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GENDERED EXPERIENCES OF 12- TO 14-YEAR-OLD AFRICAN MALE LEARNERS LIVING IN CHILD- AND YOUTH-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS IN SOWETO

by

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ABSTRACT

In the context of poverty, political turmoil and HIV/AIDS, it has become more difficult for parents to take care of their children accordingly. This problem is especially pronounced in Africa and contributes to the formation of child- and youth-headed households (CYHHs). The emergence of such households places children and youth at risk of vulnerability to exploitation, poverty and lack of access to education and resources. This means that these children and youth need to fend and provide for themselves. Given the dominant position of boys in African cultures, they may be in a better position to take care of and provide for their families. Therefore, the aim of this study is to describe and understand the gendered experiences of 12- to 14-year-old African male learners living in CYHHs and, based on this, to suggest possible support interventions to assist them.

A qualitative multiple case study design was used, where seven male learners from the Soweto area participated in the data collection process. These learners were identified through a non-profit organisation (NPO) in the Soweto area. The data collection process included the use of individual interviews, collages, and essays. These were analysed using qualitative content analysis methods, as stipulated by Zhang and Wildemuth (2009). The study is explorative in nature and, given the issues of gender being addressed, a social constructionist paradigm was used. The theoretical framework included the works of two prominent theorists in the field of developmental psychology – Erikson (1963, 1968) and Nsamenang (1992, 2005, 2006). Erikson provides valuable insights into the psychosocial experiences of adolescents, whereas Nsamenang explains the relevance of development in an African context. Their ideas were used to understand the findings in relation to the development of the participants.

The data analysis process revealed five dominant themes that emerged. First, the cultural practices and gender roles of boys appeared as an important aspect in the lives of the participants. There are certain expectations that they are required to fulfil as young males. Circumcision also proved to be an important cultural expectation. In addition, despite their gender, they were still required to fulfil duties around their homes in the form of household chores. Second, it was also revealed that identification with an older male figure was important for the participants, as boys.
Third, education was viewed as being an important aspect in the boys’ ability to succeed and progress in life. Fourth, it was also revealed that the participants were constantly exposed to violence and aggression in their communities. Fifth, family and friends form an important support system for these boys.

Based on the findings, it was observed that the theme of identification with an older male figure contributed to the positive development of the participants and was related to the other themes. The participants’ connection to their culture and educational aspirations was strengthened by this significant figure. Despite being exposed to violence and aggression, the boys displayed no intention to engage in such activities because they were taught not to by the older male figure. The NPO that assisted the learners also contributed positively to the development of the boys. Therefore, it is recommended that more NPOs that provide such support and positive role models for boys be established in relevant communities. It would also prove beneficial to educate communities about these vulnerable households and to empower these families. Finally, the educational aspirations of the boys must also be nurtured.
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Lastly, to my family, I would like to thank you for the role you have played in getting me to this point and for always supporting and believing in me. I hope that I can always make you proud and give to you what you have given me.
DECLARATION

I, Linda Hage, declare that the work presented in this minor dissertation is my own, unless otherwise indicated, and that it has not been submitted elsewhere (see Appendix E, p. 110). Acknowledgement and referencing of all sources consulted during the research has been made.

Miss Linda Hage
1.1 BACKGROUND AND ORIENTATION OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

Challenges pertaining to political turmoil, economic constraints, health and death often contribute to parents being unable to take care of their children, particularly in Africa (van Breda, 2010). This means that alternative living arrangements may have to be made as a way of coping with these difficulties, making child- and youth-headed households (CYHHs) more prevalent. A child-headed household (CHH) can be defined as a family living together headed by a child, usually under the age of 18 years (Mturi, 2012; van Breda, 2010). Statistics South Africa (2012) identifies CHHs as households consisting of individuals 18 years of age or younger and youth-headed households (YHHs) as those comprising of individuals between the ages of 15 and 24 years old. Therefore, the scope of the study will focus on both child- and youth-headed households to ensure inclusivity.

The absence of an adult in such households means that a child (usually the oldest) will have to assume responsibility for providing for the younger siblings (Human & van Rensburg, 2011). Children in CYHHs are considered the most vulnerable type of orphans (van Breda, 2010). While CYHHs may emerge for different reasons, the main contextual issues that affect these households are HIV/AIDS and poverty (van Breda, 2010).

The prevalence of HIV/AIDS, especially in South Africa, has increased the death rate among adults (Francis-Chizororo, 2010; Human & van Rensburg 2011; Pillay, 2012). It is currently estimated that 6.4 million people are living with HIV/AIDS, a significant increase from 2008 (HSRC, 2013). However, only approximately 2 million people have access to and are using antiretroviral (ARV) treatment. As a result, it has been predicted that by 2015 there will be more than five million orphans (Ramsden, as cited in Pillay, 2012; van Breda, 2010). In Malawi, Tanzania and South Africa, it is unlikely that government initiatives can provide sufficient aid to decrease the HIV/AIDS phenomenon within the next few years (Hosegood, Floyd, Marston, Hill, McGrath, Isingo,…Zaba, 2007). This has contributed significantly to the incidence of CYHHs as many children have lost one or both parents to the disease. Poverty has
also increased the prevalence of CYHHs as parents have had to leave their children and their homes to find work (Human & van Rensburg, 2011; van Breda 2010).

The development of children in such households raises concerns in terms of coping in the absence of parental guidance and socialisation (Francis-Chizororo, 2010). In South Africa and Swaziland, children in CYHHs often have to leave school as they cannot cope with the stigmatisation, as well as their financial and other adult responsibilities (Maqoko & Dreyer, 2007; Pillay & Nesengani, 2006; Poulsen, 2006; UNICEF, 2003a). Consequently, these children experience fear, isolation, abuse, increased risk of HIV, malnutrition, illnesses, and loss of inheritance (UNICEF, 2003a).

In African culture, it is not uncommon for children to look after one another (Nsamenang, 1992). However, children in CYHHs have to assume adult responsibilities that may be developmentally inappropriate (Evans, 2011), leading to compromised academic performance, risky sexual behaviours, limited peer relations, depression, and anxiety (Burton, 2007; Wenar & Kerig, 2005). It has been found that girls may exchange sexual favours for money and goods to support their families (Dalen et al., 2009; Pillay, 2012; van Breda, 2010). This poses a threat to the family in terms of vulnerability, abuse, unwanted pregnancies and contraction of disease. Such behaviours also lead to further stigmatisation and isolation from the community asimpurity may be disgraceful to the family (Francis-Chizororo, 2010).

Since males are considered the breadwinners in African cultures, promiscuous behaviour on the part of the girls to provide for the family may lead to feelings of shame and guilt. Furthermore, boys in CYHHs may have to assume responsibilities usually associated with females, which may come into conflict with the African notion of masculinity. The effects of the acquisition of such responsibilities may become more pronounced as the boys reach puberty, around the ages of 12 to 14 years old. Research has also shown that these children display low self-esteem (Korevaar, 2009; Pillay & Nesengani, 2006) and this type of conflict may exacerbate this. It is unusual for boys to be carers, but in such circumstances their gender becomes unimportant and they are forced to adopt such roles (Robson, 2004). Therefore, they may be in need of more support.
These experiences pertaining to role changes may be especially significant to adolescent boys (12–14 years old) because according to Erikson’s (1963) psychosocial theory, they are in the process of defining their roles and forming their identities. This is already a conflict-ridden phase and adolescents must adjust to physical, social and emotional changes. African cultures partially align with Erikson’s (1963) view; however, development in the African context is regarded as the attainment of the cognitive, social, emotional and physical competencies required to participate in family and society (Nsamenang, 2005). In many African cultures, manhood is associated with dominance, responsibility, aggression, leadership, and decision-making (Ampofo & Boateng, 2011; Francis-Chizororo, 2010; Ratele, 2011), and boys entering puberty aim to achieve these ideals.

Ample information is available about the vulnerability, experiences and needs of girls in CYHHs (Dalen, Nakitende, & Musisi, 2009; Korevaar, 2009; Poulsen, 2006). However, it is important to consider the experiences of boys because they may be in a better position to care and provide for their siblings. Boys in African cultures have more inheritance rights, and studies in Tanzania, Uganda, and Zimbabwe reveal that this may contribute to an increase in boys heading households in the future (Dalen et al., 2009; Evans, 2011; Francis-Chizororo, 2010). Furthermore, it has been found that certain children heading families show resilience even in such adverse conditions (Lethale, 2008; Pillay & Nesengani, 2006; van Breda, 2010). Therefore, it would prove beneficial to understand the experiences and needs of boys in CYHHs to explore possible support interventions for them and ways in which to equip them with the skills necessary to take care of their families effectively.

Previous research in South Africa (e.g. Mkhize, 2006; van Breda, 2010) has explored social functioning and role adjustments in CYHHs. However, there has not been a study that explores the gendered experiences of boys in terms of their roles in the home and their specific challenges in CYHHs. Therefore, the main research question is: What are the gendered experiences of 12- to 14-year-old African male learners living in child- and youth-headed households? A secondary research question is: what recommendations could be provided based on an understanding of the experiences of boys in CYHHs?
1.2 AIMS OF THE INQUIRY

The main aims of this study were the following:

- To explore and describe the gendered experiences of 12- to 14-year-old African male learners living in CYHHs; and
- Based on the findings to make recommendations in terms of possible intervention strategies built on the understanding of what their experiences are.

1.3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study adopts a qualitative approach because of the nature of the research question. Qualitative enquiry allows for in-depth analysis of the data and importance will be given to the life worlds of the participants (Joubish, Khurram, Ahmed, Fatima, & Haider, 2011). Furthermore, a social constructionist paradigm is used because of the gender issues highlighted. This paradigm is appropriate because it focuses on the construction of experiences and social meaning (Terre Blanche, Kelly, & Durrheim, 2006a). In the context of this study, it is valuable to consider how the participants view and articulate their experiences, thus giving their voices importance. It is also vital to consider social meanings and how the construction of experiences operates in the social context because of the influence of the social sphere on development (Nsamenang, 1992; 2006).

1.3.1 A Multiple Case Study Design

A multiple case study design is used, as qualitative research is case-orientated (Schreier, 2012). Case studies are in-depth investigations or explorations of individuals’ lives (Lindegger, 2006). Therefore, each participant was treated as an individual case to gain deeper insight into their experiences as a male in a CYHH. This will be further explained in Chapter three.

A multiple case study design was chosen because this allowed for the thorough investigation of the experiences of boys living in CYHHS. This provided sufficient data for analysis and interpretation. Because there were multiple cases, it was also possible to compare the experiences of the boys. This process entailed collaboration
between the participants and myself, the researcher, to generate and attribute meaning to experiences.

1.3.2 Sampling

Purposive sampling methods were used to ensure that the sample was representative of the phenomenon. This method also ensures that the appropriate data for the research is collected (Durrheim, 2006). The participants were accessed through a non-profit organisation (NPO) operating in the Soweto area. This NPO has a relationship with schools in the area as it provides the vulnerable children in the area with food and social services. The aim of the project is to alleviate delinquency among vulnerable children. Funding is provided by the government and social workers are available to assist the children. Furthermore, the organisation provides home-based care to the elderly.

The sample was comprised of seven 12- to 14-year-old African boys living in CYHHs who were attending schools in Soweto. Because of the language barrier, it was required that the participants be conversant in English. The social workers at the NPO assisted in identifying the learners and also provided space and resources, where needed, to assist in the process. A colleague was also part of the process as she could converse in both isiZulu and Sotho and was born in the area. This was also beneficial in terms of the cultural and language differences that existed between me and the participants. These differences will be further explained under personal reflexivity in this chapter and in Chapter Two.

1.3.3 Data Collection Methods

Qualitative data collection methods were used to gather data that described the experiences of boys living in CYHHs.

The following methods were used to collect the data:

- **Semi-structured individual interviews** were conducted with seven 12- to 14-year-old boys. Semi-structured interviews allowed for flexibility and probing questions could be asked if further elaboration was needed. The focus of these questions will be discussed in detail in
Chapter Two. These interviews assisted in building rapport with the participants. Furthermore, importance could be given to each boy’s experience through these individual interviews.

- **Essays** were also used with four of the seven boys who participated in the study. It was initially proposed that a focus group interview be conducted, but because of challenges pertaining to the logistics this was not possible. The learners were asked to write a short essay about their experiences as boys living in households without parents. Narrative techniques were then used to draw themes.

- The participants were also asked to compile **collages** depicting their experiences. The purpose of this was to provide the boys with an alternative way to express themselves. This method also addressed the language barrier to a certain extent. The collages also assisted in the exploration of the participants’ individual and unique narratives.

### 1.3.4 Data Analysis Methods

The interviews were recorded and transcribed. Qualitative content analysis was used to analyse the data collected during the interviews and through the collages and essays (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Content analysis considers each case in its entirety, which is appropriate for this study (Schreier, 2012). The data was organised in terms of experiences related to gender for boys living in CYHHs. The process of data analysis will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.

### 1.3.5 Trustworthiness

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest four criteria to evaluate the trustworthiness of interpretive research: transferability, credibility, dependability, and confirmability. These criteria will be further elaborated on in Chapter Three. In addition, the trustworthiness of the study was further enhanced through triangulation, which entails the use of multiple methods of collecting data (Kelly, 2006a).
1.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Erikson’s (1963) psychosocial theory is one of the theoretical frameworks that underpins this study. Nsamenang’s (1992; 2005) ideas about human development are integrated and also used as part of the theoretical framework. Erikson’s (1963) theory is applied to the developmental age of the participants (adolescence). The theory provides a comprehensive understanding of this stage of development and the conflicts that arise during this time.

Erikson (1963) posits that there are eight life stages that occur across an individual’s lifespan and during each stage there is a conflict that must be resolved. For the purposes of this research, the developmental stage of identity versus role confusion will be focused on, because the age of the participants corresponds with this. During this stage adolescents undergo rapid bodily changes and genital maturity (Erikson, 1963). As such, adolescents must face these physical changes and the adult tasks that they are expected to start undertaking. This is particularly relevant to those in CYHHs because their responsibilities are far greater than those of others their age. The main crisis during this stage is forging an identity versus confusion over the roles that one must play. This may be particularly difficult for adolescents in CYHHs as they must take on developmentally inappropriate roles and the development of their identities may be compromised. Furthermore, in certain African cultures, the coming of age of a male is a significant milestone. Rituals may be performed and sometimes boys may have to undergo a sort of initiation. The roles and position of males in African cultures becomes important as they transition into manhood.

Nsamenang’s (1992; 2005) ideas are used to integrate an African perspective into the view of the development of the participants. An understanding of the development of the participants is essential because this affects their perceptions and daily experiences. Considering the collective nature of African cultures, Nsamenang’s (1992) bioecological theory of human development is important to understand, as it clarifies the context of development of the participants. This theory posits that development is influenced by genetic predispositions and cultural influences. These factors interact with one another and affect how individuals flourish in their environments. For children in CYHHs these influences may affect resilience
and adaptability. In many cultures masculinity represents dominance, strength, and emotional detachment (Dudgeon & Inhorn, 2009). Men are also traditionally perceived as the providers. Therefore, any sign of weakness may be frowned upon. This means that boys in CYHHs may show greater resilience and adaptability because they are expected to be strong. In addition, the dominant social position of boys in African societies can assist them to provide for their families better.

1.5 ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS

Ethical considerations are what make a research study sound (Lindegger, 2006). The well-being of the participants was always the main priority throughout the process. Informed consent (Appendix A2, p. 93) was obtained from parties involved in the participants’ lives. Consent forms were sent to caregivers, but they were never returned, and therefore consent was provided by the NPO. Furthermore, assent was obtained from the learners and the process was explained to them. It was highlighted that their anonymity would be maintained at all times and that they could withdraw from the research at any time. Pseudonyms were used throughout the study and recorded material was treated with the utmost confidentiality. This will be elaborated on in Chapter Two. The nature of the study was explained and feedback about the research was also provided to the participants.

1.6 ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

Reflexivity forms an important aspect of the researcher’s role in the research process. Personal and epistemological reflexivity will be addressed.

1.6.1 Personal Reflexivity

Reflexivity is important in terms of qualitative research and should be acknowledged adequately as this adds credibility to the research (Jootun, McGhee, & Marland, 2009). Broadly defined, reflexivity refers to the influence of the researcher on the findings of the research (Jootun et al., 2009). As part of the reflexive process, I acknowledge the role I played in the construction of the social worlds of the participants and how my own values and perspectives may have influenced the
findings. This is addressed in Chapter Five, where I bring in my own voice, as the researcher, to interpret the findings. Reflexivity in this particular research study was important because of the differences between me and the participants in terms of ethnicity and gender. Reflexivity assists in keeping the researcher aware of any potential biases which may exist (McCabe & Holmes, 2009).

From the onset of the research, I had always been cognisant of the fact that I am a white female from a middle class background and that the participants are African males. The difficulties that this discrepancy may have caused have been acknowledged from the beginning. However, it was decided to continue with the research because I felt that a female reporting on the experiences of males may add an interesting dynamic to the interpretation and that something valuable could be learned from this interaction. It is not a given that simply because my demographics are different to those of the participants that meaningful data cannot be collected. In fact, my interaction with the participants proves researchers need not always conduct research only in contexts that they are familiar with.

I am a 25-year-old female who comes from Lebanese heritage. Although I was born in South Africa, my parents grew up in Lebanon and moved to South Africa to escape the political turmoil. As a consequence, I was raised in a very traditional Lebanese family and collectivist culture. My paradigm is therefore non-Western and this means that I can relate somewhat to the culture of the participants. Growing up in South Africa has exposed me to many different cultures, religions and ethnicities. From a young age I learnt how to interact effectively with my peers, who have all been different to me. Coming from a minority background has made me sensitive to diversity and the value it has.

My cultural heritage also resonates with the patriarchal nature of African cultures. I am aware of how gender is constructed and perceived in such cultures. Although others may see vast discrepancies between me and the participants, there are actually a few commonalities. We come from collectivist cultures where certain aspects and beliefs overlap. For instance, men are perceived to be providers and are expected to fulfil their duties in this regard when they are older. Another similarity is the emphasis on family and community over individuality. I also do not speak English
as a first language. However, the differences that do exist in terms of ethnicity, gender and socioeconomic background contribute to an interesting perspective. It is noted that because of my demographics, the same results may not be achieved by other researchers.

