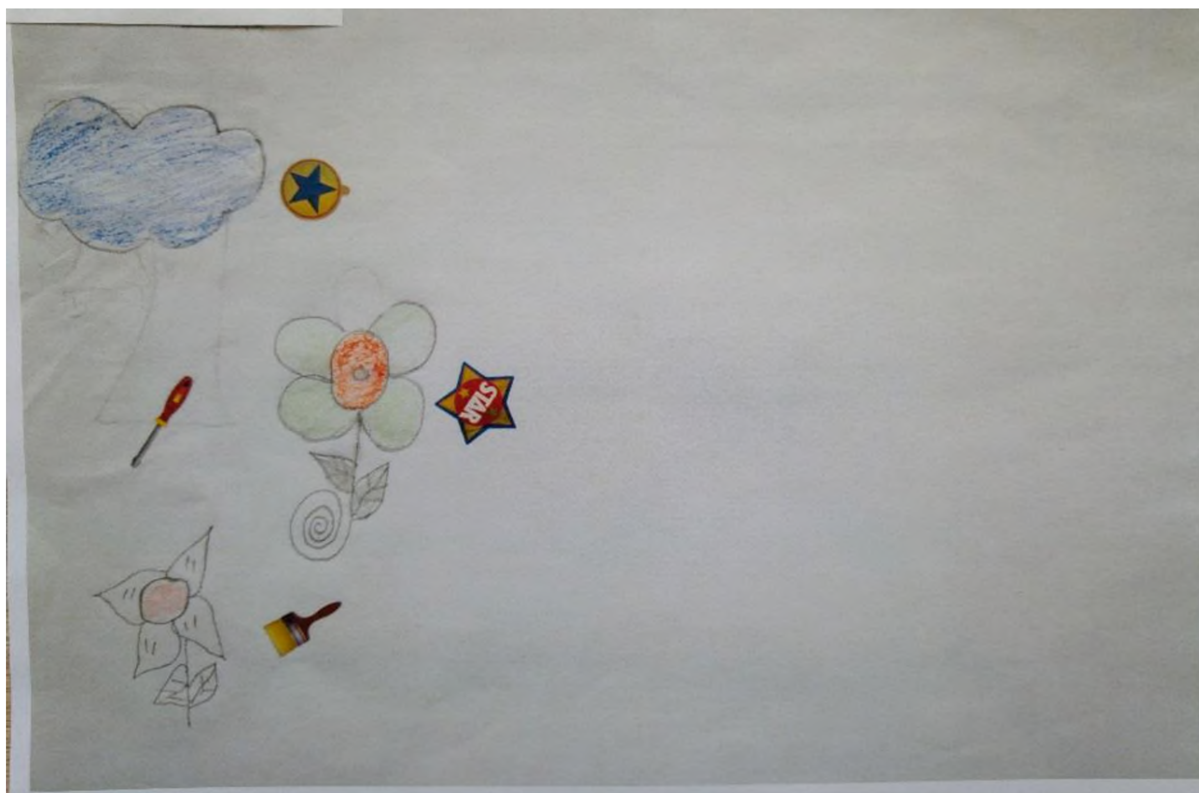

Figure 27: A tree drawn by Patricia as part of the 'What's new?' activity to represent the recent death of her uncle.

perhaps an indication of a kind of emptiness associated with her uncle and possibly even her mother's loss.

It was brought to my attention by Patricia's aunt the care-worker associated with the family that her uncle had contracted HIV through his several extra-marital affairs. The care-worker also revealed that she thought Patricia's aunt was probably also HIV positive, but at the time of my dis-engagement with the family she was still unwilling to be tested for fear of the outcome. It seemed likely that this family system would once again be the victim of HIV/AIDS and the aunt's refusal to be tested was perhaps the only way she was managing to form some sort of self and systemic protection.

Patricia's story resonated in particular ways with the work of Hosegood et al. (2007); since the death of her mother as a result of HIV/AIDS, the family seemed to have been caught up in an ongoing downward spiral. While the financial and social shocks of the first loss were relatively well-cushioned through Patricia's absorption into her relative's family, the death of her uncle to the disease left the family in a position of financial crisis and unable to cushion the most recent blows. Furthermore, there was a highly emotional response from Patricia's family with the sense that their family had been plagued by HIV/AIDS which was slowly destroying them. Unlike the other participant families, Patricia's family operated in relative isolation from their extended family in the community, as well as from the community itself. There was little talk about assistance from neighbours in Patricia's narratives; most of the supportive functions took place within their nuclear family, with additional assistance from Pumla, the caregiver. I sensed that the stigma associated with HIV/AIDS compounded their feelings of isolation and accompanying desperation. After the death of Patricia's uncle, the silence in the family about the disease increased, as if speaking about it might somehow invite further destruction.

Poverty and Education

Patricia had attended four different schools, but described her school in Alice as being her favourite "because I have lots of friends there" (Patricia, I1, Road of Life). Unlike many of the other participants, Patricia was not sad to have left her previous home in Cape Town after her mother died. She lamented being separated from her best friend with whom she had played and attended school, but still said that she preferred life in Alice with her aunt and family. During her first interview, Patricia was faced with three relatively unfamiliar adults: Zinzi, Adrian (a young white man who was associated with me and who translated into

Afrikaans for Patricia) and me. She spoke very little and often needed to be given three options to an answer from which she could choose one. However, when we began to speak about her scholastic history Patricia came out of her shell completely. In an animated manner, she pointed out the various schools she had attended on her Road of Life saying, "yes here was my crèche and here was my second school and here was my third school" (Patricia, I1, Road of Life), confidently correcting me when I mispronounced one of the school's names. Her love for schooling and the important role it played in her life was clearly evident.

Figure 28: A photograph taken by Patricia of her school in the distance, highlighting the important supportive and protective role schooling provided for her.

Her current principal and teachers reported that Patricia was well-liked and her aunt reported that "she is making good progress at school" (Aunt, HV2, Collaborative story-telling). Because Patricia had been an outsider by virtue of her race and language differences when she had first arrived in Alice, her acceptance by her teachers and peers at her new school played a significant role in her identity as someone who was popular and likeable. She proclaimed that she liked her new school "because I have lots of friends there" (Patricia, I1, Road of Life). The "achiever" certificate awarded to Patricia at the end of 2013 was proudly displayed on the living room/kitchen wall in their home. However, during my final visit to

the family, Patricia's aunt admitted that she was thinking of taking her out of that particular school and placing her in a school closer to home, as she was struggling to pay the transport costs to get Patricia to school every day. Therefore, it appeared that Patricia would be attending a school that was considered to have lower standards of education based on the family's recent financial shock. Thus the ripple effects of HIV/AIDS and the inability of a poverty stricken family to cushion the blows of the loss of one income is clearly evident. By that stage, it appeared that Patricia's education would be negatively affected. Furthermore, the fact that Patricia was so happy at her current school would make it difficult for her to change schools.

After the death of their uncle, Michael, was taken out of school and his aunt said that she did not have money to place Michael in a school for children with special needs. He would need to be sent away to a major city in the Eastern Cape, as there are no schools able to assist children with special needs in the Alice region. Furthermore, as there are often waiting lists for these sought-after schools, even if the family were able to afford to send him to such a school, he may have to wait for a long time to be offered a place. Michael and his aunt were recently accompanied by their family's care-worker from Isibindi, Pumla, to visit a specialist in a state hospital in East London. The aunt said that, "They said they are going to help him", but highlights her uncertainty about this saying "But I don't know" (Aunt, HV2, Collaborative story-telling). As she spoke there was the sense that she had heard these words before and had been let down. She was perhaps reluctant to get her hopes up too high. Here again we saw access to appropriate education being seriously hampered by the recent economic shocks faced by this family and the significant systemic impact of the death of the family's only breadwinner. This family was currently surviving on only the state-provided social protection in the form of financial grants.

Patricia's eldest cousin, Sarah, whom she referred to as "my beloved sister" (Patricia, HV1, Telling stories of photographs) was 19 years old and at the time was completing her final year of high school. Patricia thought of her two female cousins as her sisters and bestowed great significance on her relationships with them. During the photovoice phase, Patricia included many photos of Sarah, things of importance to Sarah, such as her teddy bear, and photographs of Sarah's school. Sarah fell pregnant at the beginning of Grade 12. Despite pressure from her school to do so, she refused to leave and attended class until the birth of her son. Soon after his birth, she returned to school and was determined to sit for her final examinations at the end of that academic year. The female members of her family took turns to look after her

son, with her youngest sister, Mpho, offering significant help so that Sarah was able to complete her homework and study for her impending exams. Within Sarah's micro-system, care was provided for the young by the young, in order that she could focus on her education. Thus we see young people acting as agents in families – they were important roles-players in the protection of education and, indirectly, in the fight against poverty. Furthermore, Sarah's example speaks of triple oppression: she experienced prejudiced due to her race, economic status and gender. Sarah's "womanhood" and her ability to fall pregnant, could easily have resulted in her leaving school and not completing her secondary school education, but the supportive network of women around her prevented this from happening. Pumla (their family care-worker) formed an important part of this network and advocated for Sarah to continue with education after she had fallen pregnant, speaking to the school on the family's behalf. Pumla also regularly informed Sarah about additional classes being hosted by the University of Fort Hare over weekends and assisted Sarah with transport arrangements to get to the university.

The significance attached to education as a means to escape poverty was voiced by Sarah's mother (Patricia's aunt) when she said, "I hope for a good future for all of them. She [Sarah] must go to school so that she can help her sisters. She can see I'm struggling. I don't work but I try" (Aunt, HV2, Collaborative story-telling). The aunt has similar wishes for Patricia, saying, "I hope that she must learn" (Aunt, HV2, Collaborative story-telling), and expressed her desire for Patricia and Michael to have a different future to that of their father. There was the sense that education was a means for breaking the cycle of poverty. However, it was poverty that was currently impeding both Patricia and Michael's access to education.

Gender, Vulnerability and Violence

If Khule's narrative served to illuminate the gender differences associated with domestic mobility, then Patricia's story was one of the vulnerabilities associated with being a young girl from poor circumstances in South Africa, and the impact domestic mobility can have in amplifying the vulnerabilities associated with gender. During the photovoice phase of this research Patricia took photographs of various places, people and animals which she said she was afraid of. Patricia said that by taking the photograph of a number of cattle, she was attempting to convey that the cattle "belong to everyone" (Patricia, HV1, Telling stories of photographs), thereby perhaps highlighting the level of communal living and community support within Alice. However, she also said that she was afraid of the cattle. Similarly,

having taken a photograph of local dogs, Patricia said that despite liking the dogs, she was also very afraid of them. She expressed a fear of her father and during one of our interviews she admitted to generally being afraid of men. Dogs and cattle could be kept behind fences; her father and men could not.

Her fear of men and her inability to protect herself from them soon became a reality for Patricia. During one of my visits to Alice I discovered that Patricia had recently been raped by a man who appeared to have been well known to the family. Therefore, her fear of men became a self-fulfilling prophecy and a confirmed reality. Now Patricia had experienced both physical and sexual abuse by men intimately known to her and her family – the people who

Figure 29: Photographs of two of Patricia's sources of fear, the cattle and dogs which inhabited her neighbourhood, but which were kept at a distance from her by the fence between them. A fence did not exist to protect Patricia from particular men in her life who she fears.

should have been protecting young children within family systems were those committing the most significant violations of trust.

Before telling me what had happened, Patricia had only told her aunt and care-worker. Having been trained to deal with such situations, Pumla immediately arranged for Patricia to be examined physically, a process that can be extremely intrusive for someone who has just

been raped, and arranged for Patricia to be tested for HIV. I arranged for Patricia to receive psychological counselling through the Rhodes University Psychology Clinic. Isibindi arranged transport for Patricia to attend these sessions. Patricia was perhaps fortunate as, because of my research, she came to my attention and was able to receive psychological assistance. There are countless other children in similar situations who do not always have access to these kinds of professional services. Further, Patricia was required to travel for three hours to attend each one of her therapy sessions, an unsustainable solution to her psychological needs. This meant that a great deal of Patricia's psychological and emotional support after her rape came from Pumla.

Pumla told me that because the man who had raped Patricia had disappeared from the community, the family felt that Patricia was as safe as she could be. Despite my and Pumla's encouragement for the family to report the incident to the police, the family chose not to do so. This seemed to be because they were worried about the stigma associated with speaking openly about the rape and the accompanying gossip. The family were already coping with the stigma associated with the HIV/AIDS-related death of their uncle and felt that if the community were to become aware of this incident, the family may experience further isolation.

I had difficulty with this attitude. I felt I needed to be an advocate for Patricia, speaking on her behalf and breaking the silence around the sexual abuse of girls and women. I also felt that as a registered psychologist with the HPCSA, (despite not acting in that capacity in this environment) I had a legal obligation to report the incident. On the other hand, I felt I had to respect the choice and agency of Patricia and her family and not report the case, regardless of their reasons for coming to them. I felt I needed to try to understand the social consequences which may accompany the rape being reported. I had an ally in Pumla who was directly involved with the family on a daily basis and eventually the case was reported.

However, although the rape had been reported, I knew that this meant little for Patricia's life and that nothing would change. By the time I withdrew from the research site, there had been no progress in the criminal case. After my withdrawal, Patricia continued to receive emotional support through Isibindi, was progressing at school and seemed to be doing well under the circumstances.

When reflecting on Patricia's story, it was apparent that, although little was known about her life before she came to Alice, since the death of her mother, Patricia had experienced one

traumatic event after the other. As has been discussed, she had lost two significant caregivers and been physically and sexually abused. She had experienced the ripple effects of poverty, HIV/AIDS and death in her direct and extended family system. Because of her gender, she was vulnerable to oppression and abuse by trusted men.

According to Patricia, her worst memory was associated with a young female friend who had got caught in the crossfire of two rival gangs on New Year's Day on the Cape Flats and was killed. Patricia said, "they shot my friend" and then "she went dead" (Patricia, HV1, Telling stories of photographs). Patricia had been exposed to a significant amount of violence and death in her relatively short life thus far and seemed to have needed to become somewhat

Figure 30: A photograph taken of Patricia's favourite cat who was attacked and killed by a dog after this photograph was taken.

desensitized to it in order to deal with the accompanying significant emotions. She told the story of the death of her favourite cat in Alice, saying, "He is dead. The dog bit him… Here is his neck. The blood came out and we buried him" (Patricia, HV1, Telling stories of photographs). Patricia said that she had not been sad when this had happened and said that, "I don't want to have a cat anymore. They scratch you" and "He used to fight a lot" (Patricia, HV1, Telling stories of photographs). Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the children

found it easier to speak about their feelings for others using monetary terms; an emotional distance can be maintained.

There appeared to be interesting similarities between Patricia and the cat referred to in her story. Patricia was considered to be a real “fighter” (Aunt, HV2, Collaborative story-telling). Despite her small stature she was tough and easily stood up for herself and those whom she cared for, even though they sometimes hurt her. As with the cat, even though she continued to fight quite literally for her survival at times, there were times when a more powerful adult or situation came and “bit” her, leaving her vulnerable, exposed, and powerless to fight back. Patricia was, however, exceptionally resilient and despite her many shocks, continued to live and thrive in many areas of her life, as indicated by her academic achievements at school.

Resilience

Despite multiple traumas faced by Patricia, there was a sense that she was coping. Taking the narrative underpinnings of this research into account, it would be apposite to classify Patricia’s narrative as a survivor story. Perhaps there are individual characteristics that allowed Patricia to cope, despite the ongoing traumas. However, these characteristics were fostered within systems of care. As described in Bronfenbrenner’s (1992) ecological systems theory, Patricia was surrounded by supportive systems, including the individual relationships in her micro-system, the meso-systems in which she played an active role, such as the protective relationships she had at school, as well as exo-systemic support in the form of Isibindi and the social protection grants that financially supported her family. Furthermore, it is important to highlight that, to our knowledge and as discussed above, Patricia had relative stability in her first eight years of life and was cared for by her mother throughout this time. Furthermore, in line with the work of McAdam (2006), it might be suggested that the overall tone of Patricia’s life-story was positive, speaking to the possible assumption that she was able to form a secure attachment bond with her mother in those first few formative years of her life. That in turn allowed her individual resilience to be fostered and, later, supported in networks of care. This is not to detract from the damaging effects of extended exposure to violence over the course of her life, and the urgency with which there needed to be intervention from the state at all systemic level; it certainly speaks of Patricia’s ability to cope in the face of a lifetime of trauma.

Patricia’s resilience was significantly supported by the relationship she had established with her care-worker, Pumla. Pumla was involved with Patricia and her brother from the day they

arrived in Alice and played a significant role in their lives and that of their family. It was Pumla who encouraged the uncle to be tested for HIV after she had recognised some of the symptoms of the illness, and was trying to persuade the aunt to be tested. Because Pumla was open about her HIV-positive status, she was able to lead by example and encourage others living with the disease to adopt a healthy lifestyle. Pumla also intervened on the family's behalf when the school wanted Sarah to leave when she was pregnant. She encouraged Sarah to continue with her education and continued to encourage her after the baby had been born, as described above. As previously suggested, Pumla did not only help Patricia work through the loss of her mother and uncle, but provided Patricia with great support after she was raped. Pumla certainly provided Patricia and her family very valuable support in many forms: as a maternal figure, caregiver and advocate.

Pumla's personal significance to Patricia was frequently voiced during the course of our research interviews. She told the story of meeting Pumla when she and Michael arrived from Cape Town: "She was nice to us when we came here and she brought us nice things, dolls and puzzles, and we played with them. And she took us to hospital and she gives us a bunch of things" (Patricia, I1, Road of Life).

Pumla was described as providing for the children both materially and emotionally. During the photo-voice phase, Patricia asked Pumla to take a photograph of her home and of her son. When we looked through her photographs together, she repeatedly verbalised how beautiful Pumla's home and children were and said that she wanted to go and play with Pumla's children at her house. Patricia therefore clearly considered Pumla to be an important maternal figure in her life. From a psychological perspective, Pumla might have represented an alternative attachment figure for Patricia and her brother. Furthermore, I believe that Pumla's supportive relationship with Patricia fostered Patricia's sense of resilience and served to cushion some of the blows dealt by the oppression associated with being a poor, young, coloured girl growing up in post-apartheid South Africa. However, this relationship needs significant support from external role players for it to be sustainable in the long-term.