1.6.2 Epistemological Reflexivity

Epistemological reflexivity entails a consideration of assumptions and possible biased perspectives throughout the process of research regarding the world and knowledge (Willig, 2008). It is important to consider the implications of these assumptions as they have an impact on the research and findings. This is particularly important for this research study as there were many perceived differences between me and the participants in terms of ethnicity, gender, culture and background. As much as these differences may have been a limitation they were also a strength, because an alternative perspective was generated regarding the topic. My interpretation of the findings may differ from that of another researcher because of my demographics. Had these differences not been present, the findings may have been different and this says something about how people interact and respond to those they perceive to have nothing in common with. It is also important to consider the similarities that I shared with the participants.

As a researcher undertaking a scientific research process, I was not encouraged to undertake this type of enquiry because of the potential limitations. This may have created doubt in me as I was initially told that I may not be able to collect valuable data and that male African learners would not respond favourably to a white female. However, the learners were polite and compliant with what was required of them. They participated willingly and tried to answer all the questions posed to them. I anticipated that these boys would not cooperate and this expectation may have influenced how I interacted with them, because at times I may not have probed further because of my assumption that I would not gather much information. Initially, I was hesitant and very wary of how I approached the participants, but as the boys opened up it became more comfortable for both parties. There were certain topics, like circumcision, that the boys did not want to discuss in great detail but I still managed to collect significant data.
I also expected that predominantly negative experiences would emerge and that the participants would not be coping and adjusting well to their circumstances. I went in with the perception that these boys would be more negative about their lives, but at the end of the process a completely different picture emerged. This was thought-provoking for me and it made me view my own world differently. I am fortunate in that I come from a privileged background and have access to resources, but at the participants’ age I did not have such determination and a clear picture of what my ambitions were.

Before starting this process and interacting with the boys, I was under the impression that African boys who were still in touch with their cultures and lived in impoverished communities were aggressive, violent and treated women badly. This was an idea conveyed to me not only through media but also by African females I had interacted with. However, after spending time with the boys that perception has changed and I was impressed with how mature and adamant they are to better themselves.

It was also inspiring for me to have worked with these boys and the NPO that assists them because it was highlighted to me how important that relationship is. It comes back to the fundamental human need to feel cared about, which is exactly what the social workers at the NPO provide these children with. The African notion of Ubuntu and the belief that no child is abandoned also stood out from this relationship. More organisations that provide positive role models and support, like this one, need to be established to address the needs of vulnerable children.

1.7 CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

The following concepts are important in the study. Therefore, these are clarified to contribute to a better understanding of the key terms used in this study.

1.7.1 Gendered Experiences

Gender refers to the socially constructed variances that exist between men and women (World Bank, 2013). These variances are not stable across different contexts because they are constructed through culture and in different settings (World Health
Therefore, gendered experiences would refer to occurrences and encounters that are relevant to a particular gender; in this instance, they would refer particularly to males.

1.7.2 African Learners

The term ‘African’ is broad in that it encompasses a variety of cultures or sub-groups that originate in the African continent (Nsamenang, 1992). Africa is home to various cultures and sub-cultures and even in a single African country, like South Africa, various languages and cultures are present. Therefore, an African learner in this study refers to a child of African origin, currently attending school.

1.7.3 Child- and Youth-Headed Households

Studies in this field have generally focused on either CHHs or YHHs, but, as explained above, this study will be inclusive of both. CYHHs refer to households that consist of children and youth up to 24 years of age (Phillips, 2011; South African Government, 2005a; Statistics South Africa, 2012). These households are unique in that they function without the presence of an adult as a carer and this role is assumed by one of the children or youth (Human & van Rensburg, 2011). Furthermore, the members of such households may not necessarily be siblings or even related.

1.8 DEMARCATION OF THE STUDY

This study consists of the following chapters:

Chapter One serves as an introduction to orientate the reader in terms of the background and context of the study. The objectives, research design, methods of data collection and analysis are also briefly outlined in this chapter. Ethical issues and the role of the researcher are also discussed.

Chapter Two entails a comprehensive discussion of the theoretical framework that underpins the research. Important key terms and terminology are clarified. Literature
regarding the topic is also reviewed to create a better understanding of the context of the inquiry, both nationally and internationally.

**Chapter Three** discusses the methodology and research design of the study. Specifically, the methods of data collection, interpretation and analysis are elaborated on in further detail.

**Chapter Four** reports on the main findings which emerge from the data collection process. The findings are contextualised through the voices of the participants by means of quotations from the interviews, discussions and essays.

**Chapter Five** comprises a discussion and analysis of the content that emerged from the findings. These are interpreted through the theoretical framework and the critical voice of the researcher. Literature is also used to contextualise the findings.

**Chapter Six** provides a summary of the key findings. The limitations of the study are also reflected on. Conclusions and further recommendations are also made for further research.

### 1.9 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an overview of the orientation and background of the research study. The aims and objectives of the study were mentioned. The research design and methodology were also briefly outlined. Furthermore, the role of the researcher and the impact that this may have had on the findings was also discussed. A demarcation of the chapters of this study was also provided to clarify how the inquiry is structured and conceptualised.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION
The aim of the literature review is to discuss and clarify concepts that are important to the study and play a key role in understanding the research question. The main concepts that constitute the backbone of the research question are gender and CYHHs. The purpose of the research question is to explore the gendered experiences of boys in CYHHs; therefore relevant terms and concepts need to be defined to understand the context of the problem. Gender in the African context and its role in familial and societal settings is explored in an attempt to generate a better understanding of the situation of boys who reside in CYHHs.

The literature review begins clarification and discussion in the broadest sense and narrows its focus on specific key terms and theories that are relevant to the study. An understanding of CYHHs, what causes them and their challenges provide the context of the problem. Gender, with relevance to Africa, is then discussed to contextualise the focus of the study. The social constructions and expectations of masculinity clarify how the roles of boys and men are important in the African context with reference to CYHHs. Erikson’s (1963; 1968) psychosocial theory is used to understand the development of adolescents, and this is integrated with the works of Nsamenang (1992; 2005; 2006) to make it relevant to adolescents in Africa.

2.2 CHILD- AND YOUTH-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS

2.2.1 Definition of Child- and Youth-Headed Households
Research in this field has generally either focused on child-headed households (CHH) or youth-headed households (YHH) only, although research pertaining to the latter is scarce. The scope of this study is inclusive of both CHHs and YHHs as there is some degree of overlap between the two. Various definitions for CHHs have emerged; however they can generally be identified as households that are headed by a child (Phillips, 2011). In South Africa, a child is regarded as any person under the age of 18 years (South African Government, 2005a). However, Statistics South Africa (2012) identifies youth according to two age categories: 15–24 years old and 25–35 years. Youths (15–24 years old) heading households are regarded as being
vulnerable. Therefore, child- and youth-headed households to some extent can be regarded as representative of the same phenomena. Furthermore, many African studies (e.g., Boris, Thurman, Snider, Spencer, & Brown, 2006; Ciganda, Gagnon, & Tenkorang, 2012; Evans, 2012; Lee, 2012; Ruiz-Casares, 2009) have focused on YHH (15–24 years old), as the majority of such vulnerable households fell into this group.

A CYHH can be conceptualised as a modification in the construction and configuration of the family structure (Human & van Rensburg, 2011). Generally, these types of households are defined by the absence of an adult as carer and provider and the assumption of such a role is taken on by one of the children or youths. The assumption of the caregiving role means that it is the responsibility of this child or youth to provide the other children with their basic needs (Pretorius, Jacobs, & van Reenen, 2013). This means that the child or youth head will often have to fulfil roles related to parenting that exceed household tasks, such as assistance with homework, emotional support and spiritual support (Human & van Rensburg, 2011). More often than not, it is the oldest who will assume the role of carer and child-head (Evans, 2011; Francis-Chizororo, 2010).

It is popularly believed that children who live together in CYHHs are siblings of the same parents (Human & van Rensburg, 2011). This is not always the case, as members of such households may be friends, cousins, or incapacitated adults. It is important to recognise that various forms of CYHHS exist and that their needs may differ. However, an important characteristic is that the rights of the children in these households are compromised. The draft Children’s Amendment Bill (South African Government, 2005, Section 137.1) offers a formal classification of CHHs – not inclusive of YHH. In the document it is stated that a provincial head of social development may recognise a household as a child-headed household if:

(a) the parent, guardian or care-giver of the household is terminally ill, has died or has abandoned the children in the household;
(b) no adult family member is available to provide care for the children in the household;
(c) a child over the age of 16 has assumed the role of care-giver in respect of the children in the household; and
(d) it is in the best interest of the children in the household.

This offers a broad understanding of CHHs to include not only orphans but also children who have been abandoned or whose parents are too ill to take care of the family (van Breda, 2010). However, this definition is problematic, as it requires that the head of the household be over the age of 16 years. Given that a child is recognised as anyone under the age of 18 years, the majority of CHHs will not be recognised as such and this compromises their access to aid. This will be discussed in further detail in section 3.2.4.

Although the prevalence of CYHHs in Africa is high, similar issues regarding children as carers have been documented around the world, including in countries like Australia, the United States of America (USA), and the United Kingdom (UK) (Becker, 2007). Becker (2000, p. 378) offers a definition of young carers worth noting, as it is accepted throughout these developed countries:

Young carers can be defined as children and young persons under 18 who provide or intend to provide care, assistance or support to another family member. They carry out, often on a regular basis, significant or substantial caring tasks and assume a level of responsibility that would usually be associated with an adult. The person receiving care is often a parent but can be a sibling, grandparent or other relative who is disabled, has some chronic illness, mental health problem or other condition connected with a need for care, support or supervision.

### 2.2.2 The Causes of Child- and Youth-Headed Households

Many parents in Africa are incapable of taking care of their children because of illness, political turmoil, death and poverty (Human & van Rensburg, 2011; van Breda, 2010). This has fuelled the need for alternative living arrangements and, in many cases, CYHHs have emerged to address such challenges. The development of CYHHs ensures that the siblings or family members remain together under one roof (Mturi, 2012). Traditionally, the extended family system would have accommodated vulnerable children, but because of poverty and other extenuating circumstances this has become less likely to occur (Monasch & Boerma, 2004).
There are many reasons that contribute to the formation and development of CYHHs; however the primary cause can be attributed to the death or illness of one or both parents (Mturi, 2012). The AIDS pandemic has contributed significantly to the death rate among adults and this has left many children orphaned and vulnerable in Africa and other parts of the world, like India (Francis-Chizororo, 2010; India HIV/AIDS Alliance & Tata Institute of Social Science, 2006; Pillay, 2012). It is estimated that there will be 5.7 million orphaned children in South Africa by 2014 (Frolich, as cited in van Breda, 2010). In 2015, approximately 1 680 000 children will have lost their mothers to HIV/AIDS (Nielson, as cited in Maqoko & Dreyer, 2007). It is clear that HIV/AIDS has a profound effect on social and economic development.

Another contributing factor to the establishment of CYHHs is poverty (Mturi, 2012; van Breda, 2010). The impact of HIV/AIDS goes beyond individual illness and infection (van Breda, 2010). Many affected families suffer subsequent impoverishment because of medical bills and other issues like stigmatisation, which deprive the family of work and income. Furthermore, economic constraints have forced many parents to leave their children and look for employment away from home (Mturi, 2012). This labour migration means that children will have to take care of themselves. In such cases, these CYHHs may be in a better position as they may receive some form of financial support from their working parents.

2.2.3 Challenges and General Experiences of Child- and Youth-Headed Households

Despite statistics which show that CHHs largely consist of boys (Stats SA, 2012), few studies have focused on male children in CYHHs and their unique experiences. This may be attributed to the focus on girls’ experiences because of their vulnerable position. Nevertheless, the challenges and adversities that CYHHs face are vast and many and affect both girls and boys. Parental care and supervision is necessary for provision of education, affection, material and self-actualisation needs (Pillay & Nesengani, 2006). Van Breda (2010) conducted an extensive literature review and identified 12 key themes across various texts pertaining to the challenges and psychosocial concerns of CYHHs. These include education and schooling, role adjustments, social and emotional distress, sexual exploitation, economic survival, nutritional needs, social security, childhood resilience, community responses, the
capacity of the extended family to care and migration of children after being orphaned.

Arguably one of the most challenging transitions for children in CYHHs is having to adjust their roles accordingly following the death or absence of their parent/s. This is usually accompanied by a sense of loss of one’s childhood together with feelings of deprivation, abandonment, responsibility and helplessness, among other things (van Breda, 2010). The child heads also feel an added burden of having to provide in the face of economic hardship and make suitable decisions for the families (Masondo, 2006; Mkhize, 2006; Pillay, 2012). Poulsen’s (2006) study showed that in South Africa and Swaziland, girls are forced to assume the responsibility of caring, while boys take on the responsibility for earning an income. Furthermore, adult behaviours in children threaten well-being as they are forced to mature before their time and their development is affected (Becker, 2007; Burton, 2007). Significant restrictions on their development include educational attainment, opportunities and participation in their communities and society (Becker, 2007). In addition, they are offered limited guidance in performing their duties.

Economic hardship contributes significantly to the adultification of children (Burton, 2007; Maqoko & Dreyer, 2007) and this is even more pronounced in CYHHs. The role adjustments, mentioned above, redefine childhood from a carefree, joyful stage to a time where the emphasis is placed on resources and the provision of these, which also affects the development of children (Robson, 2004). Evans (2011) found that in Tanzania more boys and girls were participating in income-generating activities. It was also established that 37.5% of girls and 55% of boys were engaging in casual work to contribute to the cost of schooling (Bendera, as cited in Evans, 2011). These figures indicate the vulnerability of boys, especially, to the world of work.

Donald and Clacherty (2005) found that CYHHs survived on approximately a third of the resources used by similar households headed by adults. In addition to this, these children may be exposed to economic exploitation as some have reported being chased out of their homes by relatives who claim to rightfully own the property (Maqoko & Dreyer, 2007; Rosa & Lenhert, 2003). Research findings from Uganda and The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) suggest that CYHHs do experience
diminished levels of food security compared to the general population (Dalen et al., 2009; Roger, Fabrice, & Aminata, 2006).

Children in CYHHs generate income through washing clothes and cars, running taxis, hair-braiding, fetching water and firewood, and selling loose cigarettes (Dalen et al., 2009; Donald & Clacherty, 2005). Household work was also found to be common and in some cases rent from a room in the house was also used to help the family survive. In Tanzania, it has been reported that boys have had to assume domestic worker positions to earn a livelihood and have subsequently been harassed and exploited for this (Evans, 2010). Many child and youth heads have also reported that they received money or food from relatives and neighbours at times (Dalen et al., 2009).

These added responsibilities and stressors contribute significantly to emotional distress among these children (Leatham, 2006). Emotional and psychological trauma and social distress are usually associated with orphanhood (van Breda, 2010). A Ugandan study revealed that orphaned children displayed higher levels of anxiety and depression as shown by the Beck Youth Inventories (Atwine, Cantor-Graae, & Bajunirwe, 2005). These researchers recommended that more than just material support should be provided to these children: psychological and counselling support was also needed. It has also been found that a significant number of these children have not come to terms with their loss and grief (Donald & Clacherty, 2005). Van Breda’s (2010) analysis found that grief, depression, anger, anxiety, fear regarding the future, vulnerability, stigma and social exclusion were common among children in CYHHs. Germann (2006) warns that the constant traumatic stress that affects these children not only threatens development on a personal level, but it must also be taken into account that these children will become adults one day and be expected to assume leadership, productive and parenting roles. In addition, UNICEF (2003b) states that AIDS orphans are more likely to endure damage to their emotional and cognitive development, be subjected to harmful forms of child labour and have less access to education.

Education and schooling have an important role to play in offsetting the adverse effects of orphanhood and CYHHs. However, education is one of the important dimensions of a child’s life that is at risk because of HIV/AIDS and CYHHs
Findings from South Africa and Zambia show that when a parent has died or is dying of HIV/AIDS, the social stigma attached to the disease acts as a threat to the education of the child(ren) (Masondo, 2006; Robson & Kanyanta, 2007) and some have reported being harassed and bullied (Dalen et al., 2009; Robson & Kanyanta, 2007). It is also common for child heads to drop out of school to care for their siblings (Masondo, 2006). In Tanzania, Uganda and South Africa it has been found that the costs of schooling can also be a burden to children in CYHHs, making it more economical to drop out and work instead (Evans, 2011; Pillay & Nesengani, 2006). For boys in particular, opportunities to earn a livelihood are strong pressures that deter them from school and may lead them into criminal activities (Poulsen 2006). This is of particular concern on a societal level.

Pillay and Nesengani (2006) found that many of these children, in South Africa, go to school without their basic needs being met. It has also been reported that these children face various forms of degradation, owing to financial distress, by being made to stand outside of classrooms and not being allowed to progress to the next grade (Donald & Clacherty, 2005; Pillay, 2012). Not surprisingly, children facing such difficulties often underperform in their schoolwork. Leatham (2006) and Pillay (2012) found that children relied on their teachers for support, thus emphasising the importance of educational institutions. This is significant because Poulsen (2006) found that in Swaziland boys tend to be less interested in school and would prefer to drop out to work part time.

Children in CYHHs are also more vulnerable to other forms of abuse and exploitation (Maqoko & Dreyer, 2007). Research in South Africa indicates that sexual abuse is more prevalent among children whose primary caregiver is absent or dead and those who are living without one or both biological parents (Mullen & Flemming, as cited in Mabala, 2006). Children in CYHHs are exposed to sexual exploitation when sex is exchanged for food or other resources (van Breda, 2010). Pillay (2012) found that some of the female participants in his study resorted to prostitution to provide for their families. However, this exposes them to the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS, placing the family at greater risk. Generally, it is girls who are more vulnerable to this type of exploitation. UNAIDS (as cited in Mabala, 2006) statistics indicate that 15 to 24-year-old African females were no more sexually active than males, but their risk
of having acquired HIV was two and half times more. Therefore, the roles of males in this sense may become important here, and this is illustrated in Pillay's (2012) study where one of the male participants indicated that he felt responsible for ensuring the safety of his siblings.

2.2.4 Challenges in Providing Aid to Child- and Youth-Headed Households

As has been highlighted, the provision of care for orphans in Africa has become a major problem (Becker, 2007; Maqoko & Dreyer, 2007). Unemployment and poverty have made it impossible for many families and extended families to provide for orphaned family members. Ignorance, prejudice and misinformation about HIV/AIDS contribute to communities being unwilling to care for affected orphans. This may be a result of children being excluded from national and global prevention, advocacy, support or treatment strategies (Richter & Desmond, 2008).