Another important supportive relationship for Patricia was the one with Michael. As previously suggested, the two were fortunate enough to have moved to Alice together (unlike Langa and Khule who had spent much of their life apart). Whenever I visited the children's home, Patricia was usually found with Michael in tow. During the photovoice interview at Patricia's home, Michael and Patricia excitedly looked through her photographs and together

commented and told stories about why and how particular images had been captured. After coming across the image of a different dog from the image depicted in an earlier section of this chapter the following conversation took place:

> Patricia: Whose dog is that? (Question directed at Michael)
>
> Michael: (Shakes head as if to say he does not know)
>
> Patricia: Oh that dog is over there, it's that uncle over there's dog
>
> Jaclyn: Oh why did you choose to photograph him?
>
> Patricia: He is pretty
>
> Jaclyn: Yes he is pretty. I wonder if he is scary like the other dogs.
>
> Patricia: Yes he is
>
> Michael: She is scared of all the dogs. She is scared of all things
>
> Patricia: I am not scared
>
> Michael: I know you are scared
>
> Patricia: But sometimes they are scary, hey? (Seeking reassurance from me)
>
> Michael: It is a very pretty photo Patricia
>
> (Patricia, Michael and Jaclyn, HV2, Telling stories of photographs)

In this conversation Patricia initially chose to position herself as being brave by verbalising that she thought the dog in the photograph she had taken was pretty. When I asked whether he was scary like the dogs she had previously admitted to being afraid of, she allowed herself to be vulnerable by suggesting that this dog was also a bit scary. At this point Michael undermined her position of bravery and instead positioned her as being scared of "all the dogs" and "all things" (Michael, HV2, Telling stories of photographs) in general. In what might be considered typical sibling banter, Patricia decided to quickly defend her bravery and asserted that she "is not scared" (Patricia, HV2, Telling stories of photographs). Michael once more undermined her bravery, at which point Patricia sought my assistance as an ally in acknowledging that the dog was scary. Before I was able to offer Patricia my support, Michael quickly stepped in and, trying to repair any possible damage to their essential sibling

allegiance, complimented Patricia on the beauty of the photograph, thereby once again positioning her as someone who was capable. This type of interaction, where one would undermine the other and then quickly seek to repair any damage and support the agency and resilience of the other, occurred frequently between Patricia and Michael. The importance of their mutual support of one another was evident and their need to constantly consolidate their allegiance to one another was seen in various conversations and contexts.

When Patricia built a model of her community, instead of building her home and its surrounding environment, she interpreted my instructions differently from the other participants and chose instead to represent only the inside of the bedroom which she imagined she shared with Michael. Having previously visited their home, I knew that the siblings did not have their own bedroom but shared a bedroom with all of the other members of the household. However, in building her imaginary and what might be interpreted as her hoped for/ideal community, Patricia chose still to share a bedroom with her brother in this imaginary space. She may very well have chosen to imagine having her own bedroom and not needing to share, but it was as if a life without Michael in her immediate environment was inconceivable. The importance of their relationship was further established by the fact that the only other person she chose to include in her community was Michael, speaking to the significance of their relationship for Patricia. The rest of the household was represented by a single symbol of a flower. What was also noticeable was her depiction of equality of shared space: Michael's side of their bedroom was a mirror-image of Patricia's side.

The importance of equality for the children was perhaps echoed by Michael when he said the following during our photovoice conversation:

> She [Patricia] told me about this stuff, the photos, and I asked her what all happens there [referring to the days of organised meetings at the safe park in Alice]? Then she told me that she took photos and that she has a camera. Then I asked where she got the camera. Then she told me that we ate nicely there and we took photos and played with the dolls and with the little me and the little cars. Then I asked her but why didn't you take me with? Then she told me that were only a small amount of children, how many children Patricia [question directed to Patricia]?" (Michael, HV1, Telling stories of photographs)

In contexts of poverty, the importance of equality and fairness is possibly amplified. At this point although Patricia was occupied with looking at another photograph with Pumla, she said she had explained to Michael that there were only a small number of children and that she had not deliberately excluded him. She asked me to back her up. The inclusion of siblings in this research was considered, but the idea eventually abandoned after discussion with a number of care-workers. It was decided that it would be impossible to decide who should be included and who excluded.

Figure 31: Patricia's model of her community in which she chose to depict a bedroom which she shared with her brother Michael.

Chapter 9 – Analysis: Odwa

Figure 32: A photograph of Odwa, taken by his older brother, standing with the two young children who live with the grandmother next door.

Introduction: Odwa's Story

Odwa's parents are immigrants from Lesotho who have been working illegally in South Africa for a number of years. Despite having been born in South Africa, Odwa and his siblings do not have South African citizenship, as their parents did not register their births with the Department of Home Affairs for fear of being deported. During my first interview with Odwa in 2013 he told me that he was12 years old and in Grade 4. His care-worker Sibo disagreed however, and said:

> Sibo: Actually he is not even 12 years. He is 10 years
>
> Jaclyn: Ah okay, so they disagree about it
>
> Sibo: Yes, he says he is 12 and the mother says no, he is 10 years old
>
> (Sibo and Jaclyn, I1, Road of Life)

This conversation took place in Odwa's presence. He told me that he was 12, but his agency was immediately undermined when Sibo said that he was in fact 10 years old according to his

mother. By virtue of the fact that his mother was an adult and was therefore taken to be more trustworthy, Sibo accepted her declaration. By the end of the research process it was still unclear exactly how old Odwa was and it seemed unlikely that this would ever be conclusively established as there was no formal record of his birth.

Odwa was born in the small town of Eerstespruit in the Transkei. He said that he and his family had lived there for “many, many years” (Odwa, I1, Road of Life), but that he could not remember how old he was when they left. Given that Odwa had already started Grade R while he still lived in the Transkei we can assume that he was approximately six years old when his family moved to Lady Frere. Odwa did not attend school when he lived in Lady Frere thus when he moved to Alice with his family at the age of eight, he was made to repeat Grade R.

When I first met Odwa he was living in a two-roomed shack (a building made of metal sheets) in a village called Melville just outside Alice. He lived with his older sister, his older brother, an adult female cousin, Lindiwe, and her baby. Odwa’s parents were working on a farm approximately 100 kilometres from where the children resided. Odwa claimed that he lived with his parents, despite the fact that they had not lived in the same house as the children since moving to Alice and only visited occasionally. Odwa’s family had moved between many different homes, often within the same village.

I never met Odwa’s parents, despite the care-workers conveying to them my reason for wanting to meet them and attempting to arrange meetings with them on several occasions. It seemed there was more than one reason for their apparent distrust of my intentions. First, from my discussions with the Isibindi care-workers, it appeared that Odwa’s parents wanted me to believe that they lived with the children on a full-time basis; they were very afraid they could be accused of neglecting their children and that social services would take the children away. Secondly, they perhaps associated my status as a white person with the power attached to my allegiance with a university. It was understandable that Odwa’s parents, who had lived in South Africa during apartheid and had always worked in exploitative positions due to their status as illegal immigrants, were reluctant to engage with me personally. Their willing consent to Odwa’s participation in the research was possibly given because of their implicit trust in Isibindi, or because they feared any consequences of withholding consent. However, perhaps their consent was given in the hope that through Odwa’s participation something could be done to assist with the family’s lack of citizenship and dire financial position.

Approximately half-way through my research, I learnt from his care-worker that Odwa's parents were in fact his grandparents. Their daughter was Odwa's mother but had died very shortly after his birth. They had always raised him and his siblings as if they were their parents. Neither Odwa nor his older brother appeared to know this. Despite understanding that they would eventually have to tell the children, the grandparents told Sibo, their care-worker, "No we are not ready yet. He's not going to understand" (Grandmother, personal communication with Sibo).

Odwa presented as a responsible young man who was always punctual and diligent in following instructions. Odwa appeared of often worry about his financial circumstances. Despite his exceptionally difficult circumstances he appeared to be a generally happy child who had an infectious giggle. Because Odwa was of Sotho descent, his first language was Sesotho. However, he was able to communicate fluently in both his home language and isiXhosa which was spoken by most of the people in his community. He enjoyed school and sport in general, but his true passion was soccer.

Soccer and Identity

Odwa's identity was closely tied to his reputation in his school and village as a soccer player. In the team he played for, the Black Stars, he was not only accepted as an individual and valuable team member, but was known as being one of the highest goal scorers. Odwa's DAP can be seen in the image below. From a narrative perspective it tells the story of Odwa playing soccer against Khune, the South African national soccer team's goalkeeper at the time. The drawing includes an indication of the forward direction of the ball, the goalkeeper's reaction and the consequences of his actions with regards to the prizes indicated above his head. From a psychological perspective, Odwa's figure is significantly bigger than the other figure and is located in the centre of the page, possibly speaking to a secure sense of self. The label, "Odwa best of the best" is placed next to his figure and the speech bubble emanating from him says, "Yes Odwa", indicating positive self-talk. In comparison, the figure of Khune is visibly concerned about Odwa's impending attack with his arms stretched up in the air trying to protect his goal-box and the words, "No, no" appearing above his head. The trophy and star drawn above Odwa's head are possible indications that he did in fact score the goal and had won the match. Odwa's individuality and sense of self-worth therefore appeared to be closely tied in to his identity as a soccer player.

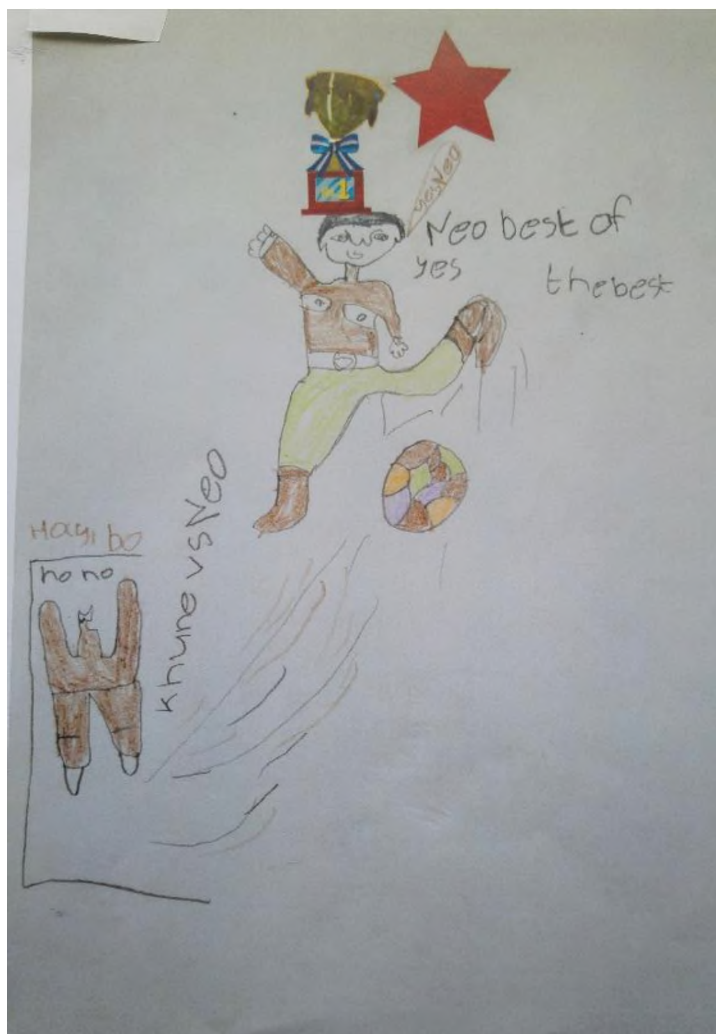

Figure 33: Odwa's DAP which shows him playing soccer, his favourite sport. In this drawing he portrayed himself as scoring a goal against the South African national team's goalkeeper, which made him the "best of the best".

Many of Odwa's photographs taken during the photovoice stage of this research (such as the image at the beginning of this chapter), show him and his friends making the well-known skull and crossbones sign associated with the South African football team, Pirates. The children were avid supporters of this team and had formed a small fan club, one of the purposes of which was to regularly collect and exchange pictures of their favourite players. When describing a photograph he had taken of his friends, Odwa said that, "All of them love Pirates and they passionate for it" (Odwa, HV1, Telling stories of photographs).

Odwa had very few personal possessions, but did have a file in which he kept pictures of his favourite soccer stars. This file was very important to him and I felt privileged when he shared its contents with me during one of my visits to his home. On asking Odwa about his heroes, he stressed that he had no heroes in his family or community and that his heroes were the various national and international soccer players he had mentioned who were "star players" (Odwa, HV1, Telling stories of photographs). Odwa chose to make a play-dough

model (pictured below) of one of his local heroes, a player called Majoro who played in the South African premier league. It appeared that Odwa felt that in his own life there were no individuals whom he would classify as being heroic and he needed to look beyond his immediate surroundings to find these people. By making his hero a local South African player, Odwa was perhaps aspiring to achieve as much as Majoro had. Many of the star South African soccer players had also come from impoverished backgrounds and served as aspirational figures for young boys and girls living in poverty in South Africa.

Figure 34: Odwa's play-dough model of his hero, South African soccer player Majoro and a photograph taken by Odwa during the photovoice stage of the research of his file containing collected pictures of his favourite soccer stars.

The important role sport played in Odwa's life was further identified when he said he had not liked his previous school in Alice because there had been no opportunities to play ball sports, but that now he "loves" (Odwa, I1, Road of Life) attending school because playing soccer was a big part of their school day. Furthermore, Odwa said that he had met his current best friend at a school sports day, and that despite attending different schools, their mutual love for soccer and the Pirates soccer team sustained their friendship. Among the research participants, Odwa, Luthando and Letshego could often be found outside engaged in a game of soccer during the break, with Letshego playing an important "big brother" role for the

other two boys. It was apparent that sport played a central role in Odwa's seemingly positive sense of self and in his forming important supportive friendships.

A Different Kind of Mobility

The story of Odwa's domestic mobility differed from the stories of the other participants. While having experienced relatively few "big" moves (between three different cities/villages) in his lifetime, Odwa's family had moved repeatedly within those cities/villages. Thus Odwa's mobility could be described as repeated local mobility. What also differentiated his family's mobility was that at no point was it directly related to death or HIV/AIDS, but was as a direct result of poverty. When asked why he thought it is that his family moved so often Odwa, stated unequivocally that "it is because we are poor" (Odwa, I1, Road of Life). His mobility had sometimes been circular in nature, in that his family would return to an area or residence where they had previously lived, and as a result he would have been able to re-establish supportive relationships with neighbours, for instance, in the area.

Odwa's care-worker Sibo explained this family's repeated and confusing local mobility:

> They went to Melville. There is a farm there. They stayed there, that is on a golf course. Then from the golf course they went to Pumlani. Then from Pumlani there are also many different areas they stayed in; three homes in one location. And even now I'm a little bit concerned because his parents moved again. They not staying there. They staying on another farm. (Sibo, I1, Road of Life)

Thus while Odwa might not have moved significant distances, his sense of stability and having a place to call home, so important for a child, was disrupted with each move. While his schooling or friendships may not have been affected in any significant way, the frequent moves did disrupt the relationships he had had with neighbours and community members that formed part of his protective safety net.

Odwa's parents' lack of South African citizenship severely impacted on their quality of life. Without identity documents (required for legal employment) they were unable to get stable employment and, as mentioned above, could be easily exploited when they did manage to find work. Their greatest disadvantage was that they were unable to apply for a

Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)[8] house provided by the South African government. Odwa's parents relied on small, seasonal and part-time employment as farm labourers and "so we have to move around a lot" (Odwa, I1, Road of Life). Sibo said that because the family was too poor to pay rent, they tended to occupy a shack where they "squatted" (Sibo, I1, Road of Life) illegally, until being evicted by the owner of the land. Thus despite having lived and worked in South African for over 15 years, and their children having been born in the country, the family's lack of legal documentation to prove citizenship meant that the social protection strategies to support the poor were denied them. The importance of formal social protection in the lives of those living in poverty was therefore clearly highlighted by the stark contrast between the conditions under which Odwa and his family lived and those of the other participants.

While Odwa reports that he and his parents had always moved together, they had rarely lived in the same house with the parents living elsewhere and only visiting on occasion. At the outset of this research, Sibo was deeply concerned that Odwa's parents would take him and his siblings to live on the farm where they worked, which would mean they would be unable to attend school and might even be required to engage in work to subsidise the family's meagre income. Odwa clearly stated that he did not want to live on the farm saying "I will never go. I will just visit at the farm where my mother is, but I will never move" (Odwa, I3, "What's new?"). Odwa said that of all the places where they had lived, he was happiest in Melville: "It's nice here…I didn't like any of the other places. I like this one more" (Odwa I1, Road of Life). He spoke of enjoying his school in Alice, being able to play sport and eating wild fruit with his friends. He also mentioned that there were a lot of places he enjoyed visiting in Alice, particularly the safe park.

Within the space of seven months Odwa's family had again moved home and were living in a one-roomed shack in a different part of Melville. This residence was even smaller than their previous one, with black bags piled to the roof on one side, a make-shift kitchen comprising of a paraffin stove, a bookshelf and one bench for sitting on, and a double mattress which was flipped down onto the floor at night and on which everyone slept. Sibo indicated that it would be pointless to unpack the bags because it would not be long before the children would again

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[8] These significantly subsidised houses were made available after 1994 by the South African government, in an attempt to address the substantial socioeconomic problems that developed during the apartheid era. Under this programme, the destitute would at least have the basic need of shelter met.

be forced to move. Initially Odwa lived with his older brother and sister in this new home (shack), as well as a grandmother for a short while. However, Odwa and his brother later lived there alone. From Odwa's stories it was clear that the composition of their household never stayed the same for any length of time and that there were often "people that weren't the same" (Odwa, I1, Road of Life), not always family members, moving in and out of their home. This could perhaps have been a strategy to fend off poverty, whereby those moving in and out of Odwa's home provided some sort of care for the children and contributed economically (through the provision of food) to the members of the household at the time.

This shack was situated on the property of an older woman who looked after the boys from a distance. When I asked him why they had needed to move again, Odwa said that it was "because my father got his own house so that is why we moved again" (Odwa, I3, "What's new?"), and went onto to say quite authoritatively that "we will never be moved again. It is us that will decide to leave this time" (Odwa, I3, "What's new?"). There seemed to be an element of desperation in this assertion and that Odwa longed for a place he could call home; where there would be no external threat from others who wanted them to leave. There was also a sense that he was defending his father and perhaps desperately wanted to believe that this time his father was right and they did own this home with which Odwa had associated a sense of belonging. Later, however, Sibo told me privately that she did not believe this to be true; their situation had not changed much and they might be required to move again in the near future.

While comparisons of degrees of poverty are not possible, Odwa's family were in the direst financial situation of all of the research participants. Despite enjoying living in the area, he said that he had been very afraid to move to Alice: "I didn't want to come because I thought it was cruel ugly place" (Odwa, I1, Road of Life). As with many of the child participants, Odwa spoke about his lack of choice in the mobility decisions made on his behalf:

> They told me that we are going to go next week because your father has no job here. All his jobs he has been fired so we have to move. So it was not like something of an arrangement. They just told me and I had to accept. (Odwa, I1, Road of Life)

A Case of Dire Poverty

Odwa was very aware of his family's extreme poverty. He said that "people are always gossiping about us" (Odwa, I1, Road of Life) and often told me how the children at school teased him for being so poor. The importance of Odwa's identity as a soccer star was magnified when considered in light of the damaging consequences of his poverty. His emotional well-being and ability to cope were positively influenced by his identity as a soccer player. On almost every occasion I saw Odwa he would be wearing his school uniform, even over weekends, as he had very few clothes to choose from. Both Odwa and his older brother wore their school uniforms to our final party, something Odwa was deeply self-conscious about. Sibo commented that at one stage Odwa had said he did not want to attend the party because of this, but they agreed to attend after she had convinced him that he and his brother would be the "smartest" (Sibo, personal communication) people there.

Sibo shared that Odwa's family was often the topic of gossip in their village as their illegal squatting had earned them a reputation. Odwa often compared himself to other children at his school which caused him a great deal of sadness, evident in the following conversation:

> Sibo: How do you feel about this thing that you can't get social grants?
>
> Odwa: It is painful
>
> Sibo: Why?
>
> Odwa: It makes me sad because other children have all of these things and we can't because our father doesn't even have an ID.
>
> (Sibo and Odwa, I1, Road of Life)

Odwa compared these financial struggles with both physical and emotional pain. In this interaction with Sibo, he positioned his brother and himself as being different. While telling his story, his tone was one of anger and to some extent, he seemed to blame his father for their pain. In Odwa's narratives, there was a sense of being different. This was both because of his family's poverty due to their lack of South African citizenship, as well as the fact that his family were not isiXhosa speaking. During my first meeting with Odwa, I was made aware that his name was different from the other children's because he was Sesotho and not isiXhosa, thereby positioning him as other and different. Odwa preferred not to be picked up in my car for the workshops; exerting his agency he said he would rather take a taxi. I

respected his wishes but believe that he wanted to do what the other children did and not stand out in any way. Odwa's sense of being poor appeared to have formed a central part of his identity and differentiated him from those around him, despite living in a community enslaved by poverty. It was interesting to note that he was the third participant who had been positioned themselves as an outsider. Luthando was positioned as being an outsider because he was not a blood relative of the family with which he was living, while Patricia was positioned as an outsider because she was a different race from those around her as well as her initial inability to communicate in isiXhosa.

During the photovoice stage of this research, Odwa took a photograph of a television. When asked about this, it became apparent that the television belonged to his neighbour. He said that he had taken this photograph to express his "wish that one day we could also have one" (Odwa, HV1, Telling stories of photographs), once again showing his awareness that he and his family were different from those around them. His wish to be more financially secure was

Figure 35: Both photographs indicated Odwa's wish to one day be more financially secure. The first was a photograph of his neighbour's television set taken by Odwa, the second shows the play-dough model made by Odwa of himself riding one of the cows he wished to own to provide meat and milk for his family.

again expressed when he was asked what it was he would like to be when he was older. Unlike most of the other participants, Odwa did not suggest a specific vocation, but instead suggested that he would like to have cattle so that he could have milk to drink at all times and so that there would always be meat to eat in his house. This seemed to indicate that Odwa wished to be different from his father and be able to provide for his family during their time of need.

Odwa's family was different from the families of the other research participants in another way. During the research period, it was my assessment that when the other families experienced a shock to their social and economic system, such as through death or the loss of income, the system was significantly destabilised and often changes needed to be made. However, eventually, the families were able to restore a sense of stability. However, in Odwa's family the system seemed to be in a constant state of flux and there were rarely times of stability. Attending school was the one activity that provided some routine, predictability and security for Odwa and his older brother. Schools provide a safe place for children and offer a number of useful and supportive social relationships. There is also the opportunity to learn and in many instances, school attendance can prevent children from engaging in anti-social behaviours, such as those associated with gang membership. Earlier, the advantages of Odwa's involvement in sport was discussed. In addition, Odwa's school provided the children with a meal as part of the school day. This meal could at times be Odwa and his brother's only meal for the day.

Protective Relationships

The important role of micro and meso-systemic support networks is made very clear in families living in poverty. In Odwa's case, there was no formal social protection in place (e.g. social support grants) due to their lack of citizenship. Therefore, Odwa's informal social protection derived from important social relationships were essential to his identity and even survival at times.

Approximately six months after our first interview, Odwa and his brother were living in a child-headed household, and did not have any extended family in Alice and its surrounding area to form a protective network. They cared for their own day-to-day activities, such as cooking, washing their clothes and doing homework. Therefore, the role significant community members play in their lives became very important. Before the family moved to their current home, their neighbour (to whom the television belonged) played an important

caregiving role in the children's lives. She was an elderly woman who provided lunch for the boys every day, whilst also taking care of her own grandchildren. Her home appeared to have become a refuge for the boys and they spent a great deal of time visiting her and her grandchildren. When they moved house most recently, Odwa lost contact with this woman as she lived beyond walking distance. He did see her on rare occasions. However, moving away from this woman had negative consequences: the children could no longer rely on her for a regular meal and needed to find different ways to ensure their nutritional needs. Another woman despite being less financially secure than the previous neighbour, kept an eye on Odwa and his brother and provided them with meals when she was economically able to do so. Odwa spoke about the loss of his relationship with the next door neighbour in a very cold manner: "No she is not family. She is nothing to me anymore" (Odwa, I3, "What's new?"). From a psychological perspective, this perhaps highlighted Odwa's need to emotionally distance himself from this woman as it was too difficult to comprehend exactly what had lost through his mobility away from her. There appears to be little place for sentiment in circumstances of abject poverty. Perhaps another example of this was evident in Odwa's "What's new?" drawing. Part of his drawing included a small grey rabbit. On enquiry, it transpired that on a hunt this rabbit had managed to survive his and Gypsy's (his dogs) attack. He had taken it home to nurse it and keep it as a pet, believing that it must have been special to survive. Odwa added that when it was fat enough they would kill it and eat it. Thus its use as a pet was temporary and when the time was right it would be used as an important meal for the boys.

During the photovoice phase Odwa included a photograph of him embracing his sister. He explained that they had been having a fight just before he took it, but that they had decided to "re-conciliate" (Odwa, HV1, Telling stories of photographs). Sibo interrupted saying, "Yes, yes they did fight because I remember I came here and then I had to talk with them to forgive each other, then he took the photo to show that I forgive you" (Sibo, HV1, Telling stories of photographs). In this instance Sibo's role was that of a mother stepping in to defuse an argument between siblings. Odwa added that it was important "that no one gets between us" (Odwa, HV1, Telling stories of photographs) and wanting to show his sister that he had forgiven her, had asked their brother to take the photograph. Because the children's parents did not live with them, their sibling relationships were even more important as they were often required to take care of themselves and one another. Odwa's older sister, despite being only 17, seemed to take the maternal role in the house. Thus the boys were still trying to

adjust to her absence during my last home visit. Odwa also spoke of the loss of his relationship with the baby who used to live with them. Talking about one of his photographs of the child he said, “I love him” and “He is my sibling” (Odwa, HV1, Telling stories of photographs). The baby was taken to live in Cape Town after his mother, Odwa’s cousin, Lindiwe, died. Odwa experienced this as a double loss: that of his cousin and that of the baby, his “sibling”. It is interesting to point out that the baby had begun what might be a cycle of domestic mobility since the death of his mother. Although only an infant, he had already been moved a number of times locally and had then been moved from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape to live with his father’s side of the family.

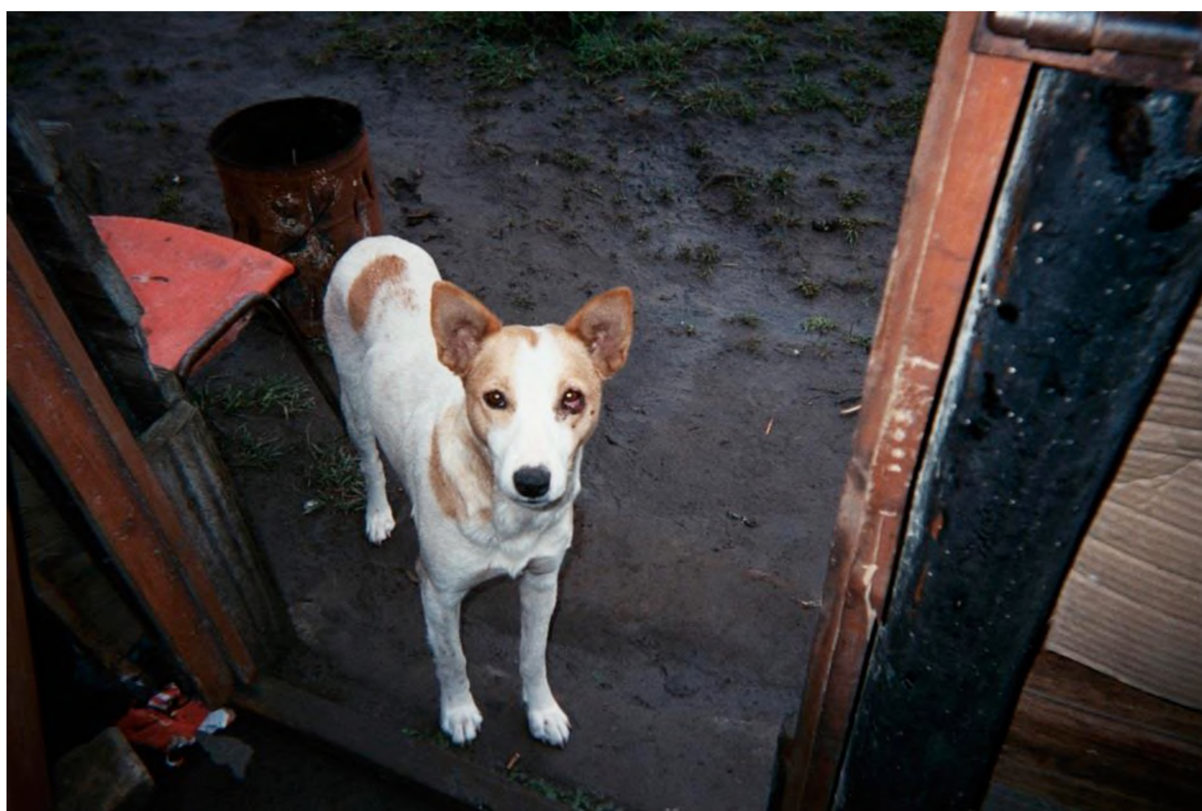

Figure 36: A photograph taken by Odwa of his friend and protector, Gypsy the dog.

Another significant protective figure in Odwa’s life was that of his dog, Gypsy. Odwa and Gypsy had an exceptionally close bond. She was given to Odwa as a gift by his father and Sibo suggested that “he loves her and she loves him very much” (Sibo, HV1, Telling stories of photographs). Gypsy followed Odwa wherever he went and after walking with him to school would go back home to protect the house from thieves, according to Odwa. She would always accompany Odwa and his brother on their hunting trips and would “also catch the

animal like rabbit" (Odwa, HV1, Telling stories of photographs). In one of the photographs of Gypsy, she had a red swollen eye. I was informed that some form of wild animal had tried to attack Odwa on one of their hunting trips and Gypsy had managed to put herself between the animal and Odwa, thereby preventing him from being attacked. Gypsy therefore played a significant protective role in Odwa and his brother's life, acting as a friend and a protector. On my last visit to Odwa's home I was informed that Gypsy had died, another significant loss for Odwa. In a sense, Gypsy's name was ironic as Odwa's family lived a gypsy-like lifestyle, constantly moving from one place to the next.

One of the most difficult aspects of moving to Alice for Odwa was the loss of relationships with his extended family. Odwa had no extended family in Alice, which has had a significant impact on him at a personal level. While living in the Transkei, Odwa's extended family seemed to have acted as an important support network. He poignantly stated that "I forgot my family" (Odwa, I1, Road of Life) and went on to express his deep feelings of loss as a result of his mobility:

> Before in Eerstespruit I had my family members. There are a lot of them and I knew them. Because of the moving we are doing I am not aware of who is alive, who died, who is born of our family members. I have no relationship with them, no connection, there is nothing. (Odwa, I1, Road of Life)

While more financially stable families can keep contact through cellular telephones, and visits during school holidays and for important family ceremonies, Odwa's family was unable to do this and so appeared to be completely cut off from their extended family. Relationships that were once essential to Odwa were now described as being "nothing". Furthermore, Odwa spoke of losing significant peer relationships: "I left my friends behind where I was coming from" (Odwa, I1, Road of Life).

The supportive role Isibindi played in Odwa's life became even more important in the absence of an extended family support network. Sibo, who was affectionately referred to as *sisi* by Odwa, (meaning "older sister"), played a very active role in Odwa and his brother's lives. Because the boys were living by themselves, Sibo visited their home every day and liaised with their neighbour to ensure that they were cared for. Sibo was actively involved with a local social worker to try and assist the family in securing documentation. With the required documentation, they would be able to apply for an RDP house and social protection grants. This process was always going to be difficult, given the immigrant status of Odwa's

parents. However, one of the more senior Isibindi co-ordinators accompanied me on one of the days on which I went on home visits and was exposed to Odwa's situation as a result. Since then she has become actively involved in this case and hopefully would be successful in her efforts to make a difference to the residence status of Odwa's family. This is an example of how I hoped my research might be mutually beneficial for those involved.

It appears it was Sibo's efforts that prevented Odwa and his brother from being taken to live on the farm with their parents. She was of the opinion that if they were taken to the farm, the children would no longer be able to attend school and would probably be made to work. Thus despite not being able to cushion all the shocks associated with poverty, Sibo played a significant stabilizing role in the children's lives. Despite their regular local mobility, she ensured that there was some form of stability and routine. Furthermore, she ensured that their education was protected by keeping them in Melville and was actively involved in assisting Odwa and his brother with their homework during the afternoons spent at the safe park. There is no doubt that these children's situation could have been far worse had it not been for the intervention of Sibo and the support of Isibindi.

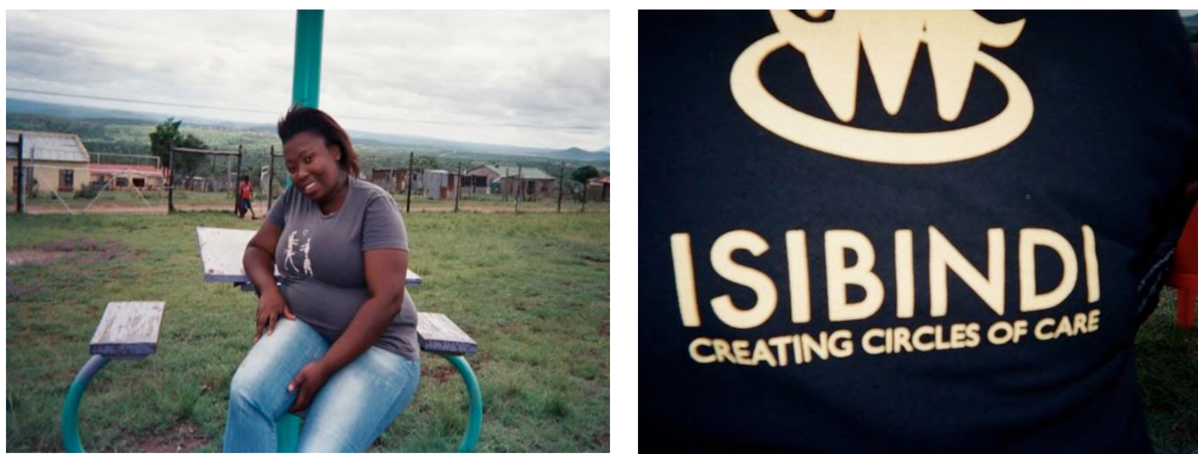

Figure 37: Photographs taken by Odwa: the first of his care-worker, Sibo; the second of General's Isibindi t-shirt, both highlighting the important role of the NGO in his life.

The importance assigned to Isibindi was clearly visible in Odwa's photographs. Approximately half of the photographs he took were of something associated with Isibindi – a safe park playground, library, specific individuals (such as other children taken care of by the NGO), those who work for Isibindi such as Sibo. Odwa said that he took these photographs because "I love Isibindi" and "it is taking care of the children and also it educates them about the respect" (Odwa, HV1, Telling stories of photographs). Odwa used

the word "love" to describe a number of activities and people associated with Isibindi. In circumstances of poverty where the direct expression of emotion was rare, the significance of the NGO's work and its meaning in Odwa's life was evident from his repeated expressions of love. It seemed that in a sense, Odwa felt he belonged when he was involved in activities associated with Isibindi. The importance of Sibo in his life was clearly evident whenever they engaged with one another. When asked to describe his fondest life memory, he recalled being taken to the ocean in East London for the first time on an Isibindi camp. It seemed that all his most positive life memories were in some way associated with Isibindi and the individuals who work for this NGO.

Chapter 10 – Analysis: Jaclyn

Figure 38: My research family, including six of the seven participants, as well as Zinzi, Letshego and me.

I have deliberately included this chapter to remain consistent to my constant reflexivity and my awareness of being unable to remove my influence as researcher from the final story. In this chapter, I will be able to reflect on the actual process involved in the research and not just consider the object of study, thereby highlighting the conscious decisions taken about the tale I have chosen to tell. The purpose in the telling is not to be self-congratulatory, but to highlight the reciprocal nature of researcher, participant and the social/cultural/economic culture on the ultimate story of children's experiences of domestic mobility shared (cf. Van Maanen, 1988; Finlay, 2002).

Introduction: My Story with Isibindi

My first engagement with Isibindi took place in 2010, when a group of interested academics visited Alice. While there, we were shown a safe park and accompanied care-workers doing home visits. The purpose of this visit was to establish how the Rhodes University Psychology Department could become involved with this NGO as part of the department's community psychology commitment. As a result, in 2011 I became involved as an advisor on a

community project that would provide an emotionally supportive space in the form of a series of workshops with a narrative therapy focus for the care-workers.

One of the overriding factors when planning this research was that the children and families who would form the research sample needed to have a network of existing support, as my involvement and engagement with them would be erratic and I would be moving in and out of the research site. Engaging children at the intended level, where the significant losses and hardships they had experienced were almost certain to induce strong emotions, meant that it was essential to have a consistent emotional safety net. Thus deciding to situate this research within an existing NGO was an important ethical decision. Isibindi was a natural choice because I had an existing relationship with the administrators and care-workers of this particular NGO. This can be linked to Van Maanen's (1988) characteristic feature of the critical tale, in which the group under study are consciously selected.