Human and van Rensburg (2011) concede that current governmental intervention strategies and programmes do not sufficiently address the needs of CYHHs in South Africa. Part of the difficulties encountered by these programmes is the limited clarification of the definition of CYHHs, which makes it difficult to classify and successfully identify them. Van Breda (2010) draws attention to the failure of the Children’s Act of 2005 to define a CHH despite the term being mentioned three times in the document. YHHs are not mentioned in this document, which means they are totally excluded and not acknowledged. Although the draft Children’s Amendment Bill (South African Government, 2005b) attempts to define what a CHH is, as illustrated above, it is not inclusive of child heads under the age of 16. As The Children’s Act defines children as persons under the age of 18, it is implied that children and youths who turn 18 are not considered as vulnerable anymore, because they are legally not classified as children.

In addition to this, there is a lack of empirical data, meaning that accurate statistics regarding CYHHs are not available (Human & van Rensburg, 2011) and this makes it difficult to determine the extent of the problem. Furthermore, CYHHs are not considered as a separate entity. Richter and Desmond (2008) contend that knowledge of exactly why, how and which children are vulnerable is important because it demarcates the problems faced by these children and youths and possible solutions to be pursued. Another major challenge is the contradiction
between the stipulations and implementations of policies (Human & van Rensburg, 2011). It was found that processes at a national level were not always in sync with national policies.

A serious challenge faced by these intervention programmes is the variety of challenges and needs regarding location and geographical distribution (Human & van Rensburg, 2011). The inclusivity of the programmes is also problematic, and it was found that they were not integrated. The shortage of human resources also makes it difficult for interventions to be sufficient. Research further indicates that official programmes and recommendations have not appropriately acknowledged the cognitive, physical, psychological and emotional differences of orphaned children and youths (UNAIDS/UNICEF/USAID, 2004). Therefore, many programmes do not address these pertinent issues adequately, which is problematic. This may be attributed to the lack of skills of volunteers and caregivers found in Human and van Rensburg’s (2011) study.

2.2.5 Resilience and Coping Strategies of Child- and Youth-Headed Households

Children and youth in CYHHs face social marginalisation and economic hardships (Lee, 2012). Despite these challenges, however, many studies have shown that these young people can be resilient, show ingenuity and work hard to survive. It has been found that children in CYHHs are not necessarily more vulnerable than children living in other settings (Richter & Desmond, 2008). Richter and Desmond’s (2008) findings indicate that individuals in CYHHs, in South Africa, were less economically vulnerable and also reported less hunger than children living in households with working-age adults. Similarly, Germann (2006) found that the majority of the 105 children involved in his study rated their quality of life within the medium to satisfactory range. Another study found that CYHHs tend to have better living conditions than young members of households with adults (Ciganda et al., 2012). The finding of the same study found that living in a CYHH reduced the risk of having unmet basic needs by 36%. Therefore, the presence of adults does not mean that the children and youth will be taken care of.

These surprising results may be because these households receive support from other sources, such as NGOs and extended families (Ciganda et al., 2012). Also,
when youths and children opt to stay together they are better able to support each other emotionally, maintain connections with each other and their communities and avoid maltreatment by relatives (Evans, 2012; Ruiz-Casares, 2009). These advantages already place them in a better position. Furthermore, youths in Rwanda navigated social networks to survive (Lee, 2012). Social support plays a key role in enabling youths to gain some control in their lives and this helps them to envision their futures. The sibling and teacher support system proved to be important to the participants in Leatham’s study (2005). Maintaining peer relationships is also important, as 92% of the participants in Thurman et al.’s (2006) study indicated they had one close friend at least.

2.3 GENDER IN AN AFRICAN CONTEXT

2.3.1 Defining Gender

According to the World Bank (2013), gender refers to “the socially-constructed differences between men and women” (para. 1). These characteristics, relationships and opportunities are socially constructed and learned through socialisation. Socialisation is a process involving learning of cultural roles pertaining to one’s sex (UNICEF, 2007). The World Bank (2013) further distinguishes gender from sex, which refers to biological differences. Therefore, sex categories will include ‘male’ and ‘female’, while ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ constitute gender categories (World Health Organisation, 2014). Features of sex will not differ significantly across different societies, but dimensions of gender may vary meaningfully.

When considering gender in the African context, it must be taken into account that there are various forms of masculinities in Africa and these are constantly changing (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Silberschmidt, 2001). These versions of masculinity are constructed in social settings and change over time in different settings. Therefore, masculinity is a difficult concept to define because it differs across culture, time, and place (Kahn, Brett, & Holmes, 2011). Ratele (2008) maintains that “masculinity is a set of socially grounded ideas with material effects in that they come to shape how children gradually get to apprehend themselves, others and the world around them” (p. 3). Furthermore, gender roles depend on context and time and they are fluid (UNICEF, 2007).
Academics have noted the reliance of masculine power on rules, norms and traditional ideology (Ratele, 2013). Much of human history is characterised by patriarchy, the dominant position of males in political, social and economic arenas (Iversen & Rosenbluth, 2008). Patriarchy has influenced gender socialisation and the subsequent development of boys and girls, placing emphasis on masculinity. Gender denotes power relations and delineates what is expected and allowed in men and women in a specific context. For centuries, there have been very recognisable gender norms across societies (Iversen & Rosenbluth, 2008). It is believed that patriarchy is still present among African families who are traditional, where males assume authoritative roles and positions (Moletsane, 2004).

### 2.3.2 Gender Socialisation and Roles of Boys in Africa

UNICEF (2007) maintains that gender socialisation is one of the most important issues in early childhood and it affects girls and boys. Stereotypical gender roles are established in early childhood through socialisation. Generally, boys and girls are treated differently from the start. This process is defined by parental and societal expectations of boys and girls and selection of gender-specific toys and activities. Gender socialisation is an integral part of the ethnic, religious and cultural values of a community/society. As a consequence, gender roles prescribe different responsibilities to men and women concerning authority to make decisions, access to resources and economic and social activities (World Bank, 2007).

In most cultures girls and boys are socialised differently according to the perceived roles each gender is meant to fulfil. Nsamenang (1992) found that the majority of African parents in his study were in favour of differentiable gender socialisation. The reasons for this were notions about one sex being weaker than the other, to protect females from exploitation and variances in the rate of biological maturation. Generally, it is expected of girls to be voiceless, submissive, humble, and socially upright, whereas boys are expected to be assertive and are allowed sexual freedom (Francis-Chizororo, 2010). Boys are also taught to display little or no emotion besides anger (Wallace, 2007).

It is perceived that attaining manhood is judged by others, and young men in various social settings often feel that they are being observed to see if they achieve the culturally dominant ideals of masculinity (Barker, as cited in Barker & Ricardo, 2005).
Masculinity is characterised by activities directed outside of the home (Silberschmidt, 2001). Boys are encouraged to engage in activities that assert their power, masculinity and status (Wallace, 2007). While it is acceptable for young girls to be tomboys up to a certain age, African boys cannot engage in behaviours associated with girls, as this is heavily frowned upon and deemed unmasculine (Wallace, 2007). Francis-Chizororo (2010) further explains that although in Shona culture (in Zimbabwe) children are expected to be able to take care of younger siblings by the age of seven, from the age of 10 children’s chores become more gender specific.

These expectations may be conflicting for boys in CYHHs. Francis-Chizororo’s (2010) findings indicate that in households consisting of only boys there was a masculinisation of domestic chores. In households consisting of both boys and girls, household roles tended to conform to gender norms, to a certain extent. It was further discovered that boys who had to do chores traditionally associated with females were aware that they would be laughed at by others and were embarrassed by this. The boys in Francis-Chizororo’s (2010) study expressed a desire to marry so that they could restore the traditional gender norms and roles in the household. This may stem from a feeling that they are unable to live up to the social expectations of manhood when others can see them performing what is traditionally perceived to be women’s work.

Various cultural groups in Africa view puberty and adolescence for boys as a transition into manhood and still perform rites of passage or initiation practices as part of the socialisation process of boys and men (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). These practices may sometimes involve traditional male circumcision and the separation of young men from their families (and from girls and women). During this time, the boys engage in informal learning processes where older men share information and skills that are considered pertinent to becoming a male adult in their communities (Greely, Maharaj, Letsoalo, & Miti, 2013). This assists in establishing a shared cultural identity. Furthermore, Greely et al. (2013) found that having undergone the traditional male circumcision ritual elevated the status of men in their communities and those who had not attended these were ostracised. Orphaned boys, lacking the presence of older male role models, may not be able to partake in these rituals, thus affecting their social status in their communities. These rites are viewed as being important in terms of creating a collective and cultural identity, which is important for
the developing child in the African context. The main purpose of these practices is to prepare boys for the abandonment of their childhood in favour of manhood, which is associated with social control and dominance.

African men have traditionally been viewed as being monolithic, motivated by economic issues and usually negative in terms of their social roles (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Little information and research is available regarding their domestic lives. This may be because the main requirement for being considered a real man in Africa is attaining financial independence and starting a family. In modern times, this suggests that receiving an education is important because it is an important stepping stone to gaining financial independence. However, in South Africa and Swaziland, the rate of boys dropping out of school is problematic because of the widespread use of corporal punishment, which causes problems for their sense of masculinity (Poulsen, 2006).

Marriage is an important aspect in achieving manhood. Consequently, many young men in Africa report being trapped as they cannot find employment and are consequently not recognised as adults, which means that they cannot get married. For maturing boys in CYHHs these expectations may be burdensome, as for them to achieve such ideals they require access to resources. Not being able to meet social expectations and fulfil necessary roles can be potentially harmful for the development of male gender identity and self-esteem (Silberschmidt, 2001). This can be dangerous, as the more frustrated men become about their inability to express their masculinity, the more likely they are to demonstrate it in other ways and this normally takes the form of sexual promiscuity and violence.

However, access to resources is determined by the elders or fathers, who must pass on the land to their sons and thus allow them to gain access to women and the ability to get married (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Ethnic groups in Africa that participate in agricultural activities believe that manhood truly begins when a father bequeathes land or cattle to his son, which will allow him access to resources and enable him to get married. In this way, the attainment of manhood may be viewed as dependent on an older man and this may be problematic for orphaned boys in CYHHs. For a male, having access to resources means that he can provide for his family and this is also an important requirement for being considered a man. Francis-Chizororo (2010)
found that boys in CHHs had to wait for their sisters to get married to obtain resources from that union, in the form of bride price, in order for them to get married. It is highly unusual for a male to have to wait for his sister to get married first before he can marry.

Financial independence, assertiveness, and the authority offered by patriarchy means that in the African context men are viewed as the head of the household (Silberschmidt, 2001). However, this is compromised by poverty and lack of employment, which prevents men from fulfilling their expected roles as providers. In CYHHS, it is not always the boy who is the head, as the eldest child often takes care of the family irrespective of gender (Evans, 2011). Francis-Chizororo (2010) found that in the case of a female child head, cultural and gender expectations influenced the extent to which they were considered head of the household and decisions could not be made effectively without consulting with a male family member. Therefore, the roles of boys in CYHHS are important. Perhaps with the right support they may be better equipped to take care of and handle the affairs of their families. In another study in Rwanda, it was found that male heads were more likely to maintain frequent contact with relatives (Thurman, Snider, Boris, Kalisa, Mugarira, Ntanganira, & Brown, 2006).

### 2.3.3 Changing Gender Roles

Traditionally, boys have been socialised in such a way that they have authority over assets (Iversen & Rosenbluth, 2008). Furthermore, Iversen and Rosenbluth (2008) argue that households in agricultural settings organise themselves according to a gendered division of labour, where males perform the labour-intensive work and females specialise in family work. Although children of both sexes are accustomed to caring for younger siblings, Nsamenang (1992) indicates that girls are more likely to engage in such activities because of parental encouragement and the belief that girls are better nurturers and carers. This may become problematic for boys in CYHHS, as they may be less experienced in caring for younger siblings.

In contrast, Barker and Ricardo (2005) note that in recent times more men in Sub-Saharan Africa are assuming care-giving roles owing to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Because of the number of AIDS orphans, family structures have had to change and boys have had to take on roles previously associated with women. Although this may
place these boys in a vulnerable position and affect their education, it is initiating changes in terms of traditional gender norms. Robson (2004) maintains that although it is unusual for boys to be carers, in the case of orphanhood and CYHHS gender becomes irrelevant. When faced with poverty and the survival of the family is threatened, boys have no choice but to assume the role of carer if they have no female kin who are able to do so.

Other changes also threaten the status quo of traditional gender roles. Urbanisation and the growth of the formal education system have led to an increase in the enrolment of girls in school (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). The effects of this are difficult to document, but they have been both positive and negative. Urbanisation has lessened the connection many young men have to their cultural roots, but at the same time this may expose them to more gender-equitable variations of manhood. Urbanisation also may mean that youth lose touch with elders, which results in less conflict because there is no need to prove one’s masculinity to an elder anymore.

Schooling has also contributed to changes pertaining to the social constructions of masculinity (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). With more girls being afforded an education, schools have become a space where the construction, creation and reinforcement of alternative versions of masculinity can be initiated. In rural and urban East Africa, the authority traditionally possessed by men is increasingly being challenged (Silberschmidt, 2001). Education systems can be helpful in this regard by educating learners about gender equality and respect. In this way, men may feel less pressure to live up to the cultural ideals of the dominant form of masculinity and can more readily accept women as contributors to the household. This is something that needs to be worked on in South Africa, as it has been noted that schools do not provide adequate environments for boys to develop a favourable sense of masculine identity (Poulsen, 2006).

### 2.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK UNDERPINNING THE STUDY

#### 2.4.1 Motivation

In investigating the experiences of males in CYHHS, it is important to consider their development and how this may be influenced by their unusual family circumstances. For this purpose, developmental theories are used as a framework to understand the
developmental age of the participants and to evaluate how this may be affected in these unique situations and vice versa. Erikson’s (1963; 1968) psychosocial theory assists in understanding how adolescence and the conflicts experienced during this stage of development may influence development. However, because this theory represents a predominantly Western perspective, Nsamenang’s (1992; 2005; 2006) ideas about development in an African context are also incorporated to gain a more holistic understanding of the participants’ development.

2.4.2 Erikson’s Theory of Psychosocial Development (Identity vs. Role Confusion)

As a student of Freud, Erikson’s (1963) ideas stem from a psychoanalytic background, which emphasises the conflict experienced in all stages of life that people must resolve. Deviating from the teachings of Freud, Erikson focused less on the sexual development of children and more on psychosocial development across their lifespan. He proposed eight developmental stages, which describe various conflicts at each stage that people must resolve in a healthy manner to avoid problems at a later stage. These stages include basic trust vs. basic mistrust, autonomy vs. shame and doubt, initiative vs. guilt, industry vs. inferiority, identity vs. role confusion, intimacy vs. isolation, generativity vs. stagnation and ego integrity vs. despair. Considering the scope and context of this study, the focus will be on the stage of identity vs. role confusion as this is the most appropriate one for the developmental age of the participants.

Erikson (1963; 1968) proposed that with the onset of puberty, childhood comes to an end and youth begins. This marks the beginning of the stage of identity vs. role confusion, which starts around the age of 12 years. The formation of one’s identity is largely associated with adolescent development; however, this process is not always obvious (Pretorius, et al., 2013). Of course, this transition may occur earlier for children in CYHHs, because in many cases they are orphaned from a younger age. Nevertheless, during puberty all familiar beliefs, habits and ideas relied on previously will be questioned because of the rapid bodily changes and genital growth that accompany this stage of development. This is a particularly turbulent time as youths experience significant physiological maturation and social changes; they are expected to behave in a more ‘adult’ fashion and to undertake more adult tasks. For
youths in CYHHs the adoption of adult responsibilities may have already occurred during earlier stages, thus affecting the resolution of conflicts then. Western culture denotes that childhood should not be characterised by substantial responsibilities regarding caregiving (Becker, 2007). However, having already taken on these adult roles previously may assist in coping more efficiently during puberty.

Youths are primarily concerned with discovering and forging their own identities (Erikson, 1963; 1968). Erikson (1963, p. 235) explains that a “sense of ego identity (...) is the accrued confidence that the inner sameness and continuity of one’s meaning for others, as evidenced in the tangible promise of a career”. Therefore, the identity of an adolescent develops in relation to a career, which symbolises an adult endeavour. For males this is significant, as the ideals of masculinity and being masculine include wealth and dominance (Dudgeon & Inhorn, 2009). This is particularly relevant in the African context, and for males in CYHHs this expectation for them to become more proactive in providing for their families may come to be more important as they become older. Schooling becomes important in this regard, as it becomes difficult to choose between staying in school and dropping out to go to work (van Breda, 2010), and if the adolescent drops out of school then it becomes extremely difficult to develop a career that he will enjoy. Erikson (1968) believed that it is disturbing for young people not to be able to identify themselves with a suitable career, which could be problematic in the case of CYHHs.

Another major concern for youths during puberty and adolescence is how they are seen in the eyes of others (Erikson, 1963). This concern is also complicated by how the youth may feel about him or herself and the question of how the roles and skills learned in childhood can be aligned and integrated with what society expects in terms of adult roles. Therefore, social exclusion or isolation may be distressing for adolescents. Gender roles also become important here, as males are expected to play a certain role as head of the household, especially in African cultures. In some African cultures this phase marks a transition into manhood and cultural rituals may be performed to mark this. However, these rituals are often led by and involve the elders or parents, but in the case of males in CYHHs this may not be possible, thus influencing development on a personal and social level. Dudgeon and Inhorn (2009) concede that it is widely expected of men to display strength, leadership and emotional detachment. However, it is unclear how males in CYHHs can achieve
these ideals of masculinity when they may lack appropriate role models and guidance. This is important during the adolescent stage of development, as this is a time when youth search ardently for ideas and men to look up to and put their faith in, and it is important for appropriate role models to be available for this (Erikson, 1968). In addition, there may be social implications, in the form of isolation and exclusion, should these boys not be able to fulfil these ideals.

To this end, Erikson (1963) warns that the danger here is role confusion. Doubt about one’s sexual identity may cause this and it is common for adolescents to display delinquent behaviour. However, Erikson (1963) asserts that these challenges and episodes of bad behaviour do not have to have a fatal outcome if they are dealt with appropriately, which may be problematic in CYHHs as usually there are no adult or parental figures to take care of and guide the adolescents. Erikson further explains that in an attempt to keep themselves together, young people may identify with certain heroes, cliques or crowds, sometimes to the point of complete loss of identity. Sometimes the person the youth identifies with is an inappropriate role model, which can become problematic if the youth engages in unsuitable or dangerous behaviours endorsed by the group or figure. Erikson (1963) further acknowledges that adolescents can be ‘cliquey’ in terms of excluding those who are different in skin colour, cultural background, style, or taste. This may be relevant to youths in CYHHs, as literature already points to the social exclusion and stigmatisation of these individuals in their communities and schools (van Breda, 2010).

Essentially, the adolescent mind is “a mind of the moratorium” (Erikson, 1963, p.236). Identity vs. role confusion is a psychosocial stage signifying a transition from childhood to adulthood. It is also a stage that sees the development of the morality of the child or youth into the ethics expected of adults. CYHHs create a unique environment for the development of morality, as roles associated with parenting interact with those of a child who is developing (Savio Beers & Hollo, as cited in Pretorius et al., 2013). Erikson conceded that adolescence is the age where a dominant ego is established and thoughts of the future become more prominent. For most pubertal youths and adolescents, this is a confusing, turbulent and conflict-ridden period of development that requires the support and guidance of a parent or significant older person. The absence of such a figure in the lives of children in
CYHHs may exacerbate the turmoil associated with this period and hinder development later. In contrast, the early maturation of such children may build a stronger character that allows for an easier transition into puberty, thus influencing development in a positive way.

2.4.3 An African View on Development: Nsamenang

Despite the valued insights contributed by Erikson about puberty and adolescence, it must be acknowledged that his theory originates from a predominantly Western perspective, which alone would not suffice in attempting to understand development in an African context. Nsamenang, an African academic and theorist, offers an alternative view of development from a non-Western perspective. Although he acknowledges the value of the contributions of theorists such as Freud and Erikson, his greatest criticism of traditional developmental theories was that theorists often separated the developing person from the culture, context and community in which development occurred (Nsamenang, 1992; 2006). Considering the collective nature of many non-Western and African cultures, an individual’s milieu would be an important factor in the course of development. The value of incorporating a Western and non-Western perspective is the inclusivity of the diversity of cultures in Africa and the influence this has on development.

According to Nsamenang (1992, p.22), “human development refers to any morphological or functional change from the moment of conception until death. Developmental change implies the emergence of more complex and sophisticated patterns of behaviour and levels of functioning”. Therefore, developmental change occurs through biogenetic transmission and ecocultural influences. Nsamenang (1992) maintains that biology is as central to the development of humans as the environment in which it occurs. This means that the environment and genetic influences interact with one another and this shapes development. This ecocultural perspective is used throughout Nsamenang’s (1992, 2006) work and he deemed this appropriate in evaluating human development, as it recognises that ecological and institutional forces all play a role in human development. In view of that, Nsamenang (2006) recognises that biological makeup and development differs in every culture, and therefore a universal timetable of milestones cannot be accepted, as every
culture identifies and attributes various developmental tasks to their perceived stages of development.

Genetic variability ensures adaptability of humans in different environments but at times genetic endowment can cause difficulties in adaptation. However, practically all aspects of development are affected by not only heredity, but also environment, history and learning (Hall, Lamb, & Perlmutter, as cited in Nsamenang, 1992). Cognitive, social, psychomotor and conative dimensions of personality also should be considered when assessing changes in development. In his views on development in an African context, Nsamenang (2006) emphasises the theory of social ontogenesis, where through ontogeny, people partake in social cognition as members of cultural communities. This theory underpins development within the social system and ecology. This means that learning and development are influenced by ecocultural factors. Furthermore, contextual psychologists have implicated social and ecological systems in the process of development of intelligences and different ontogenetic pathways. This thinking therefore assumes that biology is the foundation for social ontogenesis.

However, in African social thought, development is interpreted as the attainment and maturation of cognitive, emotional and social competencies needed to participate meaningfully in society and family (Nsamenang, 2005). Thus, parents’ guide their children’s development so that it leads to a gradual and systemic social integration (Nsamenang, 2006). This is a concern for children in CYHHS, as they may be lacking this guidance, which is needed to become active participants in cultural life and to acquire certain levels of identity, personhood, and being.

An African perspective perceives three phases of selfhood during the human lifespan (Nsamenang, 1992). The spiritual selfhood begins at conception, or even earlier when an ancestral spirit reincarnates, and it ends with a ceremony to deliberate a name for the new born. From then, a social selfhood continues the cycle and ends with biological death, which is more appropriate and acceptable in old age. This explains why the untimely or early death of parents of many children in CYHHS is perceived negatively. The social phase is characterised by seven stages, which include the “period of the new born, social priming, social apprenticing, social entrée, social internment, adulthood, and old age and death” (Nsamenang, 2006, p. 295).
Not only do humans need other human beings, but it is also believed that adequate social responsibility must be displayed to achieve full personhood. For children in CYHHs, this may be difficult to achieve if they are rejected from their communities and lack adult supervision. After death an ancestral selfhood follows, which is an important part of many African cultures, as ancestors represent spiritual presences in daily activities of the living.

It is important to be nurtured and socialised from a young age to reach these various levels of selfhood, and, as mentioned above, African parents are active participants in their children’s development. African traditions embrace education as part of culture (Nsamenang, 2005). This vested interest in teaching children about their heritage and culture is important, as it ensures the survival of traditions across generations. It is integrated into daily activities and routines of family and community life. Traditional African education integrates domains of knowledge. Furthermore, milestones are taken into account when transmitting knowledge. This process ensures that children are ready for adulthood and their readiness is determined by how successful they are in fulfilling the social roles expected of them. It is also assessed by the extent to which the child is integrated into the family and community. Children in CYHHs may lack relevant adult or parental figures to provide them with the education necessary for them to become an integrated part of the community – which is an important part of development in the African context. Nsamenang (2005) also stresses the role of the family and the interactions found in this environment in the development of children.

Nsamenang (1992) documents the political, social and economic changes and challenges present in Africa and evaluates how these have influenced parenting and family structures. In African cultures, child-rearing is not limited to the parents alone; rather it is a collective effort involving kin, siblings and sometimes neighbours and friends. Therefore, children are not under-equipped when it comes to taking care of younger siblings. Furthermore, Nsamenang (1992; 2006) states that although it has always been thought that mothers take prime responsibility for child care, children actually tend to engage more in the guidance and care of other children. The economic climate, which requires mothers to work, may be responsible for this. Nevertheless, this familiarity with caring may act as some sort of buffer for children in
CYHHs, as they may already have some experience and knowledge in child care (Francis-Chizororo, 2010).

Despite these caring encounters and experience with caretaking, Nsamanang’s (1992) descriptions refer to children who have parental figures and live within a tight-knit community. For children in CYHHs this may not be the case, as they are lacking adult support and guidance and they are often isolated from their communities because of the stigma. In African cultures it is widely believed that the contraction of disease and illness is a result of ill will or wrong-doing and children in CYHHs are often rejected from the community because of the stigma of HIV/AIDS (Nsamenang, 1992). Therefore, these children do not have anyone they can rely on and must adapt to this environment devoid of family and community support, which is uncharacteristic in Africa. This may affect development in a negative way.

Owing to the challenges mentioned above, men, women and children are adopting roles which were previously unavailable to them or that they could not play (Nsamenang, 1992). The most significant role changes have been those of women and children. Women have had to become more economically active and with the introduction of schooling, children’s routines have changed and they have also become more economically active. This may also be beneficial in the case of CYHHs, as women and children are more accustomed to the world of work, but this shift has only taken place because of economic restrictions, which have forced families to generate more income to survive. However, it is entirely different when it is a child alone who must provide for his/her younger siblings. These predominantly adult-like responsibilities may be negative influences on the development of children.

2.5 CONCLUSION

The purpose of the literature review was to provide an understanding of the problem of CYHHs in Africa. It also contextualised the problem and provided an understanding of the unique situation and challenges faced by CYHHs on a daily basis. These challenges influence development on various levels and impact on the affected children’s education. It is important to be aware of the increase in CYHHs and the difficulties they experience, because these children are a part of society and could contribute meaningfully.
The focus was particularly on adolescent boys, as this relates to the research question. As highlighted, males occupy a dominant position in many societies across the globe, but more specifically in Africa. In the case of boys, CYHHs have many implications. In some instances, boys may not live up to the ideal image of a male in African society and this may be harmful to not only the individual, but the family as a whole. In contrast, it may be seen that with the status and recognition afforded to males in African cultures, boys in CYHHs may be in a better position to provide for and protect their families. This, however, will require the right support and guidance, and education has proven to be a powerful tool to initiate change and provide support. This is a conflicting time for men in Africa, as gender norms are changing and the consequences have been both positive and negative. However, it is through education that we are able to forge a new path toward gender equality and favourable redefinition of gender roles. Children in CYHHs need support and guidance in this regard, because gender roles can often become an issue, especially for boys.

For many adolescents, this is a turbulent time accompanied by many changes and this may be exacerbated by the unusual family structures in CYHHs. Therefore, it is important to understand the development of adolescents, and Erikson's (1963; 1968) psychosocial theory depicts an important conflict that may be experienced by many during this time – identity vs. role confusion. Because of Erikson's predominantly Western ideas, Nsamenang’s (1992; 2005; 2006) thoughts on development in a third-world context are also integrated and used to understand the developing person in the African context. This allows for the consideration of cultural influences that are pertinent in the African context.
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed overview of the context in which the research was conducted. The research design and methodology used will also be described. The process of data collection and analysis will be discussed. Primarily, this is a qualitative study and as such, qualitative methods were employed to collect and analyse the data.

In the interest of confidentiality, where appropriate, pseudonyms have been used throughout the dissertation. This is to protect the participants and their identities. Furthermore, no revealing information, such as names of schools and addresses, will be disclosed to ensure the participants’ anonymity. The name of the NPO will also not be used, as this may also compromise the participants.

3.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH APPROACH

Qualitative research is open and makes use of a broad range of philosophies, theories and research methods (Freeman, deMarrais, Preissle, Roulston, & St. Pierre, 2007). Methods of qualitative research can be nuanced, diverse and complex (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Qualitative methods of research require data to be collected from a variety of sources (Durrheim, 2006). These include oral and written words, observations, narratives and life histories (Ambert, Adler, Adler, & Detzner, 1995). The use of such methods allows for in-depth exploration and investigation of chosen issues and extrapolation of themes may be possible (Durrheim, 2006).

Because of the variety of perspectives involved in this type of research, doubts associated with the standards of qualitative research may arise (Kelly, 2006b). However, it is only through qualitative practices that exploration of situations where variables are difficult to identify can take place (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). In such situations, quantitative research methods would not suffice. Therefore, a qualitative approach was deemed appropriate for this research because of the nature of the research question, which considers the subjective experiences of the participants.
Ambert et al. (1995) maintain that for researchers to understand qualitative research, familiarity with its aims and goals must be established. As qualitative inquiry focuses more on depth, a small sample size is generally used to allow for thorough interpretation and analysis. The purpose of this is to learn more about the ways in which people behave, attribute meaning and think. It is also important to understand that qualitative enquiry is about discovering and not verifying. Therefore, traditional guidelines or perspectives may not be followed. In this sense, the use of qualitative enquiry was appropriate for this study, as little information was available regarding the experiences of boys in CYHHs. The sample size of this research inquiry was small, which allowed for an in-depth analysis and interpretation of the gendered experiences of boys in CYHHs.

3.2.1 Exploratory Research

The purpose of research is related to the conclusions that the researcher wishes to reach. The specific goal of exploratory research is to conduct a preliminary investigation into areas of research that have not been previously studied extensively (Durrheim, 2006). Little information is available on the experiences of boys in CYHHs and what their needs may be. Therefore, this study may be classified as exploratory research. Exploratory studies are open and flexible; they attempt to look for new insights into phenomena (Durrheim, 2006). To attain these new insights, researchers may employ methods such as interviews.

Exploratory studies may give rise to new questions and encourage further research. Emphasis is placed on gaining new ideas (Singhania, 2013). It is not designed to provide definite answers. The reasons for this are that the sample size is generally small and participants are almost never randomly chosen. However, they can provide meaningful information and even comprehensive explanations for individuals or situations (Singhania, 2013). It can also be beneficial in defining the problem if it is not well understood. There are different types of exploratory research: literature searches, in-depth interviews, focus groups, and case analyses (Singhania, 2013). With reference to the current study, relatively little information is available about the topic, and therefore an exploration of the issue allowed for a better understanding of the context and demarcation of the problem. Generally, the participants lived with
older siblings who cared and provided for them. All of them attended schools in the area and received food and other social services from the NPO.

3.2.2 Social Constructionist Paradigm

A social constructionist paradigm was applied because of the contextual and gender issues. This paradigm is appropriate because it focuses on the construction of experiences and social meaning (Terre Blanche, Kelly, & Durrheim, 2006). It allows for the examination of the ways in which meanings, experiences, events and realities are the products of a variety of discourses that operate within societies (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This paradigm emphasises how linguistic, contextual and relational factors all influence the development of people and their views of the world (Raskin, 2002). The assumption is that feelings, behaviours and thoughts are socially shaped, especially considering the context of gender. Constructionists claim that the ‘truth’ is not absolute and depends on individual perspectives (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Furthermore, knowledge is viewed as being context-dependent and changeable (Raskin, 2002).

Moreover, social constructionists are critical of all knowledge generated (Stainton Rogers & Stainton Rogers, 2001). Knowledge is viewed as being influenced and shaped by culture, domain, and history, and is produced and maintained by social processes. Furthermore, social constructionists are aware that knowledge contributes to action. In essence, social constructionism posits that knowledge is generated in the context of social and cultural influences. Consequently, any research or knowledge created must be viewed critically, as this is always laden with cultural and social beliefs or influences. In addition, since culture and social contexts influence language and how it is used, social constructionism maintains that reality is created through language (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). In this study, it was difficult to assess the influence of language as the participants did not speak English as a first language and at times it was necessary for someone to translate for them. However, it was possible to focus on non-verbal actions, such as their unwillingness to discuss certain issues in detail.
3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

3.3.1 Multiple Case Study Design

The use of case studies in research is based on the constructionist paradigm (Baxter & Jack, 2008). A multi-case study design will be used as qualitative research is case-orientated (Schreier, 2012). Qualitative case study designs allow researchers the opportunity to study complex phenomena in their contexts using multiple tools (Baxter & Jack, 2008). This ensures that the phenomena are explored through multiple lenses. Case studies involve rigorous investigations of certain individuals (Lindegger, 2006). Case studies are also referred to as ideographic methods or methods which study a person as an individual rather than as part of a community (Lindegger, 2006). Therefore, each participant was treated as an individual case. The nature of case studies is usually descriptive and they provide rich information regarding particular individuals. This means that it was possible to thoroughly investigate each case to gain as much information as possible.

The advantages of case studies include the opportunity for new hypotheses and ideas to emerge (Lindegger, 2006). They also promote critical reflection. However, there are limitations associated with this method. There are challenges regarding the validity of information and generalisations cannot be made from one case study (Yin, 2003). Moreover, there is no basis for scientific generalisation, but the purpose is to generalise in relation to the theoretical framework (Yin, 2003). This is addressed through the exploration of multiple cases and triangulation of methods of data collection. In addition, hypotheses yielded by case study methods can be tested through other methods of research (Lindegger, 2006).

According to Yin (2003), case studies are useful when the researcher has no control over the situation or events that may occur. They are also beneficial in investigating current phenomena in their natural context. It is appropriate for studying multifaceted phenomena of a social nature. Multiple variables of interest and sources of evidence can be explored through case studies. Furthermore, diverse theoretical propositions can be drawn upon to guide data collection and analysis. Additionally, the use of a multiple case study design allows for comparisons to be made that demonstrate the
similarities and differences regarding the participants’ experiences. This method also allows for the identification of emergent patterns.

3.3.2 Contextualising the Case Studies

The sample comprised seven 12- to 14-year-old African boys living in CYHHs. It was originally intended that boys in only CHHs be asked to participate, but there was a challenge in identifying such learners. The social workers at the NPO could only identify YHHs. A principal of one of the local schools revealed that children in CHHs preferred not to disclose their status as such because it made them vulnerable in the community. This may be the reason why it was difficult to identify such learners for this study. Therefore, it is not certain that all of the participants in this study come from only YHHs because they may not want to put themselves in a vulnerable position.

The identified participants were attending schools in Soweto. The participants were accessed through a NPO located in Soweto. The NPO was identified through a referral from one of the schools in the area, as many of the learners receive their daily meals from there. Because of the language barrier, it was required that the participants be able to converse in English. A representative from the community assisted with the process and the cultural and language barrier that existed because of my own race and gender. A colleague, who was able to converse with the participants in their language, assisted in this regard and the social workers at the NPO were also available to assist where needed.

Table 3.1 below provides a brief summary of the particulars of the participants.

Table 3.1 Participant Profiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (pseudonym)</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Culture/Language</th>
<th>Participation in Data Collection</th>
<th>Family Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nkosi</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>• Collage</td>
<td>Nkosi lives with his older sister (14 years old). There are other children who stay with them who have mothers that work outside the home. His grandmother, aunt and uncles are still a part of their lives and help them. He mentioned an uncle who will teach him about his culture when he is older.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Individual interview</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Peter's household consists of two older siblings and a younger sister. His older brother is 20 years old and his sister is a little older. They both work to sustain their family and his sister owns a car. His brother owns two taxis and they run a tuck shop from their house. They still maintain strong ties with extended family (cousins, aunts, grandparents) who are also supportive and help them every day.

Sam is the only boy in the house. He lives with his two older sisters who work at a clothing store in town. His grandmother plays an important role in his life.

Mbongi lives with his older brother (25 years old) and two older sisters. His brother works at the NPO that is assisting him.

Neo’s mother died in 2012 and his father lives close by with his four children. Neo lives with his older brother and sister (head of the family). He also has a younger brother (seven). His father still comes to visit and sometimes gives them food and money. He also takes them out sometimes.

Sipho lives with his older sister. She is pregnant at the moment so he is taking care of the household chores. His brothers work on the mines to support them and his studies.

Simon lives with two older sisters and a brother. Both his parents died in 2010. His brother works to support all of them and they live in an RDP house.

### 3.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section elaborates on the research methodology, which reflects the process followed in collecting suitable data and appropriate methods of analysis (Kothari, 2004). These methods are important because they are the basis of credible
research. The methodology is multifaceted and its formulation depends on the problem. Various aspects need to be considered when devising a systematic way to solve the research problem. These include research methods and the underlying assumptions of these methods or techniques. Information was collected directly from the participants to determine what their experiences as African males are in CYHHs.