Shortly after my initial negotiations with the gatekeepers, the entire structure of Isibindi Alice changed with significant international donor funding being withdrawn and the two international heads of the Alice branch leaving. This meant that my negotiation for access took place during a period of instability and in the midst of an administrative, leadership and financial vacuum. The reorganising of staff resulted in a care-worker with whom I had worked in 2011 becoming the head of the Alice branch of Isibindi. While I had an existing and good relationship with this person, her leadership style tended to be autocratic at times, which meant I often had to adjust my research to accommodate her wishes. This was at times frustrating and, because she was unwilling to allow my research to continue without her physical presence, I was often held up for weeks at a time. Her need to be in control at all times could be understood in the context of her history. She was one of the original care-workers (unemployed women from the community who were given training for the job) and was now in charge of 26 care-workers and the 70 families being cared for by the care-workers at the time.

After the withdrawal of donor funding, the Department of Social Development stepped in to fill the resulting financial and structural void. The impact of this was that I needed to renegotiate access for my research with new stakeholders, but more importantly, it meant that care-workers were not paid their monthly stipend for approximately six months. Often the care-workers were the only breadwinners in their families or were raising a number of children from the extended family network. Despite not receiving an income, the care-

workers continued to work with the children and families for whom they cared but understandably, with some resentment. For a number of months, I was working and trying to conduct my research in this tense environment and I had to deal with my own emotional reaction to the situation. I felt that my presence during this time was an inconvenience and that I was adding to the stress during a time of increasing uncertainty. I found it difficult to ask care-workers to take on the additional work associated with my research as the help I needed meant that they were required to come in to work over weekends. Associated with my own concerns, I was concerned that there was little opportunity for the care-workers to voice any reservations about or resistance to the research or the required extra work. All these factors induced in me intense feelings of guilt that I believed could only be alleviated by me reciprocating in some way. The only way I could do this was through some form of community intervention in which I could contribute my skill and knowledge as a psychologist.

Translators

Because none of the participants were first language English speakers and I was unable to converse in isiXhosa, I needed to work through a translator. Having previously worked with Isibindi, I had certain care-workers with whom I hoped to work because I was confidant we would have a good working relationship. However, it transpired that they had both been promoted and had left the Alice branch. I was assigned two translators and realised that for my own emotional well-being as well as the ultimate success of this research, I had to be flexible and adapt easily. Despite a significant amount of planning on my part for each engagement, things ultimately never went to plan and I often needed to compromise and accept what Isibindi and its staff were able to offer me at the time. I made the decision that for the child participants' stories to be honoured, I needed to reassess my expectations and be willing to change my plans when the situation so required.

My assigned translators were named Zinzi and Letshego. Zinzi was a woman in her late 30s with whom I had had contact during my advisory position in 2011. I remembered having engaged in group work with her and immediately felt a historical connection with her. Despite her towering stature, Zinzi was gentle and affectionate and her motherly nature was experienced by me and the child participants who all referred to her as "mama". Zinzi had a son who was similar in age to many of the participants and attended the same school as Luthando and Thandeka. Zinzi was a good choice for my translator, as not only was she

interested in research, but was the care-worker assigned to four of the seven child participants involved in this research.

Letshego was a young man in his early 20s. He had been cared for by Isibindi as a child and was currently engaged in the necessary training to become a full-time child and youth care-worker. When I first was associated with Isibindi in 2010, there was only one male care-worker. Now, there had been a significant change and there were at least five men working in the Alice branch. In the Alice community, the subtext had always been that the caregivers' work was "women's work" and was not considered to be respectable career for a man. However, these (mostly young) men were considered to be an essential part of the Isibindi team by the female care-workers and children for whom they cared, and were able to contribute in significant and important ways. Therefore, Letshego was considered to be something of a success when spoken about by the other care-workers.

Letshego was not yet fully qualified and therefore could not act as an independent care-worker. Until he was qualified to care for individual children and families, he had been put in charge of getting a youth and young adults' vegetable garden off the ground. To help Letshego gain experience it was decided by the head of the Alice branch that it would be helpful for him to be involved in this research as a translator. The reciprocal nature of my interaction with the NGO was confirmed by this action. Letshego was an enthusiastic young man with ambitious ideas. He showed great patience and appeared to be a natural teacher. The children often referred to him as *bhuti* meaning "older brother", a role which he very much fulfilled during the course of this research.

As well as Zinzi and Letshego, I was often accompanied on my trips to Alice by my partner who acted as a translator for Patricia who spoke Afrikaans. Thus when working in a group environment I would speak English while one person translated into Afrikaans for Patricia, and another into isiXhosa for the other participants. While all the children had a basic understanding of English, as it was a compulsory subject at school, it was important for them to converse in the language with which they felt most comfortable and thus the use of translators was essential. During my individual interviews with the children, they were often given the option of having the specific care-worker assigned to their family present. These care-workers would usually accompany the participants to the safe park for our workshops and generally stay in the vicinity making access to them easy. It was generally very useful having them join in these conversations, as often they would be able to add to the richness of

the discussion. All the caregivers felt that they learnt new and important information about the children they cared for during these interactions.

The importance of the translators' role cannot be emphasised enough and perhaps resonates with the importance of "informants" for the field worker in Van Maanen's (1988) confessional tale. The common ethnographic refrain being that in the field you are only as good as your informant. The translators were to become the point of contact between me and the participants, as well as their families. They formed an important part of establishing rapport and building trust with the participants and their families at the outset of my research. Further, this research was to be conducted from a narrative approach; just as my assumptions and experiences would shape how the participants' stories were heard and re-told, so too would the translators' personhood impact on the narratives shared. Despite some preliminary training in honouring children's voices in their translation, I had little control over how my questions were interpreted and conveyed, or how the translators then interpreted and conveyed back the participants' answers. The translators therefore became in a sense, the custodians of the children's narratives.

The impact of the specific translator on the interview process became very apparent. I generally used Letshego as a translator in the group situations as he had a way of maintaining the children's enthusiasm for the duration of the interviews, while I used Zinzi for the individual interviews which required the participants to speak about very personal and difficult issues. The children responded well to her maternal nature and opened up easily to her. Towards the end of the research process, because Zinzi was on course for promotion and was not able to spend as much time acting as a translator, Letshego translated the individual interviews. This definitely had an impact on the stories told, most obviously during my final individual interview with Patricia. She had been withdrawn from the group for most of the day. During our interview I enquired a few times whether she was alright and commented that she seemed sad that day. At some point she suggested that she was uncomfortable talking to me in front of a man, but wanted to let me know that she had been raped since our previous meeting, a few months earlier. It was at that point that I understood that everything about the translator, even their gender, impacts on the specific story being shared. Zinzi had acted as the translator during my initial meetings and further family engagement during the research process. Because she was an older female who was also a mother and trusted by the community in terms of her role as a care-worker at Isibindi, she seemed to have some importance and engaged easily on my behalf with the families. However, because of Zinzi's

absence towards the end of the process, Letshego acted as the translator during the final family interviews. Again, I noticed the significant impact of the specific translator on the interview process. Because Letshego was a young man from the Alice community some of the grandmothers seemed to be uncomfortable speaking about certain topics in front of him. Furthermore, Letshego and I had conflicts when he would suggest that it was inappropriate for him to ask a certain kind of question to an older woman from his community, despite the understanding that he was translating on my behalf. During other instances, as I had some understanding of isiXhosa, I became aware that he was deliberately changing the meaning of the question I was asking, jeopardising the validity of my research. I needed to counteract my frustrations during these instances with contextual sensitivity.

Ultimately however, it was the translators, Zinzi and Letshego, who became my closest allies on this research and personal journey. Despite our moments of frustration with each other, more than anyone else they felt my heartache when listening to the participants' stories of loss, they felt my joy at the incredible moments of resilience. We started out as colleagues, but became friends along the way. I believe this experience was of great significance for Letshego – in his words: "Thank you for helping me to become a man" (Letshego, personal communication). It seemed ironic that by including Letshego in what was considered "women's work", he felt that he had grown as a person and come closer to fulfilling his role as a man.

Negotiating Consent

One of the important initial ethical considerations was the idea that consent would be constantly re-negotiated. This idea was seen as a way to attempt to address power imbalances, so that there was not an assumption that an initial agreement to participate would hold for all further engagements. Each new step in the research process required re-negotiation of consent. This was perhaps a valid idea in theory, but in practice it looked very different. I discerned that it was perhaps going to be impossible for any of the participants or their grandmothers to decline the invitation to participate in the research. While there were a few reasons for this, the most important was the significant power imbalance between me and the participant families.

Throughout the research process, I was uneasy about the fact that all concerned would have found it difficult to decline my invitation to participate, because of the power imbalances, despite my efforts to even these out. I believe that the participants and their families agreed to

participate because I came with the endorsement of Isibindi which played a very important role in the lives of these families. The organisation and the care-workers had the people's total trust. This trust was extended to me when I first visited the families in the company of their care-worker. The families may also have felt indebted to the organisation for the role it played in their lives and thus felt obliged to participate. Another reason for the grandmothers agreeing to participate on their grandchildren's behalf was because I was a practicing psychologist from Rhodes University which carried some weight. Because many of the child participants had been through significant life traumas, such as abuse and rape, many of the grandmothers spoke of feeling out of their depth and confessed to being willing to accept any form of help. Despite explaining my involvement was for research purposes, I believe there was still an assumption that I would be able to assist emotionally. Finally, I felt that there was little room for the children to voice their wish regarding whether they wanted to participate, as they would have felt they were letting both their care-workers and their grandmothers down. Thus, there was significant pressure on them to agree. However, the children seemed to be very excited by the prospect of meeting and engaging with new people and activities and often spoke about feeling special for being one of the seven children chosen to participate.

As well as the family's care-worker, I was accompanied by the translators on my first visit to meet both the grandmothers and the children to discuss my research and obtain informed consent. With each visit my perception of what it meant to obtain consent was confounded and I was obliged to consider the contextual particularity of obtaining consent from poor and marginalised South African people. I met with Langa and Khule's grandmother at the children's school at which she was a teacher. In order to ensure privacy, we met in the principal's office. While this was suitable for meeting the grandmother, it had unfortunate connotations for the children and when they were called from their classroom to come to the principal's office, they immediately assumed they were in trouble. They remained tense throughout our first engagement. Because their grandmother was a teacher with an honours degree in education, she was comfortable with the idea of research and was ready to sign the consent forms I had brought with me.

I met with Thandeka's grandmother in her home: an old, frail woman who was hard of hearing and had problems with her sight. She did not speak or understand any English and so, unlike the conversation with Langa and Khule's grandmother, this entire conversation was conducted through a translator. Despite having had the consent forms translated into

isiXhosa, Thandeka's grandmother was illiterate. She therefore signed the consent form with an "X" at the place pointed out to her by the translator. It was at this point that I made the decision to no longer collect written informed consent, as the exercise seemed to be tokenistic and without benefit for the participant. It only served to create a greater power imbalance and division between me and the grandmothers. Thandeka was fetched from her school across the road and she agreed to participate without having said very much.

From here we visited Luthando's grandmother who was a hawker in the town of Alice. She had a small stall outside a bottle store where she sold items such as cigarettes and fruit. We were invited to sit on her bench with her at the expense of her customers. The idea of negotiating consent in private was completely impossible in this situation, and those standing around were keen to hear what it was that a young white woman had come to say to Luthando's grandmother. Having to gain written consent in this situation would have been deemed an even further invasion of privacy and my decision to obtain verbal consent was justified.

On the following day I was taken to see Patricia's aunt and uncle at the local hospital where we had been told they were. The process of obtaining consent has been described earlier in terms of the lack of privacy and the uncle's positive HIV diagnosis that had just been given. After our discussion I offered to take them home so that they did not need to wait for a taxi. In retrospect, I understand that this was my way of trying to compensate for the experience they had just been through and to try to minimise the pain and shock I believed they must have been feeling. After I had taken them home, I went to see Patricia at her school. Throughout our conversation I felt like an imposter, knowing very intimate information about her family whom I had only just met. It was a difficult encounter; the school principal was sceptical of our intentions and initially refused to allow us to see her without consent from her guardians. There appeared to be somewhat of a racial subtext: why was a young white woman and an older black woman intervening in the life of a coloured child? When Zinzi explained that she was from Isibindi and what it was her organisation did, he allowed us to see her on condition that the organisation became involved with other children in need at his school. During this research, it was important for me to look for the small instances of joy and resilience, as I was proposing to do in the child participants' narratives. On that specific day it came in the form of Patricia's reaction of absolute joy when she saw her care-worker who had come to visit her at school and their wonderful interaction as they communicated in broken language, one being isiXhosa and the other Afrikaans speaking. I was, again, made

aware of the huge role the care-workers played in the lives of the children they were involved with. At the end of our discussion, Patricia asked me, "Het auntie nie net 'n een rand vir my?", translated as, "Does auntie not just have one rand for me?" This question invoked unexpected turmoil in me and I was immediately made aware of the impact of my race and privileged position. As a researcher, I knew that it would be counter-productive for me to give a participant money when it had been clearly explained that there would be no financial reward for participation in this research, but as a human being I struggled with the reality that it would have been very easy for me to give her the money she had asked for.

Our experience at the school where we visited Sanele and Luthando was very different. Here we were met with much affection and excitement and there was an awareness and appreciation for the role Isibindi played in the lives of many of the community's children. Some of the teachers were keen to tell me how well certain children had been doing since Isibindi or a specific care-worker had become involved in the child's life. I believe this was as a result of the great amount of trust placed in the care-workers, who were women (mostly) from within their own communities and were seen as dedicating their lives to improving that of others.

After two days, I had received consent from all the participants and the caregivers who we had identified as potential participants. The process had been unsettling in some instances, but I was most concerned about the significant power imbalances I felt I had been responsible for bringing to the fore for the sake of my own research.

Awkward Wealth Moments

It was impossible to escape my position of privilege and comparative wealth during this research process, but there were times when it was even more evident. About half way through the research process, we visited Patricia at her home to take her the developed photographs from the photovoice stage. This was an extremely exciting part of the research process both for me and the children. Every day they had asked the care-workers when I would return with the developed prints. Patricia's aunt and uncle were out when we arrived at her home and we were met by an older male relative. As I interviewed Patricia about her photographs, he sent one of her older sisters to buy Twizza (a type of fizzy drink) and biscuits. There was only enough for me, Zinzi and the care-worker and despite me wanting to leave some for Patricia and her siblings, Zinzi said that it would be rude for us not to eat all the biscuits. At the end of our visit, the relative asked the translator to inform me about the

dire financial circumstances of their greater family and wanted to know whether I would be able to help with a financial contribution. My position of privilege and wealth were highlighted and I needed to have an awkward conversation, with Zinzi translating, to explain my reasons for being there and the purpose of my research, of which he had no prior knowledge. It was a difficult interaction; having generously provided refreshments for me and the care-workers, he was asking me to reciprocate his generosity.

When I arrived at Luthando's home for my final home visit to conduct an interview with his family, I discovered that he was not there and so I only spent time with his grandmother. In contrast to Patricia's uncle, she did have prior knowledge of the research process and that the absence of financial reward as a benefit had been explained to her from the outset. During a question regarding the potential financial burden of having to raise an additional child in the family, the grandmother saw it as an opportunity to enquire about the financial benefits for Luthando and his family for having participated in the research. She explained in great detail the difficulties of raising an additional child on a single salary. She requested money or food parcels, first from me and then from the University. While I believe I was able to deal with her request relatively well at the time, I was left with a number of lingering questions as well as some guilt and doubt about what exactly the process and my research meant for the child participants and their families. I did not blame Luthando's grandmother for asking, as she probably felt that it would be worth using the opportunity to ask for some form of compensation, especially as she had not been as involved as the children. When I reflected retrospectively on the research process, I believe the children did benefit in certain ways from the process, albeit not financially. In that moment, however, I felt that my motives had perhaps been entirely selfish and felt deflated and disappointed.

The Politics of Food

Situations involving food became an interesting dynamic to be negotiated. Having worked with many children in my career, I knew perceptions that everyone was being treated fairly were going to be very important. Therefore, from the beginning I ensured that everyone received the same number of sandwiches for lunch or biscuits for tea. On my first visit I had brought a bag of oranges in my car. Without giving it much thought, I instructed the children to help themselves after lunch while I continued with individual interviews. A verbal argument ensued which escalated to such an extent that I needed to stop the interview and intervene. It transpired that the children had all taken one orange but Sanele had gone back

numerous times and had hidden her extra oranges from the others. When some of the others noticed what Sanele was doing, they began to do the same and by the time the last children realised what was happening, there were no more. I realised that I needed to be more careful about ensuring that everyone present, including the care-workers had exactly the same amount of food. The care-workers felt they were entitled to the same as the children and would redistribute the food if they perceived they were going to receive less than the children. The politics of food therefore is an issue that needs to be handled with awareness and sensitivity when working in communities plagued by poverty and inequality.

I consulted with Zinzi at the outset of my research about meals for the children that would be the equivalent of their school meals or what they would eat at home. When reading my written reflections throughout this research process, I realised that I had used food as an instrument. The children often commented on the fact that they loved coming to the workshops because of the nice food and so I began to use food as a way to give the children something in return for all that I felt they were giving me. I started giving a biscuit to each child as a treat at the end of the day but by the end, this had increased to biscuits and a piece of cake, as well as something to take home. I think providing something to take home was prompted by Sanele's actions during our interactions. I noticed that she would often only eat half of everything she was given and store the rest. If there was some food left over, she would ask me out of earshot of the others if she could have it and then store it. Because Sanele lived on my route, I would collect and drop her off for each workshop. After our second workshop, I observed that when she arrived home she would run to the children next door and begin to distribute the food she had stored. Not only was this a way of Sanele showing she cared for those around her, it was also a way for her to contribute something to the community in which she resided, while simultaneously contributing to her own social capital among peers.

My Journey

It took me approximately an hour-and-a-half to drive from Grahamstown to Alice and it was during this time that I prepared myself mentally for the emotional work that would take place during my visits. Throughout the research process, I constantly engaged and disengaged with the children and their families. During my drive I would recall discussions I had previously had with the participants and wonder whether certain issues in their lives might have been resolved. During a particular journey I was apprehensive about being reunited with the

participants after a six-month break, and wondered whether our relationship would have been affected. On arrival at the safe park, I vividly remember walking past a group of people who I perceived to be adolescents, not realising that they were my child participants. They had grown so much during our time apart that I had not recognised them.

During this particular visit two significant and unexpected changes had occurred – Khule and Zinzi were both absent from the group. This unsettled me more than perhaps anyone else. The participant's sudden growth was a physical representation and reminder of how much change often occurred in their lives between my visits. Domestic arrangements often altered, with adults and children moving in and out of the homes which the children occupied. There were births and deaths of family members between my visits, and friends came in and out of their lives through the continued process of domestic mobility. I began to wonder whether my fear of my impending abandonment of the participants as my research grew to a close were unfounded and self-centred. I wondered whether the children's ability to get the most out of existing relationships in the moment spoke of their resilience and awareness that rewarding relationships with adults and other children could be fleeting.

My drive home from Alice was often filled with a range of conflicting thoughts and emotions. I generally left feeling a renewed energy to give voice to the participants' stories, while simultaneously feeling a sense of helplessness at not being able to have any significant impact with regards to improving the participants' and their families' lives. It was often during these drives when I experienced conflict with regards to the various roles I needed to play. I had clearly stipulated to all involved that my principle reason for being there was to engage in a research process which would ultimately result in a doctoral thesis. However, working in a remote, resource-deficient community meant that my role was often blurred. For instance, after I was informed that Patricia had been raped, it was impossible for me to remain an impartial observer. My skills and knowledge as a practicing counselling psychologist were called upon to assist her and the care-workers. In other instances, I had become a reliable acquaintance to some of the families and thus they felt it safe and acceptable to ask me to transport valuable items to family members living in Grahamstown. While I was constantly aware of establishing appropriate boundaries and stand my ground as a researcher, there were times where I needed to make calls based on simply being a fellow human being with certain resources available to me.

Initially, I believe my car represented my "otherness" and highlighted my differences from the children and families I was engaging with. It signified my comparative wealth and status, which was closely associated with my race. Many interesting events took place around my car that often forced me to pause and consider important issues, not only concerning my research but also about a country trying to find its feet and identity after a history of its people inflicting violence and suffering on one another, and the majority of its people living under extreme oppression for many years. One such event was when I was conducting home visits in a remote village. It was raining and when my car got stuck in mud, on Zinzi's advice, I left it there and we continued the rest of the way on foot. When I got back to my car a few hours later, four ramps had been built with planks to enable me to drive out of the mud. Apparently some elderly men had been sheltering from the rain and had seen what had happened. They enlisted a few adolescent boys and together they built the ramps for me. They were no longer there to thank for their selfless act of kindness. It made me aware of the resilience of the human spirit; despite the significant suffering many of those elderly men

Figure 39: A photograph I took on my last trip to Alice of a road along which I frequently travelled. The idea of an "experimental road" is perhaps an apt metaphor for my own journey during this research process.

may have experienced under apartheid rule and their current oppression as a result of continuing poverty, they still managed to express kindness and empathy.

On reflection, during the latter parts of my research, my race, language and socio-economic differences appeared to become less distinctive – at least in my relationships with the child participants. I am not naively suggesting that these issues became obsolete; rather that they were less of a barrier in my engagement with the participants. Perhaps our journey from unfamiliarity and difference to one of an understanding connection could best be described by an incident with Odwa. On my first visit to meet Odwa he refused to come in my car, choosing rather to walk home for fear that he might stand out and be teased for being in a car with a strange young white woman. On a later visit to see Odwa he chose to come in my car but asked to be dropped a little way from the entrance to his school. He engaged in little conversation during our drive which I ascribed to his inability to speak English and my inability to converse in isiXhosa. However, on one of my final car journeys with Odwa, not only did he come with me all the way from Alice, through his village and to his home, he also asked to take me on a short tour of his village. During this car trip, his English, with which he conversed, was far more fluent than I expected. I attempted to reciprocate with my minimal isiXhosa. Odwa even went so far as to introduce me to some of his friends who happened to be around when we arrived at his house. The difference in his behaviour from when he first refused to even get into my car to the last journey we had, made me feel that the differences of race, class and language were not as much of a barrier as they had originally been. This happened almost unconsciously and simply became our way of being with one another.

This was in stark contrast to one of my final experiences – when I dropped Sanele off at her home, the final stop on my way back to Grahamstown. As I drove into her village many children began following my car until all were gathered outside Sanele's house. When we stopped, a chorus of *umlungu* (a word meaning "white person" - there is some debate about whether this word is derogatory or has become part of the colloquial language) rang out and many of the children began to climb in and out of my car, tried to hold my hand or hoisted Sanele into the air on their shoulders. I felt uneasy during this experience and my "otherness" and what my car represented became significant once again.

Dealing with Disappointments

As previously suggested, I learnt early on that it was important to be flexible throughout the research process and be willing to adapt easily to unexpected changes and circumstances.

There were however a few situations (perhaps disappointments) that stand out because they were particularly difficult for me. One of these was saying goodbye to the child participants. Being determined that this research should be mutually beneficial and impact the children's lives in a positive way, I became concerned when I realised I needed to withdraw from Isibindi as my research began to draw to a close. I attempted to prepare the children in the months leading up to the event, but I was never quite sure whether they comprehended that this goodbye would be different, as it would be final. Being the end of the year, I felt that the children thought I would be back the following year to continue with our meetings. This was reinforced during my last meeting with Langa and Khule's grandmother. Despite her intimate knowledge of a research environment, she expressed disappointment when she eventually understood that I would not be retuning the following year and she made it clear that this would be sad for the children. Despite the topics we discussed during our time together often being emotionally difficult for the child participants, I knew that they all enjoyed our time together. Perhaps this was because it was a space where they mattered and someone was willing to really listen to what they had to say. Perhaps it was because it was something different where they got to be creative, play and eat nice food. Either way, I was overwhelmed by my feeling of abandoning them, while being very sensitive to the possibility that this was a replication of many other adult relationships in their lives.

At the opposite end of the spectrum were instances like that with Luthando's grandmother, described earlier in this chapter. Her inquiry into the benefits of his participation left me with important and difficult questions about what these benefits had been and raised concerns about power imbalances and exploitation. Such instances undermined my belief in how the child participants had benefited and detracted from the importance of this research and quality of our time together.

Another disappointment involved the final party arranged to say goodbye to the children and their families. I had for some time had the idea of this party as a way of thanking everyone who had been involved during the research process. I hoped it would highlight the role of the care-workers of Isibindi and thank them for their continuous commitment to vulnerable children and families despite the many obstacles they encountered. I hoped to use the space to thank the child participants' families and in particular, their grandmothers, and acknowledge the sacrifices they made to ensure that their extended families were taken care of. Finally, and most importantly, it was to be a space where the child participants could be acknowledged and thanked in front of all of these significant people in their lives. I hoped to give a space to

their struggles and joys through a photographic exhibition of self-selected photographs from the photovoice part of this research. Approximately two days before the event, I received word from one of the gatekeepers of Isibindi that she felt it would be best if we only invited the children and not the grandmothers. She explained that there would be an expectation that they would receive “something more than a thank you and some cake” (Isibindi gatekeeper, personal communication). Due to financial constraints, I was unable to provide even a full meal, and it had been decided from the outset that there would be no financial reward for participation. Thus under the guidance of those who worked in this community on a daily basis, it was decided that only the child participants and their siblings would attend. The event was thus not what I had imagined during the preceding months and I regretted not being able to properly honour all those who had been involved in some way. The reality that a financial reward might have been expected from the grandmothers once again left me feeling disappointed. Ultimately, however, the party brought much joy to the children who attended and they were, after all, the most important people throughout this process.

Figure 40: These photographs pay tribute to Sanele and Thandeka, whose life stories were not directly shared as part of this research, but remain as important as those of the other participants.

Chapter 11 - Discussion

Narrativity: Theoretical and Methodological Contributions

The explicitly narrative approach to this research is the most important feature that sets it apart from previous psychological research focused on South African children who live in poverty. The purpose was to relate the narratives and describe the prominent themes and positions, as per Crossley and Bamberg, and to link these to existing psychological theorisation of attachment, resilience and poverty. Instead of trying to make broad generalisations about human understanding and meaning, the intention of this research was to provide a detailed understanding of children's subjective experiences of domestic mobility. Using a narrative approach, this research has been able to provide a space in which different and even contradictory layers of meaning can be brought into useful dialogue with one another in order to understand more about change at an individual and social level (Squire et al., 2008). The richness and detail of experience that accompanies narrative research is important in trying to get to grips with the nuances of human behaviour and reality; these cannot simply be reduced to theory, ideology or social constructions.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of a narrative approach is that it permitted a rich, individual, detailed description of each participant child's life – enhanced in this study by a narrative case study approach – but did so against a socio-political and theoretical backdrop. A narrative approach acknowledges that personal stories are always told within larger social contexts, meaning that participants' stories can never be considered as mere representations of reality. Rather, Langellier (1989) and Riessman (1993) suggest that story-telling takes place between social actors who are performing under particular social constraints. While narratives are used by participants to actively make sense of their worlds and conflicting experiences, these narratives can never be isolated from the broader socio-political context. Langellier (1989) suggests that "all personal narratives are ideological because they evolve from a structure of power relations and simultaneously produce, maintain and reproduce power structures" (p. 261). Thus in accordance with Atkinson and Delamont (2006) there was constant reflection on the social and cultural contexts in which the participants' stories were told –a small, rural town in the Eastern Cape where children were positioned in a particular way within Xhosa culture. In addition, my own context as a young white woman with particular connotations associated with a tertiary institution and professional registration as a counselling psychologist was significant and influenced the narratives under consideration.

My race and class were inextricably linked to the research relationship between self (as researcher) and other (as participant), and just like the psychological lens, informed the ultimate tale which has be told in this particular context about children's experiences of domestic mobility.

Kruger (2003) suggests that a narrative psychological approach does not merely give a voice (in this instance to children's experiences of domestic mobility) through the facilitation of the telling and re-telling of their stories. Rather it is transformative in its scrutiny and analysis of stories in context and through its implementation of various theoretical lenses. Thus Kruger (2003) suggests that the transformative nature of narrative lies in the ability to produce achingly particular stories against a bigger socio-political backdrop, something clearly evident in the research at hand.

Narratives are said to be produced at a particular time in history and for particular audiences, drawing on particular discourses and assumptions available in particular cultures. However, the use of case studies employed in this research has taken the idea of particularity to a different level. In accordance with Flyvbjerg (2006) this research carefully selected specific children's narratives as case studies to investigate in order to represent bigger issues. Just as strategically selected cases occupied a central place in the works of Freud and Darwin, this research adds to theoretical development through what Flyvbjerg (2006) refers to as the "force of example" (p. 228). With reference to Riessman (2002) this research purposely chose to represent personal narrative material as "cases" in order to engage at a deeper level with the unique contexts and conditions of each of the participant's life stories. Thus the five children's narratives were deliberately selected in order to be able to link these to existing psychological theorisation on issues associated with socio-economic status (even within adverse social circumstances of poverty), gender, education, HIV/AIDS, social protection and domestic mobility. While there were common themes across the different cases, each case was chosen because it spoke to particular experiences and had something unique to add to the literature on domestic mobility.

Another important contribution of a narrative approach to this research concerns the link between narrative and agency. The application of Crossley's (2000a) phenomenological approach was useful in getting the "bigger picture" and a sense of the child participants' overall life stories, including their past, present and hoped for futures. It also allowed a broad understanding of the participants' experiences of the loss of a parental figure due to

HIV/AIDS and the children's subsequent (often repeated) mobility. Their mobility brought all the participants to this point where they were living in Alice in a grandmother-headed household and were under the care of Isibindi (due to their occupying an identified "vulnerable household"). In these "big" stories it was often the child participants' lack of agency in important decisions regarding their lives which was brought to the fore. Furthermore, because all of the children had experienced trauma, Crossley's (2000a; 2000b; 2003) concept of narrative breach became important in helping to understand how stories can be useful for the participants who were attempting to make sense of their experiences. However, a possible limitation of Crossley's (2000a; 2000b; 2003) breach model (usually applied in the context of adults' experiences of trauma) is that its conception of trauma tends to be uni-dimensional as it refers to experiences of one diagnosis of illness or one divorce. This differs significantly from the experiences of the children living in poverty in South Africa who are faced with repeated, significant traumas. For example, the participants in this research had been faced with multiple losses of significant caregivers, caring for ill relatives, repeated movement between different households, food scarcity, school interruption and the experience of physical and sexual abuse, before they had reached adolescence. The precariousness of their current living arrangements, which were always up for review and transition as lives around them changed, remained a constant source of anxiety and a threat to predictability in their lives. Crossley's (2003, 2000a; 200b) model therefore does not account for the application of repeated narrative re-configuration in the face of multiple, recurring traumas.

It is useful to consider previous literature discussed concerning the concept of resilience. If we are to consider resilience within an ecological systems model as proposed by Killian (2004), then despite the multiple traumas faced by the child participants in this research, perhaps intra-individual personality or temperament characteristics of resilience that are fostered by supportive extended networks of care (grandmothers, neighbours, care-workers) will help the participants to maintain and re-configure coherence in the face of seeming chaos and lack of consistency. Furthermore, it is suggested that telling someone a life-story, and in the process making sense of experiences and highlighting areas of coping, forms an important part of supporting resilience (Killian, 2004). This is a foundational principle of the Isibindi NGO's work with households and children. Supporting this principle, this research gave the participant children a space in which to reconstruct meaning and their identity in the process of being heard (not something always afforded to children as a result of power hierarchies).

Crossley's (2003) life-story approach – through the activities to collect the narrative material in this study – offered opportunities to construct time-lines of experience, and transitions and slippages within these narratives, to hear children participants' "stories" about their tenuous pasts, difficult presents and uncertain futures.

It was possible to locate the participants' agency through the inclusion of Bamberg's (2004; 2008; 2011) small-story discursive approach. This approach considered the here-and-now, everyday interactions in which the child participants engaged and in which agency and various identities could be practiced and performed, such as the negotiation of various reciprocal relationships with significant adults, children and animals in their lives.

Furthermore, in this research, Bamberg's (2004; 2008; 2011) dialogical approach highlighted the role of the researcher as an important element influencing the formation and reformation of identities. My presence affected how the children chose to position themselves in relation to their caregivers and me as the researcher. The children's performance of their identities were influenced by the fact that I, a young white woman from a different culture and class with a professional identity as a counselling psychologist, was not only the audience but participated in that performance. However, Crossley (2000a) in her life-story approach, does acknowledge the critical influence of the audience to whom the story is being told. The difference in Bamberg's (2004; 2008; 2011) approach is perhaps that the researcher is very much a part of the performance of identity in that moment.

The exclusion of either of these approaches would have resulted in the exclusion of essential information and would have detracted from the depth and richness this research has added to the understanding of children's personal experiences of mobility across geographical and social arrangements. Crossley's big-story approach meant that useful contextual knowledge was gained and time-lines were constructed for experience that was jumbled and precarious by western standards. The inclusion of Bamberg's approach lead to a re-positioning of this big-story approach by grounding it in a dialogical and discursive small-story approach, as inflammations of agency and resistance, and in so doing, theoretically and methodologically, enriched the outcome of this research.

Finally, the use of a narrative approach in this study provided space for the inclusion of complementary participatory action research methodologies which were used to operationalize the narrative approach and assist in the gathering of storied material. The use of creative and, particularly, visual methods, such as time-line mapping and photovoice

meant that the participants could engage in research on their own lives that was not solely reliant on language. While there is a significant amount of research that speaks about South African children's experiences of poverty, this research made use of a combination of methodologies, some that used children's own interpretations in the analysis of their life stories and others that were interpreted from a psychological perspective by me as the researcher. This research has thus sought to engage children as co-researchers who were part of producing knowledge pertaining to their own lives. In this way, a space in which the voices "from below" hierarchy could be heard was created. This research created a space for recognising the children's big stories of trauma, loss and suffering, as well as the small everyday performances of agency and identity, including instances of joy, resilience, coping and resistance.

Throughout this narrative research study, the interconnections became very apparent. One cannot consider the implications of domestic mobility for attachment and resilience in South African children without taking into consideration the impact of poverty and HIV/AIDS. In the lives of the child participants these variables could not be treated independently; using a narrative approach which sits comfortably in the messiness of people's lived realities is appropriate for understanding children's experiences of domestic mobility. However, attempting to give an academic presentation of the various elements impacting on children's lives has meant that they have been artificially separated in the discussion that follows.

The Space Between Psychology and Anthropology

This narrative research is based on and draws strongly from an existing body of anthropological research interested in the experiences of children, households and poverty in South Africa. For example, Ross (2010) produced an intensive ethnographic, micro-level study of a particular group of poor people and their changing lives in post-apartheid South Africa, while Bray and Brandt (2007) produced a close analysis of child-care relationships in resource-poor contexts. Like the anthropological work from which it draws, this research has produced an intensive micro-level study of a particular group of children's experiences of domestic mobility. This was done by means of a number of interactions with the child participants and their families in their households and at Isibindi safe parks over a period of approximately two years, producing a form of longitudinal ethnographic research.

Henderson's (2006; 2011) anthropological work, previously discussed in this research, is interested in people's experiences of living with and in the context of HIV/AIDS. Here we

see a similar phenomenon of rich contextual stories being told against a politically and culturally aware background as that of the research under discussion. Chapter 3 of Henderson's book, *A Kinship of Bones,* centres on the everyday lived reality of young people in a rural South African HIV/AIDS-affected community who have lost one or both parents, explored through various ethnographic case studies that appreciate the varied nature of their lives. While both this research and Henderson's (2006; 2011) are interested in providing space for voices from below, Henderson's (2006; 2011) work is focused on young people between the ages of 14 and 20. My research dealt with children between the ages of eight and 12. Furthermore, although Henderson (2006; 2011) undertakes ethnographic case studies of children's lives, these are far more general and do not look at a specific child participant's narrative with such intensity and in such detail. Thus in my own research, the use of multiple-case studies situated within a narrative framework produced intensive, detailed and lengthy contextualised investigations of particular children's stories as an innovative addition to existing research concerning the lives of South African poor children.

My narrative research is most closely aligned with existing anthropological research in the way it explicitly creates space for the researcher's voice through constant reflexivity. The ethnographic nature of this research study acknowledged and included the subjectivity of both the researcher and participants. Like Van Maanen's (1988), this research acknowledged the influence which I, the researcher, had on the ultimate story told about the children's experiences of domestic mobility through the particular lenses I chose to employ, those experiences through which I unconsciously see the world (for example, my gender, race, education and professional registration as a counselling psychologist), and the decisions made about inclusion/exclusion. Riessman (1993) speaks to this suggesting that how the narrative is employed "positions the investigator as part of the field simultaneously mediating and interpreting the 'other' in dialogue with the 'self'" (p. 17). I thus included an analytical chapter which focused on my experiences in the narrative journey of this research, with the child participants' stories as case studies.

However, where my own narrative research strongly deviated from the anthropological work of authors such as Henderson (2011) and Ross (2010), was by suggesting that it was not enough to merely describe the effects of the multiple traumas associated with loss or to comment when resilience was evident. Rather, there were various levels of intervention associated with this research. These included the use of therapeutic tools as a story-telling device or a reflective activity at the end of a day of organised activities used to articulate

something positive about the child participants. This supported the building of resilience. On a different level, the organisation of therapeutic intervention for participants, in close conjunction with Isibindi, could be considered a form of familial intervention, while the attention my research brought to participant families, such as Patricia's or Odwa's, provided opportunity for intervention from external powers. Finally, this research aimed to make recommendations about further appropriate interventions at various systemic levels.