3.4.1 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling refers to the selection of participants based on their representativeness of the phenomena being studied (Durrheim & Painter, 2006). Therefore, purposive sampling was used to ensure that the sample is representative of the phenomenon and that the appropriate data was collected (Durrheim, 2006). Purposive samples rely on availability and the willingness of individuals to participate.

The participants were chosen based on specific criteria that were predetermined. First, they had to be African male learners in CYHHs. Second, they had to be between the ages of 12 and 14 years old. Third, they attended schools in Soweto. Last, it was required that they be able to converse in English.

3.4.2 Data Collection Methods

The data was collected at the NPO, situated in Soweto. This was convenient as the participants attended different schools and this was a common place to meet. The NPO provides the participants and their families with support and they are familiar with the environment. Social workers were also present to assist and also to provide support for the participants.

Qualitative methods of data collection were used to explore the gendered experiences of boys living in CYHHs. The data was collected through semi-structured individual interviews. These were recorded and transcribed. In addition, the participants were asked to compile collages that depicted their experiences, which allowed them to express themselves in an alternative way. As it was challenging to gather enough boys at the same time and because of the limited space available, it was not possible to conduct focus group interviews. Alternatively, they were asked to write short essays about their experiences.
Taking into account the cultural differences and language barrier that existed between me and the participants, a representative from the community assisted in the process. This was successful in addressing these challenges. A colleague was asked to assist with this as she was born in the area and spoke two languages that the learners could converse in, isiZulu and Sotho. Furthermore, she understood the scope of the study and what was required to collect meaningful data. The social workers at the NPO were also available to assist.

3.4.2.1 Semi-structured individual interviews

Interviews are conversations, but they are also highly skilled enactments which require prior thought and planning (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). They are a more natural mode of interaction with participants. Interviewing also allows for the opportunity to become more familiar with people, making it easier to understand how they think and feel. Furthermore, it is one of the more commonly used methods in constructionist research. Constructionists view this source of data collection as a situation that elicits certain linguistic patterns, such as stories, metaphors or particular phrases (Terre Blanche et al., 2006).

With semi-structured interviews, the researcher must develop an interview schedule, in advance, highlighting key topics to be discussed (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). The researcher can deviate from the schedule to ask probing questions to allow participants to elaborate on information. This means that this type of interview schedule is flexible and allows for a more natural flow of conversation.

Therefore, semi-structured individual interviews were conducted to gain more insight into the experiences of the participants. A set of questions (see Appendix C, p. 108) was predetermined before entering the interview situation. The questions focused on what the participants’ experiences were, particularly regarding their gender and living in a CYHH. Information regarding their roles as boys in the household and in the community was obtained. These interviews were video recorded, as this was the only available equipment, so that they could be listened to again. They were then transcribed so that the content could be analysed and interpreted (See Appendix B for examples, p. 98 & 100). The use of a video recorder also allowed for later observation of non-verbal data.
3.4.2.2 Essays

The participants were asked to write short essays about their experiences as boys in CYHHs (See Appendix B for examples, p. 107). The instructions were not made more specific, as the intention was to encourage them to write as freely as possible without having to worry about content, punctuation or language. Once the participants had finished writing, they were asked to give their essay a name and then to underline key words and phrases that they regarded as important or meant something to them. As a formalised way of thinking, writing assists in extrapolating information from experiences (Peterson & Mar, 2013). This also helps to guide people’s perceptions, thoughts, emotions and actions.

3.4.2.3 Collages

The use of collages allowed for additional data to be collected. This method was used to address the language barrier. It also allowed the participants to engage in a creative and therapeutic activity that required less verbal interaction. This activity also assists in externalising and encouraging change (Malchiodi, 2008).

Malchiodi (2008) recommends that collage materials provided should be culturally sensitive. Materials used should reflect diverse cross-cultural pictures to include families, ethnicity, beliefs and lifestyles. Therefore, the participants were provided with an assortment of magazines displaying various images and words. Many of these magazines were South African and represented a variety of audiences. The same boys who participated in the individual interviews were part of this exercise. They were given different colour cardboard to choose from and then instructed to create collages, using the materials and magazines provided, which depicted their experiences as boys living in CYHHs (see Appendix B for examples, p. 102).

3.4.3 Data Analysis

Data analysis refers to what will be done once the data has been collected (Van der Riet & Durrheim, 2006). In qualitative research, it is difficult to ascertain a point at which data collection ends and analysis begins (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Kelly, 2006). Generally, the one phase will fade out and toward the end the researcher will mainly be involved in analysis. Therefore, in constructionist research these phases
should not be seen as separate. Constructionist analysis takes on many forms, but common to all of them is the aim of exploring cultural materials that influence the construction of texts, events, or utterances.

In this research inquiry, qualitative content analysis, using Zhang and Wildemuth's (2009) guidelines, was chosen as the method of data analysis. The semi-structured individual interviews were recorded, transcribed and then coded into themes. The essays were also coded into themes, which will be discussed below. The meaning of the content in the collages was co-constructed and interpreted with the participants. Themes were also extrapolated from this process. Furthermore, the conversations around the collages were recorded and these were also transcribed and used to extrapolate themes.

Qualitative content analysis techniques were used to analyse the data collected during interviews, collages and essays, which represented the experiences of boys living in CYHHs. Qualitative content analysis represents an integrated view of speech and texts in their contexts (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Furthermore, it goes beyond counting words and extracting themes; it allows researchers to appreciate and comprehend social realities in a personal but scientific way. Content analysis considers each case in its entirety which is appropriate for this study (Schreier, 2012).

Content analysis involves a procedure “designed to condense raw data into categories or themes based on valid inferences and interpretation” (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, p.309). This process often begins during the first stage of data collection. To ensure that reliable inferences are made, transparent and systematic procedures are used to process the data.

Zhang and Wildemuth (2009) stipulate eight steps in conducting content analysis. Step one involved preparing the data and transcribing it. Once the data was collected, the recordings were organised into separate folders for each participant. This made it easier to transcribe the data and to keep each participant’s information together. In this way, it was possible to conceptualise a case study for each participant. Step two required that the unit of analysis be defined. In the case of qualitative content analysis, individual themes are used more often as a unit of
analysis and this was applied here. The themes were extrapolated in relation to the research question, which sought the gendered experiences of boys in CYHHs.

The data was read several times, before the actual coding process began, to gain a general idea of what the dominant themes are. A short summary was made for each participant, integrating information from the interviews, collages and essays, and a list of possible themes was made for each case. The categories and coding scheme were developed during step three. First, the recurring ideas were highlighted – each idea in a different colour. In step four, the coding scheme was tested on part of the data. Two cases were then taken and the highlighted ideas were numbered. The numbered ideas were then checked for consistency in terms of their representation of one idea per number. In some instances it was found that some ideas could be merged into one idea or theme. In step five, the entire text was coded using the developed coding scheme. This was done manually. In step six, the coding consistency was assessed by thoroughly reviewing the coded texts and checking again that recurring ideas were assigned the same code, like in step four. The emergent themes were then named and the coded data was rechecked to ensure that the recurring ideas matched. Conclusions were drawn from the coded data in step seven and the themes were finalised by identifying quotes and evidence from the data to support them. The findings were then reported in step eight. Further information and examples regarding analysis is provided in Chapter Four.

Qualitative content analysis as a method of analysis is about more than just counting words and extrapolating content from texts to evaluate meanings, patterns and themes (manifest or latent) (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). This method allows for social realities to be understood in a subjective but systematic manner. Since it was difficult to examine the use of language in this study, the use of qualitative content analysis was appropriate.

3.5 TRUSTWORTHINESS

The trustworthiness of any research inquiry depends on triangulation, good qualitative practice, generalisability, pragmatic proof through action and communicative validity (Kelly, 2006b). Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest four criteria to evaluate the trustworthiness of interpretive research: transferability, credibility,
dependability and confirmability. This section will elaborate on these criteria and how they were met.

### 3.5.1 Transferability

Transferability refers to the applicability of the research to other contexts (Kelly, 2006b). The contextual nature of qualitative inquiry makes it difficult to produce findings which may be generalisable to other contexts. To address this, it is recommended that researchers should provide an accurate account of the research process and a detailed description of the context so that other researchers can use it to compare to their findings (Smaling, as cited in Kelly, 2006b). The multiple case study design ensured that a thick description of the context of the participants was provided. A description of the context and background of each participant was provided as well as the context in which the data was collected. It was also mentioned that the participants were accessed through a NPO in the Soweto area, which assists in providing food and other social services to the participants.

### 3.5.2 Credibility

The extent to which the findings of the research are sound is known as credibility (van der Riet & Durrheim, 2006). This may be problematic because social constructionists do not believe that research findings accurately reflect reality. However, the credibility of qualitative research can be evaluated while the research is being done. The researcher must continually question the evidence and consider alternative hypotheses that may account for the data. This was addressed through reflexivity and consideration of my and the participants’ demographics. In addition, my voice as the researcher was integrated in Chapter Four to interpret the findings and acknowledge my cultural and contextual influences on the participants’ responses. Credibility was also ensured through triangulation, which refers to the use of multiple methods of data collection and perspectives to evaluate against one’s own position (Kelly, 2006b).

### 3.5.3 Dependability

Dependability refers to the extent to which the reader can be persuaded that the findings emerged the way the researcher claims they did and that they are
repeatable (van der Riet & Durrheim, 2006). Social constructions contend that reality is unstable and changeable, and therefore this may affect dependability. However, this was addressed through detailed descriptions that indicate how certain opinions and actions developed in context.

3.5.4 Confirmability

In addition, confirmability refers to the degree to which the findings are untainted by researcher bias (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This was addressed through reflexivity, triangulation, and an audit trail. The differences in gender and culture and how these factors may influence the findings were reflected upon throughout the process. Furthermore, a detailed description of how the research process was carried out is provided.

3.6 ETHICS

It is widely accepted that the foundation of good research is ethics (Lindegger, 2006). Before the research process was initiated ethical considerations were taken into account and during the process these were adhered to. The University of Johannesburg’s Ethics Committee and Faculty of Education subscribe to strict ethical principles, which were followed during the research process (see Appendix A1 for ethical clearance, p. 92). The scope of the study was explained to the participants and they were informed of what activities they would engage in. Confidentiality was also explained to them and they were reassured that no real names or information that could identify individuals would be used. They were made aware that recorded materials would be treated with respect and would not be distributed to anyone else. Furthermore, they were allowed the opportunity to withdraw from the study at any point during the process without obligation.

Informed consent (see Appendix A2, p. 93) was obtained from the significant role-players as the participants were under the age of 18 years. Informed consent forms were sent out to the learner’s caregivers, as they were over the age of 18 years; however, these never came back. As the data collection process took place on the NPO premises, it was then appropriate to obtain consent from them. This
organisation acted on behalf of the participants to protect their rights. One of the social workers based at the NPO, who assisted in identifying the participants, signed the consent forms. Furthermore, assent was obtained from the participants themselves (see Appendix A2, p. 93).

The consent form stipulated what the purpose of the study was, the voluntary nature of participation in the research and the right to withdraw at any time should the participants wish to do so. Great care was taken to ensure that confidentiality was maintained at all times. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the identities of the participants. Furthermore, it was stated in the consent form that should the need arise, the participants would be provided with ancillary support services. It was also mentioned that no harm would come to the participants from taking part in the research.

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided a description of the context and background of the research process. A brief summary of the participants’ backgrounds was also provided. Furthermore, the research design was discussed and methods of data collection and analysis elaborated on. Measures taken to ensure trustworthiness and ethical foundations of the research inquiry have also been expanded on.
CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this study was to explore and describe the experiences of males in CYHHs. As mentioned in Chapter Three, data was collected through individual interviews, essays and collages. Five dominant themes emerged from the data analysis process and these are: cultural practices and gender roles of boys, identification with an older male figure, the importance of education for boys, exposure to violence and aggression in the community, and the involvement of family and friends.

In this chapter, the data analysis process is discussed further and the themes that emerged are presented. From the transcribed interviews the voices of the participants will be included, as quotes, to illustrate the themes. In the interest of maintaining authenticity, the participants’ words have been quoted verbatim, disregarding language errors.

4.2 DATA ANALYSIS

The focus of this study pertained to the gendered experiences of boys living in CYHHs. Since previous research has not focused on this, the purpose is to describe what the experiences of these boys are to address the gap in the literature. This will assist in understanding what challenges they may face and also what strategies they may have adopted to help them cope. The implications that their experiences may have on their development are also considered.

As mentioned in Chapter Three, qualitative content analysis methods were used to extrapolate themes that emerged from the data regarding the experiences of boys in CYHHs. Content analysis was developed in psychology, sociology and anthropology mainly to explore the meanings that may underlie physical messages (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). This method is primarily inductive in that themes and inferences made may be examined in the data.

The three methods of data collection used for this study are seven semi-structured individual interviews, seven collages and four essays. These were used to gain as
much information as possible about the gendered experiences of boys living in CYHHs. The process of data analysis for each method of data collection is discussed below.

4.2.1 Semi-Structured Individual Interviews

The semi-structured individual interviews with the participants were guided by a pre-determined set of questions (Appendix C, p. 108). These questions were compiled bearing in mind the development of the participants and the theoretical framework that underpins this research. Therefore, the questions aimed to clarify and investigate cultural aspects, roles, challenges and general experiences related to the gender of the participants.

The interviews were video recorded and later transcribed (Appendix B, p. 98 & 100). It was observed that the participants’ responses were short and that at times it was difficult for them to understand some of the questions posed. Therefore, in-depth information regarding certain topics could not be obtained. Even when the questions were translated for them, they were hesitant about revealing too many details. The data was then analysed using Zhang and Wildemuth’s (2009) guidelines for content analysis to extrapolate themes relating to their gendered experiences, as explained in Chapter Three. A sample of the coding process is presented in Appendix B (p. 98 & 100).

4.2.2 Collages

Compiling the collages seemed to be less threatening and more enjoyable for the participants. The collages were used at the beginning of the data collection process for some of the participants as they allowed for them to engage with me in a less invasive manner and I was able to get to know them a little more before interviewing them.

The participants were asked to compile collages (Appendix B, p. 102) using the materials provided (white and coloured paper, scissors, glue, pens and various magazines) that depicted their experiences as boys living in CYHHs. The use of symbols, words and phrases were also encouraged. After the participants had finished making their collages, they were asked to explain their selection of pictures, words, and phrases and what meaning(s) these held for them. Furthermore, the boys
were asked what else they would add to their collages if they could and also to give their collages a title or name.

Most of the discussions surrounding the collages were recorded and then subsequently transcribed. These transcripts could then be coded like the individual interviews and themes could be extrapolated from this (Appendix B, p. 103 & 105). This also made it possible to quote the participants in the discussion of themes. Notes were also taken during the process. The participants were asked if they would like to keep their collages and if they chose to, permission was asked to take a picture of it for review purposes later. Themes were also extrapolated based on the gendered experiences of the participants using content analysis, as explained previously. It was found that many of the themes resonated with those that emerged in the interviews. Examples of two of the participants’ collages are presented in Appendix B (p. 102), as well as the coded transcripts that accompany the collages. Sam’s collage displays images of violent and unruly behaviour. There is also a sense of anxiety and stress conveyed in the expressions of the people. In contrast, Sipho’s collage conveys the importance of culture and heritage. He also emphasises the importance of education and studying further. The image of Nelson and Winnie Mandela represents family and also role models.

Since prior research has not focused on the gendered experiences of boys in CYHHs, there were no expectations as to what may emerge from the data. All responses were considered during the analysis process and the dominant ideas were coded. It is not a requirement of studies making use of qualitative content analysis to use a coding scheme previously developed by other researchers (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). As this is a unique study, no previously devised coding scheme could be used. Therefore, themes were extrapolated through careful examination of the raw data. This is known as inductive reasoning (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). The meanings of the collages were interpreted with the participants. They were asked to explain their choice of pictures and words (where relevant). Themes could also be extrapolated from what the participants claimed they would have liked to add to their collages and the names they gave to their collages.
4.2.3 Essays

Four of the participants took part in the essay-writing activity owing to logistical difficulties and time constraints. The participants were instructed to write about their experiences as boys living in CYHHs (Appendix B, p. 107). The intention was to allow them to write as freely as possible and therefore language errors were not regarded. After they had completed this, they were asked to give their essay a name or title and also to underline any words or phrases that they deem important. Themes were also extrapolated from these and again it was found that many of them resonated with the emergent themes from the interviews and collages.

Examples of two of the essays are provided in Appendix B (p. 107). The underlined words and phrases are what the participants thought were most significant and were considered as part of the coding process. The essays were typed exactly as the participants wrote them and any language or punctuation errors were ignored.

4.3 THEMES

The dominant themes depicting the gendered experiences of boys in CYHHs will be discussed in further detail below. The themes that emerged from all three methods of data collection were considered. Where the participants’ words have been quoted to support ideas, it has also been indicated where the quote comes from, that is, the interview, essay or collage.

Below, the identified themes and sub-themes are summarised:

Table 4.1 Summary of Themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme 1: cultural practices and gender roles of boys</th>
<th>Theme 2: identification with an older male figure</th>
<th>Theme 3: the importance of education for boys</th>
<th>Theme 4: exposure to violence and aggression in community</th>
<th>Theme 5: involvement of family and friends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taught by older male figure</td>
<td>Role model/teacher</td>
<td>Key to success</td>
<td>Fighting</td>
<td>Miss having parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect</td>
<td>Nelson Mandela/older</td>
<td>Career aspirations</td>
<td></td>
<td>Happy to live with current</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To listen</td>
<td>Enjoy school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take care of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.1 Cultural Practices and Gender Roles of Boys

As males, the boys’ participation in certain cultural practices is important. These were also linked to specific prescribed gender roles relevant to boys. There are three sub-themes that emerged that relate to cultural practices and gender roles: expectations of being a male, circumcision and household chores. These will be discussed in detail below.

4.3.1.1 Expectations of being a male

The boys who participated in this study all came from different ethnic groups and spoke different languages, as shown in Table 3.1. During the interviews, the boys were asked about their cultures and what is expected of them. Generally, respect appeared to be an important part of their socialisation as young boys. This is evidenced in Mbongi’s response in his interview, where he explained that he is expected to show “respect and hav[e] fun with other children” (interview). They are also told to “listen to what they say to you” (Neo, interview). The participants seemed to embrace these teachings and expectations, as stated by Simon in his essay: “the way I respect them I always respect the outsider”. This is also corroborated by Sipho in his essay: “I like to respect old people and other people” (Sipho, essay).