This narrative research also drew on an existing body of work focused on poor children's experiences that is strongly psychological; for instance, Tomlinson (2001; 2015) has focused on mother-infant attachment in South Africa and has been involved in cross-cultural and community intervention research since 1994. Killian's (2004) significant work on resilience began in an attempt to understand the psychological effects on children of the political violence associated with South African society in the wake of apartheid. In the same way, this narrative study has drawn strongly on the traditional western psychological lenses of attachment and resilience in an attempt to understand the meaning children attach to their experiences of domestic mobility. The main difference between my work and that of authors such as Killian (2004) and Tomlinson (2001; 2015), is that their work mainly sought to measure attachment and resilience as individual variables, which is both necessary and useful in order to better understand macro trends. However, the innovative and critical contribution of my narrative research study was that it sought to understand attachment and resilience through rich, particular stories of the lived realities of human beings and, most importantly, it sought to understand how children themselves made sense of and understood their own resilience and attachment relationships. Thus spaces were created in which children could add to the literature and have a voice in important issues about their own lives.

A narrative psychological approach offers the reader a view from below hierarchy and from inside the lived realities of children's meaning-making through the use of stories. While this research made use of psychological and diagnostic tools, such as the DAP and KFD, it did not do so in a strictly psychological sense. Instead in line with the work of South African researchers such as Mitchell (2005; 2008) it used these drawings as visual methodologies in a less clinical manner, as a tool for the creation of narrative material concerning identity construction, without ignoring the emotional indicators present in many of the participants' drawings.

Thus it might be best to understand this research as having explicitly narrative roots and as sitting comfortably in neither a traditionally psychological nor a strictly anthropological space, but in the uneasy territory between them. This situated it in a privileged interdisciplinary position, with assumptions of fluidity between the boundaries in fields of childhood concern. This in turn allowed for multiple interpretations and perspectives on issues related to South African children's experiences of poverty. This research therefore offered a unique perspective of children's experiences of poverty. It could be positioned in the critical polytextual space proposed by Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) who argue for a transdisciplinary approach that troubles duality, offering instead "a tenuous, uncomfortable, traction of contradictory ideas, stories, vying one against the other" (p. 9) in order to interrogate taken-for-granted knowledge. Instead, a critical polytextual approach suggests that there are always a number of stories which form the basis of childhood concern and that a universal solution is not possible. Instead, from this narrative research a number of contingent claims and recommendations could be made.

Agency and Participation

Due to particular shifts in the social construction of children, as well as the influence of the "expert" professions such as psychology, childhood is often seen as a space of vulnerability, playfulness, innocence and the need for adult guidance and protection. Jans (2004) suggests that as a result, during the twentieth century the understanding was that children needed protection and were given minimal space for social and professional participation. Thus the implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child at a global level and the African Children's Charter at a continental level were important steps in the academic and policy arenas with regards to progress in their conceptualisation of children as social agents whose views and perspectives and rights to participation are seen to be essential in the creation of social institutions (such as families and legal systems) responsible to them (James, 2011; Graham & Fitzgerald, 2010; Jans, 2004). Child participation in public spaces and even research is still considered to be an under-theorised field in South Africa, despite a great deal of "lip-service" (Henderson, 2011, p.1) being paid to the importance of including children in areas of education, health care and social services responsible to them. Because of common discourses about children's place in South African society – innocence, vulnerability, being seen and not heard – Bray and Moses (2011) suggest that the government's acceptance of its obligation to engage children in participation has been slow. There have been small changes but these usually only occur through the action of academics

or advocacy/interest groups, which often are the result of engaging with small groups of children.

While only consulting with a small number of participants through the use of narrative and PAR methodologies, I purposefully chose to respect the opinions of children by creating a space where their voices could be heard from below hierarchy on issues concerning their lives. Furthermore, this research deliberately chose to engage with children who were between the ages of eight and 12. Nakijoba (2009) suggests that the age group 13 to 17, usually referred to as adolescents and seen as part of youth, have become increasingly more active in research settings in various African contexts, as spaces are opened up for them to participate in various initiatives aimed at them. She suggests that using youth as primary respondents has become popular among politicians and policy makers, particularly in designing and implementing programmes responding to HIV/AIDS and other sexual risks such as trafficking, and armed conflict. However, Nakijoba (2009) says it is clear that the missing voices, those that have the potential for meaningful participation in research, are those of children between six and 12.

However, the comfort with which western children meet participation and consultation is perhaps somewhat more complex in some African contexts. This was certainly true for my own research, where initial attempts at eliciting information from child participants about their viewpoints and experiences was met with confusion and some resistance. Nakijoba (2009) suggests that there has been limited participation of children in social science research in many African countries because children are often socialised to be seen, and see themselves as the lowest rung in the power hierarchy within families and communities. Thus the powerlessness of children is still deeply embedded in some communities resulting in a discourse that complicates child participation. Relationships are stratified according to social and cultural norms, and the notion of a child's proper place in society still exists (Mniki & Rosa, 2007; Naker, 2005; Nakijoba, 2009).

What I found most striking in my narrative research was the child participants' lack of agency and participation in the bigger decisions regarding their mobility and where they may prefer to live. This confirms existing research on children's domestic mobility in Southern Africa (e.g. Henderson, 2006; Spiegel et al., 1996), and in Africa generally (e.g. Hashim & Thorsen, 2011), but the individual children's narratives of confusion, deception and loss were traumatic to experience, tell and hear. None of the participants in this narrative study were

consulted or given a choice about when they might prefer to move (e.g., the end of a school term) or where they would like to move to, as these decisions were generally made on their behalf in consultation between different adults responsible for taking care of them at that time. Often the child participants understood that they needed to move at a given time due to the death or illness of a family member or possibly due to financial constraints; however, many had had suggestions about who they would like to be sent to but these suggestions were perhaps not considered by the adults who, in consultation with one another, made the ultimate decisions. The consultation between adults generally appeared to have taken place in private, unless overheard by accident, as when Khule overheard her grandmother speaking on the phone about her impending mobility. In this case, Khule's grandmother could afford to keep Khule (with her sibling, Langa) in Alice, but chose to relocate her due to her behaviour, temperament and bad influence on her sibling. This compounded a sense of precariousness and powerlessness for the children.

There was thus rarely any psychological preparation of the children for their move to a new household, village or city and away from current and important attachment relationships. Many of the child participants lamented that they had not had the opportunity to take leave of important people and places. Furthermore, some of the children's mobility to a new household appeared to have taken place under a veil of deception. For example, while some participants were under the impression they would be moving to a particular village, city or family, they realised on arrival that they were in fact to live somewhere else. Luthando described a situation in which he was merely taken to the bus stop and put on a bus to a new city without even knowing when he left the house that he would be leaving.

Adults' decisions not to engage children in consultation could be for a variety of reasons ranging from emotional reasons of wanting to protect children or fearing disclosure, to disregarding children's opinions on important matters. Regardless, children's understanding of this was that they had little choice in the "big" decisions regarding their mobility to a different household and that their idea or feelings were not seen as important. While some were willing to openly voice their opinion about where they would prefer to live, how they would have liked to be consulted about decisions being made and had the opportunity to say good-bye to friends and family, others were less outspoken. However, it is important to note that all the participants spoke about their lack of choice in important decisions regarding their lives when it came to their adult caregivers. Of interest was that other than this narrative study's attempts to purposefully open spaces for participant children's voices on big and

small matters pertaining to their lives, there were important instances observed throughout the course of this research in which Isibindi care-workers explicitly asked the child participants their opinions on important matters, such as whether they were happy in their present school or whether alternative schooling needing to be considered. This highlights the availability of particular relationships with adults that were constructed through interventions in which children's opinions on important issues were actively sought.

This narrative research endorses the findings of previous authors (Bray, 2003b; Clacherty, 2003; Levine, 1999; Ramphele, 2002; Richter, 2004; Ross, 2010; Young & Ansell, 2003) with regards to children's participation in their active contribution to household survival. This ranged from shepherding responsibilities, assisting with household chores, to taking full responsibility for the running of a household, as in Odwa's case. The use of PAR methodologies and Bamberg's discursive and small-story approach meant that it was possible to gain an in depth understanding of how the participant children negotiated and contributed to sustaining important and mutually beneficial social relationships within their micro and meso-systems. All the participants spoke about important relationships with peers, with adult family members, as well as with other adults such as neighbours, teachers and care-workers. In their peer relationships, there was often mutual emotional and financial benefit. The participant children benefitted emotionally, socially and financially from relationships with adults. In return, the children, in acts of tremendous agency and dexterity, provided companionship and manual labour. They brought with them financial benefits in the form of social grants as well as the attention of Isibindi, thereby ensuring the continuation of protective relationships with various adults in their lives.

This research therefore agreed with the sentiments of Mniki and Rosa (2007) who suggest that "we understand that children are 'empowered' already; they are agents in their own lives and do not need external actors to 'empower' them" (p. 180). However, children do not have access to all the information and processes that impact on their lives, and it is in these instances that adults still need to take the initiative to create and ensure spaces for participation. This research could be considered to be just one such space. In accordance with the sentiments of Jans (2004), this research proposed that children's lives are indeed a space of ambivalence, and that while it is both important and necessary that children are protected, it is just as necessary to acknowledge that children are already active agents in their own lives, and this should be promoted through opportunities for further self-development. There is still a significant gap between rhetoric and practice, as the sentiments expressed in policy

and legal documents such as the CRC and African Children's Charter are very different from the actual everyday lived realities of the participant children's lives.

Attachment and Resilience

Most developmental psychology research with children concentrates on so-called "problems" and is interested in situations that are different from what is considered to be the norm and could be harmful or risky for children in these contexts. Thus research clusters around "problem children" with the (useful) intention of intervening in problematic contexts and conditions. These problems often centre on black children's lives, violence, war, migration and destabilization, with little research focused on white families and children growing up in white middle class families. This is problematic because despite a focus on black children's lives, most developmental research operates with a western lens and with western norms when considering the lives of black children living in very different contexts. Thus existing developmental research on black South African children's lives in contexts of poverty frequently reinforce existing assumptions that anything deviating from the western norm is problematic. While this narrative research fits in with existing developmental psychology literature by focusing on so-called problematic contexts, its aim is not to align the participant children's narratives on domestic mobility with western norms, which assume that the mobility of children is inherently bad and problematic. This is because the everyday lived realities of children growing up in a South African context characterized by extreme poverty and instability are very different from the children presented as the norm in western literature.

Within a South African context, this research coheres with the work of Tomlinson, Cooper and Murray (2003), which suggests that despite assumptions of insecure attachment relationships due to extreme adversity, counter-evidence or perhaps counter narratives of secure attachment relationships prevail, even in the face of alarmingly high levels of maternal depression. Where this research differs from the work of Tomlinson, Cooper and Murray (2003) is that is does not attempt to measure attachment through an exclusive focus on the mother-child dyad. In doing so, there are a number of alternative attachment figures not taken into consideration. Nor does it attempt to measure attachment through the implementation of assessment techniques such as the Ainsworth *Strange Situation*, which objectify and take attachment relationships out of context, thereby neglecting what Tomlinson (2015) later referred to as the distal/upstream factors that influence attachment. Rather, this narrative

research was interested in understanding attachment in the context of a broader life-story and the environmental and social aspects that impact upon it.

From this narrative research it can be seen that in contexts of instability and frequent mobility, multiple attachments existed and formed an integral part of a strong protective network in the lives of the child participants. A number of different types of attachment relationships were evident in the children's narratives. All the participants had a central attachment relationship with a maternal figure. These maternal figures included family members such as the children's grandmothers, aunts or older sisters, but also included maternal figures that were not family members, such as elderly women in their surrounding communities or most importantly their Isibindi care-workers. Often the children benefitted from multiple and simultaneous attachment relationships with different women fulfilling different roles. As well as relationships with maternal figures, attachment to alternative figures such as siblings, peers and animals played an essential protective role in the face of instability. For example, dogs were often described as providers (by assisting the children to hunt), as companions, and as protectors.

From this research, it might be assumed that in contexts of adversity and instability the benefits of multiple attachment relationships with a variety of alternative attachment figures outweigh the benefits of one attachment relationship between a mother-child dyad. This is particularly true in instances of circular mobility, as experienced by Khule – she experienced a sense of familiarity and belonging each time she re-located to familiar places and attachment figures. The significance of at least one stable attachment relationship was amplified in instances such as Odwa's: he lived in a child-headed house for most of the time with his older brother providing his only consistent relationship. Odwa's vulnerability was exacerbated by the lack of familiar familial threads in his life because of his constant mobility. His life seemed to have no familiar traces and was characterized by the repeated loss of important relationships. Many of the participant children had significant identity losses involved in the processes of constant mobility characterized as in Odwa's case, by the literal absence of identity papers and social grants. In a narrative and attachment sense Odwa barely seemed to exist and could have been considered to be the most "at risk" of the child participants.

Much of the existing research on resilience, such as the work of Killian and Durrheim (2008), as well as that of Govender and Killian (2001) has sought to measure its presence

quantitatively by means of clinical scales and measures. Despite attempting to develop a picture of the effects of poverty and trauma in children, these scales have mostly been administered to the adult caregivers in children's lives and not to the children themselves. Furthermore, these scales have often measured resilience by looking at negative life events, trauma and symptoms of clinical pathology. This means that the dynamic interplay between times of distress and copings cannot be considered as they occur simultaneously in lived situations. Instead, they are tested as static independent variables with the children under investigation being deprived of their agency and the role they play in their stories of resilience and resistance.

Thus, through the narrative and child-participatory foundations of this research, we become aware of the numerous stories of resilience which strongly contradict the alarmist predictions that HIV/AIDS and domestic mobility would have devastating effects on the cognitive, behavioural, social and moral functioning of South African children, resulting in troubled social attachments (cf. Meintjes & Bray, 2005). Perhaps it was the narrative nature of this research that allowed it to shed light on the questions Killian et al. (2008) are left with in their research with regard to better understanding the relationship between adversity and resilience and the impact of social interventions in building protective processes to help foster and facilitate agency. Through the use of stories, this narrative research was able to begin to understand children's beliefs and images about themselves and the world in which they were situated. Should this research have merely considered the participant's bigger stories of repeated loss and mobility, we might not have been witness to the children's smaller stories of everyday moments – academic and social success, instances of happiness, connection with others, and settling into new homes and experiences. The narrative and longitudinal nature of this research which re-visited the children's adjustment to their environment over the course of two years, meant that the "settling in" for children as part of the process of mobility became particularly clear. In the cases of Langa, Luthando and Khule in particular, we were privy to their small stories of settling in and changing their minds about their new homes and people in their lives. Thus this research proposed that mobility is not just about movement, but it is a social and emotional process.

This narrative research agreed with Killian and Govender (2008) in that the ability to access social support was an important protective measure for children living in conditions of adversity. The participants clearly showed the importance of access to social support in fostering resilience. Thus, in line with the protective model of resilience proposed by Killian

(2004; 2008), with foundations in Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems approach, this narrative research emphasised that resilience is both a characteristic of the individual, as well as networked within the various systemic social layers in which the child is embedded. Despite the multitude of stressors experienced by the participants, including poverty, loss, abuse and repeated mobility, all appeared to be coping and in some cases, thriving. Similar to the research by Henderson (2011) and Bray and Brandt (2007), all the participants' stories of resilience were embedded in supportive micro and meso-systems. The participants formed important social relationships with peers and siblings, as well as with adults. As previously discussed, the participants were actively engaged in ensuring the continuation of these relationships through acts of reciprocation. They did this by drawing on resources available to them such as sharing money when they had some, or talking to distant family members on the phone. These supportive relationships were dynamic and new ones needed to be formed regularly to replace those that ended, such as with a best friend due to mobility, or moving away from a neighbour who provided meals.

This research has added knowledge about an additional layer of protective systemic support – the NGO Isibindi and the integral role it plays in the lives of vulnerable children and families. From an ecological systems perspective and with foundations in the lifespace model this research drew attention to extensive examples of the everyday lived experiences of caring that Isibindi and its care-workers provided at an exo-systemic level, as well as at a micro and meso-systemic level (cf. DGMT, 2014; Pillay & Twala, 2008; Thumbadoo, 2011). This resulted in the strengthening of existing networks of care in which children were situated and helped children/families to take advantage of the systems of support available to them, as well as supported individual child development. In this research, like that of Pillay and Twala (2008) and Thumbadoo (2011), we saw that at an exo-systemic level, Isibindi was involved in training, funding and providing specific care-workers to the families involved in this research and in creating opportunities for adult intervention in and mediation of play in the form of the safe parks.

The specific family-assigned care-workers intervened directly at the level of the individual child and his/her family (micro and meso-systemic level) and formed important links between the various supportive systems in the children's lives. In this way, they played a significant role in supporting the individual children's resilience. The children's resilience was further supported by the personal care the care-workers gave each child and their involvement in the children's everyday lived experiences through the implementation of a lifespace model

(Allsopp, 2011). Due to the care-workers' intervention and care, a sense of predictability and security was created for the children, a particularly important contrast to the disorder that can accompany mobility. Furthermore, this resilience was supported by the strong attachment bonds which the children formed with their individual care-workers. The stories of coping and resilience presented in this narrative study would have been told very differently had this additional layer of systemic support not formed part of the children's lives.

This narrative research has developed a picture in which the children's multiple experiences of overcoming adversity has built and fostered resilience at the level of the individual participant that in turn, was supported and nurtured by multiple layers and experiences of social support. Similar to the work of Dawes and others (Dawes, 1994; Dawes, 2000; Dawes & Donald, 1994; Dawes & Donald, 2000; Donald, Dawes & Louw, 2000; Van Der Merwe & Dawes, 2007), this research has suggested that it is not enough to merely look for and describe instances of resilience, but that children's development of resilience requires supportive intervention. Like Dawes (1994; 2011), this research has suggested that there is often an assumption that poor and vulnerable black children will be resilient because, given their extreme circumstances, they do not have the option of being anything else. This results in passivity and a sense that we do not need to intervene if black children are resiliently coping and being cared for in networks of extended families. This research has argued that the presence of resilience should not deny interventions to improve the quality and resources available in vulnerable children's lives that support resilience (cf. Dawes, 1994; Dawes, 2000; Dawes & Donald, 1994; Dawes & Donald, 2000; Donald, Dawes & Louw, 2000; Van Der Merwe & Dawes, 2007).

Gender

Agreeing with Hashim and Thorsen (2011), this narrative research underscored the gender differences inherent in the participants' experiences of domestic mobility. It was the perception that in Xhosa culture, boy children had greater social significance than girls. This was most evident in the case of Langa and Khule; Langa experienced more stability as he received consistent care from his mother during the first few years of his life, while Khule was sent to live within the extended family network. There appeared to be gender differences even at the level of the actual journey made between different households, villages or cities. In recognition of their gendered vulnerability, all of the girl participants were accompanied on their journey by an older family member (often also a female) as a form of protection.

Drawing on masculine discourse's reverence of autonomy and independence, the boy participants were expected to make these journeys alone, sometimes travelling hundreds of kilometres from as young as six years old. These boys often had only a vague idea of where they were going and little idea of who would meet them at their destination.

Supporting existing research (e.g. Dawes, 2002; Townsend & Dawes, 2004), this narrative research has suggested that there is an additional layer of vulnerability which is added and amplified for girls in their experiences of domestic mobility. When there is an interruption in caregiving and girls are moved between different households, they become particularly vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. In instances of mobility, protection becomes porous when there is not a dedicated maternal figure to take care of young girls, in particular. This was most clearly seen in the case of Patricia; the death of her mother exposed her to instances of physical abuse and her move to Alice resulted in her being sexually abused by a man known to her extended family. Thus for young girls in South Africa mobility can add another layer of physical as well as psychological vulnerability.

In accordance with Nyasani et al. (2009), Kimuna and Makiwane (2007) and Schatz (2007), the participants gave numerous examples of the care they had received from their extended families where older women had been the main breadwinners and caregivers. However, this narrative research importantly extended the work reported in previous literature as it also became very clear from the participants' life stories that it was not only older women who were being loaded with the burden of care for the young, but women of all ages, ranging from older adolescent sisters, to middle-aged aunts and cousins, as well as grandmothers of a variety of ages. In Luthando's case, the caregiving roles were divided between the women in the household, with the grandmother providing financially through hawking and social support grants while Nosi, Luthando's older sister, was responsible for all the caregiving tasks in the house, ranging from cooking to doing homework with Luthando. Similarly to Ross (2010), this narrative research provided multiple examples of patterns of co-residence, with women often seeking support by residing with a man other than the father of her children. While this provided for her directly and indirectly for her children, it generally meant that her children, not being the man's biological children, were required to live with her extended family.

While there were a number of important male figures present in the participants' narratives, these characters were often positioned in peripheral roles. Seemingly important people in the

children's lives, such as fathers and step-fathers, had a significant influence on the lives of the participants through influencing and determining where they would be sent to live. However most of these characters did this from a distance and not through direct involvement in the children's lives. These stories generally had negative connotations attached to them and echoed opinions of the absence of fathers in poor children's lives, cited in previous literature (e.g. Bray, 2003a; Hunter, 2006; Madhavan, Townsend & Garey, 2008; Russell, 2003; Schatz, 2007). On the other hand, counter narratives were also present in which men, such as Patricia's uncle and Letshego (Isibindi translator), were positioned as protectors and nurturers. Letshego's position in the participants' lives was particularly interesting, as he had consciously chosen to take up the caregiving role normally associated with women through the gendered division of labour. He was thus positioned as both an older brother and protector as well as a nurturer.

Education

The importance of education in the participant families' lives was a prominent theme in all the children's stories. It is useful to situate these findings in Bronfenbrenner's (1992) ecological systems theory which affords equal importance to the developing child and the environment within which they are developing. For vulnerable children in particular, the ability to attend school brings with it a number of protective layers. Killian (2004) suggests that strong meso-systemic links have the potential to offset other negative aspects of a child's life. At a meso and micro-systemic level, going to school means that important relationships with significant adults and peers are built. These relationships in turn have a significant impact on the individual children's identity and sense of self. For many of the participants in this study, being liked by the teachers, or belonging to the school sports team brought with it a sense of belonging and accompanying self-confidence. In accordance with Cox and Paley (1997) and Killian (2004), this sense of belonging and these important relationships formed a major part of nurturing individual resilience. School attendance was often accompanied with the provision of at least one meal, which served as an important supportive function for poor families. In accordance with Killian (2004), this research has proposed that the exo-systemic layer of protection becomes even more significant for children living in adverse circumstances who need to be increasingly active in engaging community support. Particular reference is being made here to the importance of grassroots community interventions such as Isibindi and the role it plays in supporting school attendance of the children in its care. Thus, at an exo-systemic level, school attendance means that there is another set of attuned and

caring adult eyes looking out for the best interests of vulnerable children and can detect and intervene in instances of possible abuse or neglect. Finally, school attendance adds a further layer of protection, as while children are attending school they cannot be made to engage in regular and sometimes exploitative labour.

Against the backdrop of these important benefits of education, one of the most striking features of this research was the disruptive role that repeated mobility had on the schooling of the participants (cf. Ansell & Van Blerk, 2004; Ford & Hosegood, 2005; Ginsburg, Richter, Fleisch & Norris 2011; Richter, 2004; Van der Riet et al., 2005). Many of the participants had attended a number of different schools even within the space of one school year. This meant that every time a child was moved to a new school, he or she had to adapt to a new teacher, new school systems and ways of learning, slot in to where that specific class was in terms of the national curriculum and, in some instances, adjust to a language other than their mother-tongue (as was the case for Patricia and Odwa). In this research, the effects of dire poverty and frequent mobility also meant that, in some instances, children were completely removed from school or were put into a different grade when arriving at a new school. Some of the participants had missed entire grades. There appeared to be a lack of communication between schools, with school reports or letters from previous principals possibly being lost in the process of mobility. These disruptions in schooling were accompanied by gaps in essential foundational knowledge, in mathematics or languages for instance, which are almost impossible to recover at a later stage and therefore set these children up for academic struggles for the rest of their schooling careers. In many of the participant children's narratives it appeared that poorly educated adults were making assumptions and decisions that affected the children's education without fully understanding the implications of those decisions.

In addition to this picture of protection and disruption, this narrative research clearly highlighted the fairy-tale like manner in which education was positioned by the participant families. Most of the participant families considered education to be their only hope for escaping poverty. This hope was placed squarely on the shoulders of the young. While the benefits of schooling from a psychological perspective, such as protection and support of resilience, were acknowledged by the participant children and adults alike, the hopes invested in the benefits of education for these families far exceeded the psychological benefits. Education was positioned as a means for ending the cycle of poverty by securing sheltered

employment with strong financial benefits that would provide a better life for all. Education is thus the only beacon of hope for many families living in poverty.

Occasionally education does offer the rewards it is associated with, as was the case of Langa and Khule's grandmother and her children who were able to achieve relative economic freedom and stability through education. However, there is a down-side to the concept that education will have a fairy-tale ending. Langa and Khule's grandmother had huge expectations for the children and placed enormous demands on them with regard to their academic performances. With their frequent mobility, interrupted education and the slippage or sketchiness of essential foundational knowledge, the likelihood of becoming a doctor, for instance, is uncertain. The significant and sometimes unrealistic expectations prevalent in all discourse associated with education in circumstances of poverty is both important in terms of striving to achieve, but simultaneously dangerous in that it sets up the majority of the population for disappointment and failure within a failing public schooling system in South Africa.

This narrative research therefore has acknowledged the importance of education and its many essential layers of protection for the individual, while simultaneously acknowledging the importance of its potential for economic gain as a means of exiting the cycle of poverty (cf. Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2004; Killian, 2004; Richter, 2004; Van der Riet et al., 2005). However, this research has emphasised the importance of intervention in order to ensure that this hoped for escape becomes a reality for the majority, rather than the fortunate few. Through this research we were able to witness the benefits of intervention on a small scale. The important role Isibindi as a whole and the individual care-workers have played as the guardians of the participant children's education was clearly evident. Because of this intervention, many of the participants now had some sense of stability in their lives, a reduced likelihood of their mobility and as an important by-product, the protection provided by consistent and regular schooling.

Poverty and HIV/AIDS

This research can be considered to have filled a gap indicated by Bray and Brandt (2007) who, after an overview of existing South African psychological and anthropological literature, noted that there was still room for more nuanced research of how economic and social changes can play out in interpersonal relationships between children and adults. In accordance with others, this research has clarified the evident impact of poverty on children's

ability to attend school and on the quality of education received, on food accessibility, on the health of individuals and access to health care, as well as on the economic instability which drives the mobility of people.

The micro-analytic perspective of this research on the participant children's lives has suggested that the use of the blanket term "poverty" is not useful and serves to nullify the lived reality and daily experiences of children and adults alike. While all of the participant children and their families would have been classified as living in poverty, it was clear that among the stories of five families there was significant variation in how poverty was experienced and its very particular impact. Rather than thinking about poverty in dichotomous terms, it was therefore proposed that poverty instead be considered on a continuum. The differences in where families might be placed on this continuum were easily seen when comparing the situation of Langa and Khule's families to that of Odwa's family. These families' ability to respond to the economic shocks that accompany, for instance, the death of an economically active family member, were very different and would have vastly different consequences for the children in these families. By placing poverty on a continuum it was more difficult to ignore the individual struggles and impacts on the intervention required to address the hardships faced by different children and families.

Furthermore, we considered the impact of how the particular positioning of a family on the continuum of poverty influenced the number and quality of attachment relationships available to the children situated in these families. Examples are Saville Young's (2006) study on brothering among isiXhosa men and the use of financial responsibility terms to speak about emotion, and Hunter's (2010) work in informal settlements in Kwazulu-Natal in which the impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic on relationships was evident even in talk, where love and money were always related. An interesting phenomenon in this research that was evident in all the child participants' stories was the economic language of emotion used. The participant children all spoke about tender instances of love and attachment in financial terms related to provision. For children growing up on the continuum of poverty it is possibly easier to speak about emotions in economic terms.

In accordance with existing literature (e.g. Hashim & Thorsen, 2011; Henderson, 2006; Hosegood et al., 2005; Hunter, 2006: Ross, 2005; Russell, 2003; Spiegel et al., 1996), this narrative research has suggested that the mobility of children between households is an important strategy employed by families on the poverty continuum as a means of survival.

The decision to move a child from one household to another is often an economic decision which is in the best financial interest of the group as a whole, but not always in the best interest of the individual child. There is however, a sense of hope attached to mobility in that embedded in this movement is a hope for something better – perhaps better for the group, but hopefully also better for the child. Like the research of Bray (2003a), we saw the child participants in this research acting as agents in households and actively contributing to household survival through domestic chores. Furthermore, the child participants brought with them a direct financial contribution to household survival in the form of social grants. Therefore, far from offering a picture of passivity and consumption, the participants in this research were important economic contributors.

Like Freeman and Nkomo (2006), there was an awareness in this research of the possibility of exploitation of social grants, in which families take on a number of children in order to benefit from the additional income. While there was evidence in this research of grandmothers fostering more than one child from the extended family, it was never established whether this was motivated purely by the economic contribution the child could make. While some literature (e.g. Campbell & Williams, 1990, as cited in Danziger, 1994) positions the traditional African extended family system as having an infinite capacity to absorb the care needs of OVC, other literature (e.g. Ansell & Young, 2004; Foster, 2000) indicates that to date, the majority of children orphaned by HIV/AIDS have been incorporated into the extended family in South Africa, but strongly caution about the expectation that the extended family can continue to absorb the many psychological and economic impacts of the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Foster, 2000; Freeman & Nkomo, 2006). In this research, apart from Langa and Khule's grandmother, all other participant grandmothers verbalised how they were struggling under the economic burden of fostering additional children. Building on research by Freeman and Nkomo (2006), the intensity of this burden was lightened somewhat by assistance from a social grant, but the assistance grandmothers received from Isibindi and the trained care-workers through their implementation of the lifespace model was seen by the grandmothers as an important protective measure for ensuring that children continued to be fostered in these families.

According to Hosegood et al. (2005) the movement of people between different households is not a new strategy employed by poor South African families. They suggest that apartheid policies initiated widespread circular mobility, which continued to be driven by poverty after the abolishment of apartheid in 1994 and was further fuelled by the HIVAIDS pandemic in

South Africa. It was clear from the participant children's narratives that there were two major driving forces behind the phenomenon of domestic mobility in this research: poverty and HIV/AIDS.

For most of the participant children, their mother's death due to HIV/AIDS was the predisposing factor in their repeated mobility. The financial impact of the disease on particular households with ripple effects in the extended family, as noted in the literature (e.g. Bray & Brandt, 2007; Henderson, 2006; Hosegood et al., 2007: Hunter, 2006), were echoed in this research.

Nakijoba (2009) and Van der Riet, Hough and Killian (2005) note that research on HIV/AIDS with adolescents as the primary respondents has become more popular in Africa generally and South Africa more specifically, but that there was still a noticeable gap in research on younger children and their understanding of the impact of the disease on their lives – a gap this research aimed to address. This research further added to the existing body of literature in that despite the acknowledgement that HIV/AIDS would be a driving factor in at least some of the participants lives, by virtue of the research context and population chosen, questions regarding HIV/AIDS were never directly addressed to the children. Rather, guided by narrative principles, participants were always asked open-ended questions: they could choose what to include and what to leave out. Noticeably, despite the determining force of the disease in all the participants' lives it remained unnamed and invisible in the participant children's narratives. During my time with the children over a two-year period, HIV/AIDS was never directly named by any of the participant children or their families, besides Langa and Khule's grandmother and Pumla, an Isibindi care-worker. The invisibility of the disease was almost bizarre, given that a number of participants had directly cared for their sick and dying mothers in the months leading to their death from complications of the disease.

The stigma, identified in previous literature (e.g. Henderson, 2011; Hosegood et al., 2007) and confirmed by this research that surrounds the subject of HIV/AIDS means children are expected to act as adults and care for the sick, but do so in a void of information and knowledge. Wilbraham (2009) proposes that discussions about sex and HIV between children and parents or caregiving adults (who feel uncomfortable and embarrassed about the subject) are often delayed until there is a biological imperative and the accompanying fear of pregnancy. In this research, the effects of the disease had infiltrated each of the participant

families and had been directly experienced by every child participant. Despite the effects of the disease being ever present, HIV and AIDS was everywhere and at the same time nowhere. Through the two examples of counter-narrative in the voices of Langa and Khule's grandmother and Pumla, we could identify the possibility of earlier educational intervention, even at a micro-systemic level.

Social Protection

The experiences and meaning of domestic mobility in the personal narratives of the participant children had implications for social protection practices sensitive to the specific needs of children as proposed by Roelen and Sabates-Wheeler (2012). While vulnerability as a result of HIV/AIDS, poverty and the disruption of social attachments, serves to construct vulnerabilities in childhood, it is evident that there are a variety of formal and informal social protection practices at play in children's lives that aim to reduce their vulnerability and in a sense help to reconstruct childhood.

In this narrative research, the important role played by Isibindi and its care-workers as the intermediary between the formal and informal social protection mechanisms in the participant children's lives was evident and appeared to function at two levels. Replicating the findings of Pillay and Twala (2008) and Thumbadoo (2011), at a more structural, "big story" level, it became clear that the care-workers were often responsible for helping the child participants and their families with the application process for receiving social grants. The care-workers often accompanied the elderly to primary health care clinics and took it upon themselves to get all members of a family tested for HIV. Furthermore, the care-workers assisted with ARV treatment support and home-based care for those sick with AIDS. The care-workers' support of the children's academic endeavours was appreciated by the child participants' teachers, who pointed out how well a child was coping socially or academically since a care-worker had become involved with a particular child.

Drawing from Bronfenbrenner's (1992) ecological systems theory, this was evidence of meso-systemic "holding" where adults were taking time to interact meaningfully with these children and with other significant adults in the children's lives, thus adding to protective interconnected relationships around/with the child participants (cf. Killian, 2004). Furthermore, Isibindi often stepped in as a catalyst for change when children needed to be removed from a home and ensured that a suitable replacement, preferably within the extended family, was found for the child. A stable domestic arrangement with good-enough caring,

attention and monitoring is a crucial stepping stone for preventing abuse, while the importance of a sense of belonging, trust and being valued is an important form of psychological protection in the care of children.

There was another more intimate small-story level, where child participants shared significant moments with their care-workers. Making use of a family metaphor, most of the children referred to their specific care-worker as a mother or sister. The child participants spoke about their care-workers affectionately, as if she were a close member of their family and they seemed to want to be incorporated into her family as one of her own children.

Isibindi's work is conducted on the ground using a lifespace model (Allsopp, 2011). This means that their focus is on intervention at the level of moment to moment, everyday lived experiences of individual children and families. It is a child-focused holistic approach, and takes physical, social, cognitive and emotional elements of development into account. It is the implementation of the lifespace model that makes the type of care expressed by the care-workers of Isibindi unique. In this research it was clear that Isibindi and its care-workers played an important supportive role with regard to accessing economic assistance, education and health care, as well as playing an essential emotionally supportive role in the lives of the participants and their families.

What this research has highlighted and added to existing literature on social protection, is the importance of psychological layers of social protection at play in vulnerable children's lives. In line with literature on resilience (e.g. Killian 2004), this study celebrated the psychological "scaffolding" of children's lives through networks of care and the possibility of reciprocated social relationships with members of extended family networks and community members. Children's small acts of agency, as well as their capacity for and degree of resilience, are supported through interrelated social networks/systems that stabilize children after mobility and have the potential to offset other negative aspects of children's lives caused by repeated mobility and poverty.

Roelen and Sabates-Wheeler (2012) suggest that for social protection interventions to be considered as child sensitive, three elements pertaining to child vulnerability need to be addressed. First, do the interventions respond to children's practical needs (biological and physical)? Secondly, do they respond to children's strategic needs, referring to their limited levels of autonomy and dependence on adults for care? Finally, do the interventions address children's lack of voice in the development of policies pertaining to their lives? In addition to

the definition of child sensitive social protection put forward by Roelen and Sabates-Wheeler (2012), a further element that considers the child's psychological well-being might be included. This would place significance on the micro-systemic relational networks within the child's life, strengthening existing systems of communities, households and caregivers. It is however important to emphasise that psychological support on its own is not enough and must work with other social protection practices. Therefore, every effort needs to be made to support and strengthen social institutions (family, community, NGOs) in the face of HIV and increasing poverty, as they are cornerstone for the social protection of vulnerable children.

Domestic Mobility

We cannot speak of the lives of poor South African children without considering the interplay of the impact of the legacy of apartheid, domestic mobility, HIV/AIDS and the various family forms in which OVC live, including grandmother-headed households. This Discussion has been divided into different components to clarify the various roles played by different contexts and phenomena on the lives, domestic mobility and identity of poor South African children. It is however an academic division to clarify and extrapolate the various factors to be considered. The division can lead to a confusing interplay between authors, empirical research and emerging theory – as those about whom this research speaks often experience their own lives.

This confusion was embodied in Road of Life time-line exercise used in this research, in which the construction of a linear time-line proved challenging for many of the child participants. Because they did not have a dedicated adult to "hold" important information for them, the children often lost track of the dates and years when they moved from one household to another, or (as in Odwa's case) it even remained unclear when they had been born. This resulted in time-lines and life stories with many gaps, inconsistencies and uncertainties. As a researcher, the ambivalence inherent in these children's life stories was sometimes difficult to grasp and was perhaps replicated in the readers' experience of trying to keep track of multiple relocations, new places, names and relationships with peers, animals and adults.