Linked to this, the African notion of Ubuntu also emerged as an important aspect of the participants’ lives. Ubuntu refers to being human, valuing the good of one’s community and striving to help others (Outwater, Abrahams, & Campbell, 2005). These beliefs are clearly important to the participants, and this is shown by Mbongi’s statement where he mentions that he wants “to be a good person have a good heart give charity more many and people can remember you” (essay). Neo also expressed the significance of these notions: “My culture, I have to do something that is right to
another person" (interview). Furthermore, Sipho’s good nature is emphasised in his essay when he writes: “I’m a person who likes to share advantages”.

Furthermore, as African males, it was not surprising that even at such a young age some of the participants already thought about taking care of their families one day. Three of the boys mentioned that they will be expected to take care of their families in the future, as explained by Sipho: “my challenges at home is to take care of my sister and brothers when they are old, show them the respect that I have and that they have bring to me” (interview).

4.3.1.2 Circumcision

Circumcision is an important rite of passage in many African cultures for males and therefore many of the boys had either undergone or were going to participate in this ritual. All of them knew and had been spoken to about it – usually by a male. The sensitivity of the issue was highlighted by the participants’ hesitancy to speak about the topic in depth. Little information was gained about the process as the participants did not want to share too much information about their experiences. However, it could be deduced that it was a difficult experience to go through, as described by Peter: “I did circumcise because when you circumcise you don’t play a lot because you get hurt … it was very hard” (interview). Simon further says that “it was exciting but at the same time painful” (interview).

Four of the boys had already been circumcised. However, it was interesting to note that two of them had done so medically, rather than traditionally. The main reasons cited for this pertain to safety issues of traditional circumcision “because some people have died there” (Simon, interview).

The participants were not willing to engage deeply with the topic and therefore detailed information could not be obtained. The reasons for this are discussed further in Chapter Five. The participants were also not willing to discuss the issue further in their collages or essays. However, Neo and Sipho emphasised the importance of cultural practices and rituals for boys, which may allude to circumcision as a part of this. Nonetheless, circumcision is an important gendered experience across various African traditions, which suggests that it is a significant time for the participants.
4.3.1.3 Household Chores for Boys

The participants were also expected to assume chores and help around the house, even though they are boys. The most common household chores performed by the boys are washing dishes and clothes, and cleaning outside. Only one boy (Sipho, interview) said that he cooks, but this is only because his sister is pregnant and he is taking care of her. Cooking, however, is still viewed as an activity not performed by males. When asked if he cooks, Nkosi objected saying: “ah ah, I’m not cooking! ... I’m cleaning the yard (and that it is) the girl’s jobs … to cook” (interview). Simon admits that his sisters “clean the house and cook food” (collage). Generally, the boys did not have any issues with the chores that they do around the house, even though they may be viewed as women’s work. Some even said they enjoyed these activities.

4.3.2 Identification with an Older Male Figure

It was evident that having a male figure to identify with was important to the participants as boys. Many of the boys mentioned a significant male figure in their lives who taught them, or is going to teach them, what is expected of them in their culture as boys, including circumcision. Two of the boys stated that when they are older a significant male figure will teach them what exactly is expected of them in their culture as boys. Nkosi clarifies that an older male figure will guide him in terms of cultural expectations: “I mean, when I as a boy, going to make culture when my daddy is grown make it … or my grandfather or someone else” (Nkosi, interview). Furthermore, Sipho explained that “they expect me to go to the mountain and take the role to be a man … my brothers and my uncles … they’ve just been telling me that it is very important in our culture to go there” (interview).

The participants identified with predominantly positive male figures as role models and pointed out positive attributes that they would like to emulate as men one day. It was interesting to note that Nelson Mandela is a prominent figure for them. Three of the boys used pictures of Nelson Mandela in their collages. They expressed a deep respect for him and appreciation for what he brought to the people of South Africa. Simon appreciates that “he brought freedom to all of us in South Africa” (collage) and Sipho would “like to be like Nelson Mandela, the way he is” (collage).
South Africa is privileged to have a role model such as Nelson Mandela who has had such an impact on its population and especially the youth. It is reassuring that these boys, who come from such disadvantaged backgrounds and have had to endure such difficult circumstances, are able to revere such an influential figure and aspire to be like him. From him, they have learned respect and the value of peace and freedom.

Having an older male figure in their lives seemed to be important in guiding the boys’ future aspirations. Usually, the participants’ career goals, and often their future ambitions, were linked to this person. Simon explains that he would like to be an artist one day “because [his] brother is an artist” (interview). Similarly, Peter aspires to be a businessman like his brother (interview).

4.3.3 The Importance of Education for Boys

Education emerged as an important issue for the participants. One of the participants explained that education is important “to grow up” (Sam, collage). All of the participants attended school and intended to continue with their education. Generally, they enjoyed attending school and learning new things. The participants’ positive attitudes toward school are evidenced in their references to education in their essays. Simon states that: “I love school because it gives me the education and education is a key of life in further and I encourage the all those who don’t have parents don’t drop out of school learning is exciting” (essay). Sipho also expresses his passion for education and learning: “all I like to be in my life is to work hard in my studies because they are very important to me and they are my key of my life” (Sipho, essay).

The value of education may also be linked to the participants’ career aspirations. All of the boys mentioned a career they would like to study for and they mentioned different careers – doctor, pilot, business man, scientist, artist, economist and soldier. This means they are ambitious and have goals that they would like to achieve. The participants obviously realise the long-term benefits of education and what it can do for them and help them achieve. This is evident in Sipho’s collage. He titled it “Education Today” (Appendix B, p. 102) and explained that it is his key to success. Furthermore, Mbongi advises that “people should grow up and be interested about achieving your own goal” (essay).
4.3.4 Exposure to Violence and Aggression in Community

It was evident from the collages, interviews and essays that violence and aggression are prominent in the communities in which they live. As boys, it seemed that they were constantly exposed to and experienced such situations. Some of the boys were told to stay away from fighting and not get involved when they see a fight taking place. This is evidenced in what Mbongi was taught: “he spoke to me about not beating other children” (interview). Likewise, Neo was also advised “to not let other people fight and do not go where other big people fight because you will get hurt. You don’t know what they are fighting for and you don’t know what does he have in his pocket” (interview). Sipho explains that “people are just fighting for just a little thing and they make it big” (Sipho, collage).

Usually, the older male figure that they identified with discouraged any involvement in fighting. It appears that the presence of a positive role model is therefore an important aspect of the development of these boys as they display a good sense of what is wrong and right. They seem to recognise that fighting is wrong and futile.

The violence and aggression also seemed to be present in the schools that the participants attended. One participant admitted to having been bullied at school. Mbongi’s responses show that this is distressing for him: “freedom is like when you are at school and people are busy bullying at you” (collage). He also maintained that “people like me don’t like to be bullied” (essay). Simon (interview) also alluded to possible bullying as he mentioned that his brother told him that he “must be a man and fight back … against the people who want to bully (him)”. This was the only instance noted in all of the interviews where one of the participants was encouraged to fight back as a way of asserting his masculinity.

In addition, two boys mentioned fighting and strikes at their schools. Neo explains in his interview that: “every week there are fights and other teachers they cannot teach and when you come back from reporting to the principal, they ask you where are you coming from. When you tell her, they become angry. They tease you”. It is evident from Neo’s account that he is also being targeted by his teachers because he chooses to report fighting to his principal.
4.3.5 The Involvement of Family and Friends

As young boys, it was expected that the participants missed having parents in their lives and they expressed a desire to have them back. Mbongi’s wish illustrates this: “something that can make me happy to remember everything that I have done for my mom” (collage). The difficulty of this is also emphasised “because you can’t … when you hear other people saying ‘mom’ and you can’t say ‘mom’ (Mbongi, interview). Neo explains that “this picture with the family makes me feel happy because they are all family and they are all happy to see each other from kindness” (Neo, collage).

Pictures of happy families were used frequently in the participants’ collages. Despite this feeling of missing their parents, the majority (except for one) of the participants are happy living within their current family structures and they acknowledge that they are fortunate to have this support system. The following expression of appreciation illustrates this: “because the people that I am staying with they help me with everything I need to do” (Mbongi, collage). Simon also corroborates this in his essay: “I’m protected my family always tell me that they love me when I wake up in the morning and when I sleep at night” (Simon, essay).

They are also aware that had they not had older siblings to take care of them, their circumstances may have been much worse. As young boys, their families and communities expected that they would rebel and engage in delinquent behaviour. However, Peter, like the other participants, acknowledges the role that his sister played in protecting him after the loss of his parents: “I feel so happy because when my mother passed, I was told that I will be a street kid but my sister was helping me with things and making me to believe don’t be a stealer or a drug dealer or something like that” (interview).

It was also encouraging to note that none of the participants’ households were isolated. Extended families are still very much involved in assisting these households, whether it be with the provision of school uniforms, food, or emotional support. Nkosi’s response illustrates this: “people help me out, it’s my aunty … things like uniform” (interview). Peter’s extended family also proves to be an important support system, as evidenced by the following quote: “yes I have cousin … three cousin … and what my granny and my two aunty … my oupa … ya [they help every day]” (interview).
In terms of social relationships outside of the home environment, as young boys, it was more important for them to have one or two close friends as opposed to a bigger group of friends, as clarified by Mbongi: “I only have two friends … because I don’t like chilling with too many people” (Mbongi, interview). Neo further explains that “I don’t have friends, I have a friend … because when I am doing something he tells me that’s not right or that is good and I can tell him what I like and he is interested in my life” (interview). This is further supported in Simon’s essay, as he wrote: “I don’t have many friends I have just three friends one friend at school and where I live I have two friends because the other people smoke drugs” (essay).

Their reasons for this are peer pressure, trust and drugs, as explained by Neo: “I don’t like having so many friends. When I have many friends, I can tell them something but one of them can go tell others and then they will know what I spoke about” (interview). This is further corroborated by Sipho, who stated that: “I don’t have a lot of friends because they put a lot more peer pressure” (Sipho, interview).

The close friends they do have are aware of their orphan status and that they do not have parents at home but, the participants were not stigmatised or excluded because of this. In fact, they are offered support and encouragement, as indicated by one participant: “they ask me to learn hard and take care of myself and my family” (Sipho, interview). Perhaps, this is also why the participants preferred to adhere to a small group of friends.

The few peer relationships they do maintain seem to be valuable and genuine, as shown by the above quotes. For them, it was more important to have a good friend who actually cared about their well-being and whom they could trust and confide in. This is also another indicator of the level of maturity present among the participants.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The research question underpinning this study attempted to identify and describe the experiences of boys living in CYHHs. From the data collection and analysis processes it emerged that cultural practices and gender roles influence the daily lives of the participants. Usually, an older male figure was present to guide them in terms of these practices and expectations. This significant role model also influenced future ambitions and career objectives. In light of this, it also emerged that education
is important and the participants viewed it as their key to success. The participants also cited high incidences of violence and aggression in their schools and communities and it was found that family and friends acted as an important support system for the boys and their families.
CHAPTER FIVE
DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter, Chapter Four, provided an indication of the data analysis process and presented the themes that emerged from this process. The main findings that emerged relating to the gendered experiences of boys in CYHHS are: cultural practices and gender roles of boys, identification with an older male figure, the importance of education for boys, exposure to violence and aggression in the community and the involvement of family and friends.

The purpose of this chapter is to interpret these findings. Therefore, the main findings will be pointed out again. Subsequently, literature reviewed in Chapter Two will be linked to the themes, and where appropriate additional literature has been consulted. The theoretical framework will also be integrated to interpret the findings and to account for the development of the participants. In addition, my critical voice as the researcher will also be included in the discussion.

5.2 CULTURAL PRACTICES AND GENDER ROLES OF BOYS

5.2.1 Expectations of Being a Male

As young boys, they have been taught the value of respect and their interactions with me also proved this, as they were very respectful and polite. This can be linked to the African perspective that considers uncivil behaviours and attitudes as animalistic (Nsamenang, 1992). Therefore, children are guided in terms of this as they develop. The social system that characterises many African communities places elders in authoritative positions, which may also explain the respectful attitude that the participants portray toward others, especially older people. Furthermore, a study conducted by Greely et al. (2013) revealed that the ideal man, in an African context, is characterised as being respectful and dignified, as well as by the good deeds he performs in the community. This would explain why the display of such behaviour proved important to the participants.

This is connected to the teachings of Ubuntu, which the participants also valued. In many African cultures, it is believed that misfortune is brought about by ill will or evil
deeds committed by that person; therefore, doing good is more favourable (Nsamenang, 1992). Nsamenang (1992) also explains that a person can only attain a sense of self through reference to a community. This means that helping others and having a good heart will ensure an individual’s integration into a community, which will promote healthy social and personal development. In African communities, it is also believed that the good of the community should come before the benefit of the individual. This suggests that the participants’ adoption of these values, which are relevant to their culture, will determine their integration and acceptance into their communities. In terms of their development, this is significant as their integration into their communities will provide them with benefits such as support and respect.

Furthermore, as young boys, the participants felt a responsibility to look after their families when they were older. From a social constructionist perspective, this emphasises the traditional gender role of men in African and other patriarchal communities. In many cultures around the world, especially patriarchal ones, masculinity is ascertained by involvement in activities outside of the home environment (Silberschmidt, 2001). This usually includes attaining financial independence and being able to take care of and provide for one’s family (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). It is important to be able to do this, as lack of employment means they will not be recognised as adults in their community (Poulsen, 2006). Attaining financial independence also asserts their authority and position as head of the household (Silberschmidt, 2001). From a young age, the participants are aware of what is expected of them as males and they have accepted these expectations as part of who they will become as men one day. This can also be linked to their career aspirations, which will be discussed below.

This finding is also significant as none of the participants were currently the heads of their household, but their ambitions to become providers for their families suggests that they want to assume this position one day. Again, this can be linked to the influence of gender roles and the construction of these in many African cultures – it is expected that a man be able to support and maintain his family (Greely et al., 2013). This finding also resonates with other studies conducted in Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe, which show that in the future there will be an increase in male heads in CYHHs because of the cultural and social expectations of men in African cultures (Dalen et al., 2009; Evans, 2011; Francis-Chizororo, 2010). In African cultures, girls
are expected to marry and therefore they are less likely to own or inherit properties from their families of origin (Nsamenang, 1992). This means that in CYHHs it would be more favourable for boys to head households, because it is more culturally appropriate for them to inherit and to handle family affairs. Erikson (1963) also explains that during this phase of development, it is expected that adolescents undertake more adult responsibilities, and the responsibility the participants feel to look after their families represents this. Through this assumption of adult-like responsibilities, the boys are also exploring new roles, which is also an important task of this phase (Erikson, 1963).

5.2.2 Circumcision

Although in-depth information could not be obtained about the experiences of the boys regarding circumcision, I felt that it was important to discuss this in detail. This is because circumcision is an important rite of passage for African males and plays a significant role in development. Therefore, using literature, the process of circumcision and its relevance is described. The reasons why greater detail could not be obtained from the participants are also explored.

Peter’s reference to play, in section 4.3.1.2, highlights the transition that many of the boys are currently experiencing – the transition into manhood. Circumcision is seen as an important practice that prepares the boys for manhood (Vincent, 2008). Erikson’s (1963) ideas of the conflicts experienced in adolescence can be applied here in terms of identity vs. role confusion. It is evident that at this point the participants are negotiating what their roles are and defining their identity. As they are still young, play is important – a response quoted earlier, in section 4.3.1.1, by Mbongi also referred to having fun. This indicates that developmentally this is a significant time, as they are reaching the end of childhood and learning about the roles expected of them as adults, namely to take care of their families and participate meaningfully in their communities. The readiness of children for adulthood is determined by how well they fulfil their social roles (Nsamenang, 2005). At the same time, adolescents are also experiencing biological maturation, which may exacerbate the conflict of this stage even more. Furthermore, in African cultures the timing of circumcision is important to consider as it emphasises these physical changes.
Nsamenang (1992; 2006) stressed the importance of culture, context and community as they interact with biology to greatly impact on development.

This traditional rite of passage usually involves a non-medical setting and is performed by a respected elder from the community (Wilcken, Keil, & Dick, 2010). However, some of the participants had undergone medical circumcision. This implies that although the boys are still being socialised within their cultural heritages, some are moving away somewhat from proper traditional practices and using modern advances to ensure their safety. The decision to seek medical circumcision can also be attributed to the increased interest in male circumcision over the past few years (Greely et al., 2013). This procedure has been linked to the reduction of the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS, with campaigns launched in South Africa to promote this practice and medical services offered for free. It can also be inferred that because of the restrictions placed on initiates in terms of discussing circumcision with others, especially females, it has become more convenient and comfortable for boys in CYHHs to make use of medical circumcision.

However, studies (e.g. Greely et al., 2013; Vincent, 2008) have found that males who do not partake in the traditional initiation practices pertaining to circumcision are viewed differently in their communities and may be ostracised. This rite of passage is seen as an important feature of masculine virility and preparation for adulthood (Vincent, 2008). Greely et al. (2013) found that having undergone traditional circumcision is perceived to be an important aspect of being a ‘real’ man. This emphasises the social construction of masculinity in African cultures. Circumcised males command more respect in their communities and their status is elevated because they have been circumcised traditionally.

Furthermore, this ritual also plays a role in the successful social integration of these young boys. This is important in terms of development, as according to Erikson (1963; 1968) acceptance by the peer and social group is important. The participants who had been circumcised traditionally were proud of this. However, the participants who had been medically circumcised did not express any issues in terms of being ostracised by peers or the community. This may be because of the safety issues cited and also because CYHHs may lack constant elder supervision and guidance about such matters. Another reason for this may be because of the context of the
participants. They do not live in a rural area where traditional practices may be more stressed and commonly practiced.

In-depth information about this issue could not be obtained and there are several possible reasons to explain the boys' hesitancy when talking about circumcision. It may be because it is not deemed appropriate to discuss what happens during the process of traditional circumcision openly (Vincent, 2008). Nsamenang (1992) explains that rituals in African cultures are masked with secrecy and myth, which ultimately fosters acceptance without questioning. As mentioned previously, tradition dictates that circumcision cannot be discussed at all with females (Vincent, 2008), which may also become an issue in female-headed households. In turn, this may encourage the preference for medical circumcision and deviance from cultural practices, which promote integration into the community. As a white female, the participants may have viewed me as someone who does not understand their culture and this would also affect how much information they disclosed to me.