Hashim and Thorsen (2011) feel that the movement of children without their parents is often pathologized in literature with the attention focused on children's implicit vulnerability and the role adults in their lives have played to bring them to the point where they are engaged in a cycle of mobility. Therefore, the aim of this narrative research was, using a psychological

lens, to consider the role children play in their own movement and how this is either facilitated or curtailed by their environment and social relationships. Hashim and Thorsen (2011) have proposed a child-focused definition of mobility which they have termed "children's independent movement". This is said to refer to "the movement of individuals who are under the age of 18, and who are not coerced or tricked into moving by a third person, but who migrate voluntarily and separately from their parents" (Hashim & Thorsen, 2011, p. vii). From the outset, this definition is of course not without its problems, such as whether an 18 year old can still be considered a child, whether boys and girls experience migration in the same way (a question addressed in this research), the complicated notion of agency in the use of the term "voluntarily" and whether the term "migration" suggests a narrow focus on geographical relocation.

Furthermore, a major contribution of this narrative research to this definition from a macro, big-story (e.g. Crossley, 2000a; 2000b; 2003) perspective, was to warn of simplifying children's mobility to a single definition in an attempt to encapsulate it. From the participant children's narratives it was clear to see that no two cases of domestic mobility are the same. In the five participant children's stories of mobility, there were examples of linear mobility when a child moved between a number of different cities/towns, never to return to a previous household. There were stories of circular mobility when a child lived in the same household repeatedly but at different times, depending on which household was best able to care for her at any given time. There were also stories of local mobility, when a child moved a number of times but within the same village/town and therefore did not migrate any great geographical distance. Each of these stories and experiences of mobility was accompanied by subsequent consequences for the emotional and psychological well-being of the child.

This research has also spoken to the impact socio-economic class has on children's experiences of domestic mobility. From the participants' narratives it was clear that the risks and challenges inherent in domestic mobility are greater when there are fewer economic and social resources to draw on within extended families. Related to an earlier point which referred to the continuum of poverty, the differences in socio-economic class were often very subtle, even in a small group of four families which would all have been considered to be poor. Examples of the family's struggles to cushion the risks and challenges associated with mobility were evident in all the children's stories but perhaps most clearly personified in the case of Odwa. The dire financial position of Odwa's family meant that a secure home could not be established, resulting in constant movement. With each move, important protective

relationships were broken, both with the extended family as well as other community members.

From a micro, small-story (e.g. Bamberg, 2006, 2008, 2011) perspective, this narrative research has brought with it children's specific experiences of mobility. A subject not referred to in other literature is that of the psychological processes of "settling in" after a transitional move. The processes of psychological adjustment involved in settling into a new home and environment take time and the participants had different ways of coping with this period. This was perhaps most clearly seen in the examples of children changing their minds about their move to a new household – at first not liking their new environment but after a process of settling in, changing their minds and wanting to stay.

While most of the participant children appeared to understand why it was that they needed to move between different households, be it directly due to the death of a caregiver or for financial reasons, all the participants voiced their desire to have been included in the decision-making process that led up to their movement. The initial shock and trauma associated with the participant children's movement was often associated with them rarely having been consulted or prepared for their movement to a new household. As a result the children were unable to take leave of important people who had offered them a sense of belonging and security. The significant psychological impact of mobility might therefore be minimised should the participant children be permitted to participate on some level in the decision-making process. However, the final decision of where children should move to needs to be the responsibility of adults. Giving children this responsibility would be fraught with the fear of betrayal of important family members and has attachment implications (as seen in divorce literature). The preparation of children for movement has clear advantages, allowing for closure of important relationships with peers, animals and adults. The significant psychological impact of mobility might therefore be minimised were the participant children able to consult and participate in at least these two proposed areas of the decision-making process.

In terms of resilience, all the children, acting as agents in their own lives made use of the resources available to them in order to settle into and adapt to their new environment and bring about the best possible living conditions for themselves in their new environments. Far from a picture of social, moral and cognitive degeneration due to poverty and HIV/AIDS and

as a result of mobility, this research has offered stories of resilience and new possibilities that accompany the mobility of children within extended networks of care.

Chapter 12 - Concluding Comments and Recommendations

Overview and Summary

The aim of this research was to explore the meanings that domestic mobility has in the lives, identity construction and personal narratives of South African children residing in grandmother-headed households in the Eastern Cape.

This was achieved through the incorporation of a narrative and psychological framework and operationalized through the utilisation of participatory action research methodologies, such as time-line mapping and photo-voice. A narrative approach means that there can be individual and detailed descriptions of children's lives from their perspectives, that is, child-centred/child-focused. Drawing on the particular lenses and methodological tools of two psychological and narrative theorists, Michelle Crossley and Michael Bamberg, added an additional layer of depth and richness to understanding the children's individual and personal experiences of movement across geographical locations and familial arrangements.

Purposefully selecting case studies afforded me the opportunity to relate the narratives to bigger socio-political issues, including poverty, gender, education, HIV/AIDS, social protection and domestic mobility. Thus the narrative approach maintained an individual, experiential focus, without losing sight of underlying contextual issues.

In this research it was evident that domestic mobility was driven by two particular forces: poverty and HIV/AIDS. While the movement of people is a long-standing response to poverty in South Africa entrenched by apartheid's laws, this strategy has become ubiquitous in response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Examining these drivers through a narrative lens uncovered the nuanced influences of social and economic change in the lived relationships of the participant children. It became evident that a blanket definition of poverty conceals important variations in levels of poverty. As an alternative, by considering poverty on a continuum, the diversity of experiences of South African children living in adverse circumstances can be more easily recognised. The importance of formal social protection measures (such as the child support and child foster grant) in helping to cushion the blows of poverty for these vulnerable families was clearly seen. Furthermore, these state provided grants gave children bargaining power by supporting their inclusion into extended family households. Despite HIV/AIDS directing the movement and domestic roles of many of the children in this research, it remained largely unnamed, unspoken, and invisible. This confirms

that there is still significant stigma associated with the disease and is counterproductive, given the children's daily interaction with the disease. This lack of acknowledgment of HIV/AIDS was a large part of the participant children's experience, leaving them uncertain and confused.

Child participation in research opens up spaces for South African children's voices on issues that they believe to be important. Intentionally engaging children from the ages six to 12 filled a gap in existing South African literature on children's lives. The participant children told stories that portrayed them acting as agents in their own lives on a daily basis without needing to be empowered by external (adults). They actively contributed to household survival and ensured the continuation of socially, emotionally, financially and mutually beneficial relationships with peers, animals and adults. Despite this, there was a striking absence of agency and participation by the participant children in major decisions pertaining to their lives. With particular reference to domestic mobility, it was evident that children were rarely consulted in decisions about nor prepared for, their movement to new environments and households. The various kinds of domestic mobility (linear, circular and local) were constituted as a process of settling in to new homes, relationships and environments, which was coped with differently by the various child participants involved in this research. It is proposed that by engaging children in consultation about and preparation for movement, the significant psychological impact of mobility could be minimised.

A focus on attachment in the context of a broader life-story (taking the environmental and social aspects that impact upon it into consideration), demonstrated that in instances of frequent mobility, attachment relationships played an essential protective role for vulnerable children. Furthermore, in contrast to a western focus on the importance of the mother-child dyad, there were possibilities for multiple and simultaneous alternative attachments in these contexts. These included relationships with maternal figures (such as grandmothers, aunts and care-workers), as well as siblings, peers and animals.

The process of domestic mobility has the potential to be traumatic for children. However, a narrative approach to the study of resilience allowed for these moments of distress to be considered simultaneously with resilience in lived situations rather than as static variables. When considering resilience in this way (taking big and small stories into consideration) multiple stories of resilience that contradicted alarmist predictions of the effects of mobility were evident. A particular picture of resilience developed in this research, children's

engagement in domestic mobility and accompanying experiences of overcoming adversity built and fostered resilience at the individual level of the child. While resilience can be located intra-individually, it is also networked in supportive systems within which children engage and is embedded in community micro and meso-systems. Both the psychological and relational processes of resilience were thus highlighted.

Gender was a complicating factor and played a significant role in the experiences of domestic mobility for children. Drawing on societal discourses of vulnerability, girls in this research were often accompanied on their journeys to their new homes, while masculine discourses of independence meant that boys in this research were expected to make these journeys alone from a young age. Domestic mobility added an additional layer of vulnerability for young girls as their movement between different households exposed them to increasing possibilities of exploitation and abuse.

The relationships and experiences with peers and adults in the educational setting fosters important micro and meso-systemic support for vulnerable children. As was evident in the stories of child participants, the supportive role provided by schools is disrupted and threatened by frequent and unpredictable mobility. In addition, the continuous process of development becomes compromised as the learning process is interrupted. Despite this, education remains a powerful beacon of hope in the lives of children in adverse circumstances, one that is becoming increasingly unrealistic without the support of interventions like that of Isibindi.

The intervention of an NGO such as Isibindi was consistently highlighted as an essential informal social protective factor in the lives of vulnerable children and families in this research. Isibindi and its family-assigned care-workers acted on various systemic levels (micro, meso and exo) by providing an additional layer of support and by making connections with existing available resources for support. The implementation of a lifespace model meant that Isibindi and its care-workers intervened to foster attachment, provided an important alternative attachment relationship and supported resilience by creating a sense of security and predictability. Because the Isibindi care-workers intervened through daily, moment to moment opportunities for learning, they supported cognitive, physical and emotional development, and in many cases initiated schooling and its associated benefits. The inclusion of an additional layer of informal support for vulnerable children and families in

South Africa, like that of Isibindi, is an essential strategy to combat and minimise the impacts of poverty and HIV/AIDS.

Limitations and Further Research

While engaging a small number of participants in this research was a deliberate methodological strategy to elicit rich, detailed descriptions of participants' lives, it is acknowledged that the inclusion of a larger participant group would add important information with regard to South African children's experiences of domestic mobility and its accompany issues. This research focused on a very particular context, the rural town of Alice in the Eastern Cape, and was situated in a particular NGO (Isibindi), which implements a particular type of child-care work. While this sampling design facilitated working with a vulnerable population of children in ethically sensitive ways, and strategically explored various socio-political and theoretical issues, the intensive nature of the research over two years did not permit investigation of a larger, more diverse group of children and households. For example, how would younger or older children (than eight to 12 year olds) experience domestic mobility? Similarly, future research might expand and enrich our understanding of mobility by focusing on different patterns of mobility - ranging from circular, to linear, to that of repeated local mobility; something which was not possible in this study due to the deliberate intensive nature.

Therefore, extending this type of narrative research to a variety of different contexts – different provinces in South Africa have different demographics related to poverty and HIV/AIDS – would add to the depth of existing literature referring to children's voices on their own lives. Furthermore, while this research has understood and worked in concert with, the stabilising impact which one type of intervention (in this instance, Isibindi's lifespace model) has had on the lives of domestically mobile children, future research might investigate the impact of a number of different types of interventions.

A possible limitation of this research was related to the fact that I as the primary researcher was not a first language isiXhosa speaker, which meant that the participant children's stories had already been interpreted and moulded in particular ways by an intermediary (the translators) by the time they reached me. Because the translators were not first language English speakers, it could be that certain important material was omitted or lost in the process of translation. In many ways this was compensated for by consistent work with particular Isibindi care-workers over a long time-period. These women came to know and understand

what was required, and also had opportunities for repeated engagement with children, families and the researcher. There were always times to loop back reflexively and to recap together what was said and meant earlier.

This research was longitudinal to the extent that it engaged with the lives of the participant children over a period of two years, thereby constantly revisiting their adjustment. However, follow-up research to explore the meanings that future mobility would have in the lives, identity construction and personal narratives of these participants would further enrich existing literature on migration and mobility in South Africa.

Through a constant reflexive stance in this research it was acknowledged that having a young woman researcher, from a different race, class and culture and with the professional status as a counselling psychologist, influenced the stories that were shared by the participants and on the ultimate story told. Thus if a researcher of different age and gender, or from a different race or culture had engaged with these participants, a different version of this story would have been told. This is not to suggest that subjective, situated stories about experiences are necessarily a limitation: rather, that narrative research has a proud tradition where stories are told from particular positions.

Recommendations

This research can be positioned in the critical polytextual space proposed by Stainton-Rogers and Stainton-Rogers (1992) which suggests that there are always a number of stories that form the basis of childhood concern. In turn, this indicates that a universal solution is neither desirable nor possible. Instead, a critical polytextual position would allow a number of contingent claims and recommendations to be made. Three wide-reaching recommendations will be made by way of concluding comments below.

The first is related to the existing call for a poverty grant for all vulnerable children, regardless of orphanhood status. While this research was interested in the lives of children whose mothers had died, the impact of formal social protection as a means for improving the lives of individual children living in poverty and strengthening the extended family networks in which they are situated was profound.

Secondly, there is the need for additional support and assistance for organisations such as Isibindi, which play essential protective roles in the lives of vulnerable children and families. When I initially engaged with Isibindi in 2011 it was thought that psychological interventions

following the conclusion of this research would be aimed at children and grandmothers. However, it soon became clear that given the extent to which the care-workers were investing in their supportive and care-taking responsibilities, the intervention needed was one in which the care-workers could themselves be taken care of. These sentiments were echoed by this research and there is a significant need to support the efforts of child care-workers through opportunities for de-briefing and supervision by qualified psychologists. The Isibindi care-workers, who themselves often come from adverse circumstances and have experienced repeated trauma, are involved in emotionally taxing work which has the potential to impact them as individuals and extend into their families. Furthermore, financial assistance to support these kinds of organisations, which often fulfil roles for which the state is responsible, is essential to ensure their continued efficacy.

Thirdly, this research comments on the need for education on HIV/AIDS for children from a younger age, as well as the inclusion of voices of younger children in policies and decisions concerning them. This research highlights the need for psychological “scaffolding” of potentially traumatic processes such as domestic mobility by children’s inclusion in consultation and processes of preparation. This might involve a series of psycho-education workshops with children, their custodians and organisations such as Isibindi, to unpack skills in talking together about difficult topics, feelings and experiences.

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Appendix A - First meeting: Road of Life

Welcome

- Explanation of who I am and why I am here
- Explanation of what research is and how our time together will work
- Explanation of how translation will work
- Introduction of translators

Games

- Using a ball to *introduce* ourselves
- Hula hoop *fun* game
- Blindfolded guiding game of *trust*

Understanding Confidentiality

- How to use your s*top sign*

Activity one: D-A-P

Activity two: Road of Life time-line

Examples of questions asked:

- At the beginning of the line, if you know what your birth date is, you can write it there. Also if you know where you were born you can write it somewhere right at the start of your line.
- Then at the end of the line you can write today or today's date and where we are.
- Can you remember the very first school you went to – how old were you and what was it called? Then did you go to any other schools, write them in there. Was one of the schools your favourite?
- Did you move from one place to another? More or less what year did you move and where did you move from and to? If you have moved a few times then add all of them in.
- Did anyone join your family? Did you get a new baby brother or sister? A new cousin or auntie?
- Did you lose anyone from your family?
- Did you have a best friend along the way, where and when did you meet them? What was their name?
- What is your worst or most sad memory?
- What is your happiest memory or best day in your life so far?

Explanation of blanket principle

Individual Interviews

- With child participant, Zinzi and myself

Break

- Lunch

Game

- Children select favourite game

Closing

Appendix B - Second Meeting: A Model of Your Social World

Welcome

- Re-explanation of how translation will work
- Explanation of procedure for today
- Re-explanation of confidentiality

Games

- As chosen and lead by different child participants

Activity one: KFD

Activity two: Construct a model of your social world

- Instructions: Today you are going to be a builder, you are going to build a model of the place where you live now.
- Using the materials provided and anything you can find on the ground outside, I want you to build a model of the area where you live now – so your neighbourhood or your community and all the important places in it that you visit. Any places that you feel are important to add.
- Remember there is no right or wrong, we are here to learn from you.

Re-explanation of blanket principle

Individual Interviews

- With child participant, Zinzi and myself

Break

- Lunch

Activity three: Photovoice

- Explanation of underlying issues concerning use of camera, power and ethics of photographing others
- Demonstration of basic photography skills
- Practice opportunity
- Distribution of cameras

Game

- Children select favourite game

Closing

- Resilience building exercise

Appendix C - Third Meeting: What's New in Your Life?

Welcome

- Re-explanation of how translation will work
- Explanation of procedure for today
- Re-explanation of confidentiality

Games

- *Fun* musical chairs
- Blindfolded guiding game of *trust* (as selected by children)

Activity one: "What's new?"

Examples of questions asked:

- Are you still living in the same house or have you moved?
- Is there anyone new living with you?
- Have you lost anyone who was important to you?

Re-explanation of blanket principle

Individual Interviews

- With child participant, Letshego and myself

Play: A day in the life of a child in Alice

- Put together by group

Break

- Lunch

Activity two: **Who is my hero?**

- Construction of play-dough model

Activity three: Who do I want to be when I grow up?

Play production: A day in the life of a child in Alice

Game

- Children select favourite game

Closing

- Resilience building exercise

Appendix D – Ethics Clearance Letter

RHODES UNIVERSITY
Where leaders learn

Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee, Rhodes University, P O Box 94, Grahamstown, 6140
Tel: +27 46 603 7366 • Fax: +27 46 603 8934 • email: M.Goebel@ru.ac.za

15 November 2012

Dear Ms Lotter,

Ethics Clearance: 2012Q4-3

This letter confirms that the research proposal with tracking numbers 2012Q4-3 "A narrative, child-participatory study of domestic mobility within South African grandmother-headed households in the Eastern Cape, South Africa" was given ethics clearance by the Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee.

Please consider that the photographs that will be taken by the participants might potentially invade the privacy of subjects who have not given their consent to participate, if these photographs are later displayed or circulated in other contexts.

Please ensure that the ethical standards committee is notified should any substantive change(s) be made, for whatever reason, during the research process. This includes changes in investigators. Please also ensure that a brief report is submitted to the ethics committee on completion of the research. The purpose of this report is to indicate whether or not the research was conducted successfully, if any aspects could not be completed, or if any problems arose that the ethical standards committee should be aware of. If a thesis or dissertation arising from this research is submitted to the library's electronic theses and dissertations (ETD) repository, please notify the committee of the date of submission and/or any reference or cataloguing number allocated.

Yours sincerely

Professor M. Göbel: Chairperson RUESC.

Note:

1. This clearance is valid from the date on this letter to the time of completion of data collection.
2. The ethics committee cannot grant retrospective ethics clearance.
3. Progress reports should be submitted annually unless otherwise specified in the clearance letter.