The benefit of the traditional male circumcision initiation process is the education and teachings received by the elders (Vincent, 2008). These include non-violence, respect and safer sexual practices. In the African perspective, development is determined by social, cognitive and emotional maturation, which allows individuals to participate meaningfully within their families and communities (Nsamenang, 2005). In this sense, traditional circumcision rituals serve as preparation for young boys to become integral participants in their communities through education by the elders. Therefore, those who have not undergone the traditional process may lack this knowledge from the elders, which also has implications for cultural and moral development. This means that traditional circumcision may play an especially important role for boys in CYHHs, because it provides a strong link to their culture and also engages them in a process of socialisation and education by an elder, which they may lack at home.

Erikson (1963) explains that this is a critical time in terms of moral development, as adolescents must navigate from the morality and innocence of youth to the ethics and principles of adulthood. During this time, the presence of decent role models is important and the boys who do not partake in traditional circumcision may miss out on this. However, other positive role models in the community are available to these
particular participants. For instance, the male social workers at the NPO regularly facilitate support groups to equip the boys with the necessary skills.

5.2.3 Household Chores for Boys

The shift toward modern practices was also evident in the roles that the boys fulfil at home in terms of helping around the house. This finding differs from Francis-Chizororo’s (2010) finding that boys in CHHs performing domestic roles such as washing and cleaning were embarrassed by this. However, Francis-Chizoro (2010) conducted her research in a rural context, which may have affected the perception of boys in terms of household chores. This means that within their homes there is a redefinition of gender roles and expectations, and this could be attributed to the fact that youth and children may be less concerned about these, especially if they have a family to take care of.

Nsamenang (1992) recognised that youth are more aware of contemporary life than the generation before them. Urbanisation has also influenced changes in the traditional constructions of manhood (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Furthermore, the majority of the African population consists of young people (Diouf, 2003). This means that they may play a major role in changing traditional gender norms and expectations. The willingness of the participants to contribute to their households in this way may also be because they have positive male role models in the community who support them, including the male social workers (traditionally a women’s job) who interact with and teach the boys.

5.3 IDENTIFICATION WITH AN OLDER MALE FIGURE

African traditions value education as part of culture (Nsamenang, 2005). This ensures that knowledge is transmitted from one generation to the next. It is therefore not uncommon for elders to teach the youth about their cultural heritages and expectations and for these young boys to identify with a significant older male figure. This socialisation also ensures the successful integration of young people into the social sphere, which is important in African cultures, as discussed above. Therefore, the presence of these older male figures is important to the development of these boys. Erikson’s (1963; 1968) theory illustrates further how important it is for adolescents to have appropriate role models to identify with. As this is an age of
exploration, it is imperative that youths have positive older persons in their lives who can offer them support and guidance. However, Erikson’s theory does not account for the impact of this in a wider context.

Where Erikson’s ideas fall short, Nsamenang’s (1992) ideas about the ecological environment account for the development of the boys. Their identification with an older male figure in this context is deemed appropriate as individuality is not encouraged. It is important for these boys to be able to provide for their families in the future, and therefore it is not unusual for them to want to be like the person who represents this ideal for them. This may be viewed as positive, as the participants are able to differentiate between good and bad role models. The participants’ career aspirations will be further discussed in the next section.

5.4 THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION FOR BOYS

All of the boys attend school and intended to continue with their studies to pursue their desired career. In other studies (e.g., Evans, 2011; Masondo, 2006; Pillay & Nesengani, 2006; Poulsen, 2006) high drop-out rates among children in CYHHS have been reported, especially among boys. This suggests that these households, with adequate support, can sustain themselves and continue with their education.

The participants’ career aspirations were also inspired by the male figure they identified with. Erikson (1963; 1968) linked the identification of career objectives and goals to healthy development. Occupational ideals also influence identity formation. According to Erikson (1968, p. 132), “it is the inability to settle on an occupational identity which most disturbs young people. To keep themselves together they temporarily over identify with heroes of cliques and crowds to the point of an apparently complete loss of individuality”. In consideration of this, it should be noted that these boys are young and may still change their minds about what they will do one day and the career paths they want to follow now may only be because of this important male figure. Erikson warns about “loss of individuality”; however, this is not appropriate for the development of children in the African context where a collective identity is more appreciated.

As mentioned earlier, the participants’ career aspirations may also be linked to the expectation that one day they must look after their families. This could be associated
with constructions of masculinity that suggest that males must provide. Having these ambitions also suggest that they are willing to work hard to get to where they need to be. Poulsen (2006) maintained that pressures to earn a living usually influence boys to leave school and engage in criminal activities. However, in this study it was found that boys want to rather stay in school to obtain a good qualification, but perhaps this is because someone else is able to provide for them. In addition, they also choose to stay away from unfavourable activities that may deter them. The next section will elaborate on such activities.

5.5 EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION IN THE COMMUNITY

It emerged that the boys regularly witness violence and aggression in the form of fighting, bullying and strikes. However, it was interesting to note that instead of being told to stand up for themselves and taught to fight back, they were encouraged to stay away from such situations. From a constructionist point of view, this contradicts common perceptions of masculinity in African cultures, which portray men as being dominant and aggressive (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). It also challenges the idea that boys are not encouraged to display much emotion besides anger (Wallace, 2007). In light of this, it is possible that these participants have been taught and exposed to an alternative form of masculinity that denounces violence and aggression and deems this senseless and pointless. The type of masculinity that these boys are embracing embodies hard work and motivation to improve themselves, as evidenced by the discussion in the previous section.

This is unexpected given that they are exposed to such violence in their schools as well. Although only one boy mentioned that he was bullied at school, I felt that it was appropriate to mention it as the others may have been afraid to disclose whether they are being bullied and previous studies have documented this as a problem (e.g., Dalen et al., 2009; Robson & Kanyanta, 2007). The reasons for children in CYHHs being bullied include stigmatisation and lack of resources. However, this boy mentioned that he thinks he is bullied because he is small, which points to the possibility that this alternative masculine identity can be an issue in terms of social status. In a sense, exemplifying a less acceptable form of masculinity may have implications.
With regard to the bullying, the quotes from Mbongi’s collage and essay suggest that there is a lack of freedom in expressing an alternative masculine identity in such communities. The second excerpt (Mbongi, essay) suggests that the participant is distinguishing himself from others and this shows a sense of self-awareness. His maturity was also highlighted in how he dealt with the bullying. Rather than fighting back, he reported this to his teachers and the principal, who issued a letter to the parents of the boy who was bullying him.

Pillay and Nesengani (2006) also found that teachers can sometimes ill-treat children in CYHHs. The way Neo is treated by his teacher further suggests that the dominant ideals of hegemonic masculinity, which propose that he should fight back and not complain about it later, are more acceptable than his expression of masculinity. Poulsen (2006) found that schools in South Africa do not encourage and foster healthy development of masculinity in boys. The maturity that the participants display in terms of veering away from fighting and trouble, despite these issues dominating in their schools and communities, is exceptional.

This may be a result of their affiliation with the NPO and the social workers, who try to educate the boys about such matters. Again, the importance of positive role models in the community is emphasised. Apart from providing meals to children every day, the organisation recognises the need to develop the youth in these communities and to empower them to rise above their hardships. To this end, support groups are facilitated regularly to encourage this and to address delinquent behaviour. Judging by the attitudes and beliefs of the participants, this is working in aiding positive development among these children. It is also helpful that there are male social workers whom the boys can identify with. The value of education in African child-rearing practices (Nsamenang, 2005) is relevant here and in this setting this is being used to socialise children and youth in a positive manner.

5.6 INVOLVEMENT OF FAMILY AND FRIENDS

Previous research has documented the adverse effects that orphanhood can exert on social and emotional domains for children in CYHHs (Atwine et al., 2005; Leatham, 2006; van Breda, 2010). Therefore, the loss of their parents and alternate family structures may influence the development of these learners. However, the importance and role of the community, as asserted by Nsamenang (1992), may act
as a buffer in this instance as they are not isolated from extended family and receive support from the NPO.

The involvement of the extended family has an impact on the sustainability of these households and it is probably the reason why they are still able to continue as they are. Even though there is evidence that shows that extended families are unable to absorb CYHHs (Becker, 2007; Maqoko & Dreyer, 2007), they are still a vital source of support for these households, as shown by this study. Therefore, the idea that a child can never be an orphan in the African context (Ciganda et al., 2012) is somewhat reinforced by the idea that the supportive function of extended families is still intact. Dalen et al. (2009) also found that relatives were a source of financial support for CYHHs.

Ciganda et al. (2012) maintain that it is often better in the long run for orphans to remain together in CYHHs than it is for them to separate and live with other family members, as this way they are able to safeguard their assets and support one another. Furthermore, youth and children benefit from a sense of belonging to their communities and families as development and socialisation in Africa takes place in the context of community (Ruiz-Casares, 2009). Nsamenang (1992) explains that in the African context, parents are not the only ones who play a role in child-rearing. This practice involves extended family, siblings, neighbours and friends. It is this safety net that has possibly allowed for CYHHs to manage and sustain themselves.

The peer group also plays an important role at this stage of the participants’ lives. Thurman et al.’s (2006) study also confirms that youth and children in CYHH value peer relationships and maintained close relationships with at least one friend, as was shown in this study. As mentioned previously, Erikson (1963; 1968) stressed the importance of peer relationships during the identity vs. role confusion period. This is also relevant in the African context, as the development of the self can only occur in relation to others (Nsamenang, 1992). Erikson warned that adolescents may become extremely ‘cliquey’ and exclude those who differ from them, but this does not seem to be the case for the participants of this study. In African communities, it is common for the peer group to provide care and mentorship. Therefore, the presence of these good friends is an important support system for these boys.
5.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the themes extrapolated from the data collection process were discussed in relation to literature. These themes were further interpreted through the developmental theories of Erikson (1963; 1968) and Nsamenang (1992; 2005; 2006). Literature was also used to contextualise the findings. A critical point of view was included to evaluate the findings and to compare them to previous research. Through this, it became evident that despite the difficult circumstances the participants may have endured, their functioning and development have not been adversely affected. It is also evident that their support networks and the presence of positive male role models in the community contribute to the boys’ coping and development.
CHAPTER SIX
SUMMARY, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is intended to provide a synopsis of this study. A summary will be provided, followed by the limitations of the research. As a final point, recommendations will be made based on the findings and for future research.

6.2 SUMMARY

The focus of this study was to explore and describe the gendered experiences of boys in CYHHs in Soweto. Erikson (1963; 1968) and Nsamenang’s (1992; 2005; 2006) theories on human development formed the theoretical framework for the research. These ideas were used to understand the current developmental age of the participants and their experiences. The motivation for this undertaking pertained to the current lack of literature on the topic and the lack of focus on boys in previous studies.

The use of a multiple case study design allowed for comparisons to be drawn among the participants. This provided insight into the lives and daily experiences of boys living in CYHHs. The findings may be applied to other boys in similar contexts and recommendations can also be made to develop support structures for them. It should be noted that the participants of this study are involved with an NPO where social workers help to mentor and support them. This has also been taken into account in the recommendations.

The data analysis process revealed five themes that were prominent in the findings. The first theme pertained to cultural practices and gender roles. The participants still maintained strong ties with their cultural heritages and embraced the teachings of their roots. Expectations related to being a male included respect for and listening to others, especially those who are older. The notion of Ubuntu also emerged as an important aspect of their cultural lives. A desire to be able to provide for their families one day was also expressed. Participation in circumcision practices appeared to also be important in terms of culture and gender roles. As part of their daily routines, the participants also engaged in household chores. Some of these chores could be
classified as traditionally ‘female’ responsibilities; however, the boys did not express any issues with performing them.

The second theme suggested that the participants identified with an older male figure who is important to them. This person usually provided guidance in terms of cultural expectations and also influenced career and future aspirations. To this end, it was evident that the participants value education, which formed the third theme. All of them expressed a desire to be something one day and felt their education would provide them with this advantage.

The fourth theme was related to the violence and aggression present in the communities in which the boys reside. It seems that this is a daily occurrence. However, the participants recognise the futility of getting involved in such activities and are taught to stay away from this. Family and friends constituted the last theme. The participants are generally happy in their current homes but miss their parents. They also prefer to have a few good friends as opposed to many. This suggests that the participants maintain meaningful relationships, which act as an important support structure and portray a sense of maturity.

The abovementioned themes and experiences of boys in CYHHs can be understood within the theoretical framework. Erikson’s (1963; 1968) ideas about adolescence emphasise the exploration of roles and definition of identity. The symbolism of the attainment of manhood in circumcision, their career aspirations, and identification with a male figure represent this conflict. Nsamenang’s (1992; 2005; 2006) theory can be integrated with this to understand the importance and influence of culture and community on development in the African context. As the participants face many challenges, the support of extended family and the community proved to be important buffers in the lives of the participants. Furthermore, during this critical stage of development they are benefitting most from the presence of positive male role models who are encouraging their educational aspirations and maturity.

This study provides some original contributions in terms of research on boys in CYHHs. I am not aware of any other research study that has focused solely on the experiences of boys in these vulnerable households, and therefore many of the findings are original. The importance of having positive male role models in the community emerged as an important and original finding. The ideas and attitudes
relating to circumcision are also distinctive as there is somewhat of a shift from traditional practices and medical circumcision is more accepted. Furthermore, the redefinition of gender roles in these households is a unique contribution of the study.

6.3 LIMITATIONS

During the data collection process, it was evident that the language barrier created limitations in terms of further exploration of certain ideas or themes. Someone who was able to translate did assist with this process, but the participants’ responses were short and lacked depth in some aspects. However, this could also be attributed to the differences in gender as well. Furthermore, some of the responses had to be translated, so the original words of the participants could not be transcribed. It was also not possible to conduct a focus group interview owing to time constraints and logistics. A focus group interview may have yielded relevant and valuable information.

It would have also proved beneficial to interview the caregivers of the participants to gain further insights into their living conditions and how they sustain themselves. However, it was difficult to contact these caregivers. Interviews with the social workers would have also provided valuable information regarding the social and scholastic domains of the participants’ lives. This was also difficult to do as there was limited space and time in which to collect data. The social workers also have a busy schedule. In addition, the time constraints were exacerbated by the fact that the participants could only come to the NPO after school and the premises had to be closed at a certain time. This may have contributed to a rushed process.

There were also limitations in terms of identifying participants. It was originally intended that boys in CHHs be selected to participate, but this proved difficult as they could not be identified. Another NGO and a few schools were approached before this but they could not assist in identifying such households. Therefore, the scope was expanded to include CYHHs. After participants had been identified, it was difficult to obtain consent and ensure their attendance.

My gender and cultural background formed interesting dynamics, as it seemingly differed from that of the participants. It was initially anticipated that these demographics would cause difficulties, as mentioned in Chapter One. As someone
who is different to them, the participants may have felt somewhat uncomfortable talking to me about sensitive or cultural issues – like circumcision. However, these differences also contributed to the originality of the study as my interaction with the participants and interpretation of the findings may have generated a different point of view. As my knowledge of African cultures is not as elaborate as that of the participants, my view of the findings may be different to that of another researcher, who may have similar demographics to the participants. Although there were some issues regarding the language barrier and time limitations, valuable insights were gained from the process. My expectation that African males would not respond favourably to a white female was not met, as the participants were polite and cooperative. It should also be noted that my demographics may have also caused some limitations. The participants may have felt intimidated or uncomfortable because I do not come from their community, and this may have influenced their responses, which may also explain their short responses.

There are a few aspects that could have been approached differently. If I had the opportunity to do some things differently, I would have spent more time with the participants before the data collection process to get to know them and assist them to feel more comfortable. I would have also liked to interact with and gain more information from the social workers regarding the participants and also what interventions they have implemented with them.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are based on the findings of this research study regarding the experiences of boys in CYHHs. Furthermore, these recommendations have been compiled with due consideration to the individual, school and community contexts. Additional recommendations regarding future research have also been included. It was found that the themes were interlinked and so some of the recommendations were integrated.

Although cultural expectations and gender norms are socially constructed and regulated, certain interventions can be useful in steering the socialisation of boys in a positive direction. The education of boys regarding gender roles and cultural practices is encouraged in an appropriate manner. Schools and the community should encourage healthy conceptions of masculinity and manhood, as the
participants in this study have displayed. This means that positive role models in the community and at schools would be beneficial in providing the youth with guidance. This may also assist with alleviating *violence and aggression* in these communities. The notion of Ubuntu should also be embraced and used positively to address these issues.

The constructive influence that their affiliation with the NPO has had on the participants relates to this, as positive male role models (social workers) take an interest in the youth and educate them about such matters. This provides the young boys with *older male figures to identify with* who will have a positive influence. The effects of this can be seen in the participants’ level of maturity and ambition to better themselves. The support groups facilitated by the social workers and the support they provide the boys and their families is making a difference and should be replicated in other communities where it is needed. It is important to also educate these families and provide them with the necessary support so that they are able to thrive and take care of themselves.

Furthermore, the participants could be provided with extra support through psycho-education to help them understand their development and the impact of their experiences on this. Their families could also be made aware of this. They could also be provided with counselling or therapy to address any emotional distress, especially regarding the absence of their parents. Their *families* could also be equipped with coping skills and strategies to help them support one another more effectively.

The participants’ *value for education* indicates that schools can play an important role in empowering these boys. They need to be guided in terms of career options and this could include career counselling. Funding options should also be explored and discussed at this early stage so that they may plan appropriately. Higher education institutions should collaborate with schools, NGOs and NPOs to identify and empower these learners. Perhaps special funding schemes can also be established to assist them.

Teachers should also take an interest in the boys’ learning, as they are eager to learn. Although they were encouraged to write freely, it was evident from their essays that their proficiency in writing in English is lacking. The participants’ grammar and punctuation is not at the appropriate level for their age. This is
problematic as they will need these language skills for further education. The teacher’s role is important here and it seems that suitable instruction in this regard is lacking. Therefore, a review of the curriculum is necessary and teacher skills should be looked at. Thus, teacher training should also be administered.

Community interventions can also be used to help to educate community members about the existence of these households. It is also important to address the stigma that community members may attribute to CYHHs. This way the peer group can also be educated about how to best support their friends in CYHHs. They will also understand the important role they play. Extended families should also be incorporated in interventions and educated about the needs of these households and their roles as support structures.

In terms of further research, more in-depth information can be collected regarding the experiences of boys in CYHHs. It may also be beneficial if a researcher with similar demographics could interact with the boys, as this may make them more comfortable to disclose information regarding sensitive issues like circumcision. It is also necessary to work more collaboratively with the NPO and the social workers to understand the context of the participants better. If possible, interviews with their families should also be conducted to understand how these households function and sustain themselves.

6.5 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to describe and explore the gendered experiences of 12- to 14-year-old African male learners in CYHHs. This was done through individual interviews, essays and collages. Qualitative content analysis methods were used to analyse the data. Erikson’s (1963; 1968) psychosocial theory and Nsamenang’s (1992; 2005; 2006) ideas on development in the African context formed the theoretical framework of the study. These theories were also used to interpret the findings.

This chapter provided an overview of the study and relevant findings that emerged from the data collection process. The limitations of the study were then considered. Recommendations were given to address these and linked to the findings. Also, recommendations in terms of further research were made.
REFERENCES


Lethale, P. S. (2008). *The resilience of adolescents from adolescent-headed families within the school context* (Unpublished master’s thesis), University of Johannesburg, Johannesburg, RSA.


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ETHICS CLEARANCE

Dear L Hage

Ethical Clearance Number: 2013-039

Re: The gendered experiences 12-14 year old African male learners living in child and youth headed households in Soweto

Ethical clearance for this study is granted subject to the following conditions:

- If there are major revisions to the research proposal based on recommendations from the Faculty Higher Degrees Committee, a new application for ethical clearance must be submitted.
- If the research question changes significantly so as to alter the nature of the study, it remains the duty of the student to submit a new application.
- It remains the student’s responsibility to ensure that all ethical forms and documents related to the research are kept in a safe and secure facility and are available on demand.
- Please quote the reference number above in all future communications and documents.

The Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee has decided to

☑ Grant ethical clearance for the proposed research.
☐ Provisionally grant ethical clearance for the proposed research
☐ Recommend revision and resubmission of the ethical clearance documents

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Prof Geoffrey Lautenbach
Chair: FACULTY OF EDUCATION RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
15 October 2014
APPENDIX A2: ETHICAL CLEARANCE APPLICATION – CONSENT AND ASSENT

Ethics Clearance Application – Faculty of Education

I, Linda Hage hereby confirm that:

1. The information provided in this ethics clearance application to undertake research with human participants is accurate to the best of my knowledge;
2. I understand the principles of conducting ethical research;
3. I will endeavor to conduct all the research in an ethical manner as prescribed by Faculty and University rules; and
4. I will inform the Faculty Academic Ethics Committee of any substantive changes to the project that might impact on the ethical clearance of the project.
5. This project has not been submitted to another Academic Ethics Review Board for review

Signature - Researcher
28 February 2014

☐ This research project and associated ethics application has been approved by the relevant Department of the Faculty of Education for submission to the Higher Degrees Committee and the Faculty Academic Ethics Committee

Signature - Supervisor

If this research project will be undertaken under the auspices of UJICE, then:
☐ This project and associated ethics application has been approved by the UJICE Management for submission to the relevant Committees of the Faculty of Education

Signature - UJICE Management

Faculty of Education Academic Ethics Committee
University of Johannesburg
Updated February 2013
Research Design

Please supply the relevant information.

1. Data Collection Types
   ☒ Qualitative
   ☐ Quantitative
   ☐ Mixed Methods

2. Research Methodologies/Approaches
   ☐ Biographical
   ☐ Phenomenological
   ☐ Grounded Theory
   ☐ Ethnographical
   ☒ Case Study
   ☐ Design Experiment
   ☐ Action Research
   ☐ Survey
   ☐ Other (please provide details)

3. Research Instruments/Methods
   ☐ Document analyses
   ☐ Questionnaires
   ☐ Surveys
   ☒ Individual interviews
   ☒ Group interviews
   ☐ Observations
   ☒ Other (please provide details)
   Collages

4. Sampling
   ☐ Random
   ☐ Targeted
   ☒ Purposeful
   ☐ Snow balling
   ☐ Other (please provide details)

5. Sample size
   ☒ < 11
   ☐ 11-50
   ☐ > 50
   ☐ Other (please provide details)

6. Age of participants
   ☒ < 14
   ☐ 14-17
   ☐ >= 18

I, Linda Hage, the learners teachers and the non-government organisation (NGO), Ikageng, will protect the rights of the child who is younger than 14 years of age.

Please provide the name and designation of an adult who will protect the rights of the child who has neither parents nor a guardian, or who is younger than 18 years of age.

Faculty of Education Academic Ethics Committee
University of Johannesburg
Updated February 2013
Faculty of Education - Research Project Information

Gendered experiences of 12-14 year old male African learners in child-headed households in Soweto

Background to the study including the nature of the research

I, Linda Hage, am doing research on the gendered experiences of 12-14 year old African male learners living in child-headed households. Research is the process whereby scientific methods are used to explore a problem. In this study, I want to learn about your social and psycho-educational experiences in relation to gender. In African culture, males are more dominant which places them in a better position to take care of their siblings. Furthermore, it has been reported that a growing number of girls have been leaving these households with the boys having to take the responsibility. Other researchers have predicted that more boys will be heading households in the future. Therefore, it is important to explore what your experiences are in such circumstances and how you can be supported.

Intention of the project

Research associated with this project attempts to:

The aim of the study is to explore and describe the gendered experiences of 12-14 year old males living in child-headed households. In achieving the above, the purpose is to provide guidelines or recommendations in terms of what possible interventions can be employed to assist you. Therefore, I would like to find out how your experiences differ from girls. Most research on child-headed households focuses on the experiences of girls and what their needs and experiences are. However, the dominant status of boys places them in a better position to head households. Therefore, the main research question is: what are the gendered experiences of 12-14 year old males living in child-headed households?

Procedures involved in the research

I, Linda Hage, will work in collaboration with an NGO, Ikageng, that has a relationship with The University of Johannesburg (UJ) to access participants who would be willing to take part in this research project. Your permission will be asked in the form of assent. I would like to get to know you before formal data collection will take place by interacting with you at school and where you would feel most comfortable. I will then interview you individually to ask about your personal experiences of living in a child-headed household. After this process is complete, I will interview you as a group to further elaborate on your experiences and to find out what your needs as a group are. You will then be given resources to create collages, which will assist with the possible language barrier. I am aware that English may not be your first language, however, I will be asking simple questions and where you do not understand I will explain further or ask someone else to. A representative of the community will also be assisting with the process and the cultural/language barrier. All interviews will be recorded using a video camera and written notes. Interviews will continue until I have enough data. These will be transcribed and analysed using Zhang and Wildemuth’s (2009) method of qualitative content analysis. Therefore, the following steps will be used to interpret the information gathered:

1. The data will be transcribed word for word
2. Themes will be identified
3. The computer program ATLAS.ti will be used to assist in the process. This will ensure credibility.
4. Furthermore, I will be working with a supervisor who will be monitoring the process

Potential Risks

While you might feel uncomfortable, anxious or stressed, there are minimal risks involved in participating in this study. I would like to get to know you better before the formal data collection process begins and I would like to address any concerns you may have. To make this process easier for you and to minimise the risks, I would like your input on how to go about the interviewing process. Furthermore, I am aware that you may be uncomfortable because I am female, however, this is why I would like to take the time to get to know you and your cultural beliefs and practices which will be respected. There may be some emotional discomfort but no pain or harm will come to you. You will not be forced to continue with the process should you feel any discomfort. I will be working closely with the NGO and your school/s to ensure that you have access to ancillary care should the need arise.

Faculty of Education Academic Ethics Committee
University of Johannesburg
Updated February 2013
Potential Benefits
This study will draw attention to the experiences of African males in child-headed households. A better understanding of the needs of this group will be generated. Strategies may be developed to assist and support them in caring for their families.

Informed consent
We recognize that participants are not capable of consent unless “informed”. We have, therefore, disclosed the nature of the research, the aims, the duration, the risks and benefits, the nature of interventions throughout the study, compensations where appropriate, researcher details, and details of the ethical review process. Where appropriate, communities, employers, departments and other instances are also part of the informed consent process.

Confidentiality
Every effort will be made to protect (guarantee) your confidentiality and privacy. I will not use your name or any information that would allow you to be identified. In addition, all data collected will be anonymous and only the researchers will have access to the data that will be securely stored for no longer than 2 years after publication of research reports, or papers. Thereafter, all collected data will be destroyed. You must, however, be aware that there is always the risk of group or cohort identification in research reports, but your personal identity will always remain confidential. You must also be aware that if information you have provided is requested by legal authorities I may be required to comply.

Participation and Withdrawal
Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may withdraw your consent to participate in the project at any time during the project. If you decide to withdraw, there will be no consequences to you. Your decision whether or not to be part of the study will not affect your continuing access to any services that might be part of this study.

Future interest and Feedback
You may contact me (see below) at any time during or after the study for additional information, or if you have questions related to the findings of the study. You may indicate your need to see the findings of the research in the attached consent form.

Linda Hage (0723818035, hagelinda89@gmail.com) Prof. Jace Pillay (0824628594, jacep@uj.ac.za)

28 February 2014

Faculty of Education Academic Ethics Committee
University of Johannesburg
Updated February 2013
Informed Consent/Assent Form

Project Title:
Gendered Experiences of 12-14 year old African Male Learners Living in Child-Headed Households in Soweto

Investigator:
Linda Hage

Date:
28 February 2014

Please mark the appropriate checkboxes. I hereby:

☐ Agree to be involved in the above research project as a participant.
☐ Agree to be involved in the above research project as an observer to protect the rights of:
  ☐ Children younger than 18 years of age;
  ☐ Children younger than 18 years of age that might be vulnerable*; and/or
  ☐ Children younger than 18 years of age who are part of a child-headed family.
☐ Agree that my child, may participate in the above research project.
☐ Agree that my staff may be involved in the above research project as participants.

☐ I have read the research information sheet pertaining to this research project (or had it explained to me) and I understand the nature of the research and my role in it. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about my involvement in this study. I understand that my personal details (and any identifying data) will be kept strictly confidential. I understand that I may withdraw my consent and participation in this study at any time with no penalty.

☐ Please allow me to review the report prior to publication. I supply my details below for this purpose:

Name:

Phone or Cell number:

e-mail address:

Signature:

If applicable:

☐ I consent/assent to audio recording of my/the participant's contributions.
☐ I consent/assent to video recording of my/the participant's contributions.

Signature (and date):

Signature of person taking the consent (and date):
21/06/2014

* Vulnerable participants refer to individuals susceptible to exploitation or at risk of being exposed to harm (physical, mental, psychological, emotional and/or spiritual).

Faculty of Education Academic Ethics Committee
University of Johannesburg
Updated February 2013
APPENDIX B: EXAMPLES OF INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS, COLLAGES AND ESSAYS

Simon – Extract From Interview

L: Ok, so tell me what language you speak?
S: Zulu

L: Ok, so you are Zulu. What is expected of a Zulu boy in your culture?
S: To go and get circumcised \( \) (1) Cultural expectations and gender roles - circumcision

L: And have you done that?
S: Yes ma'am

L: Traditionally?
S: No

L: At the clinic? \( \) (1)
S: Yes

L: When did you go?
S: 23 April

L: This year?
S: Yes

L: And how was that for you?
S: It was exciting but at the same time painful \( \) (1)

L: Ok, and who took you?
S: My older brother \( \) (2) identification with older male figure

L: Your older brother took you and did he speak to you about it before?
S: Yes
L: What did he tell you?
S: He said I must be a man and fight back (2)
L: Be a man and fight back?
S: Yes
L: Against what?
S: Against the people who want to bully me (4) violence and aggression in community
L: And did he tell you that doing this will make you a man?
S: Yes (2)
L: Are you glad you did it?
S: Yes
L: So why did your brother not want to send you to the mountains?
S: Because some people have died there (1) - circumcision
L: Ok, so it was unsafe?
S: Yes
Neo - Extract from Interview

L: I want you to tell me about school. How is it at your school?

N: School it’s sometimes good sometimes bad

L: Tell me more

N: Every week there are fights and other teachers they cannot teach and when you come back from reporting to the principal, they ask you where are you coming from. When you tell her, they become angry. They tease you. (4)

L: Does the teacher tease you in front of other learners?

N: Yes

L: And how does that make you feel?

N: I feel bad.

L: Oh, and then the good things?

N: Do not copy each other and helping each other with homework. Sometimes we can be a group helping each and doing homework together. We are good for each other but some people do bad for others

L: And do you have friends?

N: Yes. No, I don't have friends, I have a friend (5) family and friends

L: One friend?

N: Yes

L: Ok, why only one friend?

N: Because when I am doing something he tells me that’s not right or that is good and I can tell him what I like and he is interested in my life (5)

L: So you prefer to have only one friend that listens, that’s there when you need him?
N: Yes, I don't like having so many friends. When I have many friends, I can tell them something but one of them can go tell others and then they will know what I spoke about.

L: So the reason you only have one friend now is because you once had so many friends and this is what happened?

N: Yes

L: Does this one close friend of yours know that you don't have parents?

N: Yes

L: Does he have parents?

N: Yes but he only has his mother
Examples of Collages

Sam

Sipho
Sam – Extract From Collage Transcript

L: Tell me about these pictures on here. Why did you choose these pictures?

S: I choose this picture because this man is having stress.

L: He has stress? What kind of stress?

S: Like … like maybe they … they make him angry. (4)

L: He’s angry. What is he angry about?

S: Because they make him to be angry.

L: Ok, so he’s angry. Who made him angry?

S: Because this man is angry, they made him to be angry. (4)

L: Who?

S: Someone.

L: Someone, OK. Why is he angry? What does he want?

S: Maybe they chase him away in the work.

L: Ok, and the other pictures?

S: This one … she happy.

L: Why is he happy?

S: Maybe she have a money and buy the car.

L: Ok, and the other pictures?

S: This one … they … they ...

L: Hand-cuff him?

S: They caught him.

L: Caught him doing what?

S: Going with a girl.
L: Going with a girl?

S: Yes.

L: Ok, why was he going with this girl?

S: Maybe, they were beating her wanting to take the money from her. (4)

L: Hmmm, OK. OK, and the other pictures?

S: Here, they are in school; they are reading. (3) importance of education for boys

L: Do you like school?

S: Yes. This one?

L: Yes.

S: This one, they pour the petrol in the water … in the car. Maybe this man they didn’t pay him his money. Or, the man of this car he kill someone. (4)
Sipho – Extract From Collage Transcript

S: I want to learn how to trade on the world stock market. (3)
L: So you want to be a stock broker?
S: Ya, but my idea is to be a soldier. (3)
L: You want to be a soldier?
S: Yes.
L: Where? In South Africa?
S: Ja.
L: Why do you want to be a soldier?
S: Because I want to fight for my country. I don’t want the people of my country to be hurt by other people.
L: Was it someone that made you want to become a soldier?
S: No. It was my idea.
L: Your idea, ok. So no one inspired you?
S: Ja.
L: Ok, and this picture?
S: I’d like to be like Nelson Mandela, the way he is. (2)
L: You respect him?
S: Yes.
L: And this?
S: I chose the right school to learn good things. (3)
L: Ok, so you want to study further?
S: Yes.
L: What do you want to study?

S: Economics, accounting and science. (3)

L: And if you could give this picture a name?

S: Education today. (3)

L: I can hear that education is important to you.

S: Yes.
Examples of Essays

Mbongi

To be a good person like me

To be a person like me it is very good because a person like me he/she can achieve their own goals people like me like having fun and people like me don’t like to be bullied people should grow up and be interested about achieving your own goal.

People should grow up and learn how to make your own body to get used your body and to be a child had is very good because you can get more information to that ear of what kids think and what do you want to be.

If you are an innocent person like me I am saying that people should live free and to be a good person to have a nice heart because other people can kill you just for having fun to be a good person have a good heart give charity more many and people can remember you.

Simon

My lifestyle

I live with my two sisters and one brother. My life is hard and my parents died at 2010 both of them. my parents look after me and they give me equal treatment we are all treated and the do care about me and they also protect me from violence. I’m protected my family always tell me that they love me when I wake up in the morning and when I sleep at night.

They always tell me that I must not use drugs because they are dangerous. The way I respect them I always respect the outsider. I love reading adventure books because they are tall stories and I don’t have many friends I have just three friends one friend at school and where I live I have two friends because the other people smoke drugs.

I love school because it gives me the education and education is a key of life in further and I encourage the all those who don’t have parents don’t drop out of school learning is exciting.
APPENDIX C: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What is expected of a young man in your culture?

2. What duties/chores/roles do you currently fulfil in your household?

3. What are your experiences as a boy in a child-headed household?

4. What challenges do you experience as a boy?

5. Are you treated differently to the girls in your family or other girls?
To Whom It May Concern

This letter confirms that I have electronically edited the minor dissertation by Linda Hage, *Gendered Experiences of 12- to 14-Year-Old African Male Learners Living in Child- and Youth-Headed Households in Soweto*, to conform with the latest conventions of style and expression.

Yours sincerely

Simone Wilcock

Language Editor

Tel: 076 532 8808
Email: sim1wi@gmail.com
APPENDIX E: AFFIDAVIT

AFFIDAVIT: MASTER’S AND DOCTORAL STUDENTS
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This serves to confirm that I________________________________________________________

(Full Name(s) and Surname)

ID Number________________________________________________________________________

Student number______________________________________________________ enrolled for the

Qualification_______________________________________________________________

Faculty __________________________________________________________________________

Herewith declare that my academic work is in line with the Plagiarism Policy of the University of
Johannesburg which I am familiar with.

I further declare that the work presented in the ___________________________________________

(minor dissertation/dissertation/thesis) is authentic and original unless clearly indicated otherwise and
in such instances full reference to the source is acknowledged and I do not pretend to receive any
credit for such acknowledged quotations, and that there is no copyright infringement in my work. I
declare that no unethical research practices were used or material gained through dishonesty. I
understand that plagiarism is a serious offence and that should I contravene the Plagiarism Policy
notwithstanding signing this affidavit, I may be found guilty of a serious criminal offence (perjury) that
would amongst other consequences compel the UJ to inform all other tertiary institutions of the
offence and to issue a corresponding certificate of reprehensible academic conduct to whomever
requests such a certificate from the institution.

Signed at ________________________ on this ______________day of _______________ 20___.

Signature__________________________________ Print name_____________________________

STAMP COMMISSIONER OF OATHS
Affidavit certified by a Commissioner of Oaths
This affidavit conforms with the requirements of the JUSTICES OF THE PEACE AND COMMISSIONERS OF OATHS ACT 16
OF 1963 and the applicable Regulations published in the GG GNR 1258 of 21 July 1972; GN 903 of 10 July 1998; GN 109 of 2
February 2001 as amended